

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年報

平成25年度
(第17号)

**Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University**

for the Academic Year 2013

Volume XVII

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The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
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The first-century Copper-plates of Helagupta from Gandhāra hailing Maitreya

Harry FALK

To the memory of Chris Bennett
1953-2014

Donatory grants in Gandhāra follow different styles. Steatite caskets can be inscribed on their outside or on their inside, often inside the lid, occasionally on the inside of the body. Mainly in the Swat valley thin foils of gold or silver are inscribed with a blunt stylus over a flexible, possibly leather underlay so that the script appears impressed into the metal and leaves pronounced counter traces on the backside. A different method is applied south of the Peshawar valley where a number of copper-plates are connected with each other through copper rings, so that the plates can be folded in a leporello fashion. The letters are punched out with a pointed instrument.

Ten years ago the first such text was found and published with a rudimentary reading of some letters on the top-most plate by Nasim Khan (2002), later presented with all its plates (Falk 2010: 17, fig. 11), for the major part illegible and therefore still without a reading. According to reliable information that set was found inside a stūpa at Rani Dab in the Orakzai Agency, ca. 40 km south-west of Peshawar. A second set (Falk 2010: fig. 12), to be published here, is said to come from roughly the same area. It consists of five plates measuring 11.5 × 18.1 cm, each one now around 4 mm thick, including the oxidation crust and the convex dots on the backside arising from the punches. The plates were found together with a simple lidded reliquary box in schist (fig. 1) which contained on a layer of coarse burned material a silver box. Inside of this was a golden box which held some items which on fig. 2 look like burned clay pebbles.

Only the first plate had reached me in a legible form and was published in Falk 2010: 18f. Later, the owner invited me to see all of the plates in Pakistan and we met in Rawalpindi in October 2012, where enough close-up pictures could be taken to enable a reading of almost all letters on all plates. Nonetheless, some letters cannot be properly made out, partly because someone had dusted all plates with magnesium powder. To escape the magnesium all plates were also photographed from their backside and the electronic pictures inverted mirrorwise and compared with the front-side.

The text presents Buddhist thoughts of a somewhat Mahāyānistic nature not yet encountered on reliquaries with such clarity and it presents a great number of people who are hitherto unknown. The result presented below is the complete text in a form which

appears reliable although some letters are not very clear. The illustrations (pls. x-xxx) present one picture of each plate, either the front-side as is or the backside mirror-inverted, together with an attempt at tracing every single dot visible on at least one of the photographs. Below those pictures the running text is given as it appears in every line, with word breaks added for easier understanding.

The plates are dated to 74 CE, provided the beginning of the Azes era in 48/47 BCE (Falk & Bennett 2009) is accepted, or to 64 CE, if the Azes era is taken in the traditional way to be identical with *vikrama samvat*, starting in 57/56 BCE. Both views go well with the coins of Kujula found by the side of a reliquary of the same design, showing the same decoration on the cylindrical handle and coming from a site near Jalalabad on the western side of the mountain range (Zwalf 1996 no. 647).

Despite its origin in the second half of the first century CE the text is quite explicitly referring to so-called Mahāyānistic ideas, exposing clearly the importance of Maitreya.

The text of the first page is given here in a slightly different form from its first publication in Falk 2010, due to better readings being made possible by also referring to the dots from the backside.

As in other editions I use square brackets “[–]” for partly preserved letters, whose nature can reasonably be made out, “..” for traces of letters of no apparent nature, round brackets “(–)” for letters having disappeared or become invisible, mostly because of heavy oxidation, and angular brackets “⟨–⟩” for letters expectable, but left unwritten by negligence, oversight, or because of other reasons. In brackets the plate and line number is given before the text they contain, e.g. “(3-5:)” says that the following text is found on the third plate in the fifth line, which can be inspected in the respective illustration.

I follow the lead of O. von Hinüber (2003) who for his edition of the Senavarma gold foil supplemented the Gāndhārī text with its equivalent in Sanskrit, a method which in many cases shows without much circumstance how the phrases in the local language are understood. In contrast to standard Sanskrit orthography, vowel *sandhi* is not applied, to facilitate comparison, whereas hypens are used to split compounds.

The text is divided by titles which show its structure according to its contents. Most of the parts so discernible are also found in other texts.

1. The date

(1-1:) **maharajasa mahatasa ayasa vurtakalasa varṣay[e] ekaviṣātiśadamaye 1-100-20-1 gu(1-2:)rpieasa masasa diasammi tridaśamami 10-3 utarehi proṭhavadehi ṅakṣetrami**

[*mahārājasya mahato ayasya vṛttakālasya varṣe ekaviṁśatisatame 121 gurpiyasya māśasya divase tridaśame 13 uttaraiḥ proṣṭapadair nakṣatre*]

“In the year 121 of the Mahārāja Azes the Great, whose time has (long ago) expired, on the thirteenth, 13, day of month Gorpiaios, when (the moon stood) in the moon-house of the Uttarapṛṣṭapadas”

vurtakala: Skt *vṛttakāla*, as seen by Fussman (1993: 36), which is contrasted by the “running time” (*vartamānakāla*) of the presence. The Nāṭyaśāstra (22,63-66) distinguishes between present (*vartamāna*, *pratyakṣa*), future (*bhaviṣyatkāla*) and time gone by (*vṛttakāla*). A phonetical derivation from *pūrva* or *pūrta* is impossible, because initial *p* never turns to *v* and because a pre-consonantal *r* usually undergoes metathesis, as in *pruva*.

gurpiea: month Gorpaios of the Macedonian calendar, introduced with the troops of Alexander. The reading *gurpieya* in Falk 2010 was misread, due to the amount of white powder at this place. It seems that originally a squarish *śa*-like sign was outlined, probably copied from a sloppily written *ya*. This was then overwritten with a narrower instrument with a letter resembling an *a*. So, probably an original but miswritten *gurpieya* was changed into a *gurpiea*. On the “Traṣaka” reliquary (Fussman 1985) the month is spelled *gurpiya*, at Mathura (Deb 1932) we find *gurppia* in Brāhmī and at Dasht-e Nawur (Fussman 1974) ΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΥ, where the Kharoṣṭhī starts with *g-piu* or *g-pia*.

utarahi proṭhavadahi: On this form which replaces the more common *uttarabhadrapada* cf. Falk 2010: 18. The form met with here also appears throughout in the Nakṣatrakalpa of the Atharvaveda Prāyaścittāni, a text dating as well into the early centuries of the Common Era.

nakṣetra: For the “intrusive” *-e* cf. *nekṣetreṇa* on the Rāmaka-slab (Fussman 1980: 11f.).

2. The donor

(1-3:) **īśa kṣuṇami helaūte demetriaputre arivagi pratiṭhaveti**

[*asmin kṣaṇe helagupto demetriya-putro arivargī pratiṣṭhāpayati*]

“at this said point in time Helagupta, son of Demetrios, the caravan guide, has founded ...”

helaūta: The etymology is not impeccably determinable. I had earlier proposed to consider *bhelagupta*, or an adaptation from Greek *helios*. A purely Indic **aila-gupta*, “protected by Mars”, seems possible too.¹ The Rājatarāṅginī knows one Helācakra and a Helārāja, but “wanton sport” can hardly be compounded with *gupta*.

demetria: This local adaptation of the Greek Demetrios seems to reflect the particular stratum of society, with Greek and Macedonian elements still discernible. After the first century CE such names went out of use.

arivagi: Sanskrit knows the term *arivarga*, being a “group of enemies” e.g. in the Viṣṇupurāṇa 1.19,29. In a completely different sense it appears in alchemy where it is used as an adjective for substances creating a fusion of two elements which would otherwise not combine. Many texts say that *arivarga* has to be thrown into the crucible where it unites the two elements after being blown at.² The Rasaratnākara uses pounded

¹ For initial aspiration cf. *hidriyaṇa* (*indriyāṇām*) and *hiḍam* (*idam*) in Glass 2007: 137, lines 27, 34; for “emphatic” *h-* mainly before *i-* and *e-* cf. von Hinüber 2001: 148 § 166.

² Anandakhanda *Rasavādagranthaḥ* 1.4,212 *dvayaṃ samaṃ tayaḥ tulyaṃ arivargaṃ vinikṣipet, dvandva-melanamūṣyāyāṃ dhamanān melanaṃ bhavet*.

mica (*vyoman*) for this purpose.³ The Mugdhāvabodhinī on the Rasahṛdayatantra shows that the term is not restricted to just one substance, instead, all elements have a mediating nature (*arivargatvaṃ*), so that even precious substances merge with lower ones.⁴ Conversely, copper “killed” with *arivarga* and then merged with silver produces gold according to the same Mugdhāvabodhinī.⁵

With “mediating” as a likely sense for *arivarga* we can turn to our *arivagi*, who as a professional must be compared to the *arivaga*, who is found with a definite function in the Niya documents. Borrows (1937: 76f. s.v. *arivaḡa*) defines him as follows:

“Probably means ‘guide’. The *arivaḡa* is frequently mentioned as conducting envoys to Khotan: I 35 *avi arivaḡa maṃmuśa āthovaḡa I dadavo yasya anupurvena gaṃdavo siyati etaśa arivagaśa tanu storena gaṃdavo* ‘Also a capable *arivaḡa*-man is to be given (to the envoys) who shall go in front of them. This *arivaḡa* must go on his own beast.’ Similarly 22,253. The office was hereditary: 438 *Bhimaśena viṃṇāveti, eśa pitara pita uvadae na arivaḡa asti* ‘Khotamni mata na anada janati, *arivaḡa na kartavo* ‘Bh. informs (us): he is not an *arivaḡa* from his father and ancestors, he does not properly know the Khotan *mata*, you make him an *arivaḡa*, he is not to be made an *arivaḡa*’. *mata* unfortunately is obscure. Skt. *mata-* does not seem to give any good sense.’ Similarly in 10 a man complains that his paternal profession is *klaseṃci* not *arivaḡa*. Etymology uncertain. Prof. Thomas suggests Skt. *arpaka-*, i.e. through **aripaka-* with svarabhakti.”

Once we expect not only a “guide” but also a “mediator” we come close to the verbal meaning of Gāndhārī *arivagi*, Skt **arivargin*, being an *in-*derivative from the root *vṛj*, as *yogin* from *yuj*, with the meaning “someone who keeps away, diverts, withholds” with *ari* as the object of the action. An *arivargin* keeps inimical elements apart, probably through mediation and by paying a transit fee. As such it pays to know the “intention, design, purpose” of the potential waylayers, so that *mata* in the Niya document does not appear “obscure” any more.

3. The object of the installation

bhagavado rahado saṃ(1-4):masabudhasa sugado logapida aṇutaro puruṣadhama-sarasiṇa śasta devamaṇuśaṇa śa(1-5):kamuṇ[i]sa dhadue

[*bhagavato arhataḥ samyak-sambuddhasya sugataḥ loka-pitā anuttaraḥ puruṣa-dharma-sārathinaḥ śāstā deva-manuṣyānām śākya-muneḥ dhātuḥ*]

“the element⁶ of the Lord, the arhat, the truly completely awakened, who went well, the father of the world, the highest, the leader of the dharma of men, the teacher of gods and

³ Rasaratnākara 3.13,81f: *vyomasatvasya cūrṇaṃ tu yat kiṃcid dhātucūrṇakam, dvandvamelāpalīptāyāṃ mūśāyāṃ tadvayāṃ samam, dhātāvyaṃ arivargeṇa kṣipte milati tatkṣaṇam.*

⁴ Mugdhāvabodhinī 1.12-13:4 : *dhātūnām arivargatvān mahārasoparasānām api yogam . . .*

⁵ Mugdhāvabodhinī 18.21:2: *aṣṭaguṇaṃ mṛtaśulbaṃ arivargeṇa saha hatam yat śulbam tāmraṃ tataḥ kaladhautena . . . tāraṃ vidhyati kanakaṃ karotīty arthaḥ.*

⁶ Although often translated with “relics”, the term is so frequently used in Sanskrit for very different items, which all are indivisible “elements”, that the same idea must also be expected here, as was seen long ago and adopted by Edgerton for his BHS dictionary. An “element” (*dhātu*) is the basis for further development, be it material or spiritual, while bodily ashes (*śarīra*) just exit. Cf. § 23 below.

men, the Śākyamuni”

The sequence of epithets follows the well-known *iti-pi-so* formula. The change from the nominatives of the formula to the genitives here was only partially performed.

4. Location and beneficiary

taṇuakami thubumi aīriaṇa dhamaūtakāṇa śamaṇaṇa parigra(1-6:)hami

[*svake stūpe ācāryānām dharmaguptakānām śramaṇānām parigrahe*]

“in his own stūpa, into the acceptance of the teachers, (and) of the monks, of the Dharma-guptaka (school),”

5. Own benefits

apaṇasa hidasuhadaye

[*ātmano hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for his own well-being and happiness”

hidasuhadaye: This term occurs many times more below; it always refers to living persons.

nivaṇasabharadae

[*nirvāṇa-sambhāratāyai*]

“for the preparation of the nirvāṇa,”

metreasamosaṇadae

[*maitreya-samavadhānatāyai*]

“for a meeting with Maitreya,”

metrea-: The person to be met usually occurs in the genitive, so that a haplographical shortening of an intended *metreasa samosaṇadae* is most likely, as below in § 6.

samosaṇa: A perfect parallel is found in the Gaṇḍavyūha (377: 54:16) *maitreyasya bodhisattvasya samavadhānam ākāṅkṣamāṇaḥ*; a transitional form *samodhāna* is written on a sherd from Termez (Fussman 2011,I: 119; II: 218 no. 48FT).⁷

6. Benefits for those suffering from small-pox

śitala(2-1:)kasa vadhita-pariḥhadae

[*śitalakasya vyādhitva-pariṣṭhātāyai*]

“for succour for the one afflicted by the small-pox,”

This is a difficult passage. Some letters are not very distinct and *vadhita* can also be read as *badhita*, which would reflect Skt *bādhita*, “oppressed”. The three first letters of *śitala* are the last on the first plate, they are over-crusted and in addition disturbed by the white powder. The first letter *śi* looks perfect if one ignores the two dots above its left shoulder.

⁷ Fussman is hesitant to read a long *-ā*, but the stroke is certainly there. The text can be emended to *sadhaṃ samodhānaya d(āṇaṃ)*, “including the boon of a meeting”, quite parallel to our text.

Taking those dots seriously would lead to a reading *co* which makes little sense. The second short letter looks like *ta* and the last one could be *la* or *mu*, depending on how one interprets the spots in the lower half. A *śitala-ka* should be a person suffering from small-pox, *śitalā*.

vadhita: Cf. the Dharmapada of the Split Collection, verse 3,5, where we read *vaśido* for Skt *vyādhita*.

pariḥhata: Our text presents an abstract noun in *-tā*, so common in Buddhist phraseology. In Skt it would be **pariṣṭhatā*. The common meaning for *pariṣṭhā* is “obstructing, hindering”, which goes well with any plague or epidemic.

The main problem is *vadhita*: is it the sick person, Skt *vyādhita*? Then how is the genitive *śitalakasya* connected? Should we take it as an apposition to **vyādhitasya*, dissolved from the compound *śitalaka-vyādhita-pariṣṭhātāyai*? Such constructions are untypical for Gāndhārī. Or is *vādhita* Skt *vyādhitvaṃ*, a neuter abstract noun identical in meaning with *vyādhi*, “sickness”?

At least the general sense seems to be obvious.

bhagavado rahado saṃmasamb(u)dhasa metreasa saṃmosa[ṇa](e) (2-2:) tatra pariṇivayaṇae

[*bhagavato arahataḥ samyaksambuddhasya maitreyasya samavadhānāya, tatra parinirvāyaṇāya*]

“for a meeting with the Lord, the arhat, the completely awakened Maitreya, for a complete extinction there.”

I take this sentence not as referring to the donor, who has uttered a wish in this direction already above in § 5, but to those suffering from the sickness just addressed.

saṃmosa[ṇa](e): The clerk first incised *saṃmosama* in a dittographic way looking at the first *sa* for the letter following the second *sa*. He then added a vertical line below the second *ma* to change it into a *ṇa*. For the underdotted first *ma* cf. § 21 on the paleography.

pariṇivayaṇae: cf. Pali *pariṇibbāyana*.

The sequence *bhagavān, arhat, samyaksambuddha* is standard, but Maitreya’s name is never added to this list, although as a *bodhisattva* his *buddha*-hood is just a matter of time. Responsible also for those suffering from sicknesses he must have been regarded as equal to the Buddha by them. This attitude is also visible when Maitreya is called a Buddha on the copper coins of Kaniṣka (Cribb 1999/2000: 152a) where we read ΜΗΤΡΑΓΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ, /mētrag bud/, “*maitraka buddha*”.

7. Benefits for the deceased relatives

pidu demetriasa arivagisa adhvatidakalagadasa p(u)yae

[*pidor demetriyasya arivargino abhyatita-kālagatasya pūjāyai*]

“For the veneration of (my) father Demetrios, the caravan guide, whose time had expired”

arivagisa: For the hereditary function as a mediating guide see above Burrow’s quotation from a Niya document under § 2.

adhvatida: on its relation to Skt *abhyatīta* cf. now Strauch 2013: 209-212.

puyae: It seems that *hitasukha* always refers to the living, and *puyae* in all variations to those deceased or standing on a level with gods and others in yonder worlds.

(2-3:) **mada sudaśaṇae adhvaticakalagadae puyae**

[*mātuḥ sudarśanāyāḥ abhyatīta-kālagatāyāḥ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of (my) mother Sudarśanā, whose time had expired”

bharyae sumagasae adhvaticakalagada(2-4:)e puyae

[*bhāryāyāḥ sumagadhāyāḥ adhyatīta-kālagatāyāyāḥ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of (my) wife Sumagadhā, whose time had expired”

sumagasa: in the Divyāvadāna the famous donor Anāthapiṇḍada has a daughter called Sumagadhā.

8. Benefits for the living relatives

bhaṭarakasa yodavharṇaputrāsa tīrasa kṣatrapasa hidasuhadaye

[*bhaṭṭārakasya yodavharṇa-putrasya tīrasya kṣatrapasya hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of the *kṣatrapa* Tīra, son of the Bhaṭṭāraka Yodavharṇa”

yodavharṇa: Names ending in *vharna* are frequent amongst *kṣatrapas* of various extraction. The first element *yoda* is found as *yola* in the names of the Pārata kings Yolamira, Yolatakhma and Dattayola (Tandon 2009), Miriyola on a seal (Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 175 no. 16.01.49) and in the hybrid form Yoleśvara on a finger-ring (Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 173 no. 16.01.40). The name Yodavharṇa is also found in the first line of the first-known copper-plates from Orakzai, which says, after half a line of corroded copper: ... *saka-kṣatrapasa yodavharṇasa mahipitu sevae*. At least the name can be clearly read and a reading *mahakṣatrapasa* is ruled out. If both Yodavharṇas are identical, then his son *bhaṭaraka* Tīra was only *kṣatrapa* when the first set of plates was inscribed and thus our present set of plates should be younger.

tira: Another name with an Iranian background. A *kṣatrapa tiravharṇa* is found on the huge slab from south of Jalalabad, still in the Kabul Museum (Davary 1981), dated year 83, probably Azes, so 35/36 CE.

khaṃdilasa gvara(2-5:)zasa ca kṣatrapaputraṇa guśuraṇa hidasuhadaye

[*skandilasya gvarazasya ca kṣatrapa-putrāṇāṃ guśurāṇāṃ hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of Skandila (and) Wirāz, the sons of the *kṣatrapa*, the princes”

khaṃdila: Although *ska* could be expressed in Gāndhārī we find here the standard Prakrit form. Indian and Iranian names are used *promiscue* in *kṣatrapa* families; the Pāratarājas have Bhīmārjuna and plain Arjuna in between their Iranian names (Tandon 2009). Possibly, the preference depended on the cultural background of the diverse

mothers.

gvaraza: This is reminiscent of the New Persian name Gurāz, well-known in its Middle Persian form Wirāz, found also in the Bactrian compound ουραζο-φινζο (Sims-Williams 2010: 109 no. 346). The development of initial *wi-* to *gu-* is also found in the following **gušura:** OIr *višpuhr*; “son of a good family” (Falk 2004: 149f.). An alternative etymology of *gvaraza*, which is easier brought in line with the vocalism of *gua* is Middle Persian Warāza, “boar”, found in Bactrian names as οοραζο in numerous cases (Sims-Williams 2010: 100f. nos. 107-114; 111 no. 356).

putraṇa taṇuakaṇa adurasa arazadasa adra(2-6:)mitrasa adravharṇasa demetriasa mahasaṃmadasa ca hidasuhadaye

[*putrāṇām ātmīyānām adurasya ara-zandasya adra-mitrasya adra-vharṇasya demetriasya mahā-sammataṣya ca hita-sukhatāyāi*]

“for the well-being and happiness of (my) own sons, Adura, Arazanda, Adramitra, Adravharna, Demetrios and Mahāsammata.”

adura: No Sanskritic cognate imposes itself and it seems that it rather goes with the following names *adramitra* and *adravharṇa* and may be linked to OIr *ātar*, MĪr *ādur* “fire”. For Bactria, Sims-Williams (2010: 31 no. 10) lists αδοριγο, as a personal name otherwise only attested in Armenian Atrik.

arazada: This name is also found on a seal from Taxila (Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 192 no. TM 15.01.02) reading *arazaṃdasa* showing a “Buddhist” *namo*-symbol. Because of the clearly written nasal, MĪr *zād*, “son, born” is less close than MĪr *zantu*, “clan”, as found in *zandbed*, (Sundermann 1979: 784), also found as a personal name written *zadapati* in Kharoṣṭhī on a seal (Nasim Khan 2007: 137f., read as *jhamdaptuti*). On **zantu* “clan” in Bactrian names cf. s.v. ζινδοκο, ζανδοκο in Sims-Williams 2010: 64 no. 156. On *ara* little can be said although it occurs also on a broken quartz seal reading *arami* in Kharoṣṭhī on the preserved side, and possibly *trasa* on the other (Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 81 no. 06.05.11). In Brāhmī one metal seal belonged to Ara (*śrī-r-arasya*, Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 170 no. 16.01.22). In the context of names implying “fire” it is possible that *ara-* stands for Middle Iranian **ā(h)r-* ← Old Iranian **āθr-*, the weak stem of *ātar-*. Whatever the final explanation will be, the name is certainly rather Iranian than Indian.

adra-: In *adramitra* as in *adravharṇa* not a trace of an *i*-stroke comes with the first letter, so that an explanation as *indramitra* and *indravarṇa* are excluded. In addition the first five names all begin with *a-*, obviously in a systematic way. A further Iranian explanation is self-evident, so that *adra* again should be connected with OIr *ātar*, MĪr *ādur*. The case of *adramitra* is supported by the Middle Persian name *ādurmihr* (Gignoux 1986: 37 no. 68), while *adravharṇa* has cognates in other Iranian languages, as Bactrian αδοροφαρνο and Middle Persian *ādurfarn* (Sims-Williams 2010: 11 no. 11). An Indian explanation as derived from the nakṣatra *ārdrā* is very unlikely, as this nakṣatra has a negative value and is never used for names.

Again it becomes apparent that the linguistic background of a name does not allow

to define the ethnic background of the family. We have Iranian names (*adura*, *arazada*, *adramitra*, *adravharṇa*), all linked to one or the other form of OIr *ātar*, “fire”. We have one Greek name Demetrios, and one purely Indic name Mahāsaṃmata. If the succession of names mirrors the succession of births, then we can deduce that the first born all have Iranian names, while the “foreign” languages come last.

dhidarāṇa kaśīae supraü[da](3-1:)e sudayaṇae suprañae ya hidasuhadaye

[*duhitṛṇām kāśīkāyāḥ supraguptāyāḥ sudarśanāyāḥ suprajñāyāḥ hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of (my) daughters Kāśīkā, Supraguptā, Sudarśanā und Suprajñā.”

supraü[da]: Some surface metal has flaked off at the lower part of the *da*, but cf. *śrīpragupta* on a seal with a Hunnic appeal (Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 51 no. 02.02.11).

sudayaṇae: The *ya* is pointed and clearly different from the standard form of the *śa*, but copying errors are not infrequent here and thus a reading *sudaśaṇae* is very likely, equal to the common Sanskrit name Sudarśanā. If this is correct, the daughter’s name is the same as the grandmother’s.

All daughters’ names are Sanskritic, certainly on purpose.

9. Benefits for important living people

mahatavasa mahamitraputrasa razipatisa hida(3-2:)suhadaye

[*mahātāpasya mahāmitra-putrasya razipater hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of Mahātapa, the *razipati*, son of Mahāmitra,”

mahamitra: A man of this name occurs on the undated Buddhapriya bowl (Salomon 2000: 60), where he has a son called Mahila, which could be hypocoristic for Mahātapa, so that an identity is at least possible. That bowl was donated into a stūpa of Mahila at a place called Ṇabiṇaga in an area called Vajrakuḍa, possibly modern Bajaur, about 100 km to the north of where our set was found, a fact which does not diminish the possibility but does not increase it either.

razipati: “there is an Iranian *raz* ‘vine, vineyard’ (Parth., MPers., NPers.), so one might think of the “overseer of a vineyard”. On the basis of the vocalism of Bact. ροζγο “vineyard” I thought of reconstructing Old Iranian **razu-(ka-)* rather than **raza-* or **razi-*, but one cannot really be sure to which declension this word belonged” (Sims-Williams, private communication).

mahamitrassa madaṇasa ca mahatavaputraṇa hidasuhadaye

[*mahāmitrasya madanasya ca mahātapa-putrāṇām hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of Mahāmitra und Madana, the sons of Mahātapa,”

10. Benefits for less important relatives

śpasa-ramadatae hidasuha(3-3:)daye

[*śvasṛ-rāmadattāyāḥ hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of (my) sister Rāmadattā,”

ramadata: A seal reading *ramadatae* from Gandhāra or its surrounding areas is published as no. 07.07.07 in Aman ur Rahman & Falk 2011: 110.

bhradajaṇapitriaputraṇa madaśpasuputraṇa maūlaputraṇa piduśpasuputraṇa añña ca mi(3-4:)trañdiasalohidaṇa ye ca śhatitaṇa hidasuhadaye

[*bhrāṭṛ-jana-pitrya-putrāṇāṃ māṭṛ-śvasṛ-putrāṇāṃ mātula-putrāṇāṃ pitṛ-śvasṛ-putrā-ṇāṃ anyānāṃ ca mitra-jñātika-salohitāṇāṃ ye ca tiṣṭhatāṃ hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of the folks of (my) brothers, the sons in the lineage of my father, the sons of the sisters of (my) mother, the sons of the eldest brother of (my) mother, the sons of the sisters of (my) father, and of other friends, relatives and blood-relatives, which are (still) alive,”

śhatitaṇa: probably a spelling mistake for intended *tiṣṭhatāṇa*, “existing, living”. On the Senavarma plate (von Hinüber 2003: 28, 8e) the mother Theuzandā (?) is described as *jivaputra tiṣṭhata*, “living, with living son(s)”.

ye daṇi adhvadidakalagada taṇa pu(3-5:)yae

[*ye idānim abhyatīta-kālagatā teṣāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of those (relatives) whose time had expired,”

aṇasatamo madamahayuo pidamahayao upadaye taṇa puya

[*anāthatamo mātāmaha-yugo pitāmaha-yugo upādāya teṣāṃ pūjāyai*]

“including the most helpless generation of the maternal grandfather (and) the paternal grandfather, for them veneration (as well).”

aṇasatamo: *anāthatama* is also found in the Jātakamālā 3,12.

taṇa: For *tānaṃ* as a pl. gen. pronoun in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit cf. Edgerton BHS *Grammar* p. 116.

puya: Most likely this is defective writing of the standard *puyae*. In case the nominative was intended a *bhavatu* needs to be supplied.

11. Benefits for future buddhas

rahada puyae

[*arhatāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of the arhats,”

sarva(3-6:)budhaṇa puyae

[*sarva-buddhānāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of all the buddhas,”

sarvapraceasambudhaṇa puyae

[*sarva-pratyekasambuddhānāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of all the pratyekasambuddhas,”

12. Benefits for those making efforts

rahatāṇa puyae

[*arhatāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of the arhats,”

rahatāṇa: The arhats are already named in the cluster before; possibly *śrāvakas* or *śramaṇas* should have found their place here, as on the Loṇā reliquary (Salomon 1995: 27), where after all the *pratyekabuddhas* follow *bhagavato śavaka*. “the disciples of the Lord”.

śekhāṇa puyae

[*śaikṣānāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of those learning,”

13. Benefits for semi-divine and divine beings

caduṇa (4-1:) yaharajaṇa saporivarāṇa puyae

[*caturṇāṃ mahārājānāṃ saporivārāṇāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of the four *mahārājas* and their entourage,”

yaharajaṇa: the first letter certainly is not a *ma*, as was to be expected. The *ya* must be regarded as a clerical mistake. The four *mahārājas* are also evoked in the Senavarma text (von Hinüber 2003: 34, 10c) and on the Loṇā reliquary (Salomon 1995: 27) and usually preside over the four directions.

aṭhaviśatiṇa yakṣe-seṇapatiṇa puyae

[*aṣṭaviṃśatīnāṃ yakṣa-senāpatīnāṃ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of the twentyeight generals of the Yakṣas,”

yakṣe-: The *e*-stroke is clear and here unjustified as twice in *nekṣetreṇa* on the Rāmaka-slab (Fussman 1980: 11f.), one of the many cases where parts of an *akṣara* “move upwards” in the text because the eye is already inspecting the next letter(s) in the exemplar while the hand(s) are still busy writing or chiseling the previous one.

The 28 *yakṣa-senāpatīs* may originally have guarded the 28 moon-houses; they are twelve in the Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhārājasūtra (ed. Vaidya p. 172), another number usually symbolizing time. In the Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī (ed. Shūyo Takubo p. 24f.) they guard the directions (4×4), the intermediate directions (4), the earth (4) and the sky (4). As 28 they also occur on the Senavarma plate (von Hinüber 2003: 34, 10c).

bramasa (4-2:) sahapatīsa puyae

[*brahmaṇaḥ sahāmpatīnaḥ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of Brahman Sahāmpatī,”

sahapatīsa: The nasal of the regular *sahāmpati* is not expressed, unlike on the Senavarma plate (von Hinüber 2003: 34, 10c), whereas the Loṇā reliquary (Salomon 1995: 27) too comes without it.

śakrasa devaṇa imḍrasa puyae

[*śakrasya devānām indrasya pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of Śakra, the king of the gods,”

Cf. the Senavarma plate (von Hinüber 2003: 34, 10c) and the Loṇā reliquary (Salomon 1995: 27).

haridi-saparivarae puyae

[*hāritīsaparivārāyāḥ pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of Hāritī with her entourage,”

Usually Hāritī makes a pair with the 28 *mahāyakṣasenāpatīs*, as she is the consort of their chief called Pāñcika. Her entourage consists of the 500 children she bore of him (Mahāmāyūrī ed. Takubo p. 57 *pañcaputraśataparivārāyā*). On the Senavarma plate she follows the *yakṣasenāpatīs* immediately (von Hinüber 2003: 34, 10c), here she is separated from them, on the Loṇā reliquary she is left out.

14. Benefits for remaining beings

dasa-(4-3)-kramakaraporuṣaṇa puyae

[*dāsa-karmakāra-puruṣāṇām pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of (my) slaves, workmen and servants”

sarvasatvaṇa puyae

[*sarva-satvānām pūjāyai*]

“for the veneration of all beings,”

sarvapaṇiṇa hidasuhadaye

[*sarva-prāṇinām hita-sukhatāyai*]

“for the well-being and happiness of everything animate.”

15. Brāhmaṇ puṇyam

vutaṃ (4-4): ca bhagavadarahasamasabudheṇa

[*uktaṃ ca bhagavad-arhat-samyaksambuddheṇa*]

“And it is said by the Lord, the arhat, the samyaksambuddha:”

ye apratiṣṭhavidapr(u)vaṃmi paḍhavipradeśami bhaga(4-5:)vado dhaduthuvo pratiṣṭhavyeti

[*yaḥ apratiṣṭhāpita-pūrve pṛthivī-pradeśe bhagavato dhātu-stūpam pratiṣṭhāpayati*]

“Who, on a piece of land, on which nothing was established before, has an element-

stūpa of the Lord established”

dhaduthuvo: the *vo* looks like a *lo* in other clerical hands.

bramo puño pratiṭhavidō ti

[*brāhmyam puṇyam pratiṣṭhāpitam iti*]

“he (scil. *tena*) has (also) *brāhmaṃ puṇyam* established’.”

bramo puño: A similar idea is expressed on the so-called Indravarma casket: *indravarme ... ime bhagavato śakyamoṇisa śarira pradīṭhaveti dhīae gabhīrae apradīṭhavita-pr[u]ve prateśe bramo puño prasavati*, “Indravarma ... has the relics of the Lord, of the Śākyamuni installed in a strong (?) and impenetrable place, where nothing was installed before, (and) produces (thereby) *brāhmaṃ puṇyam*”. Some editions and copies read *bramma puño*, but an inspection of the original,⁸ and our new text do not support the assumption of such a unique spelling. The Loṇā reliquary reads *braṃa sahapati*, where the rare over-barred *ma* could stand for /m̄/ or for /mh/.

A few texts tell us what it means to produce *brāhmaṃ puṇyam*: *kalpaṃ svargeṣu modate* (Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, *Saṅghabhedavastu* II: 207), after death “he enjoys the heavens for the length of a *kalpa*”. According to the *Pratītyasamutpādamahāyānasūtra* (ed. Vaidya, p. 119) such a person enters the *brahmaloka* after death, and when he has to leave that he will join the community of the gods (*devānāṃ sabhāgatā*).

16. The element of the Buddha is installed

[**ta**] + + + + [**me kuśalamule**](4-6:)ṇa śarirapradīṭhavaṇeṇa ca bhagavado dhadu p(r)atiṭhavidā

[*ta ... imena kuśala-mūlena śarīra-pratiṣṭhāpanena ca bhagavato dhātuḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ*]

“... through this root of bliss and through this installation of the (bodily) relics the (spiritual) element of the Lord is established.”

ta + + + + me: About four characters are completely untracable from both sides. It seems natural to emend *me* into (*i*)*me*[ṇa], but there is no space for the *ṇa* between *me* and *ku*, so that only (*i*)*me* for *imēna* can be assumed to have been written.

17. The donation of gold (for ritual maintenance)

he 1-1 teṇa demetriaputreṇa (5-1:) arivagiṇa apaṇasa hidasuhadaye

[*he⟨mau⟩ 2 demetriya-putreṇa arivarginā ātmano hita-sukhatāyāi*]

“(A donation of) two (pieces of) Go(ld was effected) by (Helagupta), the son of Demetrius, the caravan guide, for his own well-being and happiness.”

⁸ Thanks to the friendliness of John Guy I could inspect the casket at the Metropolitan and take a long series of close-ups which show a number of readings which are marginally or considerably different from those published. What is *dhīae* without any alternative has been read as *thīae* before, taken legally as *sthīta-* and translated as “safe” or similar. Only Fussman had doubts about the first letter (1980: 14, “forme inhabituelle”). Our *dhīa* can be *dhṛta*, without difficulties, but maybe also *dṛḍha* with a shift of the aspiration to the prior consonant, comparable to *bhosi* = *bodhi* or *avisabhujati* = *abhisambudhyate*.

he: Most likely short for *heman* or *hemaka*, “gold”. This interpretation was proposed by O. von Hinüber. There are some parallels which support it. First we have a line in the much younger copper-plate from the Kashmir Smats (Falk 2003a: 4f.), dated in the year 203 of the Gupta era, that is ca. 522 CE.⁹ A donation consists of five gold-pieces, the phrase is *akṣayaṅīyaṃ suvarṇā satera pañca svassa 5*, “as a permanent endowment five staters of gold, *svassa 5*”, where *svassa* can only be an abbreviation for *svarna* and *satera*. The “permanent endowment” would be handed over to merchants or artisans who have to pay interest on the value on a yearly basis. This interest is then to be used for the service of a certain deity in the case of the Kashmir Smats contract (Falk 2003a).

The so-called Indravarman casket inscription furnishes a further case. The text ends with a so far cryptic *vasia paṃcaśo*, where the last word denotes “twenty-five”, but what is *vasia*? Connections with *varṣa*, “year”, have been tested and put in question (Salomon 1996: 441f. fn. 59). Eternal endowments are often made for the ritual paraphernalia, particularly for lamps and incense. Fumigating the statues is very meritorious and indispensable. Fumigating is called *vāsa*, *vāsaka*, *vāsakā* and *vāsikā*, of which the latter fits perfectly to Gāndhārī *vasia*.

Comparing the numbers we have two gold-pieces on our plates, five golden staters on the single plate from the Kashmir Smats centuries later and, if the possibility is accepted, 25 pieces of an unnamed metal from the Indravarman casket. Considering that in Rome one *aureo* (ca. 8 gr. and less) was equal in value to 25 *denarii* of silver (ca. 3.8 gr. and less, together 95 gr.) and with 100 *sestertii* of together ca. 3000 gr., then a ratio of roughly 1:12:375 emerges. If the values of metals and the value of respectable donations were approximate then the 25 pieces given by Indravarman can only be of silver, being equal to 2 pieces of gold. Indravarman was donating in year Azes 63, that is 15/16 CE, a time when silver coinage in good quality was still current and gold currency wanting. Helagupta was donating in year Azes 121, ca. 73/74 CE, when silver coinage already had become so debased that it was valued not much higher than copper. He gave “gold” but the Kushan gold coinage of Vima Kadphises was not yet in circulation. Other gold is there, although scarce, the golden disk from Tillya Tepe, e.g., was interred around 40 CE and in Gandhāra proper the Tauros *cum* city deity of Puṣkalāvātī fits to a very late copper coin in the name of Azes “II” (Jenkins 1955: 4, “pl. I. 11”; Senior #120.10).

The chronology at least seems to show that the need of gold for investments was there before Vima Kadphises regulated the supply; and gold “pieces” need not be minted to serve that purpose. With 73/74 CE for our copper plate we are still in the time of Kujula Kadphises, and this leads us to a fourth case, the Senavarma gold foil. This text ends as well with a short phrase: *io ca suaṇe solite valieṇa markadaḍakaputreṇa gaha-*

⁹ For the edition (Falk 2003) I could not read the date properly from my pictures, as the plate was thickly covered with acrylic lac. Years later I saw it again in London, perfectly cleaned, but with the lower right corner missing. Reverting to an eye-copy in addition to pictures I read the last line as: *ta ka ta gu .. mā do .. je bhve de ku da ta sa 200 3 marga śa [ma] ///*. All letters are reasonably clear and the text shows only that the language is not Sanskrit as the first part is. The date “*sa 200 3*” Mārḡasīrṣa cannot be Kushan or *laukika* but must be Gupta because of the hundreds expressed. In 522 CE the huns of Toramāṇa and sons were still haunting the area, and it is quite likely that their idiom is rendered here.

patiṇā, “and this gold *solite* is (provided) by Valia, son of Markaḍaka, the landlord”. Again gold comes towards the end of the text, out of the blue. The time is still the one of Kujula Kadphises who is named as is his son Sadaṣkaṇa. In the time of Kujula there was no minted gold and still *solite* gold is donated. The term *solite* is enigmatic and I have proposed (Falk 2003b: 577) to see here a writer’s mistake known from other cases in the same text¹⁰ and elsewhere: *sa* is just a *ta* with a vertical below it, and sometimes this vertical is forgotten where it is needed and in other cases it is drawn where it does not belong. If we consider an intended *tolite*, then this is Skt *tulita* or *tolita*, “weighed”. The donor would then have endowed the monastery with “weighed gold”¹¹ from bullion or just any ornament, understandable when minted gold is not around.

saputrakasa sadhiduasa samitraṇadi / salohida / (5-2):sadasakramakaraporuṣasa hedasuhadaye

[*saputrakasya saduhitṛkasya samitra-jñāti-salohita-sadāsa-karmakāra-puruṣasya hita-sukhatāyai*]

“ for (his) well-being and happiness together with his sons, his daughters, his friends, relatives, blood-relatives, with his slaves, workmen and servants,”

/ **salohida** /: *salohita* is framed by a vertical line on both sides. This serves to prevent the reader from linking *sa-* of *salohita* with the preceding word to a genitive *samitraṇadisa*, which would leave a truncated *lohida*. The vertical line shows where the next term in the compound starts. The second vertical line shows where exactly this compound ends and thus makes *sadāsa*^o starting the next compound and keeps the reader from reading a genitive *salohitasa*. I know of no other separation by vertical lines of this sort anywhere in the Gāndhārī literature known so far. The *dvandva* consists of three parts, all starting with *sa-* and the genitive relation is expressed by *-sa* only at the end: *samitrajñadi-salohida-sadasakramakaraporusa-sa*. A similar compound is found in § 13 with *haridi-saparivarae*.

18. Consent for spiritual uplift

aṇomalekhadae ṇivaṇasaṃbharadae kṣipra / bhijñada(5-3):e ida moca

[*anūna-lekhatāyai nirvāṇa-saṃbhāratāyai kṣiprābhijñatāyai idam modyam*]

“For the complete manuscript(s), for the preparation of nirvāṇa, (and) for instant understanding this (undertaking) needs to be lauded.”

aṇomalekhadae: *aṇoma* is also found on the Senavarma plate followed by *aṇasia* ← *anadhika*, sentence 6b (von Hinüber 23f., 26), where it refers to the *dharma* which someone is to see “without something missing or in excess”. Here we have “manuscript(s)” which are ideal in their “non-deficient” state, manuscripts, we can add, which deal with the *dharma*.

¹⁰. Line 13 *siasi* for *siati*;

¹¹. Cf. *tulitaṃ suvarṇaṃ* twice in the Vikramacarita, ed. Edgerton, § 16, Story of the sixteenth statuette.

This sentence ends in a difficult way. First, the word-separation can be done in basically two ways, secondly, the two words could end this sentence or start the next one. The first impression leads to separating the relevant letters into *i damo ca*, expecting yet another virtue. But *dama* stands in the wrong case if “self-restraint” was thought to be an aim. And then what is *i*: This could be a pronoun, but the small evidence (Lenz 2010: 54 no. 138) is not convincing. Alternatively, it could be considered a form of *ca*, as it appears in an enclitic position if it was thought to link *kṣiprabhijñadae* with *ṇivanasambharadae*. Such an *i* (from *ca*→*ya*→*i*) is common in Khotan, but without clear counterpart in Gandhāra. The standard reference for a conjunctive *i*, the stone coffer of Priyayaśas (Fussman 1985b, Sadakata 2000), provides three *i*-s, but none is a copula.¹² So, either our *i* is singularly derived from *ca* by a person with a Khotanese linguistic background, or we need a different explanation which I derive from what follows, i.e. the praise of *anumodanam*, the consent which makes consenters have a share in the pious installation. Formally, *ida* poses no difficulties, presenting the pronoun *idaṃ* in the accusative, rather than an adverbial “now, thus” (cf. Salomon 2008: 235). This is followed by a gerund, **modyaṃ*→**mojaṃ*→*moca*. For the term we can compare *modyatama* in the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa (prose starting chapter 46), and for the change *dy*→*j*→*c* we have the similar *dy*→*j*→*y* in *veśaraya* ← *vaiśāradya* on the Senavarma plate, sentence 9e.

The vertical stroke after *kṣipra* is difficult to understand. Maybe it was part of a correction on the exemplar which was unsuspectingly copied on the sheet.

19. Benefits for all who consent

bhagavado vuto

[*bhagavatā uktaṃ*]

“The Lord said:”

If we take *moca* for an inflected gerund then its place must be in § 18. Only for the sake of completeness may we consider if it also could be an absolute *modya*, which then would have to start the present sentence, meaning “having lauded this (installation) the Lord said”. Semantically, both possibilities hold good, but formally we would rather expect an abs. **modita* here, or the *ya*-form with the standard verbal prefix: **anumoca*.

ye tatra anumodaṃti viavaca kareti ya

na teṣu dakṣiṇa oma te (5-4:) ve puṇasa bhaiṇa

[*ye tatra anumodanti vaiyāpṛtyaṃ kurvanti ca*,

¹² In line C11 (Fussman) = B II-1 (Sakadata) *i śarirauḍi pradethavida* (*iyam śarirakuṇḍim*; cf. *io śarirauḍi* in the Rāmaka reliquary [Fussman 1980: 5] both cases read and interpreted differently before) it is clearly a pronoun. Line A5 = E I-5 ends the date formula with *yauasa rajami*, “when the Yabgu was ruling”; follows an *i*-, which I connect not to A6 = E I-6, which adds people after all text was done and space exhausted, but to B8 = D IV 1-3 on the following side. I read including the *i*: *i-trevarṇa ayao puyae yena io vihare pradethavide*, “Indravharṇa, the descendent of Azes (?*āyaka) (is good) for veneration, by whom this monastery was established”. In line C14 = F II-4, in *i danamuhe* a pronoun is more likely than anything else. Instead of Indravharṇa, a miscopied Indrayarma is possible too and would in fact present a relative of Azes with a strong link to Buddhism. This leaves not a single *i*←*ca* on this object.

na teṣāṃ dakṣiṇāḥ avamāḥ te vai puṇyasya bhāgiṇaḥ]

“Those who consent in this respect and who fulfill their duties they will not be deficient in reward, they will partake in the *puṇya*.”

The Pali canon knows this stanza only in the Aṅguttaranikāya (AN III 41):

*ya tattha anumodanti veyyāvaccam karonti vā
ne tesam dakkhiṇā ūnā, te pi puññassa bhāgino.*

Otherwise it is also found in the Karmavibhaṅga, with a full reading in ms B:

*ye tatrābhyanumodante vaiyāvṛtyakarās ca ye,
anūnā dakṣiṇā teṣāṃ te 'pi puṇyasya bhāgiṇaḥ*

and reduced to two pādas a) and b) in ms A with the variant reading *vaiyāttañ ca kurvata* (cf. Kudo 2004: 256).

Without indicating a quotation a similar idea is expressed in the Senavarma inscription (von Hinüber 2003: 39, 13c-d) where it is said: *ye pana anumotiṣati teṣu ideham*¹³ *puñakriāe anubhvae sya(t→s)i*, “But those who will consent (to this installation/ donation), in them the very same fruition of a meritorious work shall be.”

oma: A prakritic form of *avama*, “low”, which is often used with the meaning of *ūna*, “deficient”.

20. The scribe

io ca citravide budhamitraputreṇa vasueṇa sarvabudhaṇa puya(5-5:)e sarvasatvaṇa hidasuhadae

[idaṃ ca citrāpitaṃ buddhamitra-putreṇa vasunā sarva-buddhānāṃ pūjāyai sarva-satvānāṃ hita-sukhatāyai]

“And this was delineated by Vasu, son of Buddhamitra, for the veneration of all Buddhas, for the well-being and happiness of all beings.”

citravide: In Skt the denominative **citrāpitaṃ*, “made as a painting”, is not found so far. Another unique term is used in the Senavarma inscription which divides the writing process into three stages: first *likhita* means the text was “written”, in the sense of “composed”. The actual writing down is then *karavita* “made to be done” probably including the costly provision of the gold foil. Finally the engraving should follow. Here a reading *ukede ya baṭesareṇa* (von Hinüber 2003: 40, 14a) is enigmatic, with *ukede* linked by Salomon (1986: 281) to *utkṛ* or *utkṛt*, of which at least the first¹⁴ can denote “to engrave”. This does indeed make perfect sense, we only have to see that the text does not read *ukede*, but *ukāde*, reflective of Skt **utkṛtaḥ*,¹⁵ with a common confusion of *kirati* and BHS

¹³ Read so far as *idei* and regarded as “ganz unklar” (von Hinüber 2003: 39). The last letter can be *i* or *haṃ*, and *ideham* could be Skt *īdṛśam*, with *ś*→*0* as in *takṣaila*, followed by a hiatus-bridging *0*→*h*. Cf. *tadiśa*, Skt *tādṛśa* in Senavarma 5d.

¹⁴ *Ut-kṛt* means “to carve out” a cave, at least *ukute* does so in Nasik, cave 24 (Senart 1905-06: 94).

¹⁵ The letter is not *ke*, but a *ka* with a slanting stroke arising from the downward pointing right arm. The same letter appears in the British Library *Anavataptagāthā*, where Salomon (2008: 282) explains the differences to the standard *ka*, reflective of Skt *ska*, and maintains that “no exact equivalent of it has yet

karati, possibly also influenced by the term *karana*, “scribe”, so that the past participle could be build as if from *kr*, comparable to *kata* in Aśokan, instead from *kṛ*, where *kīrṇa* was regular.

21. Notes on the palaeography

The script is almost without characteristic traits. Everything is as it should be in the first century, a prototype with no frills, no overbars, no fancy footmarks. In this clear and sober script *ya* is angular and *śa* shows a flat top, *ta* and *da* are nicely separated the Aśokan way, only */na/* and */ṇa/* are not distinguished and are both expressed by the hooked *ṇa*-form, with one telling exception: in the stanza from the Aṅguttaranikāya we find the dental */na/* expressed not by the hooked form but by a form starting with a half-circle (*na teṣu*), as if copied from a manuscript using a second form. Vowel-strokes are likewise without surprises. The *-e*-stroke sits on top of the letter, apart from initial *e*, *de*, and *he*, where it sits half-way up the vertical. *-i* in *ṇi* is a slating stroke to the left of the consonant, usually slightly touching or crossing it. The *-u* is expressed by an upward bend, not turned into a full circle.

Only two “modern” letters are used, first, the under-barred *ga*, used for simple intervocalic *ga*, commonly before *-a*. Only *arivagi* makes an exception, coming with plain *ga* on plate 1, line 3 (1-3), with one side-dot in 2-2, and fully under-barred *ga* in 5-1. The second is the under-barred *ṣa* in (1-4) *puruṣa*, a bar without an apparent raison d’être.

In short, there is no need for a comprehensive table of letters, since almost everything is according to the older tradition.

Unusual is just one form of a *vo* in (4-5) where the *-o*-stroke does not hang from the slanted top bar, but from the vertical, thus producing a form confoundable with a *lo*.

Most amazing is the underdotted *ma*, a form which otherwise occurs only on coins. It was introduced by the die-cutters of Eukratides in the 2nd century BCE, probably to mark the beginning of the legend with *maharajasa*, and was last used by Hermaios in Nangarhar, also by the posthumous coinage, but not on the early Kushan coppers from Bactria in his name. In our text, the dot occurs in 1-4 *dhama*; 1-4 *maṇuṣana* and 2-1 *saṃmasambudhasa*, too many be taken as accidental. There is almost one century between the last dots on coinage and our text, a fact with is hard to explain.

been found in any other Kharoṣṭhī document”. In the *Anavataptaḡāthā* the letter is found in what Salomon transcribes as *sakāro*, where Skt *satkāro* is expected (2008: 283). That means that the standard *kā* with its protrusion starting on or at the central vertical reflects Skt *skā* and that our letter on the Senavarma plate and in the *Anavataptaḡāthā* with its protrusion starting on the right arm reflects Skt *tka*. This simplifies understanding of what is written in the *Anavataptaḡāthā* and forces us to look for another transliteration for the “*tka*”, as *kā* is already relegated to a letter different in form and sound value. I propose to use *ḱā*, Unicode U+01E9.

4. The scribe:

Buddhamitra

↓

Vasu

In these two generations no system is discernible, both names are Indic.

If we compare the pedigree of the Apracarājas (Falk 1998: 107) we see that no acronymic name-giving is used there, but in several cases the nephew is named after the grandfather: we have a Vijayamitra in generation 3 and 5, and an Indravarman likewise in generation 3 and 5. In one case a child is named after the father, so that we have an Indrasena in generation 4 and 5. The Apracas also use endwords, like *-varma* through four generations (Viṣṇuvarma, Indravarma, Aśpavarma+Viśpavarma, Indravarma), a feature not used by the families found on the present copper-plates. A look at the Oḍirājas (von Hinüber 2003: 33) shows that there the endwords are dominant: through seven generations children's names end in *-sena*. This family seems to shrink back from directly naming nephews after their grandfathers. One partial similarity is given in Ajitasena → Varmasena → Ajitavarma, a mixture noted by Hilka (1910: 75) in other cases.

Although all families live not far apart from each other, their naming habits are either different or only partially akin.

23. Buddhist features

A crucial statement is found in a sentence in § 16: **imeṇa kuśalamūleṇa śarīrapradīḥavaṇeṇa ca bhagavado dhadu p(r)atiṭhavidā*. Here two terms are found, *śarīra* and *dhātu*, both being “established”, the second through the first, but still commonly assumed to mean “relics” on an equal footing. However, the result of the process, *dhātu*, is something higher, beyond materia.¹⁶ As an “element” it is furnished with qualities, in contrast to a *śarīra*, which just exists. The difference is particularly obvious in the Senavarma text where bodily remains (*śarīra*) once existed in a previous state of the stūpa (*āhuḥ*; 3b, *śarīra aho*). The term *dhātu* however is preceded by a long list of spiritual achievements in 5c and 7a, and in 7c both terms occur in a telling phrase very similar to the one found in § 16 above: *ime śarireṇa*¹⁷ *tadaḡada-prova-diśa-ṇivāṇa-dhātu gate*, “these (bodily) relics did (once) turn into the (spiritual) element of the *nirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata in the eastern region”. That means that the ashes used are believed to be part of those once gathered in the east, and they are more than mere ashes, but represent the “element” or the essence of the Śākyamuni's *nirvāṇa*. While sheltering such a *dhātu*, a stūpa becomes a *dhātustūpa* (4-5, *dhaduthuva*). This seems to be the earliest occurrence

¹⁶ As a counter-argument the stone slab showing an elephant could be cited, allegedly (Konow 1929: 49f. no. 16) reading *śastakhadhatu* (**śāstr-akṣa-dhātu*), “the collar-bone of the Lord”; however, it only reads *śasta khasatva*, “the teacher, the being in the ether”.

¹⁷ The sentence is difficult, although reading *provadiśa* (Skt *pūrvadiśa*) from the plate removes the main obstacle. *Ime* and *śarireṇa* do not go together and I read with the Indravarma casket *ime śarire*, taking the *-ṇa* as a reflex of *śarireṇa* in sentence 5e.

of the term which seems to put emphasis on the spiritual qualities the building hides and makes productive. The term could contrast with *śarīrastūpa*, which, however, is not found in reliquary texts. Later, both terms are common.

This productive “element” needs to be supported by rites which are based on paraphernalia like lamps and incense which must be bought if not furnished as presents. Therefore an “eternal” endowment is made by ceding a sum of money or a certain amount of precious metal. A comparison of some longer dedicatory texts showed that this habit of providing a monetary fund seems to be referred to in at least two Kharoṣṭhī texts from the first century (Indravarma, Senavarma), while the habit is spoken of in clear terms in a non-Buddhist text from Gandhāra from the sixth (Kashmir Smats).

The inclusion of the extended own family, the political ruler and the local vineyard supervisor shows that the foundation of a stūpa was an affair binding a lot of people emotionally to exactly this one stūpa. The monument thus is not only a general point for service and devotion for everybody, but it is an important site with private links to Maitreya through a written list of peoples known to be hidden inside the construction.

The presence of the Dharmaguptaka school is no surprise in this area immediately south of Peshawar, but unattested through documents so far. In the early first century they are found on the main road from lower Swat leading west, shortly before Bajaur (Falk 2013: 23). There are other epigraphs mentioning the Dharmaguptakas in Greater Gandhāra, particularly on water-pots, but those cannot be located.

What sort of Buddhism was taught in their monastery? This text from the first century certainly conveys ideas which are commonly subsumed under the title “Mahāyāna”. Maitreya obviously plays an important role and it is also remarkable that one word is completely missing from the text: it never uses the term *bodhisattva*. Maitreya appears as an alter ego of the Śākyamuni in a certain way: a meeting (*samavadhāna*) is expected, a procedure not fully analyzed so far. This meeting is hoped for by the donor himself (§ 5) and wished for for those who are possibly in great danger by a current epidemic of smallpox. They as well shall meet Maitreya and likewise gain *nirvāṇa* (§ 6). This is not the *śrāvaka* way of liberation. XuanZang in the 7th century counts the Dharmaguptakas amongst the Mahāyāna followers in the Swat valley (Beal 1884: 121).

If the idea of a *dhātustūpa* has its foundation in non-*śrāvaka* circles must remain open, but the wish for *aṅomalekhatā*, “the state of un-deficient manuscripts” or for “all manuscripts” or even “the state of indeficiency of this very writing (on copper)” is reminiscent of the heated debate on the question of whether there is a “cult of the book” at the basis of Mahāyāna. Since it has become an acclaimed sport to commonly chastise the inventor of this theory, I am happy to present here evidence which adds new flavor to it.

Plates of this sort can certainly throw light on the doctrinal as well as the social sides of Gandhāran Buddhism in the first century. We see what the donors thought important, what the laymen strove after. For them, the standard *nirvāṇa* is still the highest goal, but the path to get there leads not over *bodhi* and *arhattvam*, but over complete manuscripts or complete manuscript collections, and Maitreya.

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Observations on the Deorkothar Inscriptions and Their Significance for the Evaluation of Buddhist Historical Traditions

Richard SALOMON and Joseph MARINO

1. The Deorkothar inscriptions

In an important recent article in the previous issue of this journal, Oskar von Hinüber and Peter Skilling (von Hinüber and Skilling 2013, hereafter referred to as vH&S) published two fragmentary pillar inscriptions in Prakrit from the stūpa site of Deorkothar in the Tyonthar Tehsil of Rewa District of Madhya Pradesh.¹ As demonstrated in that article, these inscriptions have profound implications for our knowledge and understanding of early Indian Buddhism. They are among the earliest Buddhist inscriptions after those of Aśoka, dating from some time in or around the second century BCE, and present at least one, and apparently two lineages of the monastic donors which go back to the Buddha himself. The present article is intended as a supplement to von Hinüber and Skilling's learned article, proposing three further points regarding the interpretation of the inscription and their significance.

Both inscriptions record the erection and/or construction of a pillar² (*usapito thabho / thabho kārāpito*), apparently by members of the local Buddhist monastic community. Both are incomplete, with an undetermined amount of text lost from the right side of inscription 1 and from both sides of inscription 2, but since their contents and formulae are similar it is possible to reconstruct at least the overall gist, if not the actual text, of the missing portions of the one with the help of the other. Our readings, reconstructions, and translations of the two inscriptions, which for the most part differ from those of vH&S only in minor details, and are presented below.³

¹ The editions by vH&S supersede the preliminary ones by P.K. Mishra, which were described by vH&S (p. 14) as “provisional, but not entirely successful.” Inscription 1 was presented in Mishra (no date: [11]) with transcription and a loose paraphrase, and inscription 2 in Mishra 2001: [19] in transcription without translation. References to other publications on the Deorkothar site are provided in vH&S, p. 13, n. 1.

² It seems that the two inscriptions came from the same pillar. vH&S refer (p. 14) to “The inscriptions ... on fragments of a massive sandstone pillar,” and elsewhere (p. 18, n. 9) comment that “it is likely that all of the fragments are from one and the same pillar,” while Mishra (no date: [9]) refers to “over 20 fragments of this pillar.” Since the two inscriptions apparently record the construction and/or erection of pillar(s) by different persons, we might have expected them to have been on different pillars, but this seems not to have been the case.

³ In our edition, uncertain or incomplete akṣaras are indicated in square brackets in the transcription, while reconstructed akṣaras are put in parentheses and marked with an asterisk. Possible alternative

Inscription 1

Transcription:

1. *bhagavato b[ū[dh.s.]]]* ///
2. *utaramitro utaramitrasa [ā]]]* ///
3. *bhaḍu bhaḍusa ātevāsi nāṃdi [n.d.]]]* ///
4. *upasakasa ātevāsi savajayo sava]]* ///
5. *dhamadevena kokuḍikena bahūsūti[ye]]]* ///
6. *usapito thabo ācariyena kasi]]* ///

Reconstruction:

1. *bhagavato b[ūdh(*a)s(*a sakamunisa ātevāsi)]...*
2. *utaramitro utaramitrasa ā(*tevāsi)...*
3. *bhaḍu bhaḍusa ātevāsi nāṃdi n(*āṃ)d(*isa ātevāsi) ...*
4. *upasakasa ātevāsi savajayo sava(*jayasa ātevāsi⁴) ...*
5. *dhamadevena kokuḍikena bahūsūtiye(*na) ...*
6. *usapito thabho⁵ ācariyena kasi ...*

Translation:

[1] (*The student) of Lord Buddha (*Śākyamuni) [was] ... [2] Utaramitra. The student of Utaramitra [was] ... [3] Bhaḍu. The student of Bhaḍu [was] Nāṃdi. (*The student of) Nāṃdi [was] ... [4] The student of Upasaka [was] Savajayo. (*The student of) Savajaya ... [5] By Dhamadeva, the Kokuḍika-Bahusutiya ... [6] the pillar was erected. By the master Kasi...

Inscription 2: fragments 1 and 2⁶

Transcription:

1. */// [ā]tevāsi anūrudho anūrudhasa ātevāsi savanā[m]do sa[v.]]]* ///
2. */// [.ā]si disagiri disagirisa ātevāsi bharaṇo bha[r.]]]* ///
3. */// ātevāsi ṅātakadhamaguto ṅātakadhama[g.]]]* ///

readings for an incomplete letter (in fragment 4) are separated by a slash (/). The reader should note that our notation differs from that of vH&S, who use parentheses to mark incomplete akṣaras and square brackets for reconstructions.

⁴ If there was originally another name in the missing part of this line, this word would be *ātevāsi*, as given here. But if *savajaya* was the last name in the line, this word would be modifying *dhamadevena* in the following line, and therefore would have read *ātevāsina*. See section 4 below for discussion of the question of how many names are missing in this inscription.

⁵ In general, the words in both inscriptions are separated by small spaces, but here *usapito* and *thabho* are directly juxtaposed. The same seems to be the case with ... *[ch.]dakena thabho* in inscription 2, line 5. Perhaps these word pairs were perceived to be syntactically linked, but more likely the inconsistency is just a matter of informal scribal practice.

⁶ Line 6 of inscription 2 is on a separate fragment, labeled “fragment 2” by vH&S, which apparently can be connected with the bottom of the main part of the inscription (“fragment 1”) because the partial *i* vowel at the broken bottom edge of the main section lines up with the fragmentary consonant *p* at the top of fragment 2 (vH&S p. 19).

4. /// *sa ātevāsi dhamadino dhamadinasa [ā] ///*
5. /// [*ch.*] *dakena thabho kārāpito giṃjaki[y.] ///*
6. /// [*t.r.n. k.*] *to thabh. us.p.t. c.*

Reconstruction:

1. ... *ātevāsi anūrudho anūrudhasa ātevāsi savanāṃdo sav(*anāṃdasa ātevāsi) ...*
2. ... (**ātev*)*āsi disagiri disagirisa ātevāsi bharaṇo bhar(*aṇasa ātevāsi) ...*
3. ... *ātevāsi ṅātakadhamaguto ṅātakadhamag(*utasa ātevāsi) ...*
4. ... *sa ātevāsi dhamadino dhamadinasa ā(*tevāsi) ...*
5. ... *ch.dakena thabho kārāpito giṃjakiy. ...*
6. ... *t(*o)r(*a)n(*o)k(*a)to thab(*o)us(*a)p(*i)t(*o)c(*a)*

Translation:

[1] The student of ...[was] Anuruddha. The student of Anuruddha [was] Savanāṃda. (*The student of) Savanāṃda [was] ... [2] The student of ... [was] Disagiri. The student of Disagiri [was] Bharāṇa. (*The student of) Bharāṇa [was] ... [3] The student of ... [was] ṅātakadhamaguta. (*The student of) ṅātakadhamaguta [was] ... [4] The student of ... was Dhamadina. The student of Dhamadina [was] ... [5] The pillar was caused to be made by ...chadaka at (?) the brick ... [6] ... the gateway was made and the pillar was erected ...

Fragment 3⁷

1. /// *pasako*
2. /// ? *raja*

Fragment 4⁸

1. ---
2. /// [*k.t|g.*] ///
3. /// *āte[v.s.] ///*
4. /// *vāsinā*
5. /// [*nā*] *varuṇ..? ///*

Only a few of the differences between our readings and those of vH&S call for any discussion:

- In 1.1, *bū[dh.s.]*, the second syllable is entirely absent in pl. 8, fig. 9 of vH&S, but the photograph of inscription 1 in Mishra 2000: 67 (fig. 4) shows another small fragment

⁷ Fragment 3 is presented by vH&S (p. 19) as part of inscription 2, but they note (p. 18, n. 9) that ... *pasako* in the first line “may refer to the same *Upasako* mentioned in Inscription I.” They conclude, however, that it “cannot be satisfactorily connected to either Inscription I or Inscription II” (p. 18).

⁸ Fragment 4 seems to contain part of the ends of four lines of inscription 2, probably lines 2 through 5 (vH&S p. 20), but it seems not to be possible to link its text directly to the main part of inscription 2 because the beginnings of the lines are also missing.

of the pillar placed in what is clearly its correct original position, on which the top of the first syllable and the upper half of *dh* are clearly visible. In both images, only the very bottom of *s* is preserved.

- The vowel diacritic in the first syllable of the same word consists of two lines hanging down diagonally toward the left and right below the consonant *b*. This sign is not exactly the typical form of post-consonantal *ū* in early Brāhmī, which consists of two parallel lines below the consonant; see, for example, *jabū* in Bharhut inscription B 74 (Lüders 1963: pl. XXIII). Nevertheless, the difference between this sign and that for short *u* is clear in *anūrudho anūrudhasa* (2.2), where the vowel of the second syllable in both words has the double line which should indicate long *u*, whereas that of the third syllable has the single mark of short *u*. This shows that at there is at least a visual distinction between short and long *u* in the script of these inscriptions, and we have therefore transcribed the doubled line as *ū* in all cases, including twice in *bahūsūtiye*(**na*) (1.5), even though in these long vowels are not etymologically justified. This pattern is at least partially characteristic of early Brāhmī inscriptions, in which the distinction between short and long vowels (other than *a* and *ā*) is often treated casually; compare, for example, *thupadāsāsa*, *bhutaye|bhutarakkhitasa*, and *rupakārasa* in the Bharhut inscriptions.⁹ The situation is however still a little unusual in that the usual pattern is to represent long vowels as short, rather than *vice versa* as here.

- On our reading of *nāṃdi* [*n.d.*] /// in 1.3 instead of vH&S's *nā[m]di[nu]*(**tara*), see section 4 below.

As for the date of the inscriptions, vH&S note that they were “dated by the excavator [Mishra (no date): [11]; Mishra 2000: 67] to the third century BCE ... which is perhaps slightly too early” (pp. 13-14), and they elsewhere suggest, with due caution, a date around 200 BCE: “If a 200 BCE date is correct (but the date is estimated on palaeographic evidence alone, and is therefore precarious) ...” (p. 17). The inscriptions are undated (unless perhaps there were dates in the lost portions, but this is unlikely), so we must rely on paleographic comparisons to estimate their period. The archaic form of post-Mauryan Brāhmī script and the early epigraphic Prakrit dialect of the Deorkothar inscriptions are broadly comparable to those of the inscriptions from Bharhut, located some 150 kilometers to the southwest, and to those of Sanchi farther to the west. But the dates of these inscriptions are themselves controversial and uncertain; to cite one authoritative opinion, N.G. Majumdar (in Marshall and Foucher 1940: 268, 271), the early inscriptions from the two sites are datable to approximately 125-75 BCE and 175-125 BCE respectively.

In any case, a detailed paleographic comparison of the Deorkothar inscriptions with those from Bharhut, Sanchi, and other roughly contemporary inscriptions such as the Besnagar pillar (which was not attempted by vH&S) is rather inconclusive. That the script is post-Mauryan is beyond question; forms such as *a* with a gap between the left

⁹ For references see the word index to the Bharhut inscriptions in Lüders 1963: 191-201.

arms, *dha* with the curved side on the left rather than to the right, and *bha* with a straight vertical at the right are all characteristic of the so-called Śuṅga period, that is, around the second century BCE. The same is true of post-consonantal *i* in the form of a curve or diagonal line rather than a right angle, and the position of the *ū* vowel diacritic at the right side of *b* (in *bū[dh.s.]*, 1.1) rather than at the middle as in Aśokan Brāhmī.¹⁰ Within that general range, the Deorkothar inscriptions do have some relatively archaic features, such as *ga* with pointed top, as usual in Aśokan Brāhmī, rather than the rounded top which predominates in most post-Mauryan inscriptions, and *ma* with a rounded base instead of the later triangular shape. On the other hand, the vertical of *ka* is distinctively elongated in the so-called “dagger-shaped” variety, especially in *kasi ///* (1.6), which is generally diagnostic of later dates, and the right-hand vertical of *bha* is elongated downward, also a typically later feature. The same is true of the semi-triangular shape of the bottom of *va* (especially notable in *[ā]tevāsi* in 2.1), in contrast to the old circular form.

The Deorkothar inscriptions have none of the features which are characteristic of the early inscriptions of the post-Śuṅga period, such as the equalization of the verticals of *p*, *s*, and *h*, the rounded form of *t*, or the beginnings of a serif at the top of the letters. In short, they certainly belong to the Śuṅga period, but it is not clear where they fall within that period, which is in any case only very roughly defined. All the dates for inscriptions of this period are rough estimates without firm historical anchor points, and in the end all that can be said is that the Deorkothar inscriptions probably date from some time in or around the second century BCE, and more likely from the later rather than the earlier half of that period. Thus vH&S’s cautious estimate of a date around 200 BCE is likely to be too early; the ramifications of this estimate will be discussed further in section 4.

A point of paleographic interest in the Deorkothar inscriptions is the distinctive form of *sa*, in which the bottom of the left arm curves down and around toward the right, extending even past the position of the right arm. This feature is particularly prominent in, for example, the sequence *ātevāsi savajayo* in 1.4. Similar forms of *sa* can be found in other inscriptions from the area of Kosambi, less than one hundred kilometers northwest of Deorkothar. For example, a Pabhosa inscription, dated by its editor to the second or first century BCE (Führer 1894: 241), has exactly the same type of *sa* (for example, in *bahasatimitrasa*, line 2), and the same type still occurs in a later *yūpa* inscription (e.g. in *samuchritaḥ*, line 2) from an undetermined location in “the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, in Allahābād District” (Altekar 1937-38: 245), dated by the editor (p. 246) to the second century CE. Although this feature does not help to determine the date of the Deorkothar inscriptions, it confirms their affiliation with the cultural sphere of Kosambi, the significance of which will be discussed in the following section.

¹⁰ An orthographic feature which is characteristic of some other Śuṅga era inscriptions is the retention of Old Indo-Aryan clusters of occlusives + *r* in the name *utaramitra-* (1.2, twice). This feature is also seen sporadically in the Bharhut inscriptions, where *kr*, *dr*, *br* are sometimes preserved (Lüders 1963: xxii), and in the Besnagar inscription, which retains *tr* and *dr*.

2. Anuruddha

Inscription 1 begins with *bhagavato b[ū]dh[.s.]* ..., probably to be further reconstructed as *bhagavato b[ū]dh(*a)s(*a sakamunisa ātevāsi)* or the like, while the surviving part of the first line of inscription 2 reads ...*[ā]tevāsi anūrudho anūrudhasa ātevāsi savanā[ṃ]do sa[v](*anāṃdasa ātevāsi)* ... Given the opening references to the Buddha and to his prominent disciple Anuruddha respectively in the two inscriptions, it would seem that both began with a lineage of masters and students going back to the Buddha Śākyamuni himself -- something utterly unprecedented in early Buddhist inscriptions, as noted by vH&S (p. 17), whose further ramifications will be discussed below.

The surviving portion of inscription 1 implies that the beginning of inscription 2 may be further reconstructed with reasonable confidence as *(*bhagavato budhasa sakamunisa) [ā]tevāsi anūrudho*, as proposed by vH&S (p. 19). The reconstruction of the opening of inscription 1, beyond *bhagavato b[ū]dh(*a)s(*a sakamunisa ātevāsi)* already proposed above, is more difficult. The Buddha's immediate disciple whose name is lost there may have been Anuruddha, who is mentioned in inscription 2, but we have no way to be sure of this, and it may equally have been someone else.¹¹ However this may be, it is remarkable that the donor of inscription 2 traces his lineage back to the renowned disciple Anuruddha, because Anuruddha is strongly associated with the Ceti country, and this is consistent with the location of the inscription. For example, in the *Āṅguttaranikāya* (IV 228 of the PTS edition) Anuruddha is introduced as spending the rainy season retreat at *Pācīnavaṃsadāya* (or, in some manuscripts, *Pācīnavaṃsamigadāya*) in the Ceti country (*anuruddho cetīsu viharati pācīnavaṃsa(miga)dāye*) for at least two consecutive years (IV 235, *anuruddho āyatikam pi vassāvāsam tatth'eva cetīsu pācīnavaṃsadāye vihāsi*). In the *Vinaya* (I 350-351), we read that the Buddha, frustrated with the fractious monks of nearby Kosambi, came to visit Anuruddha there, where he was dwelling in such peaceful harmony with Nandiya and Kimbila that it seemed as if they had only one mind, even though they had separate bodies (*nānā hi kho no bhante kāyā ekañ ca pana maññe cittaṃ*; cf. MN I 206-207).

The Buddha's route on this journey took him from Kosambi to *Bālakaloṇakāragāma*, then to *Pācīnavaṃsa(miga)dāya*, and then on to *Pārileyyaka* (Vin I.350-352). Unfortunately, the exact locations of these three places are, as far as we have been able to determine, unknown. But we can safely assume that they were in the Ceti country, since the second one, *Pācīnavaṃsa(miga)dāya*, is specifically located there in the *Āṅguttara*, and these places seem to have been nearby each other. Ceti (or Cetiya, Cedi) was one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* of early Buddhist tradition, adjoining *Vatsa*, whose capital was Kosambi, to the southeast. According to Dey (1927: 48), Cedi is "Bundelkhand and a part of the Central Provinces ... bounded on the west by the Kali-Sindh and on the east by the Tonse. It is the Cheti of the Buddhists." Deorkothar, located at 81°40' E, 24°56' N is (according to Google Maps) about 4.5 kilometers to the southeast of the modern

¹¹ See the further discussion of this point below in section 4.

course of the Tons (or Tamas) River, and “commands a breathtaking view of receding mesas that drop hundreds of feet to the valley of the River Tons below” (vH&S, p. 13). Thus although Deorkothar is not strictly in the Cedi country as defined by Dey, it is very nearly so, and given the approximate and unstable borders between the traditional regions it might well have been considered part of Cedi in antiquity. Indeed, in the lists of the sixteen kingdoms in Buddhist literature, Ceti and Vam̐sa (= Vatsa) are always listed together (e.g., AN IV 252, 256, *cetīnaṃ vaṃsānaṃ*), and sometimes joined in compound (e.g., DN II 200, *ceti*-[v.l. *cetiya*-]*vaṃsesu*), so that they seem to have been considered as closely connected or even as a joint entity.

In any case, it is striking that the donor of Deorkothar inscription 2, located some ninety kilometers southeast of the site of ancient Kosambī on the north bank of the Yamuna River, traces his lineage back to Anuruddha, who dwelt in the Ceti country close to Kosambi. At the very least, this correlation shows that the association of Anuruddha with the Ceti country was a living tradition already at this early date; and it at least suggests that Anuruddha did in fact live in Ceti and found a local lineage there. While we cannot know whether the lineages presented (unfortunately incompletely) in these inscriptions were entirely historical or partially fabricated, this early epigraphical testimony which is consistent with canonical texts shows that such traditions should not be treated lightly or dismissed out of hand.¹²

3. *kokuḍikena*

vH&S stress the importance of the reference in Deorkothar inscription 1 to the *bahūsūtiya*-, that is, the Bahuśrutīya school, remarking that “this amply demonstrates how our picture of the distribution of Buddhist schools in ancient India ... can change dramatically with the discovery of a single new inscription, like this one” (p. 25). First of all, this reference dates to “at least two centuries earlier than that of almost all other inscriptions that mention Buddhist schools” and is thus “one of the oldest epigraphical references to a Buddhist school” (p. 25), the only other comparably early examples being the reliquary inscriptions from Sanchi and Sonari which mention the Hemavata school. Moreover, the Deorkothar inscription shows that this school had “spread over a larger area than has been assumed” (p. 24), since the Bahuśrutīyas had previously been known only from four much later inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda and Kesanapalli in the Andhra region, and from one “extremely doubtful” (p. 23) reference in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Gandhāra (Pālātu Ḍherī; compare n. 15 below).

But a closer look at inscription 1 reveals that it has still more to tell us about Buddhist schools at this early period. The description of the donor in line 5, *dhamadevena kokuḍikena bahūsūtiye(*na)*, was translated by vH&S as “[by] Dhammadeva from Kokuḍi, a member of the Bahusutiya school” (p. 17), taking *kokuḍi* as the name of a town “of which the location is unknown” (p. 18). However, *kokuḍikena* is surely a reference to the early Buddhist school which in various texts is called Kukkuṭika, Kaukkuṭika,

¹² The further ramifications of this point will be discussed in section 5.

Kukkuḷaka, and Gokulika (see, for example, Bareau 1955: 79-80).

Two points in particular confirm that *kokuḍikena* refers to a Buddhist school, or at least some sort of monastic affiliation, rather than to a simple toponym. First, the form of Prakrit word *kokuḍika-* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit name, *kaukkuṭika*, of the Buddhist school in question, and second, this school is closely associated with the Bahuśrutīyas in most of the early accounts of the origin and affiliation of the schools. The name of the school is attested in several different forms in various sources, and its origin and significance are controversial. The relevant sources have been collected and summarized by Bareau (1955: 79-80), showing that the several names attested in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese and the explanations provided for these names reflect three basic forms: *gokulika*, the usual form in Pali texts; *kaukkuṭika*, “the line of the rooster,” from Sanskrit/Pali *kukkuṭa* ‘rooster’; and *kukkuḷaka*, “the line of the (mountain of) ashes,” from Pali *kukkula/kukkuḷa* ‘hot ashes’.¹³ He concludes that “Il nous est impossible de déterminer la forme originelle de ce nom” (p. 79), but the early attestation now available to us suggests that *kaukkuṭika* reflects the original name.

In this connection it is interesting that the commentaries on the Dīgha-nikāya (I 318) and the Dhammapada (I 208; see also Przulski 1923: 73) refer to a merchant named Kukkuṭa as the founder of the Kukkuṭārāma at Kosambī, one of three monasteries founded there by merchants. Given the proximity of Deorkothar to Kosambī and the early reference in Deorkothar inscription 1 to the Kokuḍika/Kaukkuṭika school, its name may actually go back to that of the Kukkuṭārāma at Kosambī, and ultimately to that of its patron, the merchant Kukkuṭa. This is at least far more plausible than the etymology recorded by Kuiji (cited in Bareau 1955: 79) to the effect that the name refers to a brahman clan descended from a ṛṣi who fell in love with a chicken.¹⁴

With regard to the relationship between the Kaukkuṭikas/Gokulikas and the Bahuśrutīyas, Bareau (1995: 16-19) demonstrates that they are closely associated in all of the earliest accounts of the history of the Buddhist schools, that is, those dating from the sixth century CE or earlier. According to the Dīpavaṃsa, the Gokulikas arose from the first schism within the Mahāsāṅghikas during the second century after the parinirvāṇa, and the Bahussutikas came from the Gokulikas after another schism; the Sammatīya account by Bhavya presents the same scenario. The Kashmirian tradition represented by the Śāriputrapariṣcchāsūtra, the Samayabhedoparacanacakra, and the Mañjuśrīpariṣcchāsūtra agrees that the Kukkuṭikas and the Bahuśrutīyas arose from the Mahāsāṅghikas, either separately, or the latter out of the former. Later accounts of the schools (the second and third periods according to Bareau 1955: 22-27) are less consistent. The Mahāsāṅghika account (Bhavya’s second list) has the Gokulikas coming from the Mahāsāṅghikas, but omits the Bahuśrutīyas; Vinītadeva derives the

¹³ Compare Sanskrit *kukūla*, ‘fire made of chaff’ (Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.).

¹⁴ The Kukkuṭārāma at Kosambī is not to be confused with the better known establishment of the same name at Pāṭaliputra (Malalasekera 1937-38: 615). According to Przulski, the two Kukkuṭārāmas may be related: “On est tenté d’admettre que cette similitude de nom n’était pas fortuite et qu’il y avait à l’origine quelque lien entre le Kukkuṭa-ārāma de Pāṭaliputra et celui de Kauṣāmbī” (1923: 95 n. 1).

Bahuśrutīyas from the Sarvāstivādīns, but the “Kaurukullakas” from the Sammatīyas, while the Varṣāgrapṛcchāsūtra has both the “Kurukullas” and Bahuśrutīyas coming from the Sammatīyas.

Thus if we are to follow Bareau’s analysis, the Bahuśrutīyas and the Gokulikas/Kaukkuṭīkas were closely associated in early times as offshoots, separately or consecutively, from the Mahāsāṅghika, but their origins were forgotten in later traditions, probably as they ceased to be influential schools. Their juxtaposition in the Deorkothar inscription provides strong corroboration of their special relationship in antiquity, although the precise nature of this relationship remains to be explained. Clearly, they were distinct but not mutually exclusive entities, since the donor Dhamadeva identifies himself with both groups simultaneously (*dhamadevena kokūḍikena bahūsūtiye(*na)*). This seems to imply that one of the terms is a subset of the other; perhaps, for example, *kokūḍikena* was at this point in history an institutional designation referring to the bearer’s affiliation with the lineage of the Kukkuṭārāma in Kosambī, as mentioned above. In this case, Dhamadeva might have been identifying himself as a follower of the Bahuśrutīya school in the (sub-)lineage of the Kukkuṭārāma.¹⁵

It is unfortunate that the name of the first disciple of the Buddha is missing from the first line of Deorkothar inscription 1, as it probably would have identified the disciple who was perceived to be the founder of the Bahuśrutīya/Kaukkuṭīka lineage, in view of “the consistent concern of the old writers to have the sects date back to the very time of the Buddha and to give them an immediate disciple of Śākyamuni as their leader” (Lamotte 1988: 521). According to Paramārtha (see Demiéville 1931-32: 47), the supposed patriarch of the Bahuśrutīyas was one Yājñavalkya, and it is conceivable, though hardly likely, that this otherwise unknown person would have been named in the missing portion of inscription 1. Alternatively, the first disciple in inscription 1 might have been Anuruddha as in inscription 2, in which case he would have been presented as the patriarch of the Bahuśrutīya/Kaukkuṭīka lineage. This is *a priori* quite possible, but since we have not been able to find any evidence of a special association of Anuruddha with the Kaukkuṭīka/Bahuśrutīya tradition, it remains speculative.

4. nāmdi

At the end of the third line of inscription 1, the word *nāmdi* is clear. This is followed by two incomplete *akṣaras* of which only the bottoms survive. The first one is clearly *n*, but all that survives of the last one is the bottom of a vertical line. This was taken by vH&S as the end of an *u* diacritic, and on this basis they posited the

¹⁵ Conceivably related is the Kharoṣṭhī inscription on jar B from Pālāṭu Dherī, which was read by Konow (1929: 122) as containing references to both the Bahuśrutīyas and the Kāśyapīyas (*śamanana ba(*u)[ṣuti]a[ka]na kaṣ[y]aviyana (*parigrahe)*, “in the acceptance of the Bahuśrutīyaka and Kāśyapīya śramaṇas”). If the reading is correct, this would be the only inscription from the northwest mentioning the Bahuśrutīyas, although the Kāśyapīyas are mentioned in several other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (CKI nos. 66, 67, 233, 257, 367). Bareau (1955: 81-82) accepted this as an attestation of the Bahuśrutīyas in the northwest, but in reality the reading and interpretation, made from eye copies only, are “extremely doubtful” (vH&S, p. 23), so that this inscription has little if any significance for the understanding of the Deorkothar reference.

reconstruction *nāṃdi[nu]*(**tara nāṃdinutarasa ātevāsi upasako*) for the rest of the line, as “only a tentative reconstruction” (p. 15). However, a comparison of these two partially preserved letters with the two syllables which immediately precede shows that they must have been identical; the vertical stroke at the bottom of the last syllable is certainly the downstroke of *d*. Therefore, the name of this member of the lineage was only *nāṃdi*, and the text here can be confidently restored as *nāṃdi n(*āṃ)d(*isa ātevāsi...)*.

Unfortunately this revision of the reading does not solve the question of whether or not the lost portions of lines 1 through 4 of inscription 1 each contained an extra name. It is clear from the structure of the lineage that at least one name was lost in lines 1 and 2, but there may well have been yet another name lost in each line. Similarly, line 3 might have read simply *bhaḍu bhaḍusa ātevāsi nāṃdi n(*āṃ)d(*isa ātevāsi upasako)*, or it might have contained an additional name (i.e., *bhaḍu bhaḍusa ātevāsi nāṃdi n(*āṃ)d(*isa ātevāsi NN NN-sa ātevāsi upasako)*). This issue was discussed in vH&S (p. 15) with regard to the line in question, which, according to their proposed reconstruction, would have comprised “at least about 28 *akṣaras*” if it did not originally contain an extra name. But since the second name in this line is evidently *nāṃdi* rather than *nāṃdinuttara* as hypothesized by them, line 3 would actually have had only twenty-two syllables if it did not contain another name. This would be considerably shorter than the estimated length of lines 1 and 2, which would contain twenty-nine and twenty-eight syllables respectively if the missing names in them contained four syllables each, as hypothesized by vH&S. On the other hand, line 4 would according to their reconstruction have had only twenty-three syllables, and in any case there is no certainty that all of the lines were of equal length.

Nevertheless, these apparent discrepancies support vH&S’s tentative conclusion (p. 17) that there were multiple names lost in lines 1 through 3 of inscription 1. If there were no additional missing names in inscription 1, the lineage would have consisted of nine names; if there were extra names in lines 1 through 3, and possibly also line 4, there would be twelve or thirteen members of the lineage. The fact that inscription 2, which is presumably more or less contemporary with inscription 1, probably enumerated fourteen generations also points strongly toward the latter option. This issue was discussed by vH&S in reference to the issue of the date of the Buddha. They note (p. 17) that a lineage of nine persons would cover a period of around 120 to 160 years, assuming a generational difference of 15 to 20 years between master and disciple. If the lineage is accepted as historical, and if the inscription really dates from around 200 BCE, this would imply a date for the Buddha’s lifetime around 360 to 320 BCE, which is “definitely too late.” If, on the other hand, the lineage consisted of twelve generations, the date for the Buddha’s life would be about 420-365 BCE, which they describe as “possible.” Similar calculations are presented for the second inscription with an estimated fourteen generations, yielding a range of dates for the Buddha’s lifetime of 460-360 BCE, again depending on whether an average of 15 or 20 years per generation is assumed; this range is described as “plausible,” with a slight preference for the latter dates (p. 21).

Of course, all of these dates are hypothetical, on several levels. First, the proposed

dating of the inscriptions around 200 BCE is highly uncertain, as vH&S fully realize: “the date is estimated on palaeographic evidence alone, and is therefore precarious” (p. 17), and moreover, we consider this dating to be somewhat too early (see section 1). Second, the assumption of an average of 15 to 20 per generation of the master-student lineage is little more than a guess. And finally, the date of the Buddha’s lifetime is a complex problem due to the inconsistent testimony of the various sources. Thus in view of these multiple uncertainties, we cannot use the new inscriptional evidence to definitively resolve the problem of the date of the Buddha.

Yet, there is an important positive conclusion to be drawn from all this fuzzy data: in the words of vH&S, “it is not at all impossible that this is a lineage going back to the Buddha” (p. 17). Although we cannot prove that the lineages in the two Deorthokar inscriptions are historically authentic, they provide material that is far older than any other documentary evidence of this kind. Moreover, even though their date, determined only by paleographic comparisons, cannot be determined with any precision, it is still at least broadly consistent with what would be expected if the lineages are historically genuine. While this is not proof of their historicity, it certainly speaks in favor of it.

5. Conclusion: Implications of the Deorkothar inscriptions for the evaluation of Buddhist tradition

Modern and western scholars have often disagreed in their evaluation of the historicity of the traditional sources of information about key points in the history of Buddhism, such as the evolution of the various schools. Characteristic of the more skeptical point of view are, for example, Lamotte’s comments (1988: 520) on the origins of the schools, where he speaks of “pseudo-historical tradition concerning the formation of the sects,” declaring (p. 521) that “the supposed founders of the sects are all fictitious persons” and (p. 528) that the authors of the relevant texts “supplemented the lack of information with treasures of the imagination.” All of these charges do have at least some basis in fact, though it is hard to be sure how Lamotte could be so sure, for example, that the founders were “fictitious persons.”

The issue at hand is the scholar’s evaluative principles, that is to say, the level of certainty which is demanded before an assertion can be accepted as authentic or at least plausible. For while caution and a healthy skepticism are not only a desirable ingredients but absolutely necessary ones for good scholarship, there is always the danger of letting skepticism take over one’s thinking, leading to the mindset of “In the end, we know nothing.” An argument against such hyper-skepticism with regard to the traditional accounts of the schools was eloquently presented by Bareaux (1955: 15), who charged that “certains philologues, pechant par excès de prudence,” have even doubted the very existence of the sects, because of the inconsistent descriptions of them in various texts. Bareaux concluded (p. 306) that “L’étude d’ensemble à laquelle nous venons de nous livrer nous a montré que ce scepticisme était heureusement quelque peu abusif et que, dans de nombreux cas le recoupements de données fournies par des sources très diverses attestent l’exactitude et même la précision de nos informations.” Bareaux felt that

when the various sources exhibit an overall agreement or at least a similar pattern on the major points in question, they can be considered valid even if there are substantial inconsistencies on specific points.

A similar spectrum of opinion can be found among scholars discussing the historicity of the lists of the Buddhist patriarchs of the various schools and the related issue of the accounts of the early councils. Here, for example, Hofinger criticized Hendrik Kern, who felt that the inconsistencies between the various lists of patriarchs showed that they are all apocryphal, on the grounds that “le scepticismisme d’H. Kern est poussé fort loin” (1946: 159 n. 2). Hofinger concluded that “Nous croyons qu’il importe de réhabiliter partiellement les listes patriarcales ; les faits ne leur sont pas à ce point défavorables Les auteurs des documents patriarcaux sont mieux renseignés qu’on n’a voulu le croire et les noms qu’ils mentionnent sont vraisemblablement ceux de docteurs dont on se souvenait assez pour les dater approximativement Le désaccord qui sépare les sources ne prouve en aucune façon qu’elles sont dépourvues de toute valeur” (pp. 207, 208, 212). Thus Hofinger, like Bareau, is willing to give the traditional sources at least some benefit of the doubt by focusing on the overall consistencies rather than on their (admittedly many) disagreements, and by taking this as an indication that they are based on an actual historical core – albeit one which is incompletely, inconsistently, and poorly preserved – rather than being made up out of whole cloth. In other words, Hofinger and Bareau are willing to see the glass as half full rather than half empty.

The Deorkothar inscriptions provide strong and unexpected support for the historical veracity of traditional voices with regard to both of these issues, that is, the origin and affiliation of the sects and the lineage of the patriarchs and their disciples, and by implication with regard to other issues in the early history of Buddhism as well.¹⁶ On the one hand, they corroborate, at a surprisingly early date, the association between the Bahuśrutīyas and the hitherto little-known Kaukkuṭika/Gokulika schools which is attested in most of the traditional accounts of the schools; on the other hand, they attest to local patriarchal lineages derived from the Buddha and one of his most favored disciples, Anuruddha, in a geographical context – and again, at a surprisingly early date – which is consistent with canonical information about Anuruddha.

We could hardly hope for a clearer warning against the excessive skepticism regarding canonical and post-canonical traditions, as Bareau and Hofinger have eloquently explained. This is not, of course, to argue that we should naively accept traditional accounts at face value, but only that we should not dismiss them out of hand for lack of corroboration. We should keep in mind, in other words, that lack of

¹⁶ The recently discovered Buddhist inscriptions from Kanaganahalli, edited in this volume, Supplement, provide another illustration of this principle in connection with the dynastic chronicles of the Sātavāhana kings. According to the editors (Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 23), “a comparison of the Purāṇic list with the evidence gathered from coins and inscriptions shows that the sequence of at least the later kings and to a certain extent even the length of their respective reign, it seems, might be more trustworthy than usually conceded. This is underlined by the emergence of both these so far undocumented kings.” For an example of the distrust of the traditional chronicles to which they refer, see discussion under the heading “Distortions in Purāṇic Texts” (p. 361) in Raychaudhuri 1972: 359-363.

corroboration does not prove that a statement or claim is false, but only that it is unproven. Sometimes, corroboration comes when least expected, so the door should always be left open.

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The *Brahmajāla* and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition

ANĀLAYO

Introduction

In what follows, I study some aspects of the early Buddhist oral tradition as exemplified by the different versions of the *Brahmajāla*. I begin with the significance of the introductory phrase "thus have I heard" (1). Then I examine the opening narration (2) and the exposition on morality in the first part of the discourse (3). In the final part of the paper, I attempt a general assessment of the nature of the early Buddhist oral tradition (4).

1. The Introductory Phrase of the *Brahmajāla*

The standard phrase at the opening of a discourse introduces what follows with the phrase: "thus have I heard". The relationship of this in itself innocuous marker of orality to what follows has led to considerable discussion among scholars.¹ The point at stake is if the subsequent phrase "at one time" should be considered as qualifying the preceding phrase "thus have I heard", or rather what follows in the text.²

¹ Cf., e.g., Burnouf 1925: 286, Staël-Holstein 1933: iv and xiii notes 7 and 8, Brough 1950, Samtani 1964, von Hinüber 1968: 84–87, Samtani 1971: 68f, Wayman 1974, Kajiyama 1977, Schopen 1978: 162–164, Silk 1989, Harrison 1990: 5 note 3, Bongard-Levin 1996: 90 note 1, Galloway 1991, Tatz 1993/1997, Vetter 1993: 65 note 48, Galloway 1997, Tola and Dragonetti 1999, Klaus 2007, Sander 2007: 174–176, and Nattier 2013. Several of these contributions examine relevant information in *śāstra* and commentarial literature, which in the context of my present survey I am not able to cover. My ignorance of Japanese has also prevented me from benefitting from research published in that language on this or other topics taken up in this paper.

² The first to have broached the subject appears to be Burnouf 1925: 286, reasoning that "si on supprime la formule complète, y compris les mots *ekasmin samayê*, on a le commencement d'un *Avadāna*, classe de livres qui ... ne diffère guère de celle des *Sūtras* que par l'absence de la formule, 'Il a été ainsi entendu par moi' ... ne peut-on pas dire que les mots *ekasmin samayê* ne se trouvant pas en tête des *Avadānas*, appartiennent forcément à la formule *ēvam mayā çrutam*?" The same point has then been made again by Staël-Holstein 1933: xiii note 7, pointing out that in several *avadānas* "evaṃ mayā çrutam is missing, and wherever evaṃ mayā çrutam is missing ekasmin samaye is also absent ... this seems to indicate that the words evaṃ mayā çrutam ekasmin samaye constitute one phrase." Staël-Holstein 1933: iv also notes that "in all Tibetan and Mongolian preambles known to me a punctuation mark separates the equivalent of ekasmin samaye from the following words. The question as to whether ekasmin samaye belongs to çrutam or to viharati is discussed in a number of Buddhist commentaries attributed to Indians, and most of them seem to regard ekasmin samaye as belonging to the preceding words evaṃ mayā çrutam." A full paper dedicated to a detailed discussion of the same issue then concludes with Brough 1950: 426 stating that "from every point of view, then, it seems to me that the punctuation as preserved in the Tibetan is to be preferred." That is, according to him the specification "at one time" should qualify the phrase "thus have I heard".

This discussion is of relevance to the *Brahmajāla*, as a variant in some editions of a full discourse quotation of the *Brahmajāla* in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-tīkā* presents a slight but significant difference in formulation. The Narthang and Peking editions of this discourse quotation read 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na instead of just 'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na.³ Taking the addition of the particle -'i (*kyi*) to *thos pa* here to be indicative of the genitive,⁴ the discourse in these two editions would begin by qualifying the hearing to have taken place "at one time" (or "at a certain time"). This raises the question whether the specification "at one time" in the introductory phrase of the *Brahmajāla*, and by implication in other early discourses, should indeed be understood in this way.

When examined from the viewpoint of Pāli grammar, the assumption that "at one time", *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, qualifies the expression "thus have I heard", *evaṃ me sutāṃ*, is problematic, since one would not expect an accusative of time to stand after the verb.⁵ This would also hold for instances where the discourse itself is not attributed to the Buddha.⁶ In fact the

³ N *mngon pa*, tu 151a6 and Q *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, tu 162b7: 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na, whereas C *mngon pa*, ju 142a4 and D *mngon pa*, ju 141b5 read: 'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na; this is Up 3050 in Honjō 1984, who also identifies partial citations of the *Brahmajāla* as follows: Up 2035, Up 2036, Up 2045, Up 3007, and Up 5005. The reading in C and D is also found in the discourse version preserved in Tibetan, Weller 1934: 6,4 (§1): 'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na. On the first part of the Tibetan expression in general cf. Hahn 2006: 237f; other occurrences of the formulation *thos pa'i* have been noted by, e.g., Silk 1989: 160, Harrison 1990: 5 note 3, and Klaus 2007: 314 note 17; cf. also Galloway 1991: 92. The corresponding expressions in the other discourse versions of the *Brahmajāla* (all given on purpose without punctuation) are as follows: DN 1 at DN I 1,1: *evaṃ* (B^c and C^c: *evaṃ*) *me sutāṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ*, DĀ 21 at T I 88b13: 如是聞一時, and T 21 at T I 264a23: 聞如是一時; on the standard Chinese renderings of this expression cf. also Qingzhi 2010: 494 and Nattier 2013; on some formal aspects of the Pāli formulation cf. Allon 1997b: 195 and 246f.

⁴ According to Galloway 1991: 92, "the *kyi* is verbal and indicates a general connection between *thos pas* (*śrutam*) and the whole following sentence, whose verb is *viharati*, and not with *dus gcig na* alone." Klaus 2007: 314f note 17 in reply argues that this would only work if *kyi* were to follow directly after the bare verb *thos*, but not for the present case, where it follows *thos pa*: "diese Auffassung scheidet jedoch daran, daß die Partikel nicht auf den bloßen Verbalstamm *thos*, sondern auf das Verbalnomen *thos pa* folgt". Moreover, even if *kyi* were to follow *thos* directly, it would still have to be considered as a genitive particle, "selbst wenn die Variante nicht *thos pas'i*, sondern *thos kyi* lautete, wäre *kyi* ... trotzdem als Genitivpartikel zu betrachten", with reference given to the discussion of the genitive particle in Hahn 1996: 133f.

⁵ This point has already been clarified by von Hinüber 1968: 86 (§72) who, after noting that, e.g., in Vin II 296,26 *ekaṃ ... samayaṃ* occurs on its own, without being preceded by *evaṃ me sutāṃ*, points out that it would conflict with Pāli word order if the accusative of time were to come after the verb, "zudem würde die Stellung des acc. der Zeit nach dem Verb gegen die Wortstellungsregeln des Pāli verstoßen ... alles spricht also dafür, im Pāli in *evaṃ me sutāṃ* einen abgeschlossenen Satz zu sehen." On the accusative of time cf. also, e.g., Duroiselle 1906/1997: 156, Wijesekera 1936/1993: 56–58, and Warder 1963/1991: 18. Brough 1950: 423 sees an instance corroborating the possibility of positioning the accusative of time after the verb in MN 21 at MN I 124,7: *ārādhayimsu vata me, bhikkhave, bhikkhū ekaṃ samayaṃ cittaṃ*. In reply, Klaus 2007: 311 note 8 comments that due to the initial position of the verb this is not a conclusive precedent, "ist wegen der Initialstellung des Prädikats in diesem Zusammenhang nicht beweiskräftig."

⁶ DN 34 at DN III 272,1 begins with the standard introduction, followed by referring to the location where the Buddha was dwelling, and then at DN III 292,6 concludes by indicating that the discourse was spoken by Sāriputta. Schopen 1978: 164 comments that "this makes it clear that what the speaker heard, and was reporting, was not that 'at one time the Blessed One dwelt at Campā, etc.', but what Sāriputta [sic] said when he and the Buddha were there. In this case – and by extension all other cases – *ekaṃ samayaṃ* could be attached to either what precedes or what follows it without affecting the meaning." Yet, even when the discourse was believed to have been spoken by Sāriputta in the presence of the Buddha, the introductory indication that at the time of the discourse's delivery the Buddha was living at Campā has the same function. Thus, to take *ekaṃ samayaṃ* to qualify *evaṃ me sutāṃ* in the case of DN 34 would face the same problems as for DN 1 or any other discourse

phrase "at one time", *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, occurs in some Pāli discourses without being preceded by "thus have I heard". In such contexts it must be referring to the time of the event reported.⁷ The same suggests itself also from a standard pattern in the Pāli discourses where after the phrase "thus have I heard", *evaṃ me sutāṃ*, and "at one time", *ekaṃ samayaṃ*, the next sentence begins with "at that time", *tena kho pana samayena*. It seems safe to assume that in such cases both references to *samaya* intend the time of the event described in the discourse.⁸

Moreover, in some Pāli discourses the expression "thus have I heard" stands for hearsay in contradistinction to what one has personally experienced.⁹ This makes it improbable that the function of this phrase at the outset of a discourse is to designate that an eyewitness "at one time heard thus". Instead, the phrase "thus have I heard" simply has the function of highlighting that the discourse is something that has been heard thus, *evaṃ*, in this form, instead of being the product of one's own creative improvisation.

Several *Vinayas* report that the expression "thus have I heard" was already used by Ānanda at the time of the first *saṅgīti* that according to tradition took place soon after the Buddha's demise,¹⁰ whereas according to other *Vinayas* he did not use this expression.¹¹ In the

attributed to the Buddha or to a disciple.

⁷ Klaus 2007: 312 notes that "im *Sutta-* und *Vinaya*piṭaka der Theravādin sind zahlreiche Stellen enthalten, an denen ein Bericht über eine Begebenheit in der jüngeren oder fernerer Vergangenheit mit einem Satz eröffnet wird, der mit *ekaṃ samayaṃ* beginnt und mit *viharati* oder *viharāmi* endet"; for which he provides the examples MN 5 at MN I 31,27 and AN 3.90 at AN I 237,18. In the case of MN 5, the parallel MĀ 87 at T I 569b15 has the corresponding expression 一時, whereas two other parallels instead speak of the reported event being "in the past"; cf. T 49 at T I 841c27: 昔時 and EĀ 25.6 at T II 633c17: 昔. In the case of AN 3.90, the corresponding phrase in the parallel SĀ 830 at T II 213a20 differs and thus does not give any temporal specification. Another example that also has a Tibetan parallel would be MN 121 at MN III 104,6: *ekamidam, bhante, samayaṃ bhagavā sakkesu viharati*, with counterparts in MĀ 190 at T I 737a2: 世尊一時遊行釋中, and in the Tibetan parallel in Skilling 1994: 148,1: *duṣ gciḡ na bcom ldan 'das shā kya rnamṣ kyi nang na shā kya rnamṣ kyi grong rdal grong khyer zhes bgyi ba na bzhugs pa*.

⁸ As pointed out by von Hinüber 1968: 144 (§134): "ekaṃ samayaṃ und tena samayena meinen denselben Zeitabschnitt, der verschieden gesehen wird. Der acc. bezeichnet den gesamten Zeitabschnitt, der instr. bestimmt die Zeit einer Handlung, die mit dem Verlauf dieser Zeit eintritt." The need to consider the significance of *ekaṃ samayaṃ* in relation to the subsequent *tena kho pana samayena* has also been highlighted by Tola and Dragonetti 1999: 55.

⁹ This has already been pointed out by Klaus 2007: 318, who mentions as examples DN 5 at DN I 143,16 and MN 127 at MN III 152,7, where the fact that the speaker does not use the expression "thus have I heard" leads to the conclusion that he must have personally witnessed it. The parallels to DN 5 convey a similar sense, but without using the expression "thus have I heard"; cf. fragment 408r2, von Criegern 2002: 35, and DĀ 23 at T I 100b21. In the case of MN 127, the parallel MĀ 79 at T I 551c7 proceeds differently.

¹⁰ According to the Mahāsaṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 491c2, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 406c1, and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 448b13, Ānanda used the expression 如是我聞 followed by 一時, which then each time led to an indication of the location where the Buddha was believed to have been dwelling at that time. Brough 1950: 419 refers to Przyluski 1926: 18, 84 and 128 for accounts of the *saṅgīti* that do not have a reference to such a location (as well as to the exegesis on the introductory phrase in T 1509 at T XXV 66a27, translated by Lamotte 1944/1981: 80ff). Two of the texts mentioned by Przyluski provide a location: T 384 at T XII 1058b16 (here given in general terms as 說佛所居處) and T 2027 at T XLIX 6c13 (reference given to Vārāṇasī). Of the remaining two instances (which are two parallels to DN 16), T 6 at T I 191a17 indeed has only "thus have I heard" together with "at one time", without mentioning a location. T 5 at T I 175b26 then also does not mention "at one time" and has only "thus have I heard". In both cases, the audience interrupts at this point by acclamation or by breaking out in tears. Thus both are abbreviations caused by the reaction of the audience, without a deeper implication for the significance of the phrase itself.

¹¹ The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 968b19, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 191a19,

case of the *Brahmajāla*, to take the phrase "thus have I heard" as expressing the hearing of the discourse by Ānanda at the time of its original delivery would in fact not work so well, since the events described in the introductory narration would have been directly experienced by him, instead of being something he heard.¹² Again, in the final part of the discourse Ānanda poses a question.¹³ The narrative description that introduces him as well as the words he is believed to have spoken would both not be something he could himself refer to as "thus have I heard".¹⁴ Similarly, the concluding section's report that the monks delighted in what the Buddha had taught would have to be considered something Ānanda directly experienced and took part in, and thus also not something he merely heard.

For Ānanda to use the expression "thus have I heard" to introduce a discourse that has any kind of introductory narration or conclusion would only work if he had not been present at that time, but had heard the discourse from someone else. In the case of a discourse like the *Brahmajāla*, the "I" in the phrase "thus have I heard" therefore needs to be understood to stand for the various members of the lineage of reciters that according to tradition was started by Ānanda's original recital of the text.

Now in the case of these subsequent generations of reciters a problem arises if "at one time" is taken to qualify "thus have I heard". In the case of a long discourse like the *Brahmajāla*, it seems highly improbable that an average reciter heard the discourse only at *one* time, simply because it requires more than one hearing to be able to learn such a complex discourse in an oral setting. Except for an exceptionally gifted case like Ānanda, who in the tradition features as foremost among outstanding disciples for being of much learning (which in an oral setting of course requires excellent memory),¹⁵ to master a discourse like the

and the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Vin II 287,16, report that Ānanda's recital of the discourses at the first *saṅgīti* was prompted by a question regarding the location, in reply to which he then gave the required indications. Thus in these versions he does not use the standard phrase, which Klaus 2007: 321 note 29 sees as probably reflecting an earlier form of presentation. The use of the standard phrase by Ānanda at the first *saṅgīti* when reciting the *Brahmajāla-sutta* is then reported in the commentary on the discourse, however; cf. Sv I 26,1.

¹² This problem has already been noted by Klaus 2007: 317, who points out that "es muß ja doch einfach jeder, der die Worte *evaṃ me sutam (ekam samayaṃ)* hört, glauben, daß der gesamte folgende Bericht und nicht nur die in ihm enthaltene Lehrdarstellung das ist, was da 'so gehört' wurde"; cf. also Przyluski 1926: 346, who makes a similar observation regarding the concept of what is considered canonical: "dans un *sūtra* commençant par ces mots: 'Ainsi j'ai entendu. Une fois le Buddha demeurait à ...', le cadre même du récit ne peut avoir été prononcé par le Buddha." Brough 1950: 425 takes the fact that parts of the discourse could not have been heard by those present at its original delivery to support a combining of "at one time" with "thus have I heard", but as pointed out by Galloway 1991: 97 in reply, this issue is independent of how one relates "at one time" to what precedes and follows it.

¹³ Ānanda is on record for inquiring after the name of the discourse in DN 1 at DN I 46,19, Weller 1934: 64,31 (§220), *C mngon pa, ju* 154a3, *D mngon pa, ju* 153b4, *Q mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 177a6, and *N mngon pa, tu* 165b2, DĀ 21 at T I 94a10, and T 21 at T I 270c15.

¹⁴ Already Franke 1913: 1 note 3 commented on the phrase *evaṃ me sutam* in DN 1 that "dieser 'ich' kann nicht Buddha's Lieblingsjünger Ānanda sein, wie die einheimische Überlieferung annimmt", followed by pointing to another passage in which Ānanda is referred to in the third person singular.

¹⁵ AN 1.14.2 at AN I 24,32 and its parallel EĀ 4.7 at T II 558a26; cf. also the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil 1886: 396,18 and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 54,18. Nyanaponika and Hecker 1997: 151 summarize the traditional belief regarding Ānanda as follows: "he could immediately remember everything, even if he had heard it only once. He could repeat discourses of the Buddha flawlessly up to sixty thousand words, without leaving out a single syllable"; cf. also Th 1024 and the *Avadānaśataka*, Speyer 1909/1970: 155,7.

Brahmajāla can safely be expected to require several hearings.

Given the length of the discourse in terms of recitation time, such hearings would probably not be continuous, but rather be spread out over several days, with the prospective reciter being allowed time to rehearse what has already been learned before proceeding to learn new material. Even after having mastered the text, a reciter would still from time to time participate in group recitation with other reciters who know the same discourse collection,¹⁶ thereby again coming to hear the discourse earlier learned and hopefully getting lapses of memory rectified in this way. Thus, at least in as much as the *Brahmajāla* and discourses of comparable length are concerned, it would not make much sense for an average reciter to qualify his hearing as taking place "at one time".

In sum, it seems to me that while with later texts the alternative interpretation that relates "at one time" to "thus have I heard" certainly needs to be taken into account,¹⁷ in the case of the early discourses,¹⁸ preserved in the *Nikāyas* and *Āgamas*, it can safely be assumed that the qualification "at one time" begins a new sentence introducing the events described in the discourse.¹⁹ The variant reading *thos pa'i*, found in some Tibetan editions of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* quote of the *Brahmajāla*, is best considered the result of later influences.

2. The Introductory Narration of the *Brahmajāla*

After the standard introductory phrase the *Brahmajāla* proceeds with an introductory

¹⁶. Such group recitation is reflected in Vin II 75,31 which, as part of a description of the task of allotting accommodation to incoming monks, indicates that those who recite the *sūtras* are allocated together so that they can do group recitation with each other, *aññamaññaṃ suttantaṃ saṅgāyissanti*. The need to have those who recite and teach the *sūtras* stay together is also reflected in the corresponding passage in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 587b21, the Mahāsaṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 394c12 (correcting the punctuation in the Taishō edition to read 經唄經唄共, etc.), the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 15a28, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 695c9, and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 22a12.

¹⁷. According to Brough 1950: 421 and von Hinüber 1968: 87 note 1, the use of the accusative *ekaṃ samayaṃ* would be earlier than the locative *ekasmiṃ samaye* found regularly in Sanskrit texts. Vetter 1993: 65 note 48 then suggests that "the accusative was the older expression and was replaced by the locative in order to repair a long felt shortcoming, viz. that hearing the tenets a text contained was not sufficiently marked as also having happened at the time when the Lord dwelt there and there and met this or that person, etc." In line with the suggestion by Vetter, the Mahāsaṅghika, Mūlasarvāstivāda, and Sarvāstivāda *Vinayas*, mentioned above in note 10, appear to reflect the same need for authentication. This would explain a gradual shift in meaning, whereby the phrase "at one time" was increasingly seen as qualifying not only the event reported, but also the hearing of the discourse, resulting in what Harrison 1990: 5 note 3 has referred to as an "apo koinou construction".

¹⁸. For a more detailed discussion of the notion of "early discourses" cf. Anālayo 2012.

¹⁹. Klaus 2007: 320 concludes his detailed study by stating that the Pāli phrase *evaṃ me sutam* originally did not function as an indicator that one was present personally at the time of the discourse. Instead, it served to mark that the text originated from oral transmission, instead of being the speaker's own composition, "all das zusammen macht es unmöglich, die Worte *evaṃ me sutam* als eine Formel zu betrachten, mit der man kundtat, Ohrenzeuge der im folgenden Bericht enthaltenen Lehrdarlegung gewesen zu sein. Diese einleitenden Worte können ursprünglich nur als Hinweis darauf gemeint gewesen und ursprünglich auch nur so verstanden worden sein, daß es sich bei dem folgenden Bericht nicht um einen vom Sprecher selbst verfaßten, sondern um einen überlieferten Text handelt."

narration. According to this narration, found with considerable similarity in the parallel versions,²⁰ the Buddha and his monks were on a journey and were being followed by a teacher and his pupil. This teacher kept speaking in dispraise of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Community, whereas his pupil spoke their praise. The monks entered into a discussion about this contrasting behavior. Having become aware of that, the Buddha decided to join them. Once he had joined the monks, according to all versions he asked what they had been discussing.

A minor but noteworthy difference at this juncture can be found in a version of the *Brahmajāla* preserved under the title *Fàndòng jīng* (梵動經) in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama*.²¹ The *Fàndòng jīng* differs from its parallels in so far as it indicates that when the Buddha asked the monks what they had been discussing, he did so knowingly.²² While the fact that the Buddha had become aware of the monks' topic of discussion is anyway clear from the context in all versions, none of the other versions accompanies the description of the Buddha's actual inquiry with an explicit specification that he knew. Instead, they merely report that he sat down and asked the monks what they had been talking about.²³

Such a specification can be found, however, in the Pāli commentary on the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīrgha-nikāya*, which indicates that the Buddha asked knowingly.²⁴ The point of making such a qualification would be to make it unmistakably clear that the Buddha did not ask out of ignorance. Instead, his question should be understood as merely an expedient means in order to start a conversation with the monks. The felt need to make such an additional qualification would be related to the growing tendency to consider the Buddha as omniscient,²⁵ leading to the concern that even circumstantial information be presented in such a way as to leave no doubt about the Buddha's all-knowing condition.

Since among the discourse versions only the *Fàndòng jīng* has such an explicit qualification at this point, it seems probable that this remark is a later addition. This impression finds confirmation in the fact that the same expression occurs regularly in other discourses in

²⁰ The similarity between the introductory narrations in DN 1 and DĀ 21 had been noted already by Beal 1884: 34–36.

²¹ On the school affiliation of the *Dīrgha-āgama* collection preserved in Chinese translation as Taishō no. 1 cf., e.g., Demiéville 1951: 252f, Brough 1962/2001: 50, Lü 1963: 242, Bareau 1966, Waldschmidt 1980: 136, Mayeda 1985: 97, Enomoto 1986: 25, Hirakawa 1987: 513, Schmithausen 1987: 318, Oberlies 2003: 44, Salomon 2007: 354 note 14, and Willemsen 2008: 60. Regarding the title 梵動經, Karashima 2006: 361 explains that "the translator(s) confused *-jāla* ('net') with *-cāla* ('moving'), both of which may become *-yāla* in the underlying language, as is common in Middle Indic, including Gāndhārī"; cf. also Weller 1971: 207, who introduces his translation of DĀ 21 as a "Verdeutschung des Brahmācālasūtra".

²² DĀ 21 at T I 88b29: 大眾前坐, 知而故問.

²³ DN 1 at DN I 2,23: *nisajja kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi*, Weller 1934: 8,8 (§6): *bzhugs nas kyang dge slong rnams la bka' stsal pa*, C *mngon pa*, ju 142b3, D *mngon pa*, ju 142a4, Q *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, tu 163a7 and N *mngon pa*, tu 151b6: *dge slong gi dge 'dun gyi dbus su gdan bshams pa la bzhugs te*, bcom ldan 'das kyas *dge slong rnams la bos te*, and T 21 at T I 264b6: 佛則坐, 佛問諸比丘言.

²⁴ Sv I 49,18: *evaṃ nisinno pana jānanto yeva kathāsamuṭṭhāpanatthaṃ bhikkhū pucchi*.

²⁵ For a discussion of the attribution of omniscience to the Buddha, based on a survey of relevant early discourses and publications on this issue, cf. Anālayo 2014a.

the same *Dīrgha-āgama*, where again the parallels do not have such an indication.²⁶ Thus the addition of such a specification seems to be characteristic of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama*.

Now the circumstance that such a specification is found in the Pāli commentary on the *Brahmajāla* makes it possible that a similar remark could have been found in a Dharmaguptaka commentary on the *Dīrgha-āgama* as well. Both traditions can be expected to have incorporated in their respective commentaries material from a common ancient Indian commentarial tradition that would since a relatively early time have begun to develop alongside the discourses.²⁷ In this case, it would not be surprising if such a remark eventually came to influence the wording of the discourse. This would be in line with a general tendency discernible elsewhere in the early discourses, where during the course of oral transmission commentarial material appears to have become part of the discourse on which it commented.²⁸

3. The Exposition on Morality in the *Brahmajāla*

The influence of commentarial exegesis on the actual discourse can also be discerned in the next portion of the discourse, which takes up the topic of the Buddha's moral conduct.²⁹

In the discourse version of the *Brahmajāla* preserved in Tibetan translation, the relatively short exposition on morality lists the first two precepts, followed by an abbreviation which gives the impression that the remaining precepts should be supplemented. Then it briefly describes how some recluses and brahmins gain their livelihood in wrong ways. Even after supplementing the precepts that appear to have been abbreviated, the whole exposition is still

²⁶ The expression 知而故問 occurs also in DĀ 1 at T I 1b24, DĀ 2 at T I 19a29 and T I 25c1, and DĀ 30 at T I 114b14 (the last has no known parallel; cf. Anālayo 2014b). In the case of DĀ 1, the corresponding passages in the discourse parallels describe the Buddha's inquiry without an explicit indication that he asked knowingly; cf. Fukita 2003: 32,11: *niṣadya bha(ga)vā(ṃ) bhikkhū āmantrayati*, DN 14 at DN II 1,12: *nisajja kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi*, T 2 at T I 150a14: 世尊問曰 (preceded by describing that the monks paid respect to him), T 4 at T I 159b4: 佛即到, 諸比丘所問言, EĀ 48.4 at T II 790a15: 在中央坐, 爾時世尊告諸比丘. The same holds for the discourse parallels to the first passage in DĀ 2 at T I 19a29 (reading 我知而故問), where again the corresponding passages do not mention that the Buddha asked knowingly; cf. Waldschmidt 1951: 274 (§28.28): (*tam aham evam āmantraye*, DN 16 at DN II 131,32: *taṃ purisaṃ etad avocaṃ*, T 5 at T I 168b16: 我問, T 6 at T I 183c27: 吾問, T 7 at T I 198a24: 我即問言. These sources follow the same pattern for the second instance in DĀ 2 at T I 25c1 (reading just 知而故問), Waldschmidt 1951: 296 (§32.15): *bhagav(ā)n bhikkhū āman(t)r(ayate)*, DN 16 at DN II 143,24: *bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi*, T 5 at T I 169b13: 佛問比丘, T 6 at T I 184c25: 佛問比丘, T 7 at T I 200b9: 世尊問餘比丘. In this case, however, an exception can be found in another parallel to this particular passage, EĀ 42.3 at T II 751a23, where the corresponding passage does mention that he asked the monks knowingly, 世尊知而告諸比丘曰 (while the above-mentioned EĀ 48.4 does not have such a remark, another comparable instance can be found in the same discourse collection in EĀ 40.5 at T II 739b16: 知而問阿難曰, of which no discourse parallel appears to be known). On such formulations in *Vinaya* texts cf. Waldschmidt 1926: 47.

²⁷ For a study of the Indian source material of the Theravāda commentaries cf. Endo 2005 and 2009.

²⁸ For a detailed discussion with further references and a critical reply to the suggestion by Norman 1997: 158–160 that the commentaries were transmitted independently from the discourses cf. Anālayo 2010.

²⁹ For a comparative study of the subsequent examination of sixty-two standpoints for views in the parallel versions, including a discourse quotation in T 1548 at T XXVIII 656b19 to 661a7, cf. Anālayo 2009.

rather short.³⁰ The same holds for the discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-īkā*, which in fact only refers to the first precept and then abbreviates.³¹ It seems fairly clear that the exposition of morality in the Mūlasarvāstivāda version of the *Brahmajāla* could not have been as long as what is now found in their Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda parallels.

The considerably longer coverage of the same topic of morality in the Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda discourse versions falls into three distinct parts. The *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* explicitly introduces these three as a "short" (*cūla*) exposition on morality, followed by a "middle length" (*majjhima*) exposition, and then a "great" (*mahā*) exposition.³²

The short exposition on morality starts in the Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda versions, the *Fāndòng jīng* (梵動經) and the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, with the first four of the five precepts. In both versions, following the fourth precept on abstention from falsehood come other forms of wrong speech, thereby completing the standard set of wrong forms of speech: divisive speech, harsh speech, and frivolous speech.³³ The *Fāndòng jīng* then continues with the fifth precept regarding abstention from alcohol, instead of which the *Brahmajāla-sutta* takes up the need to refrain from harming seeds (§10).³⁴ Both versions continue with the remaining eight precepts, presented together with several basic aspects of ethical conduct incumbent on a recluse in the ancient Indian setting (such as not possessing animals, abstaining from barter, etc.). Such a basic listing of the precepts together with a few aspects of the proper livelihood of a recluse appears to have been a common starting point of the parallel versions, including the Mūlasarvāstivāda discourse preserved in Tibetan translation. This much in fact corresponds to the compass of the section on morality in the gradual path exposition in the *Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, whose extent corresponds to what the *Brahmajāla-sutta* reckons the short exposition on morality.³⁵

The middling section on morality in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* then works in detail through the topics of injuring seeds and plants (§11), storing up food (§12), visiting shows and games (§§13 and 14), using luxurious beds, etc. (§15), and various adornments (§16).³⁶ The same or closely related topics occurred already towards the end of the smaller section on morality (§10).³⁷ The smaller section on morality mentions not harming seeds,

³⁰ Weller 1934: 12,6 to 12,30 (§§18 to 21).

³¹ C *mngon pa, ju* 143a7 to 143b1, D *mngon pa, ju* 143a1 to 143a2, Q *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 164a6 to 164a8, and N *mngon pa, tu* 152b4 to 152b6.

³² The smaller section on morality in DN 1 ranges from DN I 4,1 to 5,26, the middle length section then goes from there up to DN I 8,33, and the long section from there up to DN I 12,14.

³³ DN I at DN I 4,13 and DĀ 21 at T I 88c24; the same is also the case for T 21 at T I 264b28.

³⁴ DĀ 21 at T I 89a5: 沙門瞿曇捨離飲酒; cf. also T 21 at T I 264c5: 不飲酒. The absence of such a reference in the corresponding section in DN 1 is in line with the observation by Reat 1996/1998: 49f that "abstinence from intoxicants is not included in elucidations of right action in the Pali *sūtras*, and is thereby not nearly as prominent an ethical issue as it came to be in later Buddhism"; cf. also the discussion in, e.g., Schmithausen 1991: 8f note 42, Nattier 2003: 109 note 11, and Anālayo 2011: 190f note 245.

³⁵ MN 27 at MN I 179,22 to 180,19 and MĀ 146 at T I 657a14 to 657b27.

³⁶ DN 1 at DN I 5,28 to 7,26, following the paragraph numbering given in E°.

³⁷ DN 1 at DN I 5,4: *bījaḡāmahūtagāmasamārambhā paṭivirato ... ekabhattiko ... naccagītavādītavisūka-dassanā paṭivirato ... mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā paṭivirato ... uccāsayana-mahāsayanā paṭivirato*.

which corresponds to the topic taken up again in §11. Next the smaller section takes up eating a single meal at the right time, which can be seen to stand in a close thematic relationship to the storing up of food in §12. Then the smaller section refers to not visiting shows, not using adornments, and refraining from high beds and seats, which correspond to §§13 to 16 on visiting shows and games, using high beds and seats, and various adornments (with a difference in sequence in so far as adornments and high seats are in the opposite order).

A comparable pattern of relationship can also be observed in the *Fàndòng jīng*, where the middle length section on morality describes lack of contentment with food and robes, undertaking commercial transactions and seeking for profits, adorning oneself, and engaging in various forms of recreation. These themes have already been briefly mentioned in the preceding section.³⁸

In this way the middle length sections in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its counterpart in the *Fàndòng jīng* appear to have their origin in a commentary on the preceding smaller section.³⁹ This impression is further strengthened if one turns to the commentary on the *Brahmajāla-sutta* as well as the commentary on the *Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (whose entire exposition of morality corresponds to the smaller section on morality in the *Brahmajāla-sutta*). In both cases the commentarial gloss on the need to refrain from harming seeds lists precisely those five types of seeds that are also mentioned at the outset of the middle section on morality in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* itself, when taking up the topic of injuring seeds and plants (§11).⁴⁰ Thus this middle section does indeed seem to stem from a commentarial gloss.

That this apparent commentary is an addition to an already existing shorter exposition of morality finds support in a shift to a different introductory phrase employed in the middle length section. In both versions this phrase refers to others whose wrong conduct provides a contrast to the proper behavior of the Buddha,⁴¹ a reference not made in the preceding shorter

³⁸. After the reference to alcohol (cf. above note 34), DĀ 21 at T I 89a6 mentions not using adornment, not seeing shows, not sitting on high seats, not eating at the wrong time, and not taking gold and silver, 不著香華, 不觀歌舞, 不坐高床, 非時不食, 不執金銀. The topics of eating at the wrong time and taking gold and silver can be seen to receive a more detailed treatment at T I 89a16 in terms of discontentment with food and robes, 衣服飲食無有厭足, undertaking commercial transactions, 自營生業, and seeking for profits, 求諸利養, which also refers to high seats, 高廣大床. The problems of adornment and seeing shows recur in T I 89a23 in terms of trying to adorn oneself, 求自莊嚴, and engaging in various forms of recreation, 嬉戲. Similar correspondences can be observed in the individual translation T 21, where the corresponding section at T I 264c4 begins with the topic of not sitting on high seats, 不坐高綺好牀, a topic then taken up in more detail at T I 264c17.

³⁹. This has already been suggested by Franke 1913: 7 note 2, who comments that the degree of repetition found "spricht wohl dafür, daß die Listen von verwerflichen Beschäftigungen in unseren Paragraphen aus allerlei vorhandenen Schemata zusammengelesen sind. Manche Elemente treten ja auch mehr als einmal, in verschiedenen Paragraphen auf, vielleicht deshalb, weil sie in verschiedenen Schemata vorkamen." In relation to the same section, Weller 1935: 41 note 46 similarly comments that "wahrscheinlich liegen kommentarielle Erweiterungen vor, die einem älteren, einfacheren Textbestande zugewachsen sind." The same has also been proposed by Meisig 1987: 59f, based on a comparison of the smaller and middle length sections on morality.

⁴⁰. Ps II 208,23 lists *mūlabīja*, *khandhabīja*, *phalubīja*, *aggabīja* and *bījabīja* as the five types of seed not to be harmed (the corresponding passage in Sv I 77,6 differs in so far as it has *aggabīja* as its third and *phalubīja* as fourth); the same five seeds recur at the outset of the middle section on morality in DN 1 at DN I 5,31.

⁴¹. In the case of DĀ 21 at T I 89a15 the phrase reads: 如餘沙門, 婆羅門, 受他信施. Similarly the middle

section on morality. Moreover, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* explicitly marks the end of the preceding section by indicating that the smaller section on morality is concluded.⁴² Since the context of the discourse would not require a subdivision of the section on morality, it seems that this division is the result of the relevant textual pieces having different origins.

In sum, the introductory narration and the exposition on morality appear to be examples for a general tendency where during the process of oral transmission commentarial exegesis could at times influence the wording of the discourse, or even become part of it.

4. The Early Buddhist Oral Tradition

The above surveyed features of the *Brahmajāla* exemplify patterns at work in the early Buddhist oral tradition in general, where at times major variations can be found between parallel versions. This can at first sight give the impression that improvisation is characteristic of the oral transmission of the early discourses themselves.

A considerable degree of improvisation is in fact a feature of the oral transmission of the ancient Greek and modern Yugoslavian epic.⁴³ Applying the research findings in relation to this type of oral tradition to the early Buddhist case, perhaps variations between parallel versions should simply be seen as the result of different creative performances, instead of being divergent versions of a text committed to memory?⁴⁴

A problem with applying the findings made in relation to the oral tradition of the ancient Greek and modern Yugoslavian epic to the transmission of the early Buddhist discourses, however, is that the characteristics of the respective oral traditions differ rather substantially.⁴⁵ From a methodological viewpoint, it is questionable if research done on the

length section on morality in DN 1 at DN I 5,28 starts with *yathā va pan' eke bhonto samaṇabrāhmaṇā saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuijivā*. In the discourse version preserved in Tibetan, Weller 1934: 12,14 (§20) this reads: *ji ltar 'di na dge sbyong dang bram ze kha cig dad pas byin pa yongs su spyod cing*, and in T 21 at T I 264c19: 警有異道人, 受人信施食. In relation to the phrasing in DN 1, Franke 1913: 7 note 4 comments: "die folgenden Paragraphe fangen eigentlich alle mit *yathā* 'wie' an. Dieses 'wie' erklärt sich wohl daraus, daß sie teilweise Erläuterungen, Beispielsanführungen zu § 10 enthalten."

⁴² DN 1 at DN I 5,27: *cūlasīlaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ* (B^o and S^c: *cūlasīlaṃ*, C^c: *cullasīlaṃ*).

⁴³ Lord 1960/2000: 4f describes that in the case of the Yugoslavian epic literature studied by Parry and himself, "in a very real sense every performance is a separate song; for every performance is unique, and every performance bears the signature of its poet singer". Thus "improvisation is not a bad term for the process, but it too must be modified by the restrictions of the particular style", i.e., by the use of fairly fixed formulas that help the singer to compose his song rapidly during performance. However, as Lord 1960/2000: 36 points out, the singer "does not 'memorize' formulas" in the sense of "repeating something that one regards as fixed." Instead, he learns to employ these creatively for his performance purposes, somewhat similar to learning the words of a language.

⁴⁴ Cousins 1983: 2 and 5f argues that "if we compare the Pali recensions of the nikayas with other surviving versions, the differences we find are exactly those we might expect to discover between different performances of oral works", "these divergences ... are too frequent to arise from the natural variation of a manuscript tradition or even from a rigidly memorized oral tradition"; cf. also McGovern 2013: 364–401.

⁴⁵ Allon 1997a: 42 points out that "many factors can influence the character of an oral literature and its

oral performance of epic material can just be applied to the oral transmission of material that is not epic and which has been passed on in a different cultural setting.⁴⁶

Looking for precedents for the early Buddhist oral tradition within the ancient Indian cultural setting, a rather different mode of oral transmission comes into view, namely the transmission of Vedic texts through memorization.⁴⁷ In methodological terms, it would certainly be preferable if the early Buddhist oral tradition were to be approached from the perspective of its Vedic predecessor,⁴⁸ given that the two share the general cultural setting of ancient India and both are concerned with texts considered sacred, whose correct wording matters, and recitation is undertaken by religious professionals whose primary aim is not entertainment.⁴⁹

Comparing the Vedic and early Buddhist oral traditions, an important difference between these two is that Brahmins were trained from their childhood onwards in memorizing, whereas training as an early Buddhist reciter could have begun only after ordination, which in

method of composition and transmission: the nature of the information being relayed; the attitude towards this material and the extent to which accuracy is required; the character of the performers or composers, their status in society, the type of training they have undergone and the circumstances under which they perform; the nature of the audience and its expectations and therefore its demands on the performer or performers; the medium used (verse or prose) and whether the performance requires musical accompaniment. The Buddhist and Yugoslav-Homeric traditions differ in virtually all of these factors." Thus the problem of applying the findings by Parry and Lord to the early Buddhist case is not merely one of using research done on verse for texts that are predominantly in prose, pace Cousins 2013: 99f. In fact Lord 1960/2000: 5 himself clearly recognizes that oral epic differs from the oral transmission of material where exact transmission matters, commenting that "if the reader interprets oral learning [of the epic type] as listening to something repeated in exactly the same form many times, if he equates it with oral memorization by rote, then he will fail to grasp the peculiar process involved in learning oral epic." So "if we understand thereby the transmission of a fixed text or the kind of transmission involved where A tells B what happened and B tells C and so on with all natural errors of lapse of memory and exaggeration and distortion, then we do not fully comprehend what oral transmission of oral epic is."

^{46.} Graham 1987: 138 warns that the "oral use and even oral transmission of scripture should not be confused with folk oral tradition in which verbatim accuracy is not aspired to (i.e., in which 'formulaic composition' predominates: see, for example, Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* ...)". As Gombrich 1990: 21 points out, "the early Buddhists wished to preserve the word of their great teacher ... the precise wording mattered." Norman 1997: 49 sums up that contrary to "oral literature which ... is essentially of an epic nature where ... no two performances are ever identical because the reciter is free to insert, at any point, material", in the case of "the great majority of Pāli canonical texts, however ... complete accuracy of reproduction is required at each recitation. In these circumstances the findings of modern investigators of oral epic literature seem to have little relevance."

^{47.} Gombrich 1990: 23 notes that "the Buddhist canon has left us more clues that it is modelled on Vedic literature than has been generally recognized"; cf. also Lévi 1915: 441 and von Hinüber 1991: 123.

^{48.} This methodological problem is particularly relevant to the case of McGovern 2013: 364–401 who, in spite of the overall theme of his study being the relationship between early Buddhists and Brahmins, does not evaluate the early Buddhist oral tradition in the light of its Indic antecedents, but instead turns to the culturally and genre-wise unrelated Greek and Yugoslavian oral epic.

^{49.} Yugoslavian oral epic is instead performed by singers who come from various walks of life; cf. Lord 1960/2000: 18: "no particular occupation contributed more singers than any other". The actual performance then relies heavily on the singer's ability to entertain; cf. Lord 1960/2000: 17 "the length of the song depends upon the audience", as at times "the singer will realize shortly after beginning that his audience is not receptive, and hence he will shorten his song so that it may be finished within the limit of time for which he feels the audience may be counted on. Or, if he misjudges, he may simply never finish the song."

the average case would have taken place at a later age.⁵⁰ As I have shown elsewhere, the differing memory abilities that result from this basic dissimilarity do indeed explain why even a considerable degree of variation between parallel versions of a discourse could come into existence in an oral tradition that aims at correct and accurate transmission.⁵¹

Nevertheless, perhaps we should at least consider improvisation characteristic of the earliest phase of the coming into being of the early discourses?⁵² To be sure, the degree of formalization now found in some of the early discourses would indeed have come into being gradually, but some degree of formalization must have been used right from the outset when a particular discourse came to be orally transmitted. In fact, even the original delivery of a discourse in an oral setting can be expected to employ some degree of formalization.⁵³

Besides, we simply have no evidence that would support a shift from an early period of fairly free improvisation to a subsequent period of strictly formalized transmission, except for variations found between parallel versions of a discourse.⁵⁴ Yet in the case of the *Brahmajāla*, for example, a rather substantial difference in the exposition of morality appears to have come into being only at a time when the Mūlasarvāstivāda version of this discourse was transmitted independently from the Dharmaguptaka and Theravāda versions. Such a difference could not result from a very early period of improvisation.

In fact at times substantial differences can even be found between discourses of the same Theravāda tradition. Thus pericope descriptions of the same event in versions of the same Pāli discourse found in different *Nikāyas* can show quite substantial variations.⁵⁵ Another and particularly telling example can be found in the two versions of the *Kasibhāradvāja-sutta*, found in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and the *Sutta-nipāta*, which differ in the effect the otherwise same instruction had on its Brahmin protagonist: in the *Samyutta-nikāya* he takes refuge as a lay follower, but in the *Sutta-nipāta* he goes forth and becomes an arahant.⁵⁶ Such variations appear to have come into being within the Theravāda transmission lineage and thus would not be just the result of an early improvisation period.

⁵⁰ This has already been pointed out by von Hinüber 1989: 67f.

⁵¹ Anālayo 2011: 867–876. As already noted by Allon 1997b: 366, "there is, however, scope for considerable change to occur within a tradition of the transmission of fixed, memorized texts." Similarly, in relation to variations between DN 34 and its parallels Wynne 2004: 106 points out that such "differences could just as easily have been produced by the natural variations of a relatively fixed oral transmission."

⁵² Cousins 1983: 9f proposes "in the early period ... the possibility of a strong improvisatory element. This can be confirmed by comparisons between the surviving versions derived from different sects", which was then followed by "the gradual fixation of the material at a later period."

⁵³ Ong 1982/1996: 34f explains that "in a primary oral culture ... you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence. Your thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions", because "in an oral culture, to think through something in non-formulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms, even if it were possible, would be a waste of time, for such thought, once worked through, could never be recovered with any effectiveness."

⁵⁴ As pointed out by Wynne 2004: 106, "it is hard to imagine that oral improvisation in the transmission of literature was the norm in the early period of sectarian Buddhism".

⁵⁵ Cf. Anālayo 2011: 18f.

⁵⁶ SN 7.11 at SN I 173,22 and Sn 1.4 at Sn 15,23 (reference is to the page, as this occurs in a prose section).

Instead of giving any evidence that during an early period improvisation was considered acceptable, the texts themselves tend to emphasize the importance of accurately memorizing the Dharma. Thus, for example, the *Pāsādika-sutta* reports an instruction by the Buddha that the teachings given by him should be recited together [comparing] meaning with meaning and phrasing with phrasing.⁵⁷ The *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to this discourse takes up the same issue in more detail, describing how the monks should behave if there is a disagreement regarding the meaning and the phrasing, regarding only the meaning, only the phrasing, or regarding neither.⁵⁸ In both versions the teachings referred to are those that constitute the thirty-seven qualities or practices that are conducive to awakening (*bodhipākṣikā dharmāḥ*).

A concern with correct phrasing is also evident in a *prātimokṣa* rule which prohibits teaching a layman recitation of the Dharma. Such recitation is qualified in the *prātimokṣas* of the Lokottaravāda-Mahāsāṅghika, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda traditions as being done "word by word".⁵⁹ The fact that monks should not teach a lay person in this way of course implies that this was precisely the way they would teach recitation to each other: word by word.⁶⁰

The *prātimokṣa* is in fact perhaps the best example one could choose for assessing the nature of the early Buddhist oral tradition, since its regular recital can safely be expected to have had a determining influence on the early Buddhist oral tradition. The recital of the *prātimokṣa* obviously involves a text with fixed wording, as is the case for all group recitals, making it clear that an improvisatory model cannot be applied to this text.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the different versions of the *prātimokṣa* that have come down to us show the same type of variation as found between parallel versions of the early discourses: the rules often come in a different sequence, they show variations in terminology, and at times rules can be found in some traditions that are not found in others.⁶² The degree of variation between parallel versions of the *prātimokṣa* clearly requires an explanation that goes beyond the

⁵⁷ DN 29 at DN III 127,16: *atthena atthaṃ vyañjanena vyañjanaṃ saṅgāyitabbaṃ*.

⁵⁸ DĀ 17 at T I 74a19: 說句不正, 義理不正, followed by the alternatives 說句不正, 義正, then 說句正, 義不正, and finally 說句正, 義正.

⁵⁹ Tatia 1975: 19,16: *padaṣo dharmaṃ vāceya*, Banerjee 1977: 32,11: *padaṣo dharmaṃ vācayet*, von Simson 2000: 205,3: *padaṣo dharmaṃ vācayet*, and Norman and Pruitt 2001: 46,12: *padaso dhammaṃ vāceyya*. The Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka *prātimokṣas* preserved in Chinese translation do not specify that such recitation is word by word; cf. T 1429 at T XXII 1018b15: 共誦者 and T 1422 at T XXII 197a13: 經並誦者. The background narration in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* reports that the promulgation of this rule was occasioned by monks teaching recitation in the manner of Brahmins, T 1428 at T XXII 638c22: 如婆羅門誦書聲無異, while according to the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* the problem was that the monks who taught recitation came from different parts of the country and thus some did not recite the phrases correctly, T 1421 at T XXII 39c15: 誦讀經偈音句不正; cf. also Lévi 1915: 436f. Thus in these two *Vinayas* the basic issue at stake seems to be the same, even though they do not use the specification "word by word" in the actual rule.

⁶⁰ Wynne 2004: 109 comments that this rule implies that "Sutta portions of the early Buddhist literature were learnt verbatim among the ordained."

⁶¹ As already noted by Wynne 2004: 108, the two "*pātimokkhas*", for example, can hardly have been subject to an improvisational method of oral transmission, for their content (monastic rules) is hardly the sort of material suitable for improvisation."

⁶² Cf., e.g., the study by Pachow 1955.

parameters of the oral transmission of the Greek and modern Yugoslavian epic. Since the *prātimokṣa* was transmitted by members of the same Buddhist monastic reciter circles that were responsible for the transmission of the early discourses, it is also clear that similar mechanisms must have been at work. Not only the *prātimokṣa*, but also the discourses could be performed in group recitation, which makes improvisation a practical impossibility.⁶³

In relation to the recitation and transmission of the *prātimokṣa*, keeping in mind the Vedic background is again helpful. In the case of a *bhikṣu* from a Brahmin background transmitting the *prātimokṣa* it is quite possible that he was trained in memorization in his youth.⁶⁴ The case of a *bhikṣuṇī* would be different, however. Even if she should stem from a Brahmin family, as a woman she would not have stood a comparable chance to receive such training. As one might expect, the different versions of the *prātimokṣa* for *bhikṣuṇīs* exhibit more pronounced differences between each other than in the case of the *prātimokṣas* for *bhikṣus*.⁶⁵ An important factor influencing this would quite probably have been the lack of memorization training among *bhikṣuṇīs* responsible for transmitting their own *prātimokṣa*.

The emphasis on accurate transmission, word by word, in the early Buddhist oral tradition can even be seen in some of the transmission errors that emerge through comparative study, which appear to be the result of lapses of memory rather than being the outcome of improvisation. This is particularly evident in those cases where the counterpart to a particular term shows close phonetic similarity, but has a considerably different meaning.⁶⁶ Such errors can only occur in a tradition that aims at accurate memorization of texts.

While the early discourses themselves would not have been considered the proper place for personal creativity, such would have been possible in relation to the commentarial explanations that a reciter might give alongside the main text in an oral teaching situation. The giving of a commentary on the discourse would of course have been open to and influenced by personal notions and ideas. Once in the course of time such a commentary has become to some degree fixed and is passed on alongside the discourse, it is easy to see how such material could eventually become part of the discourse itself. This would explain how even substantial differences can come into being, such as the exposition on morality in the different versions of the *Brahmajāla*, namely as the result of the integration of commentarial material into the discourse.

Another aspect that clearly was open to some degree of creativity was the allocation of discourses to and within a particular collection. Thus relatively similar discourse parallels are

^{63.} As already pointed out by Allon 1997b: 366, "communal or group recitation or performance requires fixed wording. It is not possible for more than one individual to perform at the same time in the manner described by Parry and Lord without producing utter chaos, for in that method each individual creates his compositions anew each time he performs." Thus for the reciters of the *sūtras* to perform together in the way described in the *Vinaya* passage cited above in note 16 would not allow for personal improvisation.

^{64.} The presence of a rather substantial percentage of Brahmins among the Buddhist monastic community suggests itself from the surveys in Sarao 1989: 93–139, Chakravarti 1996: 198–220, and Nakamura 2000: 360–362.

^{65.} Cf., e.g., the study by Kabilsingh 1984.

^{66.} For examples cf. von Simson 1965: 136–138.

regularly found in substantially different positions in the same or even in different discourse collections. Just as the giving of a commentary, the grouping of discourses for memorization purposes was clearly open to personal preference.⁶⁷

In sum, a proper appreciation of the oral legacy of the early discourses needs to be based on contextualizing their transmission within the ancient Indian setting, taking into account the precedent set by Vedic reciters and the limitations faced by the early Buddhist reciters in their attempt to preserve sacred texts as accurately as possible. The resultant understanding of early Buddhist orality can accommodate even substantial variations between parallel versions, without needing to resort to foreign models based on improvisation. Such understanding in a way draws out the significance of the phrase found at the beginning of a discourse, which with the terms: "thus have I heard" signals that what follows is not the product of personal improvisation, but much rather results from an attempt to transmit a text as it has been heard.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
B ^e	Burmese edition
C ^e	Ceylonese edition
C	Cone edition
D	Derge edition
DĀ	<i>Dirgha-āgama</i>
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
E ^e	PTS edition
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i>
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
N	Narhang edition
Ps	<i>Papañcasūdanī</i>
Q	Peking edition
S ^e	Siamese edition
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i>
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
Sn	<i>Sutta-nipāta</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini</i>
T	Taishō edition
Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Up	<i>Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā</i>
Vin	<i>Vinaya</i>

⁶⁷. A study of this phenomenon in the case of the *Brahmajāla* is at present under preparation.

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Quotatives Indicating Quotations in Pāli Commentarial Literature, II Quotatives with *āha*¹

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Introduction

One strand of commentarial literature on Buddhist canonical writings discusses the meaning and the implications of the commented text. In this connection quotations serve the purpose of proof or affirmation, have supportive and illustrative functions, summarize contents, serve as mnemonics, etc. Such quotations can be marked or unmarked. In case they are marked several overt markers are used. They consist in a single word, even an indeclinable like *evaṃ* “in that way”, *iti/īti* “thus”, *ettha* “here”, *tattha* “there”, *tena/tato/tasma* “therefore”, etc., or they contain a verb of saying (*āha*, *avoca*, *vadanti*) or writing (*likhanti*), possibly the name of the author or the source, or the generic name of the source (*aṭṭhakathā*, *gaṇṭhipada*, *ṭīkā*, etc.). Such markers we call quotatives following the practice in linguistic studies.² An author’s usage of quotatives may be dictated by the status of the text from which he quotes (being authoritative or not), be influenced by the common practice at his time for marking such quotations, but may also depend on the sources from which he borrows whole text passages, and on his own preferences.³

In the present contribution we investigate quotatives containing the verb *āha*, “he/she says”,⁴ *āhu*, “they say”, and try to find out how they were used, what type of text they indicate, whether they are limited to a certain time period, etc.

General quotatives with *āha*

As a “general quotative” I term quotatives used in various types of texts over a certain

¹ This is the second article in a series of articles in which I intend to deal with quotatives in Pāli commentarial literature. For the first see Kieffer-Pülz (in press).

² In linguistic studies various terms are used for such markers, quotative, quotative structure, quotative index, reporting frame, etc. (further terms in Güldemann 2008: 11). Güldemann who in his study on quotatives in African languages decides in favour of the term “quotative index,” defines it as follows: “A quotative index is a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse.”

³ For a more detailed description see Kieffer-Pülz (in press).

⁴ From here on I use only “he says”, since in most cases the commentators are male. But, needless to say, there exist also texts by female authors as the *Therīgāthā*, the stanzas of the elder nuns. If Dhammapāla in commenting on this text, uses *āha* in a quotative referring to the author of the commented text, a female person, therefore, is the subject governing the verb, and naturally it then will be translated accordingly.

time period, in contrast to an “individual quotative”, which refers to quotatives defined by an author solely for usage in his own text.⁵ There exist a number of general quotatives containing *āha* in Pāli commentarial literature.⁶ Several of them indicate quotations from the *mūla* text, i.e. the text commented upon (“»...« *ti āha.*”; “... *āha* »...« *ti.*”; “*tasmā āha.* »...«”). The *mūla* text can be a canonical, or a commentarial text in case of sub- and subsubcommentaries. Regarding canonical texts the author is the Buddha himself or one of his followers (male and female) to whom the respective discourse, verse, etc., is ascribed. Furthermore, there are quotatives with *āha* that also introduce quotations from other than the *mūla* text (*āha ca*, *āha c’ ettha*, *tenāha*, *yathāha*).

In order to obtain final results regarding all texts, it would be necessary to check each *āha*-reference. This will not be done here, but rather we will make random samples in various *aṭṭhakathās* and *ṭīkās*. All in all we have about 26.000 *āha*-references on the CSCD version 3⁷, comprising all *āha*-s whether in narrative or in exegetical portions. There are about 20.000 references for *āha* as a single word in commentarial literature (7348 references in the *aṭṭhakathās*; 12.399 in the *ṭīkās*). From these just under hundred are used in the expression “*tasmā āha*” (seventeen references in the *aṭṭhakathās*, seventy-six in the *ṭīkās*, see below § 4). Further twenty-nine belong to the expression *āha ca* (fifteen references in *aṭṭhakathās*; fourteen in *ṭīkās*), and fourteen to *āha c’ ettha* (twelve references in the *aṭṭhakathās*, two in the *ṭīkās*; see below § 6). The rest of the references belongs to the expressions “»...« *iti/ti āha.*” with its extended versions (below, § 1) and “... *āha* »...« *ti.*” (below, § 2).⁸ For *tenāha* we have 5.651 references (646 in *aṭṭhakathās*, 5005 in *ṭīkās*), for the extension *ten’ evāha* just under one thousand (230 in *aṭṭhakathās*, 765 in *ṭīkās*; see below § 3.1). Finally *yathāha* is used 1570 times (661 times in the *aṭṭhakathās*; 909 times in the *ṭīkās*: see below § 5).

1. »...« *ititī āha.*, “»...«, [this the author of the commented text] says.”

The expression “»...« *iti/ti āha.*” formed with the quotative marker *iti/ti* and the verb of speech *āha*, appears in narrative literature as well as in exegetical passages of commentaries. Whereas in narrative passages it follows reported speech, it concludes a quotation from the commented text in the exegetical parts of a commentary, and explains with what intention—according to the understanding of the commentator—the author of the commented text has said what is quoted. This is a well known usage in Sanskrit literature (see Tubb & Boose § 2.39.4). In Pāli literature this way of expression gains ground only slowly. Most of the “»...« *iti/ti āha.*” references in the *aṭṭhakathā* literature

⁵. For such “individual quotatives”, see Kieffer-Pülz (in press).

⁶. I am not aware of any individual quotative containing *āha*.

⁷. For the evaluation of the numbers of references CSCD version 3 is better than version 4, because it is possible to search an exact sequence of words. In version 4 as a minimum one word is allowed in between two words, leading to the effect that the reverse order of the one searched (*āha tasmā* instead of *tasmā āha*) is also included in the results. Although the numbers given here are only valid for the text corpus included in the CSCD, the material searched is of such a size that it allows to see tendencies in the numerical results.

⁸. Since these cannot be recorded by a simple search (as provided in the CSCD) we do not have absolute numbers regarding number and distribution of these quotatives.

(from the ca. 5th century AD onwards⁹) belong to narrative portions. This is especially valid for the commentaries on the *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāta*, and *Jātakas* which as a direct result of their narrative character are replete with a high number of *āha* references (916, 454, and 2539). But it also holds true for Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the four large *Suttanikāyas*, where also most of the references appear in narrative portions (313 of 329 *āha* references in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* belong to narrative sections). Here we are only dealing with the usage of this quotative in exegetical passages, although sometimes the boundary between both might be blurred when the speaker in a narrative portion simultaneously is considered the author of the text.¹⁰

Turning to the usage in exegetical parts of the commentaries we, in addition to “»...« *iti/ti* or *ity/ty*¹¹ *āha*.” ([the author of the commented text] says: »...«) also have slightly extended versions like “»...« *iti/ti* or *ity/ty* *ādim āha*.” (“[the author of the commented text] says in the beginning: »...«,” or “ [the author of the commented text] says: »...«, etc.”), “»...« *iti/ti* °*gāthāyo āha*.” (“[the author of the commented text] says the so-and-so stanzas: »...«,”), etc.¹² The subject which governs the verb *āha* is the author of the commented text. The quotations are often short, since in commenting the author may take up nearly each single word or words standing close together. But there are also longer quotations if a commentator comments on larger structural units. At the same time the quotation marked by this quotative, and standing at the end of a commented passage, may repeat the *pratīka* quoted in the beginning of this same passage,¹³ or even a longer passage containing the *pratīka*.¹⁴ This usage is similar to that of *tenāha/ten' evāha* (below, § 3.1), and *tena vuttaṃ*.¹⁵

In exactly the same sense as this quotative a second quotative is used, which only differs from the first by an inversion of the *āha*: it here precedes the quotation (... *āha* »...« *ti*.; see below § 2). This too is a common usage in Sanskrit literature (Tubb & Boose § 2.39.4). In Pāli literature it becomes the common quotative only from the *ṭīkā* literature onward. When *āha* is used as an element of quotatives in exegetical passages of

⁹ Regularly the 5th/6th centuries are given as dates for the *aṭṭhakathās*, but there are also still younger commentaries in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer as, for instance, the *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā* (9th century AD), the undated *Apadānaṭṭhakathā* which is considered the youngest of the *aṭṭhakathās* (von Hinüber 1996: § 306), or, the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* which, if Dimitrov (*Jewel Mind*) is correct in his identification of its author as Ratnamati, would belong to the 10th century AD.

¹⁰ The *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā* may serve as an example. Although we see these books as a collection of verses compiled by some anonymous author, the commentator considers the *theras* and *therīs* whose verses are contained in this collection as the authors. In commenting he tells stories about them, and makes them speak their own verses. Hence the reported speech of the speaker in the narrative at the same time is a quotation from the commented text (see for instance n. 29).

¹¹ The variant *iccāha* is not very common, and, to my knowledge, not used in quotative function.

¹² In grammatical texts extensions as *vākyam*, *suttaṃ*, *paribhāsam* appear (“»...« *iti/ti* *vākyam/suttaṃ/paribhāsam āha*”).

¹³ This for instance is the case in Mp, which only has very few references of *āha* in exegetical passages (Mp II 176,19–20: *jeṭṭho ti aññasmim̐ jeṭṭhe sati kaniṭṭho āsaṃ na karoti, tasmā jeṭṭho* TI *ĀHA*; cf. Mp II 179,21–22.23–25.26–177,2); cf. Tha-a II 191,31–34: *tattha dipādako ti ...dassento dipādako* TI *ĀHA*.

¹⁴ For instance, Mp II 184,9–27: *khayāyā ti ettha pana ... phalaṃ sandhāya āsavānaṃ khayāyā* TI *ĀHA*.

¹⁵ Kieffer-Pülz (in press), § 3.

the commentaries at all,¹⁶ the “»...« *ti āha*.” quotative is used more often than the “...
āha »...« *ti*.” quotative (§ 2) in the earlier among the *aṭṭhakathās*, i.e. in Buddhaghosa’s
commentaries, where we often have less than ten references. In Dhammapāla’s
aṭṭhakathās the two quotatives are used equally often, and there are between ca. twenty
and seventy references. In the *gaṇṭhipada* and *ṭīkā* literature the number of references of
the first quotative decreases,¹⁷ and the second quotative increases. Thus the distribution
of these quotatives may serve as a hint regarding the chronological position of a text.
Seen in this light it is to be assumed that the anonymous *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā*, which
compared to the number of all *āha* references (77) has a high number of quotatives in
exegetical passages (50), and in which the second quotative (“... *āha* »...« *ti*”) is used
twice as often as the first one (“»...« *ti āha*.”), is younger than Buddhaghosa’s and
Dhammapāla’s commentaries.¹⁸ In the undated anonymous *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā* which
likewise presupposes these texts, the second quotative appears more than four times as
often as the first (ca. 160 to 40). On the other hand a commentary like the *Mahā-*
niddesaṭṭhakathā dated to the ninth century in its *nigamana* has less than half references
for the second quotative (10) compared to the first (26). Whether this is the case because
its author borrowed from older texts¹⁹, or whether it is simply due to this author’s
preference, cannot be said at present. But this text is against the general trend.

2. “... *āha* »...« *ti*.” “... [the author of the commented text] says: »...«.”

With respect to the second quotative the *āha* seemingly stands in the midst of a sentence,
but it in fact follows a statement of the commentator (which may also include quotations
from the commented text) and introduces a subsequent quotation from the commented
text concluded by *iti*. The structure of exegetical sentences containing this quotative is
identical to regular sentences in narrative portions.²⁰ But in commentarial passages the

¹⁶ This, for example, is the case in 16 of 329 *āha* references in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, in 76 of 413 in the *Papañcasūdanī*, 23 of 34 in the *Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā*, 40 of 77 in the *Khuddakapāṭaṭṭhakathā*, 192 of 454 in the *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā*, etc. The percentage of *āha* references used in quotatives in exegetical portions increases in the *ṭīkā* literature.

¹⁷ In the undated *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṇṭhipada* (with 385 references for the second quotative) or the *Vibhaṅgamūlaṭṭīkā* (with 127 references for the second quotative) there is not one reference for the first quotative. In the first volume of the *Sāraṭhadīpanī* (12th century AD) we have nearly four hundred references for the second quotative, but only about twenty for the first; in the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* (early 13th century AD) the relation is similar.

¹⁸ This is confirmed by other quotatives, not used often in earlier *aṭṭhakathās*, but more often in *ṭīkā*s, as for instance the *hoti/honti c’ ettha* quotative indicating non-canonical stanzas. It is used in the *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* twice where all the *aṭṭhakathā* parallels have the older quotative *ten’ etaṃ vuccati*, see Kieffer-Pülz (in preparation), A § 2.1.

¹⁹ Upasena, the author of the *Mahāniddesa*, based himself on the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā* (Kieffer-Pülz 2009: 145ff.), and borrowed from the *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā* when he wrote his commentary (von Hinüber 1996: § 289)

²⁰ As an example of a narrative sentence, see Vv-a 66,3–4: *rājā nāgare sannipāṭepetvā āha “imasmim nāgare atthi kassaci ettakaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ” ti?* “The king having assembled [the citizens] in the town said: »Is there anyone in that town possessing so much gold?«. Compare the similar structure of a commentarial passage from the It-a II 77,33–78,2: *saddhādiguṇa-visesa-paṭilābhakāraṇato devūppattihetuto ca manusattaṃ devānaṃ abhisammataṃ TI ĀHA: “manussattaṃ kho bhikkhu devānaṃ sugatigamanasaṅkhātaṃ” ti* (It 77,6–7). “The human state is admired by the *devas* on account of its being the means of acquiring distinction in such good qualities as faith and so on and on account of its being the root cause of arising as

subject governing *āha* is the author of the commented text,²¹ quoted subsequently.²² The statement preceding *āha* is the commentator's interpretation why, what for, by what, etc., the author of the commented text stated something. Depending on this interpretation the preceding statement ends in a nominative naming the subject by name or title (rare), by a word ending in °*kāmo* (rare²³), or by an active present participle (very common, especially *dassento*);²⁴ it may end in an infinitive (partly common), less often in an accusative (the latter sometimes formed by adding °*atthaṃ* or combined with *sandhāya*²⁵) naming the objective to which the quotation tends according to the commentator's opinion ("in order to/wishing to ... [the author of the text] says: »...«"); it may end in an ablative (°*ā*, °*to*) giving the reason why—according to the opinion of the commentator—the subsequent quotation has been said by the author of the commented text ("because of so-and-so [the author of the text] says: »...«"); it may also end in an instrumental (often formed by adding °*vasena*²⁶) indicating by what the author of the commented text has said something; it may end in an absolutive (*katvā*, *gahetvā*, etc.) stating what the author of the commented text has done, grasped, etc., before he said what is subsequently quoted, or a whole sentence, in the earlier commentaries, often a question, is ending in *iti/ti* before the *āha*, and one has to understand that the commentator here formulates a question which in his opinion is answered by the author of the commented text ("[Answering the question:] »so-and-so«, [the author of the

a *deva*. Insofar [the author of the *Itivuttaka*] SAYS: »**The human state, monk, is reckoned by the devas as going to the happy destiny**«.» (I slightly rearranged Masfield's translation, It-a transl. II 594, since from his translation the subject of *āha* does not become evident).

²¹. There are cases where the source is given in addition, namely when the commentator refers to a text different from the commented one, see for instance Vin-vn-ṭ I 134,8–9: *idam eva SANDHĀYĀHA Padabhājane "santatiṃ vikopeti" ti* (Vin III 73,25).

²². As can be seen in editions and translations of Pāli texts this was not always clear to the editors and translators, who characterised words not stemming from the commented text as quotations, and only partly recognized quotations as quotations. See for instance It-a II 78,1 where *abhisammātan* is falsely characterized as a quotation, because it stands before *iti*, and where the quotation following *āha* is only partly characterized as a quotation; or It-a II 150,13–14, where words of the commentator preceding *āha* are characterized as a quotation. For a mistranslation of Thī-a 15,2–3, based on the wrong connection of the *āha* with the preceding statement, see n. 29. Masfield in his translation of the It-a often interprets this *āha* which is governed by the unexpressed *mūlakāra* wrongly as an objection, which he mostly introduces by an added "[Lest it should be asked]," "It was lest it be asked", "But, lest it be asked", etc. (It-a I 78,32–34, It-a transl. I 199; It-a I 89,1–3, It-a transl. 222; It-a I 96,25, It-a transl. 244; etc.).

²³. Altogether thirty-five references on the CSCD, *dassetukāmo* (8x), *vattukāmo* (5x), *kātukāmo* (4x), the remaining words appear only once each. There are no references for this combination in the Jā-ṭ, Mhv-ṭ, Mmd, Paṭis-gp, Simāl-v, and Upās, texts not contained in the database on CSCD.

²⁴. More than 1000 references in the *ṭikā* layer, whereas in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer there are only some 300 references, and where *dassento āha* is used as a finite verb at the end of a sentence, too.

²⁵. Regarding *sandhāyāha* only part of the references introduce a quotation. It more often concludes a sentence in which it is explained with respect to which object the *pratīka* has been said by the author of the commented text ("[the author of the commented text] says so-and-so (*pratīka*) with respect to so-and-so"). In those cases there is no quotation in addition to the *pratīka*. A search with CSCD version 4 leads to 186 references for *sandhāyāha* in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer. Only fifty-six times does it introduce a quotation. Within the *ṭikā* layer there are about 600 references.

²⁶. The construction with an instrumental (with *vasena*) is used especially often in the Paṭis-gp (78 references) whereas in all other Pāli texts on the CSCD there are only seven references, namely in Dhammapāla's *ṭikās* (Sv-pṭ I 66; Ps-pṭ I 291; II 121; Spk-pṭ I 76; Ppk-anuṭ 109), in the Vjb (33,5), and the Mogg-p-ṭ (72).

commented text] says: »...«²⁷), or that the commentator gives the intention with which the author of the commented text said what is quoted subsequently (“[Insofar as] ... (referring back to what has been stated in the *iti* clause preceding *āha*), [the author of the commented text] says: »...«²⁸). For this last variant (*iti/ti āha* »...« *ti*.) there are only very few examples in Buddhaghosa’s commentaries. The number rises in Dhammapāla’s *aṭṭhakathās*,²⁹ where it mostly is used in case of a question preceding the *ti āha*. It in general becomes the most common variant of this quotative in the subcommentarial literature. Only in some texts are other combinations preferred, namely a preceding infinitive in the *Vinayavinicchayaṭṭhikā* named *Vinayatthasārasandīpanī*³⁰ (2nd half 13th century AD; about 110 times *ti āha* »...« *ti*, and about 350 times *°tum āha* »...« *ti*), in Saṅgharakkhita’s *Moggallāna-pañjika-ṭṭhikā* (*Sāratthavilāsini*) (first third of the 13th century AD³¹; 117 of 159 references with an infinitive), and in the anonymous and undated (between 7–9th and second half of the twelfth centuries³²) *Paṭisambhidā-maggagaṇṭhipada* (about thirty times *ti āha* »...« *ti*; about hundred-thirty times *°tum āha* »...« *ti*). Second most in the commentarial literature is the variant with an active present participle preceding *āha* (*°nto āha* »...« *ti*.)—by the way the most common variant in the younger *aṭṭhakathās* (Khp-a, Sn-a). In Jāgara’s *Pācityādiyojanā* (19. Jh.) 715 of 1677 *āha* references belong to this second quotative with *dassento* preceding *āha*. Nevertheless there are also texts in which this quotative is used not at all as in the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, a commentary with an already low number of *āha* references (42) of which most are used in narrative sections.

27. Thī-a 15,2–3: *kuto pana sumuttā sādhumuttā ti āha āhi khujjehi muttiyā ti; tīhi vaṅkakehi parimuttiyā ti attho*. “[To answer] in what manner she is well released, properly released, she (i.e. the author of the commented text) says: »by the release from three crooked things;« the meaning is: by the perfect release from three bent things.” Pruitt (Thī-a transl. 24) connected the *āha* wrongly with the preceding statement, “Now why did she say [she was] well released, properly released? By my release means of the three crooked things (*khujjehi*) means: ‘by my perfect release by means of the three bent things (*vaṅkakehi*).’ This is the meaning.”

28. Sp-ṭ I 22,1–3: *yadi aṭṭhakathāsu vuttaṃ sabbam pi pamānaṃ, evaṃ sati tathā pamādalekhāpi pamānaṃ siyā ti āha vajjayivāna pamādalekhan ti* (Sp 3,2). “If it were so [that what] is said in the [early] commentaries all [is] authoritative, then even a careless writing would be authoritative, [insofar the author of the commented text] says: **having barred careless writing[s].**”

29. In the subcommentaries on the *Suttapīṭaka* ascribed to Dhammapāla (*Dīgha-*, *Majjhima-*, and *Samyuttanikāya*) there are especially high numbers of *āha* references 1360, 1551, 1023. From all the other *ṭṭhikās* only two have such high scores, namely Sāriputta’s *Sāratthadīpanī* (12th century AD; 1098 references), and Jāgara’s *Pācityādiyojanā* (19th century; 1677 references).

30. This *ṭṭhikā* is not the one written by Vācissara as Norman 1983, p. 130, states. The *ṭṭhikā* ascribed to Vācissara in the *Gandhavaṃsa* is called *Yogavinicchaya* there (Gv 62.10); from this *Yogavinicchaya* a quotation is found in Saṅgharakkhita’s *Khuddasikkhā-abhinavaṭṭhikā* (*Khuddas-nṭ* 374,23–25) with the remark that it was written by him (*tathā ca vuttaṃ amhehi Yogavinicchaye: “...”).* The *Vinayasārasandīpanī* on the other hand is ascribed to a Mahā-Upatissa Mahāthera in the *Piṭakat Samuññ* no. 299. Whoever was its author wrote in the second half of the thirteenth century at the earliest, since he quotes from Parakramabāhu II’s *Nissandeha* (Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I, p. 30, 52).

31. Saṅgharakkhita is mentioned as *mahāsāmi* at the time of King Vijayabāhu III (1232–36) in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Mhv 81.77). Since he also was a pupil of Sāriputta, he probably wrote at the end of the twelfth and in the first third of the thirteenth century AD.

32. The author of the *Paṭis-gp* mentions Dhammapāla’s *Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā* (ca. 7/8/9th century AD; *Paṭis-gp* C° 45,6), and is itself quoted by Sāriputta of Poḷonnaruva (2nd half 12th century AD) in his commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī* (Sp-ṭ I 104 104,19–21 = *Paṭis-gp* C° 23,15f.).

3.1 *Tenāha/ten' evāha* »...« *ti*, “Therefore/Exactly or only therefore [the author of the commented text] says: »...«.”

A very widespread quotative to introduce quotations is *tenāha* “therefore he says” (5651 references; 646 in *aṭṭhakathās* [152 are combined with *bhagavā*], 5005 in *ṭīkāś* [166 combined with *bhagavā*]), or *ten' evāha* “exactly or only therefore he says” (995 references, 230 in *aṭṭhakathās* [two are combined with *bhagavā*], 765 in *ṭīkāś* [nine combined with *bhagavā*]) in general at the end of a paragraph. The differentiation in *tenāha* and *ten' evāha* varies in the different countries tradition³³

The quotation thus introduced mostly is evidence for the commentator's explanation of the *mūlakāra*'s intention preceding the *tenāha* quotative. In the earlier Pāli literature we have 417 references for *tenāha*, none for *ten' evāha* (at least in the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition as preserved on the CSCD). These references are distributed over the *Mahāniddesa* (209), and the *Cullaniddesa* (152), commentaries on parts of the *Suttanipāta* ascribed to Sāriputta Thera, and included in the *Suttapiṭaka*. The remaining references are in the paracanonical texts *Nettipakaraṇa* (53) and *Peṭakopadesa* (4). The quotation introduced by *tenāha* frequently consists in the same words as those quoted in the beginning as *pratīka*. In the *Mahāniddesa*, as a rule, the stanza from the *Suttanipāta* commented on is given in the beginning of a paragraph. Single words from it are then explained. In the end the whole *Suttanipāta* stanza is quoted again, and in that case it is introduced by *tenāha*, mostly (in 87 percent—182 cases) naming the subject, namely the Lord (*bhagavā*), or some Thera, etc., – whoever is mentioned as the transmitter³⁴ in the *Suttanipāta*.³⁵ Thus *tenāha* here introduces portions from the *mūla* text. A similar observation has been made by Alsdorf with respect to the *Vessantarajātaka*. Here the stanzas from the old *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* are generally introduced by an active verb (*āha*, *avoca*, etc.) whereas those from different texts are introduced by a passive construction (*tena vuttam*). This holds true for the whole *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* as a survey of the usage in this *aṭṭhakathā* has made plain.³⁶ Regarding other *aṭṭhakathās* the quotations introduced

³³. Sv I 67,5 (E^c) reads *ten' evāha* without variants, and the corresponding passage in B^c has *tenāha*.

³⁴. In a few cases other persons count as the authors, namely the Thera Tissametteyya for the first stanza of the seventh chapter, and Thera Sāriputta for the first eight stanzas in the 16th chapter (*Sāriputtasuttaniddesa*) (447, 457, 464, 466, 467, 471, 478, 479), the brāhmaṇa Māgandhiya (for stanzas 838 here E^c wrongly gives *bhagavā* as the subject, 840).

³⁵. In case of the *Cullaniddesa* the 152 references are distributed over four subjects (49 times *bhagavā*, 46 times *so brāhmaṇo*, 16 times *thero Piṅgiyo*, and 41 times *so paccekasambuddho*), but the usage is identical with that in the *Mahāniddesa* with which in fact it forms one commentary. The *Netti* contains 53 references (five times mere *tenāha*, 29 times *tenāha bhagavā*, and 18 times *tenāha āyasmā Mahākaccāyano*), the *Peṭakopadesa* has only four references, one combined with *bhagavā*. Since all introduce quotations from the canon, the Buddha is the subject even in those cases where he is not explicitly mentioned as such. Interestingly the *Peṭakopadesa* in identically structured cases has the quotative *tena vuccate* (Peṭ 139,7–8 [DN, etc.]; 211,2,7 [DN, etc.]; 215,22 [SN, etc.]), an expression not used elsewhere, and therefore to be considered a corruption of the very common *tena vuccati* (used in the same way as *tenāha*). This the more, since there are *tena vuccati* quotatives in comparable sentences in the *Peṭakopadesa* (Peṭ 139,12f.16.24; 224,22; 243,12.16.22.26; 244,2.6).

³⁶. Kieffer-Pülz (in press), § 3.

by *tenāha*, etc., are repetitions of the *praṭīka*,³⁷ come from the same portion of the *mūla* text, but being different from the *praṭīka*,³⁸ or from another portion of the *mūla* text,³⁹ or from any other canonical text.⁴⁰ It may be that in single commentaries a specific usage was observed as mentioned above for the *Jātakatṭhakathā*. But this needs investigation for each single text.

In the *ṭīkā* layer we have 5005 *tenāha* references, and 765 *ten' evāha* references. Here they are especially often employed in the old *ṭīkā*s on the *Suttapīṭaka* ascribed to Dhammapāla, i.e. those on the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (732 references), the *Papañcasūdanī* (1034 references), and the *Sāratthappakāsinī* (814 references). If *tenāha/ten' evāha* is combined with *bhagavā* it refers to some canonical text, but it can be combined with any other specific source.⁴¹ Since in case of a subcommentary there is a canonical text and the corresponding *aṭṭhakathā*, or in case of non canonical texts like, for instance, grammars, a *mūla* text, and an earlier commentary on it, the *tenāha* reference in a subcommentary can also refer to the earlier commentary. In case of the *Mukhamattadīpanī*, for instance, the *tenāha* references refer to the author of the *Kaccāyanavutti*, an anonymous older commentary.⁴²

3.2 *Tenāhu*: »...« *ti*, “Therefore they say: »...«.”

Tenāhu “therefore they say” is used 156 times in all the Pāli scriptures on the CSCD version 4, and mostly combined with an expressed subject: 121 times with “the Ancients” (*porāṇā*), twenty-four times with “the teachers of the [old] commentaries” (*aṭṭhakathācariyā*), and three times with “teachers” (*ācariyā*). Of the *tenāhu porāṇā* references the oldest is in the *Milindapañha*, where it introduces several stanzas not traced elsewhere.⁴³ Seventy-two times it appears in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer, and forty-eight times in the *ṭīkā* layer. Adikaram (1953: 16ff.) who investigated the sources of the *aṭṭhakathā* layer⁴⁴ thought it probable that *porāṇā*, *porāṇācariyā* and *dhammasaṅgāhakā* referred to the same source, and that the *porāṇā* were identical with the *aṭṭhakathācariyā* (p. 21f.). Taking the *ṭīkā* commentaries into account too, we can see that the same quotation given as a statement of the *aṭṭhakathācariyas* in Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, and in commentaries by several other authors, is mentioned as a statement of the *porāṇās* in Dhammapāla’s *Udānaṭṭhakathā*, and in Sāriputta’s subcommentaries on the *Aṅguttara-*

^{37.} Sv I 143,11–12 from DN I 48,3.

^{38.} Sv I 113,12 (*praṭīka: satī sammussatī*, DN I 19,14), Sv I 113,28–29 (*ten' āha*: quotation of the adjacent sentence, DN I 19,14f.).

^{39.} Sv I 67,5–8 from DN III 135,11–16, etc.

^{40.} Sv I 172,10–11 from Tha 1232; SN I 190,16–17.

^{41.} E.g., *ten' evāha cĀriyaMātraccevā* (sic; Vjb 15,16), where it introduces a stanza from a text by Māṭṛceṭa (see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I, p. 100f.).

^{42.} Mmd B^c 25f., 27, 57, 61, 62, 63, 82, 88, 98, 103, 104 (*tenāha*), 37, 99, 276 (*ten' evāha*). In fact nearly all quotations in the Mmd originate from the *Vutti*, whether they are indicated by *āha ca* (with or without *Vuttiyaṃ*), by *ti/ty (ādim) āha, ti vatvā, ti vuttattā, or vuttañ ca*.

^{43.} Mil 22,7 (simply *tenāhu* in Mil E^c, with *porāṇā* in Mil B^c).

^{44.} He counted 116 quotations in the Pāli *aṭṭhakathās*, and stated that many such quotations were found in Buddhaghosa’s commentaries, in the Nidd-a, and the Paṭi-a, but only few in commentaries ascribed to Dhammapāla.

nikāya and the *Samantapāsādikā*. Furthermore, it seems that different countries' traditions may vary with respect to the name of the source. Thus in the Burmese edition of the *Papañcasūdanī* we find *aṭṭhakathācariyā* as the source, whereas the PTS edition gives *porāṇā* without any variant.⁴⁵ A second example is a stanza given in the *Atthasālinī* (As 84,36) with *tenāhu porāṇā* as the source.⁴⁶ Dhammapāla in the old *ṭīkā* on the *Dīghanikāya*, and Sāriputta in his *ṭīkā* on the *Samantapāsādikā* both give the same verse, but mention the source as *tenāhu aṭṭhakathācariyā* (Sv-ṭ III 239,23 = Sp-ṭ III 472).⁴⁷

4. *Tasmā āhaltasmāha*: »...«, “Therefore [the author of the commented text] says: »...«.”

The quotative *tasmā āha* has the same function as the quotative *tenāha* (§ 3.1), namely mostly to introduce quotations from the commented text. In the case of the *aṭṭhakathās* this is the respective canonical text, in case of the subcommentaries the respective *aṭṭhakathā*. The quotations serve as a kind of affirmation concluding the commentator's interpretation.⁴⁸ *Tasmā āha*, however, is used only rarely. There are altogether ninety-three references on the CSCD version 3 (seventeen in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer; seventy-six in the *ṭīkā* layer).⁴⁹ From the seventeen references in the *aṭṭhakathā* only one is in Buddhaghosa's commentaries on the *Suttapiṭaka* (Mp IV 79,7 from AN IV 173), and this is identical with the single one in the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp I 133,8 from Vin III 3,26); in Dhammapāla's commentaries we find seven in all.⁵⁰ Seven further references are contained in the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*, and one in the *Paṭisambhidhāmaggaṭṭhakathā*. The subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*) include seventy-six references in eleven subcommentaries. Most of them are contained in the *purāṇaṭṭhā*s on the *Suttapiṭaka* ascribed to Dhammapāla, namely twenty-nine in the *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭṭhā*, nineteen in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinīpurāṇaṭṭhā*, and seven in the *Sāratthappakāsinīpurāṇaṭṭhā*. The *Visuddhimaggaṭṭhā*, on the other hand, also ascribed to this Dhammapāla has only two. In Sāriputta's subcommentary on the *Manorathapūraṇī* – different from his Vinaya texts where there is none (Sp-ṭ, Pālim) – there are seven. For the rest of the texts only three (Vjb), two (Abhidh-av-ṇṭ, Ppk-anuṭ, Vism-mḥṭ), or one reference (As-mūlaṭ, Kkh-ṭ, Vmv) is given. It is significant that younger Burmese authors, like Tipiṭakālaṅkāra (middle of 17th

⁴⁵ Ps I 83,22 (E° *porāṇā*; B° *aṭṭhakathācariyā*) = Spk III 138,25 (E° with v.l. *porāṇā*) = Mp II 53,7–8 = Paṭis-a I 127,4–5 = III 600,14 = Nidd-a I I 67,7 = As 217,30–31 = Vibh-a 310,18 *tenāhu aṭṭhakathācariyā: bujjanakassa puggalassa aṅgā ti* (v.l. add *vā*) *bojjhaṅgā ti*; Ud-a 305,27–28 = Mp-ṇṭ B° III 230 = Sp-ṭ III 432,18–19: *tenāhu porāṇā: bujjanakassa puggalassa aṅgā ti bojjhaṅgā ti*.

⁴⁶ Adikaram quotes the evidence from the *Atthasālinī* (Adikaram 1953: Appendix IIa, p. xix, no. 42). Since he did not consider the *ṭīkā*s, he could not see the divergence in naming the sources.

⁴⁷ By the way, the same stanza with some neutral introductory statement is found in Ps-ṭ I 213 = Mp-ṇṭ II 367 (*tathā hi vuttaṃ*).

⁴⁸ Thī-a 265,23–24: *yasmā kāmesu kāmahetu ime sattā vadhabandhanadukkhāni anubhavanti pāpuṇanti*, *TASMĀ ĀHA: asakāmā ti* (Thī vs. 506, App. II). “Since these beings **suffer**, arrive at, the **pains of slaughter and bonds in sexual pleasures**, with sensual pleasures as the cause, she (i.e. the author of the commented text) **THEREFORE SAYS: through inferior sensual pleasure.**” (~Thī-a transl. 370; omission of original words, and bold setting are made by the present author).

⁴⁹ From the texts not on the CSCD, the Jā-ṭ, Mhv-ṭ, Mmd, Paṭis-gp, Sīmāl-v, and the Upās do not have any reference.

⁵⁰ Cp-a (2), Pv-a (1), Tha-a (3), Thī-a (1).

century, Pālim-nt), Ñāṇābhivamsa (1800; Sv-ant), Jāgara (19th century; Pāc-y), etc., do not use this quotative at all.

5. *Yathāha*: »...«, “As [the author of the quoted text] says: »...«.”

There are 1731 *yathāha* references in the text corpus on the CSCD (twelve in the paracanonical layer, 661 in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer, 909 in the *ṭīkā* layer, etc.).⁵¹ In general *yathāha* introduces quotations cited as a proof for a preceding statement.⁵² They may originate from another passage in the *mūla*-text, but more often they come from a different, often a canonical,⁵³ source. If several quotations are given, the second may be introduced by *yathā cāha* (twenty-nine references). Sometimes the generic name (*Gaṇṭhipade*,⁵⁴ *Padabhājane*,⁵⁵ *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ*⁵⁶) or the specific name of a source are added in the locative (*Dhammapade*,⁵⁷ *Paṭisambhidāyaṃ*,⁵⁸ *Paṭisambhidāmagge*⁵⁹). In the subcommentarial literature it is also used to indicate quotations from the *aṭṭhakathā*. In all cases the author of the respective text is the intended subject of *āha*. Some texts are conspicuous, because of the large number of *yathāha*-quotations, so the *Vinaya-vinicchayaṭīkā* with 487 references, of which nearly all allude to the *Vinaya* and its commentary. None of the other texts reaches even 100 references. In other texts the usage is restricted to specific portions as in the Sp, where it occurs only in the Pārājika- and Pācittiya sections.

6. *Āha ca*: »...«, “it is said: »...«”; *āha c’ ettha*: »...«, “it is said in this connection/in this respect: »...«.”

Within the texts on the CSCD there are only twenty-nine references for *āha ca* indicating quotations (fifteen in the *aṭṭhakathās*, fourteen in the *ṭīkā*s). From texts not contained in the CSCD we have ten references in Vajirabuddhi’s/Vimalabuddhi’s *Mukhamattadīpanī* (10–11th century AD), and one in Chapaṭa’s *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgahavaṇṇanā* (15th century AD). For *āha c’ ettha* we have fourteen references (twelve in the *aṭṭhakathās*, two in the *ṭīkā*s).⁶⁰ These quotatives are used to add a quotation (often stanzas) from a different

⁵¹ From the texts not on the CSCD, the Jā-ṭ, Mhv-ṭ, Mmd, Sīmāl-v, have no references. The Paṭis-gp has one introducing quotations from four different canonical texts (Paṭis-gp 2,16–20 quoting from Khp 3,4, Sn Vs. 262; MN III 205,19–21; SN I 220,22–24; AN I 89,29–31); the Upās has sixteen references (Upās 147,1; 177,13; 229,1; etc.) quoting from canonical texts (AN, DN, MN, Vibh), from the *Saddhammopāyana* (Upās 286,12–16), the *Visuddhimagga* (Upās 303,16ff.; etc.) and some unidentified sources (Upās 229,1–5).

⁵² E.g., Cp-a 277,23ff. = Sv-pt I 87,24ff. = Sv-ant I 248: *saṅkhepato dasavidhā, tā pana pāḷiyaṃ* (Sv-ant *Buddhavaṃsapāḷiyaṃ*) *sarūpato āgatā yeva. YATHĀHA: vicinanto tadā dakkhiṃ paṭhamaṃ dānapāramin” ti* (Bv II vs. 117) *ādī. YATHĀ CĀHA: “kati nu kho ...”*; Nett 30,8.17.26.32 (YATHĀHA BHAGAVĀ ... YATHĀ CĀHA BHAGAVĀ (three times); Ps-pt II 10 (quoting from the DN).

⁵³ Only in thirty-one cases is *yathāha* combined with *bhagavā*. But not only in this combinations it refers to canonical sources.

⁵⁴ Vin-vn-ṭ I 299,21–23.

⁵⁵ Referring to the word analysis in the *Vinaya*.

⁵⁶ Hundred-fifty times in the Vin-vn-ṭ referring to the *Samantapāsādikā*.

⁵⁷ Vjb 351,17–20.

⁵⁸ It-a I 140,10–12 (Paṭis I 131); Sp II 409,21–410,17 (Paṭis I 177).

⁵⁹ Spk-pt I B° 54.

⁶⁰ No references are found in Ja-ṭ, Mhv-ṭ, Mmd, Paṭis-gp, Sīmāl-v, Upās.

context or text. The unexpressed subject of *āha* is the author of the quoted text.

Six of the fifteen *āha ca* references in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer are identically transmitted in the *Khuddhakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* and the *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā*, where they introduce passages from the *Suttanipāṭa*, the *Itivuttaka* and the *Aṅguttaranikāya*.⁶¹ The authorship of these commentaries—it is probable that they had different authors—and their date are uncertain, except that they both presuppose Buddhaghosa.⁶² Besides these six references there are a further three, of which two are only attested to in the Burmese manuscript tradition. One of them is in the Burmese edition of Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya* (Ps III 369,14), for which we have parallels in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Sv I 275,29), and the *Suttanipāṭaṭṭhakathā* (Sn-a II 452,10). Instead of the *āha ca* of the Burmese CSCD edition Ps E^e has *āha*, and S^e has *āhacca*. Sv and Sn-a E^e, and CSCD have no quotative, but Sv E^e, and Sn-a E^e give *āha ca* respectively *āha* as variants of Burmese manuscripts.⁶³ The text following *āha ca* begins with *dukkaraṃ* (or *atidukkaraṃ*⁶⁴), and appears in the guise of a quotation from the *Milindapañha*. But in fact only some words have a literal correspondence.⁶⁵ The three factors (*āha ca* only in the Burmese tradition, no quotative in parallel quotations, and no literal quotation following) make it doubtful that *āha ca* originally belonged to the text. Possibly the *āha ca* was introduced by some scribe who knew that *āha ca* introduces quotations, and who thought the following portion to be such a quotation from the *Milindapañha*, a close assumption because of the writing style.

The second instance of an *āha ca* quotative is in the Burmese edition (not in E^e) of Buddhadatta's *Uttaravinichaya* (6th century AD), a verse text. *Āha ca* here is inserted before stanza 335. The author of the *Uttaravinichayaṭīkā* (2nd half of the 13th century AD⁶⁶) quotes this *āha ca* and explains it by *aṭṭhakathācariyo Mātikaṭṭhakathāyam*, thus identifying stanza 335 as a quotation from the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (Kkh 36,25–26). This shows that by the 13th century AD the *āha ca* was already present in the *Uttaravinichaya* manuscript commented on by the *ṭīkākāra*. It furthermore makes plain that the *āha ca* was inserted as a quotative signaling that stanza 335 was not composed by Buddhadatta, but rather copied from some other text, i.e. the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*. Whether the *āha ca* was there from the very beginning or whether it was inserted by some knowledgeable scribe between the 6th and the 13th centuries AD, because he knew that this verse was borrowed from the Kkh (this to my opinion is more likely), cannot be decided. The last reference in the *aṭṭhakathā* layer stems from the *Buddhavamsaṭṭhakathā*

^{61.} Khp-a 136,7 (B^e *āha ca*; E^e *āha cāpi*; Sn 454 = Sn-a I 299); 145,2 (= Sn-a I 300,30); Khp-a 147,14–16 (Sn 42ab = Sn-a I 300,30); Khp-a 147,23–25 prose (AN I 87,1 = Sn-a I 300,30); Khp-a 150,14–16 (It 1074 = Sn-a I 300,30); Khp-a 246,1–2 (AN II 17,21 = Sn-a I 193,20).

^{62.} von Hinüber 1996: § 252ff.

^{63.} Ps III 369,13ff. = Sv I 275,28ff. = Sn-a II 452,10ff.: *vuttaṃ etaṃ Nāgasenattheren' eva Milindaraññā puṭṭhena*: (Ps E^e add *āha*, B^e *āha ca*, S^e *āhacca*; Sv E^e om; B^e *āha ca*; B^e CSCD om.): *dukkaraṃ* (Sv E^e, S^e *atidukkaraṃ*) ...

^{64.} *Atidukkaraṃ* in those mss. which do not read *āha* or *āha ca*. Possibly the *āha* was misread by some scribes as *ati*, since in Mil 168,28f. we have *dukkaraṃ*.

^{65.} Helmer Smith (Sn-a II 452,29) refers to Mil 167–169. Mil 168,28–29 is literal.

^{66.} If the ascription of this text to the same author as the one who wrote the *Vinayavinichayaṭīkā* (Piṭ-sm 300) is true.

(2nd half 10th? century AD⁶⁷; Bv-a 77,34) where it introduces stanzas from the *Visuddhimagga* (Vism 74,27–75,4).⁶⁸

Within the *īkā* layer *āha cā* as a reporting frame is found only in four texts, namely in the *Vajirabuddhiīkā* (2nd half of the tenth century AD), the *Mukhamattadīpanī* (10th/11th century AD), the *Saddanīti* (12th century AD), and the *Sīmālankāra-saṅghavaṇṇanā* (15th century AD).⁶⁹ The author of the *Vajirabuddhiīkā*, according to Dimitrov (*Jewel Mind*) the same Ratna who wrote the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, uses it twice to introduce stanzas (Vjb 3,7–9; 246,2–6). In both cases the sources are not traced. The latter stanza is copied by the author of the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇīpurāṇaīkā* (Kkh-pṭ 78,23–27) who here borrowed a larger text block from the *Vajirabuddhiīkā*. If the identification of the authors of the *Vajirabuddhiīkā* and the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* were correct, these two sources would stem from one author. Thus the number of different authors who used this quotative would be reduced. Vimalabuddhi's or Vajirabuddhi's *Mukhamattadīpanī* contains ten references for *āha ca*, two are combined with the name of the source, namely *Vuttiyaṃ* referring to the *Kaccāyanavutti*.⁷⁰ From the remaining eight six refer to the *Kaccāyanavutti*,⁷¹ and one each to the *Kaccāyanappakaraṇa* and an *Aṭṭhakathā*.⁷² Hence Vimalabuddhi uses *āha ca* only once for the *mūla*-text, but eight times for the *Vutti*, the earliest transmitted commentary on the *Kaccāyanappakaraṇa*. Only once did he use it for a text not belonging to the grammatical tradition. In Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti* (12th century AD) we have altogether eight references, one combined with the name of the source (Sadd 317,9) referring to the *Suttanipātaṭṭhakathā*. In all cases *āha ca* introduces stanzas. One of the stanzas couldn't be traced (Sadd 77,14–16), one originates from the canon (Sadd 451,28–29 from Ap 497,15–18), one from Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* (Sadd 548,2 from Abhidh-av 43,14), and four from Dhammapāla's *Visuddhimaggamahāīkā* with parallels in Dhammapāla's *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaīkā* (ca. 10th century AD), and Sāriputta's *Sāratthadīpanī*.⁷³ Chapaṭa uses the *āha ca* together with

⁶⁷. So Dimitrov (*Jewel Mind*) who ascribes the *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* to the monk scholar Ratna (second half of the tenth century AD).

⁶⁸. Horner obviously was not aware of this usage of *āha ca*. She, therefore, translated as if the subject of the preceding sentence also governed the *āha* (*ime dasa guṇē divvā rukkhamūlaṃ upagato' smī ti vadati. āha ca*: “stanzas ...”, Bv-a 77,33–34), “Having seen these ten special qualities, he spoke, saying, ‘I approached the root of a tree’, and said: ‘Reliance is spoken of ...’” (Bv-a transl. 114). But the *āha ca* clearly introduces stanzas from the *Visuddhimagga*, and should be translated as “And it is said (i.e. in the *Visuddhimagga*).”

⁶⁹. In the *Vinayavinicchayaīkā* (Vin-vn-ṭ II 300,22, Vs. 2852) *āha ca* is used as a *pratīka* (*yathāha ca* in Vs. 2852), and in the *Uttaravinicchayaīkā* (Vin-vn-ṭ II 445,5) it is likewise a *pratīka* from the introduction of stanza 335.

⁷⁰. *āha ca Vuttiyaṃ*, Mmd B° 20,9 = C° 18,8 (Kacc-v 1,1,10); Mmd B° 80,13 = C° 77,14 (Kacc-v 1,6,11).

⁷¹. *āha ca* Mmd B° 33,28 = C° 31,13 (Kacc-v 1,5,4); Mmd B° 48,7 = C° 45,17 (Kacc-v 1,4,4); Mmd B° 48,21–22 = C° 45,34 (Kacc-v 1,5,24); Mmd B° 60,13 = C° 57,34 (Kacc-v 1,5,4); Mmd B° 61,21 = C° 59,5 (Kacc-v 2,8,45); Mmd B° 85,19 = C° 82,20 (Kacc-v 2,1,44).

⁷². *āha ca* Mmd B° 7,14 = C° 6,28 (Kacc 4,2,1); Mmd B° 220,22 = C° 235,6 (Sv II 383,22, Spk II 77,33, etc).

⁷³. Sadd 579,14–16.18–20.21–23.27–28. The parallels in the *Visuddhimaggamahāīkā* (I 226; 10th century AD) are given there without any introductory reporting frame. In Dhammapāla's *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaīkā* (10th century AD; Ps-pṭ II 246) all these stanzas are given successively with the reporting frame *bhavantī c' ettha* preceding the first stanza. This reporting frame in that case indicates a quotation of stanzas from a

the name of his source, the *Sāratthadīpanī*.⁷⁴ Summarizing we can say that *āha ca* came into use in Pāli around the 6th century at the earliest, and, since it is completely absent also from many of the younger texts not contained in the CSCD,⁷⁵ it seems to have been in use during the tenth to twelfth centuries, especially in grammatical texts, but not to have become widespread.

Looking at the fourteen *āha c' ettha* references on the CSCD version 4, this quotative in all cases introduces stanzas. The fourteen references are reduced to seven, because of literal parallels. Thus the same three stanzas introduced by *āha c' ettha* are transmitted in Buddhaghosa's *Papañcasūdanī* (I 138,10–16), and *Manorathapūraṇī* (I 95,20–26 with v.l. *āha ettha* in E°), in Dhammapāla's *Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā* (I 82,25–32), and in Sāriputta's *Sāratthadīpanī* (I 89,18–24).⁷⁶ One other stanza is again found in four sources, Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Vism 211,9–11), the *Samantapāsādikā* (I 123,30–32) ascribed to Buddhaghosa, the Anonymous' *Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā* (108,15–19) and in Upasena's *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā* (9th century AD; II 265,16–19). In both instances it is probable that the younger sources copied the passages from the respective older texts. Another stanza is found in the *Paṭisambhidāmaggaṭṭhakathā* (5th century AD; Paṭis-a I 188,28–36), and Upasena's *Mahāniddesaṭṭhakathā* (Nidd-a I I 139,17–21). It was certainly copied by Upasena who follows the Paṭis-a closely in many places. There remain four stanzas for which we have no parallels introduced by *āha c' ettha*, although all have parallels without or with a different introductory quotative: Sn-a I 317,12–14⁷⁷, Nidd-a I I 8,7–9,⁷⁸ Nidd-a I I 9,2–5,⁷⁹ and six stanzas in the *Abhidh-av-ṇṭ* (I 145).⁸⁰

Abbreviations

B^e Edition in Burmese script, refers to the editions in the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana series.

different text by the same author (see for that Kieffer-Pülz (in preparation) Appendix: § B 2.3.1). In Sāriputta's *Sāratthadīpanī* (3rd quarter of the 12th century AD) these stanzas are introduced by *tenedaṃ vuccati*, a quotative unique for this text, and this text portion (six references). As frequently Sāriputta here quotes from Dhammapāla's *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā*, from which he takes over a larger text portion, only adding the quotative *tenedaṃ vuccati* before the stanzas not introduced by Dhammapāla, possibly an evidence that they were written by himself.

⁷⁴ In Chapaṭa's commentary (not yet edited) on the 41st stanza of the *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgha* the author quotes from Sp-ṭ III 276,1–2.

⁷⁵ Jā-ṭ, Mhv-ṭ, Paṭis-gp, Upās.

⁷⁶ These are three stanzas. The Sv-anṭ (1800) gives the same three verses introduced by *vuttañ hi*, a young quotative, see Kieffer-Pülz (in press), § 6. In the two other commentaries by Buddhaghosa only the first two stanzas are given, once without introduction (Sv II 383,20–24), and once introduced by *ten' eva vuttaṃ* (Spk II 77,30–35). For this quotative, see Kieffer-Pülz (in press), § 3. The first verse is transmitted in two *Abhidhamma* commentaries, both times introduced by *ayañ hi* (Kv-a 36,9ff., Moh 266,34ff.), whereas in the *Abhidh-av-ṭ* (II 204) it is introduced by *vuttañ hi etaṃ Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ*. So this 13th century commentary is the first to give a source for the first stanza. The Mogg-p-ṭ (13th century AD) quotes it introduced by *tathā ca vuttaṃ*, and the Mil-ṭ (15th century) without an introductory expression.

⁷⁷ Parallels in Sāriputta's Mp-ṇṭ III 58 (*āhu c' ettha*), and in the *Nettiṭīkā* (109) (*yato vuttaṃ*).

⁷⁸ Parallel in Vjb 2,2–4 (*uccate*). For the parallelism between Nidd-a I and Vjb, see Kieffer-Pülz 2009.

⁷⁹ Parallel in Vjb 4,10–11 (without introduction).

⁸⁰ Stanza 1–6 are found in Dhammapāla's *Udānaṭṭhakathā* (154,5ff.; *tatth' idaṃ* (v.l. *tatthedaṃ*) *vuccati*), and *Itivuttakaṭṭhakathā* (It-a I 138,2ff.: *tatth' etaṃ vuccati*); Stanzas 2–6 are found in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsīnipurāṇaṭṭhikā* (Sv-pt I 141, 26ff.), the *Papañcasūdanīpurāṇaṭṭhikā* (Ps-pt I 108), both ascribed to Dhammapāla, in Sāriputta's *Manorathapūraṇī-abhinavaṭṭhikā* (Mp-ṇṭ I 135), and in Nāṇabhivamsa's *Abhinavaṭṭhikā* to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī* (Sv-anṭ I 318: without introduction).

C ^e	Edition in Sinhalese script.
Chs	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Edition, Rangoon.
CSCD	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM, Version 3.0 (Igatpuri; Vipassana Research Institute, 1999). Contains the canonical and post-canonical Pāli texts based on the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition. Version 4.0 (Unicode Version). (Available on CD-Rom or online, see www.vridhamma.org/Chattha-Sangayana-CD-Rom-Update). [Quoted according to the pagination of the European editions if possible. In case no European edition exists, I quote according to the Burmese edition; the pagination in the datafile sometime deviates by about one page from the printed editions].
PTS	Pali Text Society

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The Language of the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* — The Oldest Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Text *

Seishi KARASHIMA

Prologue

Probably, the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* (hereinafter Abhis.) originally formed a part of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins. There is only one single palm-leaf manuscript, now preserved at the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, whose script is the same as that of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, probably also belonging originally to the aforementioned *Vinaya*. Gustav Roth, who has studied both manuscripts and published an excellent edition of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, named the script “the Proto-Bengali-cum-Proto-Maithili type” and assumed that both of them were written between the 11th and 12th centuries,¹ though the *Abhisamācārika-Dharma* Study Group of Taishō University has criticised his assumption concerning the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* manuscript and conjectured that it might be a much later copy, judging from its unskilful script — the manuscript contains many scribal errors which might have been caused by the scribe, who was inexperienced in copying the earlier script — and the good preservation of the manuscript.² The present author is rather inclined to agree with Roth, based on his experience of studying various manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.

Abhis. is a very difficult text, due to its contents, language and its manuscript containing many scribal errors. The present author has worked on this complex text for twenty years and published *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins* (hereinafter Abhis[K]) in collaboration with Oskar von Hinüber in 2012, consisting of a critical edition, German translation, grammar and glossary.

As stated above, there is only one surviving manuscript of this text, which contains quite a few scribal errors. This is probably due to the fact that the scribe, who lived later than the 11th century, could not understand its highly archaic and vernacular forms, many of which might date back to pre-Christian times. Therefore, it is often difficult to judge whether an elsewhere unattested word is a genuine, original reading or simply a scribal error.

Its contents are of greatly diverse descriptions and rules of everyday life of monks, how to behave on the days of *Poṣadha* (*Uposatha*), in the refectory, towards teachers,

* I am very grateful to Kazuhiro Iguchi and Peter Lait for checking my English.

¹ BhiVin(Ma-L), pp. xxlff.

² Abhis(T), pp. 37f.

instructors; how to handle lodgings, beds, bedding, cushions, furniture; how to build and use a toilet; how to make and use toothpicks; how to prepare rice gruel; how to sit, wash one's hands and feet; how to beg for alms; how to cough, sneeze, yawn properly, deal with flatulence and so on.

Words and phrases, used in such descriptions of everyday life, are often unattested in other texts — this one contains about 1100 previously unattested words and phrases —, which makes it difficult to understand, even though the Chinese parallel text in the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas often helps. Even where words are attested elsewhere, it is still difficult to discover concrete meanings in the context of everyday life. For example, *pratipādikā* and *pratipādaka* (Pā. *paṭipādaka*), which have been understood as “footstool; the supporter of a bed”, can only mean a pad or plate put under a leg of a chair or bed to prevent damage to the floor.³

Abhis. preserves many Middle Indo-Aryan words and forms, which may date back to the time when Buddhist scriptures were still being orally transmitted in colloquial and everyday languages. The language of Abhis. is more vernacular and probably more archaic than those of other scriptures of the same school, such as the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* and the *Mahāvastu*.

1. The title: *Abhisamācārikā*, *Ābhisamācārikāḥ* or *Ābhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*?⁴

The manuscript of the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* begins with “*abhisamācārikāṇām ādīḥ*” and ends with “*ābhisamācārikāḥ samāptāḥ*”. The Chinese translation of the text begins with *Mingweiyifa* 明威儀法 (“Explanation of the Rules of Right Conduct”), with the variant *Weiyifa* 威儀法 (“The Rules of Right Conduct” = *Ābhisamācārikā dharmāḥ*), and ends with the title *Weiyi* 威儀 (“Right Conduct” = *Ābhisamācārikā*). This text, which is one of the thirteen parts of the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas* (T. 22, no. 1425, *Mohesengqilū* 摩訶僧祇律), is quoted as *Weiyi* 威儀 (“Right Conduct” = *Ābhisamācārikā*) in other parts of the *Vinaya* text: 459a29. 如威儀中廣說 (“As set forth in the *Weiyi* in detail”); 334c16ff. 諸比丘於修多羅中、毘尼中、威儀中言：“此是罪，非{是}罪。”；“是輕，是重”；“是可治，是不可治”；“是殘罪，是無殘罪。”，鬪諍相言 (“Monks quarrelled and disputed, based upon the [*Prātimokṣa*]Sūtra, the *Vinaya* [or] the *Weiyi* which states ‘This is an offence.’; ‘This is not an offence.’; ‘This is a light [offence].’; ‘This is a heavy [offence].’; ‘it is possible to atone for it.’; ‘it is not possible to atone for it.’; ‘This is an offence of a *Samghātiśeṣa*.’; ‘This is not an offence of a *Samghātiśeṣa*.’”).

Thus, except for the beginning of the Chinese translation of the text in question, where it is entitled 威儀法 (“The Rules of Right Conduct” = *Ābhisamācārikā dharmāḥ*), it is referred to in a shorter form as *Weiyi* 威儀 (“Right Conduct” = *Ābhisamācārikā*) in the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas*.

In contrast, “*ābhisamācārikā dharmāḥ*” is used as a general term in the individual rules in the text. The sections from § 1 to § 30, i.e. Chapters I~III in it, end with the phrase “*na pratipadyati, abhisamācārikān dharmmān atikramati*” (“If one does not behave [in this

³ See Abhis(K) I, 110~111(Übersetzung), note 4.

⁴ See Abhis(K) I, p. ix.

manner], one transgresses the rules of proper conduct.”), whereas those from § 31 to the end of the text, i.e. Chapters IV~VI, end with the variant phrase “*na pratipadyati, ābhisamācārikān dharmmān atikrāmati*”.

In a similar way, in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* of the same school (hereinafter BhiVin[Ma-L]), the sections in which the precepts are elucidated end with the plural forms “*pārājikā*”, “*saṃghātiseṣā*” and “*nihsargikapācattikā*”. In BhiVin(Ma-L) § 68, the following expressions, ending in “*dharmāḥ*”, are used in the list of the precepts: *aṣṭau pārājikā dharmāḥ*, *ekūnaviṃśati saṃghātiseṣā dharmāḥ*, *triṃśan nihsargikapācattikā dharmāḥ* (“Eight *Pārājika-Dharmas*, nineteen *Samghātiseṣa-Dharmas*, thirty *Nihsargikapācattika-Dharmas*”). However, the sections themselves end each time without the designation “*dharmāḥ*”: e.g. § 137.3B6.7. *pārājikāḥ samāptāḥ*; § 172.5A7.7. *saṃghātiseṣāḥ samāptāḥ*; § 182.6A4.3. *samāptā triṃśan naihsargikāḥ*.

Since the words *abhisamācārika* / *ābhi*⁵ (“concerning right conduct”) in this text are, as in Pāli, used certainly as adjectives, it is probable that the expressions “*abhisamācārikāṇām ādiḥ*” and “*ābhisamācārikāḥ samāptāḥ*” are abbreviated forms of “*abhisamācārikāṇām dharmāṇām ādiḥ*” and “*ābhisamācārikā dharmāḥ samāptāḥ*”.

Presumably, *Abhis.* was not an independent text originally, but formed a part of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins. This assumption is reinforced from the use of the word *antaroddāna* (“interim summary”) at the end of *Abhis.*

In conclusion, this text should be considered as a part of the *Vinaya* text, in which the *abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ* are explained. Therefore, as the title of the text, *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*⁵ is preferred to *Abhisamācārikā, Ābhisamācārikāḥ*.

2. *Madhyuddeśapāṭhaka*

In the colophon of the manuscript of *Abhis.*, the following expression is found: *ārya-Mahāsāṃghikānām Lokottaravādinām madhyuddeśapāṭhakānām pāṭhena*. Similar phrases occur in other *Vinaya* texts of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins⁶, e.g. in BhiVin(Ma-L) § 1, BI 1. *āryaMahāsāṃghikānām Lokottaravādinām madhyuddeśikānām pāṭhena Bhikṣuṇīvinayasyādiḥ*. The meaning of the expression *madhyuddeśika* has been discussed repeatedly. Roth translates the above-quoted sentence in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* as follows: “The beginning of the Disciplinary Code for nuns according to the recital of the Noble Mahāsāṃghikas, who profess the Supramundane, and recite [the *Prātimokṣa*] through the medium of an intermediate type of language.” (Roth 1985: 133). The expression *madhyuddeśika* in other texts was changed to *madhyuddeśa-pāṭhaka* (lit. “a reciter of the recitation of [the *Prātimokṣa*]”) in *Abhis.*, which makes its meaning clearer.

The *Prātimokṣasūtras* of the different schools in the following languages are either

⁵ In this text, this is constantly used in the accusative form, namely *abhisamācārikān dharmmān (atikrāmati)*, while the nominative form *abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ* is found only once, i.e. at the end of BhiVin(Ma-L): § 293.10A3.7f. *āraṇyakaṃ jentākaṃ varca kaṭhinaṃ uddharitvā avaśeṣā tathaiva kāryāḥ abhisamācārikā dharmāḥ* (“Except for [the precepts concerning] *Āraṇyaka*, *Jentāka*, defecation and the *Kaṭhina* mat, the other rules for proper conduct should be observed in exactly the same way [as those for monks].”). It is clear that this is a generic term for the rules for proper conduct. Roth (BhiVin[Ma-L], p. 325, note 11) and the research group at Taishō University (Abhis[T], I, p. 30) consider this expression erroneously as the title of this text.

⁶ Cf. *Abhis(K)* II, 470 (Übers), note 1.

extant or may have been in use:⁷

1. Theravādins : Pāli
2. Mahāsāṃghikas, Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins : Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
3. Mūlasarvāstivādins : Sanskrit
4. Sarvāstivādins : (Gāndhārī) > Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit > Sanskrit
5. Dharmaguptakas : (Gāndhārī) > Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit > Sanskrit

Therefore, it is not impossible that, as Roth suspects, *madhyuddeśika* or *madhyuddeśa-pāṭhaka* means “a reciter of (the *Prātimokṣa*) in the “intermediate language””. This “intermediate language” means one, which is between Prakrit and Sanskrit, namely what is now designated as “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit”.

In the Chinese translations of the *Vinaya* texts of the Mahāsāṃghikas, no parallel to these self-designations of the school is found.

3. Language

The language of Abhis. is to be classified as “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit”, which is the same as that of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* and the *Mahāvastu*. As von Hinüber has suggested, the term “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” should be restricted to the language of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin school.⁸

As mentioned above, the manuscript of Abhis. begins with “*abhisamācārikāṇām ādih*” and ends with “*ābhisamācārikāḥ samāptāḥ*”. Interestingly enough is the fact that all the sections in the first half (§ 1~§ 30) of the manuscript end with the phrase *abhisamācārikān dharmmān atikramati* (“One transgresses the precepts of proper conduct”), while all those in the second half (§ 31~§ 62) end with *ābhisamācārikān dharmmān atikrāmati*. Not only the spellings of *abhisamācārikān* / *ābhisamācārikān* but also the verbal forms *atikramati* / *atikrāmati* alter. Also, the word for “accommodation, bed; bedding, cushions, furniture” occurs in two different variants in the text: *śayyāsana* occurs 55 times, of which 48 are between § 8:11 and § 14.7, while its variant *śeyyāsana* occurs 49 times remarkably *only* between § 14:10 and § 39.29. Perhaps, there are other such variations of forms in this text, but these two examples will suffice at this point. It seems that this manuscript of Abhis., which is the sole extant one, was written by only one scribe. If this assumption is correct, the above-mentioned variations of forms are probably due to a precedent manuscript underlying the present one or to an oral tradition.

The words, which are characteristic of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin school have been collected and studied by Roth (Roth 1966; Roth 1993: 232). To his list, the following words and phrases can be added: *ati-r-iva* (= *atīva*), *anyātaka*~ (“other”), *anyena* (“to elsewhere”), *apara*~ (“somebody, a certain”), *allīya*- (“come near, approach, come”), *ā-cikṣa*- (“show; say, tell”), *ā-ṇape*- (“order, command”), *itthaṃ* (“here”), *ekatam’ ante* (“in a corner”), *ekamante* (“aside”), *etarhiṃ* (“now”), *ettha* (“here”) *kisya* (“whose”), *taṃ velam* (“at this time”), *tumaṃ* (“you”), *dhova*- (“wash”), *bhaṭṭā*~ (“woman”), *viya* (“like, as”), *vistareṇa nidānaṃ kṛtvā* etc.

⁷ See von Hinüber 1989: 354 (= 2009: 567).

⁸ Cf. von Hinüber 1989: 341, 354 (= 2009: 554, 567); *ib.* 2001: § 43.

(Hs. *yathā pāṭito*)” (“ ‘Hu, ha, hey! [Here,] the devil is set free! It is [tumultuous] like when the Pañcavarsika-Festival begins! The caravan [, with which you should have departed,] has set out [already]!’ ”)

§ 31.24. “*āyusmann, adyāpi yūyaṃ iha vasatha. he he śiṣṭā baṣṭā. yūyaṃ jātā, <jātā> te ye śrgālā ye yuṣmākaṃ māṃsāni khādiṣyanti.*” (“ ‘You, oh venerable ones, live here still now! Hey, hey, [you] are left behind, oh you fools! You are born here, [and] the jackals are [already] born, which will eat your flesh.’ ”).

The language of Abhis. has preserved more archaic features than those of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* and the *Mahāvastu* of the same school. Thus, quite often, one finds in it, for example, the absolutives in *-iyāṇa* (e.g. *aṅṭhiyāṇa, kariyāṇa, gacchiyāṇa, thaviyāṇa*; 36 examples of 24 different verbal roots)¹¹ as well as those in *-iyāṇaṃ* (e.g. *kariyāṇaṃ, utkṣipiyāṇaṃ, gacchiyāṇaṃ, dhoviyāṇaṃ* etc.; *in toto* 125 examples of 63 different verbal roots)¹², while the absolutives in *-iyāṇaṃ* (5 instances of *uddiṣiyāṇaṃ, vītināmiyāṇaṃ* and *nirmmādiyāṇaṃ*)¹³ and those in *-iyāna* (2 instances of *vītināmiyāna*)¹⁴ occur much less frequently. The absolutives in *-iyāṇa* and *-iyāṇaṃ* are found also in the older layer of the Jain Canon in Ardha-Māgadhī, while in Pāli, *-iyāṇaṃ* is used and in Buddhist Sanskrit, *-iyāna* is utilised.¹⁵ In contrast to Abhis., these absolute forms do not occur anywhere in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*. In another text of the same school, namely the *Mahāvastu*, the absolutives in *-iyāna* of 20 different verbal roots occur 33 times, while the old absolute *-iyāṇa* occurs *only* once (Mvu I 227.16. *upagrahiyāṇa*) and the other older forms in *-iyāṇaṃ* and *-iyānaṃ* do not occur at all.¹⁶ In this connection, it should be pointed out that these Middle Indo-Aryan absolute forms are neither found in the *Prātimokṣasūtra* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins (PrMoSū[Ma-L]) nor in the fragmentary manuscript of the same school or the Mahāsāṃghikas (PrMoSū[Ma(-L)]). The numbers of Middle Indo-Aryan absolute forms which occur in the literature of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins are as follows:

	<i>-iyāṇa</i> (= Pkt)	<i>-iyāṇaṃ</i> (= Pkt)	<i>-iyānaṃ</i> (= Pā)	<i>-iyāna</i> (= Pā)
Abhis.	36	125	5	2
<i>Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>Mahāvastu</i>	1	0	0	33
PrMoSū(Ma-L)	0	0	0	0

As one can see, the frequent occurrences of these forms in Abhis. are thus quite conspicuous.

Also, forms like *thave-*, *sthave-* (“put, set, lay”; < Skt. *sthāpayati*; cf. Pkt. *ṭhavei, ṭhavai*) never occur in either the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* or the *Mahāvastu* nor in other Buddhist texts, but in Abhis., they do five times (see Abhis. III 282, 543). This reveals the antiquity of its language.

Probably, the same also applies to the following examples.

¹¹ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 48~49.

¹² Cf. Abhis(K) III, 49~50.

¹³ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 49~50.

¹⁴ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 48.

¹⁵ Cf. Pischel § 592; Geiger § 214, Oberlies 2001: 265, 267f.; BHSG §§ 35.45f.; Roth 1980: 87~88 = 1986: 298~299.

¹⁶ Cf. Roth 1980: 87f. = 1986: 298f.

The Middle Indo-Aryan forms *yeva* (= Pā, Pkt) and *yyeva* (= Pkt)¹⁷ and their corresponding Sanskrit one *eva* occur in Abhis.¹⁸, the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, the *Mahāvastu* and in PrMoSū(Ma-L) in the following frequencies:

	<i>yeva</i> (= Pā)	<i>yyeva</i> (= Pkt)	<i>eva</i> (= Skt)	total
Abhis.	74	23	54	151
<i>Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya</i>	17	0	182	199
<i>Mahāvastu</i>	42	0	946	988
PrMoSū(Ma-L)	0	0	41	41

The two Middle Indo-Aryan forms *yeva* and *yyeva* occur a great deal in Abhis., while the Sanskrit form *eva* does less frequently than *yeva*. The form *yeva* appears more often in Abhis. than in either the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* or the *Mahāvastu*¹⁹, while *yyeva* is not found in these latter two texts at all. In contrast, *eva* appears far more frequently in these two texts than in Abhis. If we consider that the lengths of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* and the *Mahāvastu* are 1.5 and 6 times, respectively, longer than that of Abhis., the frequent occurrences of *yeva* and *yyeva* in Abhis. are all the more prominent and reveal the antiquity of its language. In the *Prātimokṣasūtra* texts of the same school, namely PrMoSū(Ma-L) and PrMoSū(Ma[-L]), neither *yeva* nor *yyeva* occurs, but instead only the Sanskrit form *eva* is used, which may reveal that they have been greatly sanskritised.

The Middle Indo-Aryan form *viya* (= Pā, Pkt) and its equivalent Sanskrit one *iva* occur in Abhis., the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in the following frequencies:

	<i>viya</i> (= Pā, Pkt)	<i>iva</i> (= Skt)	total
Abhis.	14	1	15
<i>Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya</i>	6	27	33
<i>Mahāvastu</i>	30	123	153
PrMoSū(Ma-L)	1	4	5

While in Abhis. *viya* is mainly used, the Sanskrit form *iva* occurs only once. Exactly the opposite can be seen where *iva* is used frequently in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, while the Middle Indo-Aryan form *viya* rarely occurs.

The Middle Indo-Aryan form *kissa* (“whose; why”) occurs twice in Abhis., while the corresponding hybrid form *kisya* appears only once.²⁰ In the *Mahāvastu*, only the latter form is found, appearing 27 times, while neither of the two forms occurs in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* or the *Prātimokṣasūtra*.

The Middle Indo-Aryan past participle form *dinna~* (“given”; cf. Pkt. *diṇṇa*)²¹ of

¹⁷ According to Norman, both forms are constructed by combining *ye* (emphatic particle) and *eva*; cf. Norman 1967: 162f. = CPI 48f.; cf. also Steiner 1997: 199ff., Esposito 2004: 44.

¹⁸ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 454-456.

¹⁹ According to Dr. Katarzyna Marciniak (personal communication, February 2014), the form *yeva* occurs 197 times in the old palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvastu* from the 12th century.

²⁰ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 292.

²¹ Except in Abhis., *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, Mvu, PrMoSū(Ma-L) and PrMoSū(Ma[-L]), this Middle Indo-Aryan form appears only rarely in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, as Edgerton has noted (BHSG § 34.16). In addition to the occurrences in the above-mentioned texts and in those referred to in BHSG § 34.16, the following examples can

√ *dā* occurs in Abhis. 14 times²², while its corresponding Sanskrit form *datta~* not once. In contrast to Abhis., both forms appear in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* (*dinna~* 21 times; *datta~* 12 times) and in the *Mahāvastu* (*dinna~* 125 times; *datta~* 18 times). In the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, as in Abhis. only *dinna~* is used.²³

	<i>dinna~</i> (= Pā)	<i>datta~</i> (= Skt)	total
Abhis.	14	0	14
<i>Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya</i>	21	12	33
<i>Mahāvastu</i>	125	18	143
PrMoSū(Ma-L)	10	0	10

The Middle Indo-Aryan form *khāyitaka~* ("bitten"; cf. Pā *khāyita* + suffix *ka*) occurs twice in Abhis., while once its variant *khāditaka*²⁴. In the old palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mahāvastu* from the 12th century, the older form *khāyitaka~* occurs twice²⁵, while it was replaced by *khāditaka* in later paper manuscripts (Mvu II 78.11, 14).

Śākyamuni himself did not speak in Sanskrit, probably he preached in Old Māgadhī, the dialect of Magadha. Old Buddhist scriptures were at that time orally transmitted in the spoken languages of the ordinary people, so-called Middle Indo-Aryan languages, namely Pāli and Prakrit. While the Theravādins have more or less preserved the scriptures in Pāli, the other schools converted them gradually into a literary language, namely Sanskrit — this process is called "Sanskritisation".

As we have seen above, amongst the scriptures of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, Abhis. preserves Middle Indo-Aryan forms the most, with the *Mahāvastu* coming second and the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* the third, while the *Prātimokṣasūtra* is the most "Sanskritised".²⁶ The language of Abhis. is, therefore, more vernacular and probably more archaic than those of the other scriptures of the same school. In conclusion, we may say that Abhis. is the oldest Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text which we have.

be added: PDhp 356~358. *dinnam* hoti mahapphalaṃ (cf. *Udānavarga* 16.16~18. *dattam* bhavati mahāphalam); *Merv-Avadāna*, folio 5 verso. *ghasya dinnam*, 15 recto 2. *acchādo dinnam*, 63 recto 4. *yaṃ dinnam taṃ pi charddītam siyā*. Cf. also Karashima 2001: 209f.; von Simson 1997: 584, 592~3, 595.

²² Cf. Abhis(K) III, 203.

²³ In the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, this form occurs in the following compositions: *adinna*, *durdinna*, *dinnadinnāni*.

²⁴ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 218.

²⁵ I thank Dr. Marciniak for this information (personal communication, February 2014).

²⁶ The present author assumes that the reason why the levels of Sanskritisation of these texts of the same school differ was because the *Prātimokṣasūtra* was constantly recited every fortnight, namely on the *Poṣadha* (*Uposatha*) day, from the earliest times of Buddhism onwards. The text was thus always in use, therefore it was gradually "sanskritised" to follow the trend of the time when Sanskrit came to be used more generally in Buddhist communities, probably from the 3rd or 4th century C.E. onwards. The *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, mainly consisting of nuns' eight grave duties and a commentary on their *Prātimokṣasūtra*, was presumably "sanskritised", following the Sanskritisation of the latter for the same reason as stated above. In contrast to these texts, the *Mahāvastu*, which is a collection of stories of the former lives of the Buddha and his disciples as well as the events in his life, may not have been recited nor read by many monks, therefore its Sanskritisation is rather limited. Although Abhis. contains detailed descriptions and miscellaneous rules of everyday life of monks, it is rather doubtful whether these were applicable and practised in locales, which differed from where it was composed. This text also may not have been recited nor read by many monks, which is presumably why it retains very archaic and vernacular forms.

4. A linguistic similarity between the literature of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*

In the literature of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, namely Abhis., the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* and the *Mahāvastu*, the verb $\sqrt{\text{jalp}}$ occurs frequently in the meaning “(somebody) says, speaks”. In Abhis., this verb occurs 37 times²⁷; e.g. :

§ 19.42.19A3. *vaidyo jalpati* “*bhadantā pūtimūtraṃ pibanāya dethē*”*tti* (“A doctor says: ‘Give [him], oh venerable ones, stinky urine to drink!’”)

§ 50.9.43B5. *atha dāni so jalpati* “*āyusman, bhujja tvaṃ. bhuktaṃ mayē*”*ti*, ... (“Now, if he says: ‘Eat, oh venerable one! I have eaten!’, ...”)

In the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*, it occurs 38 times; for example :

§ 120.3B1.6. *yo dāni ahaṃ jalpāmi* “*ācikṣatu āryā kim ājñāpayasi*” (“Now I say: ‘The noble one should say what she orders.’”)

§ 236.8A9.2. *yā puna bhikṣuṇī puruṣeṇa sārthaṃ anto hastapāśasya santiṣṭheya vā samlapeya vā upakarnaṃ vā jalpeya pācattikaṃ* (“And if a nun stands very close to a man, talks to him, or speaks in his ear, she commits a *pācattika*.”)

In the *Mahāvastu*, this verb occurs 56 times; e.g. :

Mvu I 311.6. *te āhansu* “*jalpa yā te vijñapti*” (“They [i.e. the Brahmins] said [to Mālinī]: ‘Tell [us] your desire!’”)

Mvu I 348.18f. *tehi dāni yasya yaṃ mataṃ so taṃ jalpati* (“Now, they [both] told each other what they had thought.”)

In Pāli, its equivalent form *jappati* with the same meaning occurs occasionally²⁸; e.g. :

Vin IV 271.1f. *yā pana bhikkhunī ... purisena saddhiṃ eken’ ekā santiṭṭheyya vā sallapeyya vā nikaṇṇikaṃ vā jappeyya*, ... *pācittiyaṃ* (“And if a nun stands alone with a man, talks to him, or speaks in his ear, she commits a *pācittiya*.”)²⁹

Mil 31.8. *sādhū bhante, atthaṃ jappehi* (“Please tell [me] the meaning, oh venerable one!”)

In the epic Sanskrit, there are several examples of the usage of this verb with the same meaning.³⁰ It is remarkable that the verb $\sqrt{\text{jalp}}$ in the meaning “(somebody) says, speaks” occurs very rarely in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts. In the entire corpus of the Sanskrit literature of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, this particular usage of the verb is not found even once. In *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, it occurs only once in a fragment of an unidentified, but likely to be classified Abhidharma text.³¹ The frequent occurrence of $\sqrt{\text{jalp}}$ of this particular usage in the literature of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins is therefore striking and thus, one may assume that this usage is one of the characteristic features of their language.

In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, we find two occurrences of probably the same usage of the verb $\sqrt{\text{jalp}}$:

²⁷ Cf. Abhis(K) III, 254, s.v. $\sqrt{\text{jalp}}$.

²⁸ Cf. DP II 205f., s.v. *jappati*¹.

²⁹ Cf. Waldschmidt 1926: 179f.

³⁰ Cf. PW, III 66–67, s.v. *jalp*.

³¹ SWTF II 290; SHT III, p. 208, no. 946 = S 434R3. [*priyava*]canāni *jalpati*.

AS 15.14ff. = AS(R) 30.15ff. = AS(W) 122.5ff. *āha*: “*utpādo dharmo ’nutpādo dharmā ity, āyūṣman Śāriputra, na pratibhāti jalpītum.*” *āha*: “*anutpādo ’pi te, āyūṣman Subhūte, na³² pratibhāti jalpītum?*” *āha*: “*anutpāda evāyūṣman Śāriputra, jalpaḥ. ...*” (“[Subhūti] said: ‘In my opinion, oh venerable Śāriputra, one cannot say that the *dharmā* “production” is the *dharmā* “non-production.”’ [Śāriputra] said: ‘Don’t you think that, oh venerable Subhūti, one can talk of “non-production”?’ [Subhūti] replied: “Non-production” is, oh venerable Śāriputra, [merely] a speech. ...’”)

AS 42.2ff. = AS(R) 83.19ff. = AS(W) 252.5f. *yadāpi sa dharmabhāṇako na jalpītukāmo bhaviṣyati, tadāpi tasya te devaputrās tenāiva dharmagauraveṇa pratibhānam upasaṃhartavyaṃ maṃṣyante, yathā tasya kulaputrasya vā kuladuhitur vā bhāṣītum eva chando bhaviṣyati* (“Even when the Dharma preacher is not willing to talk, the deities will still think that, because of their respect for the Dharma, they must induce in him eloquence [self-confidence, inspiration], so that the man or woman of good family could obtain the will to preach.”)

This particular usage of the verb √*jalp* found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* seems to support the often assumed idea that this early Mahāyāna text was composed by the Mahāsāṃghika(-Lokottaravādin)s.³³ However, we need to compare the vocabulary of each Mahāyāna sūtra with that of the literature of the Mahāsāṃghika(-Lokottaravādin)s thoroughly, to verify the relationship between certain Mahāyāna sūtras and these schools.

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Abhis = the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*

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³² *na* : In AS, this word is missing (a misprint).

³³ For the composition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, cf. Karashima 2013.

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Quotations from earlier Buddhist Texts in the *Poṣadhavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School

Haiyan Hu-VON HINÜBER

§1. The Sanskrit manuscript of the *Poṣadhavastu*, which originates from Gilgit, is supposed to have been written in the 6th century.¹ In this text are found several extracts or even whole passages originating from earlier Buddhist works written in Pāli, Sanskrit or Gāndhārī. It will be demonstrated in the following discussion that these quotations are highly significant for the clarification of the relationship between the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinayavastu* and some earlier Buddhist texts.

§2. On the first quotation: *niṣadyā* and *yoga*

In accordance with the most *Vinaya* commentaries such as the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vinayavastu* was structurally compiled in a way to impart all of the basic knowledge what a monk needs to practise his daily life in the Saṃgha. Therefore, it is small wonder that the *Poṣadhavastu*, even at the very beginning, contains a long passage about different matters concerning the meditation. The explanation of *niṣadyā* and *yoga*² as given by the Buddha determines the manner, in which the monks are to perceive their bodies. This deals with the *dhātuprayoga*, “exercise of the elements”.³ The individual parts of the body are listed in the *Poṣadhavastu* as follows:

bhagavān āha ⁴ *niṣadyā (!) ucyate yogah <|> eta*⁵ *yūyam bhikṣava imam
eva kāyam ūrdhvaṃ pādatalād adhaḥ keśamasta[k]āt tvakparyantaṃ
yathāsthitaṃ yathāpraṇihitaṃ⁶ pūrṇaṃ nānāprakāryāśuceḥ*

¹ Concerning the age determination of this manuscript see Hu-von Hinüber 1994:37-40; on p. 59-60 ibidem is to be found a résumé of the quotations from earlier Buddhist texts in the *Poṣadhavastu*, which will be discussed in this article at length.

² On the late Buddhist term *yoga* cf. Schlingloff 2006:29; the respective passage in the *Poṣadhavastu*, which he refers to in note 2, is edited by Hu-von Hinüber 1994:264-293 (§6-§19).

³ Cf. SWTF s.v. *dhātuprayoga*: “meditative Betrachtung des Körpers nach den Elementen”.

⁴ With regard to the sigma language for the critical edition of the Sanskrit text cf. Hu-von Hinüber 1994:127-128; this paragraph (§5.2) is ibidem (p. 260-261) depicted with a German translation. *dge slon dag khyed tshur sōg* was added in the Tibetan translation (Lhasa I:184b3) what would correspond to Sanskrit *bhikṣavo yūyam āgacchata*, “come, you monks!”

⁵ Spelling mistakes for *evam*? Tibetan (see note above) om. Lévi 1932:36,¹⁷ and Dutt 1950:72,¹⁶ read *etad*.

⁶ Lévi 1932:36,¹⁸ and Dutt 1950:72,¹⁷⁻¹⁸ read *yathā sthitaṃ yathā praṇihitaṃ*.

pratya(v10)vekṣadhvaṃ <|> santy asmin kāye keśā⁷ romāṇi nakhā dantā rajo malam⁸ tvaṅ [m]āṃsam asthi snāyu⁹ sirā vṛkkā¹⁰ hrdayaṃ plihā klomaka antrāny¹¹ antraguṇāny āmāśayax pakvāśaya audaryakaṃ yakṛt purīṣam aśru svedaḥ kh[e]ṭas¹² śiṃghāṇako vasā lasikā¹³ majjā medaḥ pittaṃ śleṣmā pūyah śoṇitaṃ mastakaṃ¹⁴ (54r1) (mastakaluṅgaṃ mūtraṃ)¹⁵ ca (!) iti ।

The Buddha said: “*niṣadyā* signifies meditation (*yoga*). Monks! You should regard this body in this way: from the soles of the feet upwards, and from the hair downwards, wrapped in skin, in any particular position or situation, it (your body) is full of various impurities. This body consists of: hair, bodily hair, nails, teeth, dust, dirt, skin, meat, bones, tendons, blood vessels, kidney, heart, spleen, lung, small intestine, large intestine, stomach, abdomen, bladder, liver, excrement, tears, sweat, saliva, snot, synovial fluid, lymph, marrow, fat, bile, mucus, pus, blood, brain, cerebral membrane and urine.”

An analogical passage of the above quoted Poṣadhavastu text is actually missing in the Uposathakkhandhaka (*Mahāvagga* II) of the Pāli *Vinayaṭṭhaka*. However, there is a corresponding passage in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-Sutta*.¹⁶ The wording of the well-known Pāli text is almost identical with that of the *Poṣadhavastu* from *bhikṣava imam eva kāya to yathāsthitam yathāprāṇihitam*:

puna ca puram bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyam yathāsthitam yathāprāṇihitam dhātuso paccavekkhati: atthi imasmim kāye paṭhavīdhātu āpodhātu tejodhātu vāyodhātu ti.

In addition, some similar enumerations of body parts are known from earlier

7. Lévi 1932:36,₂₀ reads *kesā*; Dutt 1950:72,₁₉ reads it as the manuscript.

8. Lévi 1932:36,₂₀ reads *malam*; Dutt 1950:72,₁₉ reads it as the manuscript.

9. *snāyu* is here in the neutral form; in *Śikṣāsamuccaya* p. 209,₈ it is feminine: *snāyuh sirā*.

10. Lévi 1932:36,₂₁ reads *vṛkkā*; Dutt 1950:72,₂₀ reads it as the manuscript.

11. Lévi 1932:36,₂₁ and Dutt 1950:72,₂₀ read *antrāny*; see Monier-Williams s.v. *āntra*: “(fr. *antra*), the bowels, entrails” and Wogihara s.v. *āntra*. Cf. also Wille 1990:102 (208r10): *antrāny antraguṇāṃ vṛkkā* with note 227.

12. Lévi 1932:36,₂₂ reads *khetās*. In the Tibetan Text (Lhasa I:184b6) *sveda* and *khetā* are missing.

13. Lévi 1932:36,₂₂ and Dutt 1950:73,₁ read *lasikā*.

14. Dutt 1950:73,₂ om. *mastakaṃ*.

15. Reconstruction according to the Tibetan (Lhasa I:184b7) *klad pa dan ṣ klad rgya dan ṣ gcig dag kyañ yod de sñam du so sor rtogs śig* and *Mahāvīyutpatti* (no. 3936 and 4063); see also *Śikṣāsamuccaya* p. 209,₁₀ *mastakaluṅgaṃ*. The number of (6-7) *akṣaras*, which should be added here with all probability, amount for the distance of the lacuna to the original edge of the page.

16. *Dīgha-Nikāya* II.294,₁₄. Cf. Schlingloff 2006:85 with his German translation of this Pāli text and Banerjee 1979:188 with regard to the Tibetan text of the Gso-sbyoñ-gi-gzi; on the English translation of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* text see Rhys Davids 1977:II.330. And moreover, *bhikkhus*, a brother reflects upon this very body, however it be placed or disposed, with respect to its fundamentals: “There are in this body the four primary elements of earth, water, heat, and air”.

Pāli texts, e.g. in the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-Sutta*.¹⁷ As pointed out by Bendall, parallel wordings and terms can be found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*¹⁸ and *Khuddaka-Pāṭha* III¹⁹ as well as in the *Bodhicaryāvatāraṭīkā*²⁰ and *Mahāvīyutpatti* (no. 3929-4065). Furthermore, there is a detailed explanation of the individual parts of the body in the *Visuddhimagga* VIII.2.²¹

§3. On the second quotation: *poṣadhaḥ katamaḥ*

The Buddha had prescribed *niṣadyā*, *kriyā* and *poṣadha*, yet the monks did not understand their meaning. Thereupon Buddha gave an answer to the question “*poṣadhaḥ katamaḥ*” as follows:

poṣadhaḥ katamaḥ | *yo vo mayā bhikṣavo prātimokṣasūtroddeśa uddiṣṭaḥ*
sa vo 'dyāgreṇāvardhamāsam uddeṣṭavyaḥ <|>²²

“What is Poṣadha? You monks, from now on recite the *Prātimokṣasūtra* which I recited for you every second week.”

This sentence resembles a passage in the *Mahāparinīrvāṇasūtra* from Central Asia edited by E. Waldschmidt:

yo vo mayānvardhamāsaṃ p(r)ā(t)i(mokṣa uddeśitaḥ) sa vo 'dyāgr
*(220.5) eṇa śās(t)ā sa ca v(o niḥsaraṇam)*²³.

Also the Pāli text in the *Dīgha-Nikāya* II.154,^{5f.} *yo vo ānanda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mam' accayena satthā*²⁴ which however does not refer to the *Prātimokṣa*, has a similar sentence structure.

17. *Majjhima-Nikāya* III.240,¹⁹; *kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahārū aṭṭhī aṭṭhimiñjā vakkam hadayaṃ yakanam kilomakam pihakam papphāsam antam antagunaṃ udariyam karisaṃ; yaṃ vā pan' aññam pi kiñci ajjhataṃ paccattaṃ kakkhalaṃ kharigataṃ upādinnaṃ*; on the English translation see Horner III.287.

18. See Bendall's edition p. 209 (and a shorter version on p. 229); on the English translation cf. Bendall&Rouse 1922:202 and 216.

19. It deals with the first text of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, which contents only lists without context: *Dvattim-sākāraṃ*, p. 2 and 37f.; on the English translation see Ñāṇomoli 1906:2 and 37f.

20. Vallée Poussin (ed.) 1898:295.

21. *Kāyagatāsati*, p. 239f.; cf. CPD s.v. *kāya*.

22. See Hu-von Hinüber 1994:298-299 (§26). About this passage see also Wille 1990:153, GBM 2.130,v7: *anvardhamā[sam] pra(ā)timok[ṣas](ū)troddeśa* with note 36 (parallel text in the *Bhikṣukarmavākya* and *Upasampadājñapti*) and Roth 1968:337 *samāna-prātimokṣa-sūtroddeśa-[pāṭhatā] sā te adyāgreṇārāgayitavyā na virāgayitavyā*. Concerning the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the different *Vinaya* schools cf. Yuyama 1979 and von Hinüber 1999.

23. Waldschmidt 1950-51:386-387: paragraph 41,2 (224c). Concerning the reconstruction of the Sanskrit text by Waldschmidt see ibidem note 5-6.

24. Referred to by Waldschmidt, op. cit. On the English translation see Rhys Davids 1977:II.171; compare with Bechert 1985:36 on the sentence *ayaṃ dhammo ayaṃ vinayo idaṃ satthu sāsanaṃ* in *Vinayapīṭaka* II:203,^{34f.} “Dies ist das Gesetz (des Buddha), dies ist die (vom Buddha verkündete) Ordenszucht, dies ist die Anweisung des Lehrers.”

§4. On the third quotation: *śuddhasya hi sadā phalgu*

Except for the *uddānas* (list of contents), there is only one verse in the *Poṣadhavastu*²⁵ which is in fact known from the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* and the *Udānavarga* as well:

*uktam ca bhagavatā
śuddhasya hi sadā pha(56v2)lgu
sadā śuddhasya poṣadhaḥ </>
śucikarmaṇo hi śuddhasya
tasya sampadyate vratam </> iti*²⁶

Did not the Enlightened One say:

“Someone pure²⁷ shall always abide by the fasting period (*phalgu*),²⁸

The Poṣadha ceremony should always be held by someone pure;

Because someone pure, whose behaviour is pure,

Fulfils the vow.”

As summarized in the table below, the wording of the *Poṣadhavastu* verse is closer to the *Udānavarga* than to the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, the *Majjhima-* and the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. The reason is obviously that the *Udānavarga* is affiliated with the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school as demonstrated by L. Schmithausen in 1970.

<i>Udānavarga</i> (Bernhard, I.229)	<i>Gāndhārī Dharmapada</i> (Brough, 170: verse 327) ²⁹	<i>Majjhima-Nikāya</i> I.39 <i>Dīgha-Nikāya</i> I.139
<i>śuddhasya hi sadā phalguḥ śudhasya poṣathaḥ sadā śudhasya śucikarmaṇaḥ sadā sampadyate vratam.</i>	<i>śuddhasa hi sada phagu śudhasa posadhu sada śudhasa suyī tasa samajadi vada.</i>	<i>suddhassa ve sadā phaggu suddhassa' uposatho sadā suddhassa suci-kamassa sadā sampajjate vataṃ.</i>

^{25.} See Hu-von Hinüber 1994:306-307 (§33.5). Furthermore, this verse can also be found in the *Prātimokṣasūtram* of the Lokottaravādimahāsaṅghika School, ed. N. Tatia, p. 4.

^{26.} In this anuṣṭubh verse, which is missing in the Pāli *Uposathakkhandhaka*, *suci-* in sentence c makes for length; cf. Bechert 1961:26; Balk 1988:§37 and §41, Wille 1990:68-69 and Franke 1910.

^{27.} *śuddha*, *śucikarmaṇ* and *śuddhi* signify here “pure”, “pure manner of acting” and “purity” in a general religious sense; cf. SWTF s.v. *a(śuci-karmaṇ)* and Wogihara s.v. *karma-pariśuddhi*: 業清淨. However, both terms *pariśuddha* (“completely pure”) and *pāriśuddhi* (“complete”) in connection to the *Poṣadha* ceremony determine the specific meaning of having committed no sin in the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. *pāriśuddhi-dāyaka* and – *grāhaka* also refer to the latter meaning; cf. Hu-von Hinüber 1994:168, 174f. 359f. and 364f.

^{28.} About *phalgu* see BHSD s.v.: 2 “a certain religious observance”, where this sentence is quoted in reference to MN comm. i.179.1ff., Ud xvi.15 and MN i.39.19.

^{29.} Cf. also Brough 1962:237 (commentary) and Norman 1990-93:114.

§5. The above discussed aspect should be accounted for in any further analysis of other sections of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*. The bulk of individual citations thus identified will have the potential to yield more precise information on the compilation of this *Vinaya*.³⁰

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³⁰. E.g. Dutt 1942 (*Gilgit Manuscripts* III.2), p. vi, points out the parallels between many of the verses in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Cīvaravastu* and in the Pāli *Dhammapada*.

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The *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*: A Transliteration of the Nepalese Manuscript A (6)¹

Noriyuki KUDO

CONVENTIONS:

()	restored <i>akṣara</i> (s)
[]	damaged <i>akṣara</i> (s)
< >	omitted (part of) <i>akṣara</i> (s)
{ }	superfluous <i>akṣara</i> (s)
{{ }}	erased <i>akṣara</i> (s)
« »	interlinear insertion
+	one lost <i>akṣara</i>
..	one illegible <i>akṣara</i>
.	illegible part of an <i>akṣara</i>
*	<i>virāma</i>
'	<i>avagraha</i>
;	a sign for fulfilling a blank

TRANSLITERATION:

SL165.1 atha mataṃ <|> yathā amamas² tena teṣān dravye³ na ;○ prayojanaṃ |
ucyate | asti keṣāṃcid devānāṃ śrutir yathā devajajñavidhvaṃsanam⁴ {!} pṛthivyām⁵

¹ As to proceeding parts of this transliteration see Kudo 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013. For convenient reference to Lévi's edition, the pagenumber and line are given in the left margin using the abbreviation "SL" (= Sylvain Lévi). I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Diwakar Acharya who gave me information about the "Notebooks" transcribing the original manuscripts and supplied the images of them. Needless to say, any errors that remain are of my own.

² Read as is emended by Lévi: *yathāmamās*; Notebook (35.21): *yathā amāmas*.

³ Read as is emended by Lévi: *dravyaṃ*; Notebook (ibid.): *dravyaṃ*.

⁴ For *devajajña-* [-y- > -j-].

⁵ Lévi emends: *pṛthivyā(h)*; Notebook (35.23): *pṛthivyām*.

a(73v.4)pahāraś ca kṛta iti | kasmān na te amamā⁶ bhavaṃ⁷ anti | asmad⁷ asmākam eva dattaṃ na devasya |

ucyate | dānapatinā kim arthaṃ <|> asmākam eva da(73v.5)ttaṃ <|> yasmād utsrjya devasya dattaṃ⁸ tasmān na yasmākam⁹ dattaṃ |

165.6 atha mataṃ <|> devasyaiva tuṣṭir yad vyaṃ gr̥hnāmaḥ¹⁰ | kim arthan devena sa dātā nokta eṣāṃ prayacchaiśāṃ¹¹ dato¹² (74r.1) + +¹³ [bha]viśyamīti | yasmād dānrā¹⁴ devena noktāḥ¹⁵ | teś¹⁶ ca gr̥hītaṃ | tasmād dātu¹⁷ puṇyaphalaṃ¹⁸ nāsti ye ca gr̥hnanti¹⁹ teṣāṃ adattādānaṃ |

165.10 a<tha> mataṃ²⁰ <|> devasyeva²¹ puṇye ca (74r.2) + + t. tac cāyuktaṃ | ki²² kāraṇaṃ <|> yasmā²³ devena taṃ²⁴ draṃ²⁴ vyaṃ svayam eva gr̥hya hastena hastaṃ teṣāṃ na pratipāditaṃ | yathoktam Bhagavatā²⁵ <|> trayāṇāṃ²⁶ samavāye(74r.3) + + [kṣ](i)nā²⁷ mahāphalā bhavati { { | } } eveti <|>²⁸ evaṃ kiṃ na ○ dattaṃ <|> evaṃ caite viśiṣṭā²⁹ samānād³⁰ eva <|>

6. Lévi emends: *kasmāt te 'mamā na*; Notebook (ibid.): *kasmān na te amamā*.

7. Read *asmād* = Lévi, Notebook (ibid.).

8. Lévi omits this word; but Notebook (35.25): *dattaṃ*.

9. A scribal error for *yusmākam*.

10. For *gr̥hṇīmaḥ* [1, pl.; *hṇ > hn*].

11. Lévi divides: *prayaccha eṣāṃ* = Notebook (35.26).

12. For *datto*.

13. A left side of folio no. 74 is broken; approximately three (l. 1), two (ll. 2-4), and five (l. 5) letters are lost. Consequently, the context is not clear.

14. Read *dātā* as is emended by Lévi; Notebook (35.27): *dātrā* [m.sg.I.].

15. Read *ukāḥ*.

16. For *tais* [-ai- > -e-].

17. Read *dātuḥ* as is emended by Lévi = Notebook (35.28).

18. Notebook (ibid.): *puṇyaṃ phalaṃ*.

19. For *gr̥hnanti* [-hṇ- > -hn-].

20. Lévi emends; Notebook (35.29): *amataṃ (sic)*.

21. Read *devasyaiva*; Lévi reads: *devasya*; Notebook (ibid.): *devasya*. Originally written as *devā-* and then a long vowel sign is erased.

22. For *kiṃ*.

23. For *yasmād*.

24. Lévi: *tad*; Notebook (ibid.): *taṃ*.

25. Source unknown. This phrase appears in the *KVU*, see Lévi 163.28-9; Kudo 2013: 92-93.

26. For *trayāṇāṃ* [-n- > -n-].

27. Read *samavāye(na da)kṣiṇā* (see above fn. 25: = 72r); Notebook (35.31): *samavāyena – – nā*.

28. From here (SL 165.14) to next subject (165.21) [= 74r3-5], Lévi skips his translation [p. 179]: [Le texte est trop corrompu ici pour permettre une traduction; l'auteur passe à la question des pèlerinages aux eaux sacrées] (The text is too corrupt to allow a translation here, the author goes to the question of pilgrimages to sacred rivers).

29. For *viśiṣṭāḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

30. For *samānād* [-n- > -n-].

- ucya<te> <|> pa{{dha}}radravyāpahāram api kariṣyati | asti ca ke(74r.4) + + + nānāpi³¹
jīvanti | tat* paradravyam aśakti○to na gr̥hnanti³² |
- 165.16 kecidd³³ rājādatto bhayāt*³⁴ | etāni devānāñ ca devabhaktānāñ ca devadharmasya
pa(74r.5) + + + + .. [k]āni |
- adyāpi cātra bhūtaṃ vaktavyaṃ | etat tāva{{dva}}d davasya³⁵ tīrthayātrām api teṣā³⁶ kaḥ
pratigr̥hñāti³⁷ <|> tāsāñ ca nadīnāñ ca kūlāni visālāni³⁸ pā(74v.1) + + + + + [c](a)
[r̥ṣ](a)[y](a)ḥ³⁹ kālagatāḥ | yat tīrtheṣu śrāvayanti kas tīrthayātrām teṣāṃ pratigr̥hñāti⁴⁰ |
- 165.21 atha mataṃ <|> nadyā⁴¹ snāyāmaḥ tīrtham uddiśya asyā nadyās tatas⁴² tī(74v.2) + + +
+ .yate | siddho 'smat{a}pakṣaḥ | ki⁴³ kāraṇam <|> ○ asmākaṃ buddhasya
dharmaśarīra⁴⁴ tiṣṭhati <|> guṇāḥ pūjyante stūpāni ca {l} dhūpa⁴⁵ puṣpa⁴⁶ pratigr̥hñanti⁴⁷ |
(74v.3) + .. tā nadyaḥ paurāṇamā{{ra}}rgam utsrjya anena ○ pṛthavīpradeśena vahanti |
te ca ṛṣayaḥ kālagatās <|> tasmāt teṣāṃ na kaści⁴⁸ ⁴⁹tīrthayātrām pra(74v.4) + .. hñāti⁵⁰ |
- 165.26 evaṃvidhām⁵¹ eva ye ṛṣiṇām⁵² te brahmeṣa○ṇām⁵³ pūjā{prati}prabhṛtaya{m}ḥ | kiṃ
kāraṇam <|>
kecit tatra saṃpratipannāḥ <|> brahmāsya⁵⁴ jāti⁵⁵ | kecid ā(74v.5) + .. syapīyaṃ⁵⁶ pūjāḥ
<|> keṣāñcid īśvaraḥ karttā <|>

31. Notebook (35.33): *nānā'pi*.

32. For *gr̥hñanti* [-hñ- > -hn-].

33. For *kecid*.

34. Lévi emends: *rājādattabhayāt*; Notebook (35.34): *rājā datto bhayāt*.

35. A scribal error for *devasya*.

36. For *teṣāṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

37. For *pratigr̥hñāti* [-hñ- > -hn-].

38. For *visālāni* [-ś- > -s-].

39. Lévi does not reconstruct = Notebook (35.37). Cf. 74v3: *te ca ṛṣayaḥ kālagatās*.

40. For *pratigr̥hñāti* [-hñ- > -hn-].

For *nadyāṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

42. Lévi emends: *tasmāt*; Notebook (35.39): *tatas*.

43. For *kiṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

44. For *dharmaśarīraṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*]. Lévi emends: *śarīraṃ*; Notebook (35.40): *dharmaśarīraṃ*.

45. For *dhūpaṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

46. For *puṣpaṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

47. For *pratigr̥hñanti* [-hñ- > -hn-].

48. For *kaścit*.

49. Notebook p. 36 starts here.

50. Read *pra(tigr̥)hñāti* [-hñ- > -hn-].

51. Read *evaṃvidham*.

52. For *ṛṣīṇām* [-ī- > -i-].

A scribal error for *brahmarṣīṇām* [-ī- > -i-].

54. Notebook (36.2): *brahmā'sya*.

55. For *jātiḥ* [drop of *visarga*]. Notebook (36.3): *jātiḥ* [*visarga* is circled].

56. Lévi reconstructs as *ākāśyapīyaṃ*; Notebook (ibid.): *ā* – – *kāśyapīyaṃ*. Since there are two *akṣaras* between *ā* and *sya* (< *śya*), long *ā* should not be combined directly with (*kā*)*śyapīyaṃ*. It should be read as *ā(huḥ kā)śyapīyaṃ*.

- 165.29 apare tv āhuḥ⁵⁷ <|> Prajāp{r}atinā sraṣṭā⁵⁸ prajā⁵⁹ <|> tasya brāhmaṇā⁶⁰ mukhaḥ⁶¹ | bāhus tu kṣatriyā⁶² | ūrubhyāṃ⁶³ vaiśyāḥ <|> padbhyāṃ śū(75r.1)drāḥ | evan te sampratipannāḥ |
- 165.31 «va»yaṃ brūmaḥ <|> pūrvakā<la>to devaparikṣāta⁶⁴ idaṃ pāpataram aśrotavyaṃ caḥ⁶⁵ | kiṃ kāraṇaṃ | ye kecana satvā {{dhi}}dvipadā vā catuṣpadā vā (75r.2) teṣāṃ yonīmukhān⁶⁶ nigamaḥ⁶⁷ <|>
- 165.33 kim prāptaṃ <|> Prajāp{r}atiyoṇicatuṣṭayaṃ⁶⁸ ca prathamataḥ | na bhagacatuṣṭayam <|> maṇasā⁶⁹ vicintanrainā⁷⁰ nirmitāḥ | evaṃ ca (75r.3) + .. v[y]jaṃ | sarve mukhata eva jātāḥ |
- 166.36 kathaṃ ekapuruṣeṇa varṇacatuṣṭaya⁷¹ jātāḥ | yadi ca cārtuvarṇaṃ⁷² Prajāp{r}atinā jātāḥ | ye te⁷³ varṇāś CaṇḍālaMle(75r.4) + + + + + yaś⁷⁴ ca kuta⁷⁵ prādurbhūtāḥ | tathā hastiḥgavāśvādayaḥ | kiṃ kāraṇaṃ <|> eṣāṃ atra nāmagrahaṇaṃ⁷⁶ na kṛtaṃ | kim arthan noktaṃ | murddhātaś ca ^(SL166) (75r.5) + + + + + [p]ādatalāt* Mlecchāḥ | striyaḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ | hastīgavāśvādīni⁷⁷ pādāṅguṣṭhāḥ⁷⁸ jātānti |
- 166.2 atha vā kin noktaṃ | murddhād Asurā jātāḥ | hastataḥ (75v.1) + + + + + ti | yasmād eteṣāṃ ca nāmagrahaṇāṃ ca na kṛtaṃ | te ca⁷⁹ prabhūtatarā mrgapa{{ṣi}}kṣiprabhūtayaḥ⁸⁰ | yasmād idaṃ pūrvāparaviruddhaṃ |

57. Cf. *R̥gveda* X.90.12: *brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ | ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṃ śūdro ajāyata* ||; *Manusmṛti* I.31: *lokānāṃ tu vivṛddhyarthaṃ mukhabāhūrūpādātāḥ | brāhmaṇaṃ kṣatriyaṃ vaiśyaṃ śūdraṃ ca niravartayat* || (about their names, see also II.31–32: *maṅgalyaṃ brāhmaṇasya syāt kṣatriyasya balānvitam | vaiśyasya dhansaṃyuktaṃ śūdrasya tu jugupsitam || śarmavad brāhmaṇasya syād rājñā rakṣāsamānvitam | vaiśyasya puṣṭisaṃyuktaṃ śūdrasya preṣyasāṃyuktaṃ* ||).

58. For *sraṣṭāḥ* [-r- > -ra-; drop of *visarga*]. Notebook (36.4) rewrites: *sraṣṭā* --> *sraṣṭā*.

59. For *prajāḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

60. Lévi emends: *brāhmaṇo*; Notebook (ibid.): *brāhmaṇo* --> *brāhmaṇā* (cancelling a vowel sign *o*).

61. For *mukhaṃ*.

62. For *kṣatriyāḥ* [error: *kṣa* > *kṣi*; drop of *visarga*].

63. Lévi emends: *urubhyāṃ* = Notebook (36.5).

64. For *-parīkṣāta* [-ī- > -i-].

65. This *visarga* is used for punctuation.

66. For *yonī-* [-i- > -ī-].

67. Read *nirgamaḥ* as is emended by Lévi; Notebook (36.7): *nirgamaḥ*.

68. For *-catuṣṭayaṃ* [-ṣṭ- > -st-].

69. For *manasā* [-n- > -ṇ-].

70. A scribal error for *vicintanena* ('thinking in mind'). Lévi emends: *vicintyaiva*; Notebook (36.9): *vicintya eva*.

71. For *-catuṣṭayo*; Notebook (36.10): *-catuṣṭaya* (*o*) [adding a vowel sign *o* in brackets]. Lévi emends: *-catuṣṭayaṃ jātāṃ*.

72. A scribal error for *cāturvarṇaṃ* [-tur > -rtu].

73. Lévi emends: *ete* = Notebook (36.11).

74. For *-mle(ccha)* + + + (*da*)*yaś ca*.

75. For *kutaḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

76. For *-grahaṇaṃ* [-ṇ- > -n-].

77. For *hastī-* [-i- > -ī-].

78. For *pādāṅguṣṭhāḥ jātānti*.

79. Lévi emends: *tena*; Notebook (36.15): *te ca*.

80. For *-prabhṛtayaḥ* [-r- > -ū-].

166.4 yad idaṅ ca brāhmaṇāḥ | (75v.2) + + + + + samā | brāhmaṇasya parthamaḥ⁸¹ putro brāhmaṇāḥ | dviṭīyaḥ kṣatriyaḥ⁸² | tṛtīya⁸³ vaiśyaḥ | caturthaḥ śūdraḥ | pañcamaś caṇḍālah⁸⁴ |; (75v.3) + .. [t]. [t].⁸⁵ nyūnatarāḥ |

166.7 kiṃ kāraṇam <|> Prajāpateḥ ○ putracatuṣṭayaṃ <|> teṣāṃ aparimitāḥ putrā <|> evaṃ kṣatriyasyaiva vaiśyaśūdrasya⁸⁶ <|> prathama⁸⁷ putro brā;(75v.4)hmaṇāḥ <|> dviṭīye⁸⁸ kṣi<tri>yaḥ⁸⁹ | tṛtīye⁹⁰ vaiśyaḥ⁹¹ | caturthaḥ śūdraḥ <|> pañcamaś caṇḍālah <|> śeṣā nyūnatarāḥ |

kiṃ kāra{ṃ}ṇam <|> bījasadrśaphalam⁹² <|> yathā Prajāpa(75v.5)te⁹³ ⁹⁴caturvarṇam eva⁹⁵ <|> tasya putrāṇāṃ gotrāṇā{ṃ}ṇi ca carturvarṇam⁹⁶ bhaviṣyati | atha brāhmaṇā{ṃ}nāṃ putrāḥ sarve brāhmaṇās <|> tasmā Prejāpate⁹⁷ te{s} te⁹⁸ viśiṣṭatarāḥ | yadi (76r.1) ca te prativiśiṣṭatarāḥ | Prajāpatinā{ṃ} kiṃ prayojanam |

166.14 atha matam <|> Prajāpatinā brāhmaṇā nyūnatarā itī | tasmād brāhmaṇasya prathamaputraḥ śūdraḥ <|> śeṣā nyūnatarā(76r.2)ḥ | yāvad brāhmaṇaputrī brāhmaṇī yadi sya⁹⁹ mukhato jā;○tā | tasmā¹⁰⁰ gamyā | atha padbhyāṃ jātā¹⁰¹ śūdrā¹⁰² | evaṃ teṣāṃ Prajāpatiparikṣāyāparimāṇā¹⁰³ doṣā(76r.3)ḥ |

81. For *prathamah* [pra- > par-].

82. For *kṣatriyah* [kṣa- > kṣi-; tri > trī].

83. For *tṛtīyo* [-yo > -yau].

84. For *caṇḍālah* [-a- > -ā-].

85. Lévi emends: *tato* = Notebook (36.18-19).

86. Read *vaiśyasya śūdrasya*.

87. For *prathamah* [drop of *visarga*].

88. Read *dviṭīyah*.

89. For *kṣatriyah* [kṣa- > kṣi-].

90. Read *tṛtīyo*.

91. For *vaiśyah* [-śy- > -sy-].

92. For *bījasadrśam* [-s- > -ś-; omission of *anusvāra*].

93. Read *Prajāpateś*.

94. Notebook (36.22): {{*varṇacatuṣṭaya*}}.

95. Lévi emends: *evaṃ*.

96. For *catur-* [-tur > -rtu].

97. Read *tasmāt prajāpates*. A scribal error: *t-* in the consonant cluster *-t pra-* was read as the vowel sign *-e*, resulting in *pre-*.

98. Lévi emends: *tu* = Notebook (36.24).

99. Read *yadi asya* as is emended by Lévi; Notebook (36.27): *yadi [a]sya* ('*a*' is added in square brackets).

100. Read *tasmād agamyā* as is emended by Lévi and Notebook (36.28): *tasmā[d a]gamyā* ('*-d a-*' is added in square brackets).

101. For *jātāḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

102. For *śūdrāḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

103. Lévi emends: *-parīkṣāyā(h) aparimāṇā*; Notebook (36.29): *parī*[rewritten as *rī*]kṣāyāyāparimāṇā.

- 166.18 atha catam¹⁰⁴ <|> Prajāpatiḥ śraṣṭhā¹⁰⁵ īsvareṇa¹⁰⁶ kiṃ pra○yojanam | atheśvara¹⁰⁷ karttā <|> kiṃ kāraṇam <|> yasmād uktaṃ <|> Brahmaṇedaṃ jagata¹⁰⁸ {l} sraṣṭā <|> Lokeśvaranirmi(76r.4)taḥ Prajāpatikṛtaś ceti <|> sa kaḥ satyaṃ bhavet* | e○vam te anyonyaviruddhā¹⁰⁹ tīrthakarā vivadanti |
- 166.22 atha matam <|> sahitā bhūtvā prajā nirmmīṇanti |; (76r.5) tad apy ayuktaṃ | kiṃ kāraṇam | te pratisāmantarājāno yathā anyonyāhamkārāḥ | aham karttā aham kartteti | yathā uktaṃ¹¹⁰ |
- 166.25 kamadveṣābhībhitās¹¹¹ ca traya evaṃ yadā i(76v.1)me | aśāsvatasya cittasya te nirmāyuh katham prajāḥ |¹¹²
- 113 evaṃ te sahitā bhūtvā {l} asamarthaṃ¹¹⁴ prajānirmāṇe <|> evaṃ teṣā¹¹⁵ mātāpi mahādoṣaḥ karmaṇā nla¹¹⁶ kiñcit¹¹⁷ mātrai(76v.2)va pradarsītam |
- 166.28 atha matam <|> adyāpi sāvakāśam <|> yasmā○n nāmagrahaṇam na kṛtam | ucyate | ajña¹¹⁸ niravakāśam yasmān nāmagrahaṇam na kṛtam | kiṃ kāra(76v.3)ṇam <|> ekasya doṣe datte śeṣā doṣā bhavanti |
- 166.31 etadd u○ktaṃ bhavati | yadi tava{d} brāhmaṇārtha¹¹⁹ sahakathāṃ kuryāt* | sa tasya doṣo dātavya{m}ḥ <|> yadi kṣatriye(76v.4)ṇa¹²⁰ yadi vaiśyena yadi śūdreṇa sahakathā¹²¹

104. A scribal error for *matam*.

105. For *sraṣṭā* [s- > ś-; -ṣṭ- > -ṣṭh-].

106. For *īsvareṇa* [r- > i-].

107. For *atheśvaraḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

108. Read *Brahmaṇedaṃ jagataḥ sraṣṭā* (“The Brahma is a creator of this world”) or as is emended by Lévi: *Brahmaṇedaṃ jagat sṛṣṭam* (“C’est Brahma qui a émis ce monde” [It is Brahma who issued this world]); Notebook (36.31): *jaga{di}t** | *sraṣṭā*.

109. For *-viruddhās*.

110. Lévi: *yathoktaṃ*; Notebook (36.35): *yathā uktaṃ*.

111. Read *karma-* as is emended by Lévi; Notebook (ibid.) adds *r-* on akṣara *ma*. This whole verse is put in square brackets by a scribe of this notebook.

112. Source unknown.

113. Passage is confused; Lévi does not translate this passage which corresponds to SL 166.27-28 (SL p. 180.33).

114. Lévi emends *bhūtvāsamarthāḥ*; Notebook (36.36): *bhūtvā asamarthaṃ* {{..}} [*m* is circled; illegible one letter is cancelled].

115. For *teṣām* [drop of *anusvāra*]

116. Read *na*.

117. For *kiñcin*.

118. Read *adya*. Lévi: *adya*; Notebook (36.39): *ajña*. After this word, there is an open space for one letter.

119. For *-ārthaṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

120. For *kṣatriyeṇa* [*kṣa-* > *kṣi-*].

121. For *sahakathāṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

kriyate | yad evam a○sṛtya¹²² śūdraḥ kathāṃ kuryāt¹²³ saha vaktavyaṃ{h} | tasmād
ayaṃ doṣa ity evaṃ niravakāśaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavati |

166.35 (76v.5) ya evaṃ pratipannā¹²⁴ buddhaḥ parinirvṛtaḥ kaṣ¹²⁵ tā pūjāṃ¹²⁶ pratigrhṇātī¹²⁷
teṣāṃ eva svasiddhāntadoṣā¹²⁸ vaktavyaḥ | tasmāt teṣāṃ eva pratimaṃ¹²⁹
svasiddhāntena¹³⁰ doṣo dā;(77r.1)tavyaḥ |

166.38 kiṃ kāraṇaṃ | na hy abhiyuktasya paścā prebhūtiyogaḥ¹³¹ <|> (SL 167) tesmād¹³²
ānakaparakāreṇa¹³³ teṣā¹³⁴ pūrvābhi{{ge}}yogaḥ kārya iti | na caitan{m} anartham uktaṃ
|

167.2 atraivÔttarikā(77r.2)sūtraṃ¹³⁵ pratyavagantavyaṃ |

122. For *āsṛtya* ('coming near') or *āśṛitya* ('employing')? Lévi: *āsṛtya* = Notebook.

123. Notebook p. 37 starts here.

124. For *pratipannāḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

125. For *kas tāḥ* [-s t- > -ṣ t-].

126. Read *tāḥ pūjāḥ* as is emended by Lévi; Notebook (37.2) *tāḥ pūjāḥ*. However, MS apparently has *pūjām*.

127. For *pratigrhṇātī* [-hṇ- > -hn-].

128. Read *-doṣo*.

129. Lévi emends: *pratisvaṃ* ('chacun' [one by one]); Notebook (37.3): *pratimaṃ*. Is 'pratimaṃ' an adverb having a meaning of 'likewise'?

130. Lévi emends: *svasiddhāntānām*; Notebook (ibid.): *svasiddhāntena*.

131. Read *paścāt prabhṛti-* [-r- > -ū-]. A scribal error: *t-* in the consonant cluster *-t pra-* is read as a vowel sign *-e* and this results in *pre-*. Lévi emends: *prabhṛtiyoga*; Notebook (37.4): *prabhūti-*.

132. A scribal error for *tasmād*.

133. Read *aneka-*. A scribal error: a vowel sign *-e* which is placed on the left side of *n-* is read as a vowel sign of *d-*, resulting in *-d āna-* [*< -d ane-*].

134. For *teṣāṃ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

135. AN III. 129, vol. I, pp. 282-3: *Paṭicchanna: Tīn' imāni bhikkhave paṭicchannāni vahanti no vivaṭāni*.

Katamāni tīni? Mātugāmo bhikkhave paṭicchanno vahati no vivaṭo. Brāhmaṇānaṃ bhikkhave mantā paṭicchannā vahanti no [p. 283] *vivaṭā. Micchādīṭṭhi bhikkhave paṭicchannā vahati no vivaṭā.*

Imāni kho bhikkhave tīni paṭicchannāni vahanti no vivaṭāni.

Tīnimāni bhikkhave vivaṭāni virocanti. No paṭicchannāni.

Katamāni tīni? Candamandalam bhikkhave vivaṭaṃ virocati no paṭicchannaṃ. Suriyamandalam bhikkhave vivaṭaṃ virocati no paṭicchannaṃ. Tathāgatappavedito dhammavinayo bhikkhave vivaṭo virocati no paṭicchanno.

Imāni kho bhikkhave tīni vivaṭāni virocanti no paṭicchannāni'ti.

= 『增壹阿含經』(Zēngyīāhánjīng)「第二十二・三供養品(Sān gòngyǎng pǐn)」T 125, vol. 2, 607b26-c12: (四)聞如是。一時、佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時、世尊告諸比丘。「有三事。覆則妙、露則不妙。云何為三。一者女人。覆則妙、露則不妙。婆羅門咒術。覆則妙、露則不妙。邪見之[607c]業。覆則妙、露則不妙。是謂、比丘、有此三事、覆則妙、露則不妙。

復有三事。露則妙、覆則不妙。云何為三。日、月。露則妙、覆則不妙。如來法語。露則妙、覆則不妙。是謂、比丘、有此三事、露則妙、覆則不妙。」

爾時。世尊便說此偈

女人及咒術 邪見不善行 此是世三法 覆隱而最妙

日月廣所照 如來正法語 此是三世法 露則第一妙

「是故。諸比丘。當露現如來法。勿使覆隱。如是。比丘。當作是學。」

爾時。諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行」

In these passages, three things are different: In AN (both in P and Ch.) they are women, brahmin's mystic chants (*brāhmaṇānaṃ mantā*), and wrong views (*micchādīṭṭhi* [*mithyādr̥ṣṭi*]); on the other hand, KV reads:

“trīṇīmāni bhikṣavaḥ pracchanna○vāhīnīti | katamāni trīṇi | mātrgāmaḥ¹³⁶
kṛtakārṣāpaṇaḥ¹³⁷ {l} | brāhmaṇānām siddhāntaḥ <|>”

167.4 (77r.3) “trīṇīmāni bhikṣavaḥ {l} vivṛtāni śobhamṭiti¹³⁸ | ka○tamāni trīṇi |
candramaṇḍala¹³⁹ sūryamaṇḍalaṁ buddhavacanaṁ | imāni trīṇi vivṛtāni [ś]obha(77r.4)nti
|”

167.6 yāny etāni parikṣākāraṇāni¹⁴⁰ devapūjāpatipra○bhūtīnām¹⁴¹ sadā kāryam adhikṛtya
Bhavatoktaṁ | brāhmaṇānām siddhāntaḥ prayacchannavāhīni¹⁴² <|>

167.8 vipā¹⁴³ (77r.5) Karmavibhaṅga¹⁴⁴ {l} ucyate <|> mahāntikā¹⁴⁵ karmāny atra vastareṇa¹⁴⁶
vibhaktāni | tasmāt¹⁴⁷ Mahākarmavibhaṅgaḥ |
saṁgrahasārakarmavibhaṅgasarvasārakarmānām hīno(77v.1)t*krṣṭamadhyaṁāni¹⁴⁸
vistareṇa kathāmukhāni darśitāni | tasmād api Mahākarmavibhaṅgaḥ |

women, counterfeit coin (*kūṭakārṣāpaṇa*), and final doctrine of brahmins (*brāhmaṇānām siddhāntaḥ*). Another set of three things which become splendid after being exposed are in *AN*: the disc of moon, the disc of sun and Dharma and Vinaya of Tathāgata (P.) [*dharma* of Tathāgata [Ch.]]; in *KV*: the disc of moon, the disc of sun and Buddha’s teaching (*buddhavacana*).

^{136.} For *mātrgāmaḥ*.

^{137.} For *kūṭa-* [-ū- > -r-] as is emended by Lévi; Notebook (37.7): *kūṭa-*.

^{138.} Read *śobhamṭiti*. Lévi: *śobhanti*; Notebook (37.8): *śobhanti#ti* [here is a sort of correction sign #].

^{139.} For *candramaṇḍalaṁ* [drop of *anusvāra*].

^{140.} For *parikṣā-*. Lévi: *parikṣā-*; Notebook (37.10): *pari[rī]kṣa[ā]*- (correction is in square brackets).

^{141.} Read *devaprajāpatiprabhṛtīnām* [-r- > -ū-]. Lévi emends: *devapūjāprajāpatibhṛtīnām*; Notebook (37.11): *devapūjāpatiprabhṛtīnām*. *pūjāpati* is a scribal error for *prajāpati* since -ū- and -r- are often confused in this manuscript; Lévi reads *pūjā* as it is and adds *pra-* before *jāti*.

^{142.} Read -*vāhīti*. Lévi emends: -*vāhī*; Notebook (37.12): -*vāhīni*.

^{143.} Lévi reads: *mahā*; Notebook (ibid.): *vipāka*. It is difficult to discern that the scribe erroneously transcribed *vipā* instead of *mahā*; rather it seems to be plausible that as is found in the Notebook *vipā(kam)* was intended but due to a haplography -*ka* in *vipāka* was lost: *vipākam karmavibhaṅge*.

^{144.} Notebook reads (ibid.): *karmavibhaṅge. karmavibhaṅgaḥ ucyate > karmavibhaṅga ucyate* (it is called *Karmavibhaṅga*); or *karmavibhaṅge ucyate > karmavibhaṅga ucyate* (It [result of act] is taught in the *Karmavibhaṅga*). The latter explains the word *vipāka(m)* but in the former *vipā(kam)* does not make sense.

^{145.} Lévi emends: *mahānti*; Notebook (37.13): *mahānti*{*kā*}. Cf. *BHSD*, s.v.: “mahantaka, or mahān°, f. °tikā (a-extension of mahant-, mahānt-, plus -ka), great: °kā duṭṭhāparamparātra SP 86.10 (vs); ed. with Kashgar rec. mahān°, kept by WT; all Nep. mss. mahān°; mahāntikā MSV iv.74.8.” This word appears in 65 cd pāda of III. Aupamyaparivarta of the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra* [SP]: *vividhās ca sattveha ayam ca agni mahāntikā duḥkḥaparamparātra* || 65 || (In the *BHSD* basing on a footnote of Kern-Nanjio edition [fn. 11, p. 86], this word is given as “ed. with Kashgar rec. mahān°” but this reading is not correct; see a newly published facsimile edition of so-called Kashgar manuscript, *Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SI P/5, etc.)*, ed. by Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Soka Gakkai, and Institute of Oriental Philosophy, *Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 13*, 2013.) Among the manuscripts of the *SP* collected by the Institute for the Comprehensive Study of Lotus Sutra at Rishso University, three Nepalese manuscripts (P1, P2 at Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and T2 at University of Tokyo [paper]), one from Gilgit (D1, serial no. 45, 34v8 [birch birk]) and the Kashgar manuscript (Petrovsky MS at St. Petersburg, 92v6-7 [paper]) read ‘*mahāntikā*’ but others read *mahāntikā*. Another source of this word in the *BHSD* is the *MSV*; it is found in the *Poṣadhavastu*, *GBM* serial no. 1, 54r8 (Facsimile Edition 6.1058, Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* III.4, 74, 8 and 9): (*bhagavān āha | dve prahāṇasāle | khuḍḍalikā mahāntikā ca • khudḍalikā dve layane | madhye suruṅgā • mahāntikā daśalayanikā dvādaśalayanikā vā •* (cf. Hu-von Hinüber, pp. 266-8).

^{146.} For *vistareṇa*.

^{147.} For *tasmān*.

^{148.} For -*madhyamāni* [-n- > -ṅ-].

167.12 gotrāntarīyānām¹⁴⁹ Abhidharmakasa(m)yukteṣu¹⁵⁰ | Mahākammavibhaṅgo¹⁵¹
nā(77v.2)nāḥ¹⁵² samāptaḥ¹⁵³ || ◎ ||

167.15 ye dhamā hetuprabhavā ○ hetun teṣān Tathāgato hy ava{{ta}}dat* <|>
teṣāñ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ¹⁵⁴ || ° ||

(77v.3)¹⁵⁵ syād rājā dhārmikā¹⁵⁶ ca pracaraguṇadhrtā¹⁵⁷ dharmayuktā¹⁵⁸ ca ;○ sarvve :
kāle vṛakhaṃtu¹⁵⁹ meghāḥ śakalabhayaharā¹⁶⁰ raudrasansāraduḥkhāt* ||

167.19 161. udakānaracore(77v.4)bhyo¹⁶² mūkhikas¹⁶³ tatheva¹⁶⁴ ca |
rakṣatavyaṃ¹⁶⁵ prayatnena,¹⁶⁶ mayā ○ kastena¹⁶⁷ likhitam¹⁶⁸ ||
jādr̥sam¹⁶⁹ puṣṭakam¹⁷⁰ dr̥ṣṭvā,¹⁷¹ tādr̥sam¹⁷² likhitam mayā{t*} |
jadi¹⁷³ suddham¹⁷⁴ asu[d]dh.¹⁷⁵ vā (77v.5) mama dokho¹⁷⁶ ma¹⁷⁷ vidyate ||
bhagnapr̥ṣṭakatiḡr̥ivo¹⁷⁸ | taptadisti¹⁷⁹ adhomukha¹⁸⁰ |

149. For *gotrāntarīyānām* [-ṅ- > -n-].

150. Lévi emends: *Abhidharmasamyukteṣu* (omits -ka-); Notebook (37.16): *abhidharmakasamyukteṣu*.

151. For *mahākarmma*° [drop of -r-].

152. Lévi emends: *nāma*; Notebook (37.17): *nānā* [ma].

153. As to the colophon of this text, see Namikawa 1984c: 34-35, 1985a: 9-11, 1985b: 773.

154. As to this well-known *ye dharmā* formula, see, for instances, some of following recent researches: Boucher 1991, Skilling 1997, 1999, 2003, 2008a-b, Strauch 2001, Sander 2002, and Wakahara 2013.

155. Metre: *Sragdharā* (M.R.BH.N.Y.Y.Y.: - - - - - - - - - - , - - - - - - - - - - , - - - - - - - - - -)

156. Lévi emends: *dhārmikāś*; Notebook (37.21): *dharmikā*.

157. Lévi emends: °*dhṛto*; Notebook (ibid.): °*dhṛtā*.

158. Lévi emends: -*yuktāś*; Notebook (ibid.): -*yuktāś*.

159. For *varṣaṃtu* [var- > vra-; -ṣ- > -kh-]. Notebook (37.22): *varṣantu*.

160. For *sakala*° [s- > ś-].

161. Metre: *Śloka*.

162. For *udakānalacaurebhyo* [-l- > -r-; -au- > -o-] = Lévi, Notebook (37.23).

163. One syllable is metrically required here; read *mūṣikebhyas* [-ṣ- > -kh-] = Lévi, Notebook (ibid.).

164. For *tathaiiva* [-ai- > -e-] = Lévi, Notebook (ibid.).

165. For *rakṣitavyaṃ*.

166. Here is a punctuation mark like a comma.

167. For *kaṣṭena* [-ṣṭ- > -st-] = Lévi, Notebook (37.24).

168. Read *lekhitaṃ* = Lévi, Notebook (ibid.): *lekhitaṃ**.

169. For *yādr̥sam* [y- > j-; -ṣ- > -s-].

170. For *puṣṭakam* [-st- > -ṣṭ-].

171. Here is a punctuation mark like a comma.

172. For *tādr̥sam* [-ṣ- > -s-].

173. For *yadi* [y- > j-].

174. For *śuddham* [ś- > s-].

175. For *śuddham* [-ś- > -s-]. Upper part of [d]dh. is broken.

176. For *doṣo* [-ṣ- > -kh-].

177. Read *na* = Lévi, Notebook (37.26).

178. For °*pr̥ṣṭha*° [-ṣṭh- > -ṣṭ-].

179. Read *dr̥ṣṭir* = Lévi, Notebook (37.27).

180. For °*mukhaḥ* [drop of *visarga*].

rakṣatavyaṃ¹⁸¹ prayatnena | jīvam īva¹⁸² pratiplāya¹⁸³ ||¹⁸⁴

167.25 śrāyo¹⁸⁵ «'»stu ||

samvat* 531 mārḡa;(78r.1)śīramāse¹⁸⁶ śuklapakṣe trayodaśyān¹⁸⁷ tithau ||
rohiṇīnakṣatre ||

śubhaghāṭi¹⁸⁸ 2 śukrarmayoge¹⁸⁹ ||

aṅgāravāsare¹⁹⁰ + + + + + //¹⁹¹

(78r.2)tva anuttarāyā¹⁹² phalaprapṭa bhavatu ||

śrī śrī ○ rājāddhirāja¹⁹³ parameśvara paramabhatāarakaja¹⁹⁴ ... [dy]. + + + //¹⁹⁵

(78r.3) vijayarājyāḥ ||

jvājamānaśrīyaṃ¹⁹⁶ brūmā¹⁹⁷ yā śrī○gāṅgalage śrī śrī ṣaḍakṣarīmahāvihāra¹⁹⁸
sākṣabhikṣu¹⁹⁹ śrī [j]. .. + + //²⁰⁰

(78r.4) mama likhyate²⁰¹ : | śubha²⁰² ||

181. For rakṣitavyaṃ.

182. Read *iva*.

183. Read *pratiññāyā* as is suggested by Lévi: *pratiññāyā* (°*jñāyā*); Notebook (37.28): *pratiññāyā*. Here metre requires ~ - ~ ~.

184. According to the catalogue data of the Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project [= NGMCP], these verses are transcribed as follows ([http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/B_22-25\(2\)_Karmavibhaṅgo-padeśa](http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/B_22-25(2)_Karmavibhaṅgo-padeśa), accessed Jan., 9, 2014):

*udakānalacorebhyo mākhikebhyas tathaiiva ca | rakṣatavyaṃ prayatnena mayā kastena likhitam ||
jādṛsam puṣṭakam dṛstvā tādṛsam lihītam mayā | jādī suddham asuddham vā mama dokho ma vidyate ||
bhagnapṛṣṭakāṭigrīvo | taptadisti adhomukha | rakṣatavyaṃ prayatnena | jīvam īva pratiplāya ||* [different readings are put in bold (N.K.).]

185. Read *śreyo* = Lévi, Notebook (37.29). NGMCP card reads: *śrīr astu || samvat 531 mārgaśīramāse śuklapakṣe trayodaśyān tithau || rohiṇīnakṣatre ||* etc. (fols. 77v–78r).

186. Lévi emends: *mārgaśīromāse*; Notebook (ibid.): *mārgaśīramāse*. Cf. Tsukamoto I p. 899 (Sārānāth 11 inscription, line 1: *mārgaśīra[mā]se*; Kura 1 inscription, line 2: *mārgaśīramāsa-śukla*).

187. Read *trayodaśyān*. Notebook (ibid.): *trayodaśyām*{*yā*} (*m* is circled; *yā* is cancelled).

188. For *śubhaghāṭi* 2 (“[2nd] 24 minutes of bright time (i.e., after dawn)”) = Lévi, Notebook (37.30).

189. For *sukarma*^o [*s-* > *ś-*; *kar-* > *kra-*].

190. For *aṅgāravāsare* [*s-* > *-ś-*].

191. From this broken end 8 more *akṣaras* are presumably lost.

192. For *anuttarāyā*. Lévi emends: *anurādhā*^o; Notebook (37.31): *anurādhā*^o.

193. For *rājāddhirāja* [*-dh-* > *-ddh-*].

194. Read *paramabhaṭṭāarakaja-* as is emended by Lévi, Notebook (37.32).

195. See above note 191.

196. Read *yajamānaśrīyaṃ* [*ya-* > *jva-* (?); *-n-* > *-ṇ-*; *-i-* > *-ī-*].

197. Lévi emends: *brūmo*; Notebook (37.33): *brūmo*.

198. Lévi emends: *-vihāre*; Notebook (37.34): *-vihāra*.

199. For *śākya-* [*ś-* > *s-*; *-kya-* > *-kṣa-*] = Lévi, Notebook (ibid.).

200. See above note 191.

201. For *likhyate* [*-i-* > *-ī-*].

202. For *śubhaḥ*. Notebook (37.35); Lévi does not include this word.

²⁰³yathā va māṇena²⁰⁴ sa○māddhikālam
lokasya duḥkham²⁰⁵ sukhodaya{.}.ñ ca :
hartuñ ca «kartuñ ca» sadā sa ///²⁰⁶ (+ + |)
(+ + + + +) (78r.5) tatheva²⁰⁷ bhāno²⁰⁸ |
dr̥ṣṭaśruto²⁰⁹ mamṛtim āgato vā,²¹⁰
pṛtakathā²¹¹ yogam upāgato vā |
sarvaprakāraṃ jagato hitāya
kudyāmi²¹² ja śraṃ²¹³ ///²¹⁴ (+ + + + + ||)

(End)

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GBM = *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*. (Facsimile edition) Eds. by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 1959–1974, 10 parts.
KV = *Karmavibhaṅga*.
KVU = *Karmavibhaṅga-upadeśa*.
MSV = *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, see Dutt.
Notebook = Notebook transcribing Manuscript A of the *Karmavibhaṅga*, No. 5-265 (microfilm B94/3), pages 34 (National Archives of Nepal).
SL = Sylvain Lévi 1932.

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203. Notebook has a transcription of last verses but Lévi does not mention. Metre: *Triṣṭubh*.
204. For *mānena* [-n- > -ṅ-].
205. Notebook (37.35): *duḥkham ca sukho-*. A short syllable is metrically required after *duḥkham*.
206. See above note 191.
207. For *tathaiva* [-ai- > -e-]. Notebook (37.36): *tathaiva*.
208. Notebook (ibid.): *bhānoḥ* | (ḥ is circled).
209. Read *dr̥ṣṭaśruto* – – – – *māmṛti?* – – – – [-śru- > -śur-].
210. Metre confused: – – – – – – – – – – (first six syllables are to be – – – – – – [dr̥ṣṭaśruto *māmṛtim*]). However, *māmṛtim* is unclear.
211. Read *pṛthakkathā* (second syllable is to be long: – – – –).
212. For *kuryāmi* [-ryā- > -dyā-].
213. Notebook does not record these last two *akṣaras*.
214. See above note 191.

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<Key words: *Karmavibhaṅga*, *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*, Nepalese manuscript, Sylvain Lévi>

Three Sanskrit Fragments Preserved in Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Peking University

GUAN Di

Three new fragments have been found in Khotan, Xingjiang, which are of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Āryamahādaṇḍanāmadhāraṇi* and *Arthaviniścayasūtra*. These manuscripts are kept in Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Art and Archeology at Peking University, and their script is Upright Gupta.

In the following section, I will offer the transliteration of the fragments as well as their corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions.

1. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*

1 recto

- 1 /// + cchaṃṭi maitreya jinasya putra sprhanti te naramaruyakṣarākṣasāḥ catvāri ca pariṣa
- 2 /// + [tr]eyaṃ bodhisatva<ṃ> mahāsatvaṃ sarvvāvantaṃ ca taṃ bodhisatvagaṇam āmaṃtrayati sma mahā
- 3 /// .. rmaśaṃkhāpūraṇaṃ¹ ca mahādharmadundubhisampravādanañ ca mahādharmanirdeśaṃ ca
- 4 /// + dam evarupaṃ² pūrvvanimittaṃ dṛṣṭam abhūṣīt teṣāṃ api tathāgatanāṃ³ pūrvvakānāṃm iminā
- 5 /// + + + [h]ā[dha]rmaśravaṇasaṃkathyaṃ śrāvayitukāmās tathāgatārha⁴ saṃmyaksaṃbuddhāḥ
- 6 /// + + + + + + + [t]o (‘)rha saṃmyaksaṃbuddha idam evarūpaṃ mahāprātihāryya raśmipramuṃ
- 7 /// + + + + + + + p[p]ramāṇe tato pareṇa parataraṃ yadā candrasūryyapradīpo nā
- 8 /// + + + + + + + + + [nu]ṣyāṇāṃ buddho bhagavāṃ sa dharmam deśesi ādau kalyāṇaṃ maddhye
- 9 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + [da]ṃ śrāvakānāṃ caivaṃ caturāryyasatyasaṃprayuktaṃ

1. Petrovsky Collection has *śaṃkha-āpūraṇam*, but Nanjio reads as *śaṃkhā<bhipra>pūraṇam*.

2. s.e. for *evarūpaṃ*.

3. s.e. for *tathāgatānāṃ*.

4. s.e. for *tathāgarārhā*.

Sad(N)⁵ prccheti Maitreya jinasya putra sprhanti te naramaruyakṣarākṣasāḥ |
catvārimā parṣa udikṣamānā Mañjusvaraḥ kiṃ nv iha vyākariṣyati || 56 ||

atha khalu Mañjuśrīḥ kumārabhūto Maitreyaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ taṃ ca sarvāvantaṃ
bodhisattvaṅgaṃ āmantrayate sma | mahādharmaśravaṇasāṃkathyam idaṃ kulaputrās tathāgatasya
kartum abhiprāyo mahādharmaṽṣṭyabhivaraṇaṃ ca mahādharmaḍundubhisampravādanam ca |
mahādharmaḍhvasamucchrayaṇaṃ ca mahādharmaḍkāsampaṛjvālanam ca mahādharma-
śaṅkhābhiprapūraṇaṃ ca mahā-dharma-bherī-parāhaṇaṇaṃ ca | mahādharmanirdeśam cāḍya kula-
putrās tathāgatasya kartum abhiprāyaḥ | yathā mama kula-putrāḥ pratibhāti yathā | ca mayā
pūrvakānāṃ tathāgatānāṃ arhatāṃ samyakṣambuddhānāṃ idaṃ evamrūpaṃ pūrvanimittaṃ drṣṭam
abhūt | teṣāṃ api pūrvakānāṃ tathāgatānāṃ arhatāṃ samyak-sambuddhān evaṃ raśmi-
pramocanāvabhāso 'bhūt | tenaivaṃ prajānāmi mahādharmaśravaṇasāṃkathyam tathāgataḥ kartu-
kāmo mahādharmaśravaṇaṃ śrāvayitukāmo yathedaṃ evamrūpaṃ pūrvanimittaṃ prāḍuṣkṛtavān | tat
kasya hetoḥ | sarvalokavipratyanīyakaḍharmaparyāyaṃ śrāvayitukāmas tathāgato 'rhan samyak-
sambuddho yathedaṃ evamrūpaṃ mahāprātihāryaṃ raśmipramocanāvabhāsaṃ ca pūrvanimittaṃ
upadarśayati ||

anusmarāmy ahaṃ kulaputrā atīte 'dhvany asaṃkhyeyaiḥ kalpaṃ asaṃkhyeyatarair vipulair
aprameyair acintyair aparimitair apramāṇais tataḥ pareṇa parataram yadāsīt tena kālena tena
samayena Candrasūryapradīpo nāma tathāgato 'rhan samyakṣambuddho loka udapādi vidyācaraṇa-
sampannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathihī śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca buddho
bhagavān | sa dharmam deśayati smāḍau kalyāṇam madhye kalyāṇam paryavasāne kalyāṇam
svārtham suvyaṅjanaṃ kevalam paripūrṇam paṛisuddham paryavadātam brahmacaryaṃ
samprakāśayati sma | yad uta śrāvakānāṃ caturāryasatyasampraṇyuktam pratīyasamutpāḍapravṛttam
dharmam deśayati sma ...

Sad(Tib)⁶ rgyal ba'i sras la byams pas kun dris nas || lha mi gnod sbyin srin po de dag dga' ||

'jam dbyangs 'dir ni ci zhig lung ston ces || 'khor rnams bzhi po de dag shin tu sdod ||

de nas 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po byams pa dang |
thams cad dang ldan pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i tshogs de la smras pa | rigs kyi bu dag 'di ni de
bzhin gshegs pa chos chen po bsgrags pa'i 'bel ba'i gnam mdzad par dgongs pa'o || rigs kyi bu dag 'di
ni de bzhin gshegs pas chos kyi char chen po mngon par dbab pa dang | chos kyi rnga chen po rab tu
brdung ba dang | chos kyi rgyal mtshan chen po bsgreng ba dang | chos kyi sgron ma chen po rab tu
'bar bar mdzad pa dang | chos kyi dung chen po rab tu 'bud pa dang | chos kyi rṃga bo che chen po
rab tu brdung ba dang | chos bstan pa chen po mdzad par dgongs pa ste | rigs kyi bu dag bdag ji ltar
spos pa dang | ji ltar sngon gyi de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs
rgyas rnams kyi snga ltas 'di lta bu 'di bdag gis mthong ste | sngon gyi de bzhin gshegs pa de dag gis
kyang | 'od zer gyi snang ba 'di btang bas | bdag ni 'di ltar de bzhin gshegs pa yang chos chen po
bsgrag pa'i 'bel ba'i gnam mdzad par bzhed pa dang | chos chen po bsgrags pa thos par mdzad pa
bzhed pas 'di lta bu'i snga ltas 'di mdzad pa snyam byed do || de ci'i phyir zhe na | de bzhin gshegs pa
dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas 'jig rten thams cad dang mi 'ihun pa'i chos kyi
rnams grangs bsgrag par bzhad pas snga ltas cho 'phrul chen po 'od zer rab tu btang ba'i snang ba 'di
lta bu 'di ston to ||

rigs kyi bu dag bdag gis dran pa 'das pa'i dus na bskal pa grangs med pa'i yang ches grangs med
pa yangs pa dpag tu med pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa dpag gis mi lang ba tshad med pa de'i pha rol gyi
yang ches pha rol tu gyur pa de'i tshe de'i dus na | de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par
rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa bde bar gshegs pa 'jig rten mkhyen pa skyes bu
'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur ba bla na med pa lha dang mi rnams kyi ston pa sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das
nyi zla sgron ma zhes bya ba 'jig rten du byung ste | des chos bstan pa tshangs par spyod pa thog mar
dge ba bar du dge ba tha mar dge ba don bzang po tshig 'bru bzang po ma 'dres pa yongs su rdzogs
pa yongs su dag pa yongs su byang ba yang dag par ston te 'di lta ste | nyan thos rnams la ni skye ba
dang rga ba dang | na ba dang 'chi ba dang | mya ngan dang smre sngags 'don pa dang | sdug bsngal
ba dang | yid mi bde ba dang 'khrug pa las shin tu bzla ba'i phyir | mya ngan las 'das pa'i mthar thug
pa 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi dang ldan pa | rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba la 'jug pa'i chos ston to ||

5. Sad(N), p. 16, line 7 to p. 17, line 14.

6. Sad(Tib), p. 17, line 3 to p. 18, line 17.

Sad(Ch1)⁷ 及見諸佛，此非小緣。文殊當知，四眾龍神，瞻察仁者，為說何等。

爾時文殊師利語彌勒菩薩摩訶薩及諸大士、善男子等：「如我惟付，今佛世尊欲說大法，雨大法雨，吹大法螺，擊大法鼓，演大法義。諸善男子！我於過去諸佛，曾見此瑞，放斯光已，即說大法。是故當知，今佛現光，亦復如是，欲令眾生，咸得聞知一切世間難信之法，故現斯瑞。

「諸善男子！如過去無量無邊不可思議阿僧祇劫，爾時有佛，號日月燈明如來、應供、正遍知、明行足、善逝世間解、無上士、調御丈夫、天人師、佛、世尊，演說正法，初善中善後善，其義深遠，其語巧妙，純一無雜，具足清白梵行之相。為求聲聞者說應四諦法。」

Sad(Ch2)⁸ 天神羅刹，四部之眾，一切戴仰。今者溥首，惟具分別。於是溥首告慈氏、諸大士眾會者族姓子女：「吾心惟付，今者如來，當敷大法演無極典，散大法雨、擊大法鼓、吹大法螺，講無量法。又自追憶，乃從過去諸佛世尊見斯像瑞，彼如來等所放光明亦復若茲，猶斯識察知講大法。諸如來、至真、等正覺，欲令眾生聽無極典，故現斯應。所以者何？世尊欲令群生洗除俗穢，聞服佛法，現弘大變光明神化。

又念往故無央數劫不可思議無能度量，時有如來，號日月燈明至真、等正覺、明行成為、善逝、世間解、無上士、道法御、天人師、為佛世尊，演說經典，初語亦善、中語亦善、竟語亦善，分別其誼微妙具足，究竟清淨修梵行，為聲聞乘講陳聖諦，則令眾庶度生老死憂惱眾患入近無為。為諸菩薩大士之眾，顯揚部分分別六度無極無上正真。

1 verso

- 1 /// + + + + + + + .. rvvāṇaparyavasānam* bodhisatvānām c[ai]va mahāsattvānām
 2 /// + + + + + + + +[la]putrās candrasūryyapradīpasya tathāgatasyārhatāḥ sam
 3 /// + + + + + thāgatasya pareṇa paratarāṃ candrasūryyapradīpa eva ca nā
 4 /// + + + + .. m ekakulagotrāṇām yad itaṃ⁹ bharaddhvājagotrāṇām¹⁰
 vīmśa<ti>¹¹tathāgata
 5 /// + [t]. abhūṣīt sarvvaṇāścimakaś ca so pi candrasūryyapradīpa eva ca nāma tathāga
 6 /// th[i]ḥ śāstā devānām ca manuṣyaṇām ca buddho bhagavān* so pi dharmam
 deśayati ādau ka
 7 /// .. dātaṃ brahmacāryam saṃprakāśayati sma yad idaṃ śrāvakāṇām caivam
 caturāryyasa
 8 /// + ḥkhadaurmaṇasyopāyāsa¹²samatikkramāya nirvāṇaparyavasānam
 bodhisatvānām
 9 /// .[ya]vasānam dharmam deśayati sma • tasya ca punar ajita tathāgatasya
 candrasūrya

Sad(N)¹³ jātijāravyādhimaraṇaśokaparidevaduhkhadaurmanasyopāyāsānām samatikramāya nirvāṇa-
 paryavasānam | bodhisattvānām ca mahāsattvānām śatpāramitā-pratisamyuktam anuttarāṃ samyak-
 aṃbodhim ārabhya sarvajñājnānaparyavasānam dharmam deśayati sma ||

tasya khalu punaḥ kulaputrās Candrasūryapradīpasya tathāgatasyārhatāḥ samyak-sambuddhasya
 pareṇa paratarāṃ Candrasūryapradīpa eva nāmnā tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddho loka udapādi |
 iti hy Ajitaitena paraṃparodāhāreṇa Candrasūryapradīpanāmakānām tathāgatānām arhatāṃ
 samyaksambuddhānām ekanāmadheyānām ekakulagotrāṇām yad idaṃ Bharadvājagotrāṇām

7. Sad(Ch1), p. 3, c8-23.

8. Sad(Ch2), p. 65, c8-25.

9. s.e. for idaṃ.

10. Cf. Stein Collection, Toda 266, H 5 Kha. i. 24 fol. 5a , 5 bharadvājagautrāṇām.

11. Cf. Stein Collection, Toda 266, H 5 Kha. i. 24 fol. 5a , 5. vīśati.

12. Nanjio's read as daurmaṇasyopāyāsānām.

13. Sad(N), p.17, line 14 to p.19, line 2.

viṃśatitathāgatasahasrāṇy abhūvan | tatrĀjita teṣāṃ viṃśatitathāgatasahasrāṇāṃ pūrvakam tathāgatam upādāya yāvāt paścimakas tathāgataḥ so 'pi Candrasūryapradīpanāmadheya eva tathāgato 'bhūd arhan samyaksambuddho vidyācaranaśampannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamya-sārathih śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyānāṃ ca buddho bhagvān | so 'pi dharmam deśitavān ādau kalyāṇam madhye kalyāṇam paryavasāne kalyāṇam svartham suvyañjanaṃ kevalam paripūrṇam pariśuddham paryavādātāṃ brahma-caryam samprakāśitavān | yad uta śrāvakānāṃ caturāryasatyasamyuktam pratīyasamutpādapravṛttam dharmam deśitavān jātijarāvyaḍhimaraṇa-sokaparidevaduhkha-daurmanasyopāyāsānāṃ samatikramya nīrvānaparyavasānam | bodhisattvānāṃ ca mahāsatvānāṃ (ca) śatpāramitāpratisamyuktam anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim ārabhya sarva-jñāñānaparyavasānam dharmam deśitavān ||

tasya khalu punar Ajita bhagavataś Candrasūryapradīpasya tathāgatasyārhatāḥ samyak-sambuddhasya pūrvam kumarabhūtasyañabhiniṣkrāntagrāvāsasyāṣṭau putrā abhūvan |

Sad(Tib)¹⁴ *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnam la ni bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub las brtsams te | pha rol tu phyin pa drug dang ldan pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi mthar thug pa'i chos ston to || rigs kyi bu dag de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas nyi zla sgron ma de'i pha rol gyi yang ches pha rol na | yang de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas nyi zla sgron ma zhes bya ba zhig 'jig rten du byung ste ma pham pa 'di ltar snga rol dang snga rol brjod pa'i tshul 'dis | de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas nyi zla sgron ma zhes bya bar mtshan gcig pa rigs dang gdung gcig pa sha stag ste | 'di ltar bharadvāja'i rigs su 'thun pa de bzhin gshegs pa nyi khri byung ngo || ma pham pa de la de bzhin gshegs pa nyi khri po de dag thog ma'i de bzhin gshegs pa nas tha ma'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i bar du de dag gis chos bshad pa yang | tshangs par spyod pa thog mar dge ba bar du dge ba tha mar dge ba don bzang po tshig 'bru bzang po ma 'dres pa yongs su rdzogs pa yongs su dag pa yongs su byang ba yang dag par ston te 'di lta ste | nyan thos rnam la ni skye ba dang rga ba dang na ba dang 'chi ba dang | mya ngan dang smre sngags 'don pa dang sdug bsngal ba dang yid mi bde ba dang 'khrug pa las shin tu bzla ba'i phyir | mya ngan las 'das pa'i mthar thug pa 'phags pa'i bden pa bzhi dang ldan pa rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba la 'jug pa'i chos ston to || byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnam la ni bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub las brtsams te | pha rol tu phyin pa drug dang ldan pa rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi mthar thug pa'i chos ston to ||*

ma pham pa 'di ltar yang bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas nyi zla sgron ma de sngon gzhon nur gyur cing khab na bzhugs pa las mngon par ma byung ba'i tshe sras bryad yod par gyur te 'di lta ste |

Sad(Ch1)¹⁵ 為諸菩薩說應六波羅蜜，令得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，成一切種智。「次復有佛亦名日月燈明，次復有佛亦名日月燈明，如是二萬佛，皆同一字，號日月燈明，又同一姓，姓頗羅墮。彌勒當知，初佛後佛，皆同一字，名日月燈明，十號具足。所可說法，初中後善。其最後佛，未出家時有八王子：一名有意，二名善意，三名無量意，四名寶意，五名增意，六名除疑意，七名嚮意，八名法意。

Sad(Ch2)¹⁶ 「又族姓子，其日月燈明如來滅度之後，次復有佛，亦號日月燈明。滅度之後，次復有佛，亦號日月燈明。滅度之後，復次有佛，亦號日月燈明。如是等倫八十如來，皆同一號日月燈明，胄紹一姓。若斯之比二萬如來，佛語莫能勝。彼二萬如來最前興者，號日月燈明，最後起者，故復名曰日月燈明如來、至真、等正覺，其佛說經，初語、中語、竟語皆善，分別其誼微妙具足淨修梵行，為諸聲聞講說四諦、十二因緣，生老病死愁感諸患，皆令滅度究竟無為。為諸菩薩講六度無極，使速無上正真道，至諸通慧。「其日月燈明如來未出家時有八子：一名有志，二日善意，三日加勸，四日寶志，五日持意，六日除慢，七日響意，八日法意，是八太子則如來子，神足弘普。

¹⁴. Sad(Tib), p. 18, line 17 to p. 19, line 21.

¹⁵. Sad(Ch1), p. 3, c24-p. 4, a4.

¹⁶. Sad(Ch2), p. 65, c25-p. 66, a11.

2. Āryamahādaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī

Fragment 2 is a *dhāraṇī* sutra. In bKa' 'gyur, this sutra is named as *Āryamahādaṇḍanāmadhāraṇī* ('phags pa be con chen po zhes bya ba' gzungs, Tōh. no. 606, Tōh. no.958), but in Chinese Tripiṭaka 大寒林聖難拏陀羅尼經 (*Āryamahāśītavātī*, T.1392). This *dhāraṇī* sutra contains *dhāraṇīs* and the benefits of chanting them, such as protecting chanters from the harm of water, fire, knife, poison, and so on.

69 recto

malaṇe : hule : sth[ū]laṣīre : jaya + ///
 k(e)tumati : bhūtaṃgame : bhūtapati ///
 69 phuru : phuru : phuru : phuru : + + ///
 cani : vimocani : sādha + + + + + ///
 haraḥ haraḥ bandhumati : hi + + + + + ///
 yā rāhula mahādaṇḍa + + + + + + ///

*Mś(I)*¹⁷ *tadyathā / ilā milā utpalā / iramati viramati / halamati / lakṣamati / rakṣamati / kuru kuru mati / huru huru phuru phuru cara cara khara khara khuru khuru mati mati bhūmicaṇḍe / kālike / abhisaṃlāpīte / sāmālate / hūle sthūle / sthūlaśikhare / jaya sthūle / jayavate / vala naṭṭe / cara nāḍi culu nāḍi culu nāḍi vāgbandhani / virohaṇi / sālohite / aṇḍare paṇḍare / karāle / kinnare / keyūre ketumati / bhūtaṃgame bhūtamati / dhanye maṅgalye / hiraṇyagarbhe / mahābale / avalokitamūle / acalacaṇḍe / dhurandhare jayālike jayāgorohiṇi / curu curu phuru phuru rundha rundha dhare dhare vidhare vidhare viṣkambhani / nāśani vināśani / bandhani / mokṣaṇi vimokṣaṇi / mocani vimocani / mohani vimohani / bhāvani vibhāvani / śodhani śodhani saṃśodhani viśodhani / saṃkhirāṇi / saṃkīraṇi / saṃcchindani / sādhu turamāṇe / hara hara bandhumati / hiri hiri khiri khiri kharali / huru huru khuru khuru piṅgale namo 'stu buddhānām bhagavatām svāhā //*
asyāṃ khalu punā Rāhula Mahāśītavātīvidyāyāṃ daśottarapadaśātāyāṃ sūtre granthiṃ baddhvā

*Mś(Tib)*¹⁸ *bhū mi maṇ de | ka li ke | tsaṇḍa li | a ki sa rā li | a yā sā | sa la ma to | hu le | sthu le | sha le dza ya | sthu le | tsa la nā ṭi | tsa la nā ṭi | nā ga nan dhā ra nī | go ra he ṇi | go le ti he | aṇḍa re | paṇḍa re | ke yū re | ke tu ma ti | bhū taṃ ga me | bhū ta ba te | dha rye ma hā ba le | a tsu ṇḍe | a tsu run de | dha ran dha ra | dza ya li kā | dza le go ro hā ni | tsa ra | hu ru hu ru | ruṃ dhu ruṃ dhu | hu ru | dhu ma ti | dha ran dha re dha re | pi shva ma ti | nā sha ni | ba ndha ni | mo tsa ni | vi mo tsa ni | sā dha ni | sho dha ni | vi sho dha ni | saṃ gi ra ṇi | maṃ thī ra ṇi | a tstshid ta ni | sa dhu ta ra ma le | ta ra ta ra ma ṇi | ha ra ha ra | ba ndhu ma ti | hi ri hi ri | gi li ri le | hu ru hu ru | bing ga le svā hā | sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das nams la phyag 'tshal lo || sgra gcan zin be con chen po'i gzungs gyi rig sngags brgya risa bcu pa 'di skud pa la mdud de |*

Mś(Ch) 娑(引)麼曩帝(八十四) 護(上) 禮宰兔(二合) 禮娑他(二合) 擻始伽論(八十五) 惹(引) 野宰兔(二合引) 禮(八十六) 惹擻曩(引) 孃(上八十七) 祖魯曩(引) 孃(上八十八) 嚩(引) 乞挽(二合無漢反) 馱爾(八十九) 尾嚩(去引) 賀拏(引) 素(引) 魯呬(上) 帝(九十) 阿拏(上) 論(上) 半拏(上) 論(上九十一) 迦囉(引) 禮(九十二) 緊曩(上九十三) 計庾(上九十四) 計都麼底(九十五) 普躋誡謎(九十六) 普哆麼底歎爾(上二合) 瞢(上) 誡禮(上九十七) 麼賀(引) 嚩(引) 擻(九十八) 魯(引) 呬多母(上) 禮(九十九) 阿擻魯拏(上一百) 馱囉馱囉(引一百一) 惹野(引) 里計(一百二) 惹野嬌(魚天反) 略(去引) 賀拏(一百三) 祖嚩祖嚩(一百四) 論馱(准上) 馱(一百五) 普嚩普嚩(一百六) 麼嚩麼嚩(一百七) 誡(准前) 嚩誡嚩(一百八) 麼底麼底(一百九) 滿(重呼) 兔麼底(一百十) 度(上) 論(准上切) 馱嚩馱嚩(一百十一) 馱(上)

17. *Mś(I)*, p. 3, line 16 to p.4, line 14.
 18. *Mś(Tib)*, p. 114, line 10 to p. 115, line 1.

喻(上) 馱(上) 喻(上一百十二) 尾達 喻尾麼底尾瑟劍(二合) 婆 禰(一百十三) 曩 舍禰尾曩 舍禰(一百十四)
 滿(去重呼) 馱禰謨(去引) 乞叉(二合) 拈(一百十五) 尾謨 搆禰(一百十六) 謨 賀禰婆 禰禰(一百十七)
 戌(引) 馱(去) 禰僧(去) 戌馱禰(去一百十八) 尾戌 馱(去) 禰(一百十九) 僧(去) 囉拈(一百二十) 僧(去) 髻囉
 禰(一百二十一) 僧(去) 瑳(引) 娜禰(一百二十二) 僧砌(上) 那禰(一百二十三) 娑(引去) 度踰(上) 嚕(一百二十四) 麼(引)
 (上) 麼(引) 爾(上) 賀囉賀囉(一百二十五) 滿度麼底(一百二十六) 哩哩哩(一百二十七) 企哩企哩伽囉禮(一百二十八)
 護嚕護嚕(一百二十九) 水(去) 誡禮(一百三十) 曩謨(引) 窅靚(二合) 沒馱(去引) 喃(去) 婆誡禰蹬(引) 娑嚕
 (二合引) 賀(引一百三十一)
 復次，羅睺羅！此大明陀羅尼念誦之人，

69 verso

kaṇḍena (‘)vadhādamāṇā[y] . + + + + ///
 na śāstram : na viṣam : na śaram : .. + + + ///
 na viṣam ajvaro : na vidy[ā] + + + + ///
 ndrāprayogānā ca sarvvasādhu pra + + + + ///
 baddhanānās ci vi[muktī] : sarvvaśoka . ///

Mś(I)¹⁹ hastena dhāryamānāyāṃ kaṇḍhena dhāryamānāyāṃ samantād yojanaśatasya rakṣākrītā
 bhaviṣyati / gandhair vā puṣpair vā mudrābhir vā naiṣva manuṣyo vāmbhaviṣyati / na
 śāstram na viṣam na rogo na jvaro na prajvaro na vidyāmantra na vetādaḥ / na vyādhinā nāgninā
 viṣodakena kālam karīṣyati / vidyāmantraprayogānām ca sarveṣāṃ sādhuprayuktānām cāsiddhānām
 siddhakarī / siddhānām ca saṃkṣobhanī / parāprayuktānām ca bandhanī / parabandhanānām ca
 pramocanī / sarvarogaśokaviḥnavināyakanām vināśanakarī / kalikalahakaluṣaprasamanakarī / yo
 graho na muñcet saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyeva mañjarī / Vajrapāṇiś cāsyā
 mahāyaksasenāpatir vajreṇādīptena prajvālītena ekajvālībhūtena tāvad vyāyached yāvan
 mūrdhānaṃ sphoṭayet / catvāraś ca mahārājāno 'yomayena cakreṇa mūrdhānaṃ sphoṭayeyuḥ /
 kṣuradhārāprahāreṇa vināśayeyuḥ tasmāc ca yakṣalokācyavanaṃ bhavēyuh / Adakavatyāṃ
 rājadhānyāṃ na labhate vāsam //

Mś(Tib)²⁰ lag pa la btags sam | mgul du btags na kun nas dpag tshad bcu kho ra yug tu be con rnam
 dang | me tag rnam dang | phyag rgya rnam kyis de bsrung ba byas par 'gyur ro | | de la mi dang mi
 ma yin pa rnam kyis mi tshugs par 'gyur ro || mishon dang | dug dang | nad dang | rims nad dang |
 rims drag po dang | rig sngags dang | gsang sngags dang | ro lang dang | khro gdum dang | me dang
 chus 'chi ba'i dus byed par mi 'gyur ro || rig sngags dang | gsang sngags sbyor ba rnam legs par sbyor
 ba thams cad kyis ma grub pa rnam kyang grub par byed pa'o || grub pa rnam chud mi za bar byed
 pa'o | | pha rol gyi sbyor ba 'ching ba'o || pha rol gyis bcings pa las grol bar byed pa'o || nad dang |
 mya ngan dang | bgegs rnam par 'jig par byed pa'o ||

Mś(Ch)²¹ 能以香花而作供養，及結印契志心念誦一百八遍，結諸線索，繫於手上及安頸上，即得周
 遍百踰繕那能為擁護。人非人等，悉皆遠離。亦迺不被水火之所焚漂，刀杖毒藥瘧病疹疾不能侵
 害。亦不中天尾恒擊病及明呪術。誦此真言皆得安樂。若他繫縛即得解脫一切災惱，言誦闢靜亦
 悉除滅。

3. Arthaviniścayasūtra

Fragment 3 is a part of Arthaviniścayasūtra (Tib. *Don rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i chos
 kyi rnam grangs*, Tōh. no.317; Ch. 佛說決定義經, T. 762; 佛說法乘義決定經, T. 763).
 This sūtra contains nearly all important terms of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In this fragment,

19. Mś(I), p.4, line 14 to p.5, line 14.

20. Mś(Tib), p.115, line 1 to p.115, line 11.

21. Mś(Ch), p. 909, b18-25.

it states twelve branches of dependent-arising, with their continuity and cessation. Some of the definitions in this sutra can be found in Vasubandhu's *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*.

3 recto

- 1 /// + + + + . rśaḥ śrotrasaṃsparśaḥ ghrāṇa
- 2 /// + + + +. ... m ucyate sparśa iti ||
- 3 /// + + . āḥ ta[dy](āthā s)[u]khavedanā duḥkhavedanā
- 4 /// .. duḥkhāsukhāvedanā evaṃ śrotrasaṃspa
- 5 /// + sparśajāḥ .. na susparśajāḥ suḥkhāveda
- 6 /// + danāpratyayā tṛṣṇā tatra kamā²² tṛṣṇā

Av(V)²³ (ū) *ṣaḍāyatanapratyayaḥ sparśa iti | sparśaḥ katamaḥ? ṣaṭ sparśakāyāḥ - cakṣuḥsaṃsparśaḥ | śrotrasaṃsparśaḥ | ghrāṇasaṃsparśaḥ | jihvāsaṃsparśaḥ | kāyasaṃsparśaḥ | manaḥsaṃsparśaḥ | (ayamucyate sparśaḥ) ||*

(e) *sparśapratyayā vedanā | vedanā katamā? ṣaḍ vedanāḥ | katame(māḥ?)ṣaṭ? cakṣuḥsaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhāsukhā ca | śrotrasaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhāsukhā ca | ghrāṇasaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhāsukhā ca | jihvāsaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhāsukhā ca | kāyasaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhāsukhā ca | manaḥsaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhā duḥkhā aduḥkhāsukhā ca | iyamucyate vedanā ||*
(o) *vedanāpratyayā tṛṣṇā | katamā tṛṣṇā? ṣaṭ tṛṣṇākāyāḥ |*

Av(Tib)²⁴ *skye mched drug gi rkyan gyi reg pa zhe by aba la | reg pa gang zhe na | reg pa'i tshogs drug ste | drug gang zhe na | mig gi 'dus te reg pa dang | rna ba dang | sna dang | sce dang | lus dang | yid kyi 'dus te reg pa'o || reg pa'i rkyen gyis tshor ba zhes bya ba la | tshor ba gang zhe na | tshor ba'i tshogs drug ste | drug gang zhe na | mig gi 'dus te reg pa las byung ba'i tshor ba bde ba dang | sdug bsngal ba dang | sdug bsngal yang ma yin bde ba yang ma yin pa dang | de bzhin du rna ba dang | sna dang | sce dang | lus dang | yid kyi 'dus te reg pa las byung ba'i tshor ba bde ba dang | sdug bsngal ba dang | sdug bsngal yang ma yin bde ba yang ma yin pa'o || tshor ba'i rkyen gyis sred pa zhes bya ba la | sred pa gang zhe na | sred pa'i tshogs drug ste |*

Av(Ch1)²⁵ 六處為緣，觸法得起。觸有六種，謂眼觸、耳觸、鼻觸、舌觸、身觸、意觸。此等名觸。由觸為緣，受法得起。受有三種，謂苦受、樂受、捨受。如是眼觸緣此三受，乃至意觸，亦復如是。此名為受。由受為緣，愛法得起。

Av(Ch2)²⁶ 云何六入緣觸？佛言：所謂眼觸、耳觸、鼻觸、舌觸、身觸、意觸。比丘！是名六入緣觸。云何觸緣受？佛言：所謂眼觸生受，謂生苦受、樂受、非苦非樂受。耳、鼻、舌、身、意生受，亦復如是。比丘！是名觸緣受。比丘復白佛言：世尊！云何受緣愛？

3 verso

- 1 /// .. satṛṣṇā • sparśa[t]ṛṣṇā • dharmatṛṣṇā • ceti
- 2 /// . pādānāṃ katamat catvāry upādānā
- 3 /// + pādānāṃ ātmopādānāṃ ceti iyaṃ
- 4 /// + [ta]tra katamo bhavaḥ trayo bhavāḥ kā
- 5 /// .. vapratyayā jātiḥ tatra katamā

22. s.e. for *katamā*

23. Av(V), p. 313, line 9 to line 17.

24. Av(Tib), p. 496, line 2 to line 12.

25. Av(Ch1) p. 651, b1-7.

26. Av(Ch2) p. 654, c12-17.

6 /// + + + + jātir abhinirvṛtīḥ skandānām

Av(V)²⁷ (o) vedanāpratyayā trṣṇā | katamā trṣṇā? ṣaṭ trṣṇākāyāḥ | katame ṣaṭ? rūpatrṣṇā | śabdatrṣṇā | gandhatrṣṇā | rasatrṣṇā | sparsatrṣṇā | dharmatrṣṇā (īyamucyate trṣṇā) ||

(ka) trṣṇāpratyayamupādānam | upādānam katama? catvāri upādānāni | katamāni catvāri? trṣṇopādānam | śīlavratopādānam | ātmavedanopādānam | (īdamucyate upādānam) ||

(kha) upādānapratyayo bhava iti | bhavaḥ katamaḥ? trayo bhavāḥ | katame trayah? kāmabhavaḥ | rūpabhavaḥ | ārūpyabhavaśca | tatra kāmabhavaḥ katamaḥ? tadyathā - narakāḥ | tiryāñcapretāḥ | asurāḥ | ṣaṭ kāmāvacarā devāḥ || tadyathā - aṣṭau mahānarakāḥ | katame 'ṣṭauḥ? tadyathā - uṣṇā mahānarakāḥ | saṃjīvaḥ | kālasūtraḥ | saṃghātaḥ | dvau ca rauravau | tapanāḥ | pratāpanāḥ | avicīśca | iti || mahānarakāḥ || tadyathā - arbudaḥ | nirarbudaḥ | aṭaṭaḥ | hahavaḥ | huhuvaḥ | utpalaḥ | padmaḥ | mahāpadmaḥ || katame ṣaṭ devāḥ? cāturmahārājikā devāḥ | trāyastriṃśaḥ | yāmāḥ | tuṣitāḥ | nirmānaratayaḥ | paranirmitavaśavartino devāḥ || tatra rūpabhavaḥ katamaḥ? tadyathā - bramhakāyikāḥ | brahmapurohitāḥ | mahābrahmāṇaḥ | parītābhāḥ | apramāṇābhāḥ | ābhāsvarāḥ | parītāśubhāḥ | apramāṇaśubhāḥ | śubhaktṣṇāḥ | anabhṛakāḥ | puṇyaprasavāḥ | abṛhāḥ | atapāḥ | abṛhāḥ | sudarśanāḥ | akaniṣṭhāśceti || ārūpyadhātavaḥ katamaḥ? tadyathā - ākāsānantyāyatanam | vijñānānantyāyatanam | ākiṃcanyāyatanam | naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatanam || ārūpiṇām devānām cittamātramadhyāyinām cāturvidhā upapattiḥ | ayamucyate upādānapratyayo bhavaḥ ||

(ga) bhavaḥpratyayā jātiriti | jātiḥ katamāḥ? yā teṣāṃ teṣāṃ sattvānām tasmimstasmin sattvanikāye jātiḥ, saṃjātiḥ, avakrāntiḥ, abhinirvṛtīḥ, skandhānām prādurbhavaḥ, āyatanānām pratilambhaḥ, jīvitendriyasyodbhavaḥ (īyamucyate jātiḥ) ||

Av(Tib)²⁸ drug gang zhe na | gzugs la sred pa dang | sgra la sred pa dang | dri la sred pa dang | ro la sred pa dang | reg bya la sred pa dang | chos la sred pa'o || sred pa'i rkyen gyis len pa zhes bya ba la | len pa gang zhe na | len pa bzhi ste | bzhi gang zhe na | 'dod pa'i len pa dang | lta ba'i len pa dang | tshul khriṃs dang brtul zhugs kyi len pa dang | bdag tu smra ba'i len pa'o || len pa'i rkyen gyis srid pa zhes bya ba la | srid pa gang zhe na | srid pa gsum mo || gsum gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | 'dod pa'i srid pa dang | gzugs kyi srid pa dang | gzugs med pa'i srid pa'o || de la 'dod pa'i srid pa gang zhe na | 'og gi sems can dmyal ba chen po mnar med pa nas nye bar bzung ste gzhan 'phrul dbang byed kyi lha rnam kyi bar 'di ni 'dod pa'i srid pa zhes bya'o || gzugs kyi srid pa gang zhe na | tsangs ris kyi lha rnam nas nye bar bzung ste 'og min gyi lha rnam kyi bar 'di ni gzugs kyi srid pa zhes bya'o || gzugs med pa'i srid pa gang zhe na | nam mkha' mtha' yas skye mched du nye bar 'gro ba'i lha rnam nas nye bar 'di ni gzugs med pa'i srid pa zhes bya'o || srid pa'i rkyen gyis skye ba zhes bya ba la | skye ba gang zhe na | gang sems can de dang de dag sems can gyi ris de dang de dag tu skye ba dang | 'jug pa dang | rdzogs par skye ba dang | mngon par 'grub pa dang | phung po rnam 'byung ba dang | skye mched rnam rab tu thob pa dang | srog gi dbang po 'byung ba dang | ris 'hun pa dang phrad pa ste | 'di ni skye ba zhes bya'o ||

Av(Ch1)²⁹ 愛有六種，謂眼觀色、耳聽聲、鼻嗅香、舌了味、身覺觸、意分別法。由貪六法，得名為愛。由愛為緣，取法得起。取有四種，謂欲取、見取、戒禁取、我語取。由愛增故，得名為取。由取為緣，有法得起。有法有三，欲有、色有、無色有。欲有者，謂十惡趣及人天。十惡趣者，謂八地獄：一等活、二黑繩、三眾合、四號叫、五大號叫、六炎熱、七極炎熱、八無間；九傍生趣；十餓鬼趣。如是十種，名為惡趣。人趣者，謂四大洲：南瞻部洲、東勝身洲、西牛貨洲、北俱盧洲。南瞻部洲，其量縱廣七千由旬。此洲之相，北闊南狹，猶如車形。東勝身洲，其量縱廣八千由旬。彼洲之相，猶如半月。西牛貨洲，其量縱廣九千由旬。彼洲之相，猶如圓月。北俱盧洲，其量縱廣十千由旬。彼洲之相，四方徑直，猶如池沼。如是四洲，名為人趣。天趣者，欲界六天。謂：四王天、忉利天、夜摩天、兜率天、化樂天、他化自在天。如是名為欲界六天。此等諸趣，名為欲有。色有者，有十八天。謂：梵眾天、梵輔天、大梵天、光天、無量光天、光音天、淨天、無量淨天、遍淨天、無雲天、福生天、廣果天、無想天、無煩天、無熱天、善現天、善見天、色究竟天。此等諸天，名為色有。無色有者，有四種天。謂：空無邊處天、識無邊處

27. Av(V), p. 313, line 17 to p.314, line 6.

28. Av(Tib), p. 496, line 12 to p. 497, line 11.

29. Av(Ch1) p. 651, b5-c4.

天、無所有處天、非想非非想處天。此等諸天，名無色有。如是有，得名為有。由有為緣，生法得起。生者，謂諸有情捨此蘊已，隨業果報，復於界趣，蘊相出現故名為生。

Av(Ch2)³⁰ 佛言：所謂色愛、聲愛、香愛、味愛、觸愛、法愛。云何色愛？所謂一切有色，可愛可樂，深心戀著，無有厭離，是名色愛。聲、香、味、觸、法、愛，亦復如是。比丘！是名受緣愛。云何愛緣取？佛言：所謂欲取、見取、戒禁取、我語取。比丘！是名愛緣取。云何取緣有？佛言：所謂欲有、色有、無色有。云何欲有？謂欲界五趣，及四王天、忉利天、焰摩天、兜率天、化樂天、他化自在天，是名欲有。云何色有？佛言，所謂梵眾天、梵輔天、大梵天、少光天、無量光天、極光天、少淨天、無量淨天、極遍淨天、無雲天、福生天、廣果天、無煩天、無熱天、善現天、善見天、色究竟天。比丘！是名色有。云何無色有？佛言：所謂空無邊處、識無邊處、無所有處、非想非非想處，是名無色有。比丘！如是有三種，是謂取緣有。云何有緣生？佛言：所謂一切眾生，以愛取為緣，潤生五蘊，住世動作，隨順流轉，種種差別所與及取，皆從蘊起，身之所生，以命為本。比丘！是名有緣生。

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Symbols Used in the Transliteration

- () restored (part of) *aḥṣara*(s)
 [] uncertain *aḥṣara*(s)
 < > omitted (part of) *aḥṣara*(s) without gap in the Ms.
 « » insertion{ } superfluous *aḥṣara*(s)
 + one lost *aḥṣara*
 . one illegible *aḥṣara*
 .. illegible part of an *aḥṣara*
 ... indefinite number of lost *aḥṣaras*
 /// beginning or end of a fragment when broken
 * *virāma*

Punctuations

ms.	ed.	rec.
.	.	.
:	:	:

Abbreviations and Reference

- Sad(N) —H. Kern & B. Nanjio (ed.); *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*; St. Pétersbourg 1908 (Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences), Bibliotheca Buddhica, 10.
 Hirofumi Toda, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram*, Central Asian Manuscript Fragments, Tokushima Kyoiku shuppan Center, 1983.
 Sad(Tib) — *Dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, 中华大藏经, bKa' 'gyur/mdo sde/ja.
 Sad(Ch1) — *Miaofa Lianhua Jing* 妙法蓮華經, translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, No. 262, 1924-34.
 Sad(Ch2) — *Zhengfahua Jing* 正法華經, translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, No. 263, 1924-34.
 Mś(I) — *Mahāśītavatī*, ed. by Yutaka Iwamoto in: *Kleinere Dhāraṇī Texte*, hrsg. von Yutaka Iwamoto, Kyoto 1937 (Beitrage zur Indologie ; Heft 2), pp. 1-6.
 Mś(Tib) — *'PHags pa be con chen po zhes bya ba' gzungs*, 中华大藏经, bKa' 'gyur/rgyud 'bum/ba.Mś(Ch) — Dahanlin Shengnanna Tuoluonijing 大寒林聖難拏陀羅尼經, translated by Dharmadeva

³⁰ Av(Ch2) p. 654, c17-p. 655, a7.

法天, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, No. 1392, 1924-34.

Av(V) — *Arthaviniścayasūtra*, in: *Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgraha*, part 1, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1961 (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 17).

Av(Tib) — *Don rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs*, 中华大藏经, bKa' 'gyur/mdo sde/sa

Av(Ch1) — *Foshuo Juedingyi Jing* 佛說決定義經, translated by Dharmabhadra 法賢, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, No. 762, 1924-34.

Av(Ch 2) — *Foshuo Facheng Yijueding Jing* 佛說法乘義決定經, translated by Suvarṇadharāṇa* 金總持 and others, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, No. 763, 1924-34.

New Research on the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia*

Seishi KARASHIMA

In 1889, local treasure hunters came across a cache of manuscripts south of Kucha on the northern Silk Road, which were later sold to a British intelligence officer in India, Lieutenant Bower, who, in turn, sent them to Augustus Frederic Rudolf Hoernle in Calcutta. Hoernle deciphered these manuscripts, which contained several medical and Buddhist Sanskrit texts and subsequently published a well-organised edition (1893-1912).¹ This discovery and publication influenced the early archaeological exploration movement in East Turkestan. In 1893, Hoernle also published an article concerning a collection of manuscripts, which he had received from Rev. F. Weber, a Moravian missionary in Leh, Ladakh. Later, he even published articles on Sanskrit fragments — some of which were fake — sent by George Macartney (1867-1945), the British Consul General in Kashgar at that time, and Captain Stuart Hill Godfrey (1861-1941), "resident assistant" in Kashmir.² In 1899, Hoernle published the first part of a report, dealing with what had been found up to then, including more than a

* This is an English translation of my article "Nouvelles recherches sur les manuscrits sanscrits bouddhiques provenant d'Asie Centrale". I am very grateful to Peter Lait for checking my English.

¹ *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanized Transliteration and English Translation with Notes*, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, 22), 1893-1912. See also Ursula Sims-Williams, "The papers of the Central Asian scholar and Sanskritist Rudolf Hoernle", in: *The British Library Sanskrit Fragments: Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia* (BLSF), ed. Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille, Tokyo, vol. 1 (2006): International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University (hereinafter BLSF I), pp. 1-26; *ead.* "The British Library Hoernle Collection, part 1", BLSF II.1 (2009), pp. 1-24.

² "The Weber MSS. — Another Collection of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia", in: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter *JASB*) 62, pt. I, 1893, Calcutta, 1894, pp. 1-40; "Three Further Collections of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia", *JASB* 66, pt. I, 1897, pp. 213-60; reprint: Calcutta, 1897; "A Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia. Part I", *JASB* 68, pt. I, 1899, extra no., Calcutta, 1899; "A Report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia. Part II", *JASB* 70, pt. I, 1901, extra no. 1, Calcutta, 1902; *Facsimile Reproduction of Weber Mss., Part IX and Macartney Mss., Set I with Roman Transliteration and Indexes*, Calcutta 1902: Baptist Mission Press; "The "Unknown Languages" of Eastern Turkestan. [I]", *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 834-38, pp. 1283-1300; "The "Unknown Languages" of Eastern Turkestan. II", *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 449-77; *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford, 1916; reprint: St. Leonards et Amsterdam, 1970. For a detailed description and evaluation of the work and Hoernle Fund that bears his name, cf. P. O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in The British Library. A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translation. With Contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams*, London, 2002, introduction.

hundred fragments in various scripts and languages.

Almost at the same time, between 1890 and 1903, Nikolaj F. Petrovsky (1837-1908, the Russian consul in Kashgar from 1882 to 1903) collected many Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Gāndhāri, Khotanese, Tocharian, Tibetan and Uighur, discovered in various parts of East Turkestan, a large number of which were sent to St. Petersburg. In 1893, Sergey Fyodorovich Oldenburg (1863-1934) began publishing his studies on the Sanskrit and Tocharian fragments, which Petrovsky had acquired.³ However, he was able to publish only nineteen of these, which were the best preserved among the two-hundred and fifty fragments in the Petrovsky Collection.

Thus, the "Great Game" or "Tournament of Shadows" (Турниры теней) between the British and Russian Empires for supremacy in Central Asia was played out *even* in the field of researching manuscripts in Sanskrit.

The news of successive discoveries of Buddhist manuscripts had greatly excited researchers in Europe, America and Japan and during the next two decades after 1895, Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Albert Grünwedel, Albert von Le Coq, Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim, Sergey F. Oldenburg, Zuicho Tachibana, Ellsworth Huntington and Paul Pelliot, just to name the most famous, made expeditions to Central Asia, bringing back many fragments in Sanskrit, Khotanese and other Central Asian languages to Europe, the United States and Japan. The Sanskrit fragments, which could number twenty-five thousand⁴, are now preserved in various institutions in Ankara, Berlin, Harvard, Helsinki, Kyoto London, Lüshun (China), Munich, Paris, St. Petersburg, Washington and Yale.⁵ Recently, many Sanskrit fragments have been discovered in Xinjiang, China, many of which are now preserved in the National Library of China in Beijing.⁶

(1) Digitisation of fragments

Since the late nineteenth century, a substantial number of these fragments have been catalogued, transcribed and studied by many scholars. However, with the exception of the

³ S. F. Ol'denburg (С. Ф. Ольденбургъ), "Кашгарская рукопись Н. Ф. Петровскаго", *Записки Восточнаго Отделения Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества* (hereinafter ZVOIRAO), VII (1893), pp. 81-82, 1 plate; "Отрывки кашгарских санскритских рукописей из собрания Н. Ф. Петровскаго", ZVOIRAO VIII, вып. I (1893), pp. 47-67, 2 plates; "Къ Кашгарскимъ буддийскимъ текстамъ", *id.*, pp. 151-153; "Еще по поводу кашгарских санскритских рукописей", ZVOIRAO IX (1894), pp. 349-351; "Отрывки кашгарскихъ и санскритскихъ рукописей изъ собранія Н. Ф. Петровскаго, II, Отрывки изъ Раїсаракṣā", ZVOIRAO XI (1899), pp. 207-264, 2 plates; "Отрывки кашгарскихъ и санскритскихъ рукописей изъ собранія Н. Ф. Петровскаго, III, Отрывки изъ Раїсаракṣā", ZVOIRAO XV, Вып. 4 (1904), pp. 113-122, 3 plates; *Предварительная заметка о буддийской рукописи написанной письменами kharoṣṭhī*, Санктпетербургъ 1897: Типографія Императорской Академіи Наукъ.

⁴ There are 11,477 fragments in Berlin, 8,315 fragments in London, about 3,000 fragments in Paris, more than 350 manuscripts and fragments in St. Petersburg and several hundred fragments in Lüshun.

⁵ For an overview of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia, see Lore Sander, "Buddhist Literature in Central Asia", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, ed. G. P. Malalasekara *et al.*, vol. IV, Colombo 1979, pp. 52-75 and *ead.* "Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan: Eighty Years of Research Work", *Prajñā-Bhārati*, ed. J. S. Jha, Patna 1983, pp. 1-18.

⁶ Cf. *Zhongguoguojiatushuguan cang Xiyuwenshu — Fanwen, Quluwen Juan* 中国国家图书馆藏西域文书——梵文、佉卢文卷 [*Xinjiang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library of China: Sanskrit Fragments and Kharoṣṭhī Documents*], ed. Duan Qing 段晴 and Zhang Zhiqing 张志清 *et al.*, Shanghai: Zhongxishuju 中西书局 (梵文贝叶经与佛教文献系列丛书 [Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature], no. 3).

German collections, the majority of them remain to be studied.

It is for this reason that in 2005, the International Institute for Advanced Research Buddhology (IRIAB) of Soka University, of which I am a member, and the British Library (BL) signed an agreement to digitising these Sanskrit manuscript fragments from Central Asia, consisting of 8,315 pieces in all. We also decided to make these images available, publishing preliminary identifications, transcriptions and information on these fragments on the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) and IRIAB websites⁷, six months after receiving them at our institute, thus making this priceless cultural heritage accessible to any researcher anywhere in the world. Since 2006, we have published two volumes of *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments* (BLSF), dealing with about one thousand one hundred fragments⁸ and, now, all of the 8,315 fragments have been digitised.

The Sanskrit manuscripts in the Petrovsky Collection in St. Petersburg consist often of well-preserved, though incomplete, folios, while manuscripts in other collections are generally fragmentary. This may be due to the advantageous position of the Russian consul in Kashgar at that time.⁹

In collaboration with the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, we have published texts and facsimiles of the manuscript of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* and several fragments of various other texts in the publications of the IRIAB.¹⁰ Extending this relationship between our two institutions, we have decided to begin a similar series of BLSF, namely *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The St. Petersburg Sanskrit Fragments (StPSF)* and we are now preparing the publication of the first volume, scheduled for 2014, which will include among others the manuscripts of the *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa* and the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* as well as an anthology of the *avadānas*,

⁷ <http://idp.bl.uk/> et http://iriab.soka.ac.jp/orc/Publications/BLSF/index_BLSF.html

⁸ Edited by Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille, Tokyo, IRIAB, Soka University, vol. I (2006), vol. II, 2 parts (2009).

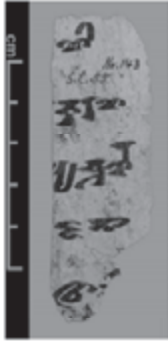

⁹ The most striking example of this is the so-called "Kashgar" manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, probably dating from the eighth or ninth century C.E., which was discovered in Khādaliq before being sold in Kashgar. This manuscript is probably the best preserved of all those which have been found in Central Asia. It is divided into six parts, each of which is now kept in six different places around the world. The original manuscript must have consisted of 459 folios out of which, 447 are preserved, namely 396 in the Petrovsky Collection (St. Petersburg), 44 at the British Library, 9 in Berlin, one at Yale University and six leaves at the Lüshun Museum (China). Some folios were divided into two and sold separately, so the sum of existing folios exceeds 447. Cf. Hirofumi Toda, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text*, Tokushima 1983, Kyoiku Shuppan Center, pp. xii-xiii. A colour facsimile edition of the manuscript of the Petrovsky Collection has just been published: *Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SI P/5, etc.): Facsimile Edition*, published by The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Soka Gakkai, and the Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Tokyo 2013: The Soka Gakkai (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 13).

¹⁰ *The Kāśyapaparivarta: Romanized Text and Facsimiles*, ed. Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, in collaboration with Seishi Karashima and Noriyuki Kudo, Tokyo 2002: IRIAB, Soka University (*Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica V*); Seishi Karashima and Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, "Some Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1)", in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University* (hereinafter *ARIRIAB*), vol. X (2007), pp. 45-56 + 3 plates; "Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from the Collection of The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg (2)", *ARIRIAB XI* (2008), pp. 91-94 + 2 plates, and so on.

discovered at the Merv Oasis near Bayram Ali in Turkmenistan in 1966. These three manuscripts consist of nearly complete leaves.

(2) Identification of fragments using databases of texts in Sanskrit and Pāli

In the past, only relatively large fragments, which were easy to identify, were studied and published. Nowadays, by means of databases of texts in Sanskrit and Pāli, even tiny fragments comprising only a few words or, in extreme cases, a few characters can be identified. For example, the Sanskrit Or.15010/85 fragment in the British Library¹¹ reads as follows:

<i>recto</i>	<i>verso</i>	<i>recto</i>	<i>verso</i>
		a /// ṇi	a /// m.
		b /// .. karaṇa	b /// ..
		c /// [p]yacūrṇa	c /// pu
		d /// janā	d /// .. 34
		e /// khā[ni]	e /// .. trā

In this fragment, as there is almost no characteristic expression or complete word contained in it, it would have been impossible for researchers in the past, who relied only on their memories and printed texts, to identify it. However, nowadays, with the help of databases of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, one can easily identify it as part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*:

recto: Gv 52.16–53.6 = Gv(V) 40.17–29¹². ... *saptahastāyāmaṣṭāra-ūrdhvādhaḥ-pramāṇāni dharāṇītalād abhyudgamyā ... pratyekaṃ ca sarvopakaraṇaparipūrṇāni ... nānāratna-paripūrṇāni suvarṇabhājanāni rūpyacūrṇaparipūrṇāni ... aśmagarbhabhājanāni lohītamuktāparipūrṇāni ... etatpramukhāni ...*

verso : Gv 56.12–21 = Gv(V) 45.21–46.7

sarvaśāntipurabhūmiḥāpanaṃ dharmcyānam abhirohayāhi me ||32|| ... dhāraṇavaraviśuddhi suṣrabham jñānasūryam upadarśayāhi me ||34|| ... yatra te samabhirūdhacakṣuṣā jñānarājamakuṭābhyaṅkṛtā |

(3) Identification of fragments using databases of Chinese and Tibetan translations

As not all Sanskrit texts are extant, there are many cases where we cannot identify fragments in them. In those instances, we can then use Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts, which are preserved in large numbers, whose databases are now available as well.

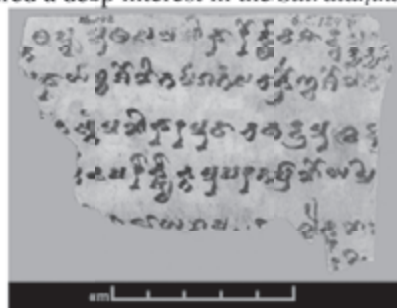
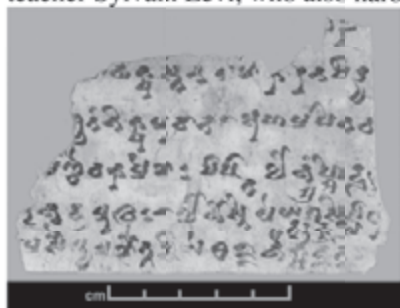
One such example is the Sanskrit Or.15010/130 fragment, written in ancient Brahmi script of Turkmenistan (3rd century C.E.). Here, words such as *bhikṣu* (“monk”), *maṇikāra*

¹¹ Cf. BLSF II.1, pp. 494–495; II.2, plate 322.

¹² Gv = *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed. Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki, Hōkei Idzumi, Kyoto, 1934–36: The Sanskrit Buddhist Texts Publishing Society; newly-revised edition, Kyoto 1949: The Society for the Publication of Sacred Books of the World; Gv(V) = *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1960: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning (*Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, no. 5).

(“jeweller”), *maṇi* (“precious stone”), *śoṇita* (“blood”) and *krauñca* (“Sarus crane”) occur.¹³

When researching the Chinese words which may correspond to them, such as 比丘, 珠師珠, 血 and 鵝 in the database of the corpus of Buddhist texts in Chinese (the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* or *Taisho Tripitaka*)¹⁴, we can identify the fragment as corresponding to the 63rd story in the Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Kumāralāta, namely the *Dazhuangyanlunjing* 大莊嚴論經, translated by Kumārajīva in the early 5th century (*Taishō*, vol. 4, no. 201). This text was translated into French by Édouard Huber, on the advice of his teacher Sylvain Lévi, who also harboured a deep interest in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*.



Taishō 4, no. 201, 320a15f. 時彼珠師(“jeweller”)以貧切故, 無由得珠(“precious stone”), 更復瞋打。…… 320b27f. 時波比丘(“monk”)語穿珠師(“jeweller”)言: “莫捨悲心, 極為苦哉。” 時穿珠師(“jeweller”)涕泣懊惱, 而說偈言: “我雖打撲汝極大生苦惱 憶王責我珠 復欲苦給汝 今汝捨是苦 亦使我離惡 汝是出家人 應斷於貪欲 宜捨貪愛心 還當與我珠。” 比丘(“monk”)微笑, 而說偈言: “…… 於汝摩尼珠(“maṇi”) 實無貪利心 我著糞掃衣 乞食以為業 住上於樹下 以此我為足 以何因緣故 乃當作偷賊 汝宜善觀察”。穿珠師(“jeweller”)語比丘(“monk”)言: “何用多語?” 遂加繫縛 倍更撻打, 以繩急絞。耳、眼、口、鼻盡皆血(“blood”)出。時彼鵝(“goose”)者即來飲血(“blood”)。珠師瞋忿, 打鵝即死。比丘(“monk”)問言: “此鵝死活?” 珠師答言: “鵝今死活, 何足故問?” 時彼比丘即向鵝所。見鵝(“goose”)既死, 涕泣不樂¹⁵。

¹³ Cf. BLSF II.1, pp. 460-461; II.2, plate 287.

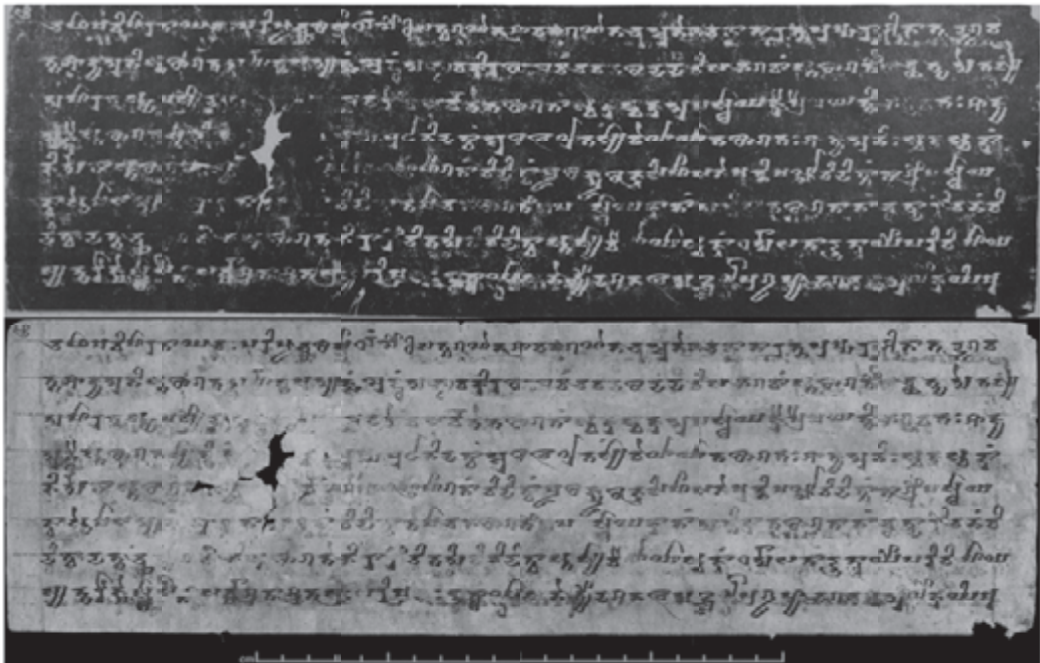
¹⁴ Databases of the Chinese Buddhist Canon can be found at the following sites: <http://www.lu-tokyo.ac.jp/~sat/japan/down.html> and <http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm>. The identification of the bird *krauñca* is problematic and has been discussed at great length, cf. e.g., Julia Leslie, “A bird bereaved: the identity and significance of Vālmīki’s *Krauñca*”, in: *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 26 (1998), pp. 455-487; Paul Thieme, “Kranich und Reiher im Sanskrit”, in: *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 1 (1975), pp. 3-36 = *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden II, pp. 855-888. According to Leslie, the Sarus crane is the most likely identification. Chinese translators apparently faced difficulties in identifying the *krauñca*, as this bird’s name in Sanskrit was rendered in various ways in Chinese translations: 鶴 (“crane”), 鵠 (“pie”), 鳳凰 (“phoenix”), 鶩鴛 (“mandarin duck”), 崑崙 (this is a transliteration!). Among them, 鶴 (“crane”) seems the most appropriate. The word *hamsa* (“goose”) is frequently associated with the *krauñca* in Buddhist literature and therefore, I looked up the word 鵝 (“goose”) in the electronic corpus.

¹⁵ Cf. Édouard Huber, *Açvaghōṣa, Sūtrālaṅkāra, traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva*, Paris: Leroux, 1908, pp. 325-328. This fragment corresponds to another Sanskrit one, which was discovered at Kizil by the German Turfan expedition and studied by H. Lüders: Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitīkā des Kumāralāta*, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte II, Leipzig 1926: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, p. 179, folio 204 (SHT 21). This story is also the subject of a bas-relief in Gandhāra; cf. A. Foucher, “Interprétation de quelques bas-reliefs du Gandhāra”, in: *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril 1917, pp. 257-281.

(4) Highlighting the benefits of digital photographs of fragments

Digital images of fragments are much clearer than black and white photographs. With black and white reproductions of manuscripts, it is often impossible to distinguish between the *anusvāra* (the nasal sound) sign, indicated by a dot above the line and simple stains. Also, it is difficult to recognise small signs denoting the removal of unnecessary characters or interlinear insertion marks. One of the advantages of digital photography is the possibility of secondary image processing of fragments. We can thus enlarge digital images, increase or decrease the contrast and change the colour on a computer monitor at will and hence, all these image enhancements help us to solve the problems mentioned above.

For example, the following images are photographs of one and the same folio of a manuscript, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* or the Lotus Sutra, which was discovered at Farhād Bēg-Yailaki in Xinjiang and is now preserved in the Stein Collection at the British Library. The upper photograph is from an undated microfilm, while the one below is the digitised one used in our BLSF project¹⁶.



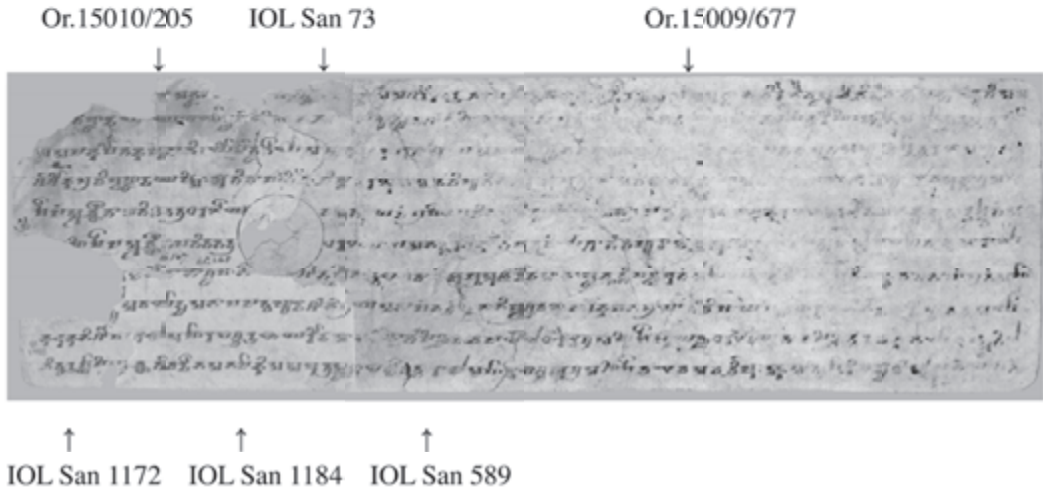
(see PLATE 9 at the end of this volume)

It is almost impossible to distinguish between *anusvāra* signs and stains in the top photograph and the characters, which are illegible here, however, are decipherable much more easily in the other photograph.

In addition, digital photography allows us to gather images of fragments, now separated, but originally constituting a single folio. For example, the following image of the *verso* of the *Suvarṇabhāsoittamasūtra* is made up from photographs of six different fragments, preserved at the British Library, namely Or.15010/205, San IOL 73,

¹⁶ Cf. BLSF I, pp. 155f., plates 95f.

Or.15009/677, IOL San 1184, IOL San 1172 and IOL San 589¹⁷.



Also, digital photography allows us to assemble images of fragments, which are now preserved in different countries. For example, the following image of a folio of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* consists of three fragments, namely Or.15010/17 and Or.15010/18, preserved at the British Library and the Mannerheim fragment 3, preserved in the library of the University of Helsinki as a deposit of the Finno-Ugrian Society¹⁸.



It is likely that the merchant, who had this folio, which was discovered in the ruins of Khadaliq in China, divided it into three pieces before selling them separately.

The second example is a folio of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. The fragment on the left (black and white) once belonged to the Ōtani Collection, though its whereabouts is now

¹⁷ This image was assembled by Oktor Skjærvø and published in BLSF II.2, plate 376.

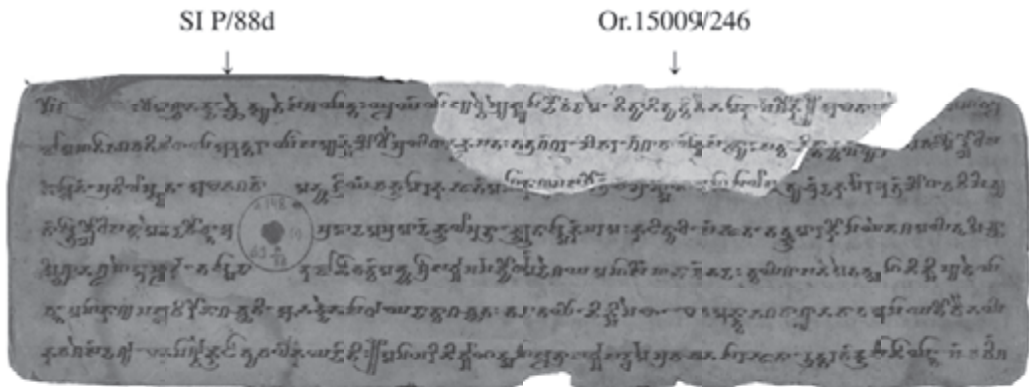
¹⁸ Cf. Seishi Karashima, “Sanskrit Fragments of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* and the *Pañcapāramitā-nirdeśasūtra* in the Mannerheim Collection”, *ARIRIAB* VII (2004), pp. 105-118 + 3 plates; BLSF II.1, pp. 354-356; *id.* II.2, plate 219.

¹⁹ The facsimile of this Mannerheim fragment is reproduced here with kind permission of the Finno-Ugrian Society.

unknown²⁰. The fragment on the right is Or.15010/208 at the British Library²¹.



The third example is a folio of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*, which consists of two fragments, namely Or.15009/246 of the British Library²² and SI P/88d²³ of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg²⁴.



(see PLATE 10 at the end of this volume)

In this way, digital photography allows us to assemble images of fragments, which are now separated and, consequently, restore characters, divided in different fragments as well.

(5) The urgency of the need for digitising fragments

After being buried for over a thousand years in the sands of Central Asia, these Sanskrit fragments were discovered and brought back to Europe, the United States and Japan a hundred years ago. Since then, most of them have been kept in libraries without being

²⁰ A photographic reproduction can be found in: *Saiiki Koko Zufu* 西域考古圖譜 [Archaeological Photographs of the Western Region], ed. Mokujiki Kagawa, Tokyo 1915 (國華社); reprints: Tokyo 1972 (柏林社書店), Beijing 1999 (学苑出版社), No. 20.

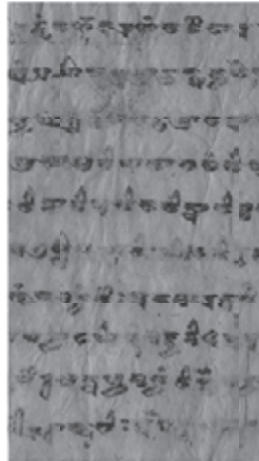
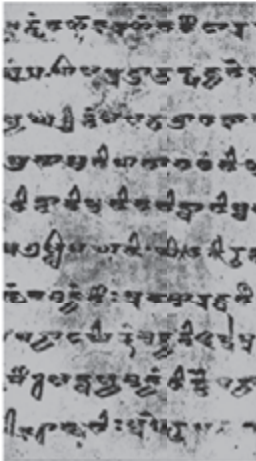
²¹ Cf. BLSF II.1, pp. 535-538; II.2, plate 367.

²² Cf. BLSF II.2, plate 160.

²³ The facsimile of the fragment is reproduced here by courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

²⁴ This folio was studied by Hiromi Habata, BLSF II.1, pp. 582f.

studied. During this period, a number of these fragments have deteriorated due to the passage of time. For example, the following photographs are from one and the same fragment of the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśasūtra*, namely the Mannerheim fragment No. 9. The one on the left was taken a hundred years ago²⁵, while the one on the right was taken around ten years ago on my request²⁶. The deterioration of the fragment is quite obvious.



As I have stated above, digitisation of all 8,315 Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia at the British Library has been completed. Now, we are working with the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, as described above. In addition, more than 1,000 Sanskrit fragments from the Pelliot Collection, out of a total of about 3,000, have been digitised and posted on the Bibliothèque nationale de France website²⁷.

(see PLATE 10 at the end of this volume)

I should like to express my hope that other institutions follow suit and digitise their old Sanskrit fragments as well, before anymore deterioration occurs and make them available to the public without further ado.

²⁵ This image is from Julio Nathaniel Reuter, "Some Buddhist Fragments from Chinese Turkestan in Sanskrit and 'Khotanese'", in: *Aikakauskirja* (Journal of the Finno-Ugrian Society) XXX: 37, Helsinki 1913–1918, p. 33, plate VII. This article was reprinted in Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908*, Helsinki 1940: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura (Kansatieteellisiä Julkaisuja 8); reprint: Oosterhout, 1969: Anthological Publications, vol II.

²⁶ Cf. Seishi Karashima, *ARIRIAB VII* (2004), pp. 109f. and plate 3. The facsimile of the Mannerheim fragment is reproduced here with kind permission of the Finno-Ugrian Society.

²⁷ <http://gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&q=sanskrit&p=1&lang=fr>

Reviewing Rgs XIV 2 & 7
How One Can Rescue Oneself When Shipwrecked in the Ocean
With Some Reference to Haribhadra's Commentary

海難から自らを救う術
寶德藏般若譬喩品の原点理解再検

Akira YUYAMA / 湯山明

To the Memory of Tilmann Ernst Vetter (1937-2012)

Foreword with a fond memory of Tilmann: — For some time I have been thinking of dedicating a paper to Dr. Tilmann Ernst Vetter (Pforzheim, Baden-Württemberg, 2 March 1937 – Wassenaar, Zuidholland, 20 December 2012), Professor Emeritus of Indian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies at the University of Leiden.¹ While I was rather slow at work, I received all of a sudden the terribly sad news that Tilmann had passed away. Professor Lambert Schmithausen of Hamburg informed me of it. Lambert said that he had spoken with him in very good spirits on the phone just a day before his death. I felt so guilty that I could not finish this paper in time. Alas! He was younger than I.

As it is well known, Tilmann, Lambert (*Cologne, 1939) and Ernst Steinkellner (*Graz, 3 October 1937) were the so-called triumvirate friends of outstanding young brain working together with their teacher Professor Erich Frauwallner (1898-1974) in Vienna around the early 1960s. Although he was working in the field far out of my line, he became well known to us through his publications from Vienna as early as in 1964.²

After the gymnasium in his hometown Pforzheim (Germany), Tilmann studied Indology in Tübingen with Professor Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891-1963) among others. Incidentally, Tilmann studied also in Hamburg sometime in 1956-1958 before moving to the Austrian floral capital of Vienna.

It was probably towards the end of the 1970s that I visited Tilmann in Leiden, where I

¹ Hoogleraar voor de vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuid- en Central-Azië aan de Universiteit Leiden / Instituut Kern (Indologisch Instituut).

² See e.g. *Erkenntnisprobleme bei Dharmakīrti* (= *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*, Band CCXLV, 2. Abhandlung) (= *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Süd- und Ostasiens*, Heft 1) (Wien: Hermann Böhlau – Nachfolger: Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964), 118 p.

had studied under the guidance of Professors J. W. de Jong (1921-2000) and F. B. J. Kuiper (1907-2003) at the Kern (Indological) Institute for two academic years 1963-1965. I had therefore known his celebrated name since he was in Utrecht around 1960s.

Even now I recall a very fond memory with Tilmann, who, during my visit there at that time, invited me to his place at Wassenaar, a prestigious residential district situated between Leiden and The Hague. Tilmann took me to a walk along the handsome dunes. He then energetically began to discuss philosophical questions in German. I told him that the topic was too a high level to me. He then said to me - "You speak to me in English, and I speak in German to you". Alas! It was not the question of the language, but simply of my poor knowledge — yes, just ignorance!

Just by the way, Professor Michael Witzel of Harvard, had lived only one but two houses next to Vetter's on the same street in Wassenaar during his academic tenure of office in Leiden (1978-1986). I met Michael for the first time in Kathmandu in 1978 at the Centre for Nepal Studies, and when he was just moving to Leiden. Professor Oskar von Hinüber had just arrived to take his office in turn. At that time I learned a lot on the then state of affairs on manuscript preservation in Nepal.

Tilmann held the renowned Chair of Buddhist Studies at Leiden from 1974 until 2000.³

The founding chair holder, Professor J. W. de Jong, left there for Canberra in 1965. Then it was succeeded for a while from 1966 to 1972 by Professor David Seyffort Rugg (*New York City, 1931) immediately before Tilmann. During his professorial tenure in Leiden he planted the productive root of his profound knowledge of the subjects to his pupils — I recall the names of Johannes Bronkhorst of Lausanne (promoted to the second doctorate in 1980), Peter Verhagen of Leiden (1991), Yūko Ijiri of Kyoto-Himeji (井尻裕子 / 2005) among many others.

I wonder if Ms. Ijiri's doctoral dissertation has appeared in print,⁴ for I am much eager to see it. A reason for this is that she was in my class when I was there as Numata Professor of Buddhist Studies in autumn 1997. Her work on the very Mahāyāna-sūtra reminds me of her grandfather Susumu Ijiri's pioneering impressive work on the Borobudur site in Central Java since the early 1920s.⁵ - A well-known art museum to his memory was established in 1989: Enzan Memorial Museum of Art & Crafts (圓山記念日本工芸美術館) with a beautiful Japanese garden in the City of Himeji, Hyōgo Prefecture. Regrettably, I have failed to visit the museum, though.

In the autumnal session 1997 I was obliged to offer a course both in the Institute Kern

³. His inaugural lecture: *Methodische consequentie bij twee Indische denkers: Dharmakīrti en Śāṅkara: Rede, uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van gewoon hoogleraar in de Boeddologie, de Indische wijsbegeerte en het Tibetaans aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden op 7 November 1975* (Leiden: University Press, 1975).

⁴. Yūko Ijiri, *The Four Upāsaka Chapters of the Gaṇḍavyūha: A Comparative Edition and a Translation* (Diss., Leiden 2005).

⁵. 井尻進, *ボロブドゥル・ジャワの佛教遺跡* (上海: 無憂園内・大乘社/青木文教, 1924), (i), (i), 2, 3, 2, 20, 269, 34 (索引) p., num. plates in the text. — Originally published in the monthly periodical *Daijō* (大乘), entitled "Studies on Borobudur (ボロブドゥル研究)" (from March 1923 to March 1924).

— , *ジャバ遺跡・ボロブドゥル巡礼/方廣大莊嚴經物語* [地婆訶羅奉譯・方廣大莊嚴經亦名神通遊戲] (飾磨市阿成・位田庄八, 1941), 420 p., 120 ill. (after the photos by Krom) [Not for sale].

(Indological Institute) and in the Institute for Japanese and Korean Studies: I conducted an advanced seminar on the Rgs, Chapter XIV, and the then newly discovered mediaeval Japanese Buddhist narrative literature named Chūkōsen (注好選).⁶

To my intimate affairs, I am grateful to Tilmann, who has contributed an enlightening article with Professor Paul Maxwell Harrison (*Auckland, 1950), now of Stanford, on a difficult problem regarding the Chinese translation of An Shigao (安世高) to the festschrift presented to me in 1998.⁷ His profound knowledge of Buddhist Chinese has surprised me a great deal. Further, I cannot but mention his extremely meticulous work published just recently.⁸ He was literally a polyglot — needless to say, in addition to the European languages, he had mastered main languages of Asia, classical and modern, e.g. Indic, Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, etc. His Dutch was naturally like his mother tongue!

In this connection I still regret very much that I could not attend a conference on An Shigao held in Leiden some ten years ago. Furthermore, I learned later that the discovery of rare Indic manuscripts in Afghanistan was made a good topic of conversation at table beside the central discussion on An Shigao. The then current topic has appeared in some important publications.⁹

To my surprise, Tilmann wanted to join the course for the Rgs. I was delighted to see him spare no efforts at offering productive suggestions and considering fruitful propositions of other possible understandings and interpretations. We could thus re-consider other possible readings of this extremely difficult text.

The following humble paper is thus dedicated to the fond memory of Tilmann, and of well-trained excellent students in the seminar class. They gave me a wonderful gift during my stay there. From among many others I have hereinafter picked up only a topic on the illustrative episode about those who are being shipwrecked and drowned in the ocean.

⁶ On returning home, I published the fruit of this seminar: 湯山明, “仏教説話文学研究覚書(1): 「注好選」下巻第十話『雙鴈は渴せる龜を將て去る』雑録”, *ARIRIAB*, I: 1997 (1998), p. 69-90; “ — (2): — 試訳”, *ibid.*, p. 91-95 [an annotated English translation]; “ — (3): — 余滴”, *ARIRIAB*, II: 1998 (1999), p. 90-92.

⁷ T. Vetter & P. Harrison, “An Shigao’s Chinese Translation of the Saptasthānasūtra”, *Sūryacandrāya* (1998), p. 197-216. — cf. *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 358.

⁸ Tilmann Vetter, *A Lexicographical Study of An Shigao’s and his Circle’s Chinese Translations of Buddhist Texts* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Monograph Series*, XXVIII) (Tokyo: IBS at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2012), 344 p. — ISBN 978-4-906267-66-8.

⁹ In the first place a series of collaborative work on the Schøyen Collection has surprised me a great deal: — *Buddhist Manuscripts*, I, ed. Jens Braarvig (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, I) (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2000), xxii, 302 p., XII pl. — Reviewed by Daniel Boucher, *IJ*, XLV, 3 (2002), p. 245-259; 薩爾吉 (Saerji), 華林, III (2003), p. 441-444 (for Vols. I & II). — for the contents in details see A. Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 70; — , *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 353.

Cf. elsewhere e.g. *Manuscripts of the Silk Road* (= *Catalogue*, XXIX) (London: Sam Fogg, 2004), 52 p., incl. num. ills.: — *The exhibition was held 4-12 November 2004* (Text by Ramsey Fendall & Will Kwiatkowski — *Collaborators among others*: Kumamoto, Matsuda, Sander, Sims-Williams, Skjærvø, Hartmann, Wille).

Manuscripts from the Himalayas and the Indian Subcontinent (= *Catalogue*, XVII) (London: Sam Fogg, 1996), 161 p., 1 frontisp.; also other catalogues published by Sam Fogg in London!

Interesting work among others is e.g. Jens Braarvig & Frederik Liland with contributions by Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Kazunobu Matsuda, Richard Salomon, Lore Sander, *Traces for Gandhāran Buddhism: An Exhibition of Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection* (Oslo: Hermes Publishing in collaboration with Amarin Printing & Publishing Public, 2010), 136 p., photos, ills. — ISBN 978-82-8034-075-0.

Chapter XIV ‘Aupamyā-Parivarta’ of the Rgs, like AsP, is, as the title itself tells, devoted to the illustration of the story of the drowning ones as a result of a shipwreck in the midst of the ocean. In particular we meet a number of stories, in which five hundred traders wrecked in the sea, when carrying a plenty of treasures. The number ‘five hundred’ is furthermore rather symbolic in Indian literature (cf. e.g. Lienhard 1985, esp. p. 9-32, 101 & 107; Yuyama 1992, 2004a & 2004b). Cf. further e.g. a colophon itself telling us what has happened:—

samāptaṃ śāriputra-maudgalyāyana-pramukhānāṃ pañcānāṃ bhikṣu-śatānāṃ rākṣasī-dvīpa-kṣiptānāṃ jātakam / (MvAv, éd. Senart, III.90.9-10).¹⁰

Although the number “500” in Indic literature is so interesting, I must omit it, except citing herewith a few works on the topic.¹¹ It may however be worth noting that Hiraoka refers this passage to the following texts (Hiraoka, II, p. 544):

na mahāsamudro mṛtakūṇapena sārddham saṃvasati, with reference to mahāsamuddo na matena kūṇapena saṃvasati (Vin. ii 237.28-29), and mahāsamudro mṛtakūṇapena sārddham rātriṃ na prativasati (Mv iii 354.7).

In this text we still see a number of problems. One of the problems to be solved urgently is the origin of the Turfan fragment. My previous view to regard it as a kind of Peking blockprint text may have to be corrected. I am at the moment collecting the materials to solve the very question, e.g. by means of its shape — say, an accordion-type book printed by blocks or any other means!

* * *

Tilmann Vetter's some more principal monographs among others

Dharmakīrti's *Pramānaviniścayaḥ*, 1. Kapitel: *Pratyakṣam*. Einleitung, Text der tibetischen Übersetzung, Sanskritfragmente, deutsche Übersetzung (= Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, CCL, Abhandlung 3) (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Süd- und Ostasiens, III) (Wien: Hermann Böhlau - Nachfolger, 1966), 111 p.

Maṇḍanamīśras Brahmasiddhiḥ Brahmakāṇḍaḥ: Übersetzung, Einleitung und Anmerkungen (= Sitzungsberichte ..., CCLXXII, 2) (= Veröffentlichungen ..., VII) (Wien 1969), 126 p.

Sarvajñātman's Saṃkṣepasāritrakam, 1. Kapitel: Einführung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (= Sitzungsberichte ..., CCLXXXII, 3) (= Veröffentlichungen ..., XI) (Wien 1972), 176 p.

Studien zur Lehre und Entwicklung Śaṅkaras (= Publications of the De Nobili Research Library, VI) (Leiden: E. J. Brill / Wien: Institut für Indologie der Universität Wien, 1979), 153 p. — ISBN 3-90027105-4.

Der Buddha und seine Lehre in Dharmakīrtis Pramānavārttika: Der Abschnitt über den Buddha und die vier edlen Wahrheiten im Pramānasiddhi-Kapitel (= Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, XII) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1984), 183 p.

The 'khanda passages' in the Vinayapiṭaka and the four main Nikāyas (= Sitzungsberichte ..., DCLXXXII) (= Veröffentlichungen ..., XXIII) (Wien 2000), 357 p. — ISBN 3-70012932-7.

¹⁰. Cf. trsl. Jones, III p. 93 — further Hiraoka 2010, II, p. 235; Yuyama 2001a, p. lxiv.

¹¹. Cf. e.g. Yuyama 1992 (see Yuyama 2012, p. 368: Item 56); — reference can be extended to Noboru Karashima's chain of work on 500 traders in the Indian Ocean, i.e. Karashima 2003 for an example out of many others.

Rgs XIV 2**A diplomatic reading of Rgs XIV 2 in the MS K:**

(K13a5) सामुद्रियाययथनावि□□□□□□लुग्भियायोमृतकम्मनुष्यतृणकाष्ठम

(K13a6) गृहमानो। विलयंप्रयातिजलमध्यअप्राप्ततीरो। योगृहतेव्रजतिपारस्थलंप्रयाति ॥

The portion □□□□□ is a drawstring casing space square of about 6-*akṣaras* with a hole in the centre. It occupies 4 lines, leaving the first and sixth lines no space. — For further details on the so-called Calcutta Manuscript (abbr. K) see Yuyama 1976, p. xxiii, as well as *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 353 fn.* Cf. also Yuyama 1976, frontispiece (facsimile and description)!

Rgs XIV.2 reconstructed:*sāmudriyāya yatha nāvi praluṅgnayāye**mṛtakam manuṣya tṛṇa-kāṣṭham a-grhṇamāno /**vilayaṇ prayāti jala-madhya a-prāpta-tīro**yo grhṇate vrajati pāra sthalaṃ prayāti ॥ 2 ॥***Text-critical notes on Rgs XIV.2:**

The text reads *pāda* by *pāda* with a *daṇḍa* after another, and the *dviḍaṇḍa* after the verse, i.e. the end of the fourth *pāda*. Ms K reads without making any space between the words as usual in Indic Mss. Each *pāda* reads as a rule 14 syllables of the metrical scheme *Vasantatilakā*, i.e. *ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga/la*: cf. for further details Yuyama 1973a. For more detailed critical apparatuses see Yuyama 1976, p. 54 (ad Rgs XIV.2). It is a great pity that this verse is missing in the Turfan fragment (cf. Yuyama 1986, 2007a, 2007b, 2008 & 2010).

Recension B, as published by Obermiller 1937, is nothing but the Chinese blockprint bilingual text: cf. Lokesh Chandra 1980, folio 43b4-44a1 for Rgs XIV.2 (Text in *Raṅjana* or *Lañ-tsha* script in the first line, transcribed and translated into Tibetan in *Dbu-can* script respectively).

Stories of ocean-going traders in danger (often 500 people on board) have been a favourite topic as attested in various genres of Indian literature: see e.g. among others Yuyama 1983, p. xi-xvi.

Since then I have touched upon this topic on various occasions, e.g. see Yuyama 2004a-2004b, 2005, 2011.

Otherwise this has been treated in varied narrative stories in various ways and for various motives — and in many cases 500 traders play the topical rôle, i.e. ‘*pañca vāṇija-śatāni*’, *MvAv* ed. Senart 1897/1977, III.67.8-90.10, trsl. Jones 1956/1983, III p. 70-93, Hiraoka 2010, III p. 219-235; for further details on the old manuscripts of the *MvAv* see Yuyama 2001a, p. lxiv cum n. 23. One of the most interesting art objects on the topic is to be found in a painted scroll from Nepal, which has been meticulously brought out from Berlin by Lienhard 1985.

Stories of 500 ocean-going traders have been not only in narrative literature, but also attested in particular through aquatic archaeological and historical finds: cf. esp. Noboru Karashima 1998-2001-2003-2004 among his many other writings.

The number 500 as a numeral in early Buddhist literature may well be worth noting for further investigation: cf. Yuyama 1992.

2a: *sāmudriya-*: cf. Tib. *rgya-mthor ’jug-pa*, ‘ocean going’; AsP *mahā-samudra-gata-*: Tib. *rgya-mtso chen-por ’zugs-pa*; cf. also *Mvy* 5317 *sāmudrika-nāvaḥ /rgya-mtsho ’i ’gru-bo-che* /大航航。

nāvi, loc.sg.f., here forms apparently a locative absolute, as is also attested clearly in *AsP* 143.7, 9: *mahā-samudra-gatāyāṃ nāvi bhinnāyāṃ*, so Tib. *rgya-mtsho chen-por ’zugs-pa ’i gru chag-pa-na* (ed. Peking MI 171b3, 4).

The reading *nāvi*, loc.sg.f., in our text is doubtlessly a Skt. form, while one finds elsewhere a BHS forms from the stem *nāvā-*: nom.sg.f. *nāvā*, *Rgs* I.7a, and *nāva*, I.7c. The word *nāvā-*, fem., ‘ship’ (so Tib. *gru*), is to be connected with Middle Indic, as testified in Pali (cf. *PTSD*, II, p. 186b) and Pkt. (cf. Seth, p. 386), rather to connect with Vedic: cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner III, §122c, *Anm.* Wogihara rightly guesses a stem *nāvā-* for *Mvy* 6516: cf. Wogihara 1915, p. 45 ad *Mvy* 245.114. Cf. further Yuyama 1972, p. 32, and 1973a, §9.4!

Cf. also *Mvy* 5317: *sāmudrika-nāva*: Tib. *rgya-mtsho ’i gru-bo-che*!

Ms K reading *lugbhiyāye* had originally to be *pra-*^o, which has dropped by scribal mistake after the

drawstring casing space. Conze has misread or perhaps corrected it as *praluptiyāye* (Conze 1960, p. 46). However, the question is the strange reading *lugbhīyāye!* In my edition, after having wondered in various ways, I had finally to adopt the reading with a suffix in °iyā-, i.e. *praluptiyāye*. It is to be noted that the manuscripts in Recension B are also confused as reading *pralugbhikāye*, *pralūg*°. Obermiller has corrected *pralugbhikāye* to °luptikāye (Obermiller 1937, p. 52, fn. 3; so followed by Vaidya): cf. Edgerton 1961, §29.

The confused form °*lugbh*° must have certainly resulted from the similar graphical shapes of handwritings in this manuscript: — भिद् : भिन्न / लुपु : लुप्त : लुप्तित / लुगु : लुग्न.

Rec. B *praluptiyāye*, loc.sg.f., is simply a locative ending in -āye of *pra-lup-t-iyā-* (°ika- / °ikā- : °iya- / °iyā-) as *asaṃskṛtāye* Rgs II.3a, *anumodanāye* XXVI.1d, and *dakṣiṇāye* XVI.1a: — cf. Yuyama 1973, RgsGr. §9.18! Further for the suffix in °iyā, fem., see Yuyama 1973, RgsGr., p. 133f.: §30.14. — Cf. also Edgerton 1961, p. 7 : §29; - Edgerton BHSGr 22.23, 'ka-svārthe', also *ibid.*, 22.38 'specifying ka'! — For -iya, -īya : -ika see also Edgerton BHSGr 22.20!

Incidentally, suffix -k(a) is one of the interested subject: see e.g. Edgerton 1911 & 1957.

Haribhadra's commentary reading *sāmudrikāyām yathā nāvi pralugnāyām* doubtlessly supports my emendation. Here Haribhadra has naturally Sanskritized the passage.

This rare word *pra-lug-* : *pra-lug-na-*, ppp., is cited by Wogihara in his dictionary: WJSD p. 869a, *pralugna* [= °-*rugna*], as attested in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya*: 朽壤 / 損失. Cf. also Skt. *ruj-*, *rujati* / *luj-*, *lujyate*.

After all there seems to be no problem to adopt the reading *pralugna-*, but the difficulty is the grammatical question of the locative form *pralugnayāye*. This must be an example of reduplicated locative endings found rarely, i.e. *pralugna-* : Skt. *palugnāyām* / BHS **pralugnāye* ⇒ *pralugnayāye*; cf. Edgerton BHSGr. 9.70 as one of the special forms of oblique cases: *senā-* : *senayāye*, *MvAv* ed. Senart I.158.13 in prose (so read 5 Mss, but one reading *senāyā*), whereas Senart has emended them to *senāye*. Thus, Edgerton reads this portion as *caturāṅginīyā senayāye!*

Incidentally, this form *senayāye* may have bothered scribes in the course of transmission. In the very old palm-leaf manuscript the reading seems rather confused, though interestingly: Ms. Sa 45a6: *caturāṅginīyāye* <se>*nayā*<ye>!, while Sb, fol. 43b6: *caturāṅginīyā se(.7)nayāye*, as expected by Edgerton! — cf. for these old Mss Yuyama 2001a, p. 23, & 2001b, p. 22.

2b: Vetter suggests in comparing it with the Tibetan that *manuṣya* here could be a nominative denoting a subject of the sentence: i.e. “a man grasping a dead, ...”. I would rather take it as an accusative with *mṛtakam*, i.e. *mṛtakam manuṣya*, acc.sg.m.; cf. *AsP* 143.7 & 10: *mṛta-sarīram*, so Tib. *śi-ba'i ro*.

grhṇamāno, 9th class verb as seen sporadically in Epic and Upaniṣadic Sanskrit; cf. 2d *grhṇate*, 3 sg., which is used 3 pl. Ātmanepada in Skt. — : cf. Yuyama 1983, §32.35, further §39.10 for present participles with thematized verb stems!

2c: °*madhya*, locative used postpositionally (cf. Yuyama 1983, §8.47); cf. Rgs XXVII.8d *dakamadhya matsyu* ... (≈ - - - ...)!

2d: For *grhṇate*, 3 sg., see above 2b *grhṇamāno!*

vrajati may well have transmitted to the Tibetans in the graphically similar *udadhi*° (in handwriting), “the opposite shore of the ocean (*udadhi*)”, — व्रजति : उदधि-; cf. Tib. *rgya-mtsho'i pha-rol!*

Vetter suggests again in comparison with the Tibetan version (see the text below) to take 1d as: *yo grhṇate vrajati pāra sthalaṃ prayāti*, and to understand as: “the one who grasps sets forth to the goal (*pāra*, acc.sg.) [and] goes to the (opposite dry) shore/land”.

— Now, furthermore, Haribhadra has also understood in the same manner as Vetter. Thus, my first reading *pāra-sthalaṃ* (= Obermiller 1937, p. 52.17) as a compound should be separated as *pāra sthalaṃ*: i.e. *pāra*, should then be taken as a bare-stem accusative, which is rather rare: see Yuyama 1973a, p. 71: §8.24 (cf. Edgerton, BHSGr. §8.31-35)! Acc.sg. ending in -a may well have been -u, as often seen in our text: cf. Yuyama 1983a, p. 71f.: §8.26 (cf. Edgerton, BHSGr. §8.30 with more references)! — Nevertheless, to the contrary to the latter interpretations, we may not totally remove a possibility to remain *pāra-sthala-* as a compound (so reads Obermiller), meaning ‘the opposite land’; *sthala-*, meaning more or less a (dry) land, cf. German *Stelle*: cf. Mayrhofer 1952-1980, III (1962-1976), p. 525, *sthāla-*, nt., s.v.!

Conze 1975 (1962), p. 34 — ‘The Simile of the Ship’:

“When a ship breaks up in the ocean,

“Those who do not get hold of a corpse, a stick or a log,

“Go to their destruction in the midst of the water, without having gained the shore;

“But those who hold on to something, travel to the other shore and reach it.”.

It is noteworthy that Dr. Edward Conze, versed in the Prajñāpāramitā literature and thought, has also made a great contribution to the understanding of the *Rgs*. He has drawn the attention of the specialists to the importance of the so-called Calcutta manuscript (= K; cf. e.g. Yuyama 1976, p. xxiii-xxix). Conze has nevertheless shown his strong interest in the Sanskrit Recension A (cf. e.g. Conze 1978a).

His translation of the *Rgs*, as herewith cited, is based on the Sanskrit Recension B. On referring to his translation one must perhaps remember that it seems too often depend on the Tibetan version (i.e. Recension B).

A provisional trial translation:

“Just as in case of an ocean-going ship were wrecked,

“(One) without grasping a dead man, grasses (or) wood,

“Goes to destruction in the midst of water without reaching (the other) shore.

“(But the one) who grasps (and) sets forth to the other (shore) arrives at the land. (2)

Tibetan Recension A:

dper-na rgya-mtshor 'jug-pa'i gru-ni chag gyur-la /
mi gañ ro'am rtsva'am śiñ-ni mi 'dzin-pa /
chu-dbus 'jig-par 'gyur-te ñogs-su phyin mi 'gyur /
gañ-žig 'dzin-par rgya-mtsho'i pha-rol phyin-par 'gyur // 2 //

Note – 2c: Emend Tib. B v.l. 'jigs-par (= Skt. *bhī-*) to A (= most B) 'jig-par (= Skt. *vilayaṃ* ...).

It may well be safe to say that both Tibetan Recensions A & B offer no variant readings as far as *Rgs* XIV.2 & 7 are concerned. I have therefore omitted very minor variants (cf. further Yuyama 1976 172, and further for the textual introduction to Tibetan versions see Yuyama 1976, p. xxx-xxxviii).

Chinese Version translated by T'ien-hsi-tsai (天息災): - *T.229: VIII.680a9-10*.

The Chinese translation was made by Fa-hsien 法賢 (alias 天息災) in 991CE. Fa-hsien had long been wrongly identified with Fa-t'ien (法天). Fa-hsien (Indic Devaśānti?) came from Kashmir to China, where he passed away in 1001 CE. He was renamed Fa-hsien (Dharmabhadra?) in 987 CE. He must certainly have translated the *Rgs* into Chinese in the tenth month of the second year of the Ch'ung-hua (淳化) Era, i.e. 991 CE. This date is attested in the *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu fa-pao-lu* (大中祥符法寶錄: 1011-1015 CE), which was compiled by Yang I (楊億: 974-1020 CE) and others. 參看 · 呂澂編, 新編漢文大藏經目錄 (1980), p. 26: Text No. 0270 (991 CE): — On Yang I see also my “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)”, *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 277f.: §8. “宋代の楊億”, an introductory short essay to a useful chronological record of Yang I: 李一飛, 楊億年譜 (Shanghai 2002 / ISBN 7-5325-3225-9). — For further details on the Chinese version see Yuyama 1976, p. xxxix-xliii.

Ju jên yü tu yü ta-hai	so-chêng ch'uan-fang hu p'o-huai
如人欲渡於大海	所乘船舫忽破壞
fu i tsao-mu ming fu ch'üan	jo tê i fu ta pi-an
不依草木命不全	若得依附達彼岸 // 2 //

“As if someone wanting to cross over the great ocean.

“The vessel he embarks on board will immediately breaks down.

“Without grasping plants or wood he will not escape his bare life,

“Nor will he reach the opposite shore.” (2)

Rgs XIV 7**A diplomatic reading of Rgs XIV 7 in the MS K:**

(K13b4) ॥ □□□□□□नावायथाअपरिकर्मकृतासमुद्रेविलयं

(K13b5) प्रयातिसधनासहवाणिजेभिः । साचैव□□□□□□नापि परिकर्मकृता सुयुक्ता ॥ न च भिद्यते धनसमगि उ□□□□□□पैति तीरं ॥

Note: समगि is in fact *samaṅgi* as read in the manuscript — but I am simply unable to type *ṅg* in the Devanāgarī script with my computer!

Rgs XIV.7 reconstructed:*nāvā yathā aparikarma-kṛtā samudre**vilayaṃ prayāti sadhanā saha vāṇijebhiḥ /**sā caiva nāva parikarma-kṛtā su-yuktā**na ca bhidyate dhana-samaṅgi upaiti tīraṃ // 7 //***Text-critical notes on Rgs XIV.7:**

N.B. *Rgs XIV.7* in the Recension B, as edited by Obermiller 1937, based solely on the Chinese blockprint text is to be found in Lokesh Chandra 1980, folio 45a3-b3.

a) *nāvā*-, fem., thematized fem. *nau-* : *nāvā*, nom.sg.f.; cf. *nāva*, nom.sg.f., XIV 7c, below!

parikarma-, nt., “preparation” – “Painting, personal decoration (of body), adoration, worship”.

Cf. AsP 144.7-9 ... *duṣprajña-jāṭīyaḥ puruṣaḥ sāmudrikāṃ nāvāṃ ... aparikarma-kṛtāṃ ... udake 'vatārya ... paripūrṇāṃ bhāvērīṭāṃ abhirūḍhaḥ syāt, ...* ; cf. *Rgs XIV 2a note!*

b) *sa-dhanā*, Bhvr., nom.sg.fem., with *nāvā* in pāda a.

Cf. *Rgs XIV 4cd: puṇya-jñāna-dhana-sambhṛta-yāna-pātrāḥ ... sugata-bodhi sprśanti ...*, “they, possessed of (voyaging) vessels loaded with riches of merits and knowledge attain the enlightenment of the Sugata”.

vāṇijebhiḥ, instr.pl.m. (Yuyama 1983, §8.81): *-ebhiḥ*, instr.pl.m./nt., only at the end of the lines (Yuyama, 1983, §8.80-82)! — cf. also other instr.pl.m./nt. ending in *-ehi*, *-ehī*, *-ebhi* in our *Rgs* text.

Note *vāṇi-ja-* from *vāṇi-jan-*, “value-°, price-bearer (°-yielder, °-producer)”.

c) Ms K *nāpi* (for *nāvi*?) may not be a true reading. It is difficult to explain how *nau-*, fem., becomes a stem in *-i* (i.e. **nāvi-*) and then used for nom.sg.fem. ending in *-i* (i.e. *nāvi!*). All the other manuscripts including the Turfan blockprint text read *nāva* (of *nāvā*-, fem.), which may well be the true reading (cf. Yuyama 1973, p. 81: §9.4). — Conze 1960, p. 46, may have misread Ms K as *nāyi*, which must be improbable. It is frequently difficult to distinguish *pa* and *ya* in any manuscripts, though.

d) *bhid-ya-te*, pass. (Skt.) of *bhid-*, VII, “to break (down), be destroyed, be broken, come into pieces”.

Rec. A: *dhana-samaṅgi*, nom.sg.f. (Yuyama 1973, §11.4): Conze misread K as °*samaṅri*<ṃ>, also unmetr.!

Rec. B: °*sagram*, nom.sg.nt., “the whole” (= Obermiller 1937, p. 54)! — see also below!

= (d) “Is not broken up, and the entire wealth comes to the shore”!?

Conze, “Then it does not break up, and all the goods get to the [other] shore” (p. 35)!

°*samaṅgi*, Bahuvrīhi-compound, with *nāva*, *nāvā*, nom.sg.fem. — It is to be noted that this interesting reading is otherwise found only in the Turfan blockprint text. — cf. also Edgerton *BHSD*, p. 560b, *samagra-*, *samaṅin-*, ss,vv. Further see Edgerton *BHSGr*, §10.30 for *-ī*, as a rare feminine stem for Skt. *-inī* with an example *dhyānasukha-samaṅgī* from the *Lalitavistara* 56.20 (verse), with a few other examples, where Edgerton notes there is no stem *-samaṅga* in normal use)!

Turfan Fragment

A hitherto unknown version in blockprint kept in the Turfan Museum

Rgs XIV 7 starts from folio 6, line 2

For details see the coloured plate appended at the end of this volume.

On my visit to the Turfan Museum (the then Turfan Exhibition Hall) in September 1979 the folio was

exhibited 90 degrees inclined to the right in a glass case with a caption:

“八思巴文仏經印本・元代(公元1280-1368)・柏孫克里克千仏洞”

‘A printed copy of Buddhist sutra in Phgapa during the Yüan dynasty (1280-1368 CE)
— unearthed in a Thousand-Buddha Cave at Bázäklik’

The description of the fragment should be corrected at least as follows:

“A Chinese Blockprint Fragment of the Indic version of the
Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā

Printed in the so-called Rañjana in Indic or Lañ-tsha script in Tibetan”

(See further my “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), §II.43, 97, 99-101)

Turfan fragment reading Rgs XIV.7:

Thanks to the clearer photo of the Turfan fragment, *aiti* can explicitly be read after the damaged part < > on line 3. This may well be noteworthy that the fragment text is closer to Recension B (all MSS read *upaiti*; naturally so Obermiller 1937, p. 54), whereas Rec. A singly reads *prayāti* (= Ms K). — Small *akṣaras* reading *Lu-Tha-Ta* are numerals “100-20-5”, i.e. 125 = Serial Verse No. 125! Cf. Yuyama 2008 & 2010 for further details.

Page 11b, line 2:> nāvā yathā aparikarmakṛtā samudre vila=

Line 3:>aiti sadha<nā> saha vāñijebhiḥ sā caiva nāva parikarmakṛta

Line 4:>na ca bhidyate dhanasamaṅgi upaiti tīraṃ *Lu-Tha-Ta*

Turfan fragment reading reconstructed:

*nāvā yathā aparikarma-kṛtā samudre
vila<yam up>aiti sadha[nā] saha vāñijebhiḥ /
sā caiva nāva parikarma-kṛt<ā> [suyuktā]
na ca bhidyate dhana-samaṅgi upaiti tīraṃ // 7 //*

Note: < > a damaged in the blockprint.

[] a damaged portion added with a supposed reading

Conze 1975 (1962), p. 34f. — ‘The Simile of Two Ships’:

“A ship, which is not well got ready, in the ocean

“Goes to destruction, together with its goods and traders.

But when a ship is well got ready, and well joined together,

“Then it does not break up, and all the goods get to the [other] shore.”

A provisional trial translation:

“Just as in case a ship, not built after careful preparation, in the ocean

“Possessed of riches together with the traders, goes to destruction;

“But the ship, built after careful preparation (and) well-fixed (*or* well-yoked),

“Possessed of all kinds of riches, does not break but comes to the shore.” (7)

Tibetan Recension A:

*dper-na bcos legs ma byas gru-ni rgya-mtsho 'i nañ /
nor dañ bcas-siñ tshoñ-par bcas-te 'jig-par 'gyur /
gru de legs-par bcos legs byas dañ ldan gyur-na /
mi 'jig nor dañ bcas-par ñogs-su phyin-par 'gyur // 7 //*

Chinese Version translated by T'ien-his-tsai (天息災): T.228: p. 680a19-20.

wei yu shang-jên yü ju hai	fu tsao hsien-ku ta ch'uan-fang
未有商人欲入海	不造堅固大船舫
i hsien-ku ch'uan wu pu-wei	huo to chên-pao taopi-an
依堅固船無怖畏	獲多珍寶到彼岸 // 7 //

“There will be no trader (who) wants to sail out (← enter) into the ocean,
Without building a solid large vessel;

“Because of the solidness there will be no fear (to him),

Obtaining a lot of rare treasures, (he) will reach the shore”. (7)

Appendix

A Chinese Blockprint from Peking

To my great regret, I have been unable to obtain a photocopy of the original blockprint text printed most probably at the Temple Sung-chu-ssü (嵩祝寺) in Peking. It is indeed a great pity, therefore, that I cannot show the facsimile of the relevant portion on the plate. Those who are interested in it are requested to refer to Lokesh Chandra 1980, p. 2122-2123!

The original printing is held in the famed collections in the following places:

1. St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad): a copy brought back by M. Tubiansky from the Monastery of Mañjuśrī (MandzuSriin kiit), Mongolia — This is the very exemplar, on which is based Obermiller's edition: O / Obermiller 1937.
2. Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Berlin: Inventory No. Tib.Bl. 1.
3. Canberra: Australian National University Library: Repertory No. (OS) BL1410.P7T5.*
4. Kyoto: Otani University Library: Catalogue No. 13012.
5. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: Inventory No. 82 825.
6. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture: see Lokesh Chandra 1980.
7. Sendai: Tōhoku University Library: Tohoku Catalogue No. 6774.

*The exemplar held in the A.N.U. Library (Canberra) had once belonged to Hsü Ti-shan (許地山, Pen name 落花生: 1893-1941): 109 folios (size: 40.5 x 10.8 cm), 308 verses.

Cf. Yuyama 1976, p. xxvii-xxviii, and for further details see Yuyama 1967, p. 19-32, 110f., 118f.

The Sanskrit text is printed in the *Raṅjana* (or *Lañtsha*) script on the first line followed by its transliteration in the Tibetan *dBu-can* script on the second line, and the Tibetan translation on every third line in the *dBu-can* script. After all each page of the folio consists of six lines: *Rgs* XIV 2 on fol. 身43b4/5/6 – 44a1/2/3. Cf. O / Obermiller 1937, p. 52. — *Rgs* XIV 7 on fol. 身44b4/5/6 – 45a4/5/6 (= O / Obermiller 1937, p. 54).

In the space on the left-hand side of the front page (*recto*) of a folio are written the title in the abbreviated form and the page number: i.e. *Sdud-pa* (= Skt. *saṃcaya*) and *že-bži*, i.e. 44. On the right-hand side are found the text number probably in the so-called 'A Thousand-Character-Poem' in Chinese: 身 (No. 147) and the numeral 四十四 'forty-four'. On the back page (reverse) is found only Chinese numeral on the right-hand space, i.e. 四十三, '43'. Incidentally, 身 may indicate the number '147' of the "Thousand-Character Poem (千字文)". I have however no idea what it means, say, for example, if it is a text number of a certain collection?

Concluding word:

In this paper I had to limit myself more or less on the Indic texts from textcritical points of view. Much deeper textcritical analyses must be done. A number of important works for deeper understanding are thus omitted. However, basic problems have been discussed in Yuyama 1976. Otherwise, for a very brief and compact introduction to various recensions and their studies see Yuyama 1978.

Haribhadra's Commentary on the *Rgs*

A Prefatory Note¹

§0.0. Every scholar interested in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and its thought must certainly feel obliged to see if Haribhadra has mentioned the text concerned, and/or further how he has commented - understood any reading of the original.² Needless to say, it will be more exciting and vitally important to learn how he has understood any original Indic passage if at all possible. The Tibetan version can be used to some extent — but it does not help guessing the original Indic. Although it had long been known that the original Indic text of Haribhadra's commentary existed in manuscript form. During the first expedition to Tibet from 1929 to the following year, Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana discovered a Sanskrit manuscript in the Monastery at *Žva-lu Ri-phug* (舍魯普) near *Śi-ga-rtse*: Volume XI, Text No. 4 (Serial No. 42): $20\frac{2}{3} \times 2\frac{1}{3}$ inches (= ca. 52.49 x 5.92 cm) in size.³

§0.1. When the late Professor Chiang Chung-hsin 蔣忠新 has published the article mentioned above, I was naturally in the first place pleased to see it, although the very palm-leaf manuscript had been preserved in the Library of the Peking Cultural Palace of Nationalities — only one folio (北京民族文化宮圖書館, now called the China Ethnic Library: 中國民族圖書館) (cf. Wang 1985, No. 18 = Hu-von Hinüber 2006, p. 300), i.e. the last one: Haribhadra's commentary on *Rgs* XXXI 8 to XXXII 6 and the colophon: 47.2 x 4.4 cm., with 11 lines on the obverse side and 10 on the reverse (Chiang 2000, p. 116). Nevertheless, I have learned a great deal of the character of Haribhadra's manner of comments. At the same time, I was rather disappointed to find that he does not cite the whole text of verses but *only* the very beginning word of each verse (cf. Yuyama 2001, p. 42). Even with such a small portion I could see small but important variant readings of the text — in comparison with Recensions A & B. It was particularly important to see Professor Chiang has bought out the folio in facsimile form.

§0.2. Needless to say, every one must have been looking for the appearance of the whole manuscript. Some several years ago I was gladly surprised to see an Indian scholar bring out the very commentary in Indic in the Devanāgarī script (cf. Lal 2009-2011). It was needless to say very welcome that I could at last consult Haribhadra's commentary as a whole. At the same time again, it was very disappointing to learn that they seemed to have no plan to reproduce the manuscript in facsimile form. I am naturally still waiting for the appearance of the photomechanical reproduction — indeed still in vain. I cannot wait for it any longer. It is much better than nothing. At least it is clear that the two manuscripts, one at Sarnath (in film) and the other in Peking, are different to each other, when compared the very final portion

¹ Cf. the following text of the *Rgs* cited from my edition of the Recension A, i.e. Yuyama 1976, unless otherwise stated.

² As is well known, there are some different theories about the dates of Haribhadra, say, from the eighth to the tenth centuries. Although this dating question is not the main subject here, I am not certain if this question has been solved: cf. Yuyama 1976, p. xviii: §22; and further Ruegg 1973, p. 124.

³ Cf. Sāṃkṛtyāyana 1935, p. 31. — Cf. also Yuyama 1976, p. 1; and for further details Chiang 2000, esp. p. 115f., and Yuyama 2001, esp. p. 27-30.

available in the two manuscripts at hand. According to Chiang, the fragment he has consulted is the one Sāṃkṛtyāyana reported as extant in the Monastery Žva-lu Ri-phug near Śi-ga-rtse. If, however, Lāl has a almost complete manuscript of the manuscript that Sāṃkṛtyāyana described. It remains indeed mysterious, until there appears the manuscript in facsimile form — with more concrete facts.

§0.3. In the present paper I am therefore to consult Haribhadra’s commentary in the meantime from Lāl’s edition (cf. Lal 2009-2011). Thus, for *Rgs* XIV, I simply rely upon Lāl’s text: *i.e.* Lal 2010a. — Incidentally, it is a pity that Lāl-jī has repeated the same mistake I had once committed as to the discovery place of the very manuscript by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana. Indeed to my great shame, I had mistakenly cited Rāhul-jī’s description of the place of discovery as Spos-khañ Monastery near Gyañ-tse.⁴ I recall that I had consulted Rāhul-jī’s report hastily. Alas, this mistake has been repeated by Lāl-jī!⁵

§0.4. With a sigh of great regret to confess frankly, time has run out before I try to go into text-critical details on the original texts and Haribhadra’s commentary both in Indic and Tibetan. But I must satisfy myself that I could after all meet the original Indic text. So that I was able to cite its Tibetan translation transmitted in the four Tripiṭakas, *i.e.* Cone, Derge, Narthang and Peking editions, for future study on this topic.

Haribhadra’s commentary ad *Rgs* XIV.2:

— ed. Lal 2010a, p. 156, line 9-11:

From the edition Lal I guess that this portion must be folio 66a-66b in the original manuscript.

*sāmudrīty ādi / sāmudrikāyāṃ yathā nāvi pralugnāyāṃ mṛtakam manuṣyam tṛṇam
kāṣṭham vālabanaṃ kaś-cid a-grhṇan vināśam prayāti jala-madhye a-prāpta-tīraḥ / yas tu
punar mṛtakādikaṃ grhṇāti sa sukhena vrajati pāram ata eva sthalaṃ prayāti /*

“The *sea* (*sāmudrī-*) and so forth:- Just as in case a seagoing (*sāmudrikā-*) ship were wrecked (*pralugna-*), one without grasping (*grah-*) hold (*ālambana-*) of a corpse (*mṛtaka-*), (a piece of) grass (*tṛṇa-*) or woodstick (*kāṣṭha-*) goes to ruin in the midst of the water (*jala-*) without reaching (*prāp-*) the shore (*tīra-*). However, on the contrary, he who grasps a corpse et cetera sets forth easily (*sukhena*) to the opposite (*pāra-*) (and) hence reaches the (dry) ground (*sthala-*).”

Haribhadra’s Comm. in Tib. trsl. ad *Rgs* XIV.2 (*C44b3, D41b4, N46a1, P50b4*):

*dper-na žes-bya-ba-la-sogs-pa gsuñs-te / dper-na rgya-mtshor ’jug-pa’i gru-ni chag gyur-pa
/ mi gañ ro’am rtsva’am śiñ-ni mi ’dzin-pa / (C.b4, N.a2) chu dbus ’jig-par (D.b5) ’gyur-te
ñogs-(P.b5)su phyin mi ’gyur / yañ gañ-žig ro-la-sogs-pa-la ’dzin-pa de-ni bde-bar pha-rol-tu
phyin-par ’gyur-te //*

⁴ Cf. e.g. Yuyama 2001, p. 29 with a detailed note!

⁵ Cf. Lal 2009a, p. 119f.

Haribhadra's commentary on Rgs XIV.7:
 — ed. Lal 2010a, p. 157, line 2-5:

From the edition Lal I guess that this portion must be folio 67b in the original manuscript.

nāvety ādi / naur yathā pūti-kāṣṭhādi-apanayanād aparikarma-kṛtā mahā-samudre vilayaṃ prayāti sa-dhanā saha vaṇigbhih / sā caiva nauḥ parikarma-kṛtânukūla-vātatvāt su-yuktā na bhidyate dhana-samaṅginī cōpaiti tīram /

“The **ship** (*nāvā-*) and so forth:- Just as in case a ship (*nau-*), carrying wealth (*sa-dhana-*), built with careless preparation (*aparikarma-kṛta-*) after removing (*apanayana-*) the putrid timber (*pūti-kāṣṭha-*) and so forth* goes to destruction (*vilayaṃ prayāti*) in the great ocean (*mahā-samudra-*) together with the traders (*vaṇij-*). But (if) the ship (*nau-*) were built with careful preparation (*parikarma-kṛta-*) (and) firmly yoked (*su-yukta-*) is not wrecked (*bhid-*) for the fair (tail-)wind (*anukūla-vātatvāt*) and reaches (*upa-i-*) the shore (*tīra-*) altogether with the wealth (*dhana-samaṅginī-*).”

* = leaving the putrid (i.e. rotten) timber and so on untouched.

Haribhadra's Comm. in Tib. transl. ad Rgs XIV.7 (C.45a7, D.42a7, N.46b4, P.1b2):

lan (D.b1) 'di dper-(C.b1, N.b5) na źes-bya-ba-la sogs-pa gsuñs-te / dper-na rñiñ-par byuñ-pa-la sogs-pa'i bcos legs ma byas-pa'i gru rgya-mtsho chen-(P.b3)por nor dañ bcos-par 'jig-par 'gyur-ro / / yañ gru legs-par bcos legs-par byas-pa dañ / mthun-pa'i rluñ dañ ldan-par byas-na (D.b2. N.b5) 'jig nor dañ bcos-pa ñogs-su phyin-par 'gur-ro / /

Bibliography with Abbreviations

N.B. My works are referred to with my name with the number of years.

For further details about the summaries of contents

see A. Yuyama, “A List of Writings with Brief Bibliographical Notes”,

ARIRIAB, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 343-390.

You are cordially requested to browse in the following “Bibliography with abbreviations”.

A = Sanskrit Recension A (of the *Rgs*).

AsP = *Aṣṭasāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā*: reference is made to the edition by P. L. Vaidya, *Aṣṭasāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā with Haribhadra’s Commentary called Āloka* (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, IV) (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit, 1960).

B = Sanskrit Recension B (of the *Rgs*), ed. by O(bermiller).

Chiang 2000 = Zhongxin Jiang (Chiang Chung-hsin: 蔣忠新), “A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā* of Haribhadra: A Romanized Text”, *ARIRIAB*, III: 1999 (2000), p. 115-123 (with a folded plate preceding the article); — cf. Yuyama 2001!

Conze 1960 = Edward Conze, “The Calcutta Manuscript of the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*”, *IJJ*, IV, 1 (1960), p. 37-58.

Conze 1975 (1962) = *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & its Verse Summary*, translated by E. Conze (= *Wheel Series*, I) (Bollinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973, reprinted with 3 pages of corrections, 1975), xxii, 323 p. — ISBN 0-87704048-6.

Cf. —, “Verses on the Accumulation of Precious Qualities (*Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*)”, *Indo-Asian Studies*, I (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XXXI) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1962), p. 126-178.

Conze 1978 = Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd rev. & enlarged ed. (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Maior*, I) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai / [IIBS], 1978).

Cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 363: Item II.27.

Conze 1978a = Edward Conze, “Review of Yuyama 1976”, *JRAS* 1978, p. 89.

Edgerton *BHSD* = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (= *William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series*) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

Edgerton *BHSGr* = — —, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (= *William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series*) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

Edgerton 1911 = — —, *The k-suffixes of Indo-Iranian* (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1911) [Doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore]: = The *k*-suffixes in the Veda and Avesta.

Edgerton 1957 = — —, “The Specifying Suffix *Kā*”, *Felicitation Volume Presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar*, or *Dr. S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, ed. S. Radhakrishnan, V. V. Mirashi, etc. (Banaras: Motilal Banarsidass, 1957), p. 81-83.

Edgerton 1961 = F. Edgerton, “*The Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā*”, *IJJ*, V, 1 (1961), p. 1-18.

Heissig 1954 = Walther Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache. Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte* (= *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, II) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954).

Hiraoka 2010 = 平岡聡訳・ブツダの大いなる物語／梵文『マハーヴァストウ』全訳・上下二巻 (東京・大蔵出版, 2010).

Hu-von Hinüber 2006 = Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, “Some Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Mūlsarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣa found in Tibet”, *Jaina Itihāsa Ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, hrsg. Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz & Anne Peters (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XLVII) (Marburg 2006), p. 283-337. — cf. *infra* Wang 1985!

IJJ = *Indo-Iranian Journal* (‘s-Gravenhage, et alibi, 1957-).

Jones 1949-1952-1956 = *The Mahāvastu*. Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J. J. Jones. 3 vols. (= *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, XVI-XVIII-XIX)(London: The Pali Text Society / Luzac & Co., 1949-1952-1956) [Reprinted by the Pali Text Society, London, and distributed by Routledge & Kegan Paul, London-Boston,

1973/1987-1976-1983].

K = Manuscript K / A manuscript kept in the Asiatic Society of Calcutta (Kolkata): No. 10736, dated 1174 CE. Cf. for further details *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 353 fn.*

Karashima 1988 = 辛島昇, “十三世紀における南インドと中國の間の交流 — 泉州タミル語刻文と元史馬八兒傳をめぐって —”, 榎博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢 (東京・汲古書院, 1988), p. 77-104.

Karashima 2001 = 辛島昇, “中世タミル商人ギルドの活動を記すヴィハーラヒナナ刻文”, 石上善應教授古稀記念論文集・仏教文化の基調と展開, I (東京・山喜房仏書林, 2001), p. 107-113.

Karashima 2003 = 辛島昇, “中世インド洋における商人ギルド「五百人組」の活動について”, 東方學 *Eastern Studies*, No. 105 (Jan. 2003), p. 1-17, with an English summary on p. 3-4 (*from back*). — with special reference to South Indian epigraphical documents.

Karashima 2004 = *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-sherds in South India and Sri Lanka*, edited and written by Noboru Karashima with contributions by many others (Tokyo: Taisho University Press, 2004).

Lal 2009-2010-2011 = Banārasī Lāl, “*Ācārya-Haribhadra-viracitā Ratna-guṇa-sañcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā*”, *Dhṛṭ: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Unit*, Vol. XLVII (Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2009), p. 117-144 (Chap. I-II); — XLVIII (2009), p. 157-171 (Chap. III-IX); — XLIX (2010), p. 147-168 (Chap. X-XIV); — L (2010), p. 131-158 (Chap. XV-XXV); — LI (2011), p. 193-214 (Chap. XXVI-XXXII).

Lal 2009a = *Dhṛṭ*, XLVII (2009), p. 119f.

Lal 2010a = *Dhṛṭ*, XLIX (2010), p. 156f. (seemingly in the original Ms. fol. 66a-68b).

Nota Bene: Haribhadra’s *Vyākhyā* on *Rgs* Chap. XIV “*Aupamyā*”, verses 2 & 7, are to be found in the *Dhṛṭ*, XLIX (2010), p. 156.9-11 and p. 157.2-5 respectively.

Lienhard 1985 = Siegfried Lienhard, *Die Abenteuer des Kaufmanns Siṃhala. Eine nepalische Bilderrolle aus der Sammlung des Museums für Indische Kunst, Berlin* (= *Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst Berlin*, VII) (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst – Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1985), 255 p. (incl. 11 figs., XXIX pl. for 80 scenes, 6 photos, 1 map).

Lokesh Chandra 1980 = *Multi-Lingual Buddhist Texts in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira, VI (= *Śatapīṭaka Series*, CCLII) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1980), p. 2121-2123 (*Rgs* Chapter XIV).

This text was most probably printed at the Temple Sung-chu-ssü (嵩祝寺) in Peking. — cf. Heissig 1954, also Yuyama 1967, p. 19-32, 110f., 118f.

N.B. This represents the Recension B, as edited by Obermiller 1937.

Mayrhofer 1952-1956-1980 = Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (= *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, II. Reihe: *Wörterbücher*) (Heidelberg 1952-1956-1980).

MvAv = *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.

Mvy = *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, ed. Ryōzaburō Sakaki: 榊亮三郎, 翻訳名義大集 (= 京都帝國大學文科大学叢書, III) (Kyoto 1916).

Tibetan Index made by Kyōo Nishio: 西尾京雄, 藏梵對照・翻訳名義大集・西藏語索引 (= 佛典研究, I) (Kyoto 1936).

Reprinted in 2 volumes (= *Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series*, I) (Tokyo 1962).

Cf. Mvy, ed. Unrai Wogihara: 荻原雲來, 梵漢對譯・佛教辭典 / *The Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Buddhist Technical Terms based on the Mahāvvyūtpatti* (Tokyo 1915; 2nd ed. reprinted 1959).

O = O / Obermiller 1937 = *Rgs*. ed. E. E. Obermiller, *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXIX) (Moscow-Leningrad 1937).

N.B. This edition is based solely on the Chinese blockprint bilingual text. — cf. Lokesh Chandra 1980.

Photomechanic reprint with a Sanskrit-Tibetan-English-Index by Edward Conze (= *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, V) (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1960).

Photomechanischer Nachdruck als *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXIX (Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1970).

Photomechanic reprint within the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (= Vol. XXIX) (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1977).

This last one is rather clearly reproduced.

PTSD = *Pali Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids & W. Stede (published in 4 parts) (London: PTS, 1921-1925).

- Rgs = *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*. — see Yuyama 1976.
- Ruegg 1973 = D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Le traité du tathāgatagarbha de Bu-ston* (= *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, LXXXVIII) (Paris: EFEO, 1973).
- Sa = Ms Sa (of the *MvAV*), a palm-leaf manuscript kept in microform in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (cf. Yuyama 2001a).
- Sāmkṛtyāyana 1935 = Rāhula Sāmkṛtyāyana, “Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet”, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa research Society*, XXI, 1 (Patna 1935), p. 21-43, plates on 2 pages [= Expedition 1919-1930].
- Senart 1882-1890-1897 = Émile Senart, *Le Mahāvastu. Texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire*. 3 tomes (= *Collection d'ouvrages orientaux, Société Asiatique*, Seconde série) (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1882-1890-1897) [Reprint - Meicho Fukyūkai, 1977].
- Seṭh = Haragovindās Trikamachand Seṭh, *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo* (= *Prakrit Text Society Series*, VII) (Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society, 1963) [first published 1928].
- V / Vaidya = Rgs. ed. P. L. Vaidya in the *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Saṃgraha*, I (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, XVII) (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Research and Learning in Sanskrit, 1961), Text No. 22: p. 352-397. — Recension B, based on Baroda Ms.
- Wackernagel-Debrunner III = Albert Debrunner & Jacob Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, III: *Nominalflexion – Zahlwort – Pronomen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1920).
- Wang 1985 = 王森, 中國民族圖書館藏·梵文貝葉經目錄(一九八五年四月) [Mimeographed].
Wag Sen's catalogue has been reprinted as an appendix I in: Hu-von Hinüber 2006, p. 297-344.
- Wogihara 1915 = 梵漢對譯·佛教辭典(東京·丙午出版社, 1915, 2nd ed. 1926; 第二版再刷·山喜房佛書林, 1959).
- WSJD = 荻原雲來, 梵漢對照·梵和大辭典(辻直四郎協力): *Wogihara's Sanskrit-Japanese Dictionary* (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation / Kōdansha, 1979).
- Yuyama 1967 = A. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library* (= *Centre of Oriental Studies, Occasional Paper Series*, VI) (Canberra: ANU, 1967).
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 352: Item No. I.Ia.1.
- Yuyama 1972 = A. Yuyama, “Some Glossarial Notes on the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *Proceedings and Papers of the Fourteenth Congress of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association held 19-26 January 1972 at the University of Otago, Dunedin, NZ*, ed. K. I. D. Maslen (Dunedin 1972), p. 30-37.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 360f.: Item No. II.13.
- Yuyama 1973a = A. Yuyama, A Grammar of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (*Sanskrit Recension A*) (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, XIV) (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, 1973), xxxii, 190 p. — ISBN 0-7081-0843-1.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 352: Item No. Ia.3.
- Yuyama 1973b = A. Yuyama, “Remarks on the Metre of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *Commemorative Volume on the 70th Birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira*, Part II, ed. Perala Ratnam (= *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, II) (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XCVI) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973), p. 243-253.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 361: Item No. II.18.
- Yuyama 1976 = *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (*Sanskrit Recension A*), edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang by A. Yuyama (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976), lxxii, 214 p., 1 frontisp. (Photomechanic reproduction of the Calcutta Ms. Folio 2b & 3a). — ISBN 0-521-21081-X (1976 ed.); ISBN 0-978-0-521-14320-2 (2010 digital paperback reprint edition).
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 352f.: Item No. Ia.4 & 4a.
- Yuyama 1978 = 湯山明, “*Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *The Introduction to the Bibliotheca Buddhica / 仏教文庫·文献解題* (Tokyo: Meicho-Fukyūkai, 1978), p. 74-76.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 363: Item No. Ia.4 & 4a.

- Yuyama 1983 = A. Yuyama, *Kacchapa-Jātaka: Eine Erzählung von der Schildkröte und dem Kranzwinder* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series*, V) (Tokyo: IBS, 1983).
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 354: Item No. II.29c.
- Yuyama 1986 = 湯山明, “梵文宝徳藏般若木版本断簡”, 平川彰博士古稀記念・仏教思想の諸問題 (東京・春秋社, 1986), p. 443-453.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 366: Item No. II.43.
- Yuyama 1992 = A. Yuyama, “*Pañcāsaī*, ‘500’ or ‘50’ — with special reference to the Lotus Sutra —”, *The Dating of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, hrsg. Heinz Bechert (= *SBF*, IV, 2) (= *AAWG*, III, 194) (1992), p. 208-233.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 368: Item No. II.56 (with my autocommentary).
- Yuyama 2001 = A. Yuyama, “*Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* of Haribhadra: Preliminary remarks”, *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 27-42. — cf. Chiang 2000!
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 372: Item No. II.77.
- Yuyama 2001a = *The MvAv in Old Palm-leaf and Paper Manuscripts*, I-II (= *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum*, XV-XVI) (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO at The Toyo Bunko, 2001).
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 355f.: Item No. II.11a & 11b.
- Yuyama 2004a = 湯山明, “楞伽島備忘襍記”, 三笠宮殿下米寿記念論集 (東京・刀水書房, 2004), p. 743-760.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 374: Item No. II.90.
- Yuyama 2004b = 湯山明, “マハーヴァストウ・アヴァデーナに表題のみ見せる長爪経の周辺”, 神子上惠生教授頌寿記念論集・インド哲学仏教思想論集 (京都・永田文昌堂, 2004), p. 15-26.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 374: Item No. II.92.
- Yuyama 2005 = 湯山明, “楞伽島備忘襍記の雜學的拾遺”, *ARIRIAB*, VIII: 2004 (2005), p. 3-20.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 374: Item No. II.90.
- Yuyama 2007a = A. Yuyama, “On and Around a Hitherto Unknown Indic Version of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* in a Blockprint from Turfan”, *ARIRIAB*, X: 2006 (2007), p. 3-38.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 375: Item No. II.97.
- Yuyama 2007b = A. Yuyama, “A Hitherto Unknown Indic Version of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *The Pāṇḍita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith*, ed. Ramon N. Prats (Dharamsala: Amnye Machen Institute / Tibetan Centre for Advanced Studies, 2009), p. 304-313.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 376: Item No. II.99.
- Yuyama 2008 = 湯山明, “吐魯番博物館藏梵文宝徳藏般若木版断片 論攷追補”, *ARIRIAB*, XI: 2007 (2008), p. 335-341.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 376: Item No. II.100 & 100a.
- Yuyama 2010 = A. Yuyama, “Further Remarks on the Blockprint Text of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* from Turfan”, *From Turfan to Ajanta: Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Eli Franco and Monika Zin (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2010), p. 259-268.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 376: Item No. II.101.
- Yuyama 2011 = A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica: Anecdotal Gleanings (III): ロバート・ノックのスリランカ — 楞伽島備忘襍記の雜學的餘滴 —”, *ARIRIAB*, XIV: 2010 (2011), p. 249-258.
Cf. “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 377: Item No. II.105.
- Yuyama 2013 = —, “A List of Writings with Brief Bibliographical Notes — Appendix: Curriculum Vitae — A Succinct Autobiographical Record —”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 343-390.

*

Postscriptum:- I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Yeh Shao-yung (葉少勇) for his untiring advice and help particularly with regard to the Turfan blockprint fragment.

Last but not the least, I beg your pardon for my unidiomatic English text — indeed, English à la japonaise! You are cordially requested to understand what I intend to describe.

遊余白・XVII-1: 各種大藏經対照目録の校勘を慶ぶ

いまここに参照すべき論攷の資料を持ち合わせないが、古くはパリのドゥミエヴィル(Paul Demiéville: 1894-1979)や、その高弟でレイデン・キャンペラで活躍したドゥヨング(Jan Willem de Jong: 1921-2000)が、繰り返し力説したように、大正大藏經のインド学仏教学に果たした役割は極めて大きい、その欠点は照合比較・批判的校訂に遜色があり、時にこれのみに頼るのは学術的に大きな問題である。

過去の古大藏經の中には、それ自体が優れた校合を経たものもある。磧沙版大藏經の如きは、その好例といわれた。しかし、数十年前に上海から刊行された磧沙版の影印版は、ごく僅かの個人が予約購読しただけだった。その後、半世紀前に、台湾から影印版が公刊された時には、筆者も困難を承知で入手できた時は喜んだ。『寶徳藏般若』の校合をした折に役立った。

しかし、今や種々の大藏經が、復刻刊行されて、より丁寧な校合をする事が出来るようになったのは嬉しくも有り難い。房山石經や正倉院の聖語藏の經卷にデジタル化した資料なども、その大きな手助けとなる。これらの対照目録が信頼の置ける形で刊行されたのは更に有り難いことだ。

國際佛教學大學院大學學術フロンティア実行委員会編・日本現存八種一切經対照目録(東京 2007), xii, 378 p. [聖語藏(写本)・金剛寺一切經・七寺一切經・石山寺一切經・興聖寺一切經・西方寺一切經・名取新宮寺一切・經妙蓮寺藏松尾社一切經・(付)敦煌仏教文獻]。一暫定版として前年に公開したものは、pdfとして提供している。

國際佛教學大學院大學附屬圖書館が、つい最近になって暫定版と称しているが、極めて便利な対照目録を刊行し、これまたpdfでも自由に参照をできるよう寛容な体制を多とした:

大正藏・九種大藏經対照目録／暫定版(=大藏經対照目録, III)(東京 2013), VIII, 212 p. — 中華藏(北京1984-1996)・高麗藏(初再両彫)・磧沙・洪武南・永樂北・龍藏・房山・聖語藏の九種を照合して、半世紀前に寶徳藏般若(T. 229)を校合した時に、これだけでも利用出来たらと今更に加齢を嘆いている(T. 229, see *op.cit.*, p. 25a).

今日までも勿論、対照目録はあって、存在は判明していたが、実物の利用出来る筈もなかった。たとえば、画餅のごとき感はあったが、少なくとも存在を知って、それで満足して利用したものに例えば以下がある。これで典籍の成立などの上限や下限を知る目安になった:

蔡運辰, 二十五種藏經目録對照(台北・中華佛教文化館 / 新文豐出版公司, 1983), (i), ii, iii, ii, iv, 760 p., 2 folded tables, 1 folded map.

童璋(編), 二十二種大藏經通檢(北京・中華書局, 1997), (iii), 866 p. — ISBN 7-101-00665-5.

ほかに参照できる目録類も多いが、ここで止めることにする。少なくとも漢語大藏經の多くが、本邦にも蔵されていて、利用を許してくれるような状況になっているらしく、これに勝る喜びはない。

*

上にも触れ、今回は、概して『寶徳藏般若』(T. 229)に、思いがけずに集中してしまったので、これを例にとれば、大正藏・九種大藏經対照目録／暫定版を見ると、以下のように具体的に参照出来るので、今となれば下記のように、多くの専門図書館が所蔵する大藏經の影印版で参照校合できたであろう。

大正藏・No. 229 = 佛說佛母寶徳藏般若波羅蜜經・三卷・宋・法賢譯

高麗藏(初彫)76冊 高麗藏(再彫)34冊1200番

磧砂藏(北京)107冊 磧砂藏(台北)33冊

洪武南藏181冊 永樂北藏68冊

房山石經26冊966番 清藏(龍藏)57冊859番

中華藏64冊1310番・底本:金藏

この対照目録を刊行した國際佛教學大學院大學の學術フロンティア実行委員会が、本邦に現存する大藏經の目覚ましい調査をしていることは夙に知られていよう。その貴重な研究成果が『日本現存八種一切經対照目録』(2006)として刊行されているが、どうやら『寶徳藏般若』は残念にもないようだ。

A Brief Revisit to *Rgs XXII.6* Quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Pras*

Akira YUYAMA

§0.0.0. Thanks to the assiduous efforts of Professor Akira Saitō at the University of Tokyo, a leading specialist in the Madhyamaka thought and literature (Saitō 2013), *Rgs XXII.6* cited by Candrakīrti in his *Pras* has become much clearer in the context by using the better six *Pras* manuscripts and furthermore the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā* (Yonezawa 2010, p. 126 & 132). These important manuscript materials of both *Pras* and **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā* have recently been uncovered before the world of scholarship. Saitō has without saying further referred also to the relevant Tibetan versions.

§0.0.1. As a matter of fact, it was exactly a quarter century ago I had also treated this verse both in the *Rgs XXII.6* and *Pras* 524.1-4. In the limited space given to me then I tried to give as much reference as possible in a very condensed way (Yuyama 1978, esp. p. 485-483). Here in this brief communication I would like only to present some textual evidence necessary for further research work of scholars in varied specialities.

§0.1.0. As a result in his enlightening article Saitō has reconstructed the verse as follows (Saitō 2013: p. 23):

yatha śāṅkitena viśasaṃjñata abhyupaiti
no cāpi koṣṭhagatu so viṣu pātyate ca /
e(va)m eva bāl' upagato ahumahya eṣo
saṃjñāya jāyi mriyate ca sadā abhūtā //

§0.1.1. *Rgs XXII.6* is cited by Candrakīrti in Chapter XXV “Nirvāṇa-Parīkṣā” of his *Pras*, ed. LVP, p. 524.1-4. The editor Louis de La Vallée Poussin had to rely on rather corrupt readings in the manuscripts available to him – more than a century ago!

yatha śāṅkitena viśasaṃjñā abhyupaiti
no cāpi koṣṭhaga ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ /
e(va)m eva bālu 'pagato ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
***** jāyi mriyate sadā abhūto //*

§0.1.2. One may herewith refer to the Tibetan version to understand the Sanskrit original better: e.g. Peking edition, No. 5260 A', 198a5-6 (reprinted edition, XCVIII, p. 81.3.5-6): it was Stcherbatsky who paid attention to this text (Chapters I & XXV) for the first time, and thus translated the latter chapter (Stcherbatsky 1927, p. 189, cf. p. 189 n. 14!):

/ ji-ltar dogs-pa'i 'du-śes-kyis-ni dug laṅs-pa /

/ dug de khoñ-du soñ-ba med-kyañ brgyal-bar 'gyur /
 / de bžin byis-pa bdag dañ bdag-gir khas len-pa /
 / bdag der 'du-śes yañ-dag min rtog skye-žin 'chi /
 / A man, suspecting he has taken poison, /
 / Faints even when there is no poison in his stomach. /
 / Swayed by (the care) of Ego and of 'Mine', /
 / Eternally he comes and dies, /
 / Without real knowledge 'bout this Ego //

§0.1.3. It is interesting to see Saitō try to back-translate the Tibetan *Pras* verse into Sanskrit and translate it into English disregarding the metrical scheme as follows (Saitō 2013, p. 21):

yathā śāṅkitasya viṣaṃ saṃjñāyā abhyupaiti
no cāpi koṣṭhagataṃ tad viṣaṃ pātyate /
evam eva bāla upagato aham-mamety eṣo
aham iti saṃjñāyā janya mriyate sadā abhūtayā //

“As poison arises by someone’s notion of fear and he is made to faint even though the poison has not got into his stomach, just so, admitting [the conception of] ‘I’ and ‘mine’, a fool eternally is born and dies by the false conception of ‘this is I’.”

§0.2.0. Since every scholar offers a text in his own way different from each other, I would herewith record them all without taking the trouble. One may here refer to the *Pras* ed. Vaidya p. 229 & ed. rev. Tripathi p. 257.18-21:

yatha śāṅkitena viṣasaṃjñā abhyupeti
no cāpi koṣṭha gantu āviṣṭa papadyate /
evam eva bālu 'pagato
.....jāyi mriyate sadā abhūto // iti //

§0.2.1. The preceding one, edited by Vaidya-Tripathi, seems to be copied onto the web (both in Devanāgarī & Romanization) without questioning the metrical scheme —thus neglecting the lacunae (cf. for further details on the metre see Yuyama 1973a):

yatha śāṅkitena viṣasaṃjñā abhyupeti
no cāpi koṣṭha gantu āviṣṭa papadyate /
evameva bālu 'pagato
jāyi mriyate sadā abhūto // iti //

§0.2.2. With reference in particular to the then ‘hitherto unknown manuscript’ discovered by Giuseppe Tucci, which, J. W. de Jong thinks, offers often better readings (de Jong 1978, p. 26), and has published his textcritical remarks on the *Pras* with an informative introduction (de Jong 1978). This manuscript (marked R by de Jong) is also used by Saitō (marked K for Keshar Library, Kathmandu — Saitō 2013, p. 19; otherwise named D by MacDonald 2008, p. 14 & p. 16 fn. 13!). This manuscript was filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in 1975: Reel No. C 19/8 (MacDonald 2008, p. 16 fn. 13). Regarding this manuscript, in the case of *Pras* 524.1-4, de Jong simply presents the diplomatic reading of R (de Jong 1978, p. 244) without referring to *Rgs* XXII.6:

yatha saṃkitena (dental s°, so all Mss) *viṣasaṃjñāta abhyupaiti // no cāpi koṣṭhagatu sā viṣū papdyate* (Saitō *viṣūp*°) // *evaṃm* (sic by Saitō) *eva bālu pagato* (Saitō: *bāluṣag*°) *aṅgamajña eṣā saṃjñāya jāpi mriyate sadā abhūtā /* (Saitō: *abhūtā iti*) // (folio 97b10-11).

§0.2.3. It may well be helpful to see the *Rgs* text in Recension A (Yuyama 1976) with notes on the different readings in B (Obermiller 1937):

yatha śaṅkitena viṣa-saṃjñāta abhyupaiti
no cāsya koṣṭha-gatu so viṣ' upadyate ca /
em eva bāl' upagato ahū-mahya eṣo
saṃjñāya jāyi mriyate ca sadā abhūto //

Pāda C: B *viṣu pādyate* for A *viṣ' upadyate*

Pāda D: B *ahū-saṃjñi* for A *saṃjñāya*

§0.3.0. Herewith I would like to cite a diplomatic copy of the Tibetan version (Recension A, or the Tunhuang Recension) for comparison with its counterpart Sanskrit text (see further Yuyama 1976: p. 180; and p. 196 for the variant readings in Recension A — cf. Yuyama 1976, p. xxx-xxxviii for the Tibetan versions in general, and esp. p. xxxi for further details on Tibetan Recension A):

/ dper-na dogs-pas 'du-śes-kyis-ni dug laṅs-pa /
/ dug de lto-bar soṅ-ba ma yin 'on-kyāṅ 'gyel /
/ de-ltar byis-pa bdag daṅ bdag-gir khas blaṅs-pa /
/ 'du-śes skyes-pas rtag-tu ji-yaṅ yod ma yin // 6 //

§0.3.1. For the sake of simply comparison with the Tibetan B I herewith cite the verse with underlines to show the readings different from A at a glance (Obermiller 1937: p. 85):

/ dper-na dogs-pa'i 'du-śes-kyis-ni dug laṅs-pa /
/ dug de khon-du soṅ-ba med-kyāṅ brgyal-bar 'gyur /
/ de-b'zin byis-pa bdag (O byis-pa-dag!) daṅ bdag-gir kha len-pa /
/ bdag der 'du-śes yaṅ-dag min rtag (O rtog) skye-ziṅ 'chi (O 'jig) // 6 //

§0.3.2. Here one cannot escape from citing Edward Conze's translation, if not really philologically safe, but offering the message. He may have been somehow influenced by the Tibetan version (Recension B):

“As someone who suspects that he has been poisoned

May well be struck down, although no poison has got into his stomach;

Just so the fool who has admitted into himself [the notion of] I and Mine

Is forced by that quite unreal notion of an I to undergo birth and death again and again.”

§1.0.0. Before we proceed some queries about the readings one may perhaps refer to an interesting comment by Haribhadra on *Rgs* XXII.6 (Lal 2010, p. 152.3-10). The citation here is shown in Romanized form by the present writer:

katham iva sva-viparyāsa-balāt saṃkleśa-vyavastheti ced āha — yathetyādi / yathā 'viṣe viṣa-vparyāsa-saṃkayā viṣaṃ saṃja(jā)nānam viṣaṃ evābhuyupeti, naraṃ vyāpnoti, na cāsyaīvidyamānatvād udara-gataṃ viṣaṃ upapadyate / tathānutpannārya-mārgatvād bālena viparyāsa-balāt svīkṛto 'haṃ madīyo 'yaṃ dharma ity ātmā—

*ātmani sati para-saṃjñā sva-para-vibhāgāt parigraha-dveṣau /
anayoḥ sampratibaddhāḥ sarve doṣāḥ prajāyante //*

*ity ātma-saṃjñāyā jāyate ca sa(ta)daiva samāropita-dharma-vivekena śūnyatvād abhūto
bāla iti sāmartyād yathokta-vaiparītyena vyavadāna-vyavastheti bhāvaḥ // 6 //*

§2.0.0. Every scholar might think that there must be a passage corresponding to *Rgs* XXII.6 to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Indeed, it may be worth noting that *AsP* Chapter XXII “Kalyāṇa-mitra-parivarta” seems no mention of this simile of the poison corresponding to *Rgs* XXII.6. The following passage(s) found in the *AsP* XXII may well describe the essence, but without the simile of poisoning: e.g. *AsP* ed. Vaidya 1960: p. 198.27-31, et al.; cf. also Wogihara 1932-1935: p. 789.26-790.7:

*..... dīrgha-rātraṃ sattvā ahaṃ-kāre mama-kāre caranti / ahaṃkāra-mama-kārau
śūnyau? ahaṃkāreṇa mamakāreṇa ca sattvāḥ saṃsāre saṃsaranti?*

§2.0.1. In just short, this is one of many examples, which one should expect to appear in the *AsP*. This fact leads Edward Conze to his conclusion that the *Rgs* is not simply a summary of the *AsP* (cf. for further details Conze 1955: p. 12).

§3.0.0. It is always of great interest and importance to look into the citations from the original Indic texts found in the important *śāstras*. One of the best examples is to be attested in the *Pras* of Candrakīrti, because in his case he seems always to have tried to cite the text as faithfully as they were in the original texts. So that we are able to learn what the original text had read at his time – or how the original had produced variant readings, if not recension(s). It is particularly important to see such citations when the original Indic text has been lost in the course of transmission.

§3.0.1. Besides *Rgs* XXII.6 we find the following three citations in the *Pras* from *Rgs*. At the moment there are four verses either wholly or partially quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Pras* from the *Rgs* as far as I know. Here are the four after all:

Rgs II.3d : *Pras* p. 167.4 (see Yuyama 1970 & 1976; cf. de Jong 1978, p. 45).

Rgs II.4 : *Pras* p. 353.7-354.2 (see Yuyama 1978).

Rgs XX.5 : *Pras* p. 166.11-167.2 (see Yuyama 1970 & 1976; cf. de Jong 1978, p. 45).

Rgs XXII.6 : *Pras* p. 524.1-4 (see Yuyama 1978; cf. de Jong 1978, p. 244).

§3.0.1a. In his otherwise enlightening article de Jong refers to R offering just a diplomatic reading corresponding to *Pras* p. 166.10-167.4 with a note to *Rgs* XX.5 & II.3d.

§3.1.0. Before I close this brief revisit, I would like to raise only a few queries. One is the reading by Saitō in pāda b *viṣu pātyate* (= *viṣaṃ pātyate*) (cf. *supra* §0.1b)! This must have been taken with the support of a better *Pras* Ms P *viṣu pātyate* and the **Lakṣaṇaṭīkā* ... *pātyati* (Saitō 2013, p. 21). But Haribhadra’s understanding ... *viṣaṃ upapadyate* may support my grammatical understanding (Yuyama 1973, p. 69 top: §8.9)! And further the reading *upadyate*, m.c., must be the textually original for *utpadyate* as is often shown in the *Rgs* (cf. Yuyama 1973, p. 6: §2.18 with references) and as a synonymous intransitive verb *utpad*^o supported as well by Haribhadra: *upapadyate*! Needless to add, *upapadyate* is unmetrical here: see further my footnote ad *Rgs* XXII.6b (Yuyama 1976, p. 90).

§3.1.1. My next question is a difficult reading of *abhūta*-. Saitō has back-translated the

Tibetan into Sanskrit as *saṃjñāyā ... abhūṭayā*, and translated it into English “by the false conception”. This is indeed very natural (for *saṃjñā-* see e.g. Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 552f.). One may perhaps compare such a reading in the *AsP* (ed. Vaidya 1960, p. 187.8-9):

... / *abhūta-saṃjñāyām caritāvinaḥ etarhy api abhūta-saṃjñāyām caranti / mithyā-dṛṣṭau caritāvinaḥ* (sic) *etarhy api mithyā-dṛṣṭau caranti /*

§3.1.1a. This kind of similar expressions of false ‘consciousness’ is continuously described in this vicinity of the *AsP*. As a matter of fact, the above phrase (§3.1.1) is preceded by such expressions like ... *nimitta-saṃjñāyām caritāvinaḥ* (sic) *etarhy api nimitta-saṃjñāyām caranti / viparyāse caritāvinaḥ* (sic) *etarhy api viparyāse caranti / piṇḍa-saṃjñāyām caritāvinaḥ* (sic) *etarhy api piṇḍa-saṃjñāyām caranti /* (ed. Vaidya 1960, p. 187.6-8).

§3.1.1b. Almost at the beginning of this paragraph the following interesting readings may well have to be noted: ... *bodhisattvasya mahā-sattvasyaivaṃ bhavati: — dīrgha-rātram amī sattvā nitya-saṃjñāyā sukha-saṃjñāyā ātma-saṃjñāyā śubha-saṃjñāyā ca viparyāsasya ...* (*AsP* ed. Vaidya 1960, p. 186.26-28).

§3.1.1c. Let me quote just one more example of ‘false’ conception from the *AsP*, Chapter XXXI: *Dharmodgata-parivarta*: e.g. ... *grīśmābhīṭapto bāla-jāṭīyo duṣprajña-jāṭīyo marīcīkāṃ dṛṣṭvā anudake udaka-saṃjñām utpādayati / ... sarve te bāla-jāṭīyā duṣprajña-jāṭīyā iti vaktavyāḥ, tad-yathāpi nāma sa eva puruṣo yo ’nudake udaka-saṃjñām utpādayati / ... etc.etc.* (*AsP* ed. Vaidya 1962, p. 253.19-20, 23-24, *et alibi*).

§3.2.0. But there occurs a serious philological question in our text:— how one should grammatically understand the word *abhūto* (so in *Rgs* XXII.6d end) or *abhūtā* (as adopted by Saitō, following some better *Pras* Mss). And what it means precisely. I find no example of the instrumental feminine singular ending in either *-o* or *-ā*! It may only be possible to take *saṃjñāya*, as an oblique case denoting the ablative sense expressing ‘reason, cause’. Then, one may perhaps be able to take *abhūto / abhūtā* as an ablative, which however is not attested in our text either! — One may perhaps refer to an interesting example at *Rgs* XXXII.11a *aha-saṃjñā*, abl.sg.fem. (cf. Yuyama 1973, §9.14)!

§3.2.1. Regarding the reading *saṃjñāya* I have also taken it as instrumental (Yuyama 1973, §9.12; cf. Edgerton, *BHSGr*, §9.59). And I have simply understood *abhūto* as nom.sg.masc. (cf. Yuyama 1973, §8.6), construed with *bāl’*, the ending *-u* being dropped in sandhi with the following *upagato* (cf. Yuyama 1973, §8.9)! Syntactically, it is to be noted here that the abstract nouns, chiefly those ending in *ṛtā* & *ṛtvā*, is used with the verbs denoting ‘going’ and ‘coming’, express the passing from one state to another as emphatically pointed out by Jacob(us) Samuel Speijer (1849-1913) in his invaluable work (cf. Speijer 1886, p. 182: §236). In this case *upagato* must be certainly construed with the following abstract noun *ahya-mahya(-saṃjñā-)*. — To confess frankly, I had struggled how I should understand the meaning exactly! I had to escape from the difficulty – so tentatively I had tried to understand it like ‘false (minded) fool or child’! At that moment, alas, I saw no other fully satisfactory solution! - *See next paragraph!* — Incidentally, Edgerton has noted a rare meaning of *abhūta-* (cf. *BHSD*, p. 60a, s.v.).

§3.2.2. In this case after all one may perhaps refer to Haribhadra’s commentary *tathānutpannārya-mārgatvād bālena viparyāsa-balāt ...* in the first place, and ... *śūnyatvād*

abhūto bāla itī in the second place as well (cf. *supra* §1.0.0). I am wondering if my tentative understanding on editing the text was not far from Haribhadra's (Yuyama 1976, p. 90)!

§3.3.0. Even in this limited space it may be impermissible to omit the Chinese version translated by Fa-hsien 法賢, or alias T'ien-hsi-tsai 天息災, in 991 CE (for further details see Yuyama 1976, p. xxxix: Chapter III):- Taishō No. 229, Volume VIII, p. 682a11-12:

譬如得食疑有毒 以虚妄見而不食

愚人妄*心生我想 以我想故有生死 *Note pāda c: 妄 = 忘

§4.0.0. Needless to say, it is necessary to discuss the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese versions with more care. Those versions in translation may suggest hitherto unknown original Indic texts and moreover some other route(s) of transmission of the literature. This does seem to be the problems to be solved next. Say, for example, Fa-hsien's translation may not just be the one done in the Sung dynasty. The Tibetans may have had some different Indic versions. I have raised this question briefly in my recent articles (cf. Yuyama 2013, Item II.108 & 113). Time and energy, however, prevents me to look into such problems here. At least it is hoped that I have given a certain amount of necessary materials for the time being.

§4.0.1. In conclusion I would here like to see Professor Akira Saitō discuss the other three citations in the same way he has meticulously done (Saitō 2013). At least I have no way of access to the newly recovered manuscripts of the *Pras* (MacDonald 2000, 2007 & 2008).

Abbreviations

AsP = *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

Haribhadra's Comm. = Haribhadra's commentary on the *Rgs* ed. Lal, q.v.

IJ = *Indo-Iranian Journal* ('s-Gravenhage, et al.).

IJBS = *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* ॥ बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिका ॥ (Sarnath-Varanasi).

JIBS = *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* / 印度學佛教學研究 (Tokyo).

JNIBS = *Journal of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies* / 成田山仏教研究所紀要 (Narita: Naritasan Shinshō-ji Temple).

Pras = *Prasannapadā* of Candrakīrti.

Rgs = *Prajñāpāramitāratanagūṣaṃcayagāthā*.

SIPB = *Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism* / インド哲学仏教学研究 (Department of Indian Philosophy and Buddhist Studies, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, University of Tokyo).

Taisho = 大正新脩大藏經 • *The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database* / संगणकीकृतं तैशोत्रिपिटकम् ॥

For the important editions of the Chinese version of the *Rgs* see *A Concordance to the Taishō Canon and Nine Other Chinese Canons (Preliminary Edition)* (Tokyo: ICABS, 2013), p. 25a.

WZKS = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Südasien* (Wien).

Reference

Conze 1962 = Edward Conze, "Verses on the Accumulation of Precious Qualities (*Ratnagūṣaṃcayagāthā*)", *Indo-Asian Studies*, Part I (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XXXI) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1962), p. 126-178.

Conze 1973 = —, *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary* (= *Wheel Series*, I) (Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973).

N.B. The above two can now be available on the web. Both texts appear to be separately recorded on pdf.

Conze 1968 = *Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom*, chosen, arranged and translated by

- Edward Conze (London: The Buddhist Society, 1955; 2nd ed. 1968).
- de Jong 1978 = J. W. de Jong, “Textcritical Notes on the *Prasannapadā*”, *III*, XX (1978), p. 25-59, 217-252.
- Lal 2010 = बनारसी लाल, “आचार्यहरिभद्ररचिता रत्नगुणसंचयगाथाव्याख्या”, *Dhṛt: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Unit*, L (Sarnath, Varanasi, 2010), p. 151-153: रत्नगुणसंचयगाथाव्याख्यायां कल्याणमित्रपरिवर्तो द्वाविंशतितमः ॥
- MacDonald 2000 = Anne MacDonald, “The *Prasannapadā*: More Manuscripts from Nepal”, *WZKS*, XLIV (Wien 2000), p. 165-181.
- MacDonald 2007 = —, “Revisiting the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*: Text-Critical Proposals and Problems”, *SIPB*, XIV (2007), p. 25-55.
- MacDonald 2008 = —, “Recovering the *Prasannapadā*”, *불교학리뷰 Critical Review for Buddhist Studies*, III (2008), p. 3-38.
- [N.B. An authorized version of the author – as published on the web]
- Obermiller 1937 = *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā: Sanskrit and Tibetan Text* (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXIX) (Moscow-Leningrad: U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences, 1937). — abbr. O (or B as Recension B).
- Cf. a photomechanical reprint with a Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Index (p. 129-157) and Corrections to Obermiller’s Text (p. 127f.) by Edward Conze (= *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, V) (’s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960).
- Cf. auch photomechanischer Neudruck der Ausgabe 1937 (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970).
- Pras* ed. LVP = *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtra) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā, commentaire de Candrakīrti*, éd. Louis de La Vallée Poussin (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, IV) (St.-Pétersbourg: L’Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1903-1913).
- Photomechanical reprints (Tokyo 1960?; Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970).
- Cf. Yasunori Ejima’s bibliographical notes in Japanese: *The Introduction to the Bibliotheca Buddhica* (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1978), p. 16-18.
- Pras* ed. Vaidya = *Madhyamakāśāstra of Nāgārjuna with the Commentary Prasannapadā by Candrakīrti*, ed. P. L. Vaidya (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, X) (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1960).
- Second edition ed. Shridhar Tripathi (1987).
- Pras* on Web = *Pras* text in संगणकीकृत बौद्धसंस्कृतत्रिपिटकम् / *Digital Sanskrit Buddhist Canon* (on the web). — (Text both in the Devanāgarī & Romanization — Romanized text sponsored by the University of the West 2005).
- Saitō 2013 = Akira Saitō, “A Shape in the Mist: On the Text of Two Undetermined *Sūtra* Citations in the *Prasannapadā*”, *SIPB*, XX (2013), p. 17-24, esp. p. 20-24 for *Rgs* XXII.6 & *Pras* ed. LVP, p. 524.1-4. — with a summary in Japanese on p. 138.
- Speijer 1886 = J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*. With an introduction by H. Kern (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1886).
- Photomechanical reprints (Kyōto: Rinsen Shoten, 1968 / Delhi-Varanasi-Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973, 1980).
- Stcherbatsky 1927 = Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Concept of Buddhist Nirvāna* (Leningrad: Office of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1927).
- [*Photomechanical reprint* (’s-Gravenhage / London-Paris: Mouton & Co., 1965)].
- Cf. —, — with *Sanskrit text of Madhyamaka-kārikā*. With comprehensive analysis & introduction by Jaideva Singh (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977 & 1989).
- Vaidya 1960 = *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā with Haribhadra’s Commentary Called Āloka*, ed. P. L. Vaidya (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, IV) (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1960).
- Wogihara 1932-1935 = *Abhisamayālaṅkā’āloka Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1932-1935, reprinted in 1 volume by the Sankibō Busshorin, Tokyo, 1973).
- Yonezawa 2010 = Yoshiyasu Yonezawa, “**Lakṣaṇaṭkā*: Sanskrit Notes on the *Prasannapadā* (6)”, *JNIBS*, XXXIII (Narita 2010), p. 125-137.

- Yuyama 1970 = A. Yuyama, “Candrakīrti の *Prasannapadā* に引用された *Prajñā-pāramitā-Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* [The *Rgs* quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Pras*]”, 宗教研究 (*Religious Studies*), Serial No. 201 (= Vol. XLIII, No. 2), p. 75(237)-92(254), with an English summary on p. 124(286)-123(285). — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 360: Item II.11.
- Yuyama 1973 = — , *A Grammar of the Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)* (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, XIV) (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, 1973). — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 352: Item I.3.
- Yuyama 1973a = — , “Remarks on the Metre of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *Commemoration Volume on the 70th Birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira*, II (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XCVI) (New Delhi 1973), p. 243-253. — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 361: Item II.18.
- Yuyama 1976 = *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)*, edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
Cf. a digital paperback edition (Cambridge University Press, 2010). — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 352f.: Item I.4 & 4a.
- Yuyama 1978 = A. Yuyama, “*Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā (Rgs)* quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā (Pras)*”, *JIBS*, XXVII, 1 (1978), p. 486(17)-483(20). — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 363: Item II.28.
- Yuyama 2002 = — , “Some Remarks on the Canonical Texts Quoted by Madhyamaka Masters”, *IJBS*, III (2002), p. 197-205. — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 373: Item II.83.
- Yuyama 2013 = — , “A List of Writings with Brief Bibliographical Notes — Appendix: Curriculum Vitae — A Succinct Autobiographical Record —”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 343-390.

Appendix

Postscriptural Essay

A *Prasannapadā* Manuscript R-D-K-C 19/8¹

0.0. This is a freehand essay on a Sanskrit manuscript — In his enlightening article by Professor J. W. de Jong on the readings of the *Prasannapadā* (de Jong 1978), he mentions an important Sanskrit manuscript. I herewith cite his description for it is rather important to learn of the manuscript: “A hitherto unknown manuscript was discovered by Giuseppe Tucci who kindly lent me an excellent photocopy which enabled me to edit fourteen verses missing in the manuscripts used by La Vallée Poussin, but found in the Tucci translation: ‘La Madhyamakāśāstrastuti de Candrakīrti’, *Oriens Extremus* 9 (1962), p. 447-56. This manuscript presents often better readings than the three manuscripts used by La Vallée Poussin, although it is far from perfect. In quite a few places the same wrong readings are found in it as in the manuscripts from Paris, Cambridge and Calcutta. Nevertheless, it is certainly superior to them and, moreover, it contains several passages missing in them. On the receipt of the photocopy from Professor Tucci I compared his manuscript with La Vallée Poussin’s edition and the Tibetan translation but I hesitated to publish my notes because several scholars suggested that I give a new edition of the entire text. This would have been a considerable work because it would have been necessary to consult the three manuscripts used by La Vallée Poussin. Moreover, I doubted whether it would have been possible to find financial support for the publication of such a voluminous work. At present this task has become even more arduous because two new manuscripts have come to light:” (de Jong 1978, p. 26).

0.1. In any case it was a pity that Professor de Jong has not brought out his critical edition. But at least every scholar engaged in the relevant fields of study must be thankful for his valuable contribution to textual criticism on such an important work as the *Prasannapadā*. Needless to say, de Jong has already attracted the attention of serious scholars in the relevant fields to his edition of the *Kārikās* of Nāgārjuna.²

1.0. My question here is quite simple. This better manuscript had in the first place misled me to wonder if Professor Giuseppe Tucci had an original manuscript — then where he did discover it. Professor de Jong did not describe the background history in his otherwise enlightening article. I simply imagined that Tucci must have discovered it somewhere in Tibet or among the Newari community in Nepal. Nevertheless, I had a doubt if he had the original manuscript in his collection in Rome, although de Jong cites the manuscript with a mark R.

0.1a. In this connection I have such an experience — whilst studying with Professor de Jong in Leiden in 1963-1965, he brought back from Moscow an interesting book of a photocopy of the *Bhāvanākrama III* of Kamalaśīla. It was just published when he was visiting there. He handed a copy over to me advising me to edit a critical text. When my preparation came almost to an end, I was told that the grand savant Tucci had another manuscript and was about to publish a critical edition, so that

¹ Yuyama 1992 = A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections / A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, Pamphlet, No. 2) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1992). — cf. Yuyama, “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 356f.: Item Ib.4.

Thanks to the kind offices of Dr. Christoph Cüppers of LIRI at Lumbini, I have just seen interesting updated information of the catalogues of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal: Shankar Thapa, “Catalogues of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts of Nepal”, *Abhilekha – Year 30* (Kāthmandu: National Archives of Nepal, 2013), p. 107-116. It covers also the collections outside Nepal. -- [अभिलेख - वर्ष 30]. Professor Thapa does not seem to have seen the above-shown Yuyama 1992.

² *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, ed. J. W. de Jong (= *Adyar Library Series*, CIX) (Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1977), v, 57 p.; — Second revised edition by Christian Lindtner, *Nāgārjuna’s Mūlamadhyamakakārikā prajñā nāma* (= *Adyar Library Series*, CIX) (Madras / Chennai: Adyar Library and Research Centre / Theological Society, 2004), xvi, 116 p. — ISBN 81-8514143-6.

I should give it up for publication. I was glad in a way, for it was out of my own field — but it had interested me a great deal to find quite a few important quotations from the canonical texts, which were lost or corruptly transmitted. Thus I first studied Kamalaśīla’s citation from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, of which the original Indic text was lost then.³ Later we learned that Tucci did not have a second manuscript (or its copy). Some years after that de Jong invited me then in Göttingen to write a review of Tucci’s text. After some hesitation, I accepted to write a detailed review from the textcritical points.⁴

1.0. Now, when I decided to write brief remarks on *Rgs XXII.6* as I had read an extremely interesting article by Professor Akira Saitō (Saitō 2013). When I read it, I first wondered why Saitō did not use MS R discovered by Tucci and used by de Jong as mentioned above. I soon discovered that Saitō refers to the same manuscript marked as K (for it is kept at Keshar Library in Kathmandu) (cf. MacDonald 2008, p. 16 & p. 16 fn. 13)! Furthermore, MacDonald named this very manuscript as D.

§1.1. In my study at home I am sad that I could not check with the necessary reference work. For example, I wonder if Gadjin M. Nagao was the first to have had a chance to see this manuscript at the Keshar Library on his visit in the early 60s.⁵ Further, I have not yet been able to check it with Takaoka’s private collection in Nagoya.⁶ I have a fond memory — On my visit to Kathmandu towards the end of 1979 Michael Witzel, then Director of the Nepal Research Centre in Kathmandu, kindly introduced me to Takaoka, where he was enthusiastically microfilming Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in various collections.

§1.2. Since I have no exact physical information of the manuscript in question, it is frustrating to find out if the one mentioned by Sferra is the very manuscript as marked R, D, or K.⁷ I suppose with some certainty, however, that this is the very manuscript (in photocopy) used by de Jong, for Sferra cites the relevant article (de Jong 1978, though Part I only).

AFTERWORD

With regard to the *Prasannapadā* one cannot overlook the scrupulous bibliographical details on the texts, translations and studies found in: *Sde dge Tibetan Tripiṭaka Bstan ḥgyur — preserved at the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo —* : Dbu ma – 7: Serial Volume 204 (Tokyo 1978), p. 1a-4a: Derge No. 3860 (in brief comparison to the Peking Tanjur No. 5260).

³. See e.g. A. Yuyama, “Kamalaśīla の *Bhāvanākrama* に引用された維摩經 [The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* quoted by Kamalaśīla in his *Bhāvanākrama*]”, 東方學 / *Tōhōgaku*, XXXVIII (Tokyo 1969), p. *108-90, with an English summary on p. *9. — cf. also Yuyama 1992, ‘Introduction’, esp. p. viii cum n. 8. — for further details see my “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), Item II.10, 84 & 89. — Needless to add, it is now well known in the scholarly world that a complete Indic text of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was discovered in Lhasa. Cf. Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p 267-269: §4 ‘*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* – Discovery of an Indic Manuscript’ (in Japanese).

⁴. A Yuyama, “Review — Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts, III: Third Bhāvanākrama* (Rome 1971)”, *III*, XVII, 3-4 (Dordrecht-Boston 1975), p. 265-270.

⁵. 長尾雅人, “カトマンドウの仏教写本典籍”, 岩井博士古稀記念・典籍論集 (Tokyo 1963), p. 8-25. — cf. Yuyama 1992, p. 11: Item 14 “Kaiser and Raj Collections (Kathmandu)”.

⁶. *A Microfilm Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts in Nepal*, Volume I, ed. Hidenobu Takaoka (Nagoya: Buddhist library, 1981). — cf. Yuyama 1992, p. 28: Appendix VIIb.

⁷. Cf. Francesco Sferra, “Sanskrit Manuscripts and Photos of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Giuseppe Tucci’s Collection: A Preliminary Report”, *On Understanding of Other Cultures: Proceedings of the International Conference on Sanskrit and Related Studies to Commemorate the Centenary of the Birth of Stanislaw Schayer (1899-1941)*, Warsaw University (7-10 October 1999), ed. Piotr Balcerowicz & Marek Mejer (= *Studia Indologiczne*, VII: 2000) (Warszawa 2000), (out of p. 398-413), p 412: *Madhyamaka-vṛtti (Prasanna-padā)*: Folder No. 26 – 173 photos.

Taking the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* Seriously

Jonathan A. SILK

“The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*,” Étienne Lamotte tells us, “is perhaps the crowning jewel of the Buddhist literature of the Great Vehicle.”¹ And indeed, among modern scholars (perhaps more so than among contemporary Asian Buddhists), there are many who are willing to agree, to rank the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as among the most sublime expressions of Mahāyāna thought. Without necessarily disagreeing with this valuation, one might yet ask—what does it mean? Whose judgement is being reflected in this appraisal? Upon what bases is this assessment being made? By what standards is the scripture being evaluated? For if it is more than empty rhetoric, a requirement for any such value judgement to be meaningful is a clear statement of its parameters. If we want, this is to say, to understand the place of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in Buddhist literature, we must seek out the whys and wherefores behind such claims.²

Any effort to appreciate or evaluate judgements about a scripture’s status must begin with the contexts within which such judgements might be offered. From this starting point, the importance (which is to say primarily, the influence) and popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* at least in China and Japan can be relatively easily demonstrated. Or at least this is possible if the measure of this importance and popularity is, for instance, the number of commentaries written on the text, the frequency of its citation—and particularly in the Chinese case, this includes citations in genres of literature not necessarily Buddhist—or the inspiration the text provided for artists.³ Since among East Asian lands it is in China that the sūtra found the most eager reception, a detailed examination of the Chinese case is called for. But while we should not necessarily generalize in this regard, the evaluations we find scholars and enthusiasts offering about the sūtra do not, as a rule, limit themselves geographically, or even chronologically: they are often presented (albeit tacitly) as abstractly and ahistorically factual. However, so long as we accept the basic axiom that nothing is important, influential or popular in the abstract, but only to some person or group(s) of persons at some place and time, it is

¹ Lamotte 1976: V.

² The present paper has a long history. Earlier versions were presented and circulated among a few friends and colleagues also under the title “Why Has the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* Been So Popular?” I am grateful for the suggestions I have received, some of which I try to respond to at the end of this paper. I have not made a special effort to update the paper’s references in recent years, however, so I may well have overlooked some relevant contributions.

³ Much of this has been studied, the commentaries by the prolific scholar of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* Ōshika Jisshu (1982) and others, the artistic works by many art historians, and so on. For quotations see the convenient accounting in Watanabe 1940: 134-136n3. For the wider cultural context one accessible starting point is Demiéville 1962.

simply not meaningful to speak of decontextualized prominence. Therefore, given the aforementioned decision to pivot the following discussion around China, in order to locate this exploration more broadly it makes sense to first briefly ask what one can say of the importance of the text elsewhere, outside of East Asia.⁴

It is possible to dispense with the case of Tibet rather quickly. It is a reasonable generalization to say that no sūtra has been particularly important for most Tibetan Buddhists, including scholars, whose interests rarely go beyond the secondary quotation of scriptural passages quoted in Indian śāstras or anthologies.⁵ This, interestingly, is true despite the common idea that the two bases of an argument are *āgama*, scriptural authority, and *yukti*, reasoning. Of this pair, *āgama* is usually given only passing mention by most authors, Indian as well as Tibetan. In sum, one would be hard put to argue for the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*'s direct importance in Tibet.⁶

As for India itself, the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is not unlike that of another sūtra also highly influential in East Asia, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or Lotus Sūtra. As I have shown,⁷ that scripture, while known to Indian authors, has left precious few direct traces in Indian texts. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, is quoted by a small number of authors, Śāntideva and Kamalaśīla and one or two others,⁸ and is quoted or referred to a few times here and there in works which, although they no longer exist in Sanskrit, are also certainly Indian. But there are not many such citations. The relative paucity of quotations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in Indian works contrasts sharply with the rate at which a number of other sūtra texts are cited in Indian treatises, texts such as the *Adhyāśayasamcodana*, the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, the *Samādhirāja*, and the *Śālistamba*, not to mention the larger *Prajñāpāramitā*. It also bears mention that there is no known Indian commentary on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, although compared to the total number of such scriptures, there are very few Indian commentaries, extant or lost, on any Mahāyāna sūtras at all, a circumstance which requires its own investigation. Given the relative (in)frequency with which the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is cited in Indian literature, we are compelled to conclude that it was not a very important or popular text in India either, at least among those who composed Buddhist philosophical literature.⁹ However, as I will

⁴ Even though present-day thoroughly non-Mahāyānistic Burma and Sri Lanka were once home to Mahāyāna followers, and Mahāyāna texts circulated there, for our present purposes we need not consider the theoretically possible one-time influence of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in these regions. It is the limitations of my own knowledge which prevent me from offering any consideration of regions such as Vietnam, Mongolia or Korea. To judge by Maggi 2007 the text, while known in Khotan, was perhaps not terribly influential.

⁵ For a start on studying this issue with regard to Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, see Langelaar 2011. In the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, when Tsong kha pa quotes the text (twice) in his *Lam rim chen mo*, he does so on the basis of Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama*. Some scriptures did naturally attract attention from broad audiences in Tibet, such as the *Aparimitāyurjñāna*, which I discuss in a forthcoming study. I am of course also aware that some writers in Tibetan have taken up the study of sūtras, even composing lengthy commentaries on the entire Kanjur (see for instance Pad dkar bzang po 2006), but these few cases are tiny islands in the vast sea of Tibetan Buddhist literature.

⁶ Its impact on Tibetan Madhyamaka thought might hypothetically be located through the influence of Candrakīrti, but at least in his *Prasannapadā* he nevertheless quotes the sūtra only once, while in the *Madhyamakāvataṛabhāṣya* he cites it not at all.

⁷ Silk 2001.

⁸ I have, however, some doubt about Soeda 1978. For the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, see Mochizuki 1962, and note 2, above.

⁹ We might also note that, to judge by its content, we would be hard pressed to argue that the

suggest below, there is another manner in which it indeed does seem to have exerted considerable influence, namely in inspiring the composition of other sūtras. Given this, our evidence suggests that much of the historical popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was primarily limited to East Asia, that is to say, to China and to the lands under its cultural influence.¹⁰

It is these just stated limits to the historical popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* that lead me to cast the central question here as one concerning, in the first place, the popularity of the sūtra in China. However, I am not a Sinologist, and I am not able properly to explore the literary, social, political or doctrinal environment into which the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was introduced in fourth century China, although it may well be there that crucial keys to the scripture's popularity are found. This notwithstanding, the questions I would like to explore most centrally are not those regarding the specifically historical Chinese reception of the text, in its literary, social, political or doctrinal environment. Rather, I would like to pursue several questions which touch on the overall structure of the sūtra, on aspects of its composition that are, for the most part, independent of the language in which it is transmitted and the specific environment within which it was read and studied. If, and if so how, these factors may have influenced the reception of the text in various different cultural milieux must remain, again, questions for another day.¹¹

Fortunately for my lack of competence in Sinology, the question of the popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in early China has already been taken up by experts. One of the best of these, Erik Zürcher, addressed the question as follows in his landmark study *The Buddhist Conquest of China*:¹²

The popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* ... among the fourth century Chinese intelligentsia is easily explainable. In the first place this sūtra is a kind of dramatized exposition of the doctrine. The different dialogues between various groups of personages ... ably strung together in a *Rahmenerzählung* with an ever-changing scenery, have been used to treat a great variety of doctrinal subjects. We find long passages about the wonderful power of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, about the superiority of the Mahāyāna over the Small Vehicle, about the transcendent nature of the Buddha-body, about the concept of non-duality,

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa's popularity lay elsewhere, as may well have been the case with texts such as the aforementioned *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, texts which left even fewer traces in Indian philosophical literature than did the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*—in the case of the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, none at all—but which, in contrast to it, do contain ideas which may conceivably have won them another kind of (“popular”) following, although if this hypothetical scenario be true, it nevertheless remains to be demonstrated. Influences in subtler domains of intertextuality are possible, but a much greater familiarity with the breadth of Indian Mahāyāna sūtra literature than I possess would be required even to begin any informed discussion of this topic.

¹⁰ The modern popularity of the sūtra, which has been translated now many times in both Asian and European languages, may have different causes, but this aspect of the text's popularity should be dealt with separately.

¹¹ I am, at the same time, both aware of and in strong agreement with the suggestion of Kontler 1988: 330, who wrote: “ne serait-il pas possible d'affirmer que, si le mode de narration et son développement dramatique déterminent l'exposition et la mise en oeuvre de cette doctrine, ils déterminent aussi, dans une certaine mesure, la doctrine elle-même.” So also Hamlin 1988: 89, “For this text more than for most, the success of a doctrinal argument is hinged on the success of a poetics, and vice versa.”

¹² Zürcher 1959: 131-132; I have adjusted the Chinese romanization to the pinyin system.

etc. On the other hand, all these subjects are treated as variations and illustrations of the one basic theme of the whole sūtra: the loving and saving power of the Bodhisattva who, like Vimalakīrti himself, voluntarily undergoes the “disease of existence” for the sake of all beings. Hence this scripture may be regarded ... as a real compendium of Mahāyāna doctrine. This explains why it remained one of the most venerated and influential works of the Buddhist canon in the Far East, and, at the same time, why it never became the favorite scripture of any particular school in later Chinese Buddhism, as happened to other Mahāyāna sūtras with more specific doctrine centered around one basic theme, such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* and the treaties of the *Sanlun* school.

In the second place, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* possesses some special features which must have been very attractive to the cultured Chinese public in medieval times. The dialogue ... is handled here with extraordinary skill. By the arrangement of themes in ascending order of emphasis, both the narrative as a whole and the individual sections of dialogue have a certain dramatic tension which is sadly lacking in practically all other Buddhist canonical works. To the fourth century Chinese intelligentsia this must not only have appealed because of its literary qualities as such; to them the whole situation described in the main part of the sūtra—the conversation between Vimalakīrti and his guests—must have been strangely reminiscent of their own rhetorical meetings devoted to the discussion of more or less philosophical themes. Vimalakīrti, the famous householder (or, in Chinese, *jūshì* 居士, “retired scholar”!) of Vaiśālī, rich, honored and well-versed in debate, resembled their own ideal of the eloquent *qīngtán* [清談] adept; his “skill in expedient means” applied to save all creatures in accordance with their special nature and needs closely agreed with the “responding” activity of the *xuánxué* [玄學] Sage; Vimalakīrti’s famous moment of silence as the most adequate expression of the Absolute came near to the *xuánxué* concept of the ineffability of Truth and the ideal of “silent understanding”; the frequent and able use of the paradox and of short enigmatic statements corresponded with similar practices in *qīngtán*.

For all these reasons the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* soon became one of the most influential scriptures in gentry Buddhism.

There is very little here with which one might disagree, but two main points may be somewhat further explored. First, Zürcher talks of the sūtra as “a kind of dramatized exposition of the doctrine.” Second, he alludes to its popularity among the gentry, the non-monastic elite of southern China, the scholars belonging to the class of those who had, although educated and qualified for government service, lost their expected opportunities for such service and indeed their very sense of their place in the world thanks to the chaos into which their society had been cast by the fall of the Han and the division of China into Northern and Southern realms. For it was among these thinkers, and among their monastic partners in intellectual conversation, that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* first gained a constituency in China. Thus, although this certainly oversimplifies Zürcher’s careful formulation, we may not unfairly reduce to two fundamental factors the apparent causes of the popularity of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in early China. First is its dramatic exposition, second its appeal to lay followers,¹³ particularly in the way that the figure of Vimalakīrti himself is taken as a possible model for those who remain outside the monastic world to nevertheless understand and

¹³ Kontler 1988: 335 goes so far as to warn us to “n’oublions pas que l’auteur du *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* s’adresse à de larges assemblées laïques,” without however providing evidence for this assertion.

legitimate their claims to spiritual attainments equal, if not superior, to those of monks.

To take up first the former of these two points, that concerning the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*'s dramatic exposition,¹⁴ Zürcher speaks of “both the narrative as a whole and the individual sections of dialogue hav[ing] a certain dramatic tension which is sadly lacking in practically all other Buddhist canonical works.” Just what in the drama of this scripture might have proven itself so attractive? A related question concerns the presence or absence of similarly dramatic sections of dialogue in other scriptures. Since we do find similar episodes elsewhere, one basic question to ask is: why the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, rather than something else? I would like to propose that—as Zürcher himself indirectly suggests—the key lies not in the individual elements or units of the scripture but in the overall way these are put together: the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as a whole, unlike most other Buddhist sūtras, has what I believe can be identified as something close to a classical Aristotelian ‘plot.’¹⁵

A task not yet even begun by Buddhist scholars is that of attempting to forge a poetics of Buddhist sūtra literature. All literatures have their own features, their own characteristics. Some of these may be universal, or if not universal, at least applicable across the boundaries of traditions. Poetry, for instance, in many cases (though certainly not all), has features which transcend the language in which it is written, such that Sanskrit poetry can be recognized and analyzed and studied with some of the same sorts of tools that one brings to bear on the study of Kālidāsa or Pindar, of the Irish poet Yeats, or the Japanese Fujiwara no Teika. It is true that there is some Indian Buddhist literature which can be approached even with the now ‘old-fashioned’ tools of Western textual criticism, materials such as the *jātaka-avadāna* tale literature in particular. This is a literature of ‘story’ in the most basic and perhaps most universal sense. By the same token, however, as we know from our reading of the *Jātakas*, many of them are hardly particularly Buddhist at all.¹⁶ It is rather the most particularly Buddhist forms of literature which present the most problems. For most Buddhist sūtras cannot be approached with these same critical tools, since whatever they are doing and however they are doing it, it does not involve the types of structures familiar to Western literary traditions.¹⁷ In the *Jātaka* literature there are characters who encounter some problem and

¹⁴ By referring here to Zürcher, I do not mean to suggest that he is the only scholar to have offered such an approach to the text. See merely as examples also Demiéville 1962, Hamlin 1988 and Kontler 1988 (the latter two independently and simultaneously offering similar creative and provocative readings of the sūtra). This may be an apposite spot to express my appreciation to and for my old friend Ed Hamlin, with whom I began graduate school together in 1983. He was by far the better student, and his choice to follow another path, while probably best for him, has been a loss for the field. His paper on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* remains one of the best appreciations of it as literature.

Much later, another fellow student was Alan Cole. While there is a very great deal indeed with which I cannot agree in his 2005 *Text As Father*, the fact remains that Cole here insists on taking Mahāyāna sūtras seriously as rhetoric, a stance with which I *am* in full agreement.

¹⁵ I do not think I am by any means the first to suggest this, though I have not noticed the theme elsewhere developed as I do.

¹⁶ It is well known that many of the *Jātaka* tales, stories of the previous lives of the Buddha as bodhisattva, are ‘Buddhist’ only in the final framing identifications of characters from the story with (narratively speaking) present-day figures, the Buddha and those in his circle. Otherwise most are simply examples of the rich trove of stories for which India is so famous, many of which were borrowed later by Aesop, La Fontaine and others.

¹⁷ I restrict this consideration to Mahāyāna sūtra literature here, but it might apply equally to Āgama/

the problem is resolved in one way or another. Nothing like this happens in most sūtra literature, because nothing much *happens* as such. It is certainly true that modern writing—novels or poetry for instance—sometimes also veers rather radically away from the structures plotted and analyzed and understood by conventional literary criticism. There is modern literature which tells no apparent story, which does not have the classical “quest” pattern consisting of a situation, a challenge, and the challenge overcome, the pattern mapped by Vladimir Propp and his successors. Some critics have worked to develop tools for understanding this type of literature too, and it may be in such theoretical approaches that we will find the hints and the tools we will need to begin to build a poetics of Indian Buddhist sūtra literature. However, no matter how helpful they might somehow be, we do not need to employ such tools in order to understand the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*—or at least, there are ways in which we may approach and appreciate this text which do not require us to make use of such tools.

What is the relation between the structure of a text, the way it is put together, and its meaning or its message? How is a text built such that it communicates? There are many aspects to such a question, including what the characters in a text do, who they are and how we learn about them, where the text is set, what its world includes, and how time works in the text—is the story a straightforward chronological progression, or are there flashbacks, and so on. In the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* I would like to address a more basic, or at least a more limited, question: how does the text develop? And I asserted above that the old conventional tools of Aristotelian poetics may suffice to address this question because, unlike the case in almost all other Buddhist sūtras, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* something *does* happen, and the narrative *does* develop; it involves a story, or more technically speaking, it actually involves a plot. The distinction is, in one sense, that between a mere chronological sequence—first this happened, then that—and a logical sequence—this happened, therefore that happened. As the novelist and critic E. M. Forster famously wrote, “The king died, and then the queen died” is a story; “The king died, and then the queen died of grief” is a plot. Most Buddhist sūtras do not even have a story, much less a plot. Whatever they contain, there is no “this happened, then that” because nothing happens as such. What this signifies about our ability to analyze and understand Buddhist sūtra literature as literature is a topic well worth careful consideration.¹⁸ For the moment, however, I rest content to argue that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* not only has a story, it also has a plot.¹⁹

Zürcher and others have told us that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was known and appreciated for its language, its dialogic style, its philosophical content, and for the way

Nikāya sūtra literature.

¹⁸ Here some of what Hamlin 1988: 117 says about the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* can potentially be generalized, namely that “to grasp its philosophical orientation correctly it is essential to give due weight to the narrative and aesthetic structures which underpin it.” At least it should remain an open question whether this is true for other texts, rather than, as is almost universally the case, ignoring such factors in favor of a sort of philosophical or doctrinal strip mining which pays no attention to the scenery or broader environment.

¹⁹ As Michael Radich suggests to me (personal communication), having a plot as such is not enough; it has to be a good, and a fresh plot. I am not as sure that I agree with other of his suggestions, such as that the work must be of elegant craftsmanship, for instance. That is indeed amply on display in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, but quite noticeably lacking in, for instance, Dan Brown’s *Da Vinci Code*.

all of this is fit together. I would emphasize that the way things are put together is the crucial element here. The wonderfully wry and striking style of many of the episodes, such as that of the Goddess and Śāriputra in chapter six and the beauty of the Chinese language of Kumārajīva's translation may be important contributions to the overall success of the scripture,²⁰ but the key lies in the totality, rather than in any particular content. I believe this in part because some of those same contents, or variants on those same contents, some of the most impressive episodes of the text, are found elsewhere as well.

The literary critic Jonathan Culler has reminded us that “The analysis of plot structure ought to be a study of the structuring process by which plots take shape, and ... one of the best ways of discovering what norms are at work [is] to alter the text and consider how its effect is changed.”²¹ In other words, Culler suggests that one technique for understanding how a plot develops is to change part of it, and see what happens then—a kind of scientific experiment in which one understands the parts and the whole by making changes to the parts, one by one, altering the variables, as it were. In the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, we do not have to imagine changes to the text in order to explore how its meaning or its impact might be affected, since ready-made examples exist for us already.

Two of the most dramatic and striking episodes in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the third chapter's series of interviews with the various auditors and bodhisattvas, leading up to the dialogue with Mañjuśrī which culminates in Vimalakīrti's famous “thundering silence,” and the sixth chapter's seriocomic episode of Śāriputra's interview with the Goddess, culminating in a dramatic and unexpected sex-exchange for the hapless disciple and transcendent Goddess, provide excellent material for our experiment.²² The wonderful rhetorical power and beauty of these episodes is beyond doubt, as is the contribution they make to the appeal of the text. Thus, we might expect that even on their own, apart from the context of the sūtra, they would be able to convey some of that power. In order to investigate this issue, let us think for a moment about the relation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* to other texts.

The genre of 'sūtra' in Buddhist literature is defined emically by certain characteristics, by stock opening and closing, for example. But sharing certain formal structural features is not the only way in which sūtras are connected one with another. The suttas of the Pāli canon, collected in the Nikāyas, share large numbers of formulaic passages or stock formulae, a fact recognized, for example, both by traditional scribes and by the editors and translators of the editions of the Pali Text Society who regularly abbreviate such stock expressions (for instance with the term *peyālam*, often itself reduced to simply *pe*). But it is not only the suttas of the Nikāya (and corresponding Sanskrit Āgama) literature which abound in stock expressions and formulaic passages;

²⁰ Demiéville 1962: 179 writes: “Through its contents as well as its form, there is hardly any foreign text, before modern times, which so touched Chinese sensibilities,” and a few pages later (p. 186) he opines of Kumārajīva's translation that it “is one of the most brilliant of the whole Chinese Canon; its high literary quality had a great deal to do with the lasting acclimatisation of the sūtra in China.”

²¹ Culler 1975: 223.

²² I use the term 'seriocomic' with hesitation: I am far from convinced that what strikes us as amusing was meant—most especially in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*—primarily comedically. See below for my remarks on Williams 1990.

Mahāyāna sūtra literature shares this characteristic. Modern scholarship has, however, yet to come to terms with the vastness of Mahāyāna sūtra literature, and consequently it seems that scholars have sometimes failed to appreciate the extent to which formulaic expressions and shared pericopes are found in Mahāyāna sūtra literature, or what this commonality may indicate.

One way in which shared or common passages may be understood is to assume that one version is a borrowing from another. If two texts share a passage, and we know which text is earlier, the problem would seem to have been solved. Things are not nearly this simple, however. Even assuming that it is possible to determine that passages are ‘similar’—and often even when two passages are not literally identical there can be little argument²³—still two other obvious explanations exist: interpolation, or mutually shared origin.

In his masterly translation and study of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, Lamotte has devoted one section of his introduction to its sources. He has been able to identify a large number of stock phrases, formulae, epithets, and other such material which the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* shares with other Buddhist literature. He seeks to locate, moreover, the “sources” of these phrases, formulae and the like, while acknowledging that “as the same formula or stock phrase appears in many texts, it is practically impossible to know from which of these the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* borrowed them.” He goes on to suggest that “Experienced in the reading of Sūtras, the author of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* may well have taken them from his memory, without referring, even mentally, to any particular text.” Nevertheless, Lamotte seems to believe it possible to identify scriptural sources for certain stock phrases, formulae, images and motifs.²⁴ (Parenthetically we may observe that it is remarkable in this respect that Lamotte appears to have overlooked what seems to be a chief source [albeit perhaps indirectly] for the very characterization of Vimalakīrti himself, the layman Citra, an issue discussed below in Appendix I.²⁵)

In his analysis, Lamotte divides his survey into the following groups of sources: (1) “Canonical sūtras of the Tripiṭaka,” by which he seems to mean the Nikāyas in Pāli, including the Khuddaka (he refers twice to the *Dhammapada*).²⁶ (2) “Vinaya,” again only in Pāli. (3) “Paracanonical sūtras,” defined as follows: “This is a question of the Sayings of the Buddha (*vacana*) not mentioned in the Nikāyas-Āgamas and which the Small Vehicle does not generally recognize as being authoritative.”²⁷ This group includes

²³ This of course side-steps the fundamental methodological problem that we lack any rigorous tools for determining ‘similarity.’ There seems to be no escape from the ad hoc. See Silk 2002 for a consideration of a conceptually related problem.

²⁴ Lamotte is not, of course, the only scholar to indulge in the search for ‘sources.’ Edward Conze (1948), for example, in his edition of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*, printed next to the text of the *Hṛdaya* the identification of passages from the “larger Prajñāpāramitā sūtras” which he considered to be the “sources” for the *Hṛdaya*’s text. Kotatsu Fujita (1980) sought to establish a “close relationship” between the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* and the *Saddharmaṣaṣṭikā* on the basis of a borrower-borrowed model. More recently, Pāsādika 2010: 95-96 discusses a sentence from the *Ekottarikāgama* which he treats as a “probable source for a passage in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*,” though in my opinion this too is likely to be yet another example of shared materials.

²⁵ Other possible models proposed include Dharmodgata and Ugra, according to Taki 2007: 186n5.

²⁶ All of Lamotte’s references are to the Pāli Nikāyas, none to the Āgama in Chinese or in Sanskrit fragments.

²⁷ Lamotte 1976: LXXXIII.

among others the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*. (4) ‘Mahāyānasūtra.’ The following discussion will focus on this last category, but my remarks should perhaps apply mutatis mutandis to Lamotte’s analyses of the first three groups of texts as well.

Lamotte prefaces his discussion of the Mahāyāna sūtras with a warning of his own: “The question of the relationship of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* to other Mahāyāna sūtras is particularly delicate because the uncertainties of relative chronology do not enable us to decide which is the borrower and which the borrowed. The present summary is of only provisional value.”²⁸ The implication here is that it should be possible, with more information on the chronology of the texts, to ascertain the directionality of borrowing; that borrowing occurred is assumed. Note also that Lamotte seems to assume that there is no question but that materials which are found in both the Nikāya corpus and in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* have the former as the source and the latter as the borrower. It is not possible to investigate here the details of the parallels Lamotte alleges between passages in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and those in the Pāli texts, but it should be mentioned that some of the ‘parallels’ are not at all obvious, at least to me. The question of ‘sources’ is again a complex one, especially given the likely fact that whatever the corpus of Āgama literature with which the compilers of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* were familiar,²⁹ it was in Sanskrit or perhaps a form of Middle Indic, but that Middle Indic was certainly not Pāli. The degree of correlation between the Pāli canon now available and any Sanskrit ‘canons’ which may have existed is beyond determination at this time. I introduce these details to underline the point that even such an ‘obvious’ assertion as that a passage in a Nikāya sūtra served as the source for a passage in a Mahāyāna sūtra encounters tremendous, even insurmountable, difficulties.³⁰

In the context of Mahāyāna literature, Lamotte suggests that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* refers to two sūtras in the Mahāratnakūṭa collection, the *Tathāgataguhyaka* and the *Akṣobhyatathāgatasyavyūha*.³¹ For the first, which he claims is referred to twice, he resorts to a comment in a Chinese commentary to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Zhu Weimojiejing* 注維摩詰經 by Seng Zhao 僧肇, which has Kumārajīva identify the ‘secrets’ of all bodhisattvas and buddhas with the aforementioned text, a connection which of course in no way suggests any historical relationship.³² The second suggestion, that of a

²⁸. Lamotte 1976: LXXXIV.

²⁹. If we follow Fussman 2009: 646, three separate stylistic “hands” are responsible for the sūtra as we have it. He wrote: “on peut donc reconnaître au moins trois «mains» dans ce texte dont l’unité foncière ne fait cependant pas de doute: c’est une texte très savamment composé, pas un texte fait de bric et de broc. Ces trois «mains» supposent une élaboration assez longue, peut-être trois générations, et laissent supposer l’existence d’une première version vers 100 de n.è. au plus tard.”

³⁰. That is, the assumption that Āgama materials are best seen as ‘sources’ for Mahāyāna sūtras seems to me to be in need of reevaluation in the very broadest context of the overall principles of the composition of Buddhist scriptures, a topic I will address in the near future.

³¹. Lamotte 1976: LXXXV.

³². Regarding the sentence in §IV.1, Lamotte 1976: 114n3 writes: “Kumārajīva translates: ‘There are no secrets of the Buddha which he does not penetrate,’ and he explains (T. 1775 [XXXVIII] 371a7): ‘According to the Mi chi ching, this concerns the body, speech and mind [of the Buddhas].’” The Chinese reads: 諸佛祕藏無不得入 什曰: 如密迹經說身口意是也. Here of course the first expression is the lemma from the sūtra, found now in Sanskrit as *sarvabodhisatvasarvabuddhaguhyasthāneṣu supravīṣṭaḥ*. For Kumārajīva to identify this expression in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* with one in the *Tathāgataguhyaka* is not to make any historical claim, pace Lamotte, being rather what we would consider a synchronic exegesis. However, Lamotte (and see 168n36) goes on to suggest that a reference in §VI.13 “settles the question,”

connection with the *Akṣobhyatathāgatasyavyūha*, stands on even less firm ground. Lamotte can claim no more than that “It is probably under the inspiration of this text that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (XI.3-7) gives so much importance to the buddha Akṣobhya and to his universe Abhirati where it places Vimalakīrti before his manifestation in Sahāloka.”³³ This relies on the incorrect assumption that a given text has some kind of exclusivity over a given buddha or buddha field.³⁴ Before turning to consider several other texts in the Mahāratnakūṭa collection, I would mention briefly the other texts which, Lamotte suggests, served as sources for the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.

Several texts from the Mahāsaṃnipāta collection are alleged to be connected with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, “without it being possible to decide which is the borrower and which the borrowed.”³⁵ The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* does not seem to be connected in any substantial way to the texts in this collection, although the character of Vimalakīrti appears. The supposition of connection seems to be based on a tacit assumption that the character of Vimalakīrti is always and necessarily connected with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in such a way that if Vimalakīrti appears some (direct) connection with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is indubitable. Perhaps needless to say, such an assumption remains to be proved. Suggesting a further connection between the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Ratnaketuparivarta*’s first chapter, Mārājñmīkaraṇa, since this contains a story about Māra’s daughters, Lamotte is more cautious, saying only “There are close analogies between the conversion of the Apsaras related by the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (III.62-67) and the story of the defeat of Māra which appears [in the *Ratnaketuparivarta*].”³⁶

Some texts Lamotte refers to might with justice be said to be more certainly connected with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: the *Mahāvaiṣṭyāyāmūrdharāja* and the

since indeed (and in the Sanskrit as well) it refers to a *tathāgataguhyam nāma dharmamukhapraveśa*. The *Tathāgataguhyaka* was translated into Chinese by the end of the third century, but whether it even existed in anything like the form we now have it in the period in which the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was being composed remains an open question, as is the issue of whether *tathāgataguhyam nāma dharmamukhapraveśa* need refer to a specifically identifiable and delineable scripture text (much less precisely the text now known by the slightly different title *Tathāgataguhyaka*), or whether it rather might refer to a more amorphous articulation of teaching.

³³ Lamotte 1976: 64.

³⁴ A point argued for instance by Schopen 1977.

³⁵ Lamotte 1976: LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

³⁶ A final claim is perhaps the most tenuous of all. “Vimalakīrti advises the daughters of Māra to study a *dharmamukha* entitled *Akṣayapradīpa* ... but I have not been able to identify it.” (Lamotte 1976: LXXXVI) The claim that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (§III.66; Lamotte 1976: 105n134) “here ... is referring to a text (*chos kyi sgo* in Tib; *fa-mên* in the Chinese versions) entitled *Akṣayapradīpa*” seems unsupported. A *dharmamukha* (the Sanskrit term confirmed by the manuscript) certainly need not even be a text. Hubert Durt (*Hōbōgirin*, IV: 363b, s.v. Chōmyōtō), to whom Lamotte refers in his note, goes even farther than his teacher Lamotte: “It seems that this famous allegory was borrowed from a ‘Rubric of the Law,’ *hōmon* 法門, sk. *dharmaparyāya*, which may have existed as an independent Mahāyāna text.” (Note that the use of the term *dharmaparyāya* here is incorrect.) The text in fact seems to say more or less precisely what the *akṣayapradīpam nāma dharmamukham* is, since in answer to its own question *tat punaḥ katamat*, ‘What then is it?’ it offers the example (*tadyathā*) of a single lamp which lights a hundred thousand other lamps yet is itself not thereby diminished, comparable to single bodhisattva who causes many hundred of thousands of beings to set out for awakening, without his own mindfulness [*चित्तसमृत्ति*] being diminished; the more he teaches others all virtuous qualities, the more his own grow as well. ‘This is that [aforementioned] *akṣayapradīpam nāma dharmamukham*,’ *idam tad akṣayapradīpam nāma dharmamukham*. See also Yasui 1970: 279-282, who refers to *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* IX.54 for the imagery of the inextinguishable lamp, pointing out that Sthiramati’s commentary refers to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* for this passage (Derge Tanjur 4034, *sems tsam, mi*, 132b5-7, quoting §III.66).

Candrottarādārikā. The first presents the character of the son of Vimalakīrti, the second his daughter. It seems reasonable to think that the authors of these sūtras were aware of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, even inspired by it.³⁷ But not every scholar agrees with this view. Izumi Hōkei 泉芳環 writes of the *Candrottarādārikā*: “One can see at a glance that this text is related to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Its subject matter is the Licchavi Vimalakīrti, and the names of the Arhats Śāriputra and Kāśyapa, and bodhisattvas like Mañjuśrī and so on appear. However, this sūtra’s Vimalakīrti is an ordinary fellow, and not at all the Vimalakīrti who has performed the silence of the non-dual dharma door. ... Perhaps the author of this text was unaware of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. If he knew it, we would not expect such a portrayal of Vimalakīrti. No, probably the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* itself took many materials from this text.”³⁸ I do not find Izumi’s assertion altogether convincing; I read him to suggest that the noble Vimalakīrti could not have been humbled in a later text having been once raised proud in an earlier one, but I am not precisely sure why this should be so. Perhaps a more careful and comprehensive study of the *Candrottarādārikā* will help to clarify the relationship between the two texts.

We are not now, however, concerned with the details of Lamotte’s investigations (although in most cases I believe models of common origins for shared materials are better able to account for commonalities than are models of direct or indirect borrowing).³⁹ In other words, I am here less concerned with what sort of model best explains the origins of the similarities between parts of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and other sūtras than in a different question: given several scriptures—all, traditionally, seen equally by Buddhists as the preachings of the Buddha, and therefore of presumably equivalent authority—why should one presentation, one framing of a certain content, gain popular acclaim, while other framings of similar content have been virtually ignored? To phrase this another way: if we can locate similar contents in two different Buddhist texts, modern scholars may well argue that, historically speaking, one of the two borrowed from the other, and thus the content of one sūtra is primary, while that of the other is secondary. Such considerations (misguided as they may be, in my opinion), while of great interest to modern scholars and historians, are presumably of no interest whatsoever to traditional Buddhist believers, for whom all scriptures—or at least all scriptures not judged to be heretical forgeries—are, all other things being equal, equally the word of the Buddha.⁴⁰

³⁷ For example, Paul 1985: 191: “The Candrottarā may be viewed as a sequel to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.” Little work has been done on the *Mahāvaiṣṭyāyānīyā*, but Wada Tetsujō 和田徹城 comments (Ono 1932-1935: 6.376.b) that parts of the text are reminiscent of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.

³⁸ In his brief article in Ono 1932-1935: 2.27c.

³⁹ The same applies to the scriptures discussed by Taki 2007. The similarities he detects seem to me to point in the direction of the shared world within which Mahāyāna sūtras were composed, rather than being evidence for discrete mutual influences. The promiscuous use of *kankei* (關係, ‘relation’) conceals more than it reveals.

⁴⁰ An exception might be as they are hierarchically ranked as in a *panjiao* 判教 or *siddhānta* (*grub mtha*) system, something irrelevant here. It is also true, as Vincent Tournier points out to me, that a number of texts—the *Suvarṇabhāsottama* is a good example, its very title including the self-reference *sūtrenḍrārāja*, ‘king of scriptures’—engage in a vigorous sort of self-promotion, which seems to convey an implicit claim to superiority over other scriptures. The term *sūtrārāja* has a parallel in *tantrārāja*, as in the title *Hevajratāntrārāja*, *Sarvabuddhasamayogatantrārāja*, etc. At the same time, the term alluded to by Tournier, *sūtrenḍrārāja*, appears in Pāli as *suttantarājā* in the commentary to the *Mahāpadānasutta* (Stede 1931: 480.15-17) as follows: *tepiṭake buddhavacane aññaṃ suttāṃ chabbīsatiḥḅhānāvārasataparimāṇāṃ nāma*

Without going into excessive detail, it is nevertheless possible to point to just a few passages in a few sūtras which present striking parallels to the iconic episodes of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* mentioned above. Through quotation of these passages it is possible to demonstrate that even some of the most dramatic passages in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* may be found elsewhere, sometimes in very nearly the same words.

The first such text is the above-mentioned *Candrottārādārikā-vyākaraṇa*.⁴¹ Here the girl Candrottārā, Vimalakīrti's daughter, engages in dialogues with various bodhisattvas. For the present purposes, reference to a couple of short, but striking, parallels may suffice.

I)⁴²

<i>Candrottārādārikā-vyākaraṇa</i>	<i>Vimalakīrtinirdeśa</i>
Then the Crown Prince Mañjuśrī spoke as follows to the girl Candrottārā: “Girl, from where did you die that you came here, and where will you go having died here?”	[Śāriputra] said: “Dying from here, Goddess, where will you be reborn?”
The girl said: “Mañjuśrī, what do you think: this image ⁴³ of the Tathāgata seated on a lotus in my right hand—from where did it die to appear here, and having died here where will it be reborn?”	[The Goddess] said: “Precisely where an illusory creation of the Tathāgata will be reborn, there I will be reborn.”
Mañjuśrī said: “Girl, this is an illusory creation, and illusory creations neither die nor are they born.”	[Śāriputra] said: “Illusory creations of the Tathāgata neither die nor are they reborn.”
The girl said: “Mañjuśrī, I too have such an illusory intrinsic nature; I do not perceive all things as dying or being born.”	[The Goddess] said: “Just so, all things neither die nor are they reborn.”

n'atthi. suttantarājā nāma ayam suttanto veditabbo, “There is, in the preaching of the Buddha collected in the Tipiṭaka, no other sutta that has as many as 2600 sections of recitation [2600 x 250 silokas]. [Thus] this sutta is to be known as the King of Suttas.” This topic deserves careful study.

⁴¹ This sūtra was studied in comparison with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in 1970 by Ōshika Jisshu. Note that all of the parallels from the *Vimaladatta-paripṛcchā*, *Sumatidārikā-paripṛcchā*, and *Aśokadatta-vyākaraṇa* discussed here were noticed already long ago in the articles in Ono 1932-1935: 8.254.b-c, 5.88d, and 10.395b, respectively.

⁴² For the passages cited here, see Appendix II, below. My translations are intentionally overly literal, in order to bring out something of the verbal parallelism. I am aware, for instance, that “from where did you die,” idiomatic in Sanskrit, is not any form of English.

⁴³ Lit. body, *sku*, but Chinese *xíngxiàng* 形像.

II)

<i>Candrottarādārikā-vyākaraṇa</i>	<i>Vimalakīrtinirdeśa</i>
Then the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī spoke to the girl Candrottarā as follows: “Girl, how long will it be until you attain Unexcelled Perfect Awakening?”	[Śāriputra] said: “Goddess, how long will it be until you attain Awakening?”
The girl said: “It will be as long as it is until the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī passes beyond the Pṛthagjanabhūmi, and passes beyond even the Buddhabhūmi.” ⁴⁴	[The Goddess] said: “When the elder [Śāriputra] becomes endowed with the characteristics of an ordinary man (<i>pṛthagjana</i>), then I shall attain Awakening.”

There are a number of other exchanges between Candrottarā and different auditors (śrāvakas) which, more or less closely, provide parallels between the two texts, as well as resemblances in other spots and in other ways. And while a detailed consideration of the *Candrottarādārikā-vyākaraṇa* belongs elsewhere, one thing is worth emphasizing: this is, at least in so far as any conventional means of judging such things would allow us to say, almost entirely an obscure text.⁴⁵

The kinds of profound exchanges in which not only auditors but even great bodhisattvas are shown to have a limited understanding, pericopes which characterize the third chapter of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, may be paralleled elsewhere too. Several interesting examples are found in sūtras collected in the Mahāratnakūṭa collection, namely the *Vimaladatta-paripṛcchā*, *Sumatidārikā-paripṛcchā* and *Aśokadatta-vyākaraṇa*, and in a different fashion in the *Gaṅgottara-paripṛcchā*.⁴⁶ Among these, the *Vimaladatta-paripṛcchā* presents us with a striking parallel to this series of interviews. In the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* auditor after auditor and then bodhisattva after bodhisattva demure when requested to go to Vimalakīrti to inquire after his health, and each recounts an incident in which he was taken to task for failing to fully understand the philosophical underpinnings of his own characteristic attainment. In the *Vimaladatta-paripṛcchā* the first seven interviews are presented with nearly the same auditors in the same order—the young girl Vimaladattā of course plays Vimalakīrti’s role. And while the specific issues raised with each interview are different between the texts, the tone is the same, with the disciples of limited understanding reduced to stunned silence. Vimaladattā then confronts a series of bodhisattvas, beginning with Mañjuśrī, with the same results. Following this

⁴⁴ Chn: omits “passes beyond even the Buddhabhūmi.” The reference here is to complexities of path theory, the details of which are not germane to the present discussion.

⁴⁵ This despite its alleged connection, centuries after its translation, to the Japanese *Taketori Monogatari* 竹取物語, for instance.

⁴⁶ For some idea of these sūtras see the translations in Chang 1983: 73-99, 256-261, and 115-133, respectively. The *Gaṅgottara-paripṛcchā* is translated in the same volume on pp. 37-40, but see now Silk Forthcoming. While there is room for improvement in the renderings in Chang 1983, they do provide a general picture of the texts. It is curious that so many of the texts which bear similarity to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* are to be found among the forty-nine sūtras of the Mahāratnakūṭa collection. I have no hypothesis to explain this, although one should certainly not rule out a possible connection between Bodhiruci’s compilation of the collection, completed in 713, and the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian which, however, ended in 705.

she asks a series of questions of the Buddha, after which she is challenged by Mahāmaudgalyāyana who accuses her of, apparently, the impossibility of offering a teaching of the Dharma in the form of a woman, at which point she transforms her gender.

Further on in the *Vimaladatta-paripṛcchā*, we find once again a remarkable parallel to one of the most memorable passages in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*:

III)

Then the Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana spoke to the bodhisattva Vimaladattā as follows: “Gentle sir [!], when it has been such a long time that you practiced to awaken to Unexcelled Perfect Awakening, why did you then not transform your female state?”

The bodhisattva Vimaladattā said: “The Elder Mahāmaudgalyāyana is spoken of as supreme among those possessing magical powers. Why do you, Reverend, not transform out of your male body?”

And the Elder Mahāmaudgalyāyana was reduced to silence.

There are similar dramatic parallels in the *Sumatidārikā-paripṛcchā*, with the protagonist Sumati challenged first by Mahāmaudgalyāyana and then by Mañjuśrī. She and Mañjuśrī engage in a dialogue on the nature of the *dharmadhātu* and so forth, at the conclusion of which he asks her why she does not change her body. She replies by attacking the notion of sexual characteristics, but changes her body anyway.

The *Aśokadatta-vyākaraṇa* presents yet additional instances of parallelism. The girl Aśokadattā interviews five auditors, the list of which closely parallels the list of those Vimalakīrti confronts in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Being challenged by Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Subhūti and Rāhula, Aśokadattā bests them in short order and then preaches Mahāyāna doctrine to each of them. Later Śāriputra challenges her by asking the Buddha if she is not able to change her female body into that of a male. The Buddha replies by asking whether Śāriputra sees a woman. The female body, he teaches, is due to the power of the bodhisattva’s vow, and it is assumed in order to save beings. Other texts which should also be included in any larger discussion of this theme are the above-mentioned *Gaṅgotaraparipṛcchā* and the *Strīvivartavyākaraṇa*.⁴⁷

In various texts the same episodes occur and recur: interviews with various auditors and confrontations which lead a female protagonist to change her sexual attributes, attributes which are, from a higher point of view, as unreal as all reality. These are remarkable episodes, in their own ways as dramatic and memorable as any scenes in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. And yet, these texts were always, as far as we know, both in South and East Asia, virtually unknown, while the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* has been famous since the early days of Buddhism in China, as it continues to be today. In this light, what Ōshika Jisshu, for instance, did not do with this material in his paper in which he detailed parallels between the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Candrottarādarikā* is at least as interesting as what he did do. Neither he nor (as far as I know) anyone else asked what seems to me to be one of the most interesting questions: why is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*

⁴⁷ For the latter, see for the time being Ogawa 2001 and Gianotti 1999, 2001, 2012: 111-121 (I thank the author for sending me copies of these papers).

famous and the *Candrottarādarikā* not? In order to approach this question, we must overcome our modern viewpoint that sees some sūtras written after others, with one borrowing from another and honor going to the innovator, replacing it instead with the awareness that for traditional audiences, all sūtras are theoretically expected to be equally records of the preaching of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Therefore, when we notice content in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Candrottarādarikā*, for example, which is identical, or nearly so, we are entitled to ask why one presentation of this content was highly regarded by traditional audiences while another remained obscure. For such audiences, the reason cannot have been an awareness that one of the two was derivative, if both are equally records of the Buddha's words. If there is a difference in the attention paid to one scripture over another, we must look elsewhere than in the 'history' (or 'pre-history') of the two texts for the reasons for this disparity. It is in an attempt to address precisely this question that I revert to the observation offered above, in which the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was characterized in terms such as 'dramatic.' Is this adjective just used loosely, or can we see something more here?

A classical Aristotelian approach to dramatic plot demands that a plot be a whole action, that it have a beginning, a middle and an end, that the parts follow naturally and causally upon one another, and that the whole constitute a unity.⁴⁸ The classical plot is a series of conflicts, with an interplay of forces leading to a climax and *dénouement*.

The basic elements of the "conflict" plot may be sketched as follows:⁴⁹

- (1) An Exposition, the establishment of a situation for the conflict.
- (2) An Initiating Action, the event bringing opposing forces into conflict.
- (3) The Rising Action, the events which advance the conflict to the crucial point, or crisis.
- (4) The Falling Action, in which the victorious forces establish their supremacy. And
- (5) The Dénouement or Conclusion, in which the conflict begun in the Initiating Action is resolved.

On the scale of the whole text, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is constituted by two, or at least two, major story lines—it is best not to use the term plot just yet. The first contains the frame of the text. At the beginning the Buddha resides in Vaiśālī, in the Āmrāpālī grove, preaches a teaching on the purification of the Buddha-field, and beings are awakened.⁵⁰ The Buddha then does not re-enter the narrative until the last chapters (chapter 10). In Holman's view, a frame story need not become a plot or part of a plot. He offers as examples the frame of Boccaccio's *Decameron* which is not a plot, and of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which has a narrative, but still no true plot.⁵¹ The suggestion that philosophical concepts may constitute plot is rejected: "The raw material of plots are conflicts and actions, not concepts and philosophical statements."⁵² In this light, this frame story in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in itself cannot be said to constitute any sort of plot.

48. Holman 1974: 623.

49. Holman 1974: 624f.

50. As Whitehead 1976: 71n23 points out, Chapter one serves as an introduction, and in his translation Xuanzang even names it so, *xùpǐn* 序品.

51. Holman 1974: 624.

52. Holman 1974: 624.

If the exterior of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* has no plot, what then of Vimalakīrti's own story within? Let us consider the following correspondences between the outline of Vimalakīrti's story and the "conflict" plot model:⁵³

- (1) Exposition = Chpt. 2, wherein Vimalakīrti manifests himself as ill.
- (2) Initiating Action = Chpt. 3, wherein the auditors and bodhisattvas decline to visit the sick Vimalakīrti.
- (3) Rising Action. Chpts. 4 through 8 constitute a series of crises, especially in the episodes of the lion thrones, the Goddess's interview with Śāriputra, the statements of 32 bodhisattvas on emptiness with the climax in Vimalakīrti's silence, and the divine nectar brought from the Sarvagandhasugandha world.
- (4) Falling Action. By this point the thread of narrative, the conflict, is lost. However, Vimalakīrti's supremacy, his status as virtually a buddha in his own right, is established. The ostensible conflict has somehow evaporated, and there is no "conclusion" as such.⁵⁴

If this suggestion has any merit, one of the contributing reasons—although surely not the only reason—for the success of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* may be its conformity to the well-established patterns of the plotted story, a series of episodes which develop a theme and introduce tension and anxiety in an audience, which wonders what will happen next.

To suggest that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* owes some of its popularity to its "plot" is not to suggest, however, that all other Buddhist literature necessarily lacks plot. Obviously, the life story of the Buddha, as indeed most narrative literature of the *jātaka-avadāna* variety, is plotted in a rather conventional way. Moreover, there are other sūtra texts which contain within them, or are framed by, plots in, again, a rather classical sense—one might think of the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* and parts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, for instance, in this respect.⁵⁵

One problem with this suggestion of the centrality of this type of plot in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, of course, or rather limitations upon it, is that if we wish to apply it to more than the case of the history of a sūtra in China, where much is known of the social context of textual transmission, we will have to attempt to determine who was in that intended audience of the sūtra, a task which for ancient India remains almost an impossibility.⁵⁶ In addition, it will be necessary to investigate in much more detail how the sūtra was made use of by those who created other scriptures in its wake. This challenge must form one basis for further research.

⁵³ From a different point of view Hamlin 1988 has also discussed the plot development of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in a most interesting way. Cp. Whitehead 1976: 71-78.

⁵⁴ As Whitehead 1976: 71 observed, "the final two chapters of the sutra function as brief epilogues to the text. ... Both epilogues [in chapters 13 and 14] also repeat the concluding formula that appears first at the end of chapter twelve." This formulation is based of course on the Chinese translations, which divide the text into fourteen rather than twelve chapters. See Lamotte 1976: XCVIII-C on the different ways of dividing the text.

⁵⁵ For the former see Silk 1997, for the latter for instance Changtzu 2012, with a good bibliography. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* presents another case that might be considered in this context.

⁵⁶ However, I do believe that it is possible—for example, in the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*—to argue that both the authors and their audience were monastics, given what we (think we) know of the breadth of awareness of scholasticism among the non-ordained. This, however, all requires an enormous amount of speculation to attain even the little coherence it has, and can thus hardly be termed knowledge.

Although the treatment of the dramatic elements and character in and of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* can in no way be considered complete, with this superficial hypothesis we may turn to the second of Zürcher's main suggestions regarding the reasons for the favor in which the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was held in early China, namely that from the earliest period *Vimalakīrti* was taken as a model by those engaged in 'Pure Conversation' (*qīngtán* 清談) and the so-called Neo-Daoist 'Dark Learning' (*xuánxué* 玄學) movement. *Vimalakīrti* is a layman, and yet as such he demonstrates a level of awakening and Buddhist awareness which equals, if it does not indeed exceed, that of even the most wise of the bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī. More than a lay bodhisattva even, *Vimalakīrti* is a lay buddha. It is this *Vimalakīrti*, in (as tradition dating from the Tang has it) his ten-foot square hut, his *fāngzhàng* 方丈, who was taken as a model for Chinese non-monastic gentry Buddhists, particularly in Southern China, in the period between the fall of the Han and the reunification of China under the Sui. More than one interpreter would agree with the characterization that *Vimalakīrti*'s reinterpretation (§III.39-40) of renunciation as something that can take place through making the aspiration to unexcelled perfect awakening "is consistent with the larger theme of the lay Buddhist as capable of full enlightenment."⁵⁷ Yet, I want to ask what may seem a bizarre question: Is *Vimalakīrti* really a layman?⁵⁸

On the one hand, the answer is obvious. The text has two monks refer to him as an *upāsaka* (§III.36), a Buddhist lay follower, and although it immediately follows this with Upāli's "correction," the correction itself only reinforces *Vimalakīrti*'s status as an *upāsaka*. Upāli declares that *Vimalakīrti* should not be thought of as a householder, *gṛhastha*, because his eloquence and wisdom are equalled by no one except the Buddha. The point here is obviously that he is no *ordinary* householder, that to label him is to let language dictate reality. And this is made absolutely clear by the terms used for *Vimalakīrti* elsewhere. Without objection the sūtra has *Vimalakīrti* repeatedly hailed by monks (§§III.40, 43, 54 etc.), and even by a voice from the sky (§III.46), as a "householder," *gṛhapati*, so the text clearly has no objection to viewing him as a non-monk. (He is also referred to more than once as *satpuruṣa*, another term applied generally to lay followers.) So certainly *Vimalakīrti* is a householder, a layman. And it is this fact that has led many to see the sūtra as offering a redefinition of the renunciant state, one in which renunciation is an internal rather than an external matter.⁵⁹ But I would like to suggest that to stop here with this simple reading is to very seriously underestimate the authors of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Any reading of this profound and wonderful text tells the reader—indeed, yells at him—that its authors mean more than they seem to say on the surface. Their message is, however, in one paradoxical respect, crystal clear: words cannot convey the full scope and depth of the profound Dharma. The famous "thundering silence" of *Vimalakīrti* himself, the expression of his refusal to characterize the Absolute with words, is proof of this. The duality with which, and

⁵⁷. Whitehead 1978: 10.

⁵⁸. The importance of his status for some modern readers is clear. For Burton Watson, who translated the sūtra from Chinese, and who perhaps not coincidentally has worked extensively for the Soka Gakkai, a Japanese lay Buddhist group, *Vimalakīrti* "epitomizes the ideal lay believer" (Watson 1997: 1).

⁵⁹. This is both a modern and a pre-modern reading; see among many studies the ample discussions in Whitehead 1976: 288-302; 1978.

through which, we see the world, a duality imposed by language, is a false imposition onto the true nature of non-dual reality.

There are many who have clearly recognized the fact that although Vimalakīrti may be a layman, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is not advocating a “lay Buddhism” in the sense of a Buddhism which dismisses, denigrates or in any way challenges the primary importance of the monastic state.⁶⁰ As Richard Mather says of the traditional Chinese reception of the text:⁶¹

Obviously no statement in the sutra, however radical, was ever seriously felt to pose a threat to the institution of monasticism. The homeless bodhisattva and the householder-bodhisattva simply followed equal but separate vocations, and common sense dictated that no religion can long survive without a core of specialized professionals keeping the tradition alive and large number of devoted laymen supporting them.

Modern scholars have also often seen things in similar ways, although they have not always stated their ideas as clearly as we might have wished. Ōshika Jisshu, for instance, wrote the following:⁶²

The popular understanding of the main point of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as an embrace of lay Buddhism (*zaike bukkyō*) is off the mark. That is, the liberation spoken of in the subtitle of the scripture [namely, *acintyavimokṣa*]⁶³ is the liberation of beings from discriminatory view which entangles them in discriminating what is not to be discriminated, namely renunciant and lay, and so on. In order to liberate beings from the discrimination of human thinking to which they are attached, one must rely on a realm separate from the human realm, the inconceivable cut off from human thinking. This is why Vimalakīrti is not simply a layman from Vaiśālī, but a bodhisattva come from the Abhirati world of Akṣobhya. And this is why heavenly women suddenly appear in Vimalakīrti’s empty chamber.

Richard Mather in the conclusion of his above-cited essay wrote as follows:⁶⁴

Although its disparagement of the śrāvakas and exaltation of the layman Vimalakīrti might lead us to expect in the sūtra seeds of anticlericalism and secularization, both the intention and actual influence of the sūtra were, on the contrary, strongly supportive of the Saṅgha. The bodhisattva ideal which it championed so eloquently could be followed by householder or monk, each in his own way, without any necessity of opposing one another.

For Mather, then, Vimalakīrti is a layman, but the text is not an attack on the monastic institution. Others have been less willing to accept Vimalakīrti as a simple lay follower.

⁶⁰ It would appear, however, that Nakamura 1962: 3 did hold precisely this opinion. Earlier in a typologically similar reading, Hashimoto 1956: 189 viewed the text’s discussions of gender differences as a bold and direct criticism of the distinction between monks and nuns.

⁶¹ Mather 1968: 69-70. On this see also Whitehead 1976: 406. Mather’s final clause is, of course, quite problematic historically speaking: Judaism has managed to survive rather a long time while entirely free of “a core of specialized professionals keeping the tradition alive.”

⁶² Ōshika 1974: 186n5.

⁶³ On the variations of the subtitle of this text, see Lamotte 1976: liv-lv—JAS.

⁶⁴ Mather 1968: 73.

The Western Buddhist who styles himself Sangharakshita, for instance, wrote that Vimalakīrti is not a layman—he “appeared to be a layman, but that was only his skillful means. In reality he was an advanced Bodhisattva.”⁶⁵

Now, on one level we must of course agree with these scholars, and firmly reject the sūtra in its original intent as in any way anti-clerical or as representing an attack on the value of monasticism. But I believe we can go much farther than this. Most would agree that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is above all concerned with the resolution of dichotomies through the realization of their ultimate falsity in the light of emptiness. And although it is not directly reflected in any of the sūtra’s alternate titles,⁶⁶ it is clear that the doctrine of non-duality, *advaya*, is central to the text, being not only the subject of its eighth chapter but, according to my understanding, underlying the entire philosophical viewpoint of the sūtra as a whole.

Still, let us focus on one particular point. Ōshika and Sangharakshita believe, as have many before them, that although the sūtra clearly calls him a *gṛhapati* Vimalakīrti cannot be a real layman. Indeed, in a series of remarkable examples at the beginning of the second chapter the text tells us that while he seems to be, from his outward behavior, a layman, his inner understanding is that of a buddha, or so close to that of a buddha that there is hardly any difference. But here is where I think these scholars, from whose works we can learn so much, flinch. They decline, as I see it, to take the text and its authors completely seriously. But if we read the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as something like a Madhyamaka text—and there are many good reasons for doing so—we should be prepared to be startled, even shocked, our expectation of linear logic rudely overturned. After all, texts tamer than the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* warn us in so many words of the fear induced by hearing the teachings of *śūnyatā*. So, what happens if we take the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* completely seriously? What if we trust its authors to say what they mean?

Vimalakīrti, these authors tell us, is a layman. And yet, this lay follower is wiser than Mañjuśrī, the virtual embodiment of the bodhisattva’s wisdom and insight. Is this really possible? How, within the universe of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist thought—and rhetoric—could such a portrayal conceivably make sense? I believe it *is* possible and it *is* conceivable—but only in a very special way, namely, in the same way that it is possible for me to be me and you to be you, at the same time that both of us really, ultimately, truly have no self, that all phenomena are empty of persistent personal identity. Vimalakīrti is both a layman and wiser than the wise in the same way that both *anātman*, ‘non-self,’ is true and discrete personal identity is true. We each of us have some personal identity, and yet the true nature of the world is that nothing has intrinsic nature, *svabhāva*. This is a paradox, the mystery of the truth of emptiness. Yet it is only because emptiness prevails, as Nāgārjuna reminds us in his *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, that everything exists. It is only the empty, non-static nature of reality which permits dynamic existence. This is the

⁶⁵ Sangharakshita 1995: 57. There is no need to enter here into the (pseudo) question why a layman cannot be an advanced bodhisattva. Fussman 2009: 648, however, seems to take a similar stance, when he refers to §III.36, translating freely “ne croyez pas que ce soit un gṛhapati. Pourquoi? Il n’y a personne qui puisse mettre son éloquence en défaut, ni moine ni bodhisattva, excepté le/un *tathāgata*: telle est la lumière qu’apporte sa sapience,” to which Fussman comments: “En d’autres termes, Vimalakīrti est un *tathāgata*.”

⁶⁶ See Lamotte 1976: liv-lx, and in the sūtra §XII.23.

highest truth. Vimalakīrti is, then, a layman wiser than a monk, wiser even than Mañjuśrī,⁶⁷ in the same fashion that, as the text narrates, he is a married celibate with children and a harem, in the same manner that he is surrounded by a retinue yet alone in isolation, in the same manner that Śāriputra's body could become that of the Goddess and vice versa.⁶⁸

The narrative, dramatic and rhetorical force of casting the character of Vimalakīrti as a layman comes precisely from the apparently contradictory nature of this casting. Vimalakīrti is an effective spokesman for the principle of non-duality precisely because he himself *embodies* the idea of the paradoxical reality of impossibility. And this contradiction between seemingly incompatible states reveals a higher truth, just as does any other truth of conventional reality, such as that there are two realms, one of existence or *samsāra*, another of non-existence or *nirvāna*. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (as the Madhyamaka thought which so closely tracks its teachings)⁶⁹ makes clear that to really understand the true nature of reality we must transcend such seemingly ordinary dichotomous truths, seeing through the apparent impossibility to the profoundly non-dual, the only true reality, the 'really real.' And it is precisely the apparent paradox, the naive assumption of incommensurability, that holds the key to unlocking the standpoint of the authors of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.

No one disputes that there is some lay Buddhism in some Mahāyāna sūtra literature. But ironically, if I am right in detecting in the casting of Vimalakīrti as a layman wiser

⁶⁷ Mañjuśrī is of course generally perceived to be not exactly a monk (although in some texts he is a buddha who taught Śākyamuni!), but as far as I know, neither he is characterized as a layman with any of the terms such as *upāsaka* which are applied to Vimalakīrti. His most usual epithet is *kumārabhūta*, something like 'heir apparent'. For some his preeminence as the epitome of wisdom though not a monk may call into question some assumptions about the lay-monastic dichotomy, but in fact this very complex character has not yet been investigated sufficiently. Note, for instance, that according to Hirakawa 1970, 1995, at least for the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras *kumārabhūta* is used to refer to individuals in both lay and monastic states, and a number of other texts also portray Mañjuśrī in a fashion that strongly suggests he is indeed seen as a monk.

⁶⁸ As far as I know, potentially very interesting questions have not been asked about the doctrinal background of this episode of gender transformation and Śāriputra's depicted response. As shown by Bapat 1957 (and Sakuma 1991), change of gender is related in some cases to karma. Bapat cites examples of men becoming women due to transgressions, including the incident cited in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Wogihara 1936: 394.9-11, ad *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* IV.55ab, Pradhan 1975: 232.7-8), in which as a direct result (*dṛṣṭadharmaphala*) of the expression of criticism of the monastic community that "you are all women (*striyo yūyam*)," a monk immediately became physically female (*tasya dṛṣṭa eva dharme puruṣavyāñjanam antarhitam strīvyāñjanam ca prādurbhūtam*). If this background were to be relevant here (cf. Sakuma 1991: 631 who refers to this episode in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*), it is possible that Śāriputra is not responding to the goddess's 'playfulness' (I doubt this reading in any event) but to the implication that he is karmically deficient and that his gender is subject to demotion (for female is in Buddhist contexts universally inferior to male) due to his own failings. In this light one should remember, as I noted above, that the most probable intended audience of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was one of monks, who would have received such teachings from their own standpoint, steeped, as it were, in daily awareness of Vinaya regulations and rules of proper behavior.

⁶⁹ By using this expression I do not at all mean to reject the suggestion of Fussman 2009: 643 that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* "dans bien des cas ... semble illustrer ou résumer Nāgārjuna," to which Fussman adds, without further investigating the issue, "Mais la majeure partie des savants préfère considérer que c'est l'inverse: Nāgārjuna développe les thèses du [*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*]." In large part any discussion of influences such as this must rest on the dating of Nāgārjuna and of the sūtras in question. For the moment it remains unclear just when the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was composed; all we can say for certain is that it was available, in substantially the form we have it in various recensions, to Zhi Qian in the early third century. For Fussman's view see above note 29.

than monks and bodhisattvas a dramatic embodiment of the teaching of paradoxical non-duality, then we are forced to conclude that not only did the authors of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* not intend to advocate a lay Buddhism, on the contrary, they wrote in a context—which is to say, they belonged to a community—in which such an interpretation of the capacities of a lay person was quite literally unthinkable (*acintya*). In other words, if this hypothesis is sustainable, we are led to conclude that the original audience of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, just as its authors, would have imagined a lay person wiser than the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to be *as impossible* as a man and a woman spontaneously changing bodies, *as impossible* as 32,000 lion thrones being placed in a small room without shrinking the thrones or enlarging the room, and so on—namely, an absolute impossibility, something which simply *does not* happen in their world, and *cannot* happen, because it does not make sense, because it defies the “laws of nature.” This reading has the merit of placing the characterization of the protagonist Vimalakīrti on the same logical and rhetorical level as the remainder of the carefully crafted sūtra; it takes seriously the intentions of the text’s authors to convey their message in a sophisticated and multivalent fashion, and thereby demands of readers a corresponding appreciation of the rhetorical, narrative and dramatic sophistication of those authors active on every layer of their composition.

If this hypothesis is agreeably received, then whatever the value and legitimacy of the reading given to Vimalakīrti’s status as a role model for lay Buddhists in East Asia, such an understanding cannot but be seen as having been in complete and utter contradiction to the assumptions and expectations of the Indian authors of the text. Certainly we can understand the reasons which may have led the fourth and fifth century Chinese gentry advocates of “Pure Conversation” and Neo-Daoism to read the scripture as depicting Vimalakīrti as indeed a layman.⁷⁰ But the case remains that, if this hypothesis is upheld, as powerful and inspirational as their understanding was, it directly contradicted the intended spirit of the Indian scripture upon which it was based.

I hasten to insist that I do not intend to challenge the legitimacy of this Chinese reading. This is not a case comparable to naively missing the sarcasm of an intended remark or taking seriously what is meant as a joke, but rather one of being simply unable to appreciate a context so foreign to one’s own.⁷¹ Given their completely different environment, the Chinese were incapable of interpreting the sūtra in the fashion I suggest was intended by its authors.⁷² All innovation, and all evolution, in its turn, must by necessity involve a departure from the original upon which it is based. The incredibly powerful Mahāyāna visions of non-monastic Buddhism, so important in early Buddhist China and in Japan from medieval times, may owe some of their inspiration, according

^{70.} It is important to pay careful attention to the point stressed to me by Michael Radich (personal communication), namely that at least in earlier times in China, ordination was not well established, nor were large and visible monastic institutions. Thus the sharp contrast between lay and monastic that we assume to have existed in India would not have been a factor in the China of Zhi Qian. The possible reevaluation this insight calls for should be addressed by sinologists.

^{71.} I am not unaware that we modern interpreters are likewise probably guilty of such a myopia rather frequently.

^{72.} It is a conceptually related question, yet to be researched, how the Chinese received and understood other culturally embedded agendas in Indian Buddhist texts. What could they have made, for example, of the frequent harping on the status of brahmins, a class totally inexistent in China?

to this suggestion, to misunderstandings of Indian ideas. This, however, is not a cause for alarm. If anything, it is a reason for rejoicing in the discovery of an example of vital and creative religious imagination at work. I am most emphatically not arguing that the Chinese did not understand the sūtra. Rather, I would first acknowledge the problematization of the notion of one correct understanding (also in “the” Indian context), and second, and more interestingly, on the basis of this preliminary problematization, I would argue that a certain Indian understanding inherent, I believe, in the text in its Indian context(s) was not visible to Chinese readers because their own circumstances differed so considerably from those of the text’s Indian authors. There is no question here of correctness but of an extension of the natural and inevitable process of any reader appropriating something foreign in a new context.

This hypothesis could, of course, be wrong, and there are other possible explanations. Jay G. Williams, for example, sought to explain what he found “implausible” in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as humor.⁷³ Sketching the character of Vimalakīrti himself, and the antithetical nature of his outward appearance, he goes on: “What is even more unexpected—even implausible—is that none of the great *bhikṣus* or bodhisattvas so lauded in chapters one and two holds a spiritual candle to our lay hero.”⁷⁴ He likewise finds the refusals of the disciples and bodhisattvas to visit Vimalakīrti laugh-provoking: “the notion that the great Śāriputra would hesitate to call upon a mere layman is preposterous, by definition. ... Such protestations are ludicrous enough, coming as they do from the holiest of the holy arhats....” The conclusion seems clear to Williams: “If the comic incongruity of a layman lecturing to one of the great bodhisattvas does not draw a smile, certainly what he teaches ought to produce, at the very least, a smile.”⁷⁵ The spiritual intent of the scripture is not in question, but the resolution, Williams believes, is that it is intended to be humorous.⁷⁶

The ultimate intent of the sutra is surely serious, of that there can be little doubt, but that seriousness is cloaked in a garment of laughter, as a divine comedy. ... The philosophy of the sutra is one of complete paradox. ... old distinctions between good and evil, secular and sacred, samsāra and nirvana, enlightenment and ignorance are exploded. Because this is so, it is no longer possible legitimately to tell stories in which monks are better than laymen or the sacred is better than the secular. Vimalakīrti is himself the message, for in him all distinctions are overcome. ... What prevents the sutra from becoming a counsel of despair is that ever-present comic sense of incongruity.

It is true that it is very difficult to detect humor in other cultural contexts, and likewise to say with assurance what is not intended to be funny. Still, while not denying that there may be (intentional) humor in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, I find this overall reading of the text unlikely and, to a great extent, pointless. For what is gained by the authors of the text if they resolve its tensions through laughter? How could this promote any possible

⁷³ This point was already made by Mather 1968: 62, who speaks of “Śāriputra, whose pedestrian remarks are the target of many a good-natured jibe and create frequent situations of humor throughout the sutra, a fact which undoubtedly enhanced its charms in the eyes of the Chinese.”

⁷⁴ Williams 1990: 91.

⁷⁵ Williams 1990: 92.

⁷⁶ Williams 1990: 94.

agenda, save perhaps that of garnering attention for the text as an entertainment? Once that attention has been captured, however, one would certainly expect the authors to have done something additional with it. That they did not, as far as we can tell, argues against this reading. In other words, Williams's reading seems to me to be both intellectually and rhetorically impoverished. It sees the text as little more than a satire. I cannot prove that this is wrong, but I find it a profoundly unsatisfying and flat approach to a text that is anything but flat and uninteresting.

Another possibility, as some colleagues have suggested, is that the sūtra was indeed written to promote lay Buddhism. This would not necessarily require it to have been written by a lay author, something I consider to be a near impossibility; the text demonstrates through and through, as do most Mahāyāna sūtras, a comprehensive familiarity with Buddhist scholasticism. Everything we (think we) know about Indian Buddhism suggests that lay people did not have access to such knowledge. Of course, once again, this may be wrong. Maybe the text was written by a lay person to promote lay Buddhism. Or maybe it was written by a monk to promote lay Buddhism and demote the special status of the monk. But then, why? Such possibilities seem to me, when all is said and done, at the very least uninspiring. Moreover, they are not coherent, in that they demand a strict divide between the inner logic of the text itself and its message. For so much about the text—from its occasional skilled verses (e.g. §I.3) to its crafty playing with Sanskrit grammar⁷⁷—bespeaks a thoughtful authorship, an authorship more than capable of irony, sarcasm and literary panache. In fact, it is not too much to claim a sort of literary mastery for the text's authors. I am convinced, therefore, that the text was composed by monks intent on a profound message, a message they presented with utmost subtlety and flair, one in which the very casting of the main character is meant to undermine naive and unquestioned assumptions about the very nature of reality and liberation, and one in which paradox and the confusion of expectations work together simultaneously through many levels.

This said, it would be too simple to assume that the intentions of the authors have been exhausted by this approach to their work. What, we should wonder, was the purpose of the text's scornful rejection, as I read it, of mere inner transformation as a substitute for outer conformity? For if the text is telling us not to take *Vimalakīrti* at face value, it is also telling us not to believe in the sanctity of a man with a harem who proclaims his chastity. To understand this, I believe that we must read the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in the context of other Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā*, *Ratnarāśi* and others, tracts which work so hard at stressing the centrality of orthopraxy within a Mahāyāna ideological frame. Like so many other earlier Mahāyāna sūtras, when examined closely the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* too comes to look more and more like an extremely conservative, even reactionary, work. If my placement of the sūtra in this respect is correct, it comes out of a world in which the layman was so far removed from the monk that a suggestion of his spiritual superiority is on a par with the suggestion of the spiritual superiority of a woman, namely, unthinkable and absurd. That the likelihood of this reading has not suggested itself to modern audiences is likely due to the ways in which we moderns have (re)constructed Mahāyāna Buddhist ideology,

⁷⁷ As pointed out by Fussman 2009: 647.

especially under the strong influence of Japanese sectarianism. It goes without saying, however, that as historians or as literary critics, we have a duty to try to understand how a work was intended, and to appreciate its potential rhetorical power within that intentional universe.

That the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* owes some of its popularity, both classical and modern, to its presentation of the awakened Vimalakīrti as a paradoxically embodied layman seems to me obvious. Would not it be most delicious if we could conclude that this very reading, as potent and creative as it is, is, in fact, from a historical point of view, on a number of levels a mis-reading, yet another irony to add to the myriad already woven into the fabric of the scripture itself?

Appendix I:
A Source for The Character of Vimalakīrti?

The Saṃyutta-Nikāya of the Pāli canon contains a section of ten suttas titled Citta-samyutta,⁷⁸ these being discourses involving the layman Citta, Sanskrit Citra, Chinese Zhìduō 質多羅. This layman Citta is named by the Buddha the chief of those lay disciples who preach the Teaching.⁷⁹ In the *Ekottārikāgama* he is rather termed the first among the wise,⁸⁰ and in the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論, a commentary on the *Ekottārikāgama*, the first among householders.⁸¹ The name Citra is confirmed in a Sanskrit fragment to which corresponds Chinese Zhìdìlì 質帝隸居士,⁸² and in a sūtra of the Saṃyuktāgama preserved partially in Sanskrit, in which we find *c(i)trḥṛpatyaḥ* corresponding to 衆多長者婦女, and hence understood by the editors of the fragment to represent *Citra-gṛhapati-paṭyaḥ*.⁸³ This appears to be the only instance of the transcription Zhòngduō 衆多. The name Citra gṛhapati also appears in Sanskrit a number of times in the Paṇḍulohitakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya.⁸⁴

The portrayal of the householder Citta is remarkable.⁸⁵ In the first of the Saṃyutta-Nikāya suttas he educates a group of monks on the correct understanding of ‘fetter,’ *saññojana*; in the end the monks praise him saying “your eye of wisdom ranges over the profound word of the Buddha.”⁸⁶ In the second sutta, Citta asks a respected elder (*āyasmā therā*) for clarification regarding what the Buddha meant when he spoke about *dhātunānatta*, diversity of elements. “Being so addressed, the reverend elder was silent.”⁸⁷ This is repeated thrice. Finally, the most junior monk, Isidatta is able to answer the question. In the next sutta, the same response of silence is offered when Citta asks about questions such as whether the world is eternal or not, whether life and body (*jīva* and *sarīra*) are the same or different, and so on. (The Chinese says that the monks were silent and did not answer; asked thus three times, they again three times were silent).⁸⁸ In

⁷⁸. Feer 1894: IV.VII (41).

⁷⁹. In the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Morris 1885: i.26,5 (I.xiv.6): *etad aggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakanāṃ upāsakānaṃ paṭhamāṃ saraṇāṃ gacchantānaṃ ... dhammakathikānaṃ yad idaṃ citto gahapati macchikasaṇḍiko*.

⁸⁰. T. 125 [6.1] (II) 559c10: 第一智慧, 質多長者是。

⁸¹. T. 1507 (XXV) 42c17-20: 出家第一. Here he is referred to as Zhìduō 質多, perhaps suggestive of a Middle Indic form of the name, akin to Pāli Citta rather than Sanskrit Citra, but also possibly an example of the common phenomenon of truncation of a final syllable in Chinese transcriptions.

⁸². Lévi 1932: 8, line 9 of the transcribed manuscript, *citrasya gṛhapa///*, Chinese T. 1425 (XXII) 425c23.

⁸³. T. 99 [1215] (II) 331b13, Sanskrit in Sander and Waldschmidt 1985: 137, 1140 v5, with note 29, and see Enomoto 1994: 45.

⁸⁴. See the index in Yamagiwa 2001. Here it is rendered in Tibetan by *khyim bdag nag pa*, a curious translation. The connection is clear however in the *Karmaśataka* (Derge 340, *mdo sde a* 18b1), where the Buddha speaks of the past life of an individual known as *nag pa glang chen gnas* (15b7; Feer 1901: 436ff. gives for this Citranāgadeśa) who in his past life is called *khyim bdag nag pa*; this individual is named after the Citra which is the 12th (or 14th) lunar mansion, under which he was born.

⁸⁵. The only discussion I know of the connection with Vimalakīrti is that of Watanabe 1940, but Nakamura Hajime 中村元 (1962: 2-3) has also mentioned the same point. Despite the title of Alsdorf 1957, it does not deal with questions of relevance here.

⁸⁶. Feer 1894: 283,18-19: *te gambhīre buddhavacane paññācakkhu kamati*.

⁸⁷. Feer 1894: 284,15: *evaṃ vutta āyasmā therō tuñhi ahoṣi*; T. 99 [569] (II) 150c20-21: 時諸上座默然而住。

⁸⁸. T. 99 [570] (II) 151a14-15: 時諸上座默然不答。如是三問, 亦三默然。

the fifth sutta Citta is made to give an elaborate exegesis on a riddle verse, at the conclusion of which the monk Kāmabhū praises him as he is praised in the first sutta, namely as one whose eye of wisdom ranges over the profound word of the Buddha.⁸⁹ The seventh sutta also sees Citta offering an elaborate preaching to a monk, this centered on liberation of mind (*cetovimutti*), after which Citta is praised in the same terms as before. In the eighth sutta, Citta encounters the Jaina Nigaṇṭha Nātaputa, and demonstrates his cutting intellect, angering the Jaina, whom he tricks. In the ninth, Citta proclaims the superiority of the Buddhist path over that of the Jainas, and avows his own attainments, saying that if he were to die before the Buddha it would not be at all strange were the Buddha to predict of him that: “there is no fetter by which the householder Citta is connected which would draw him again to this world.”⁹⁰ In other words, the Buddha would predict him, he says, as a non-returner. The tenth sutta is notable for its setting, portraying as it does Citta as ill on his death-bed.⁹¹ After rejecting the idea that he should aspire to the state of universal emperorship, as advised by the deities of the grove, Citta exhorts them to abandon all impermanent goals, aiming rather toward informed faith (*aveccapasāda*) in the three jewels. Having offered these words, Citta dies.

Another passage of great interest occurs in the Pāli Vinaya,⁹² narrating the encounter between the householder Citta and the monk Sudhamma. Citta frequently invited monks for meals, always asking the venerable Sudhamma for his consent. Once, however, encountering Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallāna, Mahākaccana, Mahākoṭṭhita, Mahākappina, Mahācunda, Anuruddha, Revata, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula, he invited them without first having asked Sudhamma. Later, when he did ask, Sudhamma refused his permission repeatedly. In the end, Sudhamma also arrived at the appointed meal, but then complained of the absence of sesame cakes. Citta tells Sudhamma an odd little tale that the commentary interprets to mean that Sudhamma’s request is befitting neither to a monk nor to a layman.⁹³ The monk is offended, and accuses Citta of reviling him, which Citta denies, suggesting that Sudhamma consult the Buddha. This duly takes place, and the Buddha backs Citta, ordering (through formal monastic procedure) that Sudhamma go and apologize to Citta. This story is repeated in somewhat simplified terms (but elaborated in other directions as well) in the commentary to the *Dhammapada* VI.14.⁹⁴ In this version, when Citta comes to visit the Buddha a rain of celestial flowers falls from the sky. The wealth of Citta, and that bestowed upon him by adoring admirers, are also strongly stressed.

Although with materials now at hand we cannot prove any direct connection, it is not at all difficult to imagine that this portrayal of Citra inspired the author of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* to create the character Vimalakīrti, a wealthy layman whose wisdom nevertheless surpassed that of monks, even great ones, and who took the opportunity of his illness to preach the true meaning of the doctrine of momentariness and impermanence.

⁸⁹ The same in Chinese, T. 99 [566] (II) 149c2-3: 汝得善利, 於此甚深佛法, 賢聖慧眼得入.

⁹⁰ Feer 1894: 301,21-23: *natthi taṃ saññojanaṃ yena saññojanena saṃyutto citto gahapati puna imaṃ lokam āgaccheyya*; cp. T. 99 [573] (II) 152b11-14.

⁹¹ Feer 1894: .302,20-21: *tena kho pana samayena citto gahapati ābādhiko hoti dukkhito bāḥagilāno*.

⁹² Cullavagga I.18; Oldenber 1880: ii.15-18.

⁹³ Horner 1952: 24n3.

⁹⁴ See Burlingame 1921: II. 144-149.

Appendix II:
Sources Texts

I)

Candrottārādārikā-vyākaraṇa: Derge Kanjur 191, *mdo sde, tsa* 236a6-b2:

de nas 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pas bu mo zla mchog la 'di skad ces smras so || bu mo khyod gang nas shi 'phos te 'dir 'ongs | 'di nas shi 'phos nas ni gang du 'gro bar 'gyur |

bu mo smras pa | 'jam dpal 'di ji snyam du dgongs | gang bdag gi sug pa g.yas pa na de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku pad ma la bzhugs pa 'di gang nas shi 'phos te 'dir byon la | 'di nas shi 'phos nas ni gang du skye bar 'gyur snyam |

'jam dpal gyis smras pa | bu mo 'di ni sprul pa ste sprul pa la ni 'chi 'pho yang med la ske ba yang med do ||

bu mo smras pa | 'jam dpal bdag gis kyang de bzhin du sprul pa'i rang bzhin gyi chos thams cad la gang 'chi 'pho ba'am skye ba de ma mthong lags so ||

T. 480 (XIV) 620b1-8 (*juan xia*) 佛說月上女經

爾時，童子文殊師利告月上女作如是言：汝於往昔從何捨身，而來生此。當捨此身復生何處。

其女答言：文殊師利，於意云何。我今所執如來形像坐蓮華者，從何捨身而來生此。今捨此身當生何處。

文殊師利復言月上：此是化耳。夫言化者，無處捨身，後亦無生。

其女報言：如是，如是。文殊師利，一切諸法本體是化。我於彼法不見捨時，不見生時。

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa: VI.16:

āha: itas tvan devate cyutā kutropapatsyase |

āha: yatraiva tathāgatanirmīta upapatsyate, tatraivāham upapatsyate |

āha: tathāgatanirmītasya na cyutir nopapattiḥ |

āha: evam eva sarvadharmāṇām na cyutir nopapattiḥ |

T. 475 (XIV) 548c9-12 維摩詰所說經：

舍利弗問天：汝於此沒當生何所。

天曰：佛化所生，吾如彼生。

曰：佛化所生，非沒生也。

天曰：衆生猶然，無沒生也。

Compare *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: XI.2:

athāyusmāñ śāriputro vimalakīrtiṃ licchavim etad avocat: kutas tvaṃ kulaputra cyutvehopapannaḥ |

vimalakīrtir āha: yaḥ sthavireṇa dharmāḥ sākṣātkṛtaḥ, kaccit tasya dharmasya cyutir upapattir vā |

āha: na tasya dharmasya kācic cyutir upapattir vā |

āha: evam acyutikānām anutpattikānām bhadantaśāriputra sarvadharmāṇām kutas tavaivaṃ bhavati — kutas tvaṃ cyutvehopapanna iti | yaṃ bhadantaśāriputra nirmītam striyaṃ puruṣaṃ vā pṛccheḥ — kutas tvaṃ cyutvehopapanna iti , sa kiṃ vyākuryāt |

āha: na kulaputra nirmītasya cyutir nopapattiḥ, sa kiṃ vyākariṣyati |

āha: nanu bhadantaśāriputra nirmītasvabhāvāḥ sarvadharmāḥ tathāgatena nirdiṣṭāḥ |

āha: evam etat kulaputra |

āha: nirmītasvabhāveṣu bhadantaśāriputra sarvadharmeṣu — kutas tvaṃ cyutvehopapanna iti | cyutir iti bhadantaśāriputra abhisaṃskāraḥ kṣaṇalakṣaṇapadam etat | upapattir ity abhisaṃskāraprabandha eṣaḥ | tatra bodhisatvaḥ cyavate, na kuśalamūlābhisaṃskāraṃ kṣapayati | upapadyate ca, na cākuśalaṃ prabadhnāti |

The Venerable Śāriputra spoke to the Licchavi Vimalakīrti as follows: “Where did you die that you were reborn here?”

Vimalakīrti said: “Is there any death or rebirth of a phenomenon realized by the Elder?”

[Śāriputra] said: “There is no death or rebirth of that phenomenon.”

[Vimalakīrti] said: “It being the case, Reverend Śāriputra, that all phenomena are free of death and rebirth, why does it occur to you [to ask]: ‘Where did you die that you were reborn here?’? If, Reverend Śāriputra, an illusorily created woman or man were asked ‘Where did you die that you were reborn here?’ what should he reply?”

[Śāriputra] said: “Gentle Sir, an illusory creation has no death or rebirth; what will he answer?”

[Vimalakīrti] said: “Has not the Tathāgata taught, Reverend Śāriputra, that all phenomena have the intrinsic nature of an illusory creation?”

[Śāriputra] said: “Just so, Gentle Sir.”

[Vimalakīrti] said: “It being the case, Reverend Śāriputra, that all phenomena have the intrinsic nature of an illusory creation, [when you ask me] ‘Where did you die that you were reborn here?’ this [word] ‘death’ has as its characteristic mark the cessation of activity; this [word] ‘rebirth’ [indicates] continuity of activity. When a bodhisattva dies, the activity of his roots of good does not cease, and when he is reborn, his unwholesome [karmic seeds] do not continue.”

II)

Candrottarādārikā-vyākaraṇa: Derge Kanjur 191, *mdo sde, tsa* 236a7-b1:

de nas byang chub sems dpa' byams pas bu mo zla mchog la 'di skad ces smras so || bu mo khyod yun ji srid cig gis bla la med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar 'gyur |

bu mo smras pa | yun ji srid cig gis byang chub sems dpa' byams pa so so'i skyes bo'i sa las 'da' bar 'gyur zhing sangs rgyas kyi sa las kyang 'da' bar 'gyur ba de srid kyi lags so ||

T. 480 (XIV) 620c15-17 (*juan xia*)

爾時，彌勒菩薩告彼女言：汝於何時當得成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。

其女答言：亦如彌勒菩薩何時得超凡夫行地。

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa: VI.16:

āha: kiyaccireṇa punar devate bodhim abhisambhotsyase |

āha: yadā sthaviṛaḥ pṛthagjanadharmmasamanvāgato bhaviṣyati, tadāhaṃ bodhim abhisambhotsye |

T. 475 (XIV) 548c12-15:

舍利弗問天：汝久如當得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。

天曰：如舍利弗還為凡夫，我乃當成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。

III)

Vimaladatta-paripṛcchā: Peking Kanjur 760 (33), *dkon brtsegs, zi* 273a3-6:

de nas tshe dang ldan pa mo'u dgal gyi bu chen pos | byang chub sems dpa' dri ma med kyi byin pa la 'di skad ces smras so || rigs kyi bu khyod de ltar yun ring du bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi phyir spyod spyod na | ci'i phyir khyod kyi de'i tshe | bud med kyi dngos po ma bsgyur |

byang chub sems dpa' dri ma med pas byin pas smras pa | gnas brtan mo'u dgal gyi bu chen po ni rdzu 'phrul dang ldan pa rnam kyi mchog tu bstan pa yin || btsun pa khyod ci'i phyir skyes pa'i lus las ma sgyur |

gnas brtan mo'u dgal gyi bu chen po cang mi smra bar gyur to ||

T. 310 (33) XI) 563c2-9 無垢施菩薩應辯會：

爾時，大德目連謂無垢施菩薩言：善男子，汝已久發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心。何以不轉女人身也。

無垢施菩薩答目連言：世尊記大德於神足人中最為第一。何為不轉男子身也。

大德目連即便默然。

無垢施菩薩謂大德目連言：亦不以女身得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。亦不以男身得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。所以者何。菩提無生，是以不可得。

See also T. 339 (XII) 106b10-16; T. 338 (XII) 96c22-28.

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A Sanskrit folio of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* newly found in Tibet

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The Sanskrit folio of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* presented here is found in the manuscript images preserved in the China Tibetology Research Center (中国藏学研究中心, Sang De Cat. No. 91, [12]). The folio was in a bundle of miscellaneous leaves recorded in Luo Zhao's catalogue of the manuscripts preserved at the Potala Palace (Luo 1985, 162, No. 49, [12]). Judging from its shape and the script used, it is likely that this folio once belonged to the same manuscript of which another stripped folio was found in the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library (中国民族图书馆, CEL, No. 17). This stripped folio was previously published by Ye Shaoyong (2013).

This newly found folio is made of palm-leaf and its size is unknown. Unlike the folio in CEL, whose right end is broken, this folio is complete in shape. The folio number written in the left end margin is unclear (18 or 19?).

This folio contains Candrakīrti's *Vṛtti* on vv. 25-27 of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, in which the Sanskrit original of these three verses is recovered for the first time.¹ Judging by the contents, there should have been one folio following this newly found folio and preceding the CEL one, which includes Candrakīrti's commentary on vv. 30-34.

Critical transliterations collated with the Tibetan translation are provided here. The Tibetan text follows the critical edition by Scherrer-Schaub (1991), checked against Loizzo et al. 2007.

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¹ Li and Ye are currently preparing editions of the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikārikā*. So far more than half of the verses in Sanskrit are recovered from the quotations of some new Sanskrit materials, such as the *Munimatālaṃkāra* and the *Madhyamakāvātāra*.

r1 (anityaṃ moṣadharmāṇaṃ
muktaṃ) ṽśūnyam anātmakaṃ |
viviktam iti paśyaṃti
bhāvam bhāvavicakṣaṇoḥ¹ || (25)

bhavatīti bhāva iti saṃskṛtaṃ bhāva-
śabdenocya[te] | ○ sa cāyaṃ bhāvaḥ
pratikṣaṇavinaśvaratvād anityaḥ | niḥ-
svabhāvam eva ca bhāvajātaṃ yasmāt
sasvabhāvatvena khyāti bālāṆnām
r3 [t]as[m]ān māyādivad visamvādatvāt*
sa eva bhāvo moṣadharmā | cirāva-
sthānasāma[r]thya[v]iraha[h] prakṛtidur-
balatvena suktaḥ² | svabhāva- rahitavāc
chūṆnyāḥ | ātmaśūnyatvād
anātmakaḥ | ³bhāvo hi dṛśyamāṇaḥ
karma bhavatīti | tadviśeṣaṇāny api
karma bhavantīti karmaṀtvena
nirdīśati | ³ anityam ityādi | anena ca
r3 bhāvasya svarūpaṃ v{a}yākhyātaṃ | tad
amum bhāvam evaṃ vipaśyanto
vicakṣaṇās te viviktam iti paśyanti |
viviktaṃ śūnyam ucyate | taṀthā hi
janarahitāny arāṇyāni viviktāny
ucyante | vivekahitavāt* | evam ihāpi
yogino bhāvaṃ viviktam iṀti
paśyantīti śūnyam iti paśyantīti yāvat* |
na ca te sadbhūtapadā[r]thāpavādād
r4 vivikta[m] ṽpaśyanti | kiṃ tu śūnyam eva
santaṃ bhāvam śūnyam paśyanti <ṽ
śūnyam eva ca dyotayitum
anivādiviśeṣaṇopādānaṃ⁴ ○ |

¹ Read °vicakṣaṇāḥ. This Sanskrit verse is
quoted in the *Munimatālamkāra*. cf. Li and Ye
forthcoming. ² Read muktaḥ.

³ Not translated in Tib. ⁴ Read anityādi°.

D no. 3864, dBu ma, Ya 17b7

P. no. 5265, dBu ma, Ya 20a6

ḍngos la mkhas pa rnams kyis ni |
ṽḍngos po mi rtag bslu¹ ba'i chos || D18a1
gsog dang stong pa bdag med pa ||
rnam par dben par rab tu mthong ||
(25)

byung bas ḍngos po zhes bya ste |
ḍngos po zhes bya ba'i sgra ni 'dus
byas² la bya'o || ḍngos po de yang skad
cig re re la 'jig pa'i ngang can ṽyin pas D18a2
mi rtag pa'o || ḍngos po'i rang bzhin ni
ngo bo nyid med pa yin na gang gi³
phyir byis pa rnams la ngo bo nyid yod
par snang ba de'i phyir sgyu ma la sogs
pa bzhin du bslu⁴ bas na ṽḍngos po de P20b1
nyid bslu⁵ ba'i chos so || ring du gnas
pa'i mthu med la⁶ rang bzhin gyis
nyam⁷ chung bas ṽgsog⁸ go || ngo bo D18a3
nyid med pa'i phyir stong pa'o || bdag
gis stong pa'i phyir bdag med pa ste |
r3 mi rtag pa la sogs pas ḍngos po'i rang⁹
gi ngo bo bsnyad do || de bas na ḍngos
po 'di de ltar mthong bas mkhas pa de
dag gis dben par mthong ngo ||
dben zhes bya ba ni ṽstong pa'o || de D18a4
ltar na dben pa dang¹⁰ mthun pa'i phyir
skye ba med pa'i dgon pa rnams la
dben pa zhes bya ste | de bzhin du 'dir
yang rnal 'byor pas ḍngos po dben par
mthong zhes bya ba ni stong par
mthong ba'i bar la bya'o || de dag
ḍngos po nyid skur te dben par mthong
ba¹¹ ma yin gyi | ṽḍngos po stong par D18a5
gyur pa la stong par mthong ngo ||
stong pa nyid ¹²bstan pa'i¹² phyir mi
rtag pa la sogs pa bye brag rnams smos
so ||

¹ DC slu. ² DC pa. ³ PN gis. ^{4,5} DC slu.

⁶ C pa. ⁷ P nyams. ⁸ PN bsog. ⁹ PN, Scherrer-
Schaub 1991 ngang gang. ¹⁰ DC om. ¹¹ PN,
Scherrer-Schaub 1991 add ni mthong ba. ¹² C
bsar ba'i.

atha vā nirmalaṃ viviktaṃ <|> tathā hi
pṛthagjanāḥ prakṛtipariśuddham api
bhāvaṃ svakalpanān malīmalinaṃ¹
viparītaṃ praṭtipa[d]yante naivam
āryāḥ | te tv abhūtā<na>dhyāropād
viviktaṃ iti | nirmalam eveti paśyanti |

r5 atha vā vyutthitā api tatvajñānād āryā
bhāvaṃ paśyant[ī] viviktaṃ iti
paśyantīty arthaḥ |

na ca kevalam āryā eva
pariniṣṭhī<ta>kāryā evaṃ paśyanti | api
khalv ācāryo 'pi svajñānāpekṣayā
²sayuktiḥ kāryā[ḥ]² dharmatāyāḥ pra-
tyā<tmā>dhigamane<na> svasamvedya-
tāyāveda[y]an³ samupajātadharmatā-
bahumāna āha |

r6 **apraṭiṣṭham ānālamba<ṃ>⁴**
nirmūlam anavāsthitaṃ |
avidyābījasā[mbh]ūtā⁵
ādimadhyāntavarjitaṃ* || (26)

kadalīgarbhaniṣā{{rārandha}}raṃ
gandharvanagaro<pa>maṃ |
sammoha{ṃ}nagaraṃ ghoram
jagan māyeva dr̥ṣyate || (27)

praṭiṣṭhanty asminn iti praṭiṣṭhā ādhārah
| avasthānāhetu<ḥ> pṛthivīva sasyānām
<|> nāsya praṭiṣṭhāstīty **apraṭiṣṭham*** |

¹ Read *malīmasaṃ* (= Tib. *dri mas sbags pa*).

² Read *sayuktikāyāḥ* (= Tib. *rigs pa dang bcas pa'i*). ³ Read *svasamvedyatām āvedayan*.

⁴ Read *anālambaṃ*. ⁵ Read *°sambhūtam*. See v4.

yang na dben pa ni dri ma med pa yin
na 'di ltar so so'i skye bo rnam phyin
ci log tu gyur pa rang bzhin gyis yongs
su dag pa'i dngos po yang rang gi¹ D18a6
rtog pa'i dri mas sbags pa'i phyir
phyin ci log tu khong du chud kyi |
'phags pa rnam ni de lta ma yin te | de
dag ni med pa la sgro mi 'dogs par
dben par dri ma med pa nyid du gzigs
so ||

yang na 'phags pa rnam de kho na'i
ye shes las bzhengs nas dngos po la¹ D18a7
gzigs na dben par gzigs so zhes bya
ba'i tha tshig go ||

'phags pa mdzad pa mthar phyin pa
nyi tshes 'di ltar gzigs par yang ma zad
de | slob dpon yang rang gi shes pa la
brten nas | rigs¹ pa dang bcas pa'i chos
nyid rab tu rtogs pas chos nyid la gces¹ D18b1
par 'dzin pa yang dag par skyes te |
rang gis rigs² pa ston pa na ||

gnas med dmigs pa yod ma yin ||
rtsa ba med cing gnas pa med ||
ma rig rgyu las³ shin tu byung ||
thog ma dbus ' mtha' rnam par P21a1
spangs || (26)

chu shing bzhin du snying po med ||
dri za'i grong⁴ khyer 'dra ba ste || D18b2
rmongs pa'i grong khyer mi bzad⁵
pa ||
'gro ba sgyu ma bzhin du snang ||
(27)

zhes bya ba smos so ||
'di la brten pas ⁶gnas te⁶ | lo tog rnam
kyi rgyur gyur pa || sa gzhi bzhin du
gzhi byed pa'o || 'di'i gnas med pas
gnas med

¹ PN *rig*. ² PNDC *rigs*; read *rig?* Cf. Skt. *samvedyatā-*. ³ PN *la*. ⁴ N *drong*. ⁵ PN *zad*.

⁶ PN *gnas pa ste*.

<p>v1 [ā]lambata ity ālambaṃ < > danḍa ivotthāt(u)m aśa[ktā]nām apy utthito nāsyālambanam ast[ī]ti < > mūlaṃ pradhānaṃ kāraṇaṃ tac cotpādasthiti- vṛddhihetus tatprabhāvānām* tadyathā vṛṅkṣānām mūlāni < > ¹nirgataṃ mūlam asyeti nirmūlaṃ¹ < > sthity- abhāvād anavasthitaṃ anena cāśrayālambanotpattikāraṇasthiṅ- abhāvena jagato 'siddhim evodbhāvayati etad dhi bhāvānām siddhikāraṇaṃ tat tu nāsti jagata i[ty v2 ato] (mithyā) ²jagat* </p> <p>tatrāśrayaḥ ṣaḍāyatanam ālambaṃ sarvadharmā yathāsambhavam mūlaṃ hetupratyay[o] bījadharmayogena < > tiṅṣṭhaty anayeti ²sthitī āyotpanna- syāvasthānāt*² < > sarveṣāṃ ca pratīya- samutpannatvāt svabhāvenāsatvaṃ uktaṃ hi pūrvam* ○</p> <p>tat tat prāpya yad utpannaṃ notpannaṃ tat svabhāva<ta> (19ab) iti tad evaṃ pratiṣṭhādirahitasya jagato na v3 yuktaṃ v(i)dyamā[na]tvam tad ³- ya{{dye}}d evam³ jagan nāsti kathaṃ tarhy asya svarūpaṃ citrākāraṃ upalabhyate naiva hy āryā vicitrākāraṃ jagad uṅpalabhante śūnyataikarasam eva hi jagat teṣāṃ < > na ca śūnyatāyām vaicitryam asti </p> <p>tasmād avidyānidrāvipaṅryastā bālā avyutthitasvapnāvasthā ivaitad vicitram upalabhanta iti pratipādayann āha </p>	<p>pa'o brten par bya bas dmigs¹ pa ste D18b3 ldang mi nus pa rnams ldang bar byed pa'i 'khar¹ ba bzhin no 'di'i dmigs pa yod pa ma yin no rtsa ba ni rgyu'i gtso bo ste de yang de las 'byung ba rnams kyi skye ba dang 'das pa dang 'phel ba'i rgyu ste dper na shing rnams kyi rtsa ba lta bu'o gnas pa yod² pa ma yin pas gnas pa med pa'o D18b4 gnas² dang dmigs pa dang skye ba'i rgyu dang gnas pa med pa 'dis 'gro ba ma grub pa nyid du brjod do de dag ni dngos po rnams 'grub pa'i rgyu yin na de dag kyang 'gro ba la³ med pas de'i phyir 'gro ba ni log pa'o de la gnas³ ni skye mched drug go D18b5 dmigs pa ni chos thams cad de mthun mthun⁴ du sbyar ro rtsa ba ni sa bon gyi chos kyi tshul gyis rgyu'i rkyen to 'dis gnas par byed pas gnas pa ste des skyes⁵ pa gnas pa'i phyir ro de dag thams cad ni rten cing 'brel par 'byung bas ngo bo⁶ nyid med de D18b6 de dang de brten gang byung ba rang gi dngos por de ma skyes (19ab)</p> <p>zhes gong du bstan pa yin no de'i phyir gnas la sogs pa dang bral ba'i 'gro ba ni yod par mi rung ngo gal te de ltar 'gro ba med na ji ltar de'i rang gi ngo bo rnam pa sna tshogs su dmigs ⁶zhe na⁶ 'phags pa rnams ni 'gro ba D18b6 rnam pa sna tshogs su mi⁷ dmigs te de dag la 'gro ba stong pa nyid du ro gcig pas stong pa nyid la rnam pa sna tshogs yod pa ma yin no de bas na byis pa ma rig pa'i gnyid⁸ kyis log pa phyin ci log tu gyur pa dag P21b1 ni⁹ ma sad de rmi lam rmi⁹ ba bzhin D19a1 du sna tshogs su dmigs par bstan pa'i phyir </p>
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¹ Not translated in Tib.

² Read *sthitīs tayotpanna*°.

³ Read *yady evam* (= Tib. *gal te de ltar*).

¹ NDC 'khor. ² DC *gnas pa*. ³ DC om.

⁴ PN om. ⁵ C *stes*. ⁶ PN om. ⁷ P *ma*.

⁸ N *gnyis*. ⁹ PN *smi*.

<p>v4 avidyāb(īja)ṣaṃbhūtaṃ (26c) [i]ti </p> <p>svābhāvikyāḥ siddher abhāvāt* avidyāsadbhāvabhāvitvāc ca avidyā- {{hetu}}bījahetutvam eva dhruṠvan¹ jagato niścīyate na svabhāvasiddhiḥ yathā ca svābhāvikī siddhir nāsti tathā pratipādayann āha ādimaṠdhyānta- varjitatvād utpādasthitibhaṃgarahitavād it[y] arthaḥ itaś cāvidyābīja[vaśā]t saṃbhūtaṃ yasmā[t*]</p>	<p>ma rig rgyu las shin tu byung (26c)</p> <p>zhes bya ba smos te ngo bo nyid kyis grub pa med pa dang ma rig pa yod pas 'gro ba ngo bo nyid kyis ma grub ste ma rig pa'i sa bon gyi rgyu las gyur par¹ nges so ji ltar ngo bo nyid kyis grub pa med pa de ltar bstan pa'i phyir thog ma dbus mtha' rnam par spangs (26d) zhes bya ba ston te skye ba dang gnas pa dang 'jig pa dang bral ba zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go 'di'i phyir yang ma rig pa'i sa bon las byung ba ste 'di ltar</p>
<p>v5 ka[da]līgarbhaniḥsāraṃ ‹ › (27a)</p> <p>yady etad avidyābījasambhūtaṃ na syāt* tadāsyā nirūpyamāṇasyā sāraṃ upalabhyeta na ca saṃskṛṠtasyā vicāryamāṇasyā kadalīskandhasyeva sāraṃ upalabhyate yā cāsārasya sāratva{ṃ}khyātiḥ sā mohabaṠlād evety evam avidyābījasambhūtaṃ jagat* ‹ › itaś cāvidyābījasambhūtaṃ yasmād</p>	<p>chu shing bzhin du snying ' po D19a3 med (27a) pa'o </p> <p>gal te ma rig pa'i sa bon las byung ba ma yin na de'i tshe brtags na snying po dmigs par 'gyur ba'i rigs na² 'dus byas ni brtags na chu shing gi phung po bzhin du snying po med do gang snying po med kyang snying po can du snang ba de gi mug gi mthu las byung ' ba ste de ltar na 'gro ba ni ma rig pa'i sa bon las byung ba'o 'di'i phyir yang ma rig pa'i sa bon las byung ba ste 'di ltar dri za'i grong khyer lta bu yin pa'i phyir te 'di ltar dri za'i grong khyer yang dag pa³ bzhin du snang yang brtags na de bzhin ma yin pas grong⁴ khyer yang dag pa' ma yin no gang gi phyir de ltar brtags na ma rig pa'i sa bon gyi rgyu las byung ba'i 'gro ba ngo bo nyid kyis ma grub pa de'i phyir 'di ni nges par</p>
<p>v6 gandharvanagaropamaṃ (27b)</p> <p>yathā gandharvanagaraṃ saṃbhūta- nagarākāraṃ² khyāti na ca sadbhūtaṃ nagaraṃ vicāryamāṇasya tathāsaṃ- viṠdyamānatvāt* yataś caivaṃ vicāryamāṇaṃ avidyābījahetukaṃ jagan na svabhāvasiddham ato niyatam etat</p> <p>saṠmmohanagaraṃ ghoram jagan māyeva (dṛṣyate) (27cd)</p>	<p>rmongs pa'i grong khyer mi bzad pa 'gro ba sgyu ma bzhin du snang (27cd)</p>

¹ Read *dhruvaṃ* or *dhruvañ*.

² Read *sadbhūta°*.

¹ DC pa. ² N ni. ³ C par. ⁴ N grongs.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE transliteration

()	restored <i>akṣara</i> (s)
[]	<i>akṣara</i> (s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain
< >	omitted (part of) <i>akṣara</i> (s) without gap in the manuscript
« »	interlinear insertion
{ }	superfluous <i>akṣara</i> (s)
*	<i>virāma</i>
'	<i>avagraha</i> (not used in the original manuscript)
○	string hole

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

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- CEL China Ethnic Library 中国民族图书馆
- D Derge (sDe dge) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
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Diplomatic Transcription of Newly Available Leaves from Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya** —Folios 29, 33, 39, 43, 44—

Li Xuezhū

Introduction

As I have mentioned in my previous paper,¹ 11 folios of Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (=AS) are preserved at the Potala Palace, and they belong to the same manuscript as 17 folios found by Sāṅkrtyāyana at Zhwa lu Ri phug in 1930s. Following the previously published 6 folios (folios 1, 15, 18, 20, 23, 24), I present the diplomatic edition of the remaining 5 folios (folios 29, 33, 39, 43, 44) in this paper. The colophon on the last folio gives its title: *samāpto (')yam abhidharmmasamuccayaḥ*. However, it does not mention the date of the copying, the name of the scribe or any other information.

These 5 sheets of palm leaves are not in good condition. There is a large black spot on both recto and verso of folio 33. Folio 44 lacks the right hand side edge approximately 5 *akṣaras* in width. Moreover, the ink of *akṣaras* on folio 43 recto gradually get paler toward the left, and the right half of the folio is missing. It amounts to the equivalent of 4 and a half folios.

Conventions in the Diplomatic Transcription

I keep the reading as found in the manuscript and do not modify the standard orthography with regard to gemination/degemination before or after semi-vowels and sandhi. The sigla used in the transcription, edition and notes are as follows:

○	string hole
+	one lost <i>akṣara</i>
..	one illegible <i>akṣara</i>
*	<i>virāma</i>
‡	gap filling sign before a string hole or end of a line
	<i>daṇḍa</i>
	double <i>daṇḍa</i>
[]	unclear/damaged <i>akṣara</i> (s) in the manuscript
« »	<i>akṣara</i> (s) inserted by the scribe in the manuscript
{ { }	<i>akṣara</i> (s) cancelled by the scribe in the manuscript
()	<i>akṣara</i> (s) restored by the present editor

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¹ See Li [2013].

- <> omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the manuscript
 {} superfluous *akṣara*(s) or a *daṇḍa*
 /// a broken point at the right/left end of the palm leaf
 Ch. The Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, namely 大乘阿毘達磨集論, Taisho No. 1605
 r *recto*
 Tib. The Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, namely *Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa*, Peking No. 5550, Derge No. 4049
 v *verso*

Diplomatic Transcription

Fol. 29: [Hayashima, pp. 500-516; Derge No. 4049, 92a5-94a2; Taisho No. 1605, 682b13-683a26]

(29a1) kim upādāya | anāgatasantatyutpādavisamyoktatām² upādāya ||

api khalu nirodhasatyam catvaṛākāralakṣaṇa<ṃ> veditavyam | nirodhalakṣaṇam {} śāntalakṣaṇam {} praṇītalakṣaṇam {} niḥsaraṇalakṣaṇaṅ ca ||

kim upādāya nirodhalakṣaṇam | kleśavisa<ṃ>yogatām upādāya || kim upādāya śāntalakṣaṇam <> duḥkhavisamyoga(29a2)tām upādāya || kim upādāya praṇītalakṣaṇam <> śucisukhavastutām upādāya || kim upādāya niḥsaraṇalakṣaṇam <> nityahitavastutām upādāya || ○ ||

mārgasatyam katamat | yena mārgeṇa duḥkham pariḥānāti | sa{ṃ}mudayaṃ prajāhāti | nirodham sāḥṣātkāroti | mārgam bhāvayati | idaṃ samasta<ṃ> mārgalakṣaṇam || (29a3)

api khalu pañcavidho mārgaḥ | sambhāramārgaḥ {} prayogamārgaḥ {} darśanamārgaḥ {} bhāvanāṃmārgaḥ {} niṣṭhāmārgaś ca |<>

sambhāramārgaḥ katamaḥ <> pṛthagjanasya śīlam indriyaguptadvāratā bhojane mātṛajñātā³pūrvvarātrāpararātraṃ jāgarikāyogam anuyuktatā saṃpraḥjānavihārābhīratatā iti | yad vā punar anyā(29a4)d aupaniṣadam kuśalam śrutamayī cintāmayī bhāvanāmayī prajñā | yasya bhāvitatvād abhiṣamayāya vimokṣāyāśrayabhājanatvaṃ pratilabhate || ○ ||

prayogamārgaḥ katamaḥ | yas tāvat sam[bh]āraḥ prayogo (‘)pi ○ saḥ <> syāt prayogo na sambhāraḥ <> sambhṛtasambhārasya nirvedhabhāgīyāni kuśalamūlāni ya(29a5)[duta] ūsmāgat[am] mūrdhānaḥ satyānulomāḥ kṣāntayaḥ laukikā {sgrā} gradharmāḥ || ūsmagata<ṃ> ○ katamat | pratyātmaṃ satyeṣv ālokalabdhaḥ samādhiḥ prajñā ca sasamprayoga⁴ |

2. Read: °yoga°.

3. Read: °jñātā.

4. Read: °yogā.

mürddhānaḥ {l} katama⁵ | pratyātmaṃ satyeṣv ālokaṃṛddhaḥ⁶ samādhiḥ prajñā ca sasamprayogā ||

satyānulomā kṣāntiḥ katamā | pratyātmaṃ satyeṣv e(29a6)kadeśapraviṣṭānusṛtaḥ samādhiḥ prajñā ca sasamprayogā <l>

laukikāgradharmāḥ katame ○ <l> pratyātmaṃ satyeṣv ānantaryas cetasaḥ samādhiḥ prajñā ca sasamprayogā || ○ ||

darśanamārgaḥ katamaḥ <l> samāsato laukikasyāgradharmasya samanantaram anupalabhaḥ samādhiḥ prajñā ca sasamprayogā | samasamālambyāla(29a7)[ṃ]bakajñānam api tat | pratyātmaṃ apanītasatvasamketadharmasamketasarvvatopanīto bhaya○samketā lambana-dharmajñānam api tat | prabhedaśaḥ punar darśanamārgaḥ laukikasyāryadharmasya⁷ samanantaram duḥkhe dharmajñānakṣāntiḥ {l} duḥkhe dharmajñānaṃ {l} duḥkhe (')nvayajñānakṣāntir duḥkhe (')nvayajñānaṃ {ll} samudaye [dha]rmajñāna[kṣā](29b1)[ntiḥ] samudaye dharmajñānaṃ {ll} samudaye (')nvayajñānakṣāntiḥ samudaye (')nvayajñānaṃ {ll} nirodhe dharmajñānakṣāntiḥ nirodhe dharmajñānaṃ {ll} nirodhe (')nvayajñānakṣāntiḥ nirodhe (')nvayajñānaṃ || mārge dharmajñānakṣāntiḥ mārge dharmajñānaṃ {l} mārge (')nvayajñānakṣāntir mārge (')nvayajñānaṃ {ll} duḥkhaṃ katamat <l> duḥkhaṃ satyaṃ | duḥkhe dharmāḥ katamaḥ | duḥ(29b2)khasatyādhipateyā dharmadeśanā || dharmajñānaṃ katamat <l> prayogamārge satyādhipateya○sya dharmasya vicāraṇājñānaṃ || kṣāntiḥ katamā <l> pūrvvicāraṇām adhipatiṃ kṛtvā pratyātmaṃ duḥkhasatye pratyakṣānubhāvinī {l} anāsravā prajñā yayā duḥkhadarśanaprahātavyaṃ kleśaṃ prajāhāti tad ucyate duḥkhe dharmajñā(29b3)nakṣāntir iti ||

duḥkhe dharmajñānaṃ katamat <l> yena jñānena kṣāntyanantaram vimuktiṃ sāksāt karo○ti || duḥkhe (')nvayajñānakṣāntiḥ katamā <l> duḥkhe dharmajñānasyānantaram duḥkhe dharmajñānakṣāntau duḥkhe dharmajñāne cānvaya eṣa āryadharmāṇām iti || pratyātmaṃ pratyakṣānubhāvinī anāsravā prajñā ||

duḥkhe (')nvayajñānaṃ kata(29b4)mat <l> yena jñānena tām anvayajñānakṣāntim avadhārayati | evam a(va)śiṣṭeṣu satyeṣu yathāyogaṃ kṣāntayo jñānāni ca veditavyāni |<l> tatra dharmakṣāntijñānair grahyāvabodhaḥ | anvayakṣāntijñānair grāhakāvabodhaḥ <l> ○ sarvveṣu ca kṣāntijñāneṣu animittavihārī yogī veditavyaḥ | ta eva ṣoḍaśacittakṣaṇā (29b5) darśanamārgaś <l> cittakṣaṇaḥ punar jñeye jñānotpattiparisamāptito veditavyaḥ | yad uktaṃ virajo vigatamalaṃ dharmeṣu dharmacakṣur utpadyata iti {l} darśanamārgam adhikṛtyoktaṃ || dharmakṣāntibhir virajaḥ | ○ dharmajñānair vigatamalaṃ | pariñāprahāṇamārga-viśuddhatām upādāya || yad uktaṃ drṣṭadharmā prāpta(29b6)dharmā veditadharmā paryavagāḍhadharmā tīrṇakāṃkṣam tīrṇavicikitsaḥ {l} aparapratyayo ○ (')nanyaneyāḥ śāstuh śāsane dharmavaiśārdyaprāpta iti {l} tad api darśanamārgam adhikṛtyoktaṃ | dharmakṣāntibhir drṣṭadharmā <l> dharmajñānair prāptadharmā <l> anvayakṣāntibhir veditadharmā <l> anvayajñānaiḥ {l} paryavagāḍhadharmā <l> (29b7) sarvvais tīrṇakāṃkṣaḥ <l> sve adhigame {l} tīrṇavicikitsaḥ <l> parādhigame {ll} aparapratyayo <l> ○

5. Read: *katame*.

6. Read: *°vrddhaḥ*.

7. Read: *laukikasyāgradharmasya*.

mārgabhāvanāyāṃ ananyaneyāḥ śāstuh śāsane tīrthikair ahāryatvāt | dharmeṣu vaiśāradyaprāptaḥ {} paripraśnadharmo vyākaraṇadharmāś cātra dharmo (')bhipretaḥ || tatra vaiśāradyaprāptaḥ {} anavalīnacittatām u⁸

Fol. 33: [Hayashima, pp. 574-597; Derge No. 4049, 98b2-119a7; Taisho No. 1605, 685a22-685c24]

(33a1) samyaksaṃkalpaḥ paraḥ saṃprāpaṇāṅgaṃ⁹ | samyagvākkarmantājīvāḥ paraṃpratyayāṅgaṃ | dṛṣṭiśīṭlājīvaviśuddhitām upādāya | samyagvyāyāmaḥ kleśāvaraṇaviśodhanāṅgaṃ {} samyaksmṛtir upakleśāvaraṇaviśodhanāṅgaṃ | samyak-samādhiḥ vaiśeṣikaguṇāvaraṇaviśodhanāṅgaṃ<ṃ> ||

sahāyaḥ katamas <|> tatsaṃprayuktāś [ci](33a2)ttacaitasikādharmāḥ | bhāvanā bodhyaṅgavat* {} phalaṃ katamat* <|> paricchedaḥ paraṃprāpaṇā<ṃ> {} ○ paraṃpratyayaḥ kleśāvaraṇaviśuddhiḥ {} upakleśāvaraṇaviśuddhaiḥ{} vaiśeṣika-guṇāvaraṇaviśuddhiś ca ||

catasraḥ pratipadaḥ katamā <|> duḥkhā dhandhābhijñā | duḥkhā kṣiprābhijñā {} sukhā dhandhābhijñā | sukhā kṣiprābhijñā <|> mṛ(33a3)dvindriyasya mauladhyanālābhinaḥ prathamā | tīkṣṇendriyasya mauladhyanālābhino dvitīyā ○ | mṛdvindriyasya mauladhyanālābhinas tṛtīyā | tīkṣṇendriyasya mauladhyanālābhinas caturthī ||

catvāri dharmapadāni katamāni | anabhidhyā avyāpādaḥ samyaksmṛtiḥ samyak-samādhiś ca {} anabhidhyā avyāpādaś cādhi(33a4)śīlaśikṣāṃ viśodhayati {} samyaksmṛtir adhicittaṃ {} samyak-samādhir adhi[prajñā] ||

śamaṭhaḥ katamaḥ | yathāpi tad adhyātmam eva cittaṃ sthāpayate saṃsthāpayaty iva sthāpayaty upasthāpayati damayati śamayati○ vyupaśamayati | ekotīkaroti samādhati ||

vipaśyanā katamā <|> yathāpi tad dharmān vicinoti (33a5) pravicinoti {} parivartakayati {} parimīmāṃ[sām āpadyate] {}¹⁰ [prati]Opakṣatām upādāya {} viparyāsanīkṛṣṇatām aviparyāśacittasthāparanāṃ copādāya ||

api khalu śamathavipaśyanāṃ āgāmya catvāro mārgāḥ | ekatyo lābhī bhavati śamatha[sya] na vipaśyanāyāḥ <|> sa śamatham ā(33a6)gāmya vipaśyanāyāṃ yogaṃ karoti {} ekatyo labhī [bhavati vipaśyanāyāḥ] [nāpi śa]mathaṭsya sa vipaśyanā āgāmya śamathe yogaṃ karoti | ekatyo naiva śamathasya lābhī bhavati {} na vipaśyanāyāḥ sa dharmau dvayo (')bhiniḡṛhītena cetasā ubhayaṭra yogaṃ karoti {} ekatyo lābhī bhavati śamathavipaśyanāyā(33a7)ś ca {} tasya śama[tha]vipaśya mi [yugaṃ

⁸. 30a1: *pādāya* |

⁹. Read: *paraṃprāpaṇāṅgaṃ*.

¹⁰. Probably: *dauṣṭhulyanimitta-*. Cf. Ch. 爲欲對治龜重相結故.

varttati¹¹ <||>

trīṅṅindriyā]ṅi kaṅtamāṅi | anāṅjñātamāṅjñāsyāmīndriyam āṅjñendriyam āṅjñātāvindriyaṅ¹² ca ||
anāṅjñātamāṅjñāsyāmīndriyam katamat* prayogamārgē pañcadaśasu ca
darśanamārgacittakṣaṅeṣu yad indriyam || āṅjñendriyam [katamat*] (ṣoḍaśāt)¹³ **(33b1)**
darśanamārgacittakṣaṅam upādāya {} sarvvasmim [śaikṣa]mārgē [yad] indriyam ||
[āṅjñāta]vindriyam¹⁴ katamat* <|> ○ aśaikṣamārgē yad indriyam |<|>

prathamadyānabhūmike mārgē bhāvyaṅmāne kāmapratisaṅyuktāni kuśalamūlāni bhāvanāṅ
gacchanti teṣu vibhutvalābham upādāya | yathā prathamadyānabhūmike kāṅmāvacaṅraṅny
evaṅ sarvvasmi{ṅ}n ūrdhvaṅbhūmike mārgē bhāvya**(33b2)**māne {} adbhohūmikāni
kuśalamūlāni bhāvanāṅ gaccha[nti teṣu] vibhutva[lā]bha[m upā]dāya ||

niṣṭhāṅmārgaḥ katamaḥ <|> sarvvadauṣṭhulyānām pra<<tipra>>śrabdheḥ
sarvvasaṅyogaprāptinām samucchedāt sarvvavisaṅyogaprāptinām pratilambhād¹⁵
vajropamaṅ samādhim āgamyā tasyā cānantaraṅ nirantarāyām āśrayaparivṛttau kṣayaṅjñānam
anutpādajñānam daśa vāśai**(33b3)**kṣā dharmāḥ | aśaikṣī samyagdrṣṭiḥ {} yāvad aśaikṣaḥ
samyaksamādhīḥ {} aśaikṣā samya[gvimo]ṅkṣiḥ {} <a>śaikṣam¹⁶ samyaṅjñānam ||

sarvvadauṣṭhulyāni katamāni | sarvvatragam abhilāpadauṣṭhulyam <<veditadāuṣṭhulyam {}>>
kleśadāuṣṭhulyam {} karmadāuṣṭhulyam {} vipākadāuṣṭhulyam {} kleśāvaraṅnadāuṣṭhulyam
{} karmāvaraṅnadāuṣṭhulyam {} vipākāvaraṅnadāuṣṭhulyam {} nivarāṅna**(33b4)**dāuṣṭhulyam
{} vitarkadāuṣṭhulyam {} āhāradāuṣṭhulyam {} maithunadāuṣṭhulyam {}
svapnadāuṣṭhulyam {} vyādhidauṣṭhulyam {} jarādāuṣṭhulyam {} marāṅnadāuṣṭhulyam {}
pariśramadāuṣṭhulyam {} drḍhadāuṣṭhulya{}m audārikadāuṣṭhulyam¹⁷ {}
madhyadāuṣṭhulyam {} ○ | sūkṣmadāuṣṭhulyam {} kleśāvaraṅnadāuṣṭhulyam
samāpattiyāvaraṅnadāuṣṭhulyam jñeyāvaraṅnadāuṣṭhulya**(33b5)**ṅ ca ||

samyogaprāptayaḥ katamāḥ | dauṣṭhulyopacaye prāptir iti prajñaptiḥ || visaṅyogaṅprāptayaḥ
katamāḥ | dauṣṭhulyāpacaye visaṅyogaprāptir iti prajñaptiḥ || vajropamaḥ samādhīḥ katamaḥ
| prayogamārgasaṅgrhītaḥ ānantaryamārgasaṅgrhītaś ca | prayogamārgasaṅgrhīto yataḥ
prabhṛtisarvvāva /// **(33b6)** ṅair¹⁸ na bhidyate | sarvāvaraṅnāni ca bhinatti |
ānantaryamārgasaṅgrhīto yasyānantaraṅ kṣayaṅjñānam anutpādajñānam cotpadyate | sa ca
samādhinirantaro drḍha ekaraso vyāpī ca |<|>

11. Cf. Samāhitabhūmi(81a6): *tasya śamathavipaśyane ubhe miśṛbhūte samayugaṅ vartete.*

12. Read: *āṅjñātāvīndriyaṅ.*

13. Cf. Tib. *bcu drug.*

14. Read: *°vīndriyaṅ.*

15. Read: *°lambhād.*

16. Cf. Ch. 无学正智.

17. Read: *audārika°.* Tib. *gnas ngan len chen po.*

18. *°āva(ra)ṅnair.* Cf. Tib. *sgrib pa.*

idaṃ ca sandhāyoktaṃ bhagavatā | tadyathā mahāśailaḥ sarvvataḥ {} akhaṇḍaḥ acchidraḥ {} |
aśuṣiraḥ {} ekaghanāḥ {} susaṃvṛttaḥ | taṃ pūrvvasyā /// (33b7) śo¹⁹ vāyuvego na
kāṃpayati | na calayati | yathā pūrvvasyā evaṃ sarvvābhyo digbhyaḥ |<|>

nirantaṀrā āśrayaparivṛttiḥ katamā | yā aśaikṣamārgalābhinaḥ {} cittāśrayaparivṛttiḥ
<«mārgāśrayaparivṛttiḥ» dauṣṭhulyāśrayaparivṛttiś ca || kṣayajñānaṃ katamat* <|> kṣiṇe hetau
p<r>ajñānaṃ kṣayālanbanam vā || anupādajñānaṃ katamat |

Fol. 39: [Hayashima, pp. 736-752; Derge No. 4049, 109a2-110b7; Taisho No. 1605, 689c3-690b17]

(39a1) ²⁰skāreṇa yo mārga<ṃ> saṃmukhīkṛtya duḥkhasyāntam anuprapnoti²¹ ||
sābhisamskāraparinirvāyī ○ katamaḥ | upapanno (°)bhisamskāreṇa yo mārgaḥ²²
saṃmukhīkṛtya duḥkhasyāntam unuprāpnoti²³ || ūrdhvaṃsrotā<ḥ> katamaḥ | rūpadhātau
bhūmau bhūmāt upapadyamāno yo yāvad akaniṣṭhān praviśati | tatra ca mārgaṃ
saṃmukhīkṛtya duḥkhasyā(39a2)ntam anuprāpnoti || aparo vā punar yāvad bhavāgraṃ gatvā
mārga<ṃ> saṃmukhīkṛtya duḥkhasyāntaṀm anuprāpnoti ||

vyavakīrṇabhāvitena caturthadyānena mṛduparibhāvitena madhyaparibhāvitena
adhimātraparibhāvitena {} adhimātrataraparibhāvitena {} adhimātratamaparibhāvitena {} |
śuddhāvāseṣūpapadyate |<|>

parihā(39a3)ṇaṃ dharmā²⁴ arhan katamaḥ | mṛdvindriyaḥ pramatto vā {} apramatto vā
cetayitvā {} acetayitvā ca ○ yo bharttavyo dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārāt pari{{vi}}hāṇāya ||

cetanādharmā katamaḥ | mṛdvindriya eva pramatto vā sa cetayan yo bhavyo
dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārīt²⁵ sa parihāṇāya cetayan na bhavyaḥ ||
anurakṣaṇādharmāḥ katamaḥ | mṛ(39a4)dvindriya eva yaḥ pramatto bhavyo
dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārāt sa parihāṇāya apramatta aṀbhavyaḥ |<|>

sthitākampyaḥ katamaḥ |{} mṛdvindriya pramatto vā apramatto vā abhavyo
dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārāt sa parihāṇāṀya abhavyaś cendriyaṅy uttāpayituṃ {} yaḥ pudgalaḥ
||

prativedhanābhavyaḥ katamaḥ | mṛdvindriyaḥ (39a5) pramatto vā apramatto vā bhavyo
dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārāt sa parihāṇāya bhavyaś cendriṀyaṅy uttāpayituṃ yaḥ pudgalaḥ ||

19. (di)śo.

20. 38b7: anabhisam.

21. Read: anuprāpnoti.

22. Read: mārgaṃ.

23. Read: anuprāpnoti.

24. Read: prahāṇadharmā.

25. Read: °vihārāt.

akopyadharmā katamaḥ <|> prakṛtyā tīkṣṇendriyaḥ pramatto vā apramato vā abhavyo
dr̥ṣṭa○dharmasukhavihārāt sa parihāṇāya ||

kāmāvacaraḥ pṛthagjanaḥ katamaḥ <|> kāmadhātau [jāto] (39a6) bhūtaḥ āryadharmāṇām
alābhīyaḥ pudgalaḥ || kāmāvacaraḥ śaikṣaḥ katamaḥ <|> kāmadhātau ○ jāto bhūtaḥ
āryadharmāṇām lābhī sāvaśeṣasaṃyojano yaḥ pudgalaḥ || kāmāvacaraḥ asaikṣaḥ katamaḥ <|>
kāmadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ āryadharmāṇām lābhī nirabhiśeṣasaṃyojano²⁶ yaḥ pudgalaḥ |{}|
yathā kāmāva(39a7)carās trayāḥ pudgalaḥ |{}| evaṃ rūpāvacarās trayāḥ | ārūpyāvacarās ca
trayo dr̥ṣṭavyāḥ ○ ||

kāmāvacaraḥ rūpāvacaro bodhisatvaḥ katamaḥ <|> ārūpyadhātuvyapakarṣitena dhyānena
yuktaḥ | dhyānasukhair vihr̥tya kāmadhātau rūpadhātau vā upapadyate {}| pudgalaḥ ||

kāmāvacaraḥ pratyekabuddhaḥ katamaḥ <|> asa(39b1)ti buddhānām utpāde kāmadhātau jāto
bhūtaḥ pratyekaṃ bodhiṃ sāksātkaroti yaḥ pudgalaḥ ||

aci○ntyas tathāgataḥ katamaḥ kāmadhātau tuṣitabhavanavāsam upādāya | yāvat parinirvāṇāt
{}| sarvvām bodhisattvacaryām ca darśayati yaḥ pudgalaḥ ||

adhimuktīcārī katamaḥ <|> bodhimuktīcaryābhūmau mṛdumadhyādhimātrayā kṣāntīyā
sama(39b2)nvāgato bodhisatvo yaḥ pudgalaḥ ||

addhyāśayacārī²⁷ katamaḥ | daśasu bodhisatvabhūmiṣu ya○ḥ pudgalaḥ <||> sanimittacārī
katamaḥ <|> pramuditāyām vimalāyām prabhākaryām arccīṣmatyām sudurjayāyām
abhimukhyām ca bodhisatvabhūmau yaḥ pudgalaḥ ||
animittacārī pudgalaḥ katamaḥ | dūraṃgamāyām bodhisatvabhūmau yaḥ pu(39b3)dgalaḥ ||
anabhiśaṃskāracārī katamaḥ | acalāyām sādhumatyām dharmameghāyām ca
bodhisa○tvabhūmau yaḥ pudgalaḥ ||

yad uktaṃ srot<a>āpannaḥ pudgalaḥ || dvau srotaāpannau ānupūrvvikaḥ sakṛnnairyāṇikaś ca |
ānupūrvviko yathā nirddiṣṭaḥ sakṛnnairyāṇiko yaḥ satyāny abhisametyānāgamya ni{h}śr̥itya
lokottareṇa (39b4) māreṇa sakṛt traidhātukāvacarām kleśām prajāhāti | prakāraśaḥ | sa
dvayor eva phalayoḥ ○ prajñāpyate | srotaāpattiphalaṃ arhatvaphala<ṃ> ca ya bhūyasā dr̥ṣṭe
dharṃe ājñām ārāgayati | maraṇakāle vā no ce○d ārāgayati | sa praṇidhānabaliko bhavati |
praṇidhānavaśena kāmadhātāv evopa<<pa>>dyate || (39b5) asati buddhānām utpāde
pratyekajinaś ca bhavati ||

abhisamayavyavasthānaṃ katamat* | daśābhisamayāḥ {}| dharmābhisamayāḥ {}|

26. Read: *niravaśeṣasaṃyojano*.

27. Read: *adhyāśayacārī*.

<arthābhisamayāḥ>²⁸ tatvābhisamayāḥ {l} prṣṭābhisamayāḥ {l} ratnābhisamayāḥ {l} asamudācārābhisamayāḥ {l} ○ niṣṭhābhisamayāḥ {l} śrāvākābhisamayāḥ {l} pratyeka-buddhābhisamayāḥ {l} bodhisatvābhisamayaś ca || dharmā(39b6)bhisamayāḥ katamaḥ | satyādhipateyeṣu dharmeṣv adhimātrasyādhimukti-prasādasya pratilambha○ḥ ||

arthābhisamayāḥ katamaḥ | {{arthābhisamayāḥ katamaḥ}} satyādhipateyeṣv eva dharmeṣv adhimātrāyāḥ satyeṣu dharmanidhyānakṣānteḥ pratilambhaḥ | nirvedhabhāgīyāvasthāyām sā punas trividhena {l} yoniśomanaskāreṇa prabhāvītā{l}(39b7)s tv adhimātramṛdunā {l} adhimātramadhyenādhimātrādhimātreṇa ca ||

tatvābhisamayāḥ kata○maḥ | ṣoḍaśānām darśanamārgacittakṣaṇānām yaḥ pratilambhaḥ | darśanamārge punar vyavasthāpakāny²⁹ abhisamayāntikāni {l} saṃvṛtījñānāni pratilabhate | na tu saṃmukhīkaroti | tāni ca bhāvanāmārgeṇa saṃvṛ

Fol. 43: [Hayashima, pp. 834-914; Derge No. 4049, 116b1-118a6; Taisho No. 1605, 692c6-693b14]

(43a1) śasu³⁰ [jñeyāvaraṇapra]tipakṣām mārgam bhāvayati || na kleśāvaraṇa○pratipakṣam tasya bodhiṃ prāptavataḥ sa .. /// (43a2) .. .ḥ prahīṇaḥ ||

[api khalu] bodhisatvena jñeyakuśalena ca bhavitavyam | upāyakuśale○na ca | abhūtavikalpakuśalena ca | /// (43a3) [kata]mat* | satvapariṣkākaśalyam | buddhadharmapariṣkākaśalyam | <ṣiprābhijñākaśalyam> dharmānupacche○da-kauśalyaṅ³¹ ca || abhūtavikalpaḥ /// (43a4) [ayoniśo]vikalpaḥ {l} yoniśo[vikalpa]ḥ {l} abhiniveśavikalpaḥ {l} vikṣepavikalpa○ś ca || vikṣepavikalpaḥ punaḥ | abhā /// (43a5) (ā)rthavikalpaḥ {l} yathārthanāmavikalpaś ca || nirvikalpatā katamā | santuṣṭinirvikalpatā {l} ○ aviparyāsanirvikalpatā {l} niṣpra /// (43a6) śamataḥ {l} na svabhāvataḥ {l} nālambane abhisamskārato draṣṭavyā<ḥ> |{l} api tv ālambane a○nabhisamskārato draṣṭavyāḥ || yadā prakṛ /// (43a7) ny abhinirharati ||

abhidharmmasamuccaye prāptiviniścayo nāma caturthaḥ || * || ○

sāṃkathyaviniścayaḥ katamaḥ | saptavi(dhaḥ) /// (43b1) arthaviniścayaḥ katamaḥ | ṣaḍarthān ārabhya yo viniścayaḥ <||> ṣaḍarthāḥ katame | svabhāvārthaḥ {l} hetvarthaḥ <phalā>○rthaḥ {l} karmārthaḥ {l} yogārtho vyatyarthaś³² ca || svabhā /// (43b2) (ka)rmārtha<ḥ> |> upalabdhi{ḥ} karma kāritrakarma{ḥ} vyavasāyakarma pariṇatikarma prāptikarma ca <||>

28. Cf. Tib. *don mngon par rtogs pa*; Ch. 義現觀.

29. Read: °*sthāpanāny*.

30. Probably: *daśasu bhūmiṣu bhāvanāmārgeṇa*. Cf. Ch. 於十地修道位.

31. Read: *mārgānupaccheda*°. Cf. Tib. *lam rgyun mi 'chad la mkhas pa*; Ch. 道無斷絕方便善巧.

32. Read: *vṛttyarthaḥ*. Cf. Tib. *'jug pa*; Ch. 轉義.

yogārthaḥ ○{||} katame <|> sāmūhikaḥ ānubandhikaḥ sām /// (43b3) (sū)trāntānām
 vyākhyānām karoti || sa punaḥ katamaḥ <|> pariññeyam vastu pariññeyo (')rthaḥ {||}
 pariññopa○niṣat* {||} pariññā³³ {||} pariññāphalaḥ {||} tatprave /// (43b4) pariññānamukhaḥ {||}
 nāsānāsāmukhaḥ {||} pudgalavyavasthānamukhaḥ {||} <<prabhedavyavasthānamukhaḥ>>
 nayamukhaḥ {||} pariññādimuOkhaḥ {||} balābalamukhaḥ {||} pratyāhāramukhaḥ{||} ///
 (43b5) oṅkarikapratipakṣikāni || sampraśnaviniścayaḥ katamaḥ | aṣṭākāraḥ
 kāyadeśa○sampraśnaviniścayaḥ yathā kā /// (43b6) ti | daśa sthānāni katamāni |
 kṛtyānuṣṭhānaviniścayaḥ {||} avatāraviniścayaḥ {||} adhi○mukhiviniścayaḥ {||}
 yuktiviniścayaḥ /// (43b7) cayaś ca || vādavidhiviniścayaḥ katamaḥ | vādaḥ
 vādādhikaraṇaḥ {||} vādādhiṣṭhānaḥ {||} ○ vādālamkāraḥ {||} vādanigrahaḥ {||} vāda ///

Fol. 44: [Hayashima, pp. 914-948; Derge No. 4049, 118b1-120a7; Taisho No. 1605, 693b19-694b10]

(44a1) vivedaḥ | anyonyaviparyakāvasthiyoḥ |<|> apavādaḥ |
 anyonyapāruṣyapratyupasthānaḥ |<|> anuvādaḥ | ○ jñānādarśanaḥ {||} viśuddhyanukūlaḥ
 samkathyaviniścayaḥ |<|> avavādaḥ | asamāhitasya cittasya samādhānāya samāhitasya ca
 cittasya vimokṣāyopadeśaḥ |<|> vādādhikaraṇaḥ rājakulaḥ yuktakulaḥ sahā(ya)ḥ prā ///
 (44a2) rmārthakuśalās³⁴ ca śramaṇabrāhmaṇaḥ |<|> vādādhiṣṭhānaḥ sādhyam sādhanam ca |
 sādhyam svabhāvo viśe○ṣaś ca | sādhanam pratiññā hetur dṛṣṭānta upanayo nigamanaḥ ca |
 pratyakṣam anumānam āptāgamaś ca | svabhāvaḥ sādhyā ātmasvabhāvo dharmasvabhāvaś ca
 | viśeṣaḥ sādhyā ātmaviśeṣo dharmaviśeṣaś ca |<|>

pratiññā sā /// (44a3) rthasya³⁵ parasamprāpaṇavijñāpanā || hetus tasminn eva sādhye
 apratītārthasya sampratyayani○mittam | pratyakṣopalambha anupalambhāsamākhyānaḥ |<|>
 dṛṣṭāntar dṛṣṭenāntenādṛṣṭasyāntasya samīkaraṇasamākhyānaḥ |<|> upanayaḥ
 śiṣṭatajjātyataddharmopagamāya natvasamākhyānaḥ³⁶ |<|> nigamanaḥ ni /// (44a4)
 khyānaḥ³⁷ |<|> pratyakṣam svasatprakāśābhrānto (')rthaḥ || anumānam
 pratyakṣaśiṣṭasam[pratyaya]ḥ |<|> āptāgama○s tadubhayāvīruddhopadeśaḥ || vādālamkāraḥ
 svaparasamayaññātā vākkarmaṇasampat*³⁸ {||} vaiśāradyam pratibhānaḥ {||} sthairyam
 dā○kṣiṇyaḥ ca <|> vādanigrahaḥ kathātyāgaḥ kathā + + + + sādaḥ kathādoṣaś ca /// ³⁹
 (44a5) svavādadoṣābhyupagamaḥ paravādaḥ {||} guṇābhyupagamaś ca |<|> kathāsādaḥ
 tathāpi tada○nyenānyam pratisarati | bahirdhā vā kathām upanāmayatīti {||} yathā sūtram
 <|> kathādoṣaḥ {||} ākulaḥ samrabdham agamakam ami○tam anarthavad akālayuktam
 asthiram adīptam aprabaddhañ ca vacanaḥ || vādaḥ niḥsaraṇam prati /// (44a6) janatām⁴⁰

33. Cf. Ch. 遍知自性.

34. *prā(māṅiko dha)rma*^o. Cf. Tib. *tshad mar rung ba.....chos dang don...*

35. *sā(dhyasya svarucitā)rthasya*. Cf. Tib. *bdag 'dod pa bsgrub pa'i don*; Ch. 以所應成自所許義.

36. Read: *na(ya)tva*^o. Tib. *tshul*; Ch. 正理.

37. *ni(ṣṭhāgamanaśamā)khyānam*. Cf. Tib. *mthar phyin par bsnyad pa*; Ch. 究竟趣所有正說.

38. Cf. Tib. *tshig zur phyin pa phun sum tshogs pa*; Ch. 言音圓滿.

39. (*kathātyāgaḥ*). Cf. Tib. *gtam rjes gcad pa*; Ch. 捨言者.

40. *prati(vādīnyabhā)janatām*. Cf. Tib. *phyir rgol bas nod ma yin pa*; Ch. 敵論非正法器.

pariṣado vaiguṇyam ātmanaś cākauśalyaṃ vidityā vādasyākaraṇaṃ (pra)tivādibhāṃjanatāṃ
yā vā punar vidityā parśado guṇavatvam⁴¹ ātmakauśalyam vā vādasya karaṇaṃ <|> vāde
bahukarā dharmāḥ {1} svaparasaṃmayajñātā yena sarvvatra vādaṃ karoti | vaiśārādyam yena
sarvvasya parśadvādaṃ karoti |{1} pratibhānaṃ (44a7) yena sarvatrottaraṃ pratipadyate || api
khalv ātmakāmena vāda vidhiṅṅena bha(vita)vyam {2} nota ○ vigṛhyavādaḥ karttavyaḥ ||

yathoktam bhagavatāṃ abhidharmasūtre dvādaśasthānāni {1} saṃpaśyatāṃ bodhisatvena
kuśalapakṣaprayuktena pratipattisāreṇa satvasaṃgrāhakeṇa kṣīpam anuttarāṃ
samyaksambodhim abhisam[budhya](44a8)[ta]kā[m eva] paraiḥ sārḥām⁴² vigṛhya vādo na
karttavyaḥ || ka(ta)māni dvādaśa <|> durlabhā uttamārthasya saddharmmasya
deśitasyājñā(ka)raḥ | durlabhā ājñābhiprāyā vaktarāḥ | durlabhāḥ sa kuśalāḥ parīkṣakāḥ |
durlabhāḥ ṣaḍdoṣavivarjite + + vādaḥ || (44b1) asatpakṣaparigrahābhīniveśadoṣeṇa
kuṣṭhivādadoṣeṇa akālakathāpra ○ sādānadoṣeṇa {1} pāruṣyadoṣeṇa
manaḥpradoṣadoṣeṇa ca <||> durlabhāḥ {2} asaṃrabdhasya vāda<|> |> durlabhāḥ
paracittānurakṣaṇo vādaḥ <|> durlabhāḥ samādhyānurakṣaṇo vādaḥ | durlabhāḥ {1}
ajayāparājayacittasya vādaḥ |{1} (44b2) durlabho jayaparājayacittasyāsaṃkleśaḥ <|>
durlabhāḥ saṃkliṣṭasya sparśavihā(rah) | durlabham a○sparśavihāriṇaḥ kuśalānāṃ
dharmāṇāṃ udbhāvanā sātattikasyāsamāhitasya⁴³ cittasya <<ādhanāṃ>> samāhitasya cittasya
vimokṣa iti ||

abhisandhiviniścayaḥ katamaḥ | anyam artham abhivadatāṃ |
nāmakāyapadakāyavya<ṃ>jāna(44b3)kāyānāṃ anyasmin arthe pariṇāmanā || yathoktam
**mātaraṃ pītaraṃ (hatvā rā)jānaṃ⁴⁴ śrotriya dvayam
rāṣṭra<ṃ> sānucaraṃ hatvā śuddha ity ucyate naraḥ ||⁴⁵**

yathoktam
**āsraddhaś cākṛtajñāś ca sandhicchettā ca yo naraḥ |
hatāvakaśo vāntāśaḥ sa vai uttamapuruṣaḥ ||⁴⁶**

yathoktam
asāre sāramatayo viparyā(se ca su)(44b4)sthitāḥ⁴⁷ <|>

41. Read: *guṇavattvam*.

42. Read: *sārdham*.

43. Read: *sātātika*².

44. Cf. Tib. *bsad byas shing || rgyal po ...*

45. Cf. *Udānavarga* 29.24 = 33.61:

*mātaraṃ pītaraṃ hatvā rājānaṃ dvau ca śrotriyau |
rāṣṭraṃ sānucaraṃ hatvā anigho yāti brāhmaṇaḥ ||
Udānavarga 33.62:*

*mātaraṃ pītaraṃ hatvā rājānaṃ dvau ca śrotriyau |
vyāghraṃ ca pañcamaṃ hatvā śuddha ity ucyate naraḥ ||*

46. Cf. *Udānavarga* 29.23:

*āsraddhaś cākṛtajñāś ca sandhicchettā ca yo naraḥ |
hatāvakaśo vāntāśaḥ sa vai uttamapuruṣaḥ ||*

47. Cf. Tib. *phyin ci log la shin tu gnas*; Ch. 善住於顛倒.

kleśena ca susaṃkliṣṭā labhante bodhim uttamām ||⁴⁸

yathā cokaṃ pañca(bhir) dharmaiḥ samaṅvāgato bodhisatvo dānapāramitāṃ paripūrayati ||
katamaiḥ pañcabhiḥ | mātsaryadharmatām anubr̥ṃhayati <|> dāneṅna ca parikhidyate |
yācanakañ ca dviṣṭi <|> na ca kiñcit kadācid dadāti <|> dūre ca ///⁴⁹ (44b5) yathā coka<ṃ>
pañcabhir ddharmaiḥ samanvāgato bodhisatvo brahmacārī bhava(ti) parameṇa
brahmaṅcaryeṇa samanvāgataḥ | nānyatra maithunāmaithunasya niḥśaraṇaṃ paryeṣate
maithunaprahāṇe copakṣepako⁵⁰ bhavati | utpannañ ca maithunarāgam adhvāsayaṭi
maithunapratipakṣeṇa dharmeṇotra /// (44b6) ñ⁵¹ ca dvayadvayaṃ⁵² samāpadyata iti ||

kimupāyedaṃ śāstram abhidharmmasamuccaya ity uṅcyate | sametyocayatām upādāya
samantād uccayatām upādāya { | } samyagucca(ya)tvāyatanātām copādāya || * || samāpto
(*)yam abhidharmmasamuccayaḥ || * ||

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48. Cf. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, 12.17*.

49. *dūre ca (bhavati dānasya)*. Cf. Tib. *sbyin pa las ring du gyur pa*; Ch. 遠離於施.

50. Read: *copekṣako*. Cf. Tib. *spong ba*; Ch. 捨.

51. *dharmeṇo(t)trātsyati | abhīkṣṇa)ñ*. Cf. Tib. *chos kyis skrag pa dang l rgyum mi 'chad pa...*

52. Cf. Ch. 三二數.

On the Sources, Style and Authorship of Chapters of the Synoptic *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* T664 Ascribed to Paramārtha (Part 1)¹

Michael RADICH

Introduction

In this study, I will identify hitherto unnoticed sources of the four chapters of the *Sūtra of Golden Light* ascribed to Paramārtha (see below for details of texts and translators).² I will also show that the extant Chinese versions of these chapters were composed with extensive reference to the precise wording of pre-existing Chinese translations of many of the same sources. I will suggest that the most economical explanation for the overall pattern of relations between these chapters and their Chinese forerunners is that the chapters, or significant parts of them, were composed and added to the *Golden Light* in China. In support of this claim, I will attempt to show that a supposedly independent Tibetan translation of the *Golden Light* may in fact be a translation from Chinese, at least in certain chapters. In closing, I will consider some broader implications of my arguments for our understanding of the history of the *Golden Light*, of the Paramārtha corpus, of early Tibetan translation texts, and of Buddha-body doctrine.

Throughout this paper, unless I indicate otherwise, I use "Paramārtha" (often abbreviated "P") (and the names of other translators) as a shorthand, referring to the complex, changeable and partly unknown groups and arrangements that produced our extant texts. Given the complexity of such compositional processes, we obviously cannot expect a Chinese Buddhist translation text to have an authorial signature or "style" in the same way that, for example, the novels of Charles Dickens might evince such a style, and thereby be amenable to exactly the same kinds of stylometrical analyses. However, insofar as it can be shown empirically that a group of texts most firmly associated with a given translator's name and group do share certain regular and consistent features, it is still reasonable for us to seek to discriminate between works more or less typical of that "author", and thereby to evaluate problems of authorship and attribution.³

¹ First and foremost, I must express my profound gratitude to Jamie Norrish, a kind of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisatva 地藏菩薩 of computing, for making the software tools I used in my analysis (see p. 208), and for his seemingly endless patience. I must also express special thanks to Prof. Funayama Tōru 船山徹 for his indispensable and wonderful help. Most especially, at an earlier stage of my research, he saved me from a false hypothesis and a very large mistake. Keng Ching was also vital in saving me at the same point. I am also very grateful to Prof. Jan Nattier, Prof. Jonathan Silk and Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp for suggestions and corrections. I thank Prof. Silk, Prof. van der Kuijp, Prof. Prods Oktor Skjaervo, Arthur McKeown and Ryan Overbey for helping me with references and access to relevant secondary literature; Prof. Silk for access to unpublished research; and Prof. Skjaervo for advice about Skt. fragments of Suv. Of course, any errors in this paper are entirely my responsibility.

² Takasaki once entertained the possibility that Paramārtha's chapter on Buddha bodies might not be a straight translation text. However, he immediately dismissed this possibility on the strength of the existence of Tib II, presuming, with all scholars to date, that it is a direct translation from Skt. Takasaki's main stated grounds for his suspicion were: 1) that the synthesis of Yogācāra and *tathāgatagarbha* in the chapter seems in line with P's known doctrinal concerns, and 2) that P is known to have produced other texts with content of uncertain origin, such as FXL, unparalleled portions of MSgBh, and Wushang. It is possibly also significant that immediately before musing on this possibility, Takasaki comments on the unusual doctrinal contents of the chapter, and the difficulties of identifying precise sources for its contents, even characterising its attempt to wed the models of the three bodies, the three types of obstruction (障, *āvaraṇa), and the threefold typology of consciousness (to which we might add the three "natures", *trīsvabhāva) as "somewhat forced" (若干無理); Takasaki (1974): 347-348.

³ One useful approach to such questions, suggested by Nattier, is to think in terms of "rhetorical communities", identifiable by "tracers" (distinctive terms of limited circulation), and divisible on occasion into further sub-groups. Such an approach has the advantage of shaking the problem of style loose from

Abbreviations for names of texts and translators are listed at the end of this paper. Due to limitations of space, this study has been divided into two parts. The present Part 1 discusses Chinese evidence; Part 2 will discuss Tibetan evidence and implications, and is due to appear in a subsequent number of ARIRIAB.

"TACL": A simple computer tool to facilitate terminological analysis of Chinese Buddhist texts

Analysis of the language of the *Golden Light* and related texts for the purposes of this paper was greatly facilitated by the use of "TACL" ("Text Analysis for Corpus Linguistics"), a suite of computer tools currently being developed by Jamie Norrish in collaboration with the author.⁴ As applied to the analysis of Chinese Buddhist texts, TACL allows a conceptually simple comparison of the n-grams⁵ (strings of length *n* characters, where *n* is defined by the user), in two or more texts or corpora of any size, up to and including the entire canon, in either of two ways: 1. What n-grams are found only in A, and not in B (or vice versa)? 2. What n-grams are found in both A and B? The tool generates full lists of n-grams matching these criteria, which the researcher can then examine in context, in conjunction with digital searches via the CBETA CReader.⁶ The work of this paper was thus also partly conceived as a testing ground for the usefulness of TACL in assessing questions of ascription and intertextual relations in the Chinese Buddhist canon.

Computer searches are, of course, nothing new in Buddhist Studies. However, a tool like TACL takes the process one step further, because it can instruct the computer to look for all terms or phrases satisfying certain criteria, rather than just particular individual items specified by the researcher. Experience with the tool so far suggests that precisely through the mechanical blindness of the programme, this approach can draw our attention to stylistic markers of types that our preconceptions might otherwise lead us to overlook. For example, it can show that phrases are significant for a comparison, even where they might be so common in other contexts as to appear entirely innocuous. It can also draw our attention to features like distinctive, recurrent *combinations* of words, where the words so combined might be insignificant in isolation. It also promises, to some degree, to free us from "the tyranny of the noun",⁷ that is, to help us notice more easily the possible stylistic significance of parts of speech other than the nouns (especially proper nouns, technical terms, and transcription terms) that have tended to dominate consideration of stylistic matters in Buddhology with Chinese sources.

Although TACL was thus used to find raw material for the analysis, however, it should be emphasised that the probative significance of all the evidence cited in this paper does not depend upon the operation of the tool, but rather, can be assessed (and has been assessed by the author) by the same methods and criteria used in research based upon ordinary digital searches for individually selected terms using CBETA, such as are now common in the field.

assumptions about named individuals (or even their ateliers). On the one hand, several such "translators" could be members of a single "rhetorical community"; while on the other, the corpus ascribed to a single "translator" (like P) might comprise several separable "rhetorical communities". Neither need these two possibilities be mutually exclusive in a single case, since for various purposes, we might analyse a problem along a spectrum from coarse- to fine-grained. See Nattier (2008): 5, 162-163, and esp. 166-168.

⁴ The code repository for TACL may be found at: <https://github.com/ajenh1/tacl/>.

⁵ The use of n-gram analysis for Chinese Buddhist texts has been pioneered by Ishii Kōsei. Ishii's methods differ somewhat from mine, but his groundbreaking work was an important source of inspiration. See Ishii (2003) (2012). I also gratefully acknowledge the benefit to my work of email discussions with Prof. Ishii, and his generosity in sharing with me some of his unpublished data. I must also here acknowledge the stimulus and help that my work received from a round of collaboration on these methods, in application to the P corpus, with Prof. Tu Aming 杜正民 and Lee Chia-ming 李家名 of Dharma Drum Buddhist College in 2008, and further discussions in 2010. The analysis of P's corpus on stylistic and terminological criteria has also been significantly advanced by Keng (2009).

⁶ CBETA (2011).

⁷ I owe this witty formulation of this point to Jan Nattier (personal communication).

Materials

The *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāṣottama-sūtreṅdrarāja* (hereafter "Suv")⁸ is extant in three canonical Chinese translations:

1. *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經 T663 by *Dharmakṣema 曇無讖⁹ (385-433) ("DhKṣ").
2. A synoptic version, the *Hebu jin guangming jing* 合部金光明經 T664, compiled in 597 by Baogui 寶貴 (d.u.) ("B"), including DhKṣ and additional sections ascribed to Paramārtha (see below) and Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (523-600; "JñG").
3. *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* 金光明最勝王經 T665, by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) ("YJ").

In addition, a fourth, extracanonical version of the text has survived in manuscript form in Japan:

4. Manuscript dated 768 (Jingo-keiun 神護景雲 2), which is preserved in the Shōgozō 聖語藏 ("S"), ascribed to Paramārtha 真諦 (499-569; hereafter "P").¹⁰

This text originally comprised seven fascicles, of which five survive in S. The bibliographic tradition states that P's seven-fascicle Suv comprised DhKṣ's T663, to which four chapters, supposedly missing from DhKṣ, were newly added, and an expansion appended to the "Lifespan" chapter.¹¹ With Zhisheng 智昇 (669-740), writing in 730, P's seven-fascicle version was excised from the canon, and subsequently lost in China. P's four original chapters, however, are supposed to have survived as incorporated into B (T664).

Setting aside for the moment the "Lifespan" chapter (we will return to it below), B thus includes four chapters ascribed to P:¹²

- "P-Suv-*trikāya*": Chapter 3, "On Distinctions among the Three Bodies" ("Sanshen fenbie pin" 三身分別品);
- "P-Suv-*yezhang*": Chapter 5, "On the Extinction of Karmic Obstructions" ("Yezhang mie pin" 業障滅品);
- "P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*": Chapter 6, "On the Utterly Pure *Bhūmis* of the *Dhāraṇīs*" ("Tuoluoni zuijing di pin" 陀羅尼最淨地品);
- "P-Suv-*yikong*": Chapter 9, "On Fulfilling Vows on the Basis of Emptiness" ("Yikong manyuan pin" 依空滿願品).

⁸ This *sūtra* is known by various titles in various manuscripts and other versions extant, and there is therefore no single "correct" title for it. See Skjaervo (2004): lii.

⁹ The reconstruction of the Sanskrit equivalent of Tanwuchen 曇無讖 is problematic. I will not enter into this problem here, and follow common usage in writing "*Dharmakṣema" as a matter of convenience only, without intending thereby to express any opinion in favour of this reconstruction, or against another.

¹⁰ Kunaichō Shōsōin jimusho (2010), DVD no. 95, text no. 119-120, continuous fascicle numbering 通卷数 nos. 1527-1531, continuous fascicle numbering for this category 類の通卷数 nos. 534-538. See also Ono (1929, 1934). I am grateful to Prof. Funayama for drawing my attention to this material.

¹¹ Fei Changfang, *Lidai san bao ji* 歷代三寶紀, T2034:49.98c22-23, 105c29-106a15; Ono (1934): 19-20; Radich (2012): 47-50.

¹² Note, however, that according to the Taishō apparatus, the ascription to P is missing from the chapter head for all four chapters of P-Suv in the Song, Yuan, Ming and "Palace" editions of the canon, and P-Suv-*yezhang* in the Shōgozō edition as well – in other words, it is only found in the Korean edition in each case. This strongly suggests that the attribution here is the presumptive addition of a much later editorial hand.

I will refer generally to the portions of Suv thus ascribed to P as translator, which constitute the central focus of this paper, as "P-Suv".

CHINESE EVIDENCE

In this first section of the paper, I will examine evidence on the Chinese side for the date, sources and ascription of P-Suv.

External evidence for the date and ascription of P-Suv

On the basis of external evidence alone, the ascription of these chapters to P would appear to be among the most secure ascriptions in all of P's extant corpus.¹³ Not only is the ascription seemingly supported by Baogui's synoptic version of 597; the claim that P authored a translation of Suv is also found from the first catalogues after his era – those of Fajing 法經 (d.u., catalogue of 594), Fei Changfang 費長房 (d.u., catalogue of 597), and Yancong 彥琮 (557-610, catalogue of 602), and this is so even though, in other cases, these bibliographers sometimes represent two alternate traditions, which were only reconciled and unified (often artificially, and at cost) by their successors. In addition, interlinear notes in Fei Changfang and the biography of P in the *Xu gao seng zhuan* 續高僧傳 give highly specific details about the place of translation, the circumstances of patronage under which it was produced, and persons who participated in the translation process. Moreover, two prefaces to the work have been preserved: one by Sengyin 僧隱 (d.u.), preserved in the Shōgozō manuscript; and another ascribed to Yancong.¹⁴ These prefaces, especially that of Sengyin, give considerable further detail; and the preface of Sengyin, moreover, is cited by Yancong, which shows that it, too, should predate 597. Sengyin, moreover, is supposed himself to have been present when the text was translated (according to him, in 553).

Bibliographers from Fei Changfang onwards also report that P authored a commentary on Suv. Such "commentaries" seem often to have been produced alongside translations, and these reports might therefore also be taken as additional evidence for the veracity of the tradition that P translated a version of Suv.¹⁵ Indeed, fragments of this/a commentary have survived, and they provide quite firm evidence that P indeed knew of and commented upon all four chapters included in P-Suv. The *Trikāya* chapter is mentioned in a comment of P's reported by Huizhao 慧沼 (648-714).¹⁶ Wōnch'uk 圓測 (613-696) also reports a comment of P's on the exposition of the three bodies in the text.¹⁷ Quotes in later works by Huizhao, Wōnch'uk, Fazang 法藏 (643-712), Daosui 道邃 (d.u., fl. 8 c.), Hyōbi 平備 (fl. 8-9c), and Gangyō 願曉 also preserve P's comments on specific loci and doctrines in all four chapters of P-Suv (and some other chapters of Suv).¹⁸

We also find quite extensive evidence that all chapters except P-Suv-*yikong* must have been in circulation by the Sui 隋 dynasty (581-618) (the relevance of this scruple will become clear below, when we examine evidence that aspects of P-Suv are likely to be later than P). The remaining three chapters are already discussed and quoted, sometimes quite extensively, in the works of Huijun (慧均, d.u., fl. 574-580s?¹⁹), Jingying Huiyuan

¹³ For the evidence upon which the following summary is based, and other details about P-Suv, see Radich (2012): 47-50.

¹⁴ This ascription is carried in the Yuan and Ming editions only; T16, 359 fn. 2; see also Ono (1934): 17.

¹⁵ Radich (2012): 83.

¹⁶ *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing shu* 金光明最勝王經疏, T1788:39.183b18-24; Funayama seminar (unpublished).

¹⁷ *Jie shenmi jing shu* 解深密經疏, X369:21.196b2; Funayama seminar (unpublished).

¹⁸ Funayama seminar (unpublished).

¹⁹ Radich (2008): 121-122 n. 122.

淨影慧遠 (523-592), Jizang 吉藏 (549-623) and Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597).²⁰ P-Suv-*trikāya* is particularly well attested in these early witnesses.²¹

Thus, the external evidence that P translated portions of Suv is nearly as strong as such evidence gets for any text in his corpus.

Sources of P-Suv

Despite the strength of this external evidence, however, there also exists very extensive internal evidence suggesting, rather, that these chapters, or (in some cases) considerable portions of them, were composed on the basis of prior Chinese texts. In what follows, I will discuss the sources of each chapter in turn. Rather than treating the chapters in the order in which they occur in Suv (in B), I discuss them in an order that seems to me best to facilitate presentation of the complex patterns in the evidence.

Sources of P-Suv-*yezhang*

Almost the entirety of P-Suv-*yezhang* matches almost the entirety of the **Karmāvaraṇapratiprasabdhi-sūtra* ("KAP"),²² translated by **Samghabhadra* 僧伽婆羅 ("SBh", 460-524, active ca. 506-520/524),²³ i.e. the *Pusa zang jing* 菩薩藏經 T1491.²⁴ Matches are close in both wording and sense. The entire sequence of the two texts is also largely the same. This level of matching cannot be the result of two independent translations of the same source text, but must mean that the authors of P-Suv-*yezhang* consulted T1491 closely (or, in principle, *vice versa*, though this possibility would seem to be ruled out by dates).

A second translation of the same text, the *Dasheng san ju chanhui jing* 大乘三聚懺悔經 T1493, was made under the Sui by JñG. In places, moreover, the wording of P-Suv-*yezhang* in fact matches JñG more closely than it does SBh. This shows either that JñG,

²⁰ For my reasons for regarding Zhiyi's texts as possibly later evidence than Jizang, despite his earlier dates, see Radich (2008): 120 n. 322, 121 n. 327.

²¹ Huijun, *Dasheng si lun xuan yi* 大乘四論玄義: X784:46.651b7-8 cf. P-Suv-*trikāya* 364a2-3; 611a20-21 cf. again P-Suv-*trikāya* 364a2-3; 585c12-13 cf. P-Suv-*trikāya* 363a26-b4, c13; 602c16-17 cf. opening of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* 372c7-29; 628c14-15 cf. P-Suv-*trikāya* 363a6-7, 363c3-5;

Jizang: *Fa hua tong lue* 法華統略 X582:27.518b14-519a13 features a rather detailed précis of much of the content of P-Suv-*trikāya*; *Dasheng xuan lun* 大乘玄論 T1853:45.37a25-27 cf. P-Suv-*trikāya* 364a2-3;

Zhiyi: *Jin guangming jing xuan yi* 金光明經玄義 T1783:39.11a14-16, also X356:20.74c15-16, cf. P-Suv-*trikāya* 363c3-5, 363a4-11 (Zhiyi also seems to cite P's commentary on Suv to the same effect, T1783:39.5a8-9, Funayama seminar, n.d.); *Jin guangming jing wenju wenju ji hui ben* 金光明經文句文句記會本 X358:20.203b24-c2 cf. P-Suv-*yezhang* 368c11-12; *Fangdeng sanmei xing fa* 方等三昧行法 T1940:46.944a27-b1: not an acknowledged quote, but can only come from P-Suv-*yezhang* 368c25-26;

Huiyuan, *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章: T1851:44.707c6-23: a lengthy and in places verbatim summary of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* 373a22-b27 (covers only the first six of P-Suv's ten perfections); 840c26-841a4 cf. P-Suv-*trikāya* 362c22-363a3.

I have not been able to find any quotes from P-Suv-*yikong* in Sui authors.

²² Prof. Funayama and his colleagues have located a quote from P's commentary, preserved in Huizhao's commentary, in which P gives the Skt title of Suv-*yezhang* as **Karmāvaraṇavināśa*. T1788:39.241a20-29; Funayama seminar (unpublished).

²³ *Gao seng zhuan* 高僧傳 T2059:50.345b9-13; *Lidai san bao ji* 歷代三寶紀 T2034:49.98b24-c13; *Xu gao seng zhuan* 續高僧傳 T2060:50.T50.426a3-b12; Yoshikawa and Funayama (2009): 350-351. The name Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅 has been variously reconstructed **Samghabhara*, **Samghavara*, or **Samghavarman*. On the basis of the *Xu gao seng zhuan* translation of the name as Sengyang 僧養, I will for convenience use **Samghabhara* here; but it is not my main aim to reconstruct the name of this figure, and this indicates no strong opinion on my part that this is the correct reconstruction. It is interesting to note that like P, SBh (and his sometime collaborator, Mandrasena) is said to have come to China from Funan 扶南.

²⁴ A Japanese translation of the Tibetan version of this text is presented in Tokiya (1971). Tokiya suggests that the two versions of KAP discussed here, T1491 and T1493, lie in a line of development that begins with the **Triskandhaka-sūtra* (?) 舍利弗悔過經 T1492 (ascribed to An Shigao 安世高, not listed as a genuine An Shigao translation in Nattier 2008), and running through the *Wenshu hui guo jing* 文殊悔過經 T459, ascribed to Dharmarakṣa; Tokiya (1971): 123.

in producing T1493, was aware of and stuck closely to P-Suv-*yezhang*, or else that P-Suv-*yezhang* in fact postdates T1493. This fact will be important later, when we assess evidence that other aspects of P-Suv may also post-date P.

The complex evidence for these relations between P-Suv-*yezhang*, SBh'S KAP and JñG's KAP is too extensive to show in full here, but can be conveniently summarised as follows. First, Table 1 shows a sample section illustrating the kinds of relations found between P-Suv-*yezhang* and its sources.

Table 1: Sample passage showing matches between P-Suv-*yezhang* and KAP

Bold: verbatim match.

Double underline: particularly significant verbatim match (especially long, or especially rare).

u>

Dotted underline: match in sense but not wording.

Grey: better match with portions of JñG T1493 1091c23-1092a4 (matching passages only from JñG are shown in footnotes, to allow readers to make direct comparisons). In addition, further such matches are to be found in P-Suv-*yezhang* §§6, 14, 18 (using the numbering given below in Table 2).

P-Suv- <i>yezhang</i>	SBh KAP
<p>§3 368b18-c22: 我從無始隨生死流，與一切眾生已造業障，貪瞋癡等之所纏縛，<u>未識佛時、未識法時、未識僧時、未識善惡、²⁵為身口意得無量罪，以惡心故出佛身血、誹謗正法、破和合僧、殺阿羅漢、殺害父母、²⁶十不善法自作教他、見作隨喜、身三、口四、意三業行，於諸眾生橫生毀謗、²⁷斗秤欺誑、以偽為真、不淨飲食以施眾生、於生死六道所有父母更相觸惱、塔物僧物四方僧物、心生偷奪自在而用、如佛所說言教法律過分講學、師長教示不相關從、有行聲聞者、行緣覺者、行大乘者，意生罵辱、令諸行人心退愁恨、見有勝已便懷嫉妬、法施財施而生障礙、無明所覆邪見疑惑使惡增長、於諸佛所而起惡言、<u>法說非法、非法說法</u>。如是惡罪，齊如諸佛真實慧、真實眼、真實證明、真實平等、悉知悉見。奉對懺悔、皆悉發露、不敢覆藏、未作之罪不敢復作，已作之罪今悉懺悔，所作業障、應墮惡道、地獄、畜生、餓鬼、阿修羅、生十二難處。願我此生所有業障皆悉滅盡、未來不受。</u></p>	<p>1087b3-20: 我從無始生死以來，所造惡業，為一切眾生障礙，或起貪、或起瞋、或起癡、不識佛、法、僧、不識善、不善法、或以惡身、口、意出佛身血，或誹謗正法、或破和合僧，或殺真人羅漢，或殺父母，或備起十不善道，或三作、今作、當作，或見他作讚歎隨喜，或以身三、口四、意三業行造作眾惡，惡口、罵詈、誹謗他人，或斗秤欺誑於人，或生六道惱亂父母，或取塔寺物，或用僧物、或用四方僧物，或破佛所制戒，或不隨和上阿闍梨語，或瞋、或罵、或誹謗聲聞、緣覺、太乘，或因慳嫉造諸惡業，或惡罵如來，或法說非法、或非法說法。如是二切諸惡，我今於十方諸佛發露懺悔。彼諸如來現見、現知、現證，我於佛前一心發露，不敢覆藏、發露已後誓不敢作。是諸罪業應入地獄、餓鬼、畜生、阿修羅道、或經八難，願此諸罪現前消滅、未來不生。我今日在諸佛前發露懺悔不敢覆藏、發露之後誓不敢作。</p>

Much of both texts comprises matches to this level of detail, including sequencing of elements and verbatim overlaps in wording. Space forbids showing the matching as

²⁵ JñG KAP: 若復未識佛時、未識法時、未識僧時、未知善時、未知不善時...

²⁶ JñG KAP: 若起惡心出佛身血，若誹謗正法、破和合僧、殺阿羅漢、或殺父母...

²⁷ JñG KAP: 如是等業，若自初作、正作、作已，若教他作見作隨喜、身業三種、口業有四、意三業行，於眾生所起諸惡意，或復遍觸毀辱呵罵三乘眾生。

above for the entire text (though I did prepare such a full table in conducting the research upon which the present paper is based). The following Table summarises the overall correspondences between P-Suv-*yezhang* and SBh's KAP. Interested readers can easily verify the matches by examining the texts themselves. Where the two texts do not match, I specially note the fact.

Table 2: Overall matching between P-Suv-*yezhang* and KAP

[. . .] no match

P-Suv- <i>yezhang</i>	SBh KAP ²⁸
368a17-28: The Buddha enters a <i>dhyāna</i> , emits light that suffuses the cosmos, etc. (not matched).	1086c26-28: The setting and congregation of the <i>sūtra</i> do not match P-Suv- <i>yezhang</i> .
§1, 368a29-b4	1086c28-1087a2
[. . .] (not matched)	1087a2-22: A preamble describes recitation of Buddha-names, offerings, ritual purification of the practitioner, brief description of confession, and successive names of Buddhas in the various directions (not matched in P-Suv- <i>yezhang</i>).
§2, 368b5-18	1087a22-b3
§3, 368b18-c9 (see Table 1)	1087b3-20
§4, 368c9-22	1087b20-c1
§5, 368c22-369a3	1087c1-3
§6, 369a3-18	1087c3-16
§7, 369a18-a28	1087c17-25
§8, 369a28-b15: Four <i>dharma</i> s that lead to purification of karmic obstructions; four karmic obstructions most difficult to purify (not matched).	[. . .] (not matched)
§9, 369b16-b24	1087c25-1088a11 ²⁹
§10, 369b24-b29	1088a11-22
§11, 369b29-c10	1088a22-b6
§12, 369c10-22	1088b6-17
§13, 369c23-370a3	1088b17-b27
§14, 370a4-15	1088b27-c3
§15, 370a15-23	1088c3-9
§16, 370a23-28: body doctrine.	[. . .] (not matched)
§17, 370a28-b4	1088c9-17
§18, 370b4-8	1088c17-20
§19, 370b8-23: body doctrine.	[. . .] (not matched)
§20, 370b23-27	1088c21-24
§21, 370b28-c13	1088c24-1089a5
§22, 370c13-c19	1089a5-a10
§23, 370c19-371a1	1089a10-18
§24, 371a1-8	1089a18-22
§25, 371a8-20	1089a22-b6
§26, 371a20-b3	1089b7-14
§27, 371b3-9	1089b14-20
§28, 371b9-29	[. . .] (not matched)
§29, 371b29-c6	1089b20-25
§30, 371c7-12	1089b25-27
§31, 371c13-23	1089b27-c10

²⁸ This *sūtra* gives three alternate titles for itself at its close, one of which is very close to the title of the *Yezhang* chapter: 此經名“滅業障礙”，汝當受持；亦名“菩薩藏”，汝當受持；亦名“斷一切疑”，如是受持，T1491:24.1089c22-24.

²⁹ Immediately before this portion starts, the Kor. version of the text contains a notice that a previous chapter has just concluded (懺悔品竟, 1087c25).

§32, 371c23-372a7	1089c10-16
§33, 372a8-13	1089c16-20
§34, 372a13-b24	1089c21-26 (ending with a brief portion unmatched in Suv).

Thus, the sources of P-Suv-*yezhang* must certainly include KAP. Whether or not the original borrowing from KAP to Suv occurred in India or China, verbatim matching means that the sources of P's version of the chapter must also include the earlier Chinese version of KAP by SBh. In addition, while it is possible that matches between JñG's KAP and P-Suv could result from borrowing by JñG, I will argue below that in fact, it is also possible that borrowing went the other way, so that the sources of P-Suv-*yezhang* include JñG's KAP. We will also return to other aspects of P-Suv-*yezhang* below.

Sources of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*

Ulzii has recently pointed out that the structure of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*'s exposition of the *bodhisatva*³⁰ path may bear similarities to that of the **Bodhisatvadaśaḥmika-sūtra* ("BDBh").³¹ This text exists in three Chinese translations:

1. Kumārajīva's 鳩摩羅什 (344-413; "KJ") *Zhuangyan putixin jing* 莊嚴菩提心經 T307;
2. *Kivkara's 吉迦夜 (*Kinkara? *Kimkārya? fl. ca. 472; "Kiv") *Pusa shi di jing* 菩薩十地經 T308; and
3. Bodhiruci's 菩提流志 (?-727) *Akṣayamati* 無盡慧菩薩會 found in the *Ratnakūṭa* 大寶積經 T310(45).

KJ and Kiv are most relevant for our present purposes, since they pre-date P.³²

The relations between P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* and BDBh in fact go far beyond the path structure. First, although the correspondence is not tight, aspects of the frame narrative (including the opening question) in §§1, 2, 14 and 15 (using the numbering given in Table 4 below) are clearly parallel in both texts, as may be shown by the following example.

Table 3: Matches in frame narrative between P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* and BDBh

Bold: verbatim matching.

Double underline: particularly significant match – unusually long or rare, or structurally significant.

Dotted underline: match in meaning but not exact wording.

(1) (2) (3) etc. (numbers in parentheses) are added to help the reader keep track of matches.

[. . .] no match

Grey: better matched in KJ T307 than in Kiv T308 (see footnotes)

P-Suv- <i>dhāraṇī</i>	Kiv BDBh
§13 376c16-19: 是時,大自在梵王於大會中從坐而起,偏袒右肩,右膝著地,合掌恭敬,頂禮佛足而白佛言。世尊!希有 ³³ 難量。是『金光明經』微妙之義究竟滿足,皆能成就一切佛法、一切	965b1-3: 爾時,會中有天名師子幢無礙光耀,白佛言:「世尊!甚奇甚特,是名一切具足,是名究竟一切佛法功德。

³⁰ On the spelling of *bodhisatva*, see Bhattacharya (2010).

³¹ Ulzii (2011): 127. Ulzii does not give details, but promises to follow up in future work. On BDBh, see Kimura (2007, 2008).

³² Though Bodhiruci's translation could conceivably be relevant for the assessment of Tib II-*dhāraṇī*; see below.

³³ KJ T307 963a6-8: 爾時,會中有天子,名師子奮迅光,即從坐起,合掌白佛言:「善哉,世尊!如上所說甚深希有。諸佛功德譬如甘露充足一切。

<p>佛恩。</p> <p>§14 376c20-377a17: 佛言：(1)如是如是。善男子！如汝所說³⁴。善男子！若得聽聞是『金光明經』，一切菩薩不退阿耨多羅三藐三菩提³⁵。何以故？善男子！是不退地菩薩成熟善根，是第一印，是『金光明微妙經典眾經之王』，故得聽聞受持讀誦³⁶。何以故？善男子！若一切眾生未種善根、未成熟善根、未親近諸佛，不得聽聞是『金光明經』。善男子！是『金光明經』以聽聞受持故，是善男子、善女人，一切罪障悉能除滅得極清淨，當得見佛³⁷。(2)不離世尊，常聞妙法，常聽正法，生不退地，師子勝人而得親近不相遠離。(3)無盡無減海印出妙功德陀羅尼，(4)無盡無減眾生意行言語通達陀羅尼，(5)無盡無減日圓無垢相光陀羅尼，(6)無盡無減滿月相光陀羅尼，無盡無減能伏一切惑事功德流陀羅尼、無盡無減破壞堅固金剛山陀羅尼、無盡無減說不可說義因緣藏陀羅尼、無盡無減真實語言法則音聲通達陀羅尼、(7)無盡無減虛空無垢心行印陀羅尼，無盡無減無邊身能顯現陀羅尼：善男子！(8)如是諸陀羅尼等得成就故，菩薩摩訶薩於十方一切佛土(10)讚化佛身(11)說無上種種正法，(11)於法如如不動，⁴³不去、不來(≈12)，善能成熟一切眾生善，(13)亦不見一切眾生可成熟者，(≈14)說種種諸法於諸言辭不動、⁴⁴不去、不住、不來(≈15)能現生滅，向無生滅，(16)說諸行法無所去來，一切法無異故。(17)說</p>	<p>965b3-17: 世尊答曰：(1)如是如是。諸天！其有善男子、善女人聞是法正憶念者，當知是阿惟越致菩薩攝。何以故？天子！是善男子、善女人善根成熟故，令耳根得聞是經，一切善根成熟故，得聞此經已，終不離真實觀，</p> <p>(2)不離諸佛世尊，不離諸佛法，不離轉法輪，(3)不離海印陀羅尼，不離無盡陀羅尼，(4)不離遍入眾生行陀羅尼，(5)不離無盡光日輪陀羅尼，(6)不離月無垢相陀羅尼，</p> <p>(7)不離無垢等起相陀羅尼。(8)若菩薩得是陀羅尼者，(10)悉能一時變身為佛，(9)周滿十方(11)教化眾生，(11)然於諸法亦不死、亦不去(≈12)而度脫眾生，(13)眾生亦不可得(≈14)說法教化諸文字等亦不可得(≈15)示現死生亦不生，(16)知諸法平等無去無來，亦不作、非不作故。(17)說是法時，三千菩薩得無生法忍。</p>
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³⁴ KJ T307 963a8-9: 佛告天子：善哉善哉，如汝所說。

³⁵ KJ T307 963a12: 必於阿耨多羅三藐三菩提不復退轉。

³⁶ KJ T307 963a15: 若有暫聞此經、讀誦書寫。

³⁷ KJ T307 963a15-16: 此人捨是身已，常見諸佛。

³⁸ ≈? KJ T307 963a20-21: 亦得善解一切眾生語言陀羅尼。

³⁹ ≈? KJ T307 963a19-20: 亦得金剛不壞陀羅尼。

⁴⁰ ≈? KJ T307 963a20: 甚深義藏演說陀羅尼。

⁴¹ KJ T307 963a21-22: 虛空無垢遊戲無盡印陀羅尼。

⁴² KJ T307 963a22-23: 亦得諸佛化身陀羅尼。

⁴³ Cf. P Vaj (also KJ Vaj, Bodhiruci Vaj): 如如不動，恒有正說。應觀有為法，如暗、翳、燈、幻、露、泡、夢、電、雲，T237:8.766b23-24。

⁴⁴ ≈?KJ T307 963a19: 亦得一切諸法不動陀羅尼。

是『金光明經』已三萬億菩薩摩訶薩 得無生法忍。

The degree of correspondence is not as high as for P-Suv-*yezhang* and KAP examined above; there is also greater variance between the two texts in the order of the various sections; and there are more sections in P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* without parallels in BDBh. Nonetheless, there is still a high enough degree of verbatim matching between the two texts that it is clear that the authors of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* must have consulted BDBh. Table 4 shows the overall schema of correspondence; once more, due to the volume of the evidence, interested readers are asked to examine the texts themselves to verify the matching. Moreover, once more, as can be seen from some examples in Table 3 above, neither KJ nor Kiv on its own can best explain P-Suv; it looks as though the authors of P-Suv had *both* texts before them (examples are especially clear in §§5, 6, 14).

Table 4: Overall matching between P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* and BDBh

[. . .] no match

I have added section numbers in parentheses to Kiv BDBh, in order to make it easier for readers to discern the original order of the text, and how it differs from P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*. These section numbers are independent of those for P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*. The section in Kiv BDBh that corresponds to a given section in P is that appearing on the same line of the Table.

P-Suv- <i>dhāraṇī</i>	Kiv BDBh
[. . .]	(§1) 963b10-15 (not matched in P-Suv)
§1, 372c7-20	(§2) 963b15-25
§2, 372c21-29	(§3) 963b25-c11
§3, 372c29-373a21 ⁴⁵	(§4) 963c12-964a1

⁴⁵ In KJ T307, the ten *bodhisatva bhūmis* are (unusually) associated with different perfections, i.e. (1) none, (2) *dāna*, (3) *śīla*, (4) *kṣānti* etc. The set of terms used for the ten perfections in these texts is relatively circumscribed in distribution, especially when we consider the exact forms found in P-Suv: (1) 檀 *dāna*, (2) 尸 *śīla*, (3) 羸提 *kṣānti*, (4) 毘梨耶 *vīrya*, (5) 禪那 *dhyāna*, (6) 般若 *prajñā*, (7) 方便勝智 *upāya*, (8) 願 *praṇidhāna*, (9) 力 *bala* and (10) 智 *jñāna*. The use of these terms for the first six perfections, allowing for some minor variations, seems to begin in KJ and run through DhKs, Buddhahadra, Kiv, Kālayaśas, Mandrasena, Ūrdhvaśūnya, and Bodhiruci. The fuller list of ten perfections is more restricted in distribution. As far as I can determine with electronic searching, the combination of the last four perfections *without* the qualifier 勝智 for 方便波羅蜜, viz. (7) 方便波羅蜜, (8) 願波羅蜜, (9) 力波羅蜜 and (10) 智波羅蜜 is itself quite unusual before the Tang, and appears mainly in a line of DBh/BBh materials beginning with KJ T286:10.517c20-518a3; DhKs T1581:30.954b22-c2; Buddhahadra *Avatamsaka* T278:9.561c3-6, 725b15-24; Bodhiruci DBhSS T1522:26.175b7-c5; Guṇavarman BBh T1582:30.1008c26-1009a7. Cf. also Kālayaśas T1161:20.664b24-26; Bodhiruci T761:17.609c26-610a2 (with the same terms for the first six as here in Suv), 624b11-12 (with different terms for some of the first six); Bodhiruci T1531:26.335c4-17. Thus, given that only the first seven perfections are found in KJ and Kiv, it is possible that P-Suv was formed in part by "updating" the text to include the fuller set of ten perfections known (in China) from this DBh/BBh tradition.

The specific term 方便勝智波羅蜜 for *upāyapāramitā* seems especially telling. Before the Tang, the only other place this term is found, in exactly this form, is P MSgBh (T1595:31.228b28, also 方便勝智等四波羅蜜 etc., 228b10), commenting on MSg 四修方便勝智, T1593:31.125a12. It is therefore possibly significant that a closely related variant on the name of this perfection, 方便智波羅蜜, is found only twice: here in Kiv (T308:10.965a6); and in Guṇabhadra's **Ratnakāraṇḍavyūha* 大方廣寶篋經, T462:14.468b23-24; of these two contexts, only Kiv matches in the overall sense of the surrounding passage. In a few other places, *shengzhi* appears associated with the next perfection, no. 8 *praṇidhāna*: KJ's DBh, 能起無量智門，是方便波羅蜜；期轉勝智慧，是願波羅蜜, T286:10.517c29-518a1, v. similarly worded in Buddhahadra *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, T278:9.561c3-4, Guṇavarman's BBh T1582, T1582:30.1009a5-6 (wording almost identical in Bodhiruci's DBhSS T1522:26.175b12-14). This suggests that perhaps, alternatively, the addition of the qualifier *shengzhi* to the seventh *pāramitā* might also have resulted from confusion. Even where separated from the perfections, moreover, the phrase 方便勝智 is also rare, appearing, before the Tang, only in P's AV (as a part of a list of ten *shengzhi* 十勝智, T97:1.921c9-13), other passages in P MSg (127a9-10) and Bh (217c17-19, 233c8-11), P Ratna (證方便勝智/六度生無間, T1656:32.504a15); and, outside P, only *once* ever, in JñG's **Ratnaketudhāraṇī* 寶星陀羅尼經 (世間利智能議論/方便勝智到彼岸, T402:13.538c19).

§4 Each perfection is comprised of/perfected through five factors. Matches through this section overall thin and unsure; basic structure (five vs. ten) dissimilar. §4.1, 373a22-a26	Each perfection breaks down into ten subordinate types. The basic structure of this section is the same in KJ T307. (§9) 964b21-27 (order diverges from P-Suv)
§4.2, 373a26-b2	(§10) 964b27-c5
§4.3, 373b3-8	(§11) 964c5-12
§4.4, 373b9-14 Low level of matching with Kiv.	(§12) 964c13-21
§4.5, 373b15-20 Low level of matching with Kiv.	(§13) 964c22-27
§4.6, 373b21-27 No match in Kiv.	(§14) [964c28-965a5]
§4.7, 373b27-c5	(§15) 965a6-13
§4.8-10, 373c6-29 (last three perfections, nos. 8-10): unmatched in Kiv/KJ; as Kimura points out, Kiv and KJ use a model of seven perfections.	[...]
§5, 373c29-374a15: The meaning of "perfection"	(§16) 965a13-29
§6, 374a16-b14: Signs at each <i>bhūmi</i>	(§6) 964a12-b4 (order diverges from P-Suv)
§7, 374b15-c5: Names of the <i>bhūmis</i> (no parallel in Kiv; see Table 5 below)	[...]
§8, 374c6-375a1: Two obstructions (<i>*āvaraṇa</i>) particular to each <i>bhūmi</i> (no parallel in Kiv; see Table 5 below)	[...]
§9, 375a2-11	(§8) 964b14-20 (order diverges from P-Suv)
§10, 375a12-23: Each <i>bhūmi</i> associated with a <i>samādhi</i>	(§5) 964a2-12 (order diverges from P-Suv)
§11, 375a23-376b17: Names of most of the ten <i>dhāraṇīs</i> Bears a loose relation to those in Kiv (order also differs somewhat) ⁴⁶	(§7) 964b5-13 (order diverges from P-Suv)
§12, 376b17-c15 (unmatched in Kiv)	[...]
§13, 376c16-19 (see Table 3 above)	(§17) 965b1-3 (order diverges from P-Suv)
§14, 376c20-377a17 (see Table 3 above)	(§18) 965b3-17
§15, 377a17-b5 (end): Not matched in Kiv/KJ	(§19) 965b17-26 (end): Not matched in P-Suv

Thus, the evidence summarised in Tables 3 and 4 shows that both prior Chinese translations of BDBh must be among the sources of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*. However, this is not the end of the story – BDBh is not the only identifiable Chinese source of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*.

Not all the terms for the perfections used here appear in MSgBh. That the first six were nonetheless used by P is evidenced by MAV T1599:31.454b27-c3. There, however, they are conjoined with a *different* set of (transcription) terms for the remaining four perfections, viz. 漚想拘舍羅波羅蜜 *upāyakaśaṭyapāramitā*, 波拈陀那波羅蜜 **prañidhānapāramitā*, 波羅波羅蜜 **balapāramitā*, 闍那波羅蜜 **jñānapāramitā*, 454c4-10. These latter terms are also used in P MSg T1593:31.126b19-26 (and corresponding Bh), but to complicate matters even further, MSgBh (very intriguingly, for a work ostensibly deriving from the same translation team in the same phase of its project, and indeed, the same act of translation) uses *both* sets of terms: 方便勝智波羅蜜 to discuss 漚想拘舍羅波羅蜜 in the root text; 願波羅蜜 to discuss 波尼他波羅蜜 in the root text (228c1 ff.); 力波羅蜜 to discuss 婆羅波羅蜜 (228c10 ff.); and 智波羅蜜 to discuss 若那波羅蜜 (228c27 ff.).

⁴⁶ It is important to note the mere fact that Kiv contains a section on ten *dhāraṇī*, one per *bhūmi*, although the wording of the actual *dhāraṇīs* is not given in Kiv. By contrast, KJ T307 is missing this section altogether.

Two extended passages (§§7 and 8) and one verse towards the end of the text also show identifiable debts to the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra* ("SdhN"). Moreover, this evidence links P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* to two separate versions of SdhN, by P and Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (?-527). As we will see below, links to SdhN (in this case, P's) are also evident in P-Suv-*yikong*. These matches are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* and the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*

Conventions: As above (except no grey)

P-Suv- <i>dhāraṇī</i>	Bodhiruci SdhN T675
§7 Names of the <i>bhūmis</i> ⁴⁷ 374b15-c5 善男子！云何初地而名歡喜？	680c4-23 ⁴⁹ 觀世自在菩薩白佛言：世尊！世尊何故說初名歡喜地，乃至佛地說名佛地？
(1) <u>得出世</u> 心，昔所未得而今始得， <u>大事大用</u> ，如意所願悉皆成就， <u>大歡喜慶樂故</u> ， <u>是故初地名為歡喜地</u> 。	佛言：(1)觀世自在！菩薩初離生死， <u>得出世間大利</u> ，清淨勝妙， <u>歡喜踊躍。是故初地名歡喜地</u> 。
(2) <u>一切微細</u> 之罪、 <u>破戒</u> 、過失皆清淨故， <u>是故二地說名無垢地</u> 。	(2) 遠離 <u>一切微細破戒障故</u> ， <u>是故第二名離垢地</u> 。
(3) <u>無量智慧光明三昧</u> ，不可傾動，無能摧伏，聞持 <u>陀羅尼</u> 為 <u>作本故</u> ， <u>是故三地說名明地</u> 。	(3) 依 <u>無量智光明</u> 照曜，照諸三昧及聞持 <u>陀羅尼</u> ，而得自在能 <u>作光明</u> ， <u>是故第三名光明地</u> 。
(4) 能 <u>燒煩惱</u> 以 <u>智慧火</u> ，增長光明，是修行道品依處所故， <u>是故四地說名焰地</u> 。	(4) <u>智火</u> 炎熾 <u>燒</u> 蓋提分 <u>煩惱</u> 習垢， <u>是故第四名為焔地</u> 。
(5) 是 <u>修行方便</u> 勝智自在 <u>難得</u> 故，見思煩惱不可伏故， <u>是故五地說名難勝地</u> 。	(5) 即彼菩提分 <u>方便修行難勝得勝</u> ， <u>是故第五名難勝地</u> 。
(6) <u>行法</u> 相續了了顯現， <u>無相</u> 多思惟 <u>現前</u> 故， <u>是故六地說名現前地</u> 。	(6) 正念思惟 <u>諸有為行</u> ， <u>現前</u> 證知諸法 <u>無相</u> ， <u>是故第六名現前地</u> 。
(7) <u>無漏</u> 、 <u>無間</u> 、 <u>無相</u> 思惟解脫三昧 <u>遠</u> 修行故，是地清淨無障無礙， <u>是故七地說名遠行地</u> 。	(7) <u>無間</u> 、 <u>無斷</u> 、 <u>無相</u> 正念... <u>遠</u> 入行近清淨地， <u>是故第七名遠行地</u> 。
(8) <u>無相</u> 正思惟 <u>修得自在</u> ，諸煩惱行不能令動， <u>是故八地說名不動地</u> 。	(8) <u>無有諸相自然修行相不能動</u> ， <u>是故第八名不動地</u> 。
(9) <u>說一切種種法</u> 而得自在無患累故，增長 <u>智慧自在無礙</u> 故， <u>是故九地說名善慧地</u> 。	(9) <u>說一切法一切種智無礙自在</u> ，得廣大智他不降伏， <u>是故第九名善慧地</u> 。
(10) <u>法身如虛空</u> ，智慧如 <u>大雲</u> ，能令遍滿覆一切故， <u>是故第十名法雲地</u> 。 ⁴⁸	(10) 眾生煩惱過患之 <u>身如虛空</u> 等，如來法身猶如 <u>大雲覆</u> 眾生界，說法示現， <u>是故第十名法雲地</u> 。
	[no match: 離一切無明微細習氣、離一切境界智障習氣，無障無礙，於一切法中而得自在，是故第十一名為佛地。]

⁴⁷ The names used here for the ten *bhūmis* are telling: 1. 歡喜地; 2. 無垢地; 3. 明地; 4. 焰地; 5. 難勝地; 6. 現前地; 7. 遠行地; 8. 不動地; 9. 善慧地; 10. 法雲地 (P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* 374b15-c5), for 1. *pramuditā bhūmiḥ*; 2. *vimalā bhūmiḥ*; 3. *prabhākarī bhūmiḥ*; 4. *arciṣmatī bhūmiḥ*; 5. *sudurjayā bhūmiḥ*; 6. *abhimukhī bhūmiḥ*; 7. *dūramgamā bhūmiḥ*; 8. *acalā bhūmiḥ*; 9. *sādhumatī bhūmiḥ*; 10. *dharmameghā bhūmiḥ*; Rahder (1926): 5. In the Chinese record, this list derives from the *Daśabhūmika*, beginning with KJ's translation; T1521:26.92a12-15. The exact list found in P-Suv, including 無垢地 for the second *bhūmi*, is very rare. The other only cases I can find are in one passage only in KJ's **Daśabhūmikavibhāsā* (elsewhere, the same text has the more usual KJ list discussed immediately below), T1521:26.91c26-92a15 (though the list of

§8 Two obstructions (**āvaraṇa*) particular to each *bhūmi*, 374c6-375a1 (no parallel in Kiv; see Table 4 below)

- (1)初地欲行有相道是無明,障礙生死怖畏是無明,依二種麤心是初地障。
 (2)微細罪過因無明,種種業行相因無明,依二種麤心是二地障。
 (3)昔所未得勝利得故動涌因無明,不具闍持陀羅尼因無明,依二種麤心是三地障。
 (4)味禪定樂生愛著心因無明,微妙淨法愛因無明,依二種麤心是四地障。
 (5)一意欲入涅槃思惟、一意欲入生死思惟、是涅槃思惟、是生死思惟無明為因,生死涅槃不平等思惟無明為因,依二種麤心是五地障。
 (6)行法相續了了顯現無明為因,法相數數行至於心無明為因,依二種麤心是六地障。
 (7)微細諸相或現不現無明,一味熟思惟欲斷未得方便無明,依二種麤心是七地障。
 (8)於無相法多用功力無明,執相自在難可得度無明,依二種麤心是八地障。

680c24-681a16:⁵⁰

[no match: 觀世自在菩薩白佛言：世尊！世尊此諸地，有幾種無明、幾種障對？佛言：觀世自在！有二十二種無明、十一種障。觀世自在！]

- (1)於初地中,執著人我、法我無明,惡道煩惱染相無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (2)於二地中,微細過無明,種種業道無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (3)於三地中,求欲法無明,滿足闍持陀羅尼無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (4)於四地中,愛三摩跋提無明,愛法無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (5)於五地中,於世間正念思惟,非一向背世間、非一向現世間無明,於涅槃正念思惟,非一向背涅槃、非一向趣涅槃無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (6)於六地中,不如實知有為行現前無明,多集諸相無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (7)於七地中,微細相行無明,一向思惟方便無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (8)於八地中,無自然無相無明,諸相不得自在無明,迷沒彼二,是故名障。
 (9)於九地中,無量說法,無量名句、上上樂說智慧陀羅尼無明,樂說辯才自在

bhūmis here appears incomplete); and in *Divākara 地婆訶羅 (613-680) T674:16.661b28-29. However, a closely related list, differing only in the name of this second *bhūmi*, is much more common: 1. 歡喜地; 2. 離垢地; 3. 明地; 4. 焰[*var. 炎*]地; 5. 難勝地; 6. 現前地; 7. 遠行地 8. 不動地; 9. 善慧地; 10. 法雲地. This list is also used by DhKs, BBh 941c21-945a19. It seems originally to derive from KJ: E.g. KJ DBh T286:10.498b29-c3, and *passim*; *DBh-*vibhāṣā* T1521:26.22c27-23a2, 23a10, 104b24-28. The same texts also feature an alternate list: 1. 喜地; 2. 淨地; 3. 明地; 4. 炎地; 5. 難勝; 6. 現前; 7. 深遠 8. 不動; 9. 善慧 10. 法雲, T286:10.498b29-c3, T1521:26.70c5-6. It is otherwise thereafter found in Guṇabhadra, T278:9.575b6-13, T678:16.714c19-20, 715a24-b6; Daotai, T1634:32.42c25-43a13; Bodhiruci (of the N. Wei), including the present SdhN passage, T761:17.640c24-641a1, T1525:26.247c1-2, slight var. (3. 光明地; 4. 炎地), SdhN T675:16.680a20-22; and Bodhiruci (of the Tang), T310(45):11.649b25-c18 (cf. p. 214 above).

Meanwhile, the nearest we come to the same list in P is a single anomalous passage in MSg: 1. 歡喜地; 2. 無垢地; 3. 明焰地; 4. 燒然地; 5. 難勝地; 6. 現前地; 7. 遠行地; 8. 不動地; 9. 善慧地; 10. 法雲地, T1593:31.125c27-126a1; repeated in Bh T1595:31.221a16-19. So far as I can determine, this peculiar list seems never to occur in any other translation text, and on the face of it, I would guess that the anomalous names for the third and fourth *bhūmis* (which never occur elsewhere in isolation from one another either) are the result of conflating the names for the third and fourth *bhūmis* from the KJ list to make a new name for the third *bhūmi*, 明焰地; and then coining a new name to fill the resulting gap for the fourth *bhūmi*, 燒然地. (燒然地 otherwise only occurs as part of the name of a hell, 燒然地獄.)

⁴⁸ Particularly given that the repeated formulaic form of this summary statement does *not* match ordinarily through the bulk of this list, the complete verbatim match with Bodhiruci in this case may be significant – perhaps a sign of inconsistent “editing” of the base text.

⁴⁹ Cf. Lamotte (1935): Ch 9, §4, 125-127, 238-240.

⁵⁰ Cf. Lamotte (1935), Ch 9 §5, 127-129, 240-242.

<p>(9)說法無量、名味句無量、智慧分別無量未能攝持無明，四無礙辯未得自在無明，依二種麤心是九地障。 (10)最大神通未得如意無明，微妙祕密之藏修行未足無明，依二種麤心是十地障。 (11)一切境界微細智礙無明為因，未來是礙不更生未得不更生智無明為因，是如來地障。</p>	<p>無明，迷沒彼二，是故名障。 (10)於十地中，太通無明，入微細密無明，迷沒彼二，是故名障。 (11)於佛地中，於一切境界極微細無明，他障無明，迷沒彼二，是故名障。</p>
<p>P-Suv-dhāraṇī</p>	<p>P SdhN</p>
<p>377a19-21: 是時，世尊而說偈言： <u>逆生死流道</u> 甚深微難見 貪欲覆眾生 愚冥暗不見。</p>	<p>714b24-29:爾時，世尊說是經已，重說偈言： 法通相一味 諸佛說平等 若於中執異 是人增上慢 <u>逆生死流道</u> 微細深難見 欲染[var. 深 SYMP]癡覆故 凡人不能得。</p>

In addition, two of the actual *dhāraṇīs* in P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* are clearly versions of *dhāraṇīs* found in SBh's *Mahāmāyūrī* ("MMā"); and, moreover, others in places also probably reflect the influence of SBh's transcriptions. The relationship shown in the case of the tenth *dhāraṇī*, in particular, is extraordinarily precise and close.⁵¹ This obviously resonates with the fact that, as we saw above, P-Suv-*yezhang* is based in part upon SBh KAP. Table 6 shows this relationship.

Table 6: The *dhāraṇīs* of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* and SBh MMā

Conventions: As above

Wavy underline: matches outside SBh MMā

<p>Fifth <i>dhāraṇī</i>: 375c10-13: 怛姪他⁵² (1)訶里訶里尼⁵³ (2)遮履遮履尼 (3)柯羅摩尼 僧柯羅⁵⁴ 摩尼 三婆訶沙尼 (4)剌婆訶尼 悉耽 婆訶⁵⁵尼 (5)謨訶尼 (6)莎瑱部 吼陸 (7)鎖訶。</p>	<p>SBh MMā 449b22-23:⁵⁶ (1)訶利訶利尼 (2)遮利遮利尼 (3)波羅 摩尼 (5)母訶尼 娑擔婆尼 (4)剌婆尼 (6)莎瑱部 (7)莎呵。</p>
<p>Tenth <i>dhāraṇī</i>:⁵⁷</p>	<p>SBh MMā 448a12-25:⁵⁹</p>

⁵¹ Incidentally, the thematic connection between this *dhāraṇī* and the eponymous notion of "Golden Light" (*suvarṇaprabhā*) at issue in Suv is clear. MMā contains a myth of origin for the text itself which associates the text with a peacock king of the past called King Suvarṇabhāsa or "Golden Light" (in which connection, we should remember that Suv itself is often called "King of *Sūtras*, Golden Light", *Suvarṇabhāsottamendrarāja* etc.). In MMā, this *dhāraṇī* is introduced precisely in the context of the story of this "King Golden Light"; it is a *dhāraṇī* that he was in the habit of reciting daily, in order to assure the protection and prosperity of his kingdom. (There is no mention of this peacock king in Suv.)

⁵² On 怛姪他, see p. 233 below.

⁵³ 訶里尼: also found in SBh MMā 447b2.

⁵⁴ 柯羅摩(尼) 375c10-11 (broken by an interlinear gloss: 柯羅[留我切]摩尼; the only other instance of the sequence 柯羅摩 is in the name of King Vikramāditya 國王毘柯羅摩阿祇多在 P's biography of Vasubandhu, T2049:50.189c21-22.

⁵⁵ Cf. a partial match 綜婆耽婆訶智 in SBh MMā 449a9-10.

⁵⁶ (1) *hari hāriṇi*, (2) *cali cālīni*, (≈3) *tramaṇi trāmaṇi*, (5) *mohani stambhani* (4) *jambhani* (6) *svayambhuve* (7) *svāha*; Oldenbourg (1897-1898): 228; Takubo (1972): 15.

⁵⁷ The treatment of this *dhāraṇī* given here is only preliminary, and intended merely to show the correspondences between the two versions. I have removed the interlinear glosses from both texts to make it easier to see correspondences in the *dhāraṇī* itself. I have spaced both Suv and Ch MMā on the basis of comparison with Skt MMā, but this is only a convenience (again to make comparison easier), and pending further study of the *dhāraṇī*, should not be taken as certainly reflecting true word boundaries in the

<p>376b5-16: (怛姪他⁵⁸) (1)悉提醯 (2)修 悉提醯 (3)姪者彌 (4)姪羞彌 (5)毘目 底 (6)阿摩置 (7)毘摩置 (8)涅摩置 (9)瞿伽置 (10)喜懶若竭刺陞 (醯何) (11)刺那竭(刺)陞 (12)醯(13)(婆曼多)跋 渴弟(置) (14)薩婆賴他娑陀呵彌 (15) 摩那死 (16)摩訶摩那死 (17)頰部(吼) 底 (18)頰哲部(吼)底 (19)婆羅弟 (20)毘羅是 (21)(頰周底) (22)阿羨里 底 (23)(阿羅是 (24)毘羅是) (25)婆藍 訶米 (26)婆藍摩須置 (27)(富樓禰 (28)富樓那摩怒)羅體 (29)鎖訶.</p>	<p>(1)悉提醯 (2) 戴悉提醯 (3)武遮尼 (4)武叉尼 (木柅) (5)毘木柅 (6)阿摩 離 (7)毘摩離 (8)尼摩離 (曼陀離) (9)亡伽離 (10)喜蘭耳治跋婢 (11)刺 (YM)那伽婢 (12)醯 (13)(摩孺里)跋陀 離 (修跋陀離 婆修跋陀離 娑滿多 跋 陀離 (14)薩婆他娑陀尼 (波羅末他娑 陀尼) (15)摩那死 (16)摩訶摩那死 (17)鷄部柅 (18)鷄哲部柅 (鷄箒柅) (19)阿羅是 (20)毘羅是 (22)阿摩里柅 (阿摩隸 婆羅彌 婆羅娑離跋羅耐跋羅那 摩弩脂 彌里多三侍婆底死里跋陀隸 旃 陀隸 旃陀羅 波羅譬修離易修羅那干諦 毘多頗易修跋柅) (25)婆羅摩瞿履 (26) 婆羅摩遮柅(薩婆波)(28)羅底 (29)(訶柅) 娑訶.</p>
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I have been unable to find matches for any of the other *dhāraṇīs* as a whole, but some transcription terms in them further strengthen the association with SBh's transcription idiom:

First *dhāraṇī*, 375a28-b4:頭吼⁶⁰

Third *dhāraṇī*, 375b20-22:柯羅智⁶¹

Sixth *dhāraṇī*, 375c20-25:苾頭誘訶底⁶²... 曼多羅波柅⁶³

Seventh *dhāraṇī*, 376a3-7:阿蜜多羅⁶⁴

underlying Skt. I have arbitrarily taken textual variants noted in the Taishō apparatus for MMā where they make correspondences with Suv clearer, but only where they thus help us with this comparison; this should not be taken as indicating any other reasons for preferring those readings. I have placed portions of one *dhāraṇī* that seem to have no clear match in the other in brackets. Numbers are inserted to help readers align elements in the Ch and Skt. Since my primary aim is to elucidate the P-Suv version, I have not inserted numbering for elements not included in that version.

⁵⁸ See n. 52.

⁵⁹ Skt: (1)*siddhe* | (2)*susiddhe* | (3)*mocani vimocani* | (4)*mokṣaṇi* | *mukte* (5)*vimukte* | (6)*amale* | (7)*vimale* | (8)*nirmale* | *aṇḍare* | *paṇḍare* | (9)*maṅgale maṅgalye* | *hiraṇye* (10)*hiraṇyaḡarbhe* | *ratne* (11)*ratnaḡarbhe* | *bhadre subhadre* (13)*samantabhadre* | (14)*sarvārthasādhani paramārthasādhani sarvānarthaprasāmani sarvamaṅgalasādhani sarvāmaṅgalavādhani* | (15)*manasi mānasi* (16) *mahāmānasi* | (17)*adbhūte* (18)*atyadbhūte* | *mukte mocani mokṣaṇi* | (21)*acyute* | (23) *araḡe* (24) *viraje* | *vimale* | *amrte amare amaraṇi* | (25)*brahme* (26)*brahmasvare* | (27) *pūrṇe* (28) *pūrṇamanorathe* | *mṛtasamjīvani* | *śrībhadre candre candraprabhe* | *sūrye sūryakānte* | *vītabhaye* | *suvarṇe brahmaghoṣe brahmagjeṣṭhe sarvatrāpratīhate rakṣa māṃ* (29) *svāhā* || *namaḡ sarvabuddhānāṃ svastīr bhavatu Svāter bhikṣor jīvatu varṣaṣatam paśyatu śaradām śatam huci guci ghuci mucī svāhā* || Oldenbourg (1897-1898): 223-224; Takubo (1972): 8-9.

The section in Lin (2001) on MMā is not helpful with regard to this *dhāraṇī*; Lin (2001): 2:99-106. For the Suv *dhāraṇī*, cf. Lin (2001): 1:342-343; referring, however, to YJ, which notably contains no obvious correspondences in transcriptions to the versions treated here; T665:16.421b15-22.

⁶⁰ 頭吼: otherwise only in SBh MMā 449b10-11.

⁶¹ 柯羅智: otherwise only in SBh MMā 455b26.

⁶² Cf. 苾頭摩底, SBh MMā 449c14. There may be a faint resemblance with part of the larger *dhāraṇī* here too.

⁶³ SBh MMā 曼多羅波馱, 456a23. Cf. also 虛空藏菩薩問七佛陀羅尼咒經: 私田闢 曼多羅波羅娑 波呵, T1333:21.563b23-24, which may match all the last three words of this Suv *dhāraṇī*, 悉遲遯斗 曼多羅波柅 鎖訶 (but I cannot match up other parts, and transcription differs; HBGR dates this text to the Liang). I guess the last three words are **siddhantu mantra*-[*vrata*?] *svāhā*, which is pretty generic, and seems to appear in a number of other *mantras* (in various transcriptions); not enough to constitute a match.

⁶⁴ 阿蜜多羅: also appears in SBh MMā(2). Some of the overall surrounding *dhāraṇī* also looks like it matches: 鞞漏翅...鞞漏翅...阿蜜多羅...伽多尼...波樓那婆底, MMā 449c6-8, compared to Suv 鞞柳枳

Ninth *dhāraṇī*, 376a24-27: 斗羅⁶⁵死...薩婆薩埵南⁶⁶

In addition, Chinese glosses between the transcriptions of all the *dhāraṇīs* feature the locution "Wu language" 吳音 (19 instances, nowhere else in Suv, nowhere else in P). This annotation could possibly have been added by a different hand. However, it is worth noting that it is also highly restricted in its distribution in the translation portion of the canon. It is also found in SBh's MMā (21 instances) and SBh's **Anantamukha[-sādhaka-] dhāraṇī* 舍利弗陀羅尼經;⁶⁷ it is otherwise only found in **Buddhayaśas*, **Mandrasena* and "Zhi Qian".⁶⁸

In sum, then, P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* shows clear debts to quite a number of earlier Chinese texts: two versions of BDBh, by KJ and Kiv; two versions of SdhN, by P and Bodhiruci; and SBh's MMā. Between them, these sources account for much of the content of the chapter as a whole.

Sources of P-Suv-*yikong*

Compared to the two chapters already examined, the situation with P-Suv-*yikong* is somewhat messier, and for portions of the text, I have been unable to identify a single extended parallel, as I could above. However, for two portions of the chapter, it is clear that one source must be SdhN (once more; cf. P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* above⁶⁹); and, moreover, that the authors of P-Suv-*yikong* consulted and borrowed some of the specific wording of P's Chinese translation of those SdhN passages. The first parallel is relatively short, running for approximately ten Taishō lines. After a portion of apparently unrelated text, P-Suv-*yikong* continues with the second parallel, which is longer, occupying a total of about two Taishō registers. It is also worth noting that the order in which the passages in question occur in the two texts is not the same; in P's SdhN, the second passage precedes the first. Table 7 shows these relations.

鞞柳枳 阿蜜多羅 伽訶尼 婆力灑尼. But if it does match, it seems unlikely that Suv was taken directly from SBh, since so *little* of the transcription matches.

⁶⁵ The combination 斗羅 is otherwise only ever seen in SBh MMā: 斗羅君蛇, 449a10; 基梨已遮奢多斗羅, 458a12-13.

⁶⁶ Again, there is a weak match in transcription terms in SBh MMā: 薩婆菩地薩埵南, T984:19.454a14.

⁶⁷ T1016:19.695c13-16 (2 instances).

⁶⁸ **Buddhayaśas* **Akāśagarbha-sūtra* T405:13.651a18; **Mandrasena Ratamegha* T659:16.265b26-c8 (5 instances); "Zhi Qian" **Puṣpakūṭadhāraṇī* 華積陀羅尼神咒經 T1356:21.875a20-21 (T1356 is not regarded as an authentic Zhi Qian work in Nattier 2008). In addition, however, SBh's MMā contains over 100 instances of an interlinear gloss reading "Liang language" 梁言, a locution not found in P-Suv.

⁶⁹ The multiple connections to SdhN are interesting in light of a comment of P's reported in Hyōbi's *Saishō kyō usoku* 叢勝王經羽足, stating that Suv was preached by the Buddha at the same time as SdhN: 眞諦三藏云、『深蜜』同時說、則成道第三十八年說; T2196:56.807b22; Funayama seminar (unpublished).

Table 7: P-Suv-yikong and the Samdhinirmocana-sūtra

Conventions: As above

<p>First parallel 380b15-20: 若不常不斷，則不一不異。<u>何以故？若不異法界，若爾者，凡夫人則見真諦，得於無上安樂涅槃。是義不然</u>，是故不一。若言其異者，一切諸佛菩薩行相即是執著，未得解脫煩惱繫縛，則不能得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。⁷⁰何以故？</p> <p>380b20-25: <u>一切聖人於行非行法中同智慧行。是故不異。是故五陰非有，不從因緣生，非不有五陰，不過聖境界故。非言語之所能及，無名、無相、無因、無緣，無有境界、無有譬喻，始終寂靜，本來自空。</u>⁷¹是故五陰能現法界。</p>	<p>First parallel P SdhN T677:16.713a14-26:⁷² 如來通達微細甚深真實之法，與諸行等過二異相。<u>何以故？淨慧！若執如此，依諸行法修真實觀，能達、能證真如之理，無有是處。何以故？淨慧！若真如與行相不異者，一切凡夫應見真如。復次，一切眾生正在凡位，應得無上如安涅槃。復次，一切眾生於凡位中，亦應能得無上菩提。若真如相異於行相，一切聖人已見真如，則應不能伏滅諸行相；由不伏滅諸行相故，雖見真諦不能解脫眾相繫縛；若於眾相不得解脫，亦不解脫鹿重繫縛；若不解脫二種繫縛，則不能得無上如安無餘涅槃，亦應不得無上菩提。</u></p> <p>713a26-b1: 淨慧！由諸凡夫不見真如，在凡夫位不得無上如安涅槃，亦不能得無上菩提。以是義故，真如之理與諸行一，是義不然。若有人說：『真如與行相不異』者，由此義故，當知是人不如理行。</p>
<p>Second parallel 381a3-9: 梵王！譬如幻師善巧幻術、及幻弟子，於四衢道取諸土沙、草、木、葉等，聚在一處，作種種幻術，使人觀見象眾、馬眾、車眾、軍眾、七寶之聚、種種倉庫。若有眾生愚癡無智，不能思惟，不知幻本，若見、若聞作是思惟：「如我所見象、馬眾等，謂是真實，如見、如聞。」隨能、隨力，各執所見。自言「是實，於他非真，」後不重思惟。</p>	<p>Second parallel P SdhN 712a12-b9:⁷³ 善男子！如巧幻師及幻弟子，於四衢道，或取草、葉及木、石等，聚集一處，現種種幻事，諸象兵、馬兵、車兵、步兵，摩尼、真珠、珊瑚、玉石，及倉庫等。若有諸人，嬰兒、凡夫、愚癡邪智，不能了別草等幻本，是人若見、若聞，作是思惟，謂：「實有此象、馬四兵及以庫藏。」若見、若聞，隨能、隨力執著見聞，作是言說：「此是真實，異此非真。」是人則應重更思量。</p>
<p>381a9-16: 有智之人，則能思惟，了於幻本，若見、若聞作是思惟：「如我所見象、馬等眾，非是真實。惟有幻事惑人眼目，是處說名象、馬等眾、及諸庫倉。惟有名字，無有實體，⁷⁴如我所見、如我所聞。」隨能、隨力，不執所見。自言「是實，於他</p>	<p>若有諸人，非嬰兒、凡夫及愚癡邪智，識知如是草等幻本，若見、若聞，作是思惟：「無有如是象、馬等物及以庫藏。」是人若見、若聞，隨能、隨力執著見聞，作是言說：「如我所見，此是真實，異此非真。」雖隨世言，為顯實</p>

⁷⁰ 則不能得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提：cf. also KJ *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* T223:8.300b22-23; MPNMS (3); MPPU (3). Buddhavarman/Daotai Vibh T1546:28.5c7-8; Guṇabhadra BBh.

⁷¹ 本來自空: Otherwise only in KJ, T653 and T1568.

⁷² Cf. Lamotte (1935): Ch 3 §2-3, 43-44, 175-176.

⁷³ Cf. Lamotte (1935): Ch 1 §4-5, 36-38, 170-172.

⁷⁴ Cf. KJ MPPU: 菩薩但有名字，無有實法，T1509:25.336b27-28; 是法但有名字，無有實事，575c15.

<p>非真，」後不重思惟。是諸智人隨說世語，...皆欲令他知實義故，如見、如聞思惟，則不如是。</p>	<p>義，是人<u>不須重更思惟</u>。</p>
<p>381a16-22: 如是，梵王！若有眾生愚癡凡夫，未得出世聖智慧故，未知一切諸法如如不可言說，是諸凡愚若見、若聞行非行法，作是思惟：「實有如是諸法，如我所見、如我所聞，」是諸凡夫人如見、...如聞，隨能、隨力，執著所見，自言「是實，於他非真，」後不重思惟。</p>	<p>善男子！如此嬰兒凡夫，未得出世真如聖慧，未識諸法不可言體。是人若見、若聞，諸法所作及非所作，作是思惟：「實有如是諸法所作及非所作。何以故？可見、可知故。」是人若見、若聞，隨能、隨力，執著見聞，隨見聞說：「此是真實，異此非真。」是人應當須重思量。</p>
<p>381a22-b4: 若有眾生非凡夫人，已見第二義諦，...得出世聖慧、知一切法如如不可言說，...是諸聖人若見、若聞行法、非行法，隨能、隨力不執著所見，自言是實，於他非真，後不重思惟：「無實行法、無實非行法，如我所見、如我所聞。惟妄思惟行、非行相，或人智慧。是處說名行、非行法，惟有名字、無有實體，如我所見，如我所聞。」隨能、隨力，不執所見，自言「是實、於他非真，」後不重思惟。是諸聖人，如世語言隨順其說，為欲令他知真實義...</p>	<p>若有諸人，非嬰兒、凡夫，已見真實，及得出世真如聖慧，已識諸法不可言體，若見、若聞作是思惟：「如所見知，諸法所作及非所作，皆非實有，但有假相，從分別起，如幻化事，欺誑凡心，於此中起所作、非所作名及餘眾名。」是人如所見聞，不生執著，不作是言：「此是真實，異此非真。」雖隨世言，為顯實義，是人<u>不須重更思惟</u>...</p>
<p>381b2-c5: 如是，梵王！是諸聖人，聖智見故，...不可言法如如攝行、非行法，是法如如，為他證智故，說種種名。</p>	<p>P SdhN 712b9-11: 善男子！如是聖人由聖智見，已能覺了不可言體，為欲令他見法實相，故說教句，謂是所作、非所作等。</p>

In addition, three further parallels can be found for brief portions of P-Suv-yikong. The first may not be a true parallel, but comprises an unusual simile that I have otherwise only been able to find in Guṇabhadra's *Mahābherihāraka-sūtra 大法鼓經 T270 ("MBhH"). The second is not much more than a snippet, but cannot be coincidence, and is important as one of several pieces of evidence that connect P-Suv particularly closely with P's *Wushang yi jing* 無上依經 T669 ("Wushang").⁷⁵ Finally, the opening verses of the chapter seem possibly to have been cobbled together from a number of sources, but find a particularly close match (for about half the verses) in Mandrasena's *Ratnamegha-sūtra 寶雲經 T658. Table 8 shows these relations.

Table 8: Other minor parallels in P-Suv-yikong

<p>P-Suv-yikong Analogy of the sound of a drum, wood, skin and drumstick: 380b9-12: 善女天！譬如鼓聲，依木、依皮、依桴 [var. 桴]、依人工等，故得出</p>	<p>Guṇabhadra MBhH T270:9.293a25-27: 迦葉！譬如波斯匿王鼓，何等為鼓？迦葉白佛言：「所言鼓者，皮、木、及桴 [var. 桴]，此三法和合，是名為鼓。</p>
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⁷⁵ See Part 2 of the present study.

聲。是 <u>鼓</u> 聲空，過去亦空、未來亦空、現在亦空 ⁷⁶ 。何以故？是 <u>鼓</u> 音聲不從 <u>木</u> 生、不從 <u>皮</u> 生、不從 <u>捩</u> 生、不從人工生...	
381c14-17: 梵王！ <u>譬如轉輪聖王，若王在世，七寶不滅。王若過世，一切七寶自然而盡。梵王！是『金光明微妙經典』...若現在世，大正法寶皆悉不滅。</u>	P Wushang 477c6-8:" 阿難！ <u>譬如轉輪聖王，若王在世，七寶常隨。此經亦爾...若住於世，佛寶、法寶、僧寶種性相續不絕。</u>

P-Suv-*yikong* 380a20-25:

Matches are found in multiple texts, and therefore presented in the footnotes. For abbreviations, see the list at the end of this paper. Conventions otherwise as above.

我問照世界 兩足最勝尊⁷⁸
 菩薩正行法⁷⁹ 惟願垂聽許⁸⁰
 佛言善女天 汝若有疑⁸¹者
 隨汝意所問 吾⁸²當分別說⁸³
 云何諸菩薩.....行菩提正行⁸⁴
 離生死涅槃⁸⁵ 利益自他故⁸⁶

In sum, P-Suv-*yikong* shows fairly extensive debts to P's SdhN, and smaller likely debts to P's Wushang, and to Guṇabhadra and Mandrasena. Compared to P-Suv-*yezhang* and P-Suv-*dhāranī*, however, a larger portion of the chapter remains unaccounted for by this evidence.⁸⁷ We will return to the problem of these leftover portions below.⁸⁸

⁷⁶ KJ *Fa puti xin jing lun* 發菩提心經論：從本來空未來亦空現在亦空，T1659:32.516b19.

⁷⁷ Given the current understanding that Wushang was probably composed by P, it is, of course, possible that Wushang might have taken this conceit, with this phrasing, from P-Suv, rather than the other way around.

⁷⁸ Faxian 兩足最勝尊亦復歸於盡，T7:1.205b17 (JñG, Narendrayaśas).

⁷⁹ Tang Bodhiruci:願為我說菩薩正行，T310(22):11.495b11-12. Note that a few lines later, our present text seems to use this phrase interchangeably with菩提正行.

⁸⁰ 願垂聽許: *Zhan cha jing* T839, Maṇḍrasena and SBh, JñG T190 (and, in the Tang: Bodhiruci T310; Divākara T347; YJ T455, T698, MSV T1442, T1451; Amoghavajra T1022).

⁸¹ 汝若有疑: KJ **Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* 大莊嚴論經 T201:4.261c8.

⁸² The pronoun *wu* 吾 never appears in a reference corpus of P's core translation texts (AV, SdhN, Lü, AKBh, Vim, MSg, MAV, Ālamb, Hast, Ratna, SK).

⁸³ Fonian: 吾當分別說於菩薩無生滅行，T309:10.997c22; 隨汝意問...當為汝說，Guṇabhadra, T99:2.86c4-5; Narendrayaśas, **Samnipāta-sūtra*: 佛言大王。隨汝意問 237b25-26, 隨汝意問...我當廣說令汝心喜, 254c24. Note also the following extended parallel to about half of the verses to this point in Mandrasena's 寶雲經: 世尊！欲有所問，唯願聽許。佛即答言：若有疑者，隨汝所。我當為汝分別解說, T658:16.211c2-6.

⁸⁴ SBh 度一切諸佛境界智嚴經: 云何諸菩薩行菩薩行, T358:12.253a17-18; DhKṣ BBh: 出生菩提正行而發心, T1581:30.941a6-7.

⁸⁵ 離生死涅槃: Rare: P MSg, MSgBh (XZ, Gupta idem); FXL T1610:31.811b1; Divākara T1515.

⁸⁶ 利益自他: Rare before the Tang: Vimokṣaprajñārsi, P MSgBh (2), SWXL, Ratna. Cf. esp. SWXL, in a passage expounding the achievement of the benefit of self and others in connection to non-dualism, and avoidance of either *nirvāṇa* or non-*nirvāṇa*: 二處不著故，為利益自他功能，為解脫涅槃、不般涅槃故, T1617:31.878b23-25. Also in P-Suv-*trikāya*: 一切諸佛利益自他至於究竟, 363a12.

⁸⁷ Note that I have also so far also been unable to find any citations of P-Suv-*yikong* in Sui authors; see once more n. 21.

⁸⁸ See p. 227 ff, esp. the passage discussed on p. 230.

Sources of P-Suv-*trikāya*

P-Suv-*trikāya* presents us with a very different kind of problem. As Hamano has shown, Suv-*trikāya* is closely related to the **Kāyatrayāvātāramukha* (preserved in Tibetan; "KTAM").⁸⁹ This parallel material comprises the majority, though not the entirety, of the chapter.⁹⁰ The correspondence between the two texts is best explained by the assumption that KTAM is the principal source for P-Suv-*trikāya*. Given that there is no extant translation of KTAM in Chinese, we should therefore not expect to find extended Chinese parallels for the text, as we did for other chapters above; and indeed, I have been unable to find relations of that sort between it and other Chinese materials.

The debt of Suv-*trikāya* to KTAM makes it most likely that the chapter was introduced into Suv by someone who directly knew Indic materials.⁹¹ Only one consideration might militate against this likelihood: Wōnch'uk 圓測 (613-696) was aware of an "old translation" 舊翻 of KTAM into Chinese.⁹² If this translation was already in circulation at the time of the composition of P-Suv-*trikāya*, it is possible that P-Suv-*trikāya* was composed upon its basis, and thus, by an author who did not necessarily have direct knowledge of untranslated Indic materials. Setting aside this possibility, however, it is probably safest for us to take direct knowledge of an Indic KTAM as a source text as one of the parameters in our search for the authors of Suv-*trikāya*.

At first sight, this basis of Suv-*trikāya* in KTAM would seem obviously to require us to conclude that the tradition is right in holding that this chapter, at least, was introduced into Suv in India, and then subsequently translated into Chinese by P. I will argue, however, that the real situation is considerably more complex, and that we cannot be so confident of this conclusion. Before I can discuss this aspect of the problem, however, I must first discuss two other sets of evidence, indicating 1) that at least some parts of P-Suv were revised, and more versions of the text may have circulated than are now extant; and 2) that portions of P-Suv are stylistically closer to authors working under the Sui than they are to P's usual idiom.

Two versions of a **Mahāmegha-sūtra* passage in the "Lifespan" chapter

The "Lifespan" chapter 壽量品 of B and YJ contains an additional passage not found in DhKs's T663. A note in B states that this portion was supplied from a translation by JñG.⁹³ Suzuki Takayasu has argued persuasively that a good part of this passage was originally interpolated from the **Mahāmegha-sūtra* ("MM") into Suv.⁹⁴ The passage is preserved in Skt Suv. It is thus clear that it must already have been introduced into Suv in an Indic context.

⁸⁹ *sKu gsum la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos*, D3890/Q5290; Hamano (1985). On KTAM itself, see further Hamano (1984). Hamano notes that KTAM, and a commentary on it called **Kāyatrayāvṛtti* (*sKu sum 'grel pa*) are early, being recorded already in the lHan kar ma catalogue; Hamano (1984): 162. Both texts were translated by Ye shes sde. Most of the content in the body of the discourse in P-Suv-*trikāya* is matched in KTAM (though KTAM contains about as much again that is not matched in Suv), and the overall order of exposition is largely the same; Hamano (1985): 296. However, Hamano also notes some key differences between the two texts, so that they cannot be viewed merely as alternate versions of the same text.

⁹⁰ So far as I can see, the following portions of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* seem to have no parallel in KTAM: 363c23-364a1; 364a3-11; 364a29-c16; 364c23-365a2; 365a5-b10. See also Hamano (1985): 298.

⁹¹ While, in principle, it is also possible that KTAM might rather have been based directly or indirectly upon Suv, this scenario is relatively far-fetched, especially if (to anticipate arguments below) Suv-*trikāya* was composed in China. It would require that someone had added about half of KTAM from some other source, and that the Tibetan tradition had then substantially misrepresented the origins of KTAM. It would also mean that the text originally (in Suv) comprised a hybrid of Yogācāra and *tathāgatagarbha* doctrines, from which the *tathāgatagarbha* elements were then expunged; but the reverse process is much more plausible.

⁹² Wōnch'uk ascribes this text to *Nāgasena: 二, 有『影無本』者, 諸那伽摩那, 此云「龍軍」, 即是舊翻『三身論』主。彼說佛果唯有真如及真如智, 無色聲等羸相功德, X369:21.173c13-17. This report is echoed by Dingbin 定賓 (d.u), X733:42.293c14-16; Zenju 善珠 (723-797), T2261:65.344a26-b1; and in the anonymous T2262:65.428a18-22.

⁹³ 下幅多譯補, T664:16.360c21 (this note is found in Kor. only).

⁹⁴ Suzuki (1996): 495/28, 493/30 n. 2; B 361b25-362c3. More generally, see Suzuki (1996, 1998a, 1998b).

As mentioned above, the Shōgozō ("S") includes a manuscript copy of P's seven-fascicle Suv, and this text, moreover, incorporates the interpolated MM passage. This passage differs significantly between S and B. (By contrast to this passage, the other chapters of P-Suv that most concern us here display only minor textual variants.) Because access to S is still relatively restricted, an Appendix to this paper presents the text of this passage side by side in full for both texts.

As can be seen in the Appendix, discrepancies between S and B extend slightly further than Suzuki's interpolation (361b25-362b4), but are most numerous and significant precisely for that passage. The stroke of luck that has preserved this passage for us shows that the history of Suv in China is still more complex than other extant (canonical) texts would indicate.

It is therefore of considerable interest to consider the nature of the differences between B and S. B and S share so much wording that they cannot be independent of one another. Further, B is lengthier and more detailed than S, so that the most natural supposition would be that B is a revision of S, rather than the other way around. However, we also cannot suppose that S was merely a straight or accurate translation of Skt, which was then expanded upon by the author of B without reference to Skt. Some material in Skt is missing in S, and many of the additions to B have Skt parallels.⁹⁵ In places, in fact, we might well say that the author of B was *correcting* S.⁹⁶ Thus, whoever revised clearly did so at least in part by reference to a Skt text.

We cannot be sure, of course, exactly how the two texts before us came into being. However, given that S identifies itself as P's translation, and that the Korean version of B states that the passage was added on the basis of the work of JñG, the most natural supposition might be that P was the first translator to add the passage to Ch Suv, and P's version was then revised by JñG to produce B. This provides circumstantial support for the tantalising possibility that other portions of P-Suv, too, might have been revised after P's time. As we shall now see, this possibility is also supported by some of the stylistic features of P-Suv.

Evidence for a layer of "Sui" authorship or revision in P-Suv

We have seen above that the bulk of three out of four chapters of P-Suv have sources in a range of earlier Chinese texts – approximately seven to ten texts in total. This does not jibe easily with the traditional account of the origins of the text – that it was a straight translation from an Indic source text of four chapters already included in Skt Suv. In fact, if it were not for the existence of a supposedly independent translation from Skt in Tibetan, we might well most naturally conclude on the strength of the evidence reviewed above that P-Suv-*yezhang*, *-dhāraṇī* and *-yikong* were in some sense composed in China⁹⁷ – that is to say, redacted into their present form and added to Suv on the basis of the sources we have identified. We are entitled to ask, therefore, whether there is other evidence that might also undermine the traditional understanding of the nature and origin of the text for passages not yet covered by the evidence surveyed above.

In fact, I first embarked upon the research that led to the present paper because I casually observed that the language of P-Suv in some respects did not seem congruent with the style of other texts in P's corpus. Obviously, the evidence presented above for P-Suv-*yezhang*, *-dhāraṇī* and *-yikong* could account in good measure for such an observation –

⁹⁵ E.g. 我等邊國婆羅門等, *asmākam eva pratyanta-dvīpikānām brāhmanānām* (2.73), where S has only 我等; or 是時會中三萬二千天子。聞說如來如是甚深壽量義已, *atha khalu dvātriṃśa-deva-putra-sahasrāṇi tathāgatasyemaṃ gambhīram āyuh-pramāṇa-nirdeśam śrutvā* (2.101) where S has only 是時會中三萬諸天聞是妙法。

⁹⁶ For example, for *anasthi-rudhira-kāye kuto dhātur bhaviṣyati/upāya-dhātu-nikṣepam satvānām hita-kāraṇam* (2.98, v. 27), B has 如是身者/非於血肉/云何而得/有於舍利, but S has 如是之身/為無與等/常真定慧/無有破壞。

⁹⁷ I mean by this phrasing to suggest a possibility somewhere "between translation and composition", in the sense identified by Funayama (2006).

much of the language in P-Suv naturally does not "sound like" P, because it is not "his";⁹⁸ but rather, is inherited from earlier Chinese source texts. However, even the relationships between P-Suv and earlier Chinese sources examined above cannot account for all of the unusual features of the language of the text. In particular, passages not included among those for which we have traced sources above also exhibit "un-P-like" features; and even where passages are paralleled in earlier Chinese sources, the language of P-Suv includes "un-P-like" features that do not come from those sources. Thus, we must still examine the language of the text further, to see what more we can determine about its style and likely provenance.

In evaluating such a question, it is appropriate first to narrow our field of enquiry to the possibilities that are reasonable on the basis of our other evidence. We have already seen above that an overwhelming range of evidence shows that P-Suv was already in circulation by the Sui dynasty – probably by the early 590s at the latest. On the other hand, we have also seen that P's own SdhN is among the sources of P-Suv. Since SdhN is clearly a straightforward translation text, it is quite unlikely that P-Suv was a source of P's SdhN. We also see that P's Wushang may be among the other sources of P-Suv (see also Part 2 of the present study). Finally, we have also seen that very substantial external evidence strongly associates P with the authorship of P-Suv in some form. Thus, as a first approximation, it is sensible to narrow the range of our inquiry to the period from (and including) P's translation activity down to the early Sui.

This is obviously quite a narrow range of possibilities, particularly given the relatively coarse grain of our record, which does not offer us very many intermediate points between P and the Sui to which we might refer. However, even though it comprises in total a relatively small body of text, and even though it is "contaminated" in its stylistic signal by the incorporation of elements from the various other sources identified above, it is striking that we very often encounter in P-Suv turns of phrase that are far more common in the work of Sui translators – JñG, Dharmagupta 達磨笈多/達摩笈多/笈多 (?-619), Narendrayāśas 那連提耶舍 (517-589), and Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 (fl. ca. 583) – than they are in P.

For example, the following passage from P-Suv-*trikāya* (much of which is unparalleled in KTAM) is thick with phrases more typical of the Sui than of P, in addition to other phraseology already in circulation:

Bold: Verbatim match of at least four characters in length, of limited and possibly significant distribution.

Wavy underline: Terms or phrases typically found in other corpora, including Sui authors, but atypical of P.

Details of distribution of each term or phrase may be found in the footnotes. Authors and texts in which given terms and phrases occur are presented in approximate chronological order. For the sake of brevity in presenting complex evidence, I have omitted Chinese characters and dates for most translators, and I have omitted names of texts and citations of loci, in favour of presenting a concise sketch in each case. I usually omit instances occurring after the Sui, as not relevant to our present purposes. Readers interested in further details may easily enough directly consult the Taishō canon via CBETA or SAT searches.

Names of P and Sui authors, and of P's texts, are presented in **bold**, to make it easier for readers to zoom in on especially pertinent evidence.

364a1-17: 善男子！是身因緣、境界、處所、果依於本，難思量故。若了義說，⁹⁹是身即是大乘、¹⁰⁰是如來性、¹⁰¹是如來藏，¹⁰¹依於此身得發初心、修行中

⁹⁸ See the Introduction above for discussion of what is meant by "Paramārtha" in this paper.

⁹⁹ 若了義說: otherwise only ever found in P M^SBh, SDL.

¹⁰⁰ KTAM v. 86: *gzhi dang gnas dang dmigs pa dang | 'bras bu dang ni rten che bas | de nyid dam pa'i don du na | theg pa chen po zhes brjod do ||*

¹⁰¹ See n. 102.

心而得顯現，¹⁰²不退地心亦皆得現，一生補處心、¹⁰³金剛之心、¹⁰⁴如來之心¹⁰⁵而悉顯現，無量無邊如來妙法皆悉顯現，依此法身不可思議摩訶三昧¹⁰⁶而得顯現，依此法身得現一切大智。是故二身依於三昧、¹⁰⁷依於智慧而得顯現。如此法身，依於自體說常說實，依大三昧故說於樂，依於大智故說清淨。是故如來常住、自在、安樂、清淨，依¹⁰⁸大三昧、¹⁰⁹一切禪定¹¹⁰首楞嚴¹¹¹等、一切念處¹¹²大法念等、大慈、大悲、¹¹³一切陀羅尼、一切六神通、一切自在、一切法平等攝受，如是佛法，皆悉出現¹¹⁴。此大智、佛大十力、四無所畏、四無礙辯、¹¹⁵一百八十不共之法、¹¹⁶一切希有不可思議¹¹⁷法，皆悉顯現。

¹⁰² 而得顯現: before the Tang, otherwise only occurs in **P Wushang**, **P FXL** T1610:31.794b16, and **JñG** T310(39):11.615a7-8. In **Wushang**, as here, the context also discusses *dharmakāya*, Buddha nature/*tathāgatagarbha*, and fundamental purity: 阿難！云何是性是諸聖性？一切聖法緣此得成，一切聖人依因此性而得顯現，故我說之為諸聖性。阿難！我今說如來性，過恒沙數一切如來不共真實，從此法出而得顯現名如來界。信樂正說，深味愛重，一切聖賢人戒定慧身即得成就，是故此法名為法身。是法者，相攝不相離，不捨智，非有解。是依、是持、是處。若法不相攝相離，捨智，有解，亦是依、是持、是處。是故我說：一切法藏無變異故，名為如如；無顛倒故，名為實際；過一切相，名為寂滅；聖人行處無分別智之境界故，名第一義。阿難！是如來界，非有、非無、不染、不淨，自性無垢清淨相應；T669:16.470b19-470c3.

¹⁰³ Cf. **KJ** *Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā*: 天子！諸菩薩有四心，能攝因、能攝果。何等為四？一者，初發心，二者，行道心，三者，不退轉心，四者，一生補處心，T464:64.482b11-13.

¹⁰⁴ 金剛之心: **DhKṣ** MPNMS, Fonian T656, **P FXL**.

¹⁰⁵ 如來之心: (before the Tang) only in **Dharmarakṣa** T399, **DhKṣ**, **Ūrdhvaśūnya**.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. n. 109.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. n. 109.

¹⁰⁸ From this point on, the passage is similar in gist to **KTAM** vv. 99-101: *ye shes mi rtog mtshan nyid do | ting 'dzin chen po gcig pu la | ting nge 'dzin yod thams cad ni | khongs su chud par bstan pa yin | (99) yid bzhin nor bu gcig pus kyang | bsam pa sna tshogs skong byed ltar | de bzhin mi rtog ting 'dzin gcig | sems can don ni sna tshogs byed || (100) de dag las mang tha dad pas | de phyir ye shes dngos gcig la | ting nge 'dzin gyi bye brag gis | mang po dag kyang 'dags par byed || (101).*

¹⁰⁹ In **P-ref**, **P** uses 三昧 only in **SdhN** (2) and **MAV** (4). By contrast, 三摩提 is much more common: **AV** (3), **AKBh** (77), **MSg** (25), **MAV** (1). 三昧 occurs more times *outside P-ref*, in texts suspected of being original compositions, or not actually by **P**, or based upon prior translations: **Vaj** (2), **Wushang** (5), **Apitan**, **Yijiao** (25), **MSgBh** (1), **FXL** (7), **SDL** (1), **AF** (14); by contrast, 三摩提 is rare in **P** texts outside the reference corpus: **JDZL** (2), **XSL** (1), **SXL** (1). **Sui translators** use both, but 三昧 much more than 三摩提. 三昧 occurs seven times in **P-Suv-trikāya** alone; again in **P-Suv-yezhang**; and nine times in **P-Suv-dhāraṇī**. 三摩提 only occurs three times in **P-Suv-dhāraṇī** 375a12, where it probably comes from **Kiv**.

¹¹⁰ 一切禪定: Never appears otherwise in **P**, but found several times in **Sui translators**.

¹¹¹ 首楞嚴等: This phrase never otherwise appears in **P**, but is found in **KJ**, **DhKṣ**, **Buddhabhadra**, **Ratnamati** and **Buddhaśānta**. 首楞嚴 also does not appear in **P** outside **P-Suv**. 首楞嚴三昧 is as old as ***Mokṣala**, but also used by **Narendrayaśas**, **JñG**.

¹¹² 一切念處: Otherwise only in **P Wushang** and **Dharmamitra** T619.

¹¹³ 大慈大悲 is very common, but is never found in **P** outside **P-Suv**; it appears more than 80 times in **Sui translators**. Cf. **P-Suv-yezhang** 370b4-8; **P-Suv-dhāraṇī** 373b27-c5. Cf. also n. 115.

¹¹⁴ 皆悉出現: This phrase is never otherwise found in **P**, but appears in **Buddhabhadra**, **Guṇabhadra**, **Mandrasena** and **SBh**, and **JñG**.

¹¹⁵ 十力四無所畏四無礙辯: this exact list is only ever found in one other translation text (apart from a very late text in the Song), **JñG** and **Gupta**, 今得十力、四無所畏、四無礙辯、大慈大悲(cf. n. 113)、十八不共法. The main peculiarity is 四無礙辯, which is found (before the Tang) in **DhKṣ** (once in **Buddhacarita** only), **Samghabhadra** **Samantapāsādikā*, **SBh** T1491, **Narendrayaśas**, **JñG** (and **Gupta**) – and once each in **P MSgBh** and **MAV**.

¹¹⁶ This is, of course, a peculiar number of *āveṇikadharmas*. However, as **Huizhao** points out in his commentary (T1788:39.224a28-29), **P Wushang** expounds a related teaching: 佛告阿難：有百八十不共之法，此是如來勝妙功德：一者，三十二相。二者，八十種好。三者，六十八法，with detailed explanations of each category following; T669:16.473c18-20. This is the only **Ch** "translation" text that I can find that talks of 180 *āveṇikadharmas*. Note also that 不共之法 for *āveṇikadharmas* is found only in **Wushang** in **P**'s corpus; otherwise it appears (before the Tang) in numerous authors, including the **Sui translators**. Given

A similar example may be found in the following passage from P-Suv-yikong, which is particularly dense in connections to the Sui:

380c7-18: 時善女天答梵王言：大梵王！若佛所說，是真甚深。一切凡夫不得其味，¹¹⁸是聖境界，微妙難知¹¹⁹。若我心依於此法，得安樂住。¹²⁰是真實語者，願令一切五濁惡世¹²¹無量無邊眾生¹²²皆得金色三十二相、¹²³非男非女，¹²⁴坐寶蓮華，¹²⁵受無量快樂，¹²⁶雨天妙華，¹²⁷天諸音樂，不鼓自鳴，¹²⁸一切供養，皆悉具足。是時，善女天說是語已，一切五濁惡世¹²⁹所有眾生皆悉金色具足三十二相、¹³⁰非男非女，¹³¹坐寶蓮華，¹³²受無量快樂，¹³³猶如他化自在天宮，¹³⁴無諸惡道，¹³⁵寶樹行列，¹³⁶七寶蓮華¹³⁷遍滿世界，¹³⁸雨眾七寶¹³⁹上天妙華，作天伎樂。¹⁴⁰如意寶光耀善女天即轉女形作梵天身。

that the list is expounded in detail in **Wushang**, and only mentioned in passing here, it is more likely that the present passage is based upon **Wushang** than the other way around. On **Wushang**, see also Part 2 of the present study.

¹¹⁷ 希有不可思議: another rare phrase also found in **P Wushang**, T669:16.469b5. However, in all versions except the Korean, the text reads 如來希有如來不可思議, so that the match is not exact. Also occurs in **JñG**, **Narendrayaśas**, **P MSg** (and corresponding **Bh**, the only other place that actually has 希有不可思議法), **Lishi**.

¹¹⁸ 不得其味: **Guṇabhadra**, **KJ**, **Narendrayaśas**.

¹¹⁹ 微妙難知: **Kang Senghui**, **Kang Mengxiang**, **Zhi Qian**, **Dharmarakṣa**, **KJ**, **Buddhavarman/Daotai**.

¹²⁰ 得安樂住: **Faju**, **Fonian** and **Buddhayaśas**, **Puṇyatara** and **KJ**, **Buddhabhadra**, **Buddhabhadra** and **Faxian**, **DhKṣ**, **Buddhajīva** and **Daosheng**, **Guṇabhadra**, **Mandrasena** and **SBh**, **Bodhiruci**, **Gautama Prajñārucci**, **Mingzheng**, **JñG**; **P MSgBh** (5) only.

¹²¹ 五濁惡世: "Kang Sengkai", **Dharmarakṣa**, **Śīlamitra**, **Tanwulan** (***Dharmaratna**), **KJ**, **DhKṣ**, **Guṇabhadra**, **Dharmamitra**, **Gongdezhi**, **SBh**, **Buddhaśānta**, **Bodhiruci**, **Ratnamati**, **Vimokṣaprajñārucci**, **JñG**, **Dharmagupta**; never in **P**.

¹²² 無量無邊眾生: **KJ**, **Dharmayaśas**, **DhKṣ**, **Shengjian**, **Fazhong**, **Buddhabhadra**, **Guṇabhadra**, **Guṇavarman**, **Ūrdhvaśūnya**, **SBh**, **Bodhiruci**, *Jin'gang xian lun*, **JñG**, **Narendrayaśas**; never in **P**.

¹²³ 皆...得金色三十二相: see n. 135; cf. n. 130.

¹²⁴ 非男非女: **Dharmarakṣa**, **Buddhavarman/Daotai**, **Fonian**, **KJ**, **Dharmayaśas**, **DhKṣ**, **Buddhabhadra**, **Zhiyan**, **Guṇabhadra**, **SBh**, **Bodhiruci**, **JñG**, **Narendrayaśas**; in **P**, only once in **AKBh**.

¹²⁵ 坐寶蓮華: **KJ's SP**, **JñG's SP**; **Zhi Qian**, **Fonian**, **Buddhayaśas**, **KJ**, **Shengjian**, **Daotai**, **Buddhabhadra**, **Kālayaśas**, *Wise and the Foolish*, **SBh**, **Gautama Prajñārucci**, **JñG**; never in **P**.

¹²⁶ 無量快樂: **Dharmarakṣa**, **Śīlamitra**, **DhKṣ**, **Tanjing**, **Guṇabhadra**, **Gautama Prajñārucci**, **Dharmagupta**, **JñG**.

¹²⁷ 雨天妙華: only in **Ūrdhvaśūnya**, **Narendrayaśas**, **Śikṣānanda**, **Prajñā**.

¹²⁸ 音樂不鼓自鳴: *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論, **DhKṣ**, **Zhiyan**, **Buddhabhadra** **Buddhāvataṃsaka*, **Dharmagupta**, **JñG**; never in **P**.

¹²⁹ See n. 121.

¹³⁰ There is a clear parallel in **JñG's** 商主天子所問經: 猶如他化自在天。彼諸眾生身皆金色，具足三十二相, T591:15.123c20-22; cf. n. 123, n. 134. On 商主, see Table 9 immediately below.

¹³¹ See n. 124.

¹³² See n. 125.

¹³³ See n. 126.

¹³⁴ The only other place analogous phrases are found before the Tang is under the Sui: 譬如他化自在天宮, **JñG** T824:17.861c13; 亦如他化自在天宮, **Dharmagupta** T415:13.867c9-10; cf. n. 130.

¹³⁵ 無諸惡道: another relatively rare phrase, which may hint at a source of the ideas in the present passage (if not much of the language); it occurs, once again, in **KJ's SP**, T262:9.27c25 (see n. 123), in a context that contains a number of the features of the felicities described here: a state without gender, free of the evil destinies, where all beings have golden bodies with the thirty-two marks of the *mahāpuruṣa*: 無諸惡道... 亦無女人，一切眾生，皆以化生，無有姪欲。得大神通，身出光明，飛行自在，志念堅固，精進智慧，普皆金色，三十二相而自莊嚴, T262:9.27c25-28; this wording is taken over almost verbatim in **JñG's** retranslation of **SP**, T264:9.162b16-19.

¹³⁶ 寶樹行列: **Mokṣala**, **Fonian**, **KJ**, **Shengjian**, **Buddhabhadra**, **Kālayaśas**, **Dharmamitra**, **JñG**; never in **P**.

Of course, these are only short passages, and it is hard to arrive at any far-reaching conclusions upon this basis. To provide another perspective, which might furnish a better overview of the extent of this phenomenon in the text, Table 9 presents a selection of phrases throughout P-Suv that are very frequent in Sui authors, and otherwise very infrequent or unknown in P.

Readers should note that in Table 9, I have omitted instances of the phrases and terms listed which occur in works outside P and the Sui translators, because the evidence, already copious, would have been unmanageably profuse.¹⁴¹ It is therefore important to note that I am not claiming that all the terms and phrases listed here *never occurred* before the Sui. In many cases (as in the case of phrases annotated in the passages presented immediately above), these terms and phrases occur quite frequently in the works of translators going back as far as the generation of Kumārajīva, and in some cases, even further. The significant pattern, however, is that even where these phrases are indeed older than P, they seem mostly to do a detour around the works most firmly ascribable to him, so that their use seems to be atypical of P's work. (In some cases, in fact, we might suspect that the use of such terms may have been largely confined to the North, prior to the Sui.) Conversely, they are extremely copious in writers of the Sui.

Table 9: Phraseology in P-Suv that is more typical of the Sui than of P

P: all texts ascribed to P excepting P-Suv.

P-ref: a reference corpus of "straight" translation texts ascribable with reasonable confidence to P¹⁴²

白佛: P-Suv "Lifespan" (MM interp), *-trikāya*, *-dhāraṇī*, *-yezhang*, *-yikong* (18 times total)

P-ref: only three times in SdhN (we might wonder why!); P: Vaj (inherited from Bodhiruci), Wushang, Apitan (36!), Yijiao, Lishi, Dazong, Samaya(1); Sui translators: hundreds of times

如是思惟: P-Suv-*trikāya* 364b4

P: JDZL only; Sui translators: 100+

~~之身: 世尊之身, P-Suv "Lifespan" (MM interp) 361c11 and S(!); 如是之身 – *trikāya* 363c20-21, 如此之身 365a3-4, 如來之身 363c22, 364c15; 如來之身 – *dhāraṇī* 374b12 (also in DhKṣ chapters)

~~之身在 "P" otherwise only in Dazong! Sui translators: 140+

~~之道: 聞緣覺大乘之道 P-Suv-*yezhang* 369c24-25, 370b26, 370b29, 菩薩摩訶薩修行菩提之道 370c19-20; (DhKṣ chapters also)

~~之道: P-ref: never; P: Wushang (2), Yijiao, MSgBh (once), FXL (2), SBKL, SXL, Lishi, AF; Sui translators: 50+

~~之相: P-Suv-*yezhang* 371c5-6

P-ref: never; P: Wushang, Yijiao (4), SBKL (5), SDL, AF; Sui translators 100+

¹³⁷ 七寶蓮華: Kang Senghui, "Zhi Qian", Nie Daozhen, Faxian, Dharmarakṣa, KJ, DhKṣ, Fazhong, Kālayaśas, Juqu Jingsheng, Dharmamitra, SBh, Bodhiruci, **JñG**; but never in P.

¹³⁸ 遍滿世界: Fonian, KJ, (Qin) Saṃghavarman, Buddhayaśas, DhKṣ, Vimokṣaprajñāruci, Gautama Prajñāruci, **JñG**, Narendrayaśas; but never in P.

¹³⁹ 兩眾七寶: Kiv and Tanyao T2058, anon. T156, T946.

¹⁴⁰ 作天伎樂: "Zhi Qian", Fonian, KJ, Faxian, DhKṣ, Buddhajīva and Daosheng, Guṇabhadra, Zhiyan, "Juqu Jingsheng", Dharmāgatayaśas, Kālayaśas, Mandrasena, Ūrdhvaśūnya, Gautamaprajñāruci, **JñG**; but never in P.

¹⁴¹ Once more, readers who are interested in such details are invited to consult the Taishō canon via CBETA or SAT searches.

¹⁴² AV, SdhN, Lü, AKBh, Vim, MSg, MAV, Ālamb, Hast, Ratna, SK; I have excluded Vaj as containing much material inherited from Bodhiruci (Harrison 2008); and texts like ZSL and MSgBh as probably containing a mix of translation and other (e.g. "lecture") material.

- 懺悔: P-Suv-*yezhang*, approx. 30 times (also DhKṣ chapters)
 P-ref: never; P: JDZL (2), FXL, SXL, AF, Dazong, Vas bio; Sui translators: 100+ (even setting aside JñG T1493)
- 哀愍: P-Suv-*yezhang* 368b6
 "P": Yijiao only; Sui translators: approx. 70
- 歸命: P-Suv-*yezhang* 368b9
 P: only Yijiao, AF; Sui translators 50+
- 道場: P-Suv-*yezhang* 371a2, *-dhāraṇī* 374a10, in a portion of the "Sārasvatī" Ch 大辯天品 supplemented in B from JñG¹⁴³ 386c25-387a3 (five times), 387a27-28, JñG "Fuzhu" 402a18-19 (DhKṣ chs also)
 P: Yijiao only; Sui translators 130+
- 不思議: P-Suv-*yezhang* 不思議 369a16-17, *-dhāraṇī* 376b28 (DhKṣ also)
 P-ref: never; P: MSgBh (once only), Apitan, AF and Dazong; Sui translators 250+ (and even more times in Sui Chinese authors, e.g. 325 times in Jizang's T1780 alone)
- 魔波旬: P-Suv-*yezhang* 魔波旬 371a3
 P: never; Sui translators: hundreds of times
- 馬瑙: P-Suv-*yezhang* 371a29
 P: never; Sui translators 100+
- 車璩: P-Suv-*yezhang* 371a29 (DhKṣ also)
 P: never; Sui translators: dozens of times
- 於意云何: P-Suv-*yezhang* 371b2
 P: Wushang only (5 times); Sui translators: 100+
- 佛剎: P-Suv-*yezhang* 368a19 (DhKṣ also)
 P: never; Sui translators 200+
- 盈滿: P-Suv-*yezhang* 369a1, *-dhāraṇī* 374a17, 374b1-2
 P: Lishi only (37 times); Sui translators 40+
- 坐禪: P-Suv-*yezhang* 372b12
 P: JDZL, Lishi (once each); Sui translators 50+
- 須彌山: P-Suv-*yezhang* 須彌山 371a26, *-dhāraṇī* 373a1 (DhKṣ also)
 P: AKBh (once only), Vaj (inherited from Bodhiruci), Wushang, FXL, Lishi (33); Sui translators 100+
- 大慈大悲: P-Suv "Lifespan" (MM interp) 361c1, *-trikāya* 364a13, *-yezhang* 370b6, *-dhāraṇī* 373c2
 P: never; Sui translators: 80+
- 作是語已: P-Suv-*yikong* 380b29
 P: never; Sui translators 150+
- 商主: P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* 373a11, JñG "Fuzhu" ("Exhortation") chapter 401b20
 "P": Apitan only; Sui translators: 100+¹⁴⁴
- 如上所說: P-Suv "Lifespan" (MM interp) 361b3, *-yikong* 380c2 (and DhKṣ 394a9-10)
 P: once each in Vaj, Apitan, Dazong; Sui translators approx. 100
- 無量無邊眾生: P-Suv-*yikong* 380c10 (and DhKṣ 386c1)
 P: never; Sui translators 50+
- 娑婆世界主大梵天王: P-Suv-*yikong* 380c4
 P: never; Sui translators 25+
- 踊躍歡喜: P-Suv "Lifespan" (MM interp) 362c5, *-yikong* 380b29; JñG "Fuzhu" 402a20-21
 P: never; Sui translators 10

¹⁴³ 此下闍那崛多續譯補之, T664:16.386c6.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. n. 130.

行菩提行: P-Suv-*yikong* 380b28-c27 (10 times)

P: never; Sui translators 10+

五濁惡世: P-Suv-*yezhang* 368a20, -*yikong* 380c7-18 (twice)

P: never; Sui translators 10

安樂一切眾生: P-Suv-*yezhang* 369c5, 370a9-10, 370b3, 371a18

P: never; Sui translators: 9

Finally, it is also well worth noting the word 怛姪他 (**tad yathā*¹⁴⁵), which opens all the *dhāraṇī* in P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* (see Table 6 above). This word is quite common from the Tang onwards, but before the Tang is found only in JñG T264, T1337, and T1340 – and in T993, ascribed to JñG's master "Jñānayaśas 闍那耶舍 ([fl. 564-572]; et al.", SYM).

Thus, as we see, it is possible to find in P-Suv many terms that are unknown in a reference corpus of P's works, and indeed, unknown or rare in any works ascribed to him, which, if they do occur in P, bunch in works of the most dubious ascription (like Yijiao, Dazong, AF, Lishi, etc.); yet the same terms appear very copiously in the works of Sui translators – in some cases, many hundreds of times.¹⁴⁶ Some of these terms, moreover, also appear precisely in those chapters of B that are supposed to have been added from JñG. Such terms are found in all four of the chapters of P-Suv, and also in the "Lifespan" chapter MM passage. In addition, however, they seem to be disproportionately concentrated in P-Suv-*yezhang*, which, as we saw above, is a parallel to JñG's KAP T1493, and also seems to show specific debts to the wording of JñG's version of the text. It is also very striking that the most frequently repeated term in the *dhāraṇīs* of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*, 怛姪他 (**tad yathā*), is found before the Tang only in JñG and his master Jñānayaśas (in a text upon which JñG himself may also have collaborated).

We must bear in mind that there were certainly many more people active between P and the Sui translators than those whose identities we know. Thus, I do not think that the evidence of Table 9 shows that any of our known, named Sui translators necessarily had a hand in producing our extant P-Suv. However, we saw above from the evidence of S that at least the "Lifespan" chapter MM passage of P's translation was revised by someone at some point. In combination with the evidence examined in this section, this seems to warrant the more conservative conclusion that our extant P-Suv is unlikely to be an unadulterated product of P or his group, but rather, that it is more likely at least to have been revised in significant part by someone more closely associated with the Sui milieu (which could also mean a northern milieu).

Summary and discussion

On the basis of the evidence surveyed above, it is clear that the chapters comprising P-Suv have a number of sources, most of which have not previously been identified. Setting aside briefly the problem of whether the text was composed in China or not, we must count among the sources of P-Suv at least KAP, BDBh, SdhN, MMā and KTAM; probably Wushang; and possibly also the **Mahābherihāraka* and the *Ratnamegha*. If we include the "Lifespan" chapter in our deliberations, we must also add MM to this list.

¹⁴⁵ I am grateful to Keng Ching for pointing out this Skt equivalent. Cf. Śikṣānanda's *Laṅkāvatāra*, T672:16.625a12, and Taishō apparatus n. 8; YJ Suv 420b1 ff., and Taishō apparatus n. 6, 13 etc. Cf. also *Xin ji zangjing yinyi sui han lu* 新集藏經音義隨函錄 by Kehong 可洪 (d.u., said by Zhipan 志磐 [d.u., S. Song] to have composed this text in Tianfu 天福 4 = 939, T2035:49.391c21-23): 咀姪: 上多達反下借音亭夜反梵言咀姪他或云咀[侮-母+小]也他此云所謂, K[orean Tripiṭaka 高麗大藏經]1257:34.648c1-2.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. also further evidence noticed incidentally in other parts of this paper: n. 45 (on 方便勝智), 78, 80, 83, 155, 161, 166, and Part 2 of the present paper. Other possible markers that might merit future examination in this regard include: 如來應供正遍知明行足善逝世間解無上士調御丈夫天人師佛世尊; 三十三天夜摩天兜率陀天化樂天他化自在天 (cf. Wushang); 迴向阿耨多羅三藐三菩 (cf. Wushang); 為欲利益安樂(眾生); 金銀琉璃頗梨馬瑙車璫; 懺悔; 我於往昔; 我憶往昔; 心無厭足; 諸法之門.

We also saw that in the case of many of these sources, close correspondences in exact wording indicate that Suv is not only based upon these sources in content, but that the authors of P-Suv must have closely consulted existing Chinese versions of the texts. In the cases of P-Suv-*yezhang* and P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*, moreover, it is possible to show that the authors of P-Suv probably actually consulted two prior Chinese versions of the main source text for each chapter respectively. In addition, we also saw that the authors of P-Suv made use of two earlier versions of SdhN, by Bodhiruci and P himself. We also saw that material from SdhN is found in two chapters, P-Suv-*yikong* and P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*. These complex patterns of relation to prior Chinese materials are difficult to reconcile with the assumption that P-Suv is merely a "straight" translation from an Indic source text.

We have also seen that at least in the case of the "Lifespan" chapter MM passage, two versions of the text exist, one preserved in S, and one in B. This raises the possibility that portions of the text might have been modified before reaching their final form in B. In addition, we saw that the text contains a significant number of words, set phrases and turns of phrase that are very common in Sui authors, but rare in P, especially in those works most likely to be authentic and straight P translations. We also saw that in the case of P-Suv-*yezhang*, the text shows a number of verbatim affinities with JñG's KAP T1493. In conjunction, this evidence suggests the likelihood that whatever the precise origins of P-Suv, parts of perhaps all the chapters underwent at least some modifications after P's time, in a milieu closer to that of the Sui authors.

Ultimately, in assessing the likelihood that P-Suv or parts thereof were in some sense composed in China, rather than translated, we must in fact consider two sets of evidence, Chinese and Tibetan. We will momentarily set aside the Tibetan side of the problem, which will be treated in Part 2 of the present study. On the basis of this Chinese evidence alone, then, how should we assess the likelihood that portions of P-Suv were composed in China?

It is worth pausing to note that in its general outline, the process of adding to Suv by incorporating material identifiably from other texts is congruent with what was already known previously about the text, and need imply nothing about whether or not the text was composed in India or China. Even within the compass of P-Suv, prior scholarship had already identified KTAM as a source of P-Suv-*trikāya*, and Ulzii's work pointed in the direction of BDBh as a source of P-Suv-*dhāraṇī*; in addition, Suzuki had shown that the "Lifespan" passage came from MM. A similar instance is known elsewhere in the text: an additional portion in YJ's "Sarasvatī" chapter includes a hymn paralleled in Skt epic.¹⁴⁷

More broadly, Suzuki has also shown that in a looser sense, much of the content of a whole series of chapters in Suv can be accounted for by a campaign on the part of its authors to incorporate models from both Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources alike, in a manner that seems calculated to make Suv more competitive in the "religious marketplace" of greater India, by showing it to offer Buddhist alternatives (sometimes specifically Mahāyāna alternatives) to various spiritual goods offered by competitors.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps a similar dynamic may underlie the incorporation into the text of medical lore, which Salguero characterises as having little particularly "Buddhist" about it.¹⁴⁹ The same might even be true of the echoes of dramatic conventions and aesthetic theory (e.g. the *Nāṭya-śāstra*) pointed out by Gummer.¹⁵⁰

On the other hand, there is also another indication that this process of addition to the text may have continued in China. The Uyghur translation of the Suv-*trikāya* chapter

¹⁴⁷ Ludvik calls this the "*Harivaṃśa* Hymn": 敬禮天女那羅延 etc., T665:16.437a6-b20; Ludvik (2004, 2006), Ludvik (2007): 209-216; cf. also Nagano (1988): 238-239, and earlier scholarship by Watanabe and Nobel, discussed (alongside Nagano) in Ludvik (2004): 710-711.

¹⁴⁸ Suzuki (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011).

¹⁴⁹ Salguero (2013): 23-24.

¹⁵⁰ Gummer (2012): 145 and n. 8, 150-151 and n. 12-14, 153 and n. 16.

contains additions not known in any other versions of the text. Wilkens has identified some of this material as possibly deriving from the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 T1585, and considered the possibility that it was added to the Chinese text before its translation into Uyghur.¹⁵¹

We must also recognise that a whole range of complex factors may have contributed to the pattern of evidence that we see before us. This requires us to keep in mind quite a number of possibilities and considerations, most significantly:

1. New chapters of Suv may indeed have been composed in an Indic context, on the basis of material from sources like KAP, BDBh, SdhN and MMā. Chinese translators of those chapters may then have recognised the relationship to those other texts, and consulted prior Chinese translations of those materials, to produce (some of) the patterns of verbatim relation we find between P-Suv and Chinese predecessors. Similarly, it is conceivable that JñG, in translating his KAP T1493, may have recognised the affinities with P-Suv-*yezhang* and consulted it, so that influence flows from P-Suv-*yezhang* to JñG KAP, rather than in the other direction.
2. The relationship of P-Suv-*trikāya* to KTAM most probably indicates (setting aside the possible onetime existence of a lost Ch translation of KTAM) that the author of that chapter, at least, was directly aware of and working from untranslated Indic materials.
3. (Some of) the present content of P-Suv might reflect ideas current in India (perhaps in oral form) at the time Paramārtha himself left India, perhaps in the generation of his teachers. Thus, even though our only evidence is preserved in China, the ideas may still derive (perhaps in part) from an Indian milieu.
4. P (perhaps only in some cases) may have inherited and reworked pre-existing Chinese texts, already composed upon the basis of the parallels we have traced here.
5. Some of the discrepancies between P-Suv and other P works may be due to shifts in the composition of P's translation team over time, or other changes in his style. In particular, we should bear in mind that Sengyin's preface ascribes P-Suv to a particularly early phase of P's translation career (553).
6. The external evidence for P's authorship of some version of the chapters of P-Suv, as reviewed above, is extraordinarily strong.
7. Nonetheless, some of the chapters may also have been composed in China, on the basis of pre-existing Chinese texts, by persons other than "P" (outside P's team and circle), and added to Suv thereafter.
8. Material by P may also have been later reworked by someone else before reaching its present form.
9. In addition, the chapters of P-Suv need not all have the same compositional history. Therefore, different combinations of the above factors and scenarios may account for the various chapters.

With this many factors and possibilities in play, it is probably unrealistic to expect that we can arrive at any irrefutable explanation of the exact process by which P-Suv was composed, and therefore, of the exact nature of our extant texts. In light of this caveat, the following suggestion is therefore necessarily tentative.

However, despite these uncertainties, I do believe that the most economical and judicious explanation of the Chinese evidence is the following:

- "P"(s group) composed, rather than translated, some version of the chapters comprising P-Suv, and translated the "Lifespan" chapter MM passage; this text included a version of P-Suv-*trikāya* composed on the basis of P's knowledge of the Indic KTAM;

¹⁵¹ Wilkens (2001): e.g. 19-20. It might be interesting to examine these differences in light of the considerable portions of KTAM that are unmatched in (other versions of) Suv-*trikāya*; Wilkens does not seem to have been aware of Hamano's work on the connections to KTAM.

- with the possible exception of the "Lifespan" chapter MM passage as preserved in S, portions of these chapters were subsequently further modified by some party (or parties) working between P and the early Sui;
- P-Suv-*yezhang* is a possible exception, as it may have been composed *in toto* after the translation of JñG's KAP.

One major obstacle still stands in the way of this hypothesis, however: the existence of a supposedly independent Tibetan translation of Suv, made directly from an Indic original, which incorporates all four chapters of P-Suv. I will examine this second side of the problem in the sequel to this paper.

<p>天報，此[<i>var.</i> 是 SYMP]『金光明[<i>var.</i> 金光明經 SYMP]諸經之王』難思...難解...福報無窮，聲聞緣覺所不能知，此經攝持如是功德，無邊福報不可思議。我今為汝略說之耳。」婆羅門言：「善哉，王子！如是『金光明[<i>var.</i> - SMYP]微妙經典』，功德無邊，難解...難覺，乃至如此不可思議。我等邊國婆羅門等作如此[<i>var.</i> 是 SYMP]說：『若善男子及善女人，得佛舍利如芥子許，置小塔中，暫時禮拜、恭敬、供養，功德無邊，是人命終作六天主。受上妙樂不可窮盡。汝今云何而不願樂供養舍利，求比報耶。』如是王子。以是因緣我今從佛欲求一恩。」</p>	<p>今云何而不求之如是我今欲從佛求一恩所謂難解難覺法身舍利分布邊國如芥子許</p>
<p>361c27-362b4:¹⁵⁸ 是時，王子即以偈答婆羅門言：</p> <p>設河駛流中 可生拘物華 世尊身舍利 畢竟不可有[<i>var.</i> 得 SYMP]</p> <p>假使烏赤色 拘栴羅¹⁵⁹白形 世尊真實身 不可成舍利</p> <p>設使[<i>var.</i> 令 SYMP]閻浮樹 能生多羅果 佉受¹⁶⁰羅樹等 轉生菴羅實 如來身無滅 不可生舍利 設使龜毛等 可以為衣裳 佛身非虛妄 終無有舍利 假令蚊蚋脚 可以作城樓 如來寂靜[<i>var.</i> 真實 SYMP]身 無有舍利事</p> <p>假令水蛭蟲 口中生白齒 如來解脫身 終無繫縛色 兔角為梯橙[<i>var.</i> 障 SYMP?] 從地得昇天 邪思惟[<i>var.</i> 佛 YM]舍利</p>	<p>是時王子以偈答言</p> <p>如恒河流駛 拘物頭不生 世尊法身者 終無有舍利 如烏變為赤 拘栴羅白色 世尊法身者 終無有舍利 如閻浮法愛¹⁶¹ 滅自黑生他</p> <p>世尊法身者 終無有舍利 如龜無毛忒 而可設有之 如來真實身 終無有舍利 如蚊脚城樓 而可設作之 如來寂靜身 終無有舍利</p> <p>如水蛭無骨 設可言齒白 如來解脫身 終無有舍利 假令兔角梯 從地得昇天 耶思惟舍利 終無有是處</p> <p>假令鼠食月 阿修羅不能 耶思惟舍利 終無有是處</p>

¹⁵⁸ Skjaervo *2.77-90, Skjaervo (2004): 29-31; Suzuki (1998b): 19-38. According to Suzuki, the passage interpolated from MM ends after this section (at 362b4).

¹⁵⁹ *kokila*.

¹⁶⁰ See n. 161.

¹⁶¹ 法愛: This looks like a scribal error for 佉受 (in the next line in B). 佉受羅樹 is otherwise unattested. It should be for *khajūra* in Skt. (*Phoenix sylvestris*, "the wild date tree"; M-W s.v.) We find more commonly 佉陀羅樹, which dictionaries say is a *khadira* tree, *Acacia Catechu* (M-W s.v.), and is also quite narrowly distributed before the Tang in DhK₅ MENMS and Buddhavarman/Daotai. We also find the following (likely) variants: Gautama Prajñārucci, 佉殊羅樹 or 佉提羅樹; Buddhahadra and Faxian, 佉殊羅; Buddhajīva and Daosheng 佉他羅[*var.* 羅陀 P]樹; Narendrayaśas 佉他羅。

<p>功德無是處 鼠登兔角梯 蝕[<i>var.</i> 食 SYMP]月除 修羅 依舍利盡惑 解脫無是處 如蠅大醉酒 不能造窠穴 於佛無正行 不能至三乘 如驢但飽食 終無有伎[<i>var.</i> 技 YM] 能 歌舞令他樂 凡夫二乘等 能說及能行 自他無是處 假使[<i>var.</i> 設令 SYMP]烏與鴉 同時一樹栖 和合相愛念 如來真實體 舍利虛妄身 俱有無是處 (2)如波羅奈[<i>var.</i> 奢 SYMP]葉 不能遮風雨 於佛起虛妄 生死終不滅 (1)如海大[<i>var.</i> 大海 SYMP]拍船 具足諸財寶 新生女人力 執持無是處 法身無邊際 不淨地煩惱 不能攝如來 其義亦如是 譬如諸鳥雀 不能銜香山 煩惱依法身 不為煩惱動 如是如來身 甚深難思量 若不依法觀 所願不成就</p>	<p>假令蠅大醉 飛能至窠穴 耶思惟舍利 終無有是處 假令驢飽食 歌舞作伎樂 耶思惟舍利 終無有是處 假使烏與鴉 同時一樹栖 和合相愛念 是事不可得 (1)如海大拍船 滿中諸財寶 女人新產生 執持不到邊 (2)如波羅奢葉 不能遮風雨 於佛起虛妄 生死終不滅 譬如諸鳥雀 不能銜香山 煩惱依法身 不為煩惱動 如是如來身 取¹⁶²深難思量 若能依法觀 是為得所願</p>
<p>362b5-23:¹⁶³ 時,婆羅門聞此義已, 即便 說偈答王子言: 善哉善哉 汝真佛子 大吉祥人 善巧方便 於理不動 已獲正記 王子聽我 今次第說 度世依處 佛德難思 如來境界 無能知者 一切諸佛 不與他共 一切諸佛 本來寂靜 一切諸佛 所修行同 一切諸佛 後際常住 一切諸佛 同共一體 如是等義 是如來法 如來真身 非所造作</p>	<p>時婆羅門言 善哉善哉 汝真佛子 大吉祥人 善巧方便 於理不動 已獲正記 王子聽我 今次第說 度世依處 佛德難思 如來境界 無能知者 一切諸佛 不與他共 一切諸佛 本來寂靜 一切諸佛 所修行同 一切諸佛 後際常住 一切諸佛 同共一體 如是等義 是如來法 如來真身 非所造作</p>

¹⁶² This character is a variant for 最, and context indicates that it makes sense as such; but the actual form in the ms (which I cannot find in my fontsets) has an extra dot on the top, i.e. in place of 一 (the "平寶蓋"), it has 宀 (the "寶蓋頭").

¹⁶³ Skjaervo *2.91-100, Skjaervo (2004): 31-32.

<p>所以者何 諸佛無生 金剛不毀 內外無礙 示現身相 隨化眾生 如來大仙 無有色像 如是身者 非於血肉 云何而得 有於舍利 為化眾生 方便示現 一切正覺 真法為身 法界清淨 是名如來 王子當知 佛身如是 如如來說 如是之義 我已聞知 為請如來 廣[var. 開 SYMP]演分別 真實之義 故求舍利 開方便門</p>	<p>所以者何 諸佛無生 金剛不毀 內外无[闕??] 示現色身 隨順眾生 如來大仙 无有色像 如是之身 為无與等 常真定慧 无有破壞 為化眾生 恒現八相 一切正覺 真法无二 法界清淨 无染无垢 王子當知¹⁶⁴</p>
<p>362b24-c3:¹⁶⁵ 是時，會中三萬二千天子， 聞說如來如是甚深壽量義已，一切皆於無 上菩提發堅固心，歡喜踊躍，異口同音¹⁶⁶ 說偈讚言： 一切如來[var. 諸佛 SYMP] 不般涅槃 一切諸佛 身無破壞 但為成熟 諸眾生故 方便勝智 示現涅槃 前際如來 不可思議 後際如來 常無破壞 中際如來 種種莊嚴 眾生法界 皆為利他</p>	<p>是時會中三萬諸天聞是妙法一切皆發阿 耨多羅三藐三菩提心歡喜讚歎 一切如來 不般涅槃¹⁶⁷ 一切諸佛 身无礙壞 但為成熟 諸眾生故 方便勝智 示現涅槃¹⁶⁸ 前際如來 不可思議 後際如來 常无破壞 中際如來 種種莊嚴 眾生法界 皆為利益</p>

Abbreviations

AF	<i>The Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith</i> 大乘起信論 T1666
AKBh	<i>Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya</i> 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 T1559 (P)
Ālamb	<i>Ālambanaparīkṣā</i> 無相思塵論 T1619 (P)
Agāra	<i>Fo Apitan jing chujia xiang pin</i> 佛阿毘曇經出家相品 T1482
AV	<i>Arthavistara-sūtra</i> 廣義法門經 T97 (P)
B	Baogui 寶貴; his synoptic Suv T664
BBh	<i>Bodhisatvabhūmi</i>
BDBh	* <i>BodhisatvadaśaEhāmika-sūtra</i> , esp. T307 (KJ), T308 (Kiv)
Bh	Bhāṣya
Ch	Chinese

¹⁶⁴ It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the text of S is defective here. It stops partway through a verse (and even a sentence), and is missing material found in both Skt and B.

¹⁶⁵ Skjaervo *2.101-104, Skjaervo (2004): 32.

¹⁶⁶ 異口同音: never in P apart from P-Suv; appears in Narendrayāśas.

¹⁶⁷ I cannot find the exact form of this character in my fontsets. The boat radical 舟 is elongated and occupies the entire height of the left side of the character; the wood radical 木 is aligned beneath the 舟 on the right.

¹⁶⁸ See n. 167.

- D Derge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka
- Dazong *Da zong di xuan wen ben lun* 大宗地玄文本論 T1669 (P)
- DBh *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*
- DBhSŚ **Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* 十地經論 T1522
- DhKṣ *Dharmakṣema 曇無讖
- FXL *Foxing lun* 佛性論 T1610 (P)
- Hast *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* 解捲論 T1620 (P)
- IBK *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究
- JDZL *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論 T1584 (P)
- JñG *Jñānagupta 闍那崛多, esp. T1493
- KAP **Karmāvaraṇapratīśabdhi-sūtra*, esp. T1491 (Kiv), T1493 (JñG)
- Kiv *Kivkara 吉迦夜,¹⁶⁹ esp. T1491
- KJ Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什
- KTAM **Kāyātrayāvamukha-śāstra = sKu gsum la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos*, D3980/Q5290. Asian Classics Input Project electronic text (Lhasa, bstan 'gyur, ha 1a-8a)
- Lishi **Lokasthānābhīdharma-śāstra* 立世阿毘曇論 T1644 (P)
- Lü *Lü ershier mingliao lun* 律二十二明了論 T1461 (P)
- MAV *Madhyāntavibhāga* 中邊分別論 T1599 (P)
- MBhH *Mahābherthāraka-sūtra* 大法鼓經 T270
- MM *Mahāmegha-sūtra* 大方等無想經 (a.k.a. 大雲經) T387 (DhKṣ)
- MMā *Mahāmāyūrī-sūtra* 孔雀王咒經 T984 (*Saṃghabhara)
- MPNMS *Mahāparinirvāna-mahāsūtra*
- MPPU **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* 大智度論 T1509 (KJ)
- MSg *Mahāyānasamgraha* 攝大乘論 T1593 (P)
- MSgBh *Mahāyānasamgraha-bhāṣya* 攝大乘論釋, usu. T1595 (P)
- M-W Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*
- P Paramārtha 真諦
- P-Suv Chapters of Suv ostensibly translated by P
- P-Suv-*dhāraṇī* Suv Ch. 6, "On the Utterly Pure *Bhūmis* of the *Dhāraṇīs*" 陀羅尼最淨地品, ascribed to P
- P-Suv-*trikāya* Suv Ch. 3, "On Distinctions among the Three Bodies" 三身分別品, ascribed to P
- P-Suv-*yezhang* Suv Ch. 5, "On the Extinction of Karmic Obstructions" 業障滅品, ascribed to P
- P-Suv-*yikong* Suv Ch. 9, "On Fulfilling Vows in Reliance upon Emptiness" 依空滿願品, ascribed to P
- Q Peking version of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka
- Ratna *Ratnāvālī* 寶行王正論 T1656 (P)
- S Shōgozō 聖語藏 (referring to the manuscript of Suv dated 768)
- Samaya(1) *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* 十八部論 T2032 (KJ)
- SBh *Saṃghabhara 僧伽婆羅
- SBKL *Shiba kong lun* 十八空論 T1616 (P)
- SdhN *Saṃdhirnirmocana-sūtra*: 解節經 T677 (P) or 深密解脫經 T675 (Bodhiruci 菩提流支)
- SDL *Si di lun* 四諦論 T1647 (P)
- SK *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (with commentary) 金七十論 T2137 (P)
- Skt Sanskrit
- SP *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*
- Suv *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* 金光明經: T663 (DhKṣ); T664 (B), T665 (YJ)
- SWXL *San wuxing lun* 三無性論 T1617 (P)
- SXL *Suixiang lun jie shiliu di yi* 隨相論解十六諦義 T1641 (P)
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, as accessed via CBETA (2011)
- References to the Taishō follow the order: Text number, volume number, page, register and line number. Thus e.g. T225:8.483b17 is text number 225, volume 8, page 483, second register, line 17.
- TACL "Textual Analysis for Corpus Linguistics"
- Tib Tibetan
- Tib II Tib trans. of Suv ascribed to Jinamitra, Śīlendrābodhi and Ye shes sde D556/Q175 (see Nobel 1944: xiii)
- Tib II-*dhāraṇī* The "*Dhāraṇīs*" chapter in Tib II
- Tib II-*trikāya* The "Three Bodies" chapter in Tib II
- Tib II-*yezhang* The "Karmic Obstructions" chapter in Tib II
- Tib II-*yikong* The "Fulfilling Vows in Reliance upon Emptiness" chapter in Tib II

¹⁶⁹ *Kiṅkara? *Kiṃkārya?

Vaj	<i>Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā</i> ; unless otherwise indicated, refers to 金剛般若波羅蜜經 T237 (P)
Vas bio	<i>Posoupandou fashi zhuan</i> 婆藪槃豆法師傳 T2049
Vim	<i>Vimśikā</i> 大乘唯識論 T1589 (P)
Vibh	* <i>Vibhāṣā</i> 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 T1546
Wushang	<i>Wushangyi jing</i> 無上依經 T669 (P)
X	<i>Shinsan dai Nippon zokuzōkyō</i> 卍新纂大日本續藏經 References formatted as for T
XSL	<i>Xianshi lun</i> 顯識論 T1618 (P)
XZ	Xuanzang 玄奘
Yijiao	<i>Yijiao jing lun</i> 遺教經論 T1529
YJ	Yijing 義淨, especially his translation of Suv, T665
ZSL	<i>Zhuanshi lun</i> 轉識論 T1587 (P)

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How the Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon First Aspired to Awakening: The *pūrva-praṇidhānas* of Buddhas 1–250

Peter SKILLING and SAERJI

The last major section of the *Bhadrakaplika-sūtra* is devoted to the first aspiration to awakening of the one thousand future Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon. The title given at the end of the section is **Sahasra-buddha-pūrva-praṇidhāna-naya* (*sangs rgya stong gi sngon gyi smon lam gyi tshul*). One verse is devoted to the aspiration of each Buddha. However, the actual number falls short of 1004 with only 994 given. Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation gives only 104.

In the Tibetan, in all Kanjur versions consulted, the entire *pūrva-praṇidhāna* section is in verse, usually four nine-syllable lines, although some verses have ten or eleven syllables. The few citations in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, in Sanskrit with Tibetan translation, and in *Sūtrasamuccaya*, in Tibetan, are in prose. So also is the early Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa.¹ These anomalies suggest that there may have been at least two versions of the chapter, one in prose and one in verse.

Four items of information are given for each Buddha:

- (1) his name as a future Buddha
- (2) the name of the past Buddha under whom the future Buddha in question first aspired to awakening
- (3) the social position or occupation of the future Buddha when he first aspired to awakening (in a few cases, this is omitted)
- (4) the offering that the future Buddha made or the service that he performed for the past Buddha in question.

Each verse ends with the refrain, 'he first aspired to achieve awakening', *dang por byang chub tu ni sems bskyed do*.

For example,

The Sugata Kāśyapa, as a brahman's son
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a waistband

¹ The Khotanese *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* is a much shorter text – an epitome or *piṇḍārtha*, and not a translation or true parallel (see below), as is the case with several other Khotanese 'sūtras'. It has only a single list which offers homage to the Buddhas by name. It does not have a *pūrva-praṇidhāna* section.

To the Tathāgata Best of Campa Flowers (*Tsam pa'i mchog*). [3]

The acts of merit and the offerings may be compared with those of Śākyamuni to 24 past Buddhas presented in the *Buddhavamsa*² and in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, or scattered here and there in Apadānas, Avadānas, and other texts.

Conventions

As noted above, in this section there are two sets of names of Buddhas, ideally one thousand each:

- (1) The Buddhas who will arise in the Fortunate Aeon (with the exception of nos. 1 to 4, who have already arisen);
- (2) Each of these Buddhas is individually associated with one Buddha of the past, to whom the future Bhadrakalpika Buddhas made offerings or performed some service.

For set (1) we have consulted the list of names published by Friedrich Weller (1928) and the list of the Khotanese *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* as published by Bailey (1951) and Takubo (1975). At present it is not possible to give a definitive list of the names in Sanskrit. Weller used polyglots (in Manchu, Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian) originating in the Sino-Tibetan-Mongolian tradition, but his exact sources are not accessible to us. The nature of the polyglots, and, especially, the nature of the sources consulted by their compilers, are not clear to us.

The second source for Sanskrit names is the 'Khotanese Bhadrakalpika-sūtra', which is called 'Buddha-piṭaka, Bhadrakalpa sūtra' in its colophon (Konow 1929, 5, 13; Bailey 1951, 90, l. 754). This is a text contained, along with six others, in India Office Library manuscript Ch c.001, which has been dated to CE 943.³ According to Emmerick (1992: 21), this *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* is 'the only extant Khotanese manuscript that contains the names', but it 'lists only 998 names and several of those are duplicated'.⁴

Many questions remain unresolved about the Sanskrit forms given in the available lists. They might seem to be generally reliable in relation to the standard Sanskrit equivalents of the Tibetan terms that make up the composite names (the 'official translation language' of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*), and some names are known from other Sanskrit sources. Differences in numbering and order make it difficult to be certain whether or not names are meant to refer to the same Buddha. We have assigned consecutive numbers to the names as they appear in the section studied here, which adds up to a total of 994 Buddhas. We have also consulted the names given in the English translation of the *Bhadrakalpika*, *The Fortunate Aeon*, which gives a total of 1004 names.

The Chinese translation done by Dharmarakṣa in CE 300 is not much help, because it lists only about one hundred Buddhas in this section, and because his renderings of the names are often difficult to match up with the Tibetan or Khotanese. Further, as Emmerick remarks (loc. cit.), 'the Khotanese *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* does not correspond to

². See Horner 1975: BD III, xlvi–liii.

³. For the date see Emmerick 1992: 22.

⁴. Discrepancies in numbers are common enough in Buddhist texts, as is duplication.

the text bearing the same title in the Tibetan Kanjur nor to the Chinese *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* translated by Dharmarakṣa ... although it belongs to the same tradition'. In sum, at present the Tibetan *Bhadrakalpika* is the only complete version that we have.

(2) For the Buddhas of the past, no list of Sanskrit names is at present available.⁵ Rather than risk 'reconstructing' the names into Sanskrit, we have chosen to give them in an approximate English rendering, followed by the Tibetan in parentheses. Our renderings are subjective impressions of the words that make up the names with their Sanskrit resonances, and often differ from those in *The Fortunate Aeon*.

(3) When possible we give likely Sanskrit equivalents of the terms for the social status of the future Buddhas when they made their offerings and aspired to achieve awakening. These are, however, only tentative, and in many cases the equivalents are uncertain. In regards to the class- or occupation-names, we meet the problem of the frequent use of *putra*, 'son', suffixed to nouns. In most cases *putra* may mean a member of a class or trade, rather than 'son of', and in many cases its use may be simply *metri causa*. Yes, a *rāja-putra* is a king's son, a prince, but what is a *brāhmaṇa-putra*? We have, however, included 'son of' in our translations, to show the extent of the usage.

(4) In the same way, we try to give Sanskrit equivalents of the items of offering. This is not an attempt to reconstruct any absolute Sanskrit, but rather an effort to supply an Indic background that may help us to understand the material culture of the *Bhadrakalpika* as preserved in Tibetan translation. Here, as elsewhere, the names of flowers and plants are particularly difficult. Some are translated, and others are transcribed. The Tibetan leads us to possible Sanskrit names, which then send us to the lexicons of Monier-Williams and others where we find definitions and botanical terms. But even in Sanskrit lexicography, these are often uncertain or contested.

In both (3) and (4), we generally restrict the possible equivalents to the language of the early translations of Sūtra and Vinaya literature, as codified in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* or as recorded in lexicons and indexes that have been compiled by comparing the Tibetan translations with extant Sanskrit versions. Here we are indebted to the meticulous work of the scholars who have devoted themselves to this painstaking task, including Lokesh Chandra and J.S. Negi.

Translation

Bodhisatva Prāmodyarāja said to the Fortunate One. 'Well said, O Fortunate One, Well said! As for the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones of the Fortunate Aeon: please explain how, under what Buddha, what Fortunate One, did each of them first aspire to achieve awakening; by what kind of roots of merit (*kuśalamūla*) did they pay homage to those Tathāgatas, and then aspire to achieve awakening?'

This he said. The Fortunate One said this to Bodhisatva Prāmodyarāja: 'Prāmodyarāja, to that end, listen carefully, and bear it mind, and I will explain.' Bodhisatva Prāmodyarāja agreed, 'Sir, O Fortunate One, it is good.' The Fortunate One

⁵ Only a small number are available from Sanskrit citations in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (see [15], [17], [24], [39], [40]) or in the Gandhari fragments (Baums et al. forthcoming).

said this.

The Tathāgata Krakucchanda

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered golden parasols⁶

To the Tathāgata Moon of Mankind (*Mi yi zla*). [1]

The Tathāgata Kanakamuni, when he was a garland maker⁷

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered a garland of *sumanā* flowers⁸

To the Tathāgata Lion's Prowess (*Seng ge'i stabs*).⁹ [2]

The Sugata Kāśyapa, as a brahman's son¹⁰

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered a waistband¹¹

To the Tathāgata Best of Campa Flowers (*Tsam pa'i mchog*).¹² [3]

I, in the past as a physician¹³

First aspired to achieve awakening

6. *gser las byas pa'i gdugs*: *gdugs* = *chattrā*. The merit of offering *chattrā* is often mentioned in texts and inscriptions, and stone *chattrā* of various sizes are in evidence at many early archaeological sites. Also at [228], [858].

7. *phreng rgyud*, cf. Negi 8: 3631 *phreng rgyud mkhan* = *mālika*, *mālākāra*. Also at [36], [59], [95], [116], [206], [260], [321], [328], [393], [428], [468], [540], [628], [745], [795], [835], [862], [895], [934], [941], [950], [992].

8. *sna ma'i me tog dag gi phreng ba*: *sna ma* = *sumanā*, Mvy 6158; Negi 7: 3210. MW 1230, *sumanā*, fem., 'great-flowering jasmine'. Dharmarakṣa 須漫花 (*sumanā* flower). Also at [78], [456].

9. *Seng ge'i stabs*: same name at [76], [264], [944] (future Tathāgata Sīṃhavikramin). *Stabs* usually translates *vikrama* – stride, gait, prowess, valour.

10. *bram ze'i bu*: also at [22], [64], [133], [201], [211] (*sāla chen lta bu'i bram ze'i bu*), [215], [241], [265], [389], [506] (*bram ze yi rgya mtsho'i bu*), [840] (*bram ze'i khye'u*), [910].

11. *ska rags*, *kacchaṭikā*, Mvy 5852; *kāyabandhana*, Mvy 5855, 8993. *kāyabandhana*, listed among monastic equipment (§ CCLXXII), is likely: see DEBMT 69, 'a girdle or a waistband or a belt for fastening the *antaravāsaka* (the lower garment, the sarong)'. According to the tradition of the *Buddhavamsa* (XXVIII, 9), Gotama's *kāyabandhana* was kept as a relic in Pāṭaliputta. Negi 1: 152 *ska rags* = *ske rags*, *mekhalā* (*kaṭyābharaṇam*), also *rasanā*, *kakṣyā*, *kāyabandhanam*, etc. Also below, [231].

12. *tsam pa'i mchog*: same name below, [126] (*tsam mchog*), [644].

13. *smān pa*, physician: FA and L read *dman pa*, 'lowly, low-ranking, low-born or baseborn person'. *Dman pa* often translates *dīna*, *nīca*, *hīna*, etc. Bu ston, when he quotes this verse in his History of Buddhism, reads *dman pa* (cf. Lha sa woodblock version, 43b2; *Bu ston chos 'byung*, Beijing: Krung go bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1988, p. 65; undated manuscript, Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang [ed.], 'Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod [dbu med bris mal] in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ti [39], Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011, p. 115, line 5). This led Obermiller (1931: 108) to translate the term as 'inferior state (of existence)'. The new translation, 'when I was a lowly being', is also based on *dman pa*: see Stein and Ngawang Zangpo (2013: 107). Pha bong kha (1878–1941) also quotes this verse, but reads *smān pa*: cf. Pha bong kha Bde chen snying po, *Gsung thor bu ba 'ga' zhiḡ phyogs gcig tu bkod pa*, in *Gsung 'bum*. TBRC W3834. 6: 71b1. [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O01PD4|O01PD4d1e2444\\$W3834](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O01PD4|O01PD4d1e2444$W3834). For *smān pa*, also see [53] (*rgyal po'i smān pa*), [102], [140], [239], [257], [282], [292], [300], [383], [384], [424], [455], [535], [569], [630], [659], [734], [783], [946], [949].

Considering the humble nature of the gift, 'lowly person' is possible; taking the gruel as a medicinal offering, 'physician' is equally possible. Here we have chosen to read *smān pa*, which is supported by Dharmarakṣa's translation 良醫師.

When I offered a cup of rice gruel¹⁴
 To the Tathāgata Śāykamuni. [4]
 Bodhisatva Maitreya, when he was
 A cakravartin king¹⁵ named Vairocana
 First aspired to achieve awakening when he invited
 The Sugata Mighty Prowess (*Mthu chen*) to the midday meal.¹⁶ [5]
 The Tathāgata Siṃha
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a cast-off rag as small as the palm of his hand¹⁷
 To the Tathāgata Melodious Roar (*Nga ro snyan*).¹⁸ [6]
 The Sugata Pradyota, when he was a merchant¹⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered precious gems and jewels²⁰
 To the Tathāgata Boundless Light (*Mtha' yas 'od*). [7]
 The Tathāgata Muni
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a parasol made of pearls²¹
 To the Tathāgata Charming Sight (*Yid 'thad gzigs*).²² [8]
 The Sugata Kusuma, when he was a city beggar,²³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made an offering of *laḍḍu*²⁴

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14. 'jams, Negi 4: 1367 'jams = 'jam thug, peyā. MW 648, peyā, fem., 'rice gruel or any drink mixed with a small quantity of boiled rice'. BHSD 354, peja, peyya. Peya and peja are recorded at Mvy (5701, 5702), in both places translated *thug pa*. Peyya occurs in the *Avadānaśataka: vividha-bhakṣya-bhojya-khādyā-lehya-peyya-coṣya*° (*Avadānaśataka* 3.10–11), Tibetan *zhal zas rnam pa sna tshogs khur ba dang | bshos dang | 'jams dang | bldag pa dang | bzhib pa* (D 343, 3a3–4). For the same expression, cf. [120] (*lhung bzed 'jams kyis bkang*), [648] ('jams dang btung ba), [935] ('jams gang zhig).
15. 'khor los sgyur ba (yi rgyal po): also see [31], [37] (*stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba*), [46], [62], [188], [199], [233], [234], [401], [513], [514], [584], [715], [978].
16. *gdugs tshod, bhakta*, Negi 6: 2420, in various combinations with *sbyan drangs, ni-√mantr*. For *gdugs tshod*, also see [435], [443], [837], [839].
17. *phyag dar khrod kyi lhan pa thal mo tsam*. Negi 8: 3540, *phyag dar khrod pa* = *pāṃśūkula*; Negi 16: 7563 *lhan pa* = *paṭṭaka, thiggalikā, bandhanam*. *Pāṃśūkula* were discarded pieces of cloth, often taken from a funeral ground. Their use as robes was recommended by the Buddha to the monks, and constituted one of the four resources (*nissaya*). For Pali sources, see DEBMT 125–126. For Sanskrit, see e.g. BHSD 338.
18. A Tathāgata named *Nga ro snyan pa'i dbyangs* is mentioned in the *Sangs rgyas kyi mtshan lnga stong bzhi brgya lnga bcu rtsa gsum pa* (D 262, 9a7), for which no Sanskrit is available.
19. *tshong pa*: Negi 11: 4927 *vanik*, cf. Mvy 3801. Also at [72], [279], [537], [562], [585], [594], [662], [665], [686], [694], [729], [731], [737], [780], [801], [806], [808], [823], [833], [836], [847], [849], [856], [870], [888], [892], [924], [939], [943], [958], [979], [990].
20. *nor bu rin po che, maniratna*. Also at [124].
21. *mu tig dag las byas pa'i gdugs, muktikā + chattra*. See also [594].
22. *yid 'thad = yid dang 'thad pa*, Negi 13: 5795, Mvy 6826, *mano 'nukūla*; or *yid 'thad = yid du 'thad pa*, Mvy 448, *manorāma*.
23. *grong khyer rten pa, naḡarāvalambaka*: also at [19], [24], [81], [114], [118], [148], [167], [230], [267], [289], [305], [320], [524]. FA translates 'watchman of the city', throughout. We follow Skilling 2010: 228 n. 145.
24. *la du*, presumably for *laḍḍu*, a ball-shaped Indian sweet made of flour and sugar. Cf. Hindi *laḍḍū*, Sanskrit *laḍḍu, laḍḍuka* (MW 895, citing *Agnipurāṇa* and Hemādri's *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi*). See also

To the Tathāgata Charioteer (*Kha lo sgyur*).²⁵ [9]
 Another Tathāgata [also named] Kusuma
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made an offering of toothsticks²⁶
 To the Sugata Lofty Glory (*Mngon par 'phags pa'i dpal*).²⁷ [10]
 The Tathāgata Sunetra, when he was a landowner,²⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 Offered storied mansions²⁹
 To the Tathāgata Excellent Orator (*Legs par sgra sgrogs*). [11]
 The Tathāgata Sārthavāha
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered couches made of red sandalwood³⁰
 To the Tathāgata Truth-Seer (*Bden pa mthong*). [12]
 The Tathāgata Mahābāhu, when he was a musician³¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When in the city he venerated with wind-pipes³²
 The Tathāgata Highest Fame (*Mchog grags*). [13]
 The Sugata Mahābala, when he was the son of an aromatics dealer³³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a piece of aloeswood³⁴

Turner 10927, *laḍḍu*, *laḍḍuka*. Also at [175].

25. *kha lo sgyur* = *sārathī* Mvy 10 (as epithet of the Buddha). BHSD 593, name of a former Buddha (*Lalitavistara*).
26. *tshems shing*, *dantakāṣṭha*, Negi 11: 4910, citing *Avadānaśataka* 158.11 = D 343, 82b6. Also at [39], [322], [357], [516], [754], [921]. Cf. Mv III 173.5, 8, 21. Prescriptions about the use of tooth-sticks figure in the Vinaya: for Pali *dantakaṭṭha*, see DEBMT 113.
27. *mngon par 'phags pa*, *abhyudgata*, Mvy 6388; Negi 3: 1038. Possibly *Abhyudgataśrī*.
28. *khyim bdaḡ*, *grhapati*, a landholder or member of the landed gentry in India at the time of the Buddha. The position had more social weight than that carried by the common translation 'householder'. See Wagle 1995, *passim*, and 185–188; Bailey and Mabbett 2003, Index, s.v. *gahapati*; Chakravarti 2006, Index, s.v. *gahapati*; Thapar 2013, 332–333, 'a householder owning land, livestock, and labour', 414. *Khyim bdaḡ* occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [875], [882], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].
29. *khang pa brtsegs pa*, *kūtāgāra*, Mvy 5502, Negi 1: 319. On the subject of the *kūtāgāra*, much ink has flowed. Here we translate the term as 'storied mansions'. See also [31], [99], [212], [414], [482], [600], [665].
30. *tsan dan dmar po'i khri'u dag*: *tsan dan dmar po* = *lohita-candana*, Negi 11: 4672 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*), Ejima 893; also *rakta-candana*. Negi 1: 400 gives *pīṭha*, *pīṭhikā*, *āsandī*, *mañca*, *mañcaka* for *khri'u*. For *khri'u* or *khri*, see also [52] (*khri'u bzangs gcig cig*), [459] (*bzhugs khri'u*), [568] (*bzhugs khri'u*), [898] (*bzhugs khri'u*).
31. *rol mo mkhan*: see also [50], [363], [364] (*rol mo'i glu mkhan*), [380], [646].
32. *gling bu*, Mvy 5026, *vaṃsaḡ* (*vaṃsaḡ*) (§ CCXIX, *rol mo dangs cha byad kyi ming la*), MW 910, a reed-pipe, flute, fife. Negi 2: 573 gives *vaṃsa*, *veṇu*. Also at [866], [909].
33. *spos 'tshong bu*: *spos 'tshong*: Negi 8: 3391 *gāndhika*, cf. Mvy 3781. Also at [74], [143], [159], [360], [375], [549] (*spos 'tshong khye'u*), [611] (*spos 'tshong khye'u*), [844]. The degree of specialization in the aromatics trade is not clear to us; here we take it to include perfumes, incenses, and fragrant substances. For a wide-ranging study of 'smell in Indian religion and culture', see McHugh 2012.
34. *a ga ru'i rdog ma*, *agaru*, aloeswood – a precious wood used as incense. See also [729] (*a ga ru yi bduḡ pa*), [733] (*a ga ru yi 'bras bu*).

To the Sugata Lion Intellect (*Seng blo*)³⁵ when he came to the city. [14]
 The Sugata Nakṣatrarāja, as a herdsman³⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *tāmbūla* flowers³⁷
 To the Tathāgata Ghoṣadatta (*Dbyangs byin*).³⁸ [15]
 The Sugata Oṣadhi, when he was a cartwright³⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a small lamp⁴⁰
 To the Tathāgata Fragrant Scent (*Dri zhim*).⁴¹ [16]
 The Sugata Yaśas, when he was a weaver⁴²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered woven tassels⁴³
 To the Tathāgata Vidyutpradīpa (*Mar me'i glog 'gyu*).⁴⁴ [17]
 The Tathāgata Ketu, when he was a farmer⁴⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered flower petals⁴⁶
 Over the Tathāgata Lotus Light (*Pad mo'i 'od zer*).⁴⁷ [18]
 The Sugata Mahāprabha, when he was a city beggar⁴⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When Magnificent Lamp (*Sgron ma chen po*) was the Tathāgata

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35. *seng blo* = *seng ge'i blo gros*, possibly *Siṃhamati*: Inagaki 1984: 129, *seng ge'i blo gros*, 'lion's wisdom', n. of a Buddha, *siṃha-mati* (referred to at BHS 595, 'name of a former Buddha', citing Sukh 6.17).
36. *phyugs rdzi* = *paśupālaka* (*Vinayasūtra*), *gopālaka* (*Vinayavastu*), Negi 8: 3592–93. Mvy 3826 *ābhīraḥ* (in long list of occupations, §CLXXXVII, *Manuṣya-kramah*) is otherwise unknown and hence problematic. Also below at [43], [85], [86] (*ba lang rdzi*), [220] (*ba lang rdzi*), [418], [495], [505] (*phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*), [570], [638], [649] (*phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*), [712], [760] (*phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*), [831], [912] (*ba lang rdzi*), [954] (*phyugs rdzi yi dpon po*), [960] (*phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*).
37. *kha la'i me tog*: cf. MW *khala*, '*xanthochymus pictorius* (*tamāla*)'. Here the citation at *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 8.20 has Sanskrit *tāmbālapattra* and Tibetan *ba gu la'i me tog*. See Skilling 2010: 226.
38. *Dbyangs byin* = *Ghoṣadatta*, confirmed by *Śikṣāsamuccaya* citation (see preceding note).
39. *shing rta mkhan* = *rathakāra*, Mvy 3797, Negi 15: 6833. Also at [94], [177], [240], [288], [312], [459], [494], [567], [568], [642], [671], [841], [869], [884], [898], [948].
40. *ting lo mar me bcas pa*: for *ting lo*, see BGD 1029; Roerich 3: 324, 'small dough cup used as a ritual lamp.' *mar me*: Mvy 6117, 6898 *dīpa*; GSS 88 idem; Ejima 196, *dīpa*, *pradīpa*; Negi 10: 4262 *dīpa*, *pradīpa*, *pradyota*. For *mar me* see also [19], [35], [113] (*mon sran gre'u 'bru mar mar me*), [232] (*mon sran gre'u yi 'bru mar mar me*), [534].
41. *dri zhim*, probably Sugandha: cf. Mvy 1894, *dri zhim pa* = *sugandha*.
42. *tha ga pa* = *tantravāya*, confirmed by *Śikṣāsamuccaya* citation. Mvy 3784 *tantuvāya*; Negi 5: 1953, *kuvinda*. Also at nos. 79, 151, 645. Dharmarakṣa has 夜 (night). Also at [79], [151], [231] (*thags mkhan*), [244] (*thags mkhan*), [527] (*thags mkhan*), [645], [660] (*thags mkhan*), [942] (*thags mkhan*).
43. *ras kyi kha tshar* = *daśikā* at *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 9.2; see Skilling 2010: 227 n. 144. Also at [151], [244], [527], [660], [942].
44. *Mar me'i glog 'gyu* = *Vidyutpradīpa*, confirmed by *Śikṣāsamuccaya* citation (see preceding note).
45. *zhing pa* = *kārṣika*, Negi 12: 5171, Mvy 3824 *zhing rmod pa*. Also at [66], [497], [542], [617], [807], [825], [911].
46. *me tog sil ma*: also at [949], [950].
47. Both Derge and Dharmarakṣa's translation include this verse; FA translates it, but does not include it in the enumeration. Weller has '(c. Ketu)' in parentheses, but does not give a separate entry or include Ketu in his enumeration.
48. *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].

And he offered votive lamps⁴⁹ to that sage. [19]
 The Sugata Muktiskandha, when he was a shoemaker⁵⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a pair of shoes⁵¹
 To the Tathāgata Voice of Brahmā (*Tshangs pa'i dbyangs*).⁵² [20]
 The Sugata Vairocana, when he was a cakravartin⁵³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered eighty-four thousand *talibati*⁵⁴
 To the Tathāgata Conqueror of Doubt (*Yid gnyis 'joms*). [21]
 The Sugata Sūryagarbha, when he was a brahman's son⁵⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *kośātaka* flowers⁵⁶
 To the Tathāgata Boundless Brilliance (*Gzi brjid mtha' yas*). [22]
 The Sugata Candra, when he was a goldsmith's son⁵⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a jeweled staff⁵⁸
 To the Tathāgata Face like the Moon (*Zla ba'i zhal*). [23]
⁵⁹The Sugata Arciṣmant, when he was a city beggar⁶⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered grass torches⁶¹
 To the Tathāgata Endless Light (*Mtha' yas 'od*).⁶² [24]

49. *mar me*, see above [16].

50. *lham mkhan*: *carmakāra*, Mvy 3795, Negi 16: 7564. Also at [88], [480], [811], [940].

51. *mchil lham zung cig*: for *mchil lham*, see Negi 3: 1302 *upānat* = Mvy 8969, *pādukā* = Mvy 5857. Mvy 5856 *upānat* (*upānaḥ*) = *lham*. Also at [27], [41], [88] (*mchil lham rim pa gcig pa*), [298], [312], [323], [359], [523] (*mchil lham rim gcig pa*), [811], [817], [887], [896], [901], [940].

52. Most probably *Brahmaghoṣa*.

53. *'khor los sgyur ba*: see above [5].

54. *ta li bati* (D, P) or *ta la'i bati* (F, L) sounds Indic, but we have been unable to trace a similar word. Can it be related to *tāla*, the sugar palm tree? Perhaps *tālavaṇṭaka*, *tālavṛṇḍaka*, fan – BHSD 252 – or **tālavāṭī*, a grove of palm trees? Cf. MW 1008 *vṛkṣavāṭī*, 'a grove of trees or garden near the residence of a minister of state'; or *tālavallī*, row of palm trees? Dharmarakṣa has rows of trees (for building *vihāra*). Rows of *tāla* trees are significant features of opulent architecture and landscaping in early Buddhist literature, such as the *Mahāsudarśana-sūtra* or the *Sukhāvātīvyūha*.

55. *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].

56. *ko sha ta ka'i me tog*: see MW 314, *kośātaka*, n. 'of a plant and of its fruit, *Tricosanthes diacca* or *Luffa acutangula* or *Luffa pentandra*'.

57. *gser mgar bur*: *gser mgar* = *suvarṇakāra*, Mvy 3785; Negi 16: 7387. Also at [54], [404] (*gser mgar khye'u*).

58. *rin po che yi sdong bu*: *sdong bu* = *daṇḍa*, Mvy 6223, hence **ratnadaṇḍa*? Cf. *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 28.16, *ratnadaṇḍāni*, *Divyāvadāna* 100.9, *ratnadaṇḍa*.

59. This verse is cited by Gampopa (Guenther) 130. For the Tibetan text, see Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho 136.6–9.

60. *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].

61. *rtswa'i sgron ma* = *ṛṇapradīpa*, in citation at *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 9.3. See Skilling 2010: 227–228. *sgron ma* also occurs at [137], [202] (*rin po che yi sgron ma*), [225] (*rtswa bam sgron me*), [338], [386] (*'od sgron*), [603], [693] (*nor bu'i sgron ma*), [700], [800] (*snang sgron*), [918] (*nor bu'i sgron ma*), [919] (*ma ṣa'i sgron ma*).

62. *Mtha' yas 'od* = *Anantaprabha*: Sanskrit confirmed by the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* citation (see preceding note).

The Sugata Suprabha, when he was keeper of a forest grove
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *campaka* flowers⁶³
 To the Tathāgata Attractive Radiance (*Yid 'ong gzi brjid*). [25]
 The Sugata Aśoka, when he was a merchant's son⁶⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *karnikā* flowers⁶⁵
 To the Tathāgata Destroyer of Doubt (*Yid gnyis rnam 'jig*). [26]
 The Sugata Tiṣya, when he was a landowner's son⁶⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a pair of jewel-studded shoes⁶⁷
 To the Tathāgata Lamp of Merit (*Bsod nams sgron*). [27]
 The Sugata Pradyota, when he was a sea merchant⁶⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a bedstead made of red sandalwood⁶⁹
 To the Tathāgata Fine Vision (*Legs par mthong*).⁷⁰ [28]
 The Sugata Mālādhārin, when he was a landowner's son⁷¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *kakaniya* incense⁷²
 To the Tathāgata Delightful Radiance (*Yid 'ong gzi brjid*). [29]
 The Sugata Guṇaprabha, when he was a gold dealer⁷³
 First aspired to achieve awakening

63. *tsam pa ka yi me tog*: *campaka* flowers. See MW 388 'Michelia Campaka (bearing a yellow fragrant flower)'. Also at [157] (*tsam pa'i me tog phreng ba*), [276], [797], [844].

64. *tshong dpon bu*: Negi 11: 4928 *śreṣṭhiputra*. This expression occurs many times, see [56], [78], [98], [205], [214], [216], [302], [324], [327], [340], [358], [367], [374], [416], [425], [475], [502], [529], [548], [583], [602] (*tshong dpon khye'u*), [607], [644], [661], [699], [725], [754], [776], [859], [865], [900], [915], [917], [923], [981]. It is possible that *tshong dpon bu* = *tshong pa'i bu* in our text, below [109], [124].

65. *kar ni ka yi me tog*: *karnikā* flowers, Roerich 1: 41, 'flower of the tree Pterospermum acerifolium and of Cassia fistula'. *karnikā* = *karnikāra*, See MW 257, 'the flower of Pterospermum acerifolium'. Also at [458], [618], [717].

66. *khyim bdag bu*: for *khyim bdag*, see above [11]. *Khyim bdag bu* also occurs at [29], [130] (*khyim bdag kyi bu*), [174], [773], [778], [896], [947].

67. *nor bu rin chen mchil lham*: *maṇiratnapāḍuka*? Dharmarakṣa reads 明月珠及紅蓮華, probably *maṇiraktapadma*. For *mchil lham*, see above [20].

68. *rgya mtsho'i tshong pa*: for *tshong pa*, see above [7]. Also at [38], [224], [253], [399], [426], [473].

69. *tsan dan dmar po'i gzims khri*: *gzims khri* = *nyal khri*, Negi 12: 5466 *mañca*, Negi 4: 1505 *palyaṅka*, *mañca*, cf. above [12], also [94] (*nyal khri stong ri ba*), [847], [948]. For offerings made of (red) sandalwood, see [12], [62], [218], [294], [838].

70. 'Fine Vision', *Legs par mthong*, most probably Sudarśana. Sudarśana is the name of a cakravartin in the famous *Mahāsudarśana-sūtra*, and a name of former and future Buddhas in the *Mahāvastu* and other texts: see e.g. BHSD 598.

71. *khyim bdag bu*: see [27]. For *khyim bdag*, see above [11].

72. *ka ka ni ya'i bdug spos*: *bdug spos* = *dhūpa*, Negi 6: 2473 *kākani*, *kakani* is a small coin, which doesn't suit. Cf. *kāka*, MW 266, *Ardisia humilis*. One type of *ardisia* is the 'incense tree'.

73. *gser rtog*. Not found in Mvy, Negi, TSD. Can *rtog* here mean one who analyses or assesses gold, equivalent to *sauvarṇika*, which at Mvy 3786 is *gser spyod*? – and hence 'gold dealer', as in FA? Also at [227], [588], [789], [868], [932].

When he offered a single flower⁷⁴
 To the Tathāgata Peerless One (*Mtshungs pa med*).⁷⁵ [30]
 The Sugata Arthadarśin, when he was a cakravartin king⁷⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered one thousand storied mansions⁷⁷
 To the Tathāgata Treasury of Boundless Light (*'od dpag med mdzod*). [31]
 The Sugata Pradīpa, when he was the son of a dealer in fragrant oils⁷⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a bathhouse with sixty million attendants⁷⁹
 To the Tathāgata Sportive Display (*Rnam par rol par snang ba*). [32]
 The Sugata Prabhūta, when he was a cloth merchant⁸⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered rolls of fine cloth⁸¹
 To the Tathāgata Wide Renown (*Graggs pa rgyas*). [33]
 The Sugata Vaidya, when he was a physician's son,⁸²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered small balls of incense⁸³
 To the Tathāgata Without Banner (*Rgyal mtshan bral*).⁸⁴ [34]
 The Sugata Sūrata, when he was an oil-miller⁸⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made a lamp⁸⁶

74. *me tog gcig cig*. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 明鏡, mirror = *mukura*, which also means 'flower bud' (also *mukula*).

75. *Mtshungs pa med*: possibly *Atulya*. Dharmarakṣa here 不藏威 (*aguhya* or *aguna*?).

76. *'khor los sgyur rgyal*, see above [5].

77. *khang pa brtsegs pa*, see above [11].

78. *spos 'bru mar 'tshongs bu*: *gandhatailaka-putra*, for *gandhatailaka*, see BHSD 209. *'bru mar* = *taila*, Mvy 5785; Negi 9: 4097. FA 'the son of an incense, butter, and oil merchant'.

79. *khrus khang* = *snānagr̥ha*, Negi 1: 403, cf. SBV I 192.25, (Śuddhodana to the Buddha) *purā hi tvam snānagr̥he suramyē snātaḥ*; *Mahāvastu* III 36.7, *snānagr̥ham praveśitvā*. Also at [766], [816].

80. *gos 'tshong*: *gos* = *na bza'*, Negi 2: 510 *vastra*, *vāsa*, *vasana*, *prāvṛti* etc; *'tshong*, Negi 11: 5025 *vikraya*; Dharmarakṣa 居在山中 (mountain dweller), **parvatakandara* < **prāvṛtavikraya*? Also at [75], [173], [207], [342], [361] (*gos 'tshong khye'u*), [414], [501], [504], [850], [955].

81. *ras bcos leb leb pho dag*: for *ras bcos*, cf. Mvy 5876 *ras bcos bu* = *duṣya*; Negi 14: 6343, *dūṣya*; BHSD 268, 'a kind of cloth, apparently of cotton but of fine quality'. *leb leb pho* also reads as *leb leb po*, *leb po* = *ciṭṭa*, cf. Negi 15: 6747, MW 398 'blunted, flattened, flat'. *ras bcos*, also at [395].

82. *sman pa'i bu*, also at [704].

83. *spos kyi ri lu* = *gandhagulikā*, cf. Gv(V) 115.20–22: *ekā ca gandhagulikā nidhūpitā tasya bhagavataḥ sabodhisatvaśrāvakaśaṃghasya pūjākarmaṇo, tayā ca gandhagulikayā nidhūpitayā sapṭāhaṃ sarvajambudvīpo nantavarṇaiḥ sarvasatvakāyasadr̥śair dhūpapāṭalameghaiḥ saṃchanno 'bhūt* = D 44, a, 18b1–3: *spos kyi ri lu gcig cig kyang bsregs te | bdug spos kyi sogs so | spos kyi ri lu gcig po de | de ltar bsregs pas zhag bdun du 'dzam bu'i gling thams cad kyang spos kyi na bun gyi sprin kha dog sna tshogs dang ldan pa | sems can thams cad kyi lus dang 'dra bas yongs su khebs par gyur to*. Cleary (1987: III 116) translates (from Śikṣānanda's Chinese version) 'ball of incense'. For *ri lu*, see Roerich 9: 63, 'small ball, pill'. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 丸藥. Also at [183], [368].

84. *Rgyal mtshan bral*: FA translates as 'Victory Banner of the Present', perhaps reading *bul* = present in place of *bral*.

85. *'bru mar mkhan*. For *'bru mar*, see above [32]. Also at [186], [235], [278], [530], [596], [652] (*'bru mar spos can mkhas*), [682], [927], [928].

86. *mar me*, see above [16].

For the Tathāgata Exalted Vanquisher (*'Phags 'joms mdzad*).⁸⁷ [35]
 The Sugata Ūrṇa, when he was a garland maker⁸⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered red lilies⁸⁹
 To the Tathāgata All-Seeing (*Kun tu gzigs*).⁹⁰ [36]
 The Sugata Dṛḍha, when he was a bala-cakravartin⁹¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered eighty-four thrones⁹² made of precious jewels
 To the Tathāgata Unconquerable by Anyone (*Gzhan gyis mi thub*).⁹³ [37]
 The Sugata Śrīdeva, when he was a sea merchant⁹⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a canopy of precious jewels that shone for one *yojana*⁹⁵
 To the Tathāgata Light of Mass of Radiance (*Gzi brjid phung po'i 'od*).⁹⁶ [38]
 The Sugata Duṣpradhara, when he was a timber merchant⁹⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered toothsticks⁹⁸
 To the Tathāgata Steady Stride (*Brtaṅ par gshegs*). [39]
 The Tathāgata Guṇadhvaja, when he was a water donor
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered water vessels
 To the Sugata Compelling Glory (*Yid 'ong grags*).⁹⁹ [40]
 The Sugata Rāhu, when he was a garland maker's son¹⁰⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening

87. *'Phags 'joms mdzad*: *'joms mdzad* = *'joms par mdzad pa*, Negi 4: 1419, *bhañjaka*, *vidhvamsaka*, *mardana* etc.

88. *phreng rgyud mkhan*, see above [2].

89. *ud pal dmar po*: = *raktotpala* (*Amarakośa*), Negi 16: 7599. Also at [196], [813].

90. The same name also occurs at [52], [54] (*kun gzigs*), [77] (*kun tu rnam gzigs*), [230], [248], [381], [420], [506] (*kun gzigs*), [562], [569], [773].

91. *stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba* = *bala-cakravartin*, Ejima 98. See BHSD 398. The term occurs in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Samghabhedavastu*, the *Divyāvādāna*, and the Lokottaravādin *Mahāvastu*, as well as in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, and other Mahāyāna texts. It is not found in Pali or in all systems of classification of *cakravartins*, however. Also at [199]. For *'khor los sgyur ba*, see above [5].

92. *gdan khri*: for *khri*, see above [12]. Also at [218], [461], [551] (*khri stan*), [633], [662], [824], [977].

93. *Gzhan gyis mi thub*, most probably *Aparājita*.

94. See above [28].

95. *nor bu rin chen bla re*: *bla re* = *vitāna* (as a *pūjā-pariṣkāra*) Mvy 6118; see also Negi 9: 3909 *bla re* = *blab re* 3906. *bla re* is a frequent offering: see [49] (*gser las byas pa'i bla re*), [56] (*na bza'i bla re*), [95] (*me tog bla re*), [106] (*nor bu rin chen spras pa'i bla re*), [116] (*me tog las byas bla re*), [166], [173] (*ras bcos bla re*), [243] (*nor bu'i bla re*), [398] (*na bza' bla re*), [512] (*rin po che yi bla re*), [515], [634] (*gser las byas pa'i bla re*), [835] (*me tog bla re*), [873], [888] (*phreng ba dag las byas pa'i bla re*), [978] (*rin po che las byas pa'i bla re*), [988] (*gos kyi bla re*).

96. *Gzi brjid phung po'i 'od*: for *Gzi brjid phung po*, see Negi 12: 5459, *tejorāśi*.

97. *shing 'tshong*: also at [225], [298], [483], [720].

98. *dantakāṣṭha*, see above [10].

99. For the problematic citations of this *cittotpāda* in *Sūtrasamuccaya* and in a marginal note in *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, see Skilling 2010: 229.

100. *phreng rgyud mkhan bu*: also at [146]. For *phreng rgyud mkhan*, see above [2].

When he offered a pair of golden shoes¹⁰¹
 To the Tathāgata Boundless Form (*Mtha' yas gzugs*). [41]
 The Sugata Gaṇin, when he was a bath attendant¹⁰²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered bathing soap¹⁰³
 To the Tathāgata Lucid Heart (*Thugs rab dang ba*). [42]
 The Tathāgata Brahmaghoṣa, when he was a herdsman¹⁰⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a measure of [ground barley] flour¹⁰⁵
 To the Tathāgata Melodious Voice (*Dbyangs snyan*) just after his awakening. [43]
 The Sugata Dṛḍhasaṃdhi, when he was a cowrie-shell dealer's son¹⁰⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered handfuls¹⁰⁷ of cowries¹⁰⁸
 Over the Tathāgata Unshaking Stride (*Mi g.yor gshegs pa*). [44]
 The Sugata Anunnata, when he was a prince Dga' 'dod¹⁰⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he worshipped with music and song¹¹⁰
 The Tathāgata Boundless Array (*Bkod pa mtha' yas*). [45]
 The Sugata Prabhaṃkara, when he was a cakravartin king¹¹¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered jeweled garments¹¹²
 To the Tathāgata Radiant Summit of Brilliance (*Gzi brjid brtsegs 'od*). [46]
 The Tathāgata Mahāmeru
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered seven *aśoka* flowers¹¹³

101. *gser gyi mchil lham zung cig*: for *mchil lham*, see above [20].

102. *khrus pa* = *dhāvaka* Negi 1:403 (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*). Also at [97], [117], [236], [366], [464], [766], [972].

103. *khrus kyi chal*, Negi 1: 403, *parāga*, *snānīya*, *upasnānaka*. Also at [133] (*khrus rkyen 'dag pa'i chal dag*), [721] (*sku yi khrus dag*).

104. *phyugs rdzi*: see above [15].

105. *phye bre gang*: *phye* = *saktu*, Mvy 5697, Negi 8: 3596, citing Av-klp(V) 533.19: *saktuprastha* = *phye (ni) bre gang*. For *prastha*, see MW 699 'a partic. weight and measure of capacity'. *bre* can also stand for *droṇa*, cf. Mvy 6766 *bre bo*, Negi 9: 3895. Also occurs at [238] (*phye yi bsod snyoms*), [790] (*kār ṣā pa ni ri ba'i phye dag*).

106. *'gron bu 'tshong ba'i bu*: *'gron bu (mgron bu)* = *kapardaka (kapardikā)*, Negi 2: 682; Mvy 5994, 9374.

107. *spar gang* = *spar ba gang*, *muṣṭi*, Negi 8: 3364. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 手撮.

108. *'gron bu*: also at [565].

109. *rgyal bu dga' 'dod*: we do not know anything about this prince. Dharmarakṣa gives his country as 沙竭國 *Sāka(1a). *rgyal bu* = *rgyal po'i bu*, Negi 2: 772 *rājaputra*. For *rgyal bu*, see also [71] (*rgyal po'i bu*), [106], [135] (*rgyal po'i bu*), [144], [170], [184], [191], [271], [275], [349], [354] (*rgyal po'i bu*), [362], [396], [422], [450], [472], [545], [573], [624], [626], [633], [677], [683], [701] (*rgyal po'i bu*), [761], [770], [929], [938].

110. *glu dbyangs*: Mvy 5022 *saṃgīti*. Also at [890].

111. *'khor los sgyur rgyal*, see above [5].

112. *na bza' rin po che dag*: Negi 7: 2787 *na bza'* = *vastra*, *ambara*, *cīvara*, *cela*, etc. Also at [339], [814].

113. *mya ngan 'tshang ba* = *aśoka* Mvy 6166; Negi 10: 4525. Also at [245], [610], [706].

To the Tathāgata Firm Intellect (*Blo gnas*). [47]
 The Sugata Vajra, when he was Śakra, Lord of the gods¹¹⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he rained down *mandārava* flowers¹¹⁵
 On the Tathāgata Steadfast (*Brtaṅ pa*). [48]
 The Tathāgata Sañjayin,¹¹⁶ when he was king of Jambudvīpa¹¹⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a canopy fashioned from gold¹¹⁸
 To the Tathāgata Rejoicing in Liberation (*Thar dgyes*). [49]
 The Sugata Nirbhaya, when he was a musician¹¹⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he paid musical homage by beating big drums¹²⁰
 To the Tathāgata Granter of Security (*Mi 'jigs sbyin*). [50]
 The Sugata Ratna, when he was a chief minister¹²¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he gave a garland anointed with incense
 To the Tathāgata Elixir Maker (*Bdud rtsi mdzad*). [51]
 The Sugata Padmākṣa,¹²² when he was a *yantra*-maker¹²³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made and presented an auspicious throne¹²⁴
 To the Tathāgata All Seeing (*Kun tu gzigs*).¹²⁵ [52]
 The Sugata Balasena,¹²⁶ when he was a royal physician¹²⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening

^{114.} *brgya byin*: also at [149], [351], [931].

^{115.} *mandārava* flowers: see also [210], [382]. For rained down flowers, cf. [149].

^{116.} *Sdom can*: It is hard to derive *Sañjayin* from *Sdom can*, but Weller, no. 48, has *Sañjayin* only, with no alternate Sanskrit form, the Khotanese has *Samjñiyau* (Bailey 1951: 77, no. 48), and Dharmarakṣa has 憶識, probably **Samjñā*. As one of the 'six teachers', Sañjayin is 'Yang dag rgyal ba can' in the Vinaya (Vogel 1970: 37). Here FA 1493 has *Samvarin*, perhaps reconstructed on the logic that *samvara* normally = *sdom pa*.

^{117.} *'dzam gling gi rgyal po*: also at [189], [586]. For *rgyal po*, see [247], [369], [391] (*gling gcig rgyal po*), [402] (*mtha' 'khob rgyal po*), [446], [482], [641], [673], [858], [873].

^{118.} *gser las byas pa'i bla re*: also at [634]. For *bla re*, see above [38].

^{119.} *rol mo mkhan*, see above [13].

^{120.} *rnga chen* = *dundubhi, bherī* (*Suvarṇabhāṣottama*), also *rnga bo che*, Negi 3: 1063. Mvy 5010, 5012. Also at [160] (*rnga bo che dag brdung ba byas*), [162] (*rnga bo che dag brdung ba byas*), [646] (*rol mo'i rnga chen brdungs te mchod*), [748] (*rnga chen brdungs*).

^{121.} We read *blon mchog* with F L S against D *blo mchog*. See Negi 9: 3932, *blon po* = *amātya*, *blon po chen po* = *mahāmātya*. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 大臣. Also at [136], [410] (*'khor sgyur blon mchog*), [444] (*blon chen*), [608] (*blon che*), [678] (*blon po chen po*), [815] (*blon che*), [845] (*'khor los sgyur ba yi blon po*).

^{122.} We read *pad spyan* with F L S against D *pad ldan*. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 蓮華目.

^{123.} *'khrul 'khor mkhan*: Negi 1: 457 *'khrul 'khor* = *yantra*. Also at [310].

^{124.} *khri'u bzangs*, possibly *bhadraśana*, auspicious seat or throne. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 寶帶床臥 = **bandhāsana*? For *khri'u*, see above [12].

^{125.} Same name above at [36].

^{126.} We read *stobs sde* with F L S against D *stobs bde*. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 力將.

^{127.} *rgyal po'i sman pa*. There is some confusion in the sources with 'king of physicians'. In *Sikṣāsamuccaya*, the text is only given in an incomplete marginal note: see Skilling 2010: 229. For *sman pa*, see above [4].

When he presented a myrobalan fruit¹²⁸
 To the Tathāgata Possessor of a Great Vehicle (*Bzhon pa che ldan*).¹²⁹ [53]
 The Sugata Kusumaraśmi, when he was a goldsmith's son¹³⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he gave a string of jewels¹³¹
 To the Sugata All-seeing (*Kun gzigs*).¹³² [54]
 The Sugata Jñānapriya, when he was making children's ornaments¹³³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he gave flowers and incense¹³⁴
 To the Tathāgata Worshipped by All Lands and Directions (*Yul phyogs kun mchod*).
 [55]
 The Sugata Mahātejas, when he was a merchant's son¹³⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a canopy of cloth¹³⁶
 To the Tathāgata Glorious Radiance (*'Od rab dpal*). [56]
 The Sugata Brahmā, when he was a cook¹³⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered refined sugar¹³⁸
 To the Tathāgata Exalted Teacher (*Ston pa bla ma*). [57]

128. *skyu ru ra yi 'bras bu*: *skyu ru ra* = *āmalaka* Mvy 5799, *āmalaka-phala*, fruit of the emblic myrobalan. See below [66], [170] (*chu dang skyu ru ra*), [384], [463], [615], [654] (*skyu ru ra yi bcud khu*), [702], [783], [976] (*lhung bzed chung ngu skyu ru ras bkang*).

129. We read *bzhon pa che ldan* with D L against S *gzhon pa che ldan*. *Bzhon pa che* is *mahāyāna* in the sense of a large vehicle, rather than the spiritual vehicle, which is *theg pa chen po*. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 大御.

130. *gser mgar gyi bu*: see above [23].

131. *rin po che yi phreng ba* = *rin chen phreng ba*, probably *ratnamālā*, cf. Dharmarakṣa 寶華飾. Negi 14: 6439 *ratnarāji*. Also at [427].

132. Same name: above [36].

133. *byis pa'i rgyan byed tshe*: Dharmarakṣa 博戲家子.

134. Text here reads *mig dang bdug pa*, of which a straightforward reading is 'eyes and incense'. While the sacrifice of eyes is a common theme in Jātaka stories, 'eyes and incense' is a strange combination. If *mig dang bdug pa* is a compound word, we cannot trace it elsewhere. Mvy 5223 has *mig gdug pa* = *dṛṣṭiviṣa*, a kind of snake, the very glance of which is poisonous (see MW 492, BHSD 270) which does not fit. *bdug pa* = *dhūpa*. Dharmarakṣa 香鑪 points to terms like *dhūpakaṭacchu*, *dhūpakuṇḍa*, *dhūpapātala*, *dhūpapātra* etc. FA 1495 has 'offered aromatic incense for the eyes to the Tathāgata known as 'Worshipped Everywhere', which does not fit the syntax. We suspect there is a scribal error or mistake in transmission. One possibility is to read *mig* as *meg*, taking *meg* as an abbreviated form of *me tog*, so *mig dang bdug pa* = *me tog dang bdug pa*, *puṣpadhūpa*, a frequent combination in Mahāyāna sutras (see e.g. Ejima 203ff). We tentatively follow this interpretation.

135. *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

136. *na bza'i bla re dag*: also at [398], [988] (*gos kyi bla re*). For *na bza'*, see above [46]. For *bla re*, see above [38].

137. *bag chos mkhan*: *bag chos* = *khādyaka*, Negi 9: 3701. Cp. Mvy 9059 *bag chos 'drim pa* (*bag cos 'grim pa*) = *khādyakacāraka*.

138. *sha kha ra yi ri lu* = *guḍaśarkarā*, cf. Pras 476.2, D 3860, 157a3 (*bu ram*). For *sha kha ra*, Negi 15: 6788, MW 1958 'ground or candied sugar'. For *ri lu*, see above [34]; here probably *guḍa*, cf. MW 356 'sugar which forms itself into lumps, dry sugar, treacle, molasses, first thickening of the juice of the sugar-cane by boiling'. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 石蜜甘蔗飴. Also see [222] (*kha ra'i dum bu*), [237] (*kha ra'i dum bu*).

The Sugata Amitābha, when he was a hired laborer¹³⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a single parasol¹⁴⁰
 To the Tathāgata Light Array (*Bkod pa'i 'od*). [58]
 The Sugata Nāgadatta, when he was a garland maker¹⁴¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a wreath of flowers¹⁴²
 To the Tathāgata Leonine Stretch (*Seng ge rnam bsgyings*). [59]
 The Sugata Ḍṛḍhakrama, when he was as jeweller¹⁴³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a net of jewels¹⁴⁴
 To the Tathāgata Doubt Abandoned (*Yid gnyis spong*). [60]
 The Sugata Amoghadarśin, when he was a medicine maker's son¹⁴⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he invited the bhikṣusaṃgha, and prepared medicine¹⁴⁶
 Under the Sugata Good Vision (*Legs mthong*). [61]¹⁴⁷
 The Sugata Vīryadatta, when he was a cakravartin king¹⁴⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made 100,000 monastic residences¹⁴⁹ from red sandalwood
 And covered them with fine cloth,¹⁵⁰ for the Tathāgata Elixir Prowess (*Bdud rtsi'i stabs*). [62]¹⁵¹
 The Sugata Bhadrāpāla first aspired to achieve awakening
 When he served the Sugata Moon Light (*Zla ba'i 'od*)
 Along with the saṃgha accompanying him, 100,000 in number
 For seven days with food of one hundred flavours. [63]¹⁵²

139. We read *gla mi*, with D L against F S *bla ma*. Negi 2: 560 *bhṛtaka*, *bhṛtya*, Mvy 3834. Cf. Dharmarakṣa 為他賈作.

140. *gdugs* = *chhatra*, see above [1].

141. *phreng rgyud*, see above [2].

142. *me tog dag gi chun po*: *chun po* = *dāma*, Mvy 6122, cf. Negi 3: 1214–1215. Also at [115], [209], [263], [273], [309], [316], [345] (*sna ma'i me tog chun po*), [701], [706] (*me tog mya ngan 'tshang gi chun po*), [941].

143. *nor bu mkhan*, Negi 7: 2891, *maṇikāra*. Also at [105], [179], [243], [261], [317].

144. *rin po che yi dra ba* = *rin chen da ba*, probably *ratnajāla*, Negi 14: 6436. Also at [877] (*rin chen dra ba*).

145. *nad pa'i gsos sman la sbyor mkhan bu*: *nad pa'i gsos sman* = *snyun gyi gsos sman*, cf. Negi 4: 1658 *glānapratyayabhāṣajya*. For *sbyor (ba)*, Mvy 2317 *prayoga*.

146. *nad sman*: also at [219] (*snyun rkyen gsos sman mar*), [354] (*na ba yi gsos sman*), [439] (*snyun gyi gsos sman*), [704] (*snyun gyi gsos sman*).

147. This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.

148. *'khor los sgyur rgyal*, see above [5].

149. *gtsug lag khang*: *vihāra*, also at [122], [186], [199], [337], [387], [425], [494], [499], [586], [695], [834], [838], [914], [971].

150. *ras bcos*: see above [33].

151. This verse has an irregular metre: 11-11-11-13.

152. Irregular metre: 11-11-11-13.

The Sugata Nanda, when he was a brawny brahman's son¹⁵³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a yak-tail fan with a gem-studded handle¹⁵⁴
 To the Tathāgata Most Famous One (*Mchog grags*). [64]
 The Tathāgata Acyuta, when he was a royal messenger¹⁵⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a fruit [from] Pāñcālī¹⁵⁶
 To the Sugata Hidden Faculty (*Dbang sbas*).¹⁵⁷ [65]
 The Sugata Siṃhadhavaja, when he was a farmer¹⁵⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a myrobalan fruit¹⁵⁹
 To the Tathāgata Clear Roar (*Nga ro gsal*). [66]
 The Sugata Jaya, when he was a garden worker¹⁶⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a *harītakī* fruit¹⁶¹
 To the Tathāgata Unimpeded Wheel (*Thogs med 'khor lo*). [67]
 The Tathāgata Dharma, when he was a hero¹⁶²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered flags¹⁶³
 To the Tathāgata Elixir Voice (*Bdud rtsi'i nga ro*). [68]
 The Sugata Prāmodyarāja, when he was an aromatics dealer¹⁶⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered and sprinkled handfuls of [incense] powder¹⁶⁵

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- ^{153.} *rtsal chen bram ze'i bu*: *rtsal chen* = *mahāvīkrama*, Mvy 3341, Negi 11: 4731. Also at [708], [791]. FA 'the brahmin rTsal chen'. For *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].
- ^{154.} *yu ba nor bus spras pa'i rnga yab gcig*: *yu ba* = *daṇḍa*, *yaṣṭi*, Negi 13: 5832; *spras pa*, Negi 8: 3437 *racaṇā*, *arcīta*, *saṃskṛta*, *pratyutpata*, etc, cf. Mvy 6054–6057. *nor bus spras pa* = *maṇisaṃskṛta*, cf. RGV 115.9, D 4020, 72a2; Dharmarakṣa 真珠授飾; *rnga yab* = *cāmara*, Mvy 3052.
- ^{155.} *rgyal po yi pho nya: rājadūta*, Negi 2: 771, cf. SBV I 209.6. Also at [100], [323], [409], [612], [718], [740].
- ^{156.} *pan tsa li yi 'bras bu*: *pan tsa li* is probably *pāñcālī*, cf. BHSD 339 'of a city'. MW 578 *pañcāla* 'of a warrior-tribe and their country in the north of India'.
- ^{157.} *Dbang sbas*: cf. Dharmarakṣa 寂根.
- ^{158.} *zhing pa*, see above [18], cf. Dharmarakṣa 將犁耕田.
- ^{159.} *skyu ru ra yi 'bras bu*: see above [53].
- ^{160.} *tshal gyi las byed*: for *tshal*, Negi 11: 4847, *vana*, *kānana*, *vanikā* etc; for *las byed (pa)*, Negi 15: 6643 *karmakāraka*, *karamkṛt*, *karmakara*, etc, cf. Mvy 3832 *karmakara*, 8729 *karmakāraka*; Dharmarakṣa 履屨師 (shoemaker), probably indicates **pādukācarmakara*. Also at [110], [221], [371], [377], [511], [674], [786].
- ^{161.} *a ru ra yi 'bras bu*. Negi 16: 7591 = *harītakī-phala*, Mvy 5798. Also at [424], [535].
- ^{162.} *dpa' bo: vīra*, Mvy 53, listed among the epithets of a Tathāgata (§I), Negi 8: 3307 *vīra*, *śūra* etc. Also at [192], [334], [619], [879].
- ^{163.} *rgyal mtshan*: Mvy 6109 *dhvaja*, cf. Negi 2: 782. Also at [101], [334], [619], [879], [895] (*me tog dag las byas pa'i rgyal mtshan*).
- ^{164.} *spos 'tshong*: see above [14]. Also at [99], [208], [212], [218], [269], [307], [345], [368], [499], [552], [564], [579], [587], [707], [713], [747], [962].
- ^{165.} *phye ma spar gang*: for *phye ma*, Negi 8: 3597, *cūrṇa*, cf. Mvy 6111; for *spar gang*, see above [44]. Also at [143], [392], [549].

Over the Tathāgata Shrine of Knowledge (*Ye shes mchod rten*). [69]
 The Sugata Sārathī, when he was young boy¹⁶⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered three *palabata*¹⁶⁷
 To the Tathāgata (*Gzi brjid rdzu 'phrul*). [70]
 The Sugata Priyaṅgama, when he was a prince¹⁶⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered silver flowers¹⁶⁹
 To the Tathāgata King of Virtue (*Yon tan rgyal po*). [71]
 The Tathāgata Varuṇa, when he was a merchant¹⁷⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an alms bowl brimming with honey¹⁷¹
 To the Tathāgata Measureless Colours (*Kha dog dpag med*). [72]
 The Sugata Guṇabāhu, when he was playing¹⁷²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he laid out a meditation walkway with a perimeter wall eight cubits long¹⁷³
 For the Tathāgata Mighty Power (*Stobs chen*). [73]
 The Sugata Gandhahastin, when he was the son of an aromatics dealer¹⁷⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he sprinkled the meditation walkway with fragrant water¹⁷⁵
 For the Tathāgata Liberation Array (*Bkod pa rnam grol*).¹⁷⁶ [74]
 The Sugata Vilocana, when he was a cloth merchant¹⁷⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening

^{166.} *byis pa*: *bāla*, Mvy 4075, Negi 9: 3836. Also at [738], in other places *grong rdal byis pa*, see [112], [357], [476], [620].

^{167.} *pa la ba ta*: we do not know the mean of this word, evidently a transcription. Dharmarakṣa gives (三) 品果, which indicated **phalavarga*?

^{168.} *rgyal po'i bu*: see above [45]. Here probably *rājasuta*, cf. Dharmarakṣa 國王明智太子 (wise prince of king), probably he double translates *suta*, once is *suta*, another is *sūta*.

^{169.} *ḍngul gyi me tog*: for *ḍngul*, Negi 3: 990 *rajata*, *rūpya*; cf. Mvy 5978–5980. Also at [663] (*ḍngul las byas pa'i me tog*), [836] (*ḍngul las byas pa'i me tog*). Silver and golden flowers are often found in reliquaries in South Asia and elsewhere.

^{170.} *tshong pa*, see above [7].

^{171.} *lhung bzed sbrang rtsis bkang*: *lhung bzed*, Negi 16: 7578 *pātra*, cf. Mvy 8947; *sbrang rtsis*, Negi 9: 4155 *madhu*, *mākṣika*, cf. Mvy 5725–5726, 5836. For *madhupātra*, cf. SBV 47–49 (several times). Also at [112], [537], [562].

^{172.} *rtse ba'i tshē*: *rtse ba*, Negi 11: 4745 *krīdā*. Dharmarakṣa 貧人 (poor people).

^{173.} *'chag sa khru brgyad khor yug bkram*: *'chag sa*, Negi 3: 1331 *caṅkrama*; *khru* = *hasta*, Mvy 9399, cf. Mvy 8203 (*khru gang* = *hasta*), Negi 1: 401; *khro yug*, Negi 1: 358 *samantata*. For *'chag sa*, an important component of monastic planning and architecture, see also [74], [93], [159], [333], [344], [353], [402], [403], [405], [429], [471], [576], [785], [799], [845].

^{174.} *spos 'tshong bu*: see above [14].

^{175.} *'chag sa spos kyi chu yis chag chag btab*: *spos kyi chu* = *spos chu*, Negi 8: 3390 *gandhodaka*. For *'chag sa*, see above [73].

^{176.} We read *Bkod pa rnam grol* with D against F L S *Bkod pa rnam rol*. *Bkod pa*, Negi 1: 123 *racanā*; *rnam grol* = *rnam par grol ba*, Negi 7: 3039 *vimukti*. Dharmarakṣa 曜妙淨 (radiant and pure) **rocānavimāla* < **racānavimukti*?

^{177.} *gos 'tshong*: see above [33], Dharmarakṣa also has 山居 (dwell in mountain).

When he offered parasols woven from flowers
 To the Tathāgata Unhindered Vision (*Gzigs pa sgrib med*). [75]¹⁷⁸
 The Sugata Meghasvara, when he was a potter¹⁷⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered fragrances and a water pot¹⁸⁰
 To the Tathāgata Lion's Prowess (*Seng ge'i stabs*).¹⁸¹ [76]
 The Sugata Sucintita, when he was a three-year old boy¹⁸²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered lotus flowers¹⁸³
 To the Tathāgata All-seeing (*Kun tu nam gzigs*).¹⁸⁴ [77]
 The Sugata Sumanas, when he was a merchant's son¹⁸⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he presented garlands of *sumanā* flowers¹⁸⁶
 To the Tathāgata (*Rtsal sbyin*). [78]
 The Sugata Vimala, when he was a weaver¹⁸⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a woolen robe¹⁸⁸
 To the Tathāgata Good Vision (*Legs mthong*). [79]
 The Sugata Śaśin, when he was an elephant-tamer¹⁸⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a cubit of flower garlands¹⁹⁰
 To the Tathāgata Fine Form (*Gzugs bzang*). [80]

^{178.} From [75] to [93], Khotanese version has not parallel names. Between [149] and [150], Khotanese version has *Śīrakūtau* (Bailey 1951: 78, no. 127)

^{179.} *rdza mkhan: kumbhakāra* Mvy 3800, Negi 11: 5088. Also at [154], [256], [272], [372], [432], [460], [485], [510], [575], [635], [739], [781], [860].

^{180.} *spos dang ril ba: spos = gandha* Mvy 6113; Negi 8: 3385 *dhūpa, gandha; ril ba = vardhanikā* Mvy 8963; Negi 14: 6475 *vardhanī*.

^{181.} *Seng ge'i stabs*: same name, above [2]. Most probably *Siṃhavikrama*.

^{182.} *khye'u lo gsum lon pa: khye'u*, Mvy 3907 *dāraka* (see also Mvy 4074 *garbharūpa*), cf. Negi 1: 389. *khye'u*, also at [82], [283], [433] (*dmangs rigs khye'u*), [517], [541] (*lam ston khye'u*). Cf. *byis pa*, above [70].

^{183.} *pad ma*: also at [98], [206] (*pad ma 'dab brgya pa*), [260], [360], [491], [855] (*pad ma 'dab brgya pa*), [875] (*gser las byas pa'i pad ma*).

^{184.} Same name, above [36].

^{185.} *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

^{186.} *sna ma'i me tog phreng ba*: see above [2]. Dharmarakṣa 須曼華鬘 (garland of *sumanā* flowers).

^{187.} *tha ga pa*, see above [17]. Dharmarakṣa 夜馱精舍.

^{188.} *'ba' sha ka gcig*: we do not know the exact meaning of this word. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1967) defines *'ba' sha* as 'black grape', which does not fit here. FA renders the phrase as 'a woolen robe', perhaps taking *'ba'* as *bal = la ba*, Negi 9: 3730 *kambala*; Mvy 5859 *kambala = la ba 'am snam ba. sha ka* might be *sāṭaka = ras yug phran*, Mvy 9170; *sāṭa*, MW 1063 'a partic. sort of garment or gown'. *sāṭakakambalaka* occurs at *Mahāvastu* III, 267.9, 11.

^{189.} *glang chen 'dul ba*: possibly *hastidamaka*. At SBV II 186.17, *hastidamaka = glang po che'i 'dul mkhan: rājñā amātyānām ājñā dattā: āhūyantām bhavanto hastidamakāḥ iti*; Tibetan, *'dul ba gzhi, nga, 238a4–5: rgyal pos blon po rnams la bsgo ba | shes ldan dag glang po che'i 'dul mkhan rnams khug shig*.

^{190.} *me tog phreng ba khru gang*: for *khru gang*, see above [73].

The Sugata Mahāyaśas, when he was a city beggar¹⁹¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered flowers¹⁹²
 To the Tathāgata Renowned Intellect (*Blo gros grags*). [81]
 The Sugata Maṇicūḍa, when he was a boy,¹⁹³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a handful of earth¹⁹⁴
 To the Tathāgata Jewel Array (*Rin chen bkod*). [82]
 The Tathāgata Ugra, when he was a *devaputra*¹⁹⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a divine vimāna¹⁹⁶
 To the Tathāgata Majestic Light (*Spa ba'i 'od*). [83]
 The Sugata Siṃhagati, when he was a parasol maker¹⁹⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When, in the hot season, he presented a leaf-parasol¹⁹⁸
 To the Tathāgata Liberated Movement (*Thar par bzhud*). [84]
 The Tathāgata Druma, when he was a herdsman¹⁹⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered cloth at the foot of the trees along the road²⁰⁰
 To the Tathāgata Virtue Array (*Yon tan bkod*). [85]
 The Sugata Vijitāvin, when he was a cowherd²⁰¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an alms bowl brimming with milk²⁰²
 To the Tathāgata Certain Intellect (*Nges pa'i blo*). [86]
 The Sugata Prajñākūṭa, when he was a monk²⁰³
 First aspired to achieve awakening

^{191.} *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].

^{192.} *me tog dag ni dbul ba*: *me tog*, probably *kusuma*, cf. Dharmarakṣa 拘須摩好柔妙華 (best tender *kusuma* flower).

^{193.} *khye'u*, see above [77].

^{194.} *sa rdul spar gang*: *sa rdul*, Negi 16: 7023 *pāmsu*; cp. *Aśokāvadāna* etc.

^{195.} *lha'i bu*: Negi 16: 7570 *devaputra*. Also at [138], [210], [376], [382] (*lha'i bu nyi ma*), [394].

^{196.} *lha yi gzhal med khang gcig*, with D, against S *lha yi gzhal med khang dag*. L F *lha yi gzhal med khang cig*. Both are of course possible. Also at [347], [496] (*me tog dag gi gzhal med khang pa*).

^{197.} *gdugs mkhan*: also at [248], [631]. For *gdugs*, see above [1].

^{198.} *lo ma'i gdugs*: *lo ma*, Negi 15: 6752 *patra*, *parṇa*, etc. Also at [265] (*lo ma dag las byas ba'i gdugs*), [400].

^{199.} *phyugs rdzi*: see above [15].

^{200.} *lam gyi shing drung dag tu be'u ras phul*: *shing drung* Negi 15: 6837–6838 *vṛkṣamūla*, *vṛkṣatala*; *be'u ras*, Negi 9: 3761 *prāvara*, *prāvaraka*, a type of cloth; cf. Mvy 5873 *pañi*, 5874 *tūla-paṭikā*.

^{201.} *ba lang rdzi*: Negi 9: 3696 *gopāla*, cf. Mvy 3827. Also at [220], [912].

^{202.} *lhung bzed 'o mas bkang*, also at [423], [749] (*snod dag 'o mas bkang*), [760].

^{203.} *dge slong*: *bhikṣu*. Also at [93] (*dgon gnas dge slong*), [195], [293] (*spong brtson pa'i dge slong*), [348] (*dgon pa yi dge slong*), [415], [420] (*rab byung zhag bdun dge slong*), [421], [471] (*sbyangs gnas dge slong*), [581], [666], [668], [693], [721], [743], [744] (*dgon pa'i dge slong*), [799], [819], [867], [904], [922], [976].

When he offered a dharma-seat to use for a day²⁰⁴
 To the Tathāgata Banner of Insight (*Ye shes tog*). [87]
 The Sugata Susthita, when he was a shoemaker²⁰⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered shoes with a single lining²⁰⁶
 To the Tathāgata Unswerving Intellect (*Mi g.yo'i blo*). [88]
 The Tathāgata Mati, when he was a labourer²⁰⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a nutritious drink²⁰⁸
 To the Tathāgata Practical Intellect (*Spyod pa'i blo gros*). [89]
 The Sugata Aṅgaja, when he was a jailor²⁰⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered bathing cloths²¹⁰
 To the Tathāgata Fine Form (*Gzugs bzang*). [90]
 The Tathāgata Amitabuddhi, when he was a guide²¹¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a bed at the foot of a tree²¹²
 To the Tathāgata Truth Speaker (*Bden smra*). [91]
 The Tathāgata Surūpa, when he was a general²¹³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered five lily flowers (*utpala*)
 To the Tathāgata Melodious Speech (*Skad dbyangs*). [92]
 The Sugata Jñānin, when he was a wilderness-dwelling monk²¹⁴

^{204.} *nyin gcig rangs par chos kyi gdan phul nas: chos (kyi) gdan = chos gdan*, Negi 3: 1281 *dharmāsana*; *chos (kyi) gdan* also occurs at [195], [341], [803].

^{205.} *lham mkhan*, see above [20].

^{206.} *mchil lham rim pa gcig pa*. This is a technical term from the Vinaya: See 'dul ba gzhi, ka, 266a4–6: *yul mtha' 'khob rnams su 'dul ba 'dzin pa dang lnga'i tshogs kyis bsnyen par rdzogs pa dang | rtag tu khrus byas pa dang | mchil lham rim gcig pa bcang bar bya ste | rim gnyis pa ma yin | rim gsum pa ma yin no || gal te zad par gyur na lhan bas btab ste bcang bar bya'o*. Probably *eka-palāsika-upānaha*, see *Carmavastu*, GM III, 4 205. 4, *eka-palāsikopānaha dhārayitavyā iti*, Otani Vol. 41, 'dul ba, khe, 257a6 *rim gcig sa'i lham*. Cf. Pali *eka-palāsika-upāhanā*, Vin I 185.14, 19, esp. 24, *anujānāmi bhikkhave ekapalāsikam upāhanam*. Horner, BD II, 245, translates 'sandals with one lining.' Also at [523]. For *mchil lham*, see above [20].

^{207.} *las byed*, also at [254], cf. above [67].

^{208.} *ro dang ldan pa'i btung ba: ro dang ldan pa = ro ldan*, Negi 14: 6518–6519 *rasavān, sarasa, madhura*, etc; *btung ba*, Negi 5: 1744 *pāna*, cf. Mvy 5690.

^{209.} *mi 'dzin*: 'seizer of men or humans': we do not know the meaning of this word in this context (in the known examples, *manuśyagrāha* is a kind of demon). FA 1503 has 'jailer'.

^{210.} *khru ras*: Mvy 8941 *snātasāṭaka*, cf. Negi 1: 404. Also at [139], [366], [972].

^{211.} *lam ston (pa) = mārgadarśaka, mārgadeśika* Mvy 442, 5128; Negi 15: 6614–6615. Also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [788], [839], [857], [864], [871], [874].

^{212.} *shing drung gnas mal: gnas mal*, Negi 7: 2952 *śayanāsana, śayyāsana*. For *mal*, see also below [951] (*rtswa yi mal stan*). *Vṛksamūlika, shing drung pa*, is one of the *dhutāṅga* ascetic practices.

^{213.} *sde dpon: sde dpon*, Mvy 3686 *senāpati*, 3698 *nāyaka*, cf. Negi 6: 2751.

^{214.} *dgon gnas dge slong: dgon gnas = dgon par gnas pa*, Negi 2: 639 *araṇyavāsa; āraṇyaka-bhikṣu, araṇyavāsi bhikṣu*: monk following one of the *dhutagāṇa*, to dwell in the wilderness. For *dge slong*, see above [87].

First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he prepared a well-swept meditation walkway²¹⁵
 For the Tathāgata Good Sight (*Legs par mthong*). [93]
 The Sugata Raśmi, when he was a cartwright²¹⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a bedstead worth one thousand²¹⁷
 To the Tathāgata (*Gzi brjid mtha' yas*). [94]
 The Tathāgata Dṛḍhavrata, when he was a garland maker²¹⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a canopy of flowers²¹⁹
 To the Sugata Pleasing Mind (*Yid 'ong sems*). [95]
 The Tathāgata Maṅgala, when he was a wood-gather²²⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he served the Tathāgata Chariot of Fame (*Grags pa'i shing rta*)
 When a snowstorm arose.²²¹ [96]
 The Tathāgata Satyaketu, when he was a bath attendant²²²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he washed the face²²³
 Of the Tathāgata Flower of Fine Qualities (*Yon tan me tog*). [97]
 The Tathāgata Padma, when he was a merchant's son²²⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered lotus flowers²²⁵
 To the Tathāgata Flower Light (*Me tog 'od zer*). [98]
 The Tathāgata Nārāyaṇa, when he was an aromatics dealer²²⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a storied mansion made of red sandalwood, anointed with
 incense²²⁷
 To the Tathāgata Difficult to Tame (*Gdul bar dka'*). [99]

^{215.} 'chag sa byi dor dag ni byas: reading *byas* with F L S against D *phul*. For 'chag sa, see above [73].

^{216.} *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16].

^{217.} *nyal khri stong ri ba*: *nyal khri*, Cp above [28]; *ri ba*, Negi 14: 6359 *mūlya*.

^{218.} *phreng rgyud mkhan*, see above [2].

^{219.} *me tog bla re*: *puṣpavitāna*, cf. *Lalitavistara* 232.2 (*puṣpavitāne*). Also at [116] (*me tog las byas bla re*), [835] (*me tog bla re*). For *bla re*, see above [38].

^{220.} *shing thun*: Negi 15: 6837 *kāṣṭha-hāraka*, cf. Mvy 3776. Also at [730], [755], [762], [813], [916].

^{221.} *bu yug langs tshe snang ma bltam*: *bu yug* = *bu yug rlung*, Negi 9: 3744 *himālila*, *himamāruta*; *langs*, Negi 15: 6588 *utthita*, cf. Mvy 6644. *snang ma*, *Brda dkrol gser gi me long* 425 *zhab 'bring nang ma'i ming*, citing Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript (P. t 1287): 'ung nas zhang snang pe 'u zur 'bring po bcas pa tsam zhiḡ snang ma ltom zhiḡ mchis pa la.

^{222.} *khrus pa*, see above [42].

^{223.} *kha gdong bkru ba*: *kha gdong* = *kha*, *gdong*, *ngo*, *kha ngo*, *gdong kha*. For *gdong*, Negi 6: 2432 *mukha*, *ānana*, *āśya* etc, cf. Mvy 3946 *kha* = *mukha*; *bkru ba*, Negi 1: 130 *secana*, *snāpana*, cf. Mvy 9315, 6780. Also at [117].

^{224.} *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

^{225.} *pad ma*, see above [77].

^{226.} *spos 'tshong*, see above [14] and [69].

^{227.} *khang pa brtsegs pa tsan dan dmar pos byugs*: for *khang pa brtsegs pa*, see above [11].

The Tathāgata Subāhu,²²⁸ when he was a royal messenger²²⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered sets of three robes²³⁰ to the Tathāgata Eloquent Orator (*Dbyangs snyan sgrogs par mdzad pa*)
 and his community of ten million. [100]
 The Tathāgata Jñānākara, when he was a champion²³¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When, as the battle was about to begin,
 He offered a flag²³² to the Sugata Good Vision (*Legs mthong*).²³³ [101]
 The Tathāgata Arci, when he was a physician²³⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered incense sticks²³⁵
 To the Tathāgata Shrine of the People (*Skye bo'i mchod rten*). [102]
 The Tathāgata Brahmadata, when he was a guide²³⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he gave directions²³⁷
 To the Tathāgata Great Light (*'Od chen*). [103]
 The Sugata Ratnākara, when he was a ferryman²³⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he ferried the Tathāgata Uncrushable Progress (*Brdzi ba med gshegs*)²³⁹
 With his retinue of ten million Listeners. [104]
 The Sugata Kusumadeva, when he was a jeweller²⁴⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a gem-studded parasol²⁴¹

^{228.} *Lag bzangs*: we read *Subāhu* against Weller's *Sukhabāhu*. Khotanese has *Suhakau* (Bailey 1951: 78, no. 79), Dharmarakṣa 安氏 (family name 'Tranquil'), probably **sukha-āha* < *Subāhu*.

^{229.} *rgyal po'i pho nya*, see above [65].

^{230.} *chos gos gsum = traicīvarika*, Mvy 1129, Negi 3: 1263. Also at [342].

^{231.} *tshan po che = mahānagna*, Negi 11: 4842; cf. Mvy 8210 *tshan po che chen po'i stobs = mahānagnabala*. Dharmarakṣa 大眾 (mass). For BHS *mahānagna*, see BHSD 423. Also at [356] (*tshan chen*).

^{232.} *rgyal mtshan*, see above [68].

^{233.} This is the last parallel to the Tibetan *bodhicittotpāda* verses in Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation of the section. It follows with several verses with no parallel in the Tibetan.

^{234.} *smān pa*, see above [4].

^{235.} *spos kyi reng bu: reng bu*, Negi 14: 6508 *rikta*, cf. *reng bu'i du ba = dhūpavarti*. Also at [257].

^{236.} *lam ston*, see above [91].

^{237.} *lam dag mtshon pa byas*, also at [268] (*lam srang dag ni mtshon pa byas*), [538] (*lam srang dag ni mtshon pa byas*), [653] (*lam srang dag ni mtshon pa byas*), [788] (*lam dag nye bar mtshon pa byas*), [864], [874] (*lam srang dag ni mtshon pa byas*).

^{238.} *mnyan pa*: according to lexicons *mnyan pa = gru pa*, which stands for *nāvika*. See Negi 4: 1619, i.e. in Negi's examples and Mvy 3850. *mnyan pa*: also at [277], [365], [436].

^{239.} *Brdzi ba med pa = anavamardanīya*, Mvy 383, in *anavamardanīyo balañh, stobs rnam la brdzi ba med pa*, no. 33 of the great qualities of the Tathāgata (*tathāgata mähātmya*). See similar terms at BHSD 21, for ex. *Anavamardanabalaketu*, 'n. of a Tathāgata', Gv(V) 360.11. FA 1507 has 'Proceeding Without Hindrance'.

^{240.} *nor bu mkhan*, see above [60].

^{241.} *nor bu rin chen spras pa'i gdugs*: for *spras pa*, see above [64].

To the Tathāgata Clear Intellect (*Blo gsal*). [105]
 The Sugata Sucintitārtha, when he was a prince²⁴²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a bejewelled canopy²⁴³
 To the Tathāgata Melodious Speech (*Gsung snyan*). [106]
 The Sugata Dharmēśvara, when he was a carpenter's son,²⁴⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he built a bridge²⁴⁵
 For the Sugata Starlight (*Skar 'od*). [107]
 The Sugata Yaśomati, when he was a garden-keeper²⁴⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *māṣa* flowers²⁴⁷
 To the Tathāgata Moon Lamp (*Zla ba'i sgron*). [108]
 The Sugata Pratibhānakūṭa, when he was a merchant's son²⁴⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he invited to receive a perfect offering
 The Tathāgata Wisdom Banner (*Ye shes tog*). [109]
 The Tathāgata Vajradhavaja, when he was a garden worker,²⁴⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a mango (*Āmra*)²⁵⁰
 To the Tathāgata Merit Array (*Bsod nams bkod*). [110]
 The Tathāgata Hitaiṣin, as the son of a city governor²⁵¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he received the training rule of not killing for a single day
 From the Tathāgata Merit Radiance (*Bsod nams 'od*).²⁵² [111]

^{242.} *rgyal bu*: see above [45].

^{243.} *nor bu rin chen spras pa'i bla re*, cf. above [38], for *spras pa*, see above [64].

^{244.} *shing mkhan gyi bu*: *shing mkhan*, Negi 15: 6827 *taḥṣā*, *vardhika*, *palagaṇḍa*, cf. Mvy 3771–3773. *shing mkhan* also occurs at [370].

^{245.} *gshegs zam dag ni bsham pa byas*: *gshegs zam* = *zam pa*, Negi 12: 5379 *setu*, *saṃkrama*. cf. Mvy 6513 *setu*. Building a bridge also occurs at [142] (*'dam rdzab dag tu shing zam btsugs*), [155] (*zam stegs dag ni gzugs pa byas*), [365] (*chu bo dag la zam pa btsugs*), [383] (*'dam rdzab dag tu rdo leb zam btsugs*), [604] (*gshegs zam dag ni byas*), [616] (*'dam rdzab dag tu zam pa btsugs*), [696] (*gcong rong dag tu zam pa byas*), [861] (*lam du zam pa dag ni btsugs*).

^{246.} *kun dga' ra srungs* = *kun dga' ra ba'i srung ma*, *kun dga' ra ba ba*, Negi 1: 29 *ārāmika*, cf. Mvy 3843, BHSD 104.

^{247.} *mon sran gre'u yi me tog*: *mon sran gre'u*, Negi 10: 4509 *māṣa*, *makuṣṭaka*, cf. Mvy 5650 *māṣa*.

^{248.} *tshong pa'i bu*: cf. *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

^{249.} *tshal gyi las byed*, see above [67].

^{250.} Also at [221] (*a mra'i 'bras bu*), [255], [306] (*a mra'i lcug ma*), [688], [772] (*a mra'i 'bras bu*), [843] (*a mra'i 'bras bu gsum*), [848] (*a mra'i khu ba*), [857] (*a mra'i 'bras bu*), [872] (*lhung bzed a mra dag gis bkang*), [993] (*spos dang a mra'i 'bras bu*).

^{251.} *grong dpon bu*: *grong dpon*, Negi 2: 556 *grāmapati*, cf. Mvy 3711. *grong dpon* also occurs at [145], [306], [335], [636], [681], [891].

^{252.} This verse is cited by Longchenpa (Barron) 175–176 and Kongtrul (*Buddhist Ethics*) 174. It seems both citations made some minor changes; for the Tibetan, see *Grub mtha' mdzod*, 152b4–153a1; *Shes bya kun khyab*, vol II, 105.18–21: *rgyal ba phan bzhed grong gyur pa'i tshe || de bzhin gshegs pa bsod nams 'od de la || nyin gcig srog gcod sdom pa blangs nas kyang || dang por byang chub mchog tu*

The Sugata Vikrīḍitāvin, when he was a village boy²⁵³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an alms bowl brimming with honey²⁵⁴
 To the Tathāgata Mine of Insight (*Ye shes 'byung gnas*). [112]
 The Tathāgata Vigatatamas
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he set up a lamp filled with *māṣa* bean oil²⁵⁵
 For the Tathāgata Who Sees the End of Becoming (*Srid mtha' gzigs*). [113]
 The Sugata Rāhudeva, when he was a city beggar²⁵⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *hastabashaka*²⁵⁷
 To the Tathāgata Joyful Vision (*Dga' bar gzigs*). [114]
 The Sugata Merudhvaja, when he was a youth, a leader of a group²⁵⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a wreath of flowers²⁵⁹
 To the Tathāgata Boundless Light (*Mtha' yas 'od*). [115]
 The Sugata Gaṇiprabha, when he was a garland maker²⁶⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a canopy made of flowers²⁶¹
 To the Tathāgata Captivating Voice (*Yid 'ong dbyangs*). [116]
 The Sugata Ratnagarbha, when he was a bath attendant²⁶²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he washed the face²⁶³
 Of the Tathāgata Diverse Teachings (*Sna tshogs gsung ba*).²⁶⁴ [117]

sems bskyed do.

253. *grong rdal byis pa*: *grong rdal, nigama*, Mvy 5507, Negi 2: 555. Also at [476], [620]. For *byis pa*, see above [70].
254. *lhung bzed sbrang rtsis bkang*, see above [72].
255. *mon sran gre'u 'bru mar me bzhaḡ*: We follow L *mon sran gre'u 'bru mar mar me bzhaḡ* against D *mon sran gre'u 'bru mar me bzhaḡ* and F S *sran gre'u 'bru mar mar me bzhaḡ*, which abbreviate *'bru mar* to *'bru*, or *mon sran gre'u* to *sran gre'u* probably *metri causa*. For *mon sran gre'u*, see above note 179, *'bru mar*, Negi 9: 4097 *taila*, *'bru mar gyi mar me* = *tailapradhyotika*, cf. Mvy 5785 *'bru mar* = *taila māṣataila*. For *mar me*, see above [16].
256. *grong rten* = *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].
257. *ha sta ba sha ka*: *ba sha ka* = *bā sha ka*, Negi 9: 3735 *vāsaka*, a kind of herb, cf. MW 947 *vāśaka*, 'Gendarussa Vulgaris.' The meaning is not clear.
258. *tshogs ldan gyi khye'u*: *tshogs ldan* = *tshogs dang ldan pa*, Negi 11: 4917 *gaṇī*; MW 344 *gaṇin* 'one who has attendants; having a class of pupils, a teacher'; BHS 208 'teacher', *tshogs dang ldan pa* = *saṅghin*, *tshogs can* = *gaṇin*. FA renders it as 'with a crowd of attendants'. For *khye'u*, cf. above [70] and [77].
259. *me tog chun po*, see above [59].
260. *phreng rgyud*, see above [2].
261. *me tog las byas bla re*, see above [95]. For *bla re*, see above [38].
262. *khrus pa*, see above [42].
263. *kha gdong bkru ba*, see above [97].
264. Cf. [97], which is the same but with different names for the Tathāgatas. *Sna tshogs gsung ba*: same name at [195], [229], [378], [498], [648].

The Sugata Atyuccagāmin, when he was a city beggar²⁶⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he spread out seats
 For the Tathāgata Virtue Prowess (*Tshul khrims stabs*) when he visited the city.
 [118]

The Sugata Tiṣya, when he was a *da nur mkhan*²⁶⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered food²⁶⁷
 To the Tathāgata God of the Land (*Yul 'khor lha*). [119]

The Sugata Viṣāṇin, when he was the servant of others²⁶⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an alms bowl brimming with rice gruel²⁶⁹
 To the Tathāgata Delighting in Splendour (*Gzi brjid dga'*). [120]

The Sugata Guṇakīrti, when he was giving alms²⁷⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a cloth shawl of only four inches²⁷¹
 To the Tathāgata Boundless Light (*'Od zer mtha' yas*). [121]

The Tathāgata Candrārka
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered splendid monastic residences (*vihāra*)²⁷² and ten *yojanas* of cloth
 and carpets²⁷³
 For the use of the Tathāgata Granter of Sovereignty (*Srid sbyin*) and his retinue of
 300 million. [122]

The Sugata Sūryaprabha, when he was the servant of others²⁷⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an iron vessel²⁷⁵
 To the Tathāgata Mighty Mountain (*Lhun po che*). [123]

The Sugata Jyotiṣka, when he was a merchant's son²⁷⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered precious gems and jewels that glowed for one *yojana*²⁷⁷

265. *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].

266. *da nur mkhan*: we cannot trace this word. FA 'brewmaster'.

267. *zhal zas bca' ba*: *zhal zas*, Negi 12: 5145 *āhāra*, *anna*; *bca' ba*, Negi 3: 1143 *khādyā*.

268. *gžhan gyi khol*: *parabhṛtya*, for *khol*, Negi 1: 359 *bhṛtya*. Also at [123], [209] (*tshong dpon khol po*), [785].

269. *lhung bzed 'jams kyis bkang*: for *lhung bzed*, see above [72]. For *'jams*, see above [4].

270. *bsod snyoms*: Mvy 8671 *piṇḍapāta*, cf. Negi 16: 7472. Also at [759].

271. *gos kyi ras ma sor bzhi tsam*: *ras ma*, Negi 14: 6344 *kauṣeya*; *sor*, Negi 16: 7228 *aṅgulīparva*, cf. Mvy 8201.

272. *gtsug lag khang*: see above [62].

273. *gtsug lag khang bzang por longs spyod phyir dang dpag tshad bcu pa'i gos gding ba*: *gding ba*, *āstarāṇa* Mvy 9407, *niśadana*, Mvy 8514, *pratyāstarāṇa*, Mvy 8942, *saṃstara*, Mvy 8435.

274. *gžhan gyi khol*, see above [120].

275. *lcags kyi snod*: *lcags*, Negi 3: 1156 *loha*, cf. Mvy 5983.

276. *tshong pa'i bu*: cf. *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

277. *nor bu rin chen dpag tshad gcig 'od ldan*: *nor bu rin chen*, see above [7].

To the Tathāgata Bright Direction (*Phyogs gsal*). [124]
 The Tathāgata Siṃhaketu when he was a caravan leader's son²⁷⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a garland²⁷⁹
 To the Tathāgata Fine Intellect (*Blo gros bzang*). [125]
²⁸⁰The Tathāgata Velāmarāja when he was a poet²⁸¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he praised in verse²⁸²
 The Sugata Best of Campa Flowers (*Tsam mchog*).²⁸³ [126]
 The Tathāgata Śrīgarbha
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he rejoiced when others offered a meal to the saṃgha²⁸⁴
 Under the Tathāgata Grand Array (*Bkod pa chen po*). [127]
 The Sugata Bhavāntadarśin, when he was a garden worker²⁸⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered pure water²⁸⁶
 To the Tathāgata Distinguished Mind (*Khyad par sems*). [128]
 The Sugata Vidyutprabha, when he was a hunter's son²⁸⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made and offered seats made from reeds²⁸⁸
 For the Tathāgata Heroic Mind (*Dpa' bo'i sems*). [129]
 The Sugata Siṃhadatta, when he was a landowner's son²⁸⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a place where *sumanā* flowers grew
 To the Tathāgata Lotus Heart (*Pad snying*).²⁹⁰ [130]²⁹¹

^{278.} *ded dpon gyi bu: sārthavāha-putra*. For *ded dpon*, Negi 6: 2297 *sārthavāha*, cf. Mvy 635, 7362. Two dedications by a *sārthavāha* are known from Mathurā. See von Hinüber 2008: 31–32; for other *sārthavāha* inscriptions see his n. 4, p. 32. Also at [331], [398].

^{279.} *phreng ba*: also at [147], [695].

^{280.} This verse is cited by Mipham in his commentary on *Kāvyaḍarśa*: see his *Snyan dngags me long gi 'grel pa dbyangs can dgyes pa'i rol mtsho* in his collected works (Derge version), vol. 9, 2b3–4: *de bzhin gshegs pa dus mkhyen rgyal po ni || snyan ngag mkhan de bde gshegs rtswa mchog la || tshigs su bcad pa'i dbyangs kyis bstod nas kyang || dang por byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed do*. Note that Mipham reads the past Buddha's name as *Rtswa mchog* against our text *Tsam mchog*.

^{281.} *snyan dngags mkhan: kavi*, Mvy 6421, Negi 4: 1638.

^{282.} *tshigs su bcad pa'i dbyangs kyis bstod*: Cf. Mvy 849 *tshigs su bcad pa'i dbyangs kyis smra ba = gāthābhir gūābhir lāpanah*.

^{283.} *Tsam mchog*: see above [3]. FA 1513 has 'Greatest of Champa'.

^{284.} We read *gzhan gyis dge 'dun bshos gsol yi rang* with F L S against D *gzhan gyi dge 'dun bshos gsol yi rang: bshos gsol*, Negi 15: 7008 *paribhukta*, cf. BHSD 328.

^{285.} *tshal dag gyi las byed*, see above [67].

^{286.} *chab gtsang*: FA washing room.

^{287.} *rngon pa'i bu: rngon pa = lubdhaka*, Mvy 3755; Negi 3: 1068. *rngon pa* also occurs at [274], [538], [821], [901].

^{288.} *rtswa yi stan*: cf. Negi 11: 4772 = *rtswa yi gdan = trṇasaṃstara (Avadānaśataka) (stan = gdan)*.

^{289.} *khyim bdag kyi bu*, see above [11] and [27].

^{290.} Cf. the name *Padma'i snying po*, below [158].

^{291.} FA's running number should be no. 129, but here FA gives no. 130, skipping over no. 129.

The Sugata Aparājitadhvaḥ

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he escorted the Tathāgata Nārāyaṇa (*Sred med bu*)
along a dangerous route.²⁹² [131]

The Sugata Pramodyakīrti, when he was a sugarcane vendor²⁹³

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he pressed sugarcane juice²⁹⁴

For the Tathāgata Analytical Intelligence (*Blo rnam 'byed*). [132]

The Sugata Dhṛḍhavīrya, when he was a brahman's son²⁹⁵

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered bathing soap²⁹⁶

To the Tathāgata Boundless Radiance (*'Od zer mtha' yas*). [133]

The Sugata Saṃpannakīrti, when he was the son of an alcohol dealer²⁹⁷

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered water in leaf vessels²⁹⁸

To the Tathāgata Lion's Roar (*Seng ge'i nga ro*). [134]²⁹⁹

The Sugata Vigatabhaya, when he was a prince,³⁰⁰

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered *vārṣikī* flowers in a leaf vessel³⁰¹

To the Tathāgata Royal Roar (*Rgyal po'i nga ro*). [135]

The Sugata Arhaddeva, when he was a chief minister³⁰²

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered a walled garden perfumed with *agaru* incense³⁰³ one *yojana* in

^{292.} 'jigs bcas lam du 'dron pa'i bsel byas: 'dron pa = 'gron pa, 'gron lam pa. Negi 2: 735 *adhvaga*; *bsel ba*, Negi 16: 7471 *anuyātra*, cf. MW 37 'retinue, attendance, that which is required for a journey'.

^{293.} *bu ram shing 'tshir*: *bu ram shing* = *ikṣu*, Mvy 5695; Negi 9: 3745 ; 'tshir ba, Negi *piḍita*. Cf. BHSD 113 *ikṣukūṭitakam*.

^{294.} *bu ram bcud khu: ikṣurasa*. For *bcud*, Negi 3: 1149 *rasa*. Also at [581] (*bu ram chu*), [985] (*bu ram shing gi bcud khu btung ba*).

^{295.} *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].

^{296.} *khrus rkyen 'dag pa'i chal dag*: 'dag pa'i chal = 'dag chal, Negi 6: 2534 *mārṣṭi*. Cf. Negi 1: 403 *khrus chal* = *snānīya*. Cf. above [42].

^{297.} *chang 'tshong bu*: *chang 'tshong*, Mvy 3778 *śaundhika*, 3779 *kallavāla*; cf. Mvy 2502 *madyavikraya*, cf. Negi 3: 1183. For *kallavāla*, cf. BHSD 174 *kalapālī*, *kalyapāla*. Also at [190]. *chang 'tshong* also occurs at [204], [457], [478], [622], [667], [680].

^{298.} *lo ma'i snod nas chu dag phul*: *lo ma'i snod*, *parṇapuṭa*, cf. MW 606 'a leaf rolled into the shape of a funnel'.

[133] and [134]: the Khotanese version has no corresponding names.

^{299.} *rgyal po'i bu*, see above [45].

^{300.} *lo ma'i snod nas bar shi'i me tog phul*: we read *bar shi'i me tog* with F L S against D *bar sha'i me tog*, *bar shi* = *bar shi ka*, *bar shi ki*, *war shi ki*, Mvy 6153 *vārṣikī*, *vārṣikā*, cf. Negi 9: 3730, BHSD 478 'a kind of jasmine'. *bar shi'i me tog* also occurs at [216] (*me tog bar shig*), [247] (*bar shi me tog*), [739] (*me tog bar shi ka*).

^{301.} *blon mchog*, see above [51].

^{302.} *dpag tshad gcig khor yug tsam gyi skyed mos tshal phul a ga ru'i bdug pas bdugs* : *khor yug* = 'khor yug, Mvy 4149 *cakravāḍa*, cf. Negi 1: 439; *skyed mos tshal*, Mvy 2994 *upavana*, 5614 *udyanā*, cf. Negi 1: 230. *skyed mos tshal* also occurs at [180] (*me tog skyed mos tshal*), [189] ('bras bu'i skyed mos tshal), [234] (*dpag tshad bcu gnyis khyon tsham skyed mos tshal*), [513] (*dri bsung ldan pa'i skyed mos tshal*), [582], [590], [608] (*dpag tshad gcig pa'i skyed mos tshal*), [690] (*skyed mos tshal bcu*), [820].

extent

To the Sugata Captivating Intellectual Light (*Yid 'ong blo 'od*). [136]

The Sugata Mahāpradīpa, when he was destitute,³⁰⁴

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered grass torches³⁰⁵

To Tathāgata Merit Light (*Bsod nams 'od*). [137]

The Sugata Lokaprabha, when he was a *devaputra*³⁰⁶

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered a parasol made of *mandāra* flowers³⁰⁷

To Tathāgata Moon Light (*Zla ba'i 'od*). [138]

The Sugata Surabhigandha, when he was an athlete³⁰⁸

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered bathing cloths³⁰⁹

To Tathāgata Beautiful Limbs (*Yan lag mdzes*). [139]

The Sugata Guṇāgradhārin, when he was a physician³¹⁰

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered incense and fine silk cloth³¹¹

To Tathāgata Unsullied Aim (*Rnyog pa med don*). [140]

The Sugata Vigatatamas, when he was son of the royal chaplain³¹²

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered a necklace of pearls³¹³

To the Tathāgata Luminous Arhat (*Dgra bcom gzi*). [141]

The Sugata Siṃhahanu

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he built a wooden bridge over a swamp³¹⁴

For the Tathāgata Accomplished Intelligence (*Don grub blo*). [142]

The Sugata Ratnakīrti, when he was a son of incense dealer³¹⁵

First aspired to achieve awakening

When he offered and sprinkled handfuls of [incense] powder³¹⁶

^{304.} *mi bkren: bkren pa*, Mvy 7332 *kṛpaṇa*, cf. Negi 1: 131. Also see [577], [702], [709], [714], [794], [842], [852].

^{305.} *rtswa yi sgron ma*, see above [24].

^{306.} *lha'i bu*, see above [83].

^{307.} *me tog man dā ra ba'i gdugs*: for *man dā ra ba*, see above [48].

^{308.} *gyad*: Negi 2: 518 *malla*. Also at [284], [359].

^{309.} *khruś ras*, see above [90].

^{310.} *sman pa*, see above [4].

^{311.} *bdug pa dang ni dar yug: bdug pa, dhūpa; dar yug*, Mvy 5867 *paṭṭa*, cf. Negi 6: 2194. (S reads *ras yug*).

^{312.} *rgyal po yi mdun 'don bu: mdun 'don = mdun na 'don*, Mvy 3682 *prohita*, cf. Negi 6: 2524. *mdun 'don* also occurs at [435] (*rgyal po yi mdun 'don*), [477], [496], [732] (*mdun 'don bu*), [894].

^{313.} *mu tig rgyan phreng*: cf. *mu tig gi phreng ba*, Mvy 5954 *muktāvalī*. Also at [165], [217] (*mu tig dag gi phreng ba*).

^{314.} *'dam rdzab dag tu shing zam btsugs: 'dam rdzab*, Negi 6: 2543 *paṅka*; for *zam*, see above [107].

^{315.} *spos 'tshong gi bu*: see above [14].

^{316.} *phyē ma spar gang*, see above [44] and [69].

Over the Sugata Master of Melody (*Dbyangs mnga'*). [143]
 The Sugata Praśāntadoṣa, when he was a prince³¹⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he freed those condemned to death and other prisoners³¹⁸
 At the time of the Tathāgata Highest Level (*Sa mchog*). [144]
 The Sugata Amṛtadhārin, when he was a city governor³¹⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered one thousand parasols made of vaiḍūrya
 To the Tathāgata Blazing Light ('*Od 'bar*). [145]
 The Sugata Manujacandra, when he was son of a garland maker³²⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a garland of lilies (*utpala*)
 To the Tathāgata Mind Convinced (*Nges par sems*). [146]
 The Tathāgata Sudarśana, when he was a chief councillor³²¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a garland³²²
 To the Tathāgata Truthful Teaching (*Bden par gsung ba*). [147]
 The Tathāgata Pratimaṅḍita, when he was son of city beggar³²³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he decorated the city gates
 For the Sugata Radiant Complexion (*Mdangs 'od*). [148]
 The Tathāgata Maṅḍiprabha, when he was Śakra, Lord of the gods³²⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he rained down flowers one *yojana* around
 For the Sugata Carpet of Radiant Flowers (*Gzi brjid me tog rgyas pa*). [149]³²⁵
 The Tathāgata Dharmākara
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he called out 'It is excellent!' (*sādhu*) when the Sugata Banner of Renown
 (*Gragz tog*)
 Was teaching the Perfection of Wisdom. [150]³²⁶
 The Sugata Arthaviniścita, when he was a weaver³²⁷

^{317.} *rgyal po'i bu*, see above [45].

^{318.} *gsad bya btson dag 'bros su btang*: *gsad bya*, Negi 6: 7334 *vadhya*; *btson*, Negi 11: 4716 *bandhana*; *'bros*, *niṣpālāyita*, cf. Negi 9: 4113, BHSD 309.

^{319.} *grong dpon*, see above [111].

^{320.} *phreng rgyud mkhan bu*, see above [2] and [41].

^{321.} *'dun dpon*: if *'dun* = *tshogs* (gathering, assembly), *'dun dpon* may mean *sabhāpati* (the president of an assembly or council); if *'dun* = *mdun*, *'dun dpon* may mean *mdun na 'don*, *purohita*. Here we prefer the first rendering, following FA 1519.

^{322.} *phreng ba*, see above [125].

^{323.} *grong khyer la rten pa'i bu*: for *grong khyer la rten pa*, see above [9].

^{324.} *brgya byin*, see above [48].

^{325.} Between [149] and [150], Khotanese version has *Śirakuṭau* (Bailey 1951: 78, no. 127).

^{326.} FA's running number should be 150, but here FA jumps to 151, omitting the figure 150.

^{327.} *tha ga pa*, see above [17].

First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered woven tassels³²⁸
 To the Sugata Radiant Virtue (*Yon tan gsal ba*). [151].³²⁹
 The Sugata Harṣadatta,³³⁰ when he was the son of a chief minister³³¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a fan³³²
 To the Tathāgata Lamp of the Dharma (*Chos kyi sgron*). [152]
 The Sugata Ratnākara, when he was an arrow maker
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered two handfuls of flowers
 Over the Tathāgata Glorious Clarity (*Gsal rab dpal*). [153]
 The Sugata Janendrakalpa, when he was a potter³³³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered pots filled with water
 To the Tathāgata Lord of the Beauteous Hosts (*Zhal sdug sde bdag*). [154]
 The Sugata Vikrāntagāmin, when he was a farmer's son³³⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he made bridges³³⁵
 For the Tathāgata Moving with Lion's Prowess (*Seng ge'i stabs bzhud*). [155]
 The Sugata Sthitabuddhi, when he was a forest warden's son³³⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered pomegranates³³⁷
 To the Tathāgata Shrine of the People (*Skye bo'i mchod rten*). [156]
 The Sugata Vibhrājacchattra,³³⁸ when he was the son of a minister³³⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening

^{328.} *ras kyi kha tshar*, see above [17].

^{329.} FA assigns the number 151A.

^{330.} *tshims sbyin*: we read *tshims sbyin* against D (*tshems sbyin*), L (*tshems byin*), F S (*tshes byin*). FA 1519 has *Harṣadatta*, Khotanese has *Āśayadatau* (Bailey 1951: 78, no. 130).

^{331.} *blon chen bu*: We read *blon chen* with F L S against D *blo chen*. For *blon chen*, see above [51]. Also at [157] (*blon po'i bu*), [461] (*blon che'i bu*), [590] (*dbang blon gyi bu*).

^{332.} *bsil yab*: Mvy 8986 *vidhamana*. Also at [266], [313] (*rma bya'i bsil yab*), [407] (*bsil yab dag gis g.yab pa byas*), [631], [929] (*rma bya dag las byas pa'i bsil yab*).

^{333.} *rdza mkhan*, see above [76].

^{334.} *zhing pa'i bu*: for *zhing pa*, see above [18].

^{335.} *zam stegs dag ni gzugs pa byas*: *zam stegs* = *zam pa*, Negi 12: 5379. For *zam*, see above [107].

^{336.} *shing srungs bu*: *shing srungs* also at [194], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [779], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].

^{337.} *se'u 'bru*: also at [214] (*se 'bru*), [573], [846], [944] (*se'u 'bru'i bcud khu*). TSD gives only *kanakadāḍima* from Sarat Chandra Das. SV 7: 2006-7 gives *karaka* (= *dāḍima*) *Amarakośa* 102.64, *dāḍima*, *Amarakośa* 382.42, *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥daya* 1.10.34. See MW 475, *dāḍima*, the pomegranate tree (occurs in *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa*).

^{338.} *Gdugs mdzes*: Weller 146 gives *Vibhāgacchattra*, *Vibhrājacchattra*, *Gdugs mdzes*, *Mdzes pa'i gdugs*, and also *Dharmavibhāga* and *Dharmavibhrājacchattra*. 'mdzes' could translate *vibhrāja*^o (cf. MW 979, *vi-bhraj*, 'shining, splendid, luminous' but does not fit *vibhāga*). We therefore choose *Vibhrājacchattra*. Cf. Khotanese *Vibhaktapakṣau* (Bailey 1951: 78, no. 135).

^{339.} *blon po'i bu*, see above [51] and [152].

When he offered a garland of *campa* flowers³⁴⁰
 To the Tathāgata Ocean Intellect (*Rgya mtsho'i blo*). [157]
 The Tathāgata Jyeṣṭha, when he was a goldsmith³⁴¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered scented flowers
 Over the Tathāgata Lotus Heart (*Padma'i snying po*).³⁴² [158]
 The Sugata Abhyudgataśrī, when he was the son of an aromatics dealer³⁴³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he sprinkled fragrant water on the meditation walkway³⁴⁴
 Of the Tathāgata Profusion of Parasols (*Gdugs sde*). [159]
 The Sugata Siṃhaghoṣa, when he was a drummer³⁴⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he beat great drums³⁴⁶
 For the Tathāgata King of the Sāla Trees (*Sā la'i rgyal po*). [160]
 The Sugata Vikrīḍitāvin, when he was a conch-blower³⁴⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he blew conches for the Sugata Heart of the Sun (*Nyi ma'i snying po*)
 As he entered the city. [161]
Bampo Twenty-four of the Mahāyāna Sūtra called Exalted Auspicious Aeon.
 The Tathāgata Nāgaprabhāsa, when he was Candra
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he pounded on big drums³⁴⁸
 For the Tathāgata Delight in Awakening (*Byang chub dga'*). [162]
 The Sugata Kusumaparvata, when he was a dancer's son³⁴⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he paid homage by dancing³⁵⁰
 In front of the Sugata Peaceful Faculties (*Dbang po zhi*). [163]
 The Sugata Nāganandin, when he was a dancer's son³⁵¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he performed music
 For the Tathāgata Light of the Sun (*Nyi ma'i 'od*). [164]

^{340.} *tsam pa'i me tog phreng ba*, fro *tsam pa'i me tog*, see above [25].

^{341.} *gser mgar*, see above [23]. Also at [226], [318], [325], [663].

^{342.} Cf. the name *Pad snying*, above [130].

^{343.} *spos 'tshong bu*: see above [14].

^{344.} *'chag sa spos chus chag chag btab*: for *'chag sa*, see above [73].

^{345.} *rnga mkhan*: also at [908].

^{346.} *rnga bo che dag brdung ba byas*, see above [50].

^{347.} *dung 'bud mkhan*: *dung 'bud*, Negi 6: 2209 *śaṅkhaprapūraṇa* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*). *dung 'bud* also occurs at [685].

^{348.} *rnga bo che dag brdung ba byas*, see above [50].

^{349.} *gar mkhan bu*: *gar mkhan*, Mvy 5008, *nartaka*. Also at [164], [246], [263], [456], [627] (*gar mkhan bu mo*), [899].

^{350.} *bro gar*, *naṭa* Mvy 5009.

^{351.} *gar mkhan bu*, see above [163].

The Sugata Gandheśvara, when he was the daughter of a king³⁵²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When offering a necklace of pearls³⁵³
 To the Tathāgata White Lotus Incense (*Pad dkar spos*). [165]
 The Sugata Atiyaśas, when he was a merchant's wife³⁵⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 On offering a canopy³⁵⁵ placed over the head
 Of the Tathāgata Meru Light (*Lhun po'i 'od zer*). [166]
 The Sugata Baladeva, when he was a city beggar³⁵⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an alms bowl brimming with hot food
 To the Tathāgata Moon Face (*Zla ba'i zhal*). [167]
 The Tathāgata Guṇamālin
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When towards the Tathāgata Stretching As He Moves (*Bsgyings ldan bzhud*).
 He raised his hands three times saying, 'Homage to the Buddha'. [168]³⁵⁷
 The Tathāgata Nāgabhuja, when he was a guardian of the city gate³⁵⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he swept the area clean³⁵⁹
 For the Tathāgata Surveyor of the Directions (*Phyogs rnams lta*). [169]
 The Tathāgata Pratimaṇḍitalocana,³⁶⁰ when he was a prince³⁶¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered water and myrobalan fruits³⁶²
 To the Tathāgata Light of the Dharma (*chos kyi 'od*). [170]
 The Tathāgata Sucīṛṇabuddhi, early one morning
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When [he saw] the Sugata Radiant Virtue (*Tshul khirms gsal*)
 And joyfully recollected the Buddha. [171]
 The Tathāgata Jñānābhībhū,
 First aspired to achieve awakening

^{352.} *rgyal po yi sras mo* = *rgyal po'i bu mo*, see [593], [752], [803].

^{353.} *mu tig rgyan phreng*, see above [141].

^{354.} *tshong dpon gyi chung ma*: also at [392], [658], [986]. For *tshong dpon*, see above [26].

^{355.} *bla re*, see above [38], also at [515], [873].

^{356.} *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].

^{357.} This verse is cited by Gampopa (Guenther) 130. For the Tibetan text, see Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, 136.13–16.

^{358.} *sgo srungs* = *dauvārika*, cf. Mvy 3738 *sgo ba*; *sgo bsrungs pa* = *dvārapāla*, Mvy 3737. Also at [724] (*sgo ba*).

^{359.} *phyag dar byas*: *phyag dar*, Mvy 9313 *saṃkāra*, BHSD 545. Also at [251] (*phyag dar legs par byas*), [333], [337], [406], [448], [636], [724], [799], [840], [956], [959], [987].

^{360.} *Pratimaṇḍitalocana*: cf. Khotanese *Prratimaṇḍitauksau* (Bailey 1951: 79, no. 148).

^{361.} *rgyal bu*: see above [45].

^{362.} *skyu ra ra*, see above [53].

After he established beings of the lower realms in moral conduct³⁶³
 Before the Tathāgata Boundless Intelligence (*Mtha' yas blo*). [172]
 The Sugata Amitalocana, when he was a cloth merchant³⁶⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a canopy of fine cloth³⁶⁵
 The Tathāgata Boundless Form (*Mtha' yas gzugs*). [173]
 The Sugata Satyabhāṇin, when he was a landowner's son³⁶⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a parasol woven from flowers³⁶⁷
 To the Tathāgata Steady Effort (*Brtson 'grus brtan*). [174]
 The Sugata Sūryaprabha, when he was the son of a cook³⁶⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *laḍḍu*³⁶⁹
 To the Tathāgata worshipped by the Gods (*Lha yis mchod*). [175]
 The Tathāgata Niyatabuddhi,³⁷⁰ when he was an artisan³⁷¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered carpets³⁷²
 To the Tathāgata All-round Intellect (*Kun nas blo*). [176]
 The Sugata Anantarūpa, when he was a cartwright³⁷³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered leaves (*palāsika*)³⁷⁴
 To the Tathāgata Peaceful Glow (*'Od zhi*). [177]
 The Sugata Vairocana, when he was metal worker³⁷⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a mirror³⁷⁶
 To the Sugata Radiance of Mankind (*Mi yi gzi byin*). [178]
 The Sugata Ratnaketu, when he was a jeweller³⁷⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening

363. *ngan 'gror 'gro ba tshul khrims la bkod nas: ngan 'gror*, Mvy 4746 *durgati*.

364. *gos 'tshong*, see above [33].

365. *ras bcos bla re*: for *ras bcos*, see above [33], for *bla re*, see above [38].

366. *khyim bdag bu*, see above [27], for *khyim bdag*, see above [11].

367. *me tog dag las byas pa'i gdugs*: also at [191], [489], [934]. For *gdugs*, see above [1].

368. *bca' ba mkhan bu: bca' ba*, Negi 3: 1143 *khāḍya*.

369. *laḍḍu*, see above [9].

370. *nges blo*: we read *nges blo* with L S against D F *des blo*. Cf. Khotanese *Vigatabuddhir* (Bailey 1951: 79, no. 154).

371. *bzo mkhan*: we read *bzo mkhan* with D against F S *bzang kun*, L *bzang dkan*.

372. *gḍing ba*, see above [122].

373. *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16].

374. *pa la shi ka dag*: cf. BHSD 337 *palāsaka*, leaves, foliage: Divy 631.10. Cp. Pali *palāsa*, (1.) the tree *Butea frondosa* or Judas tree, (2.) a leaf; collectively foliage PED 440. FA 1527, 'offered a palashika tree'. Also at [849].

375. *khar ba* ('*khar ba*, *mkhar ba*) = *kaṃsa*, Negi 1: 426 = 'metal, tutunag or white copper, brass, bell-metal' MW 241; *khar ba mkhan* = *kaṃsakāra*, Negi 1: 427 (*Vimalaprabhā*).

376. *me long*: also at [515], [531].

377. *nor bu mkhan*, see above [60].

When he offered gems
 To the Tathāgata Fine Bridge of Merit (*Bsod nams stegs bzang*). [179]
 The Sugata Vigatakāṃkṣa, when he was a consort of the king³⁷⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When she offered flower gardens³⁷⁹
 To the Sugata Firm Effort (*Brtsen brtan*). [180]
 The Sugata Lokotīrṇa, when he was a *ma mi kha*³⁸⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a head-covering³⁸¹
 To the Sugata Renowned as a Sage (*Thub par grags*). [181]
 The Sugata Amoghavikramin, when he was Brahmā Sahāmpati³⁸²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he requested the Sugata Banner of Renown (*Grags pa rgyal mtshan*)
 To turn the Wheel of the Dharma. [182]
 The Tathāgata Vibodhana,
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered small balls of incense³⁸³
 Tathāgata Light of the Arhats (*Dgra bcom 'od*). [183]
 The Sugata Puṣpaketu,³⁸⁴ when he was a prince³⁸⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a fine mansion³⁸⁶ thatched with grass
 To the Tathāgata Entirely Bright (*Kun nas gsal*). [184]
 The Sugata Śailendrarāja, when he was a barber³⁸⁷

^{378.} *rgyal po yi btsun mo*, also at [314], [592], [613], [886].

^{379.} *me tog skyed mos tshal*: for *skyed mos tshal*, see above [136].

^{380.} *ma mi khar gyur tshe* (D) or *mam mi kha* (S)? We do cannot trace this word. Can it be an error for *mālīka* or *māllikā*? For latter, see Mvy 6155, *māllikā* = *ma li ka* (among names of flowers, *puṣpa-nāmāni*). FA 1527 has 'miser'.

^{381.} *dbu zhu gcig cig*: we have been unable to trace the word *dbu zhu*. It probably stands for *dbu zhwa*, *khola*: see Mvy 5841 (types of cloth, *vastra-nāmāni*), 9003 (monastic necessities, *dge sbyong/dge slong gi yo byad kyi ming*). Mvy 8612 gives *Prātimokṣa* training rule 88 as *na kholā-śīrase dharmam deśayiṣyāmi* = *zhwa gyon pa la chos mi bshad*, 'I will not teach the Dharma to a person wearing a *kholā* on his head'. See Negi 12:5216, *zhwa kholah*, *kholam*, *kholā*, with references to *Vinayasūtra*. Cf. BHSD 207, '? kholā (Skt. khola, m. or nt.), some sort of headcovering, hat or cap, or perhaps helmet (Tib. zhwa, any kind of headcovering)', citing Mvy 8612. MW 341 *khola*, *kholaka*, 826 *mürdha-khola*, 'n. a broad-brimmed hat or an umbrella, L'. PSD 80, *khola*, 'm. kind of water-proof hat'. Apart from that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the term does not seem to be used in other *Pratimokṣas*, although they all have rules against teaching the Dharma to a person whose head is covered or who is wearing a turban: see Pachow 1955: 185 (Sv.VII.95, 96). We take *dbu zhu* to be *dbu zhwa*, with the honorific *dbu*, 'head', since the item is offered to a Buddha, and interpret it as 'head-covering', probably made of cloth. FA 1527 has 'a single ribbon'.

^{382.} *mi mjed bdag tshangs*: *mi mjed bdag* = *mi mjed bdag po*, *Sahāmpati*; *tshangs* = *tshangs pa*, *Brahmā*.

^{383.} *spos kyi ri lu*, See above [34].

^{384.} *Me tog rgyal mtshan*: Weller 173 gives *Puṣpaketu*, cf. Khotanese *Puṣpaketur* (Bailey 1951: 79, no. 162). FA 1527 has *Puṣpadhvaja*.

^{385.} *rgyal bu*: see above [45].

^{386.} *khang bzang(s)*, usually *prāsāda*, Mvy 5512. Also at [294] (*tsan dan dmar po'i khang bzangs*), [488] (*bai dūrya yi khang bzangs*), [529] (*lha yi khang bzangs*), [869], [903] (*rtswa yi khang bzangs*).

^{387.} 'dreg mkhan = *kalpaka*, TSD (SV) 1006 (*Bodhisatva Avadānakalpalatā*). BHSD 172. Also at [522],

First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he thoroughly shaved the head
 Of the Tathāgata Majestic Incandescence (*Gzi brjid che*). [185]
 The Sugata Mahātejas, when he was an oil-miller³⁸⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered perfumed unguents and incense
 In the monastic residences³⁸⁹ of the Sugata Worthy of Worship (*Dgra bcom mchod*
 'os).³⁹⁰ [186]
 The Sugata Kṛtārthadarśin, when he was a *pa tal ba*³⁹¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered sheets of shining mica³⁹²
 To the Tathāgata Highest Glory (*Dpal gyi mchog*). [187]
 The Sugata Amitayaśas, when he was a cakravartin king³⁹³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered one thousand parasols made of *jambūnada* gold³⁹⁴
 To the Tathāgata Hero Whose Aims Are Fulfilled (*Don grub sems dpa'*). [188]
 The Tathāgata Ratnadeva, when he was King of Jambudvīpa³⁹⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered orchard gardens³⁹⁶
 To the Tathāgata Joyful Offerings (*Dgas mchod*).³⁹⁷ [189]
 The Tathāgata Sthitārthajñānin, when he was the son of an alcohol dealer³⁹⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he cupped his hands in homage to the Tathāgata
 Thoroughly Guarded (*Kun tu sbed*) as he passed through the street. [190]
 The Tathāgata Pūrṇamati,³⁹⁹ when he was a prince⁴⁰⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a parasol fashioned from flowers⁴⁰¹
 To the Tathāgata Beautifully Clear (*Rab tu dang ba*). [191]
 The Sugata Aśoka, when he was a hero⁴⁰²

[526], [765], [863].

388. 'bru mar mkhan. See above [35]. For 'bru mar, see above [32].

389. gtsug lag khang = vihāra: see above [62].

390. One wonders whether *dgra bcom mchod 'os* is not *pūjyārha*, which at *Bodhisattva Avadānakalpalāta* 53:56 is rendered simply *mchod 'os* (TSD (SV2) 633).

391. *pa tal ba'i tshe*: we are unable to interpret *pa tal ba*. FA 1529 has 'miner'.

392. *lhang tsher leb leb po*: *lhang tsher*, Mvy 5996 *abhraka*. For *leb leb po*, see above [33]. We follow FA.

393. 'khor los sgyur rgyal, see above [5].

394. 'jam bu'i chu bo'i gser = *jambūnada*, gold of high quality. Cf. Mvy 5974 *jāmbūnadasuvarṇa*.

395. 'dzam gling gi rgyal po, see above [49].

396. 'bras bu'i skyed mos tshal: for *skyed mos tshal*, see above [136].

397. *Dgas mchod*: we read *Dgas mchod* with F L against D *Dga'as mchod*, S *Dga mchod*.

398. *chang 'tshong gi bu*, see above [134].

399. *Pūrṇamati*, Weller 191. Khotanese has here *Purṇabudhir* (Bailey 1951: 79, no. 169).

400. *rgyal bu*, see above [45].

401. *me tog dag las byas pa'i gdugs*, see above [191]. For *gdugs*, see above [1].

402. *dpa' bo*, see above [68].

First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he invited the Tathāgata Intelligent Intentions (*Blo gros sems pa*)
 Without [showing] any fear. [192]
 The Tathāgata Vigatamala,
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 After cultivating love for all beings for an instant
 Under the Tathāgata Mind Bent on Release (*Nges byung blo*). [193]
 The Tathāgata Brahmadeva, when he was a forest warden⁴⁰³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a piece of sugarcane⁴⁰⁴
 To the Tathāgata Meru Song (*Lhun po'i dbyangs*). [194]
 The Tathāgata Dharaṇīśvara, when he was a monk⁴⁰⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he spread out a dharma-seat⁴⁰⁶
 For the Tathāgata Diverse Teachings (*Sna tshogs gsung ba*).⁴⁰⁷ [195]
 The Sugata Kusumanetra, when he was a royal servant⁴⁰⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered red lilies⁴⁰⁹
 For the Sugata Thundering Voice (*'Brug sgra*). [196]
 The Sugata Vibhaktagātra, when he was a washerman⁴¹⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he washed the garments⁴¹¹
 Of the Sugata Mass of Great Light (*'Od chen phung po*). [197]
 The Tathāgata Dharmaprabhāsa,
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he proclaimed the term 'six perfections' in the cities and lands
 Under the Tathāgata Glorious Peak (*Dpal brtsegs pa*). [198]
 The Sugata Nikhiladarśin, when he was a *bala-cakravartin*⁴¹²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he built 600 million superb monastic residences⁴¹³
 For the Tathāgata Delighting in the Sorrowless (*Mya ngan med par dga'*). [199]
 The Sugata Guṇaprabhāsa, when he was a sweeper⁴¹⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening

^{403.} *shing srungs*, see above [156].

^{404.} *bu ram shing gi sdong bu*: *ikṣudaṇḍa*, for *bu ram shing*, see above [132], for *sdong bu*, see above [23].

^{405.} *dge slong*, see above [87].

^{406.} *chos gdan*, see above [87].

^{407.} Same name, above [117].

^{408.} *rgyal po yi mi*: *rājapurūṣa*.

^{409.} *ud pal dmar po*: see above [36].

^{410.} *btso blag mkhan*: *rajaka*, Mvy 3769.

^{411.} *na bza' dag ni bkru bshal byas*: for *na bza'*, see above [46].

^{412.} *stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba*: see above [37]. For *'khor los sgyur ba*, see above [5].

^{413.} *gtsug lag khang* = *vihāra*: see above [62].

^{414.} *phyag dar ba*: *sammārajaka*? Also at [346] (*phyag dar ba'i bu*).

When he offered stone slabs as seats⁴¹⁵
 To the Sugata God of the Land (*Yul 'khor lha*). [200]
 The Tathāgata Śāśivaktra, when he was a brahman's son⁴¹⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered *kāntāra* blossoms⁴¹⁷
 Over the Tathāgata Joyful Lion Voice (*Seng ge dga' ba'i dbyangs*). [201]
 The Sugata Ratnaprabha, when he was a caravan leader⁴¹⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When offered a bejewelled lamp⁴¹⁹
 The Tathāgata Boundless Light. [202]
 The Sugata Ratnaketu, when he was a blacksmith⁴²⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a tongue scraper⁴²¹
 To the Tathāgata Joy to See (*Mthong na dga'*). [203]
 The Tathāgata Yaśottara, when he was an alcohol dealer⁴²²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered jambu fruit juice⁴²³
 To the Tathāgata King of Lamps (*Sgron ma'i rgyal po*). [204]
 The Sugata Prabhākara, when he was a merchant's son⁴²⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered *muśikaka* flowers⁴²⁵
 Over the Tathāgata Banner of Glory (*Dpal gyi tog*). [205]
 The Sugata Amitatejas, when he was a garland maker⁴²⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered lotus flowers with one hundred petals⁴²⁷
 To the Tathāgata Renowned In All Directions (*Phyogs su rnam grags*). [206]
 The Tathāgata Velāma, when he was a cloth merchant⁴²⁸

415. *rdo leb gdan*: *rdo leb*, Mvy 5306 *śilātala*. For *gdan*, cf. above [129].

416. *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].

417. *kan ta ra yi me tog*: cf. MW 271, *kāntāra*, 'the blossom of a kind of lotus, lotus'.

418. *ded dpon*: also at [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [897], [918], [930], [977], [987], [988]. For *ded dpon*, see above [125].

419. *rin po che yi sgron ma*: *sgron ma*, cf. above [24].

420. *lcags mgar*: *lohakāra*, Mvy 3787. Also at [229], [553], [692].

421. *ljags bzhar* = *lce bzhar*, Mvy 8974 *jihvānirlekhānika*; Negi 3: 1163 (*Vinayasūtra*). Cf. Yon tan 'od's *Vinayasūtra* commentary, *Vinayasūtravṛtṭyabhīdhānasvayākhyāna* (D 4119, *zhu*, 40b6-7): *lce bzhar bar bya zhes bya ni bzhar bar byed ba'i khab kyi rdzas te rdzas gang zhig khab byed pa ra gan dang zangs dang lcags dang khar ba rnam kyis te | de'i rang bzhin las byas pa zhes bya ba'i don to*. Cf. Böhrling III, 108.

422. *chang 'tshong*, see above [134].

423. *'dzam bu'i ro bro ba dag*: *ro bro (ba)* = *rasa*, Mvy 1862 *ro*. Juice (*rasa*) from the jambu fruit. *ro bro* also occurs at [222].

424. *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

425. *mu shi kag sha'i me tog*: Cf. Olivelle, 447, *muśakaka*, weaver's beam tree, *Schrebera swietenoides*?

426. *phreng rgyud*, see above [2].

427. *pad ma 'dab brgya pa*: for *pad ma*, see above [77].

428. *gos 'tshong*, see above [33].

First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a length of cotton cloth⁴²⁹
 To the Tathāgata Lovely Eyes (*Spyan sdug*). [207]
 The Sugata Siṃhagātra, when he was an incense dealer⁴³⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered vessels of fragrances⁴³¹
 To the Tathāgata Moon Emblem (*Zla ba'i tog*). [208]
 The Sugata Vidumati, when he was the servant of a merchant,⁴³²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a wreath of flowers⁴³³
 To the Tathāgata Granter of Safety (*'Jigs med sbyin*). [209]
 The Tathāgata Durjaya, when he was a *devaputra*⁴³⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered *mandārava* flowers⁴³⁵
 To the Tathāgata Constellation King (*Rgyu skar rgyal po*).⁴³⁶ [210]

^{429.} *ras yug: sāṭaka*, Mvy 5872 *ras*, 9107 *ras yug phran*. BHS 525 *sāṭi*, *sāṭikā*.

^{430.} *spos 'tshong*, see above [14] and [69].

^{431.} *spos kyi phur ma: gandhapūṭa*. Cf. *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* (Fujita) 51.5–7, *bahugandhapuṭām gṛhīva te ... okiranti naranāyakottamaṃ*. Cf. Tibetan translation (D 49 259a6): *de dag spos kyi kha dog tha dad pa || dri zhim yid 'ong mang po snyim thogs te*. *Indexes to the Larger and Smaller Sukhāvāṭīvyūha Sūtras* (Inagaki) 172 *puṭa* = *skon bu*, *snyim (pa)*. *phur ma* = *puṭaka* Mvy 9433; *puṭikā* Negi 8: 3516. Mvy 6112 *puṣpa-puta* = *me tog gi phur ma*, between *cūrṇa/phye ma* and *gandha/spos* etc. in list of *pūjā-pariṣkāra*. Cf. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Word Index to the Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra* (Ejima) 202 *me tog gi phur ma* = *puṣpapuṭa* (*Indexes to the Larger and Smaller Sukhāvāṭīvyūha Sūtras* [Inagaki] *puṣpa-puta* = *me tog gi skon bu*, *me tog snyim pa*). Cf. Edgerton's long entry at BHS 349–350 s.v. *puṣpapuṭa* nt., *puṣpapuṭa* m., *puṣpapuṭī* f., 'flower-sheath, calyx'. He writes that 'Sukh[āvāṭīvyūha] shows how they were used, viz., thrown upon a Buddha, or up in the air where they remain magically fixed and form umbrellas ... Müller renders the second member *handful*, but the use in Sukh confirms Tib. on Mvy. It is, to be sure, doubtless connected with Skt. *puṭa*, *puṭī*, *pocket*, *cavity*, *container*, etc. Müller (1894/1978, 47) in fact translates *puṣpa-pūṭa* as 'bunches of flowers' and *gandha-pūṭa* as 'handfuls of scents'. Gómez (1996, 94), translating from Sanskrit, also translates *puṣpa-pūṭa* as 'handfuls of flowers', *gandha-pūṭa* as 'handfuls of fragrant substances'.

Puṣpapuṭa as big as Mt. Sumeru feature in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Kern & Nanjio, Chap. VII, *Pūrvaprayoga*, 165.5 and foll., *divyāṃśca sumerumātrān puṣpapuṭān gṛhīvā*); Kern (1884/1974, *Ancient Devotion*, 162) renders the phrase as 'took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers' and 165.12 *sumerumātraiḥ puṣpapuṭaiḥ* as 'flower-bags as large as Mount Sumeru'. Burnouf (1852/1989, 101) has 'ayant pris des corbeilles de fleurs divins de la grandeur du mont Sumêru'. In Chap. XI, *Stūpasamdarśana*, 248.4 *bhagavataḥ sākyamuner antikam ratnapuṣpapuṭān dattvaivaṃ vadanti sma*, Kern (*Apparition of a Stūpa*, 235) gives 'bags with jewel flowers'. Burnouf (*Apparition d'un stūpa*, 150), has 'leur ayant donné des corbeilles pleine de fleurs et de joyaux'. The question is whether *puṣpapuṭa* means simply 'handfuls' in the literal sense, or whether it means an amount filling a container, which may be a bag or a basket. In the *Bhadrakalpika* and the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, both meanings are possible. In Chap. VII of the Lotus Sūtra, it is hard to imagine 'handfuls the size of Sumeru', here the sense requires a container: 'baskets the size of Sumeru' as in Burnouf.

^{432.} *tshong dpon khol po*: for *tshong dpon*, cf. above [26], for *khol po*, cf. above [120].

^{433.} *me tog chun po*, see above [59].

^{434.} *lha'i bu*, see above [83].

^{435.} *mandārava* flowers: see above [48].

^{436.} *Rgyu skar rgyal po: Nakṣatrarāja*, see [15], [523] for the future Buddha, and below [223] for the past Buddha.

The Tathāgata Guṇaskandha, when he was a prosperous brahman's son⁴³⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a garland
 To the Tathāgata Moon God (*Zla ba lha*). [211]
 The Tathāgata Śāsīketu, when he was an incense dealer⁴³⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered incense and fragrant unguents for the storied mansion⁴³⁹
 Of the Tathāgata Sun Light (*Nyi ma'i 'od*). [212]
 The Tathāgata Sthāmaprāpta, when he was a forest warden⁴⁴⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a bunch of grapes⁴⁴¹
 To the Tathāgata Great Renown (*Grags pa che*). [213]
 The Tathāgata Anantavikrāmin, when he was a merchant's son⁴⁴²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered pomegranates⁴⁴³
 The Tathāgata Gentle Voice (*'Jam dbyangs*). [214]
 The Sugata Candra, when he was a brahman's son⁴⁴⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered handful of lily flowers
 The Tathāgata Joy in Teaching (*Ston par dgyes*).⁴⁴⁵ [215]
 The Tathāgata Vimala, when he was a merchant's son⁴⁴⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a plot where *vārṣikī* flowers grow⁴⁴⁷
 To the Tathāgata Highest Renown (*Grags bla*). [216]
 The Sugata Sarvārthadarśin, when he was a caravan leader⁴⁴⁸
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a necklace of pearls⁴⁴⁹
 To the Tathāgata King of the Gods (*Lha yi rgyal po*). [217]
 The Tathāgata Śūra, when he was an incense dealer⁴⁵⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening

437. *sāla chen lta bu'i bram ze'i bu*: we read *sāla chen* with D S against F L *rtsal chen*. *mahāsāla-brāhmana-putra*, also at [332]. For *rtsal chen*, see above [64]. For *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].

438. *spos 'tshong*, see above [14] and [69].

439. *khang pa brtsegs par spos byug phyir phul*: for *khang pa brtsegs pa*, see above [11].

440. *shing srungs*, see above [156].

441. *rgun shing*: we read *rgun shing* with F L S against D *dgun shing*. Cf. MW 830 *mṛdvīkā*, 'a vine, a bunch of grapes'. Mvy 5718 *rgun chang*.

442. *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

443. *se 'bru*, see above [156].

444. *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].

445. Same name see [246], [394].

446. *tshong dpon bu*, see above [26].

447. *me tog bar shig skye ba'i sa gzhi*: for *me tog bar shig*, cf. above [135].

448. *ded dpon*: see above [125] and [202].

449. *mu tig dag gi phreng ba*, see above [141].

450. *spos 'tshong*, see above [14] and [69].

When he offered a sandalwood throne⁴⁵¹
 To the Tathāgata Reddish-Golden Light (*Dmar ser 'od*). [218]
 The Sugata Samṛddha, when he was a market merchant⁴⁵²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered ghee as medicine⁴⁵³
 To the Tathāgata Bowing Happily (*Bde bar 'dud*). [219]
 The Sugata Puṇya, when he was a cowherd⁴⁵⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered vessels brimming with curds
 To the Tathāgata Intelligent Heart (*Blo gros sems*). [220]
 The Sugata Pradīpa, when he was a worker in a garden⁴⁵⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered mangoes⁴⁵⁶
 To the Tathāgata Bright Wealth (*Dbyig gsal*). [221]
 The Tathāgata Guṇārci, when he was a juice seller⁴⁵⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a piece of sugar⁴⁵⁸
 To the Tathāgata Faults Extinguished (*Skyon zhi*). [222]
 The Tathāgata Vipulabuddhi, when he was a wandering ascetic⁴⁵⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a leaf ball⁴⁶⁰
 To the Tathāgata Constellation King (*Rgyu skar rgyal po*).⁴⁶¹ [223]
 The Sugata Sujāta, when he was a sea merchant⁴⁶²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered 100,000 garments⁴⁶³
 To the Tathāgata Fearless One *bsnyengs dang bral*. [224]
 The Tathāgata Vasudeva, when he was a timber merchant⁴⁶⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered bundles of grass for torches⁴⁶⁵

^{451.} *tsan dan dag gi gdan khri*: cf. above [12]. For *gdan khri*, see above [37].

^{452.} *tshong 'dus pa*: *tshong 'dus*, Mvy 5531 *pattana*. Also at [528], [606] (*tshong dus pa'i khye'u*).

^{453.} *snyun rkyen gsos sman mar*: *snyun rkyen* should be *glāna-pratyaya*, *sman* is *bhaiṣajya*. Cf. above [61].

^{454.} *ba lang rdzi*, see above [86].

^{455.} *tshal gyi las byed*, see above [67].

^{456.} *a mra'i 'bras bu*, *āmraphala*, see above [110].

^{457.} *ro bro (ba)*, see above [204] for *jambu* fruit juice. Sanskrit *rasa* has many meanings; here, as a kind of merchandise, it might mean 'juice', the sap of fruit. FA 1537 has here 'sweetmeat seller'.

^{458.} *kha ra'i dum bu*: *kha ra = ka ra*, Negi 1: 316 *śarkarā*, cf. above [57]; *dum bu = śakalika*, Mvy 6702, Negi 6: 2213–2214. Also see [237].

^{459.} *kun rgyu: parivrājaka*, Mvy 3522. Also at [751].

^{460.} *lo ma dag gi ri lu*: for *ri lu*, cf. above [34].

^{461.} *Rgyu skar rgyal po*, see above [210].

^{462.} See above [28].

^{463.} *na bza'*, see above [46].

^{464.} *shing 'tshong*: see above [39].

^{465.} *rtswa bam sgron me*, see above [24].

To the Tathāgata Radiant Intellect (*Blo gsal*). [225]
 The Sugata Vimatijaha, when he was a goldsmith⁴⁶⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered flowers fashioned from gold
 Over the Tathāgata Doubt Dispeller (*Yid gnyis sel mdzad*). [226]
 The Sugata Amitadhara, when he was a gold dealer⁴⁶⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered handfuls of gold⁴⁶⁸
 Over the Tathāgata Glory of Love (*Byams pa'i dpal*). [227]
 The Tathāgata Vararuci, when he was a general's son⁴⁶⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a parasol made out of gold⁴⁷⁰
 To the Tathāgata Best of the Best (*Gtso mchog*). [228]
 The Tathāgata Anihata, when he was a blacksmith⁴⁷¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a ha ta ka⁴⁷²
 To the Tathāgata Diverse Teachings (*Sna tshogs gsung*).⁴⁷³ [229]
 The Sugata Asthita, when he was a city beggar⁴⁷⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered delightful flowers
 To the Tathāgata All-Seeing (*Kun tu gzigs*).⁴⁷⁵ [230]
 The Tathāgata Tacchaya⁴⁷⁶ when he was a weaver⁴⁷⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered waistbands⁴⁷⁸
 The Tathāgata Moon Seer (*Zla ba gzigs*). [231]
 The Sugata Gaṇimukha, when he was son of an anātha
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 Offered a lamp filled with *māṣa* bean oil⁴⁷⁹
 To the Tathāgata Māra Vanquisher (*bdud zil gnon pa*). [232]

⁴⁶⁶. *gser mgar*, see above [153], cf. [23].

⁴⁶⁷. *gser rtog*, see above [30].

⁴⁶⁸. *gser ni spar gang*: for *spar gang*, see above [44].

⁴⁶⁹. *sde dpon gyi bu*: for *sde dpon*, see above [92].

⁴⁷⁰. *gser las byas pa'i gdugs*, see above [1].

⁴⁷¹. *lcags mgar*, see above [203].

⁴⁷². *a ha ta ka*: we do not know what this refers to, although most probably it is from *ā ṛhan*, meaning something beaten by the blacksmith. FA 1539, 'offered an ahataka', does not translate.

⁴⁷³. Same name, above [117].

⁴⁷⁴. *grong khyer rten pa*, see above [9].

⁴⁷⁵. Same name: above [36].

⁴⁷⁶. *Tacchaya*, D F L S read *der gnas*. Weller's *Sukhasthita* suggests *bder gnas*, but cf. Khotanese *Tacchagau* (Bailey 1951: 79, no. 169).

⁴⁷⁷. *thags mkhan*: *tantuvaya*, *Amarakośa* 132.13. Cp above [17].

⁴⁷⁸. *sku regs*, see above [3].

⁴⁷⁹. *mon sran gre'u yi 'bru mar mar me*: see above [113]. For *mar me*, see above [16].

The Sugata Jagadrasmi, when he was a cakravartin⁴⁸⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 Served royal food to the Tathāgata Great Waggon (*Shing rta chen po*).
 And his retinue of thousands of ten millions. [233]
 To the Tathāgata Prabhūta, when he was a cakravartin⁴⁸¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a garden twelve yojanas wide⁴⁸²
 To the Tathāgata Moving with a Lion's Gait (*Seng ge'i stabs kyis gshegs*).⁴⁸³ [234]
 The Sugata Puṣya, when he was an oil-miller⁴⁸⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered an oil-massage for the feet
 Of the Tathāgata Satisfying Radiance (*'Od zer tshim*). [235]
 The Tathāgata Anantatejas, when he was a bath attendant⁴⁸⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he filled vessels with washing soap and offered them
 To the Tathāgata Fully Guarded (*Kun tu sbed pa*). [236]
 The Sugata Arthamati, when he was ill⁴⁸⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered pieces of sugar⁴⁸⁷
 To the Tathāgata Power of Achievement (*Don grub mthu rtsal*). [237]⁴⁸⁸
 The Sugata Vaidyarāja, when he was a flour merchant⁴⁸⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered [barley] flour as alms⁴⁹⁰
 To the Tathāgata Sun's Light (*Nyi ma'i 'od*). [238]
 The Sugata Prahāṇakhila,⁴⁹¹ when he was a physician⁴⁹²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered ghee⁴⁹³ to the monastic community
 Of the Tathāgata Vision Aggregate (*Gzigs pa'i phung po*). [239]

^{480.} 'khor los sgyur ba, see above [5].

^{481.} 'khor los sgyur ba, see above [5].

^{482.} dpag tshad bcu gnyis khyon tsham skyed mos tshal: for skyed mos tshal, see above [136].

^{483.} seng ge'i stabs kyis gshegs: we read seng ge'i stabs kyis gshegs with L against D F S seng ge'i stabs kyis gshegs, cf. Mvy 279 *Siṃhavikrāntagāmī*. For seng ge'i stabs, see [2], [76], [155].

^{484.} 'bru mar mkhan. See above [35]. For 'bru mar, see above [32].

^{485.} khrus pa, see above [42].

^{486.} nad pa'i tshe: this seems an odd category, but there is no alternate.

^{487.} kha ra'i dum bu: see above [57] and [222].

^{488.} Who was sick, the future Buddha Arthamati, or *Don grub mthu rtsal*? It is not clear, although the Tibetan syntax suggests the former. It makes better sense if the Tathāgata *Don grub mthus tsal* was the sick one, and Arthamati offered him the *khar ra*.

^{489.} phye 'tshong: for phye, see above [43]. Also at [790].

^{490.} phye yi bsod snyoms: see above [43].

^{491.} Prahāṇakhila, Weller 241: cf. Khotanese *Prrahenakhilo* (Bailey 1951: 80, no. 218). Weller also gives *Khilaprahāṇa*.

^{492.} sman pa, see above [4].

^{493.} mar khu, ghrta, Mvy 5682 *mar*, also at [574], [606], [771], [778], [798], [946].

The Sugata Nirjvara, when he was a cartwright⁴⁹⁴
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered chariots⁴⁹⁵
 The Tathāgata Perfect Intellect (*Rnam dag blo*). [240]
 The Tathāgata Sudatta, when he was a brahman's son⁴⁹⁶
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered one thousand rows of oil lamps
 To the Tathāgata (*Tshogs can mya ngan 'das pa*). [241]
 The Tathāgata Yaśadatta, when he was dependent on the city caitya
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he scattered flowers over the Tathāgata
 Radiant Jewel (*Nor bu gsal*) when he visited the city. [242]
 The Tathāgata Kusumadatta, when he was a jeweller⁴⁹⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a jewel-studded canopy⁴⁹⁸
 To the Tathāgata Virtue Light (*Yon tan 'od*). [243]
 The Sugata Puruṣadatta, when he was a weaver⁴⁹⁹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered woven tassels⁵⁰⁰
 To the Tathāgata Sun's Lamp (*Nyi ma'i sgron*). [244]
 The Tathāgata Vajrasena, when he was a garland maker's daughter⁵⁰¹
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 On offering *aśoka* flowers⁵⁰²
 To the Sugata (*'Byor ldan 'od zer*). [245]
 The Sugata Mahādatta, when he was a dancer⁵⁰³
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he praised the Tathāgata Joy in Teaching (*Ston par dgyes*).⁵⁰⁴
 With a single stanza. [246]
 The Sugata Śāntimati, when he was a king⁵⁰⁵
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he sprinkled fragrant *vārṣikī* flowers⁵⁰⁶

^{494.} *shing rta mkhan*: reading *shing rta mkhan* with F S against D L *shing bzo mkhan*. For *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16].

^{495.} *shing rta dag ni dbul ba byas*: also at [567], [841].

^{496.} *bram ze'i bu*, see above [3].

^{497.} *nor bu mkhan*, see above [60].

^{498.} *nor bu'i bla re*: see above [38].

^{499.} *thags mkhan*, see above [17].

^{500.} *ras kyi kha tshar*, see above [17].

^{501.} *phreng rgyud kyi bu mo*: also at [703], [830], [855]. For *phreng rgyud*, see above [2].

^{502.} *mya ngan 'tshang ba*, see above [47].

^{503.} *gar mkhan bu*, see above [163].

^{504.} Same name, above [215].

^{505.} *rgyal po*, see above [49].

^{506.} *bar shi me tog dri ldan*: cf. above [135].

Over the Tathāgata Meaningful Mind (*Legs par don sems*). [247]
 The Tathāgata Gandhahastin, when he was a parasol maker⁵⁰⁷
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered a birch-bark parasol⁵⁰⁸
 To the Tathāgata All-seeing (*Kun tu gzig*).⁵⁰⁹ [248]
 The Tathāgata Nārāyaṇa, when he was a landowner⁵¹⁰
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he offered drinking water to the monk's order in the remote wilderness⁵¹¹
 At the time of the Tathāgata Lion Banner (*Seng ge'i rgyal mtshan*). [249]
 The Tathāgata Sūrata, when he was son of a menial labourer⁵¹²
 First aspired to achieve awakening
 When he adopted the five training precepts
 Under the Tathāgata Balanced Dweller (*Mnyam par gnas pa*). [250]

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^{507.} *gdugs mkhan*, see above [84]. For *gdugs*, see above [1].

^{508.} *gro ba dag las byas pa'i gdugs: gro ba, bhūrja*, Negi 2: 547 *gro ga*.

^{509.} Same name at [36].

^{510.} *khyim bdag*, see above [11].

^{511.} *'brog dgon: kāntāra*, Mvy 2992.

^{512.} *dman las byed bu: las byed*, see above [67].

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Av-klp(V) see Vaidya 1959.
 BGD see Zhang Yisun et al. 2004.
 BHSD see Edgerton 1953.
 D Derge Kanjur.
 DEBMT see Upasaka 1975.
 Dharmarakṣa Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*.
 F Phug brag manuscript Kanjur.
 FA see *The Fortunate Aeon*.
 GM see Dutt 1939.
 Gv(V) see Vaidya 1960.
 L London manuscript Kanjur.
 Mvy 榊亮三郎著『梵藏漢和四譯對校翻譯名義大集』京都帝國大學文科大学叢書3, 京都: 真言宗京都大學, 1916年, 1925年(初版), 東京: 鈴木學術財團, 1973年(第五次印刷) [Ryōzaburō Sakaki, (ed.), *Mahāvvyūpatti*, parts 1 and 2, Kyoto: Kyoto Imperial University, 1916 and 1925].
 MW see Monier-Williams [1899].
 Negi see Negi 1993–2005.
 PSD see Macdonnell 1929.
 Pras see de La Vallée Poussin 1903.
 RGV see Johnston 1950.
 S Stog Palace manuscript Kanjur.
 SBV see Gnoli 1977–1978.
 TSD see Chandra 1959.
 TSD (SV) see Chandra 1992–94.
 Vin *Vinayasūtra*. See Bapat and Gokhale 1982.

Fragments and Phylogeny of the Tibetan Version of the *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra*: A Case Study in the Genealogy of Tibetan Kanjurs

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Abstract

The following article provides a critical edition and analysis of a Dunhuang Tibetan version of the *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra* (Tib. *'jam dpal gnas pa'i mdo*) as a case study for documenting the historical development of Tibetan translations of Mahāyāna sūtras. The critical edition of the Dunhuang Tibetan version¹ is based on one complete Dunhuang manuscript as well as four Dunhuang fragments, three previously unidentified, to restore a Tibetan version of the *sūtra* that existed before the imperially decreed (*bkas bcad*) language reforms of 814 c.e. The critical edition is annotated against seventeen Kanjur editions of the *sūtra*, including Western Tibetan manuscript Kanjurs (Tib. *bka' 'gyur*)² from Basgo and Hemis that have not been previously investigated. The Kanjur annotations document the revisions that Tibetan editors made in implementing the codified rules and principles for translating Buddhist texts issued by Khri lde srong btsan (r. 800-815 c.e.). In addition, the annotations provide evidence for three lines of textual transmission, the Them-spangs-ma group, Tshal-pa group, and a Western Tibet group. The documentation of the variant readings has also been supplemented with computer-based phylogenetic systematics to discern a refined estimation of the genealogical relations among extant textual witnesses.

Introduction

The *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra* is preserved in Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian versions. There are two Chinese versions, the 文殊師利巡行經 *Wénshū shī lì xúnxíng jīng* translated by Bodhiruci (Taishō 470, 1 juan) and the 文殊尸利行經 *Wénshūshìlì xíng jīng* translated by Jñānagupta in 586 c.e. (Taishō 471).³ The Tibetan version is preserved in five Dunhuang Manuscripts and twenty Kanjur editions. The following critical edition focuses upon five extant Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts and utilizes seventeen available Kanjur and proto-Kanjur editions discussed below. The *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra* is listed in two early ninth century

¹ I follow Karashima's (2011: xii) distinction between "translation" and version of a text, as it is inaccurate to think that there was just one original text "from which the Chinese and Tibetan translations were made at different periods of time." As Lamotte (1998: xv) observed several decades ago, and as Schopen (2009, 2012) has clearly demonstrated, following upon Ruegg's (2004: 21) suggestion, there was not any single Urtext traceable to a unique archetype of any Mahāyāna sūtra, as there could be multiple variant versions of a sūtra at the same time from the same place (Schopen 2009: 193). Therefore, a Chinese or Tibetan translation "should not be regarded simply as "a translation" of the text but as "a version" representing a certain stage at which the text developed" (Karashima 2011: xii).

² On the necessity of employing the plural "Kanjurs" as opposed to "the Kanjur," see the work of Peter Skilling 1995, 2009, 2013.

³ This version is mentioned by Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism, A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (1980:167), but misspelled as *Mañjuśrīvikārasūtra*.

Tibetan catalogs of the *Lhan kar ma* catalog (§195; Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 104) and the *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma* (Rdo 2003:16) as the '*Phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa* in one hundred and forty *ślokas* (*shu log brgya bzhi bcu*). The late thirteenth century catalog of the Tibetan Bka' gdam pa master Dar ma rgyal mtshan (1227-1305), commonly known as Bcom ldan ral gri, lists the *sūtra* as '*Phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa* (Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009:131). A listing of texts appended to the *History of Buddhism in India and Its Spread to Tibet* by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) also lists the work as the '*Phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa* (Nishioka 1980:74, §279) in one hundred and forty *ślokas*, but also adds that it was translated by Ye shes sde. As indicated below, ten of the seventeen textual witnesses, among vulgate Kanjurs that have a colophon, list the translators as the Indian *upādhyāya* Surendrabodhi and the Translator (*lo tsā ba*) [in charge of] Great Revision (*zhu chen*) Venerable (*ban de*) Ye shes sde. The *sūtra* enjoyed some popularity in eighth and ninth century Tibet based on its inclusion among the 104 titles of Buddhist scriptures found in *Mahāvvyutpatti* §1329 (hereafter, *Mvy*) and the number of extant Tibetan Dunhuang fragments presented below. The *sūtra* was cited as the '*Jam dpal gnas pa'i mdo* in several early Tibetan treatises from Dunhuang, including IOL Tib J 705, a Dunhuang fragment of the *Rnal 'byor chen por bsgom pa'i don* attributed to Spug Ye shes dbyangs (771-850 c.e). Tabo fragments of this Tibetan treatise preserve three citations of the *sūtra* (Otokawa 1999, p. 130, 147, 151). The *sūtra* is also sporadically cited in later Tibetan commentaries (e.g. Gyamts'o 2008:139-141) and briefly analyzed by Pad-dkar bzang-po (16th century) in his overview of each *sūtra* preserved among Tibetan Kanjurs (2006: 264 – 266).

Textual witnesses

The following critical edition of the Tibetan Dunhuang version of the *Mañjuśrīvihāra-sūtra* is based on digital images of exemplars available from the International Dunhuang Project (IDP). The Dunhuang exemplars consist of one complete version (IOL Tib J 149 = **M**) and four fragments of the *sūtra*, including IOL Tib J 102 (= **M**₂), as well as three previously unidentified fragments IOL Tib J 277 (= **M**₃), IOL Tib J 278 (= **M**₄), and Pelliot Tibétain 714 (= **M**₅). I have annotated this edition with seventeen editions among vulgate Kanjurs, several of which have not been previously investigated. Details regarding these editions and exemplars are briefly described in the section that follows.

Dunhuang Manuscripts and Fragments

M IOL Tib J 149 is described in La Vallée Poussin (1962:149) and Dalton and Van Schaik (2006:23-24). The manuscript contains a complete copy of the '*Phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa* in which the folios are numbered with letters and numerals (e.g. *ka gcig*) and has five lines of text on each folio side. However, the verso of the first folio has another unidentified work copied on the verso of folio 1 [misabeled *ka bdun*, but equal to 1b1 in my renumeration,] that ends with a strange marker at the end of the folio [1b5] indicating that this section was mistakenly transcribed by the copyist.

M₂ IOL Tib J 102 is found in section two (La Vallée Poussin 1962:102; Dalton and Van Schaik 2006:12) of a Tibetan manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitānaya-adhyardhaśatikā*. The

manuscript begins at verso 3.4 and has five lines of text on each folio side. The manuscript is stamped with numbers that end at the number 24 several folio sides before the *Mañjuśrīvihāra* begins. I have given the folio sides numbers according to the sequential number of the digital image on the IDP web page. For instance, the 13th digital image has the stamped number 24. The *Mañjuśrīvihāra* IOL Tib J 102 begins at the 15th digital image (IDP), line 4 (= M₂ IDP 15.4).

M₃ IOL Tib J 277= (M3 IDP 1a1) and (M3 IDP 1b1) is described in La Vallée Poussin (1962:277) as a fragment in *pothī* format, with 10 x 8.6 cm measurements. I have identified this fragment as part of the *Mañjuśrīvihāra*. The text has five lines of text on each folio side. Folio 1 is damaged and numbered on the right in *dbu-can* script. La Vallée Poussin mentions that the fragment is of a Mahāyāna-sūtra, with Śāriputra, Mañjuśrī, and monks discussing the *dharmadhātu*. La Vallée Poussin folio 1a corresponds with phrases in §10 of the critical edition while La Vallée Poussin folio 1b corresponds with parts of §9. Therefore, the leaves have been reversed and the listing of the folios in La Vallée Poussin and the IDP are in the incorrect order.

M₄ IOL Tib J 278 is a small fragment described in La Vallée Poussin (1962:278) in *pothī* format, with 23.4 x 7.5 cm measurements composed in *dbu-can* script with five lines of text on each folio side. La Vallée Poussin folio 1a corresponds with parts of §10 to §11 of the following critical edition.

M₅ Pt. 714 is briefly described in Lalou (1939) as consisting of two folios (26 x 7 cm) written on one side without pagination. A double line at the end and beginning of each line forms the margins. There are four lines of text on each folio side. I have identified this fragment as corresponding with the *Mañjuśrīvihāra* in §11 of the following critical edition.

Kanjur Vulgate Editions

A number of the vulgate Kanjurs annotated in this edition have been described in other works. The Kanjur editions of Cone (**C**), Derge (**D**), Lithang (**J**), London (**L**), Narthang (**N**), Peking (**Q**), and Stog Palace (**S**) are described in Harrison (1992). Along these lines, the Phug brag (**F**) Msk Kanjur (Samten 1992), the Gondhla (**Go**) Proto-Kanjur (Tauscher 2008), the Bathang (**Ne**) Kanjur Fragment (Eimer 2012), Tabo (**Ta**) fragments (Scherrer-Schaub and Harrison 2009), and the recently digitized, and published on DVD, Ulanbatar Kanjur manuscript (**V**) (Samten *et al* 2011; Bethlenfalvy 1982) have also been described in other works.

Ba Basgo Msk. 053 mDo, Tsa 277a4-384a5. The Basgo Manuscript Kanjur is from Basgo monastery in the Leh District of Ladakh. The folios consist of eight lines of handwritten Tibetan text. The variant readings of this manuscript match the Hemis (**He**) manuscript.

He Hemis Msk, mdo, Tsa 310a6-317a8. This manuscript, discovered in 2007, comes from Hemis monastery and may be a copy from Tholing, sometime in the seventeenth

century (Tauscher and Lainé 2008:354, note 19; Lainé 2009). The folios consist of eight lines of handwritten Tibetan text.

K₂ Kangxi, volume Tsu, No. 865, p. 286/f .427a4-291/535a6). The Kangxi ‘Dragon’ Kanjur was transcribed in gold ink by the Qing dynasty court in 1669, the eighth year of the Kangxi Emperor’s reign (see Chou 2011). This Kanjur, along with a recently published facsimile reprint in 108 volumes, is kept in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan.

Z Shey Palace, mdo, Ta 443b2-451a4 (vol.56). The Shey Palace manuscript comes from the monastery located in Shey Ladakh and dates from the 17th/18th century (Tauscher and Lainé 2008:354, note 18).

The Critical Edition

The basis of the critical edition is IOL Tib J 149 (=M), the only complete Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript of the *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra*. I have divided the text into numbered paragraphs and verses for reference and editing purposes. I have followed the punctuation of M and I have removed single readings from the annotations. I have also not noted differences of the reversed *gi gu* between Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts. The reversed *gi gu* is indiscriminately applied among all the Dunhuang manuscripts. I have not made any emendations to the text, but I have restored readings based on the collation of IOL Tib J 149 (M) and IOL Tib J 102 (M₂) in comparison with the other manuscripts. I have included in the footnotes important readings found in the other small Dunhuang fragments but I have not restored readings based on these small fragments. The bold print in-text of the critical edition highlights points in the translation of the *sūtra* where the Tibetan translators revised the text based on the imperially decreed rules and principles (Kapstein 2013:72-76).

Stemmatic and Phylogenetic Analysis

The analysis of the Tibetan version of this short *sūtra* seeks to provide data that contributes to understanding the history of the transmission and redaction of Tibetan Kanjurs (Skilling 1995:100-101; Skilling and Saerji 2013:195). The following analysis is a hypothesis for the oldest reconstructible ancestor of this text and follows upon the foundational studies on Tibetan Kanjurs by Eimer (1983), Harrison (1992), Braarvig (1993), and Zimmermann (2002). I have supplemented the classical text critical analysis of the variant readings with computer-based phylogenetic systematics as outlined by Maas (2008, 2010) and Phillips-Rodriguez *et al* (2010) to discern a refined estimation of the genealogical relations among extant textual witnesses. The twenty-two available witnesses of the Tibetan text were collated and analyzed in order to establish genealogical relations among the Tibetan editions.

The purpose of phylogenetic systematics utilizing computer algorithms is to discern manuscript relationships. In this regard, variant readings peculiar to a single manuscript do not provide what Maas (2010:71) classifies as “genealogically informative” variants. I eliminated single readings, i.e., variants attested by only one witness (*lectiones singulares*) for the purposes of formatting and space. Along these lines, the fragments of M₃, M₄, and M₅ were not of sufficient length to include in the phylogenetic analysis compared to the other

textual witnesses. The genealogically informative variants utilized for the phylogenetic analysis have been highlighted in bold print in the footnotes. The apparatus is positive with a lemma-sign] indicating the accepted readings that stand before it as a reference of the text-edition, followed by the sigla of the witnesses that attest the adopted reading. A semi-colon indicates a separation in that the reading that follows the semi-colon is a variant to the documented reading. The sigla following the variant reading indicates which witnesses attest the variant. In the annotations I have utilized the siglum Σ to indicate a reading shared by all vulgate Kanjur witnesses.

Modern scholarship on the study of Tibetan Buddhist canonical literature is currently aware of over twenty different Kanjurs (Tauscher and Lainé 2008). Extant versions of Kanjurs are usually classified into two groups, those that are based on the Tshal-pa edition and those that may be traced back to the Them-spangs-ma Kanjur. The Tshal-pa edition is named after Tshal Gung-thang monastery in Central Tibet (*dbus*) and was published between 1347-1351. The Tshal-pa edition serves as a basis for the block prints of the Yongle (**Y**, 1410 c.e.), Kangxi Taiwan (**K₂**, 1669), 'Jang sa tham/Lithang (**J**, 1608-21), Peking (**Q**, 1717-20), and Cone (**C**, 1721-31) among the Kanjurs analyzed in the following edition. The Narthang (*snar thang*, **N**, 1730-32) and Derge (**D**, 1733) Kanjurs have relations with the Tshal-pa lineage but in some cases may be influenced by the Them-spangs-ma line. According to Tibetan tradition, the Them-spangs-ma Kanjur was copied in 1431 from a manuscript in Narthang and brought to dPal-'khor-chos at Gyantse (*rgyal rtse*) (Zimmermann 2002:186). Manuscript Kanjurs included in this group are the Shel dkar/London (**L**, 1712), Stog Palace (**S**, ca.1750), Ulan Bator (**V**), and the Shey Palace Manuscript Kanjur (**Z**), among those analyzed in the following edition. The Phug-brag (**F**) Kanjur was copied at Phug-brag monastery in Western Tibet between 1696 and 1706. Previous studies (Harrison 1992, Silk 1994, Schoening 1995) have determined that the Phug-brag is an independent tradition in that it shares readings with both the Tshal-pa lineage and Them-spangs-ma but seems to be based on editions distinct from these two main groups. Four Kanjurs are analyzed for the first time in the following edition. This includes the Gondlha (**Go**) proto-Kanjur, Basgo Kanjur (**Ba**), Hemis Kanjur (**He**), and the Shey Palace Manuscript Kanjur (**Z**). The Gondlha manuscript is a collection from Gondlha, Lahul that belongs to what Helmut Tauscher has classified as a "Proto-Kanjur," a "complete collection of the Buddha's words that...does not yet show the systematic arrangement of a "Kanjur" (2008:xii). The manuscript dates "to the turn from the 13th to the 14th century" (Tauscher 2008:lii) and as the following analysis indicates, belongs to a separate Western Kanjur group.

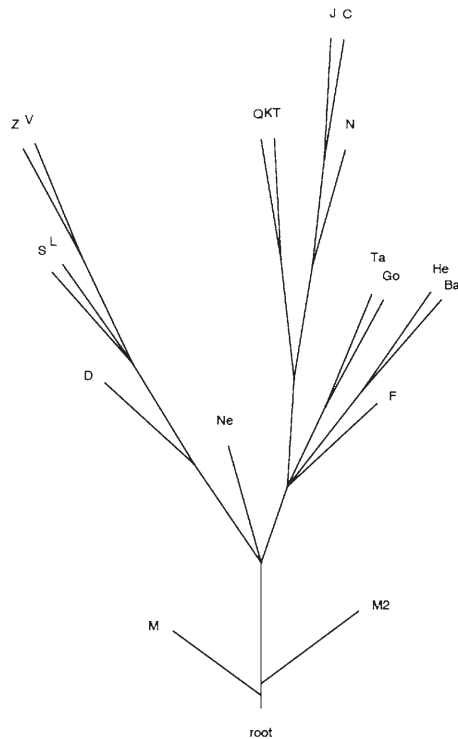
The twenty-two available witnesses of the Tibetan *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra* were collated and found to have 322 genealogically informative variant readings. The Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts and fragments (**M M₂ M₃ M₄ M₅**) are closely related and are much earlier than the vulgate Kanjurs. These manuscripts and fragments represent a Tibetan version of the *sūtra* that existed before the imperially decreed (*bkas bcad*) language reforms of 814 c.e. The Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts **M** and **M₂** share a great number of readings but have several readings which indicate that they are not direct copies of one another. The variant readings in the apparatus clearly indicate group relations between the Tshal-pa based witnesses (**CJK₂NQY**) and the Them-spang-ma based witnesses (**LSVZ**). The relations of **Ba**, **F**, **Go**, **He**, **Ne**, **Ta**, and **Ta₂** were initially determined to be independent of these two groups.

In order to further discern the group relations among manuscripts, I utilized a

method based on evolutionary biology known as cladistics to analyze the available manuscripts. Cladistic analysis, also known as phylogenetic analysis, has been successful in analyzing textual traditions in English and Sanskrit literature as well as in other areas of human culture such as textiles and art objects. The method applies phylogenetic algorithms to textual data to produce tree-like diagrams that depict lines of descent. Evolutionary biology and textual criticism have in common the principle that species or texts share derived characters in their evolutionary history that indicate relationships between ancestors and descendants. Phylogenetic techniques utilize all genealogical informative variants in textual witnesses and apply algorithms that carry out thousands of combinations to discern probable relations between witnesses. These probable relations are represented in bifurcated genealogical trees that depict a hypothetical model of a text's development. A phylogenetic analysis of a matrix of textual witnesses may produce millions of different genealogical trees. In order to determine which trees represent the most probable of genealogical relations, phylogenetics relies upon the law of parsimony, also known as Occam's razor (Maas 2008:230), which states that the simplest explanation that can explain data is the best. In the cladistic analysis of texts, the most parsimonious account of a text's development is that variants shared between two or more textual witnesses are introduced only once in the transmission of a text and then subsequently copied, rather than occurring several times in the history of the text's transmission (Maas 2008:230; Maas 2010:70).

The genealogical informative variants of the Dunhuang Tibetan (**M**, **M**₂) and vulgate Kanjur witnesses were exported from the word processing program *Classical Text Editor* (Hagel 1997-2013) in the form of a data matrix and were analyzed by the software program PAUP* (=Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony) (Swofford 2002). The readings of the Yongle Kanjur (**Y**, 1410 c.e.) were removed as I did not directly view the manuscript but only noted the readings found in the *dpe bsdur ma* edition. PAUP* determined that 278 among the 322 variants are parsimony-informative. The applied analysis of these variants from PAUP* generated an unrooted genealogical tree, which is "a graphical net structure in which the manuscripts hold the terminal positions" (Maas 2008:231). In order to hypothesize the development of a text over time, the unrooted tree needs to be rooted by identifying a point on a tree that may serve as the position of the archetype of a stemma. As Maas observes (2008:232) "there is no way in text genealogy to identify the root...by exclusively drawing upon numerical calculations." In this case I rooted the genealogical tree through inferences known in the text's transmission history. That is, the archetype of the stemma was determined to be an ancestor of the Dunhuang Tibetan (**M**, **M**₂) manuscripts that are known to be centuries older than the vulgate Kanjurs. The following diagram depicts the rooted genealogical tree generated by the phylogenetic software SplitsTree (Huson and Bryant 2006).

Figure 1 Rooted Phylogenetic Tree Diagram



The genealogical tree in Fig. 1 depicts the archetype (labeled “root”), the oldest inferred ancestor of the Tibetan version of the *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra*, at the lower portion of the diagram. The text’s hypothesized development is illustrated moving up the tree with the Dunhuang witnesses (**M**, **M₂**) as early descendants followed by branches that form with later developments among the vulgate Kanjurs. In order to assess the probability of the relationships among the vulgate Kanjurs, I also utilized a technique known as “bootstrap” analysis. “Bootstrap analysis” (Felsenstein 1985) is a common procedure of assessing confidence in analysis derived from phylogenetic techniques. Bootstrapping is a procedure that randomly resamples the original data set together with alternative replicates of the data matrix to test the viability of a genealogical tree against computer generated alternative virtual data sets. In this instance, the data was resampled 500 times, with each resampling being subject to parsimony analysis. The computer program then generated a single majority-rule consensus tree with bootstrap proportions being depicted between clades, or groups that share a common ancestor. In genealogical analysis, it has been claimed that “bootstrap proportions of $\geq 70\%$ usually correspond to a probability of $\geq 95\%$ ” in group relations (Hillis and Bull 1993). The majority of relationships among all vulgate Kanjurs depicted in Figure 1 had a bootstrap proportion of above 95%. The lowest bootstrap proportion among the vulgate Kanjurs was 73% between the Tabo (**Ta**) and Gondlha (**Go**) witnesses.

The tree derived from phylogenetic analysis therefore confirms the group relations between the Tshal-pa based witnesses (**CJK₂[=KTJ]-NQ**) and the Them-spang-ma based witnesses (**LSVZ**), but the diagram also indicates a refined estimation of textual relationships. The Bathang Kanjur fragment (**Ne**), based on this analysis, contains the oldest

vulgate textual witness and is an independent line of the text. The tree splits into two with one line to the left forming the Them-spang-ma based witnesses (**LSVZ**) and the line to the right forming what eventually becomes the Tshal-pa based witnesses (**CJK₂[=KT]₁NQ**). The Them-spang-ma group affiliations of **L**, **S**, and **V** have been documented in previous studies. The Shey manuscript (**Z**), despite its location in Shey Ladakh, textually has a close relation to the Ulanbatar Kanjur manuscript (**V**) and definitely belongs to the Them-spang-ma group for this particular *sūtra*. On the right side before the Tshal-pa group, the Phu brag (**F**) manuscript, Gondlha (**Go**) and Tabo (**Ta**) manuscripts, followed by the Basgo (**Ba**) and Hemis (**He**) manuscript Kanjurs, are independent lines that share a common source. The common source for this group of independent lines may well be the collection that was kept at Tholing (*mtho lding*) (De Rossi Filibeck 2007), which was a religious and cultural center for Western Tibet (Lainé 2009:6). Not much is currently known about the textual genealogy of this collection, but it must have contained copies of manuscripts brought from Central Tibet that, at least for this version of the *Mañjuśrīvihāra*, have readings that are shared with an early hyparchetype of the Tshal-pa line. The hyparchetype of these independent Western Tibet manuscripts and the Tshal-pa based witnesses go back to a common ancestor from Central Tibet shared with the Bathang Kanjur fragment (**Ne**) and the Them-spang-ma based witnesses (**LSVZ**). The textual readings of **F**, **Go** and **Ta**, **Ba** and **He**, are derived from ancestors older than the later Tshal-pa based witnesses. The Basgo (**Ba**) and Hemis (**He**) manuscript Kanjurs therefore also contain readings which are older than the Tshal-pa based witnesses (**CJK₂[=KT]₁NQ**). The Derge (**D**) Kanjur is depicted as sharing an earlier subarchetype with the Them-spang-ma based witnesses in this diagram. Although this may be the case as a number of readings of **D** match with the Them-spang-ma line, the position of the Derge Kanjur in this diagram should be understood as provisional since readings from this Kanjur are known to be contaminated from other lines of textual transmission. I note as well that **Ta₂**, a small fragment found from Tabo, is most likely older than the Tabo (**Ta**) manuscript edited in the critical edition based on the small number of variants of this fragment that match the readings of **M** and **M₂**. However, this fragment was not included in the phylogenetic analysis due to the brevity of the text. Along these lines, the Kangxi ‘Dragon’ Kanjur exemplar (**K₂**), a highly ornate Kanjur manufactured in the second half of the 17th century (Eimer 2007:40), is an early descendent from the Yongle block-print Kanjur and is most likely a copy related to the Wanli Kanjur (Mejor *et al* 2010). Further studies will need to examine **K₂** in comparison with the Kangxi manuscript dated to 1680 kept in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

The preceding brief discussion of the stemma for the Tibetan version of the *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra* is a tentative, but viable, estimation for this text’s genealogy. The results are only applicable to the Tibetan version of this particular *sūtra* but I think that the preceding results and the following critical edition will contribute to the growing amount of evidence for documenting the historical development of Tibetan translations of Mahāyāna sutras.

Dunhuang Tibetan Critical Edition of *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra*

[Title]

(M₂ IDP 15.4) \$: rgya gar skad du / a rya¹ man 'ju shrI² bI ha ra³ ma na⁴ ma ha ya na⁵ su tra⁶ //: /bod skad du (M ka gcig 1a1) 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo /⁷// 'phags pa 'jam dpal gzho nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo/⁸

[§1] /'dI skad bdag gIs **thos pa'i**⁹ dus gcIg¹⁰ na (M₂ IDP 15.6) / bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i khab na¹¹ /¹² bya rgod gyI¹³ phung po'i ri la / dge slong lnga brgya tsam gyI dge slong gi dge 'dun chen po dang¹⁴ thabs gcIg¹⁵ tu bzhugs ste¹⁶ / de nas¹⁷ bcom ldan 'das / **phye 'bred**¹⁸ kyI dus gyI tshe / nang¹⁹ du yang dag 'jog pa las bzhengs nas // 'khor mang pos **kun nas**²⁰ bskor cIng / **'dus kyIs byas pa la**²¹ chos stond to/

[§2] /de nas 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa / 'chag cIng dge slong lnga brgya po / **de dag**

1. a rya] M₂NeTa; ā rya CGoK₂QV; ārya DJLNSZY; aya BaFHe; om. M

2. man 'ju shrI] M₂Ne; man 'dzu shrī Go; man dzu shri FTa; man rdzu shrī CK₂Q; mañdzu shrī DJLNHeSVYZ; mañdzu shri Ba; om. M

3. bl ha ra] M₂; bi ha ra CDFHeJK₂NNeQTaY; bi hā ra BaLSVZ; bi hra ra Go; om. M

4. ma na] M₂; na ma FGoTa; nā ma BaDCHeJK₂LNNeQSZY; om. M [Note: M₂ has inadvertently reversed the letters which I have left in place.]

5. ma ha ya na] M₂NeTa; ma hā yā na DHeJK₂LNQSVYZ; ma hā ya na BaCFGo; om. M

6. su tra'] M₂; su tra CGoLNeTaV; sū tra BaDFHeJK₂NQSZY; om. M

7. 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo] M ; bod skad du 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo M₂; bod skad du: 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo Ne; bod skad du / 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNQTa(v.l. mdo) VYZ

8. 'phags pa 'jam dpal gzho nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo] M M₂; sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo/ Σ

9. **thos pa'i**] FGoM₂Ne; thos pa BaCDHeJK₂LMNQSTaVYZ. [See Harrison (1992) for the antiquity of this reading. See also Schoening (1995:390), Galloway (1991:92), and Klaus (2007:314). Noted, but not discussed, in Silk (1989:160.11-14).]

10. **gcig**] CDFGoJK₂LM(M₂, v.l. gcIg) NNeQSTaVYZ; cig BaHe

11. **khab na**] CDFGoHeJK₂M₂NQTaY; khab BaNeM; khab kyI SVZ; khab kyI kyI L

12. **om. gyi**] M₂ Σ; gyI M

13. **rgod gyI**] M₂; rgod kyI CDFGoHeLNQSTaVZ; rgod BaK₂MNeY

14. Insert / byang chub sems dpa'i dge 'dun chen po dang yang VZ

15. **gcig**] CGoJK₂LM(M₂, v.l. gcIg) NeQTaVY; cig BaDFHeNSZ

16. te VZ

17. **nas**] CDGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSYVZ; na FTa; gnas Ba

18. **phye 'bred**] M; phyem red CDJNQY; phye 'phred FGOLSVZ; phye bred M₂Ta; phye ma red K₂; phyi ma red BaHe; phyin byed Ne [On the archaic term *phyem red* see Harrison 1990:8, note 8.]

19. Tabo fragment Ta₂ begins at this point.

20. **kun nas**] MM₂; yongs su Σ [Dunhuang preserves older prefix before the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* reforms, Kapstein 2013: 75.]

21. **'dus kyis byas pa la**] M; mdun gyIs byas pa la M₂ ; mdun gyis bltas nas BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaVYZ; mdun kyis bltas nas Ta₂

thams cad²² gyI²³ // gtsug lag kang²⁴ nas gtsug lag kang²⁵ du byung ste/ /gnas brtan sha²⁶
 rI' bu'i'i²⁷ gtsug lag kang²⁸ gang na²⁹ ba der song ste /_(M kha gnyis 2a1)phyIn nas/ /'jam dpal gzho³⁰
 nur gyurd pas / gnas brtan sha³¹ rI bu³² gcIg pu³³ dben bar song³⁴ ste / nang du yang dag 'jog
 pa la / zhugs par mthong ngo³⁵ / mthong nas^{36 37} sha rI' i bu la /_(M2 IDP 16.1) 'dI skad ces smras
 so/ /btsun ba sha rI bu / khyod bsam gtan byed dam / /smras pa / 'jam dpal de bzhin no/ /
 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ /³⁸ci btsun ba³⁹ sha rI bu khyod nyon mongs pa / spangs pa⁴⁰ spang
 ba'I phyir bsam brtan⁴¹ byed dam / 'on te /ma spangs pa rnams spang ba'I phyir bsam
 brtan⁴² byed dam⁴³ / /cI btsun ba sha rI bu khyod / 'das pa la gnas ste⁴⁴ bsam brtan⁴⁵ byed
 dam / 'on te ma 'ongs pa la gnas te bsam brtan⁴⁶ byed dam / 'on te / da ltar byung ba la gnas
 te bsam brtan⁴⁷ byed/ cI btsun pa sha rI bu khyod gzugs la gnas te bsam brtan⁴⁸ byed dam /
 'on te tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang 'du byed dang rnam par shes pa la _(M kha gnyis 2b1)gnas te bsam
 brtan⁴⁹ byed // cI⁵⁰ btsun ba sha rI bu khyod / myig la gnas te bsam brtan⁵¹ byed dam/ 'on te
 rna ba dang sna dang lce dang lus _(M2 IDP 16.6)dang yId la gnas te bsam brtan⁵² byed/ /cI btsun ba
 sha rI bu / khyod gzugs la gnas te bsam brtan⁵³ byed dam/ 'on te sgra dang drI dang ro reg

22. de dag tham cad] M; thams cad Σ

23. gyi] MM₂S; kyi BaCDHeJK₂LNNeQTaTa₂VYZ; om. F

24. gtsug lag kang] M; gtsug lag khang M₂; gnas khang Σ [Note: *Mvy* §5519, §9153, §9292 has *layanam* for *gnas khang* ("individual monk cell") while the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya gives *gtsug lag khang* ("monastery") for *vihāra* ("monastery") (Schopen 1996:82, note2). The Dunhuang translation therefore is before the imperial revisions.]

25. gtsug lag kang] M; gtsug lag khang M₂; gnas khang Σ

26. sha] FGoMM₂NeTaTa₂; shā BaCDHeJK₂NQSVYZ; shā shā L

27. bu'i (em.)] BaDFHeK₂LMNeSTaVZ; bu CGoJNQY; 'bu'i M₂

28. gtsug lag kang] M; gtsug lag 'khang M₂; gnas khang Σ

29. gang na] MM₂; ga la Σ

30. gzho] MM₂Ta₂; gzhon Σ

31. sha] FGoMNeTaTa₂; shā BaCDHeJK₂LNQSVYZ; shI M₂

32. ri bu] MM₂; ri'i bu Σ

33. gcig pu] BaCDFHeJK₂MM₂NQSTaTa₂VY; gcig tu Ne; om. LZ; shind tu Go

34. song] BaCFHeJK₂MM₂NQY; 'dug DGoLNeSTaTa₂VZ [Variants reflect a clear split between Tshal-pa and Them-spang-ma lines]

35. 'jog pa la / zhugs par mthong ngo] M; 'jog pa la: zhugs par mthong ngo M₂; bzhag nas bsam gtan byed par mthong ngo BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaTa₂VY; bzhag nas / gnas brtan byed par mthong ngo Z

36. nas] BaCFGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSTaTa₂VYZ; nas kyang D

37. om. rnas rtan] MM₂; rnas rtan Σ

38. ci] (cI M₂) Σ; om. ci M

39. ba] MM₂Ta₂V; pa BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaYZ

40. pa] MM₂; pa rnams BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaVYZ; rnam pa spangs pa Ta₂

41. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ [Note the antiquity for the Tibetan spelling of *bsam brtan* (Skt. *dhyāna*); see Stein 1983:176, note 53; Takeuchi 1998, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 611r5]

42. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

43. dam] DLM V; om. dam BaCFGoHeJK₂M₂NNeQSTaTa₂YZ

44. te VZ

45. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

46. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

47. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

48. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

49. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

50. ci] BaCDFGoHeJLMM₂NSTaTa₂VZ; cing K₂QY; ji Ne [Variant for early Tshal-pa line.]

51. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

52. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

53. bsam brtan] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

bya dang chos⁵⁴ la gnas ste⁵⁵ **bsam brtan**⁵⁶ byed cI btsun ba sha rI bu khyod 'dod pa'i khams la gnas te **bsam rtan**⁵⁷ byed dam/ 'on te gzugs gyI⁵⁸ khams dang gzugs myed pa'I khams la gnas te **bsam brtan**⁵⁹ byed/ /cI btsun ba sha rI bu/ khyod nang la gnas te/ **bsam brtan**⁶⁰ byed dam/ 'on te phyI rol la gnas ste **bsam brtan**⁶¹ byed⁶² ⁶³ci btsun ba sha rI bu / khyod lus la gnas ste⁶⁴ bsam brtan byed dam/ 'on te sems la gnas te bsam brtan byed/

[§3] /sha rI bus smras pa/ /'jam (M ga gsum 3a1)dpal / **ji tsam du**⁶⁵ tshe 'di la bde bar gnas shIng par **dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'i**⁶⁶ / phyir bsam brtan byed do/ (M2 IDP 17.1) 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa⁶⁷/ /btsun ba sha rI bu / **tshe**⁶⁸ 'di la bde bar gnas pa 'am/ tshe 'di ma yin ba la / bde bar gnas pa 'am/ **dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'i**⁶⁹ chos de dag **gang yang**⁷⁰ dmyIgs sam/ sha rI bus smras pa⁷¹/ / 'jam dpal bdag gis chos **gang**⁷²/ tshe 'di la bde bar gnas pa 'am/ tshe 'di ma yin ba la/ bde bar gnas pa⁷³ chos de dag yang dag par rjesu myI⁷⁴ mthong zhing / myI dmyIgs myod gyi⁷⁵/ 'on kyang 'jam dpal / /**gang**⁷⁶ de bzhin gshegs pas/ nyan (M ga gsum 3b1)thos rnams la rab tu dben ba'I⁷⁷ chos su gsungs pa **de dag** la⁷⁸ / bdag **nye bar gnas shing spyod do**⁷⁹/ /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa'/ btsun pa sha rI bu gang⁸⁰ de bzhin gshegs pas / nyan thos rnams la rab du dben ba'I chos su gsungs pa gang yIn **na**⁸¹ / btsun ba sha ri bu gang la / **nye bar gnas shIng** (M2 IDP 17.6)**spyod**⁸²/ /sha rI bus smras pa/ 'jam dpal/ 'di la/ dge slong ni/ 'das pa la **gnas shIng spyod**⁸³ / /ma 'ongs pa la **gnas shIng spyod**⁸⁴ / da ltar byung ba la **gnas**

54. **chos**] MM₂; chos rnams Σ

55. **ste**] MM₂; te Σ

56. **bsam brtan**] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

57. **bsam brtan**] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

58. kyI M₂VZ

59. **bsam brtan**] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

60. **bsam brtan**] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

61. **bsam brtan**] M; bsam gtan M₂ Σ

62. **byed**] LMM₂SZ; byed dam BaCDFGoJK₂NNeQTaVY

63. insert 'on te phyi nang la gnas te bsam gtan byed V

64. ste] BaCFGoHeJK₂MM₂NNeQSTaTa₂Y; te V Z

65. **ji tsam du**] M; cI tsam du M₂; 'di ltar Σ

66. **shIng par dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'i**] M; shIng / dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'I phyir M₂ ;

par bya ba dang / brjed pa med par gnas par bya ba'i phyir te de lta bu'i phyir Σ

67. smras pa' M₂

68. **tshe**] M M₂; chos gang dag tshe Σ

69. **dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'i**] M M₂; brjed pa med pa'i Σ

70. **gang yang**] M; om. M₂ Σ

71. smras pa' M₂

72. **gang**] M M₂; gang dag Σ

73. gnas pa'I] M₂; gnas pa'i Σ; gnas M

74. **myI (em. mi)**] CDFGoHeJK₂MM₂NNeQTa₂Y; ma LSTaVZ

75. kyI M₂ Ta₂VZ

76. **gang**] M M₂; om. Σ

77. **ba'i**] FGoMM₂NeTaTa₂V; pa'i BaCDHeJ K₂LNQSYZ

78. **de dag la**] MM₂; gang yin pa de la Σ

79. **nye bar gnas shing spyod do**] M; nye bar gnas shIng spyod do M₂; rten cing gnas so Σ

80. **gang**] BaCDFHeJLMM₂NNeQSTaTa₂VZ; om. gang K₂Y [Variant for early Tshal-pa line.]

81. **yin na**] MM₂Ta₂VZ; yin BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaY

82. **nye bar gnas shIng spyod**] MM₂; rten cing gnas Σ

83. **gnas shIng spyod**] M; gnas shIng spyod do M₂; rten cing gnas so Σ

84. **gnas shIng spyod**] M; gnas shIng spyod do M₂; rten cing gnas so Σ

shIng spyod pa nas⁸⁵ / **rgyas par sems gyI bar la gnas shing spyod par**⁸⁶ khong du chud par bya⁸⁷ ste/ / 'jam dpal chos de dag nI/ de bzhin gshegs pas nyan thos mams la / rab du dben **ba'I chos su**⁸⁸ gsungs pa yin te/ bdag chos de dag la **nye bar gnas shIng spyod do**⁸⁹/

[§4] /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ /btsun pa sha rI bu gang gi phyir 'di skad ces / 'das pa la **gnas/ shIng spyod**⁹⁰/ ma 'ongs pa la **gnas shIng spyod**⁹¹ / da ltar byung ba la **gnas shIng spyod nas / rgyas par**⁹² sems kyI bar la/ **gnas shIng spyod ces**⁹³ smra⁹⁴/ /'dI lta (M nga bzhi 4a1)ste / **btsun ba sha rI bu**⁹⁵ / gang 'das (M2 IDP 18.1)pa'I de bzhin nyid de yang yod pa ma yin/ **gang**⁹⁶ ma 'ongs pa'I de bzhin nyid de yang yod pa ma yIn/ gang da ltar byung ba'I de bzhin nyid de yang yod pa ma yIn te/ de ltar chos de dag ni yod pa ma yIn na/ /jI ltar gnas brtan sha rI bu 'di skad ces/ 'das pa la **gnas shIng spyod**⁹⁷ / ma 'ongs pa la **gnas shIng spyod**⁹⁸ / da ltar byung ba la **gnas shIng spyod**⁹⁹ ces¹⁰⁰ smra/ chos yod pa ma yIn pas¹⁰¹ / gnas pa¹⁰² yang¹⁰³ myed do/ /yang btsun ba sha rI bu / gang¹⁰⁴ 'das pa'I de bzhin nyid dang / ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar byung ba'I / de bzhin nyid ni¹⁰⁵/ ci yang ma yIn/ gang gis kyang ma yIn/ gang gI yang ma yIn¹⁰⁶/ gang la yang myI gnas te/ gang myi gnas pa de'i¹⁰⁷ gnas dmyigsu myed do/ /yang btsun ba sha rI bu/ gang 'das pa dang ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar byung ba'I de bzhin nyid (M2 IDP 18.6)brjod **du myed**¹⁰⁸ (M nga bzhi 4b1)clng kun du gnas nas/ smra ba de dag nI / de bzhin gshegs pa la **bskurd pa'o**¹⁰⁹ / de cl'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar de bzhIn gshegs pa de dag¹¹⁰ nI / g.yo ba

85. **gnas shIng spyod pa nas** | M; gnas shIng spyod pas nas M₂ ; rten cing gnas so Σ
 86. **rgyas par sems gyI bar la gnas shing spyod par** | M M₂; de bzhin du sbyar te/ sems kyI bar la rten cing gnas par Σ
 87. **bya** | MM₂K₂Ta₂VZ; bye CDFGoJLNNeQSY; byas BaHeTa [Western Kanjur reading]
 88. **ba'i chos su** | MM₂; par Σ
 89. **nye bar gnas shIng spyod do** | MM₂; rten cing gnas so Σ
 90. **gnas shIng spyod** | MM₂; rten cing gnas Σ
 91. **gnas shIng spyod** | MM₂; rten cing gnas Σ
 92. **rgyas par** | MM₂; de bzhin du sbyar te Σ
 93. **da ltar byung ba la gnas shIng spyod nas / rgyas par sems kyI bar la/ gnas shIng spyod ces** | MM₂; da ltar byung ba la rten cing rab tu dben pa la gnas pa nas de bzhin du sbyar te / sems kyI bar la rten cing rab tu dben pa la gnas zhes Σ
 94. smra' M₂
 95. **'dI lta ste / btsun ba sha rI bu** | M (v.l. sha rI'i bu) M₂; btsun pa shā ri'i bu 'di lta ste Σ (v.l. sha)Ta₂
 96. **gang** | BaCDFHeJLMM₂NSTaTa₂VZ; om. gang GoK₂NeQY
 97. **gnas shIng spyod** | MM₂; rten cing nas CDFJK₂LNNeQSTa₂VYZ; brten cing gnas BaGoHeTa [Western Kanjur reading]
 98. **gnas shIng spyod** | MM₂; rten cing nas CDFJK₂LNNeQSTa₂VYZ; brten cing gnas BaGoHeTa [Western Kanjur reading]
 99. **gnas shIng spyod** | MM₂; rten cing nas CDFJK₂LNNeQSTa₂VYZ; brten cing gnas BaGoHeTa [Western Kanjur reading]
 100. **ces** | MM₂; shes BaCFGoHeJK₂LNeQSTaTa₂VYZ; zhes DN
 101. **chos yod pa ma yIn pas** | M (v.l. yin bas) M₂; yod pa ma yin pa'i chos la ni Σ
 102. **pa** | DLMM₂NeSVZ; om. pa BaCFGoHeJK₂NQTaTa₂Y
 103. **yang** | MM₂; om. yang Σ
 104. **gang** | MM₂; om. gang Σ
 105. **ni** | M (v.l. nI) M₂; yin pa de ni Σ
 106. **gang gi yang ma yin** | BaCDGoHeJK₂LMM₂NQSTa₂VYZ ;om. gang gi yang ma yin FNeTa
 107. **gnas pa de'i** | BaCDHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSTaTa₂VYZ; gnas pa de ni F; om. gnas pa de'i Go
 108. **brjod du myed** | M; brjod BaCDFGoHeLM₂NNeSTaTa₂VZ; rjod JK₂QY
 109. **bskurd pa'o** | M (v.l. bskur) M₂; skur ba 'debs pa'o Σ
 110. **de bzhIn gshegs pa de dag** | M; de bzhIn nyid de dag M₂; de bzhin nyid Σ

myed pa / rIom sems myed pa'o¹¹¹ / 'dI ltar de bzhIn nyid ni / nyams pa myed pa'o / 'dI ltar de bzhIn nyId ni / stong pa'o / mtshan ma myed pa'o / smon pa myed pa'o / yang btsun ba sha rI bu / gang 'das pa'i de bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgs su myed / gang ma 'ongs pa'I de bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgs su myed / gang da ltar byung ba'i de bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgs su myed / pa nas **rgyas par**¹¹² sems gyI bar gyI de¹¹³ bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgsu myed **mod gyI**¹¹⁴ / 'on kyang¹¹⁵ sha ri'i bu¹¹⁶ de bzhin nyid¹¹⁷ ma gtogs par **gzhan chos gang yang mi dmyIgs pa:'am rab du bstan par myI nus so**¹¹⁸ /

[§5] /sha rI bus smras pa¹¹⁹ // (M2 IDP 19.1) 'jam dpal de bzhIn gshegs pa / de bzhIn (M ca lnga 5a1)nyid la nas¹²⁰ chos stond to¹²¹ / 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa / btsun ba sha rI bu / de bzhin nyid yod pa ma yIn na / ji ltar / de bzhin gshegs pa / de bzhIn nyId la **gnas ste**¹²² / chos stond / ¹²³chos kyang yod pa ma yIn na / jI ltar de bzhin gshegs pa / de bzhIn nyid la **gnas ste**¹²⁴ chos stond¹²⁵ / de bzhin gshegs pa yang yod pa ma yIn na / ji ltar de bzhin gshegs pa / de bzhin nyid la **gnas ste**¹²⁶ chos stond¹²⁷ / chos thams cad kyang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu med / de bzhin gshegs pa yang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed **pas**¹²⁸ / ¹²⁹'dI la dmyigs pa'am / ¹³⁰dmyigsu myed pa gnyIs gyis phye ba ma yin ba de lta bu'i **chos stond to**¹³¹ // de bzhin gshegs pa¹³² nI brjod pa'am / myI brjod pas phye¹³³ ba (M2 IDP 19.6)ma yIn no // de cI'i phyir zhe na / 'dI ltar btsun ba **sha rI dva tI'i bu**¹³⁴ / (M ca lnga 5b1)de bzhin gshegs pa nI / **smra ba**¹³⁵ yang dag par chad pa¹³⁶ /

111. **pa'o**] BaCDFGoHeJK₂MM₂NNeQTa₂Y; pa LSTaVZ

112. **rgyas par**] M M₂; de bzhin du sbyar te Σ

113. **de**] BaDGoHeK₂MM₂NeQSTa₂VYZ; CJN rang [Reading for CJN subgroup.]

114. **mod gyi**] M M₂; do Σ

115. Tabo fragment Ta₂ ends here at 37b9

116. btsun ba sha rI'i bu / M₂V

117. insert *de yang* M₂

118. **gzhan chos gang yang mi dmyIgs pa:'am rab du bstan par myI nus so**] M; gzhan chos gang yang dmyigsu myed pa 'am / bshad pa 'am / rab du bstan par / myI nus no / M₂; gang bstan pa'am / rab tu bshad par nus pa'i chos gzhan gang yang mi dmigs so Σ

119. pa' M₂

120. **nas**] M M₂; bzhugs nas Σ

121. to] M; / to / M₂; tam Σ

122. **gnas ste**] M M₂; bzhugs te Σ

123. **om. bstun pa shā ri'i bu**] M M₂; bstun pa shā ri'i bu Σ

124. **gnas ste**] M M₂; bzhugs te Σ

125. **stond**] M M₂ Ta; ston BaCDHeJK₂LNNeQSVYZ; ston to F; stond pa Go

126. **gnas ste**] M M₂; bzhugs te Σ

127. **stond**] Go M M₂ Ta; ston BaCDFHeJK₂LNNeQSVYZ

128. **pas**] M M₂; do Σ

129. /] M M₂; de'i chos bstan pa na 'di 'dra ste BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaY; de'i chos bstan pa ni 'di 'dra ste VZ

130. add 'on te M₂

131. **dmyigsu myed pa gnyIs gyis phye ba ma yin ba de lta bu'i chos stond to**] M; **dmyigsu myed pa gnyIs kyis / phye ba** {phyā} **ma yin ba de lta bu'i chos stond to** M₂; mi dmigs pa gnyis kyis rab tu phye ba med do Σ

132. **pa**] CDFGoJK₂LMM₂NNeQSTaVYZ; pa la BaHe

133. **phye**] M M₂; rab tu phye Σ

134. **'dI ltar btsun ba sha rI dva tI'i bu**] M M₂; btsun pa shā ri'i bu 'di ltar Σ

135. **smra ba**] M M₂; brjod pa Σ

136. **pa**] CDGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSTaVYZ; ba F; par Ba

btags pa myed pa/ 'dogs par¹³⁷ 'gyur ba¹³⁸ ma yIn no¹³⁹/

[§6] /sha rI bus smras pa / 'jam dpal / su 'di lta bu'i¹⁴⁰ chos bstan pa'I¹⁴¹ snod du 'gyur/ 'jam dpal gyis smras pa/ btsun ba sha rI bu / gang 'dus byas gyi¹⁴² kham 'khrug¹⁴³ par myI byed¹⁴⁴ cing¹⁴⁵ / yongsu mya ngan 'da' ba la mos pa ma yin ba de na / 'di lta bu¹⁴⁶ chos bstan pa'I¹⁴⁷ snod du 'gyuro/ gang 'das pa'I chos¹⁴⁸ myi dmyigs pa¹⁴⁹ dang¹⁵⁰ / 'das pa'I chos¹⁵¹ shes par¹⁵² myi 'gyur ba dang / gang 'das pa dang / ma 'ongs pa¹⁵³ dang / da ltar byung ba'i chos¹⁵⁴ / myi dmyigs shing / 'das pa dang / ma 'ongs pa dang / da ltar byung ba'I chos¹⁵⁵ shes par¹⁵⁶ myI 'gyur ba de ni 'di lta bu'I chos bstan pa'I¹⁵⁷ snod (M₂ IDP 20.1) du 'gyur ro/ /gang kun nas nyon mongs pa dang / rnam par byang ba chad par myI byed cIng / rnam par byang bar 'gyur (M cha drug 6a1) ba yIn ba dang / gang dag la yang ma yin la / bdag myed pa la yang myi spyod pa dang / gang 'dzIn pa myed cing / spong ba spyod par myI 'gyur ba de na / 'di lta bu' chos bstan pa'I¹⁵⁸ snod du 'gyur te / /des¹⁵⁹ ni bshad pa 'di'i don kun shes so¹⁶⁰ /

[§7] / sha rI bus / smras pa¹⁶¹ / 'jam dpal 'di la / cI zhid shes par¹⁶² 'gyur/ 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ cI¹⁶³ btsun ba sha rI bu / bshad pa 'di'i don shes na¹⁶⁴ / cI gang gI phyir dris pa'i

137. 'dogs par] M; 'dogs pa'r M₂; gdags par CDFGoJK₂LNNeQSTaVYZ; brtags par BaHe

138. 'gyur ba] M M₂; bya ba Σ

139. yIn no] BaMM₂Ne; pa'o CDFGoJK₂NQSVYZ; ba'o Ta; la L

140. 'di lta bu'i] M M₂; zhid Σ

141. pa'I] M M₂; pa 'di lta bu 'di'i CDFGoHeJK₂LNQSVYZ; pa 'di lta bu'i Ne; om. 'di lta bu Ba

142. gyI M₂; kyi V

143. 'khrug] M M₂; rnam par 'khrugs BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaVY; rnam 'khrugs Z

144. byed] M M₂; 'gyur Σ

145. cing] M M₂; zhid Σ

146. ba la mos pa ma yin ba de na / 'di lta bu] M; ba la mos pa ma yIn ba de ni / 'di lta bu'I M₂; bar 'dod par yang mi 'gyur ba de ni BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNQSY; bar 'dod par yang mi 'gyur ba de NeTaVZ

147. pa'I] M M₂; pa 'di lta bu 'di'i Σ

148. chos] M M₂; chos rnam Σ

149. pa] M M₂; om. pa Σ

150. dang] M M₂; shing Σ

151. chos] M M₂; chos rnam Σ

152. shes par] M M₂; kun shes par Σ

153. ma on pa Z; ma byon pa V

154. chos] M M₂; chos rnam Σ

155. chos] M M₂; chos rnam Σ

156. shes par] M M₂; kun shes par Σ

157. ni 'di lta bu'I chos bstan pa'I] M; ni // 'di lta bu'I chos bstan pa'I M₂; chos bstan pa 'di lta bu 'di'i Σ

158. chad par myI byed cIng / rnam par byang bar 'gyur ba yIn ba dang / gang dag la yang ma yin la / bdag myed pa la yang myi spyod pa dang / gang 'dzIn pa myed cing / spong ba spyod par myI 'gyur ba de na / 'di lta bu' chos bstan pa'I] M M₂; mi mthong zhid de nye bar len par yang mi 'gyur ba de chos bstan pa 'di lta bu 'di'i snod du 'gyur ro // gang bdag dang bdag med par yang spyod par mi 'gyur ba dang / gang len pa dang / 'dor bar yang spyod par yang mi 'gyur ba de chos bstan pa 'di lta bu 'di'i Σ

159. des] M; de's M₂; de Σ

160. kun shes so] M M₂; kun shes par 'gyur ro Σ

161. pa] BaDFGoHeK₂LMM₂NeQSTaVYZ; pa de CJN [Reading for CJN subgroup.]

162. shes par] M M₂; kun shes par Σ

163. ci] M M₂; om. ci Σ

164. shes na] M; myi shes na M₂; shes par 'gyur ba ci zhid yod na BaCDFGoJLNNeQSTaVZ; om. shes par 'gyur ba ci zhid yod na K₂Y

don 'dI yong shes par 'gyur 'am¹⁶⁵ // sha rI bus smras pa 'jam dpal 'di na zab mo bstan pa¹⁶⁶ / mngon sum du 'gyur ba **nyung ngo**¹⁶⁷ // '**di na**¹⁶⁸ yongsu 'dzin par 'gyur ba nyung ngo // 'jam dpal dgra bcom ba dang / slob pa **rnams**¹⁶⁹ **dang kyang**¹⁷⁰ **phyogs**¹⁷¹ 'dI la¹⁷² **rab du nyung na**¹⁷³ / byIs ba so so'i (M₂ IDP 20.6) skye bo¹⁷⁴ lta ci¹⁷⁵ smos // 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ btsun pa sha rI bu / 'dI ni dgra (M cha drug 6b1) **bcom ba'I sa ma yIn no**¹⁷⁶ / de ci'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI lta dgra bcom ba yang myed na / sa gang la dgra bcom ba gnas par 'gyur/ gnas myed pas phye ba ni dgra bcom ba'o / /dmyIgsu myed pas phye ba nI dgra bcom ba'o¹⁷⁷ / / brjod pa dang myI brjod pa shIn tu chad pas phye ba nI dgra bcom ba'o¹⁷⁸ / de cl'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI lta brjod pa dang / myI brjod pa / yang dag par chad pa nI dgra bcom ba ste¹⁷⁹ / btags pa myed pa'o / dgra bcom ba nI **sa'I dngos po myed pa**¹⁸⁰ / 'dus ma byas pas¹⁸¹ **phye ba'o**¹⁸² / ¹⁸³'dus ma byas pa gnas myed pa nI / dgra bcom ba na / de jI lta bur dgra bcom ba'I sar 'gyur¹⁸⁴ / / dgra bcom pa¹⁸⁵ nI mying dang gzugs gyIs¹⁸⁶ **phye**¹⁸⁷ ba ma yIn no // byIs ba so so'i skye bo¹⁸⁸ ni¹⁸⁹ (M₂ IDP 21.1) mying dang gzugs myed pa¹⁹⁰ la rnam par rtog¹⁹¹ go/ myIng dang gzugs la¹⁹² **rnam par myI rtog pa'I ye shes nI**¹⁹³ / **dgra** (M ja bdun 7a1) **bcom ba ste**¹⁹⁴ / de'i

-
165. **cl gang gl phyir (/) dris pa'i don** (dris pa 'dI'don) '**di yong shes par 'gyur 'am** (ram)] M M₂; 'di la ci zhid kun shes par 'gyur zhes de skad 'dri Σ
166. '**di na zab mo bstan pa**] M M₂; chos zab mo bstan pa 'di Σ
167. **nyung ngo**] M M₂; nyung Σ
168. '**di na**] HeMM₂Ta; 'di ni BaCDFJK₂LNQSVYZ; 'dir Go; 'di la Ne
169. **rnams**] M M₂; om. rnams Σ
170. **dang kyang**] M; kyang M₂; mi slob pa rnams kyang Σ
171. **phyogs**] CGoJK₂MQY; sa phyogs BaDFHeLM₂NNeSTaVZ
172. **la**] BaCDFHeJK₂LM₂NNeQSTaYZ; las M; nas Go
173. **rab du nyu na**] M; rab tu nyams na M₂; sgyid lug par 'gyur na Σ
174. **bo**] M M₂; bo rnams Σ
175. **ci**] M₂ Σ; jI M
176. '**dI ni dgra bcom ba'I sa ma yIn no**] M M₂; dgra bcom pa rnams la ni sa med do Σ
177. **gnas myed pas phye ba ni dgra bcom ba'o / /dmyIgsu myed pas phye ba nI dgra bcom ba'o**] M M₂; dgra bcom pa dag ni gnas med pas rab tu phye ba'o CDGoJK₂LNNeQSTaVYZ; dgra bcom pa dag ni gnas med par rab tu phye ba'o BaHe; dgra bcom pa dag ni gnas rab tu phye ba'o F
178. **brjod pa dang myI brjod pa shIn tu chad pas phye ba nI dgra bcom ba'o**] M M₂; dgra bcom pa dag ni brjod pa dang / mi brjod pa shin tu chad pas rab tu phye ba'o Σ
179. **brjod pa dang / myI brjod pa / yang dag par chad pa nI dgra bcom ba ste**] M M₂; dgra bcom bdag ni brjod pa dang / mi brjod pa yang dag par chad pa ste Σ
180. **nI sa'I dngos po myed pa**] M M₂; dag ni sar dbye ba dang bral ba BaCFGGoHeJK₂NQTaY; dag ni sar dbye ba dag dang bral ba DLSVZ
181. **pas**] M M₂; kyis BaCDGoHeJK₂LNNeQSVYZ; kyis FTa
182. **phye ba'o**] M M₂; rab tu phye ba'o Σ
183. **om. 'jug pa med pa**] M M₂; 'jug pa med pa BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaVY; 'jig pa med pa Z
184. **dus ('dus) ma byas pa gnas myed pa nI / dgra bcom ba na / de jI (ci) lta bur dgra bcom ba'I sar 'gyur** ('gyur'd)] M M₂; 'dus ma byas kyis rab tu phye ba ste/ dgra bcom pa dag ni 'dus ma byas pa gnas pa med pa yin na ci zhid dgra bcom pa dag gi sar 'gyur Σ
185. **pa**] M M₂; pa dag Σ
186. kyis M₂V
187. **phye**] M M₂; rab tu phye Σ
188. **bo**] M M₂; bo rnams Σ
189. **ni**] BaCDFGoHeJK₂LM₂NNeQSTaVYZ; na M
190. **myed pa**] M M₂; om. myed pa Σ
191. **rtog**] CDFHeJLMM₂NNeSTaQVZ; om. rtog K₂Y; myi rtog Go
192. **la**] M M₂; de yang Σ
193. **rnam par myI rtog pa'I ye shes nI**] M (v.l. ye shes de ni) M₂; rtog pa med cing rnam par rtog pa med par Σ
194. **dgra bcom ba ste**] M M₂; dgra bcom pa rnams kyis shes te Σ

phyir **mying dang** / **gzugs gyIs** / **phye ba ma yIn no**¹⁹⁵ / /byis ba **yang**¹⁹⁶ myI dmyIgs / byIs ba'i chos dang¹⁹⁷ / dgra bcom **ba'I chos kyang myI dmyIgs so**¹⁹⁸ / nam myI dmyigs de na¹⁹⁹ / **myI rtog myI spyod do**²⁰⁰ / /de spyod pa myed spros pa myed²⁰¹ nye bar zhI ste/ /yod do zhes khas myI lend / myed do zhes khas myI len / **yod pa dang myed pa**²⁰² zhes khas myI len/ yod pa yang ma yIn myed pa yang ma yIn **zhes**²⁰³ khas myi lend to/ /²⁰⁴nam khas myi len pa de na / dmyIgs pa myed do/ /de dmyIgs pa thams cad dang bral bas / sems myed cIng sems dang bral / / **bar gnas pa nI**²⁰⁵ / gnas myed pa'I tshul gis²⁰⁶ / dge sbyong²⁰⁷ gI chos **shes bya'o**²⁰⁸ /

[§8] /de nas 'jam dpal gzhonur (M2 IDP 21.6)gyur pas / bstan pa 'dI bshad pa na / 'khor de'i dge slong lnga brgya po stan las langs nas / 'di (M ja bdun 7b1)skad ces / 'jam dpal gzho²⁰⁹ nur gyurd pa la²¹⁰ myi blta'o/ /'jam dpal gzho²¹¹ nur gyurd pa la²¹² myi mnyan²¹³ to/ /'jam dpal gzho²¹⁴ nur gyurd pa phyogs **gag**²¹⁵ na gnas pa'I phyogs de yang spang bar bya'o/ /de cl'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar 'jam dpal gzho²¹⁶ nur gyurd pa nI / ston pa mngon sum du **bzhugs**²¹⁷ bzhIn du /**gang**²¹⁸ kun nas nyon mongs pa dang / mnam par byang **ba'I**²¹⁹ mtshan nyId gcig **du**²²⁰ ston pas / chos ma yIn ba ston pa'o²²¹ zhes **smras**²²² nas / de dag yang 'dI snyam du sems te/ **ji ltar bdag cag legs: par gshad pa'I chos gyI**²²³ 'dul ba la tshangs par spyod pa spyad snyam

195. **mying dang / gzugs gyIs / phye ba ma yIn no** | M M₂; dgra bcom pa dag ni ming dang gzugs kyis rab tu phye ba ma yin no Σ

196. **yang** | M M₂; rnam kyang Σ

197. *byis ba'I* [?] *chos dang / dgra bcom pa dang* / M₂ V

198. **ba'I chos kyang myI dmyIgs so** | M M₂; dgra bcom pa'i chos rnam kyang mi dmigs so Σ

199. **dmigs de na** | M (*dmyigs*) M₂TaQY; dmigs de BaCFGoHeJK₂LNNNeSZ; dmigs pa de ni V; dmigs de'i tshena D

200. **myI rtog myI spyod do** | M M₂; mi rtog go/ /kun tu mi spyod do Σ

201. **myed** | M M₂; med cing Σ

202. **yod pa dang myed pa** | M M₂; yod kyang yod la med kyang med do Σ

203. **zhes** | M M₂; zhes de skad kyang Σ

204. insert *nam khas mi len to* V

205. **bar gnas pa nI** | M M₂; te BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNNeQSTaYZ; ste V

206. **gyIs** M₂ V

207. **dge sbyong** | BaCDFHeJK₂MM₂NNNeQY; dge slong LSTaVZ; dge' sbyod Go [See Karashima 2007:301, note 1705 for the equivalence of *śrāmanya-* for *dge sbyong* and the frequent wrong reading of *dge slong*.]

208. **shes bya'o** | M M₂; la gnas pa zhes bya'o Σ

209. **gzho** | M M₂; gzhon Σ

210. **la** | DFMM₂; om. la BaCGoHeJK₂LNNNeQSTaVYZ

211. **gzho** | M M₂; gzhon Σ

212. **la** | DFMM₂Ne; om. la BaCGoHeJK₂LNQSTaVYZ

213. **mnyan** | BaCGoHeJK₂L M₂NQSTaYZ; nyand M

214. **gzho** | M M₂; gzhon Σ

215. **gag** | M M₂; gang Σ [For the Old Tibetan *gag* for *gang* see Thomas *et al* 1940:492]

216. **gzho** | M M₂; gzhon Σ

217. **bzhugs** | M M₂; gyur Σ

218. **gang** | M M₂; om. Σ

219. **ba'I** | M (*ba'i*) M₂; ba Σ

220. **du** | M M₂; tu Σ

221. **ston pa'o** | M M₂; smra'o DLSVZ; smra ba'o BaCFGoHeJK₂NNNeQY; om. Ta [Them-spang-ma group variant.]

222. **smras** | M M₂; brjod Σ

223. **ji ltar bdag cag legs: par gshad pa'I chos gyI** | M (*v.l. ci*) M₂; ji ltar bcom ldan 'das kyis legs par gsungs pa'i chos Σ

nas²²⁴ dong ngo /

[§9] /de nas gnas brtan sha rI'I bus / 'jam dpal gzho²²⁵ nur gyurd pa la 'dI skad ces (M2 IDP 22.1) smraso // 'jam dpal khyod **cl tsam du**²²⁶ / **sems can**²²⁷ gyIs²²⁸ **shes par myI 'gyur ba'i chos** (M nya brgyad 8a1) **stond tam**²²⁹ / 'jam dpal gyis smras pa²³⁰/ btsun ba sha rI bu de bzhin no/ /sha ri'i bus smras pa/ dge slong lnga brgya po '**di dag**²³¹ stan las langs nas²³² 'phyas smod myi snyan par zer zhing dong ngo / /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa²³³/ btsun pa sha rI bu / gang gi phyir/ dge slong lnga brgya po de dag 'dI skad ces/ 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa la²³⁴ / myI blta'o / 'jam (M3 IDP 1b1)²³⁵ dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa la²³⁶ myI mnyand to/ / 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa/ **phyogs gang na gnas pa'I phyogs**²³⁷ de yang spang bar bya'o zhes zer ba nI²³⁸ / legso legso /sha ri'i bu²³⁹ dge slong de dag gI tshig de ni legs par smras pa'o/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ /'dI ltar/ 'jam dpal gzhon²⁴⁰ nur gyurd pa²⁴¹ nI²⁴² yod pa ma yIn te/ dmyIgsu myed do/ /gang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed pa de la / blta ba dang mnyan par myI nus so/ / (M nya brgyad 8b1) 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa / phyogs gang na gnas (M2 IDP 22.6)pa'I phyogs de yang spang bar bya'o/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa yod pa ma yin te²⁴³ / dmyIgsu myed pas / gang de'i gnas kyang yod pa ma²⁴⁴ yIn te / dmyIgsu myed do/ /**gang gI phyir**²⁴⁵ (M3 IDP 1.1)²⁴⁶ yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed pa de **la**²⁴⁷ / bsnyen²⁴⁸ par **myI bya'o**²⁴⁹/

[§10] /de nas dge slong lnga brgya po de dag / 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pas bstan pa 'dI thos

224. **spyod pa spyad snyam nas**] M₂ Σ; spyad snyam nas M

225. **gzho**] M M₂; gzhon Σ

226. **cl tsam du**] M (v.l. *ci*) M₂; 'di ltar Σ

227. **sems can**] M M₂; sems can rnam Σ

228. **gyIs**] M M₂; kyis BaCDFHeJK₂NQSTaY; kyI GoLNeZ

229. **shes par myI 'gyur ba'i chos stond tam**] M (v.l. *ston*) M₂; chos kun shes par 'gyur bar bya ba'i phyir chos mi ston tam BaDFGoHeK₂LNeQSTaYZ; chos kun shes par gyur par bya ba'i phyir chos mi ston tam CJN [CJN subgroup]

230. smras pa' M₂

231. '**di dag**] M M₂; de dag Σ

232. **nas**] BaCFGoHeJK₂MM₂NQY; te DLNeSTaVZ

233. pa' M₂

234. **la**] DMM₂Ne; om. la BaCFGoHeJK₂LNQSTaVYZ

235. M₃ IOL Tib J 277 fragment begins at this point with image 1b first.

236. **la**] DLMM₂M₃NeSVZ; om. la BaCFGoHeJK₂NQSTaY

237. **phyogs gang na gnas pa'I phyogs**] M M₂; gang na gnas pa'i phyogs BaCFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaYVZ; gang na gnas pa'i sa phyogs D; missing M₃

238. zer ba de dag ni M₂; missing M₃

239. btsun ba sha ri'i bu M₃

240. gzho M₂ M₃

241. gyur pa M₃

242. ni M₂ M₃

243. gyur pa yod pa ma yIn te M₃; M₃ IOL Tib J 277 image 1b ends at this point.

244. **ma**] BaCDFGoHeJLMM₂NNeS'TaVZ: om. ma K₂QY [Early Tshal-pa group reading.]

245. **gang gI phyir**] M M₂; gang Σ

246. M₃ IOL Tib J 277 fragment 1a begins at this point.

247. **la**] M M₂ M₃; ni Σ

248. **bsnyen**] BaCFHeK₂MM₂NeQY; bsten DJLNV; snyend GoTa; bstan SZ; missing M₃

249. **myI bya'o**] M M₂; bya ba ma yin no Σ; missing M₃

pa dang / **slar log ste** / **phyog nas**²⁵⁰ 'jam dpal gzho²⁵¹ nur gyurd pa la 'di skad ces smras so/
 /'jam dpal bdag cag ni / ji ltar / khyod kyis bstan pa 'di²⁵² myi shes so /'jam dpal gyIs smras
 pa/ dge slong dag legs so legs so /de lta bu nI ston pa'i **dge slong zhes bya ba ste**²⁵³/ dge
 slong dag / 'di²⁵⁴ la ni kun shes par bya ba **ma yIn**²⁵⁵ (M ta rgyu 9a1) rnam par shes par bya ba **ma
 yIn no**²⁵⁶ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'di ltar **gnas myed pa'I tshul gyis /'di lta bu'i chos gyi
 dbyings nyId**²⁵⁷ la gnas so²⁵⁸ // **gang**²⁵⁹ chos gyI dbyings pa²⁶⁰ de dbyIngs ma yIn no/ de²⁶¹
 yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed pas /²⁶² (M2 IDP 23.1) **myI g.yo zhing nyams pa myed pa de
 ni**²⁶³ / kun shes par bya ba ma yIn / rnam par shes par bya ba ma yIn **te**²⁶⁴ / **rlom sems myed
 pa'o/ rlom sems myed pa de**²⁶⁵ ni ston pa'I nyan thos shes²⁶⁶ bya / mchog thob pa zhes bya/
 gtso bo zhes bya/ (M4 IDP 1.1)²⁶⁷ sbyIn gnas shes²⁶⁸ bya²⁶⁹ /bstan pa 'di bshad pa na / dge slong
 lnga brgya po²⁷⁰ las/ dge slong bzhI brgya ni / len pa myed cIn²⁷¹ / zag pa²⁷² las sems rnam
 par grol lo/ /dge slong brgya²⁷³ ni sems cher 'khrugs nas / lus de nyid dang / 'o ded 'bod pa'i
sems can dmyal ba chen por²⁷⁴ (M ta rgyu 9b1) lhung ngo /²⁷⁵

[§11] de nas tshe dang ldan ba sha rI bus²⁷⁶ / 'jam dpal gzho²⁷⁷ nur gyurd pa la 'di skad ces
 smras so /'jam dpal khyod sems can rjesu srung²⁷⁸ ba'I chos myI ston pas dge slong brgya po

250. **slar log ste / phyogs nas** M; slar log ste phyogs nas / M₂ M₃; der log DLNeSY; te logs CFJN; te log BaHeK₂QTa; om. Go; slar phyogs der logs nas VZ

251. **gzho** M M₂; gzhon Σ; missing M₃

252. **'di** M ('dI) M₂; om. 'di M₃; de ltar Σ

253. **dge slong zhes bya ba ste** M; dge sbyong gis bya ste / M₂; sbyon gyis byas te M₃; nyan thos rnam kyis bya ba ste DGoK₂NeQY; nyan thos rnam kyis bya ba ste BaCFHeJLNSTaVZ

254. **dge long dag /'di la** M Σ; dge slong 'di dag M₂; dge slong dag 'di ni M₃

255. **ma yIn** M M₂; med Σ; missing M₃

256. **ma yIn no** M M₂; med do Σ; missing M₃

257. **gnas myed pa'I tshul gyis /'di lta bu'i chos gyi dbyings nyId** M; gnas myed pa'I tshul gyis /'di lta bu'i / chos gyi dbyings M₂; chos kyis dbyings 'di ni gnas med pa'i tshul gyis gnas pa nyid do Σ

258. kyis 'di lta bu' chos kyis dbyings nyid la gnas so M₃; M₃ IOL Tib J 277 image 1a ends at this point.

259. **gang** M; om. gang Σ; M₂ is illegible here

260. **pa** M M₂; yin pa Σ

261. **de** M M₂; de ni Σ

262. **pas** M M₂; cing Σ

263. **myI g.yo zhing nyams pa myed pa de ni** M M₂; g.yo ba med la 'chi 'pho med do/ /gang g.yo ba med cing 'chi 'pho med pa de BaDGoHeLNeSVZ; g.yo ba med cing 'chi 'pho med do/ /gang g.yo ba med cing 'chi 'pho med pa de CJK₂NQY; g.yo ba med 'chi 'pho med do/ /gang g.yo ba med cing 'chi 'pho med pa de F

264. **te** M M₂; no Σ

265. **rlom sems myed pa'o/ rlom sems myed pa de** M; rloms sems myed pa de ni / M₂; gang kun shes par bya ba dang / rnam par shes par bya ba'i rlom sems med pa de Σ

266. **shes** BaCGoHeJK₂MM₂NeQTaY; zhes DFLNSVZ

267. M₄ IOL Tib J 278 image 1a begins at this point.

268. **shes** BaCGoHeJK₂MM₂M₄QTaY; zhes DFLNNeSVZ

269. bya' M₂

270. **po** M M₂ M₄; po de dag Σ

271. **cIn** M M₂ M₄; par Σ

272. **pa** M M₂ M₄; pa rnam Σ

273. brgya' M₂

274. **'o ded 'bod pa'i sems can dmyal ba chen por** M; 'o dod 'bod pa'i sems can dmyal ba chen por M₂; sems can dmyal ba chen po ngu 'bod du Σ

275. om. cher 'khrugs nas / lus de nyis dang / 'od ded 'bod pa'i sems can dmyal ba chen por lhung ngo / M₄

276. sha rI'i bus M₂; sha ra dwa tI'i bus M₄

277. **gzho** M M₂; gzhon M₄ Σ

278. **srung** M M₂ M₄ V; bsrung BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNeQSTaYZ

de dag ni **'khyimso**²⁷⁹ // de nas bcom ldan 'das gyIs / gnas brtan sha rI bu²⁸⁰ la 'di skad ces
 (M5 IDP 1.1.)²⁸¹ bka' stsal²⁸² to / sha rI bu²⁸³ khyod de skad ma zer (M4 IDP 1b1) cig / / de ji'i phyir²⁸⁴ zhe
 na/ sha rI bu²⁸⁵ dge slong brgya po de dag / **'o ded 'bod pa'I sems can dmyal ba chen por**²⁸⁶
 reg (M2 IDP 23.6) pa thang cIg reg nas / dga' ldan gyI lha rnams²⁸⁷ dang skal ba mnyam bar²⁸⁸
 skye'o²⁸⁹ / sha rI bu²⁹⁰ gal te²⁹¹ dge slong de dag chos gyI rnams grangs²⁹² 'dI ma thosu²⁹³ zin
 na / de dag gdon myi za bar / sems can dmyal bar 'gro bar 'gyur ro²⁹⁴ / las de zad nas myir
 skye ba 'thob ste²⁹⁵ / ²⁹⁶ chos gyI²⁹⁷ rnam grangs²⁹⁸ (M tha bchu 10a1) 'dI la brten pas / bskal par sems
 can dmyal ba myong bar 'gyur ba'I las de yang cung²⁹⁹ zad³⁰⁰ cig myong bar 'gyur ro³⁰¹ / sha
 rI bu³⁰² de'i phyir dge slong brgya³⁰³ po de dag / **byams pa de bzhIn gshegs pa'i**³⁰⁴ nyan
 thos³⁰⁵ thog mar³⁰⁶ / 'dus par **zag pa zad nas / dgra bcom bar 'gyur ro**³⁰⁷ / ³⁰⁸ sha rI bu³⁰⁹ de
 bas na³¹⁰ / chos kyi³¹¹ rnam grangs³¹² 'dI **the tshom**³¹³ dang bcas par thos pa³¹⁴ nI dam pa yin

279. **'khyimso**] M; khyams so M₂ M₄; chud zos te ngo mtshar byas so CDJK₂NQY; chud zos te mtshar byas so BaFGoHeLNeSTaVZ [Note Hartmann (1996:77) for *'khyims pa* as translation for *parivešin*]

280. sha rI' i bu M₂ M₄

281. M₅ Pelliot Tibétain 714 folio 1a begins at this point.

282. stsal to M₂ M₄ M₅

283. sha rI bu] M M₅; sha rI' i bu M₂

284. ji' i phyir M; ci' i phyir M₂ M₄

285. sha rI bu] M M₅; sha rI' i bu M₂ M₄

286. **'o ded 'bod pa'I sems can dmyal ba chen por**] M; 'o dod pa' i sems can dmyal ba chen por M₂ M₄; 'o dod 'bod pa' I sems can dmyal ba chen por M₅; sems can dmyal ba chen po ngu 'bod du BaCDFHeJNqY; sems can dmyal ba chen po ngu 'bod der LSTaVZ; sems can dmyal ba chen po 'du 'pod du Go; sems can dmyal ba chen po du 'dbang du K₂

287. dga' ldan lha' i rnams M₄

288. **bar**] M M₂ M₄ M₅; par Σ

289. **skye'o**] M M₂ M₄ M₅; skye bar 'gyur ro Σ

290. sha rI' i bu M₂ M₄

291. gal te sha ri bu M₅

292. chos kyi gzhung M₅

293. thos su M₂ M₄ M₅

294. **ro**] M M₂ M₄ M₅; te Σ

295. **ba' thob ste**] M; ba thob ste M₂ M₄ M₅; bar 'gyur ba zhig na Σ

296. **om. de dag gis**] M M₂ M₄ M₅; insert de dag gis Σ

297. kyI M₄

298. **grangs**] BaCDFGoHeJLMM₂M₄NNeQSTaVZ; grangs la K₂Y; chos kyi gzhung M₅

299. M₄ IOL Tib J 278 ends at this point.

300. chung zad M₅

301. **'gyur ro**] M M₂ M₅; byas so Σ

302. sha rI' i bu M₂; om. sha rI bu M₅

303. brga' M₅ [Note archaic spelling of *brgya*]

304. **byams pa de bzhIn gshegs pa'i**] M M₂ M₅; de bzhin gshegs pa byams pa' i Σ

305. nyan tos M₅

306. **mar**] M M₂ M₅; ma Σ

307. **zag pa zad nas / dgra bcom bar 'gyur ro**] M M₂ M₅; dgra bcom pa zag pa zad par 'gyur ro Σ

308. Compare following with commentary fragment from Tabo (Otokawa 1999, p. 130): *sha ri' i bu de lta bas na / chos kyi rnam grangs 'di the tsom dang bcas pas thos pa ni dam pa yin gyi / 'jig rten gyi bsam gtan brgyad dang / tshad nyed pa bzhi bsgoms pas ni de lta ma yin no // de ji' i phyir zhe na / chos 'di lta bu ma thos par ni / 'khor ba' i skye rga na 'chi las myi 'grol lo /*

309. sha rI' i bu M₂

310. **de bas na**] CJK₂MM₂NQY; de lta bas na BaDFGoHeLNeSTaVZ; de bas na sha ri bu M₅

311. gyi M₂

312. chos gyi gzhung M₅

313. **the tsom**] M M₂ M₅; som nyi Σ

314. **pa**] DGoLMNeSTaVZ; na BaCFHeJK₂NQY; thogs pa ni M₂; bcas pas // thos ba M₅

gyi³¹⁵ / bsam brtan bzhi³¹⁶ la snyoms par zhugs pas³¹⁷ nI de lta ma yIn³¹⁸/ tshad myed pa bzhis
ni de lta ma yIn³¹⁹/ gzugs myed pa'I snyoms par 'jug pa bzhi sgoms³²⁰ pas nI / de lta ma yin
no/³²¹ /de ci'i³²² phyir zhe na/ chos³²³ 'di lta bu³²⁴ ma thos par³²⁵ (M₂ IDP 24.1) / 'khor ba las
yongsu³²⁶ myI³²⁷ grol³²⁸/ skye ba dang rga ba dang na ba dang 'chI ba dang / mya ngan dang
smre sngags 'don pa dang / sdug bsngal ba dang / **yI mugs pa**³²⁹ dang / 'khrugs³³⁰ pa las
yongsu (M tha behu 10b1) myI³³¹ grol³³² zhes bshad do/

[§12] /de nas tshe dang ldan pa sha rI bus³³³ 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la 'dI skad ces
smras so/ 'jam dpal **jI tsam du**³³⁴ sems can yongsu smyIn par bya ba'I phyir / khyod kyis /
chos kyi rnam grangs 'dI legs par bshad pa **nI**³³⁵/ ngo mtshar to/ 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa³³⁶
btsun pa sha rI bu³³⁷ / ³³⁸de bzhin nyid ni / 'bri ba ma yIn 'phel ba ma yIn no³³⁹ / chos kyi³⁴⁰
dbyings kyang 'bri ba ma yin 'phel ba yang ma yin no // sems can gyI khams kyang 'brI ba
ma yin³⁴¹ 'phel ba ma yIn no³⁴² / kun³⁴³ nas nyon mongs pa ma yIn/ rnam par byang ba ma yIn
no/ /de ci'i phyir zhe na/ jI³⁴⁴ ltar **myIng yang**³⁴⁵ yod pa ma yin³⁴⁶ zhing dmyIgsu med de //

315. **gyi]** DGoHeK₂LMM₂M₅NeQSTaVYZ; gyis BaCFJN

316. bzhi M₂

317. snyoms par 'jug M₅

318. yin M₂

319. yin M₂

320. bsgom M₂ [M₂ has *tha* written above line at this point]

321. om. nI de lta ma yIn/ tshad myed pa bzhis ni de lta ma yIn/ gzugs myed pa'I snyoms par 'jug pa bzhi sgoms
pas nI M₅

322. ji'i M₅

323. **chos]** BaCFGHeJK₂MM₂M₅NeQTaY; chos kyi rnam grangs DLNSVZ

324. **'di lta bu de]** DLMM₂M₅SVZ; 'di lta bu BaCFGHeJK₂NQTaY; 'di lta bu 'di Ne

325. ma thos pas M₅

326. M₅ Pelliot Tibétain 714 fragment ends here.

327. **mi]** M M₂; ma Σ

328. 'grol M₂

329. **yI mugs pa]** M M₂; yid mi bde ba Σ [Note that *yi mugs pa* does not occur in *Mvy* while *yid mi bde ba*
occurs in *Mvy* §1481, §2071, §2257.]

330. **'khrugs]** BaCDFHeJLMNeSVZ; 'khrug GoK₂ M₂NQTaY

331. **myI]** M M₂; ma Σ

332. yongsu yongsu myi 'grol lo M₂

333. sha ri'i bus M₂

334. **jI tsam du]** M; khyod ci tsam du / M₂; 'di ltar Σ

335. **nI]** M M₂; om. ni Σ

336. 'jam dpal gyis smras pa' // M₂

337. btsun ba sha rI'i bu M₂

338. Compare following with commentary fragment from Tabo (Otokawa 1999, p. 147): *de bzhin nyid 'bri ba
ma yin 'phel ba ma yin no // sems can gyi khams kyang 'bri ba ma yin 'phel ba ma yin no' // kun nas nyon
mongs pa ma yin / rnam par byang ba ma yin no //*

339. **no]** DLMM₂NeSVZ; om. no BaCFGHeJK₂NQTaY

340. gyi M₂

341. yIn M₂

342. **no]** DLMNeSVZ; om. no BaCFHeJK₂NQY; ma yin' M₂

343. skun M₂

344. **ji]** M M₂; 'di Σ

345. **myIng yang]** M M₂; de dag ni Σ

346. ma yIn M₂

tha snyad tsam du zad pas cI yang ma yIn/ gang gis kyang ma yIn³⁴⁷/ gang gl yang ma yIn³⁴⁸/
gang la yang (M₂ IDP 24.6)myI gnas te / gnas pa myed (M da bchu gchig 11a1)do/ /btsun pa sha rI bu³⁴⁹ **bas**
na³⁵⁰ / gang 'dI lta bu'i myI 'gag pa de ni byang chub po³⁵¹ / **gang byang chub pa**³⁵² de nI³⁵³
thar pa'o/ / **gang thar pa**³⁵⁴ de nI³⁵⁵ rnam par myI rtog go³⁵⁶ / / gang rnam par myI rtog de nI/
myI **byed pa'o** / / **myi byed pa de na yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa'o**³⁵⁷/

[§13] /de nas bcom ldan 'das gyIs³⁵⁸ / gnas brtan sha rI bu³⁵⁹ la 'dI skad ces bka' stsal to³⁶⁰/
/sha rI bu³⁶¹ ji ltar³⁶² / **'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pas**³⁶³ bstan pa de bzhIn te/ de bzhIn nyid ni
/ 'bri ba ma yIn 'phel ba ma yIn no/ /chos kyi dbyings kyang 'bri ba ma yIn/ 'phel ba ma yIn
no/ /sems can gyI³⁶⁴ khams kyang 'bri ba ma yin/ 'phel ba ma **yIn**³⁶⁵ / /kun nas nyon mongs
pa ma yIn/ rnam par byang ba ma yIn no/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ **ji**³⁶⁶ ltar **myIng de yang**³⁶⁷
yod pa **ma**³⁶⁸ yIn zhing / dmyIgsu (M da bchu gchig 11b1)med de / tha snyad tsam du zad pas / cI yang
ma yin/ gang gis kyang ma yIn/ gang **la yang**³⁶⁹ myI gnas **ste**³⁷⁰ gnas pa³⁷¹ myed do/

[§14] /de nas bcom ldan 'das gyIs / ³⁷²**de'i tshe** tshIgsu bcad pa 'dI dag **gsung so**³⁷³/

(M₂ IDP 25.1)[1] /'das pa dag dang ma 'ongs dang /
/da ltar byung chos brjod pa nI³⁷⁴ /

347. **kyang ma yin**] BaDFGoHeK₂LMM₂NNeQSVYZ; om. kyang ma yin Cj

348. **gang gi yang ma yin**] CD(v.l. F)GoHeJK₂MM₂NeQTaY; om. LNSVZ

349. sha rI'i bu M₂

350. **bas na**] M M₂; om. bas na Σ

351. byang cub bo M₂

352. **gang byang chub pa**] M; gang byang cub pa M₂; byang chub gang yin pa Σ

353. ni M₂

354. **gang thar pa**] M M₂; thar pa gang yin pa Σ

355. **ni**] BaCDFGoHeJK₂MM₂NNeQTaY; om. LSVZ

356. **go**] GoLMM₂NeSTaVZ; pa'o BaCDFHeJK₂NQY

357. **byed pa'o** / / **myi byed pa de na yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa'o**] M M₂; cing 'gyur ba med do/ /gang mi
byed cing 'gyur ba med pa de ni yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa'o Σ

358. kyi M₂ Z

359. sha rI'i bu M₂

360. stsal to M₂

361. sha ra dva tI bu M₂

362. cI ltar M₂

363. **'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pas**] M M₂; 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pas ji skad Σ

364. *kyi* M₂

365. **yIn**] BaChEJK₂MM₂NNeQY; yin no DFGoLSTaVZ

366. **ji**] M M₂; 'di BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaVYZ

367. **myIng de yang**] M M₂; de dag Σ

368. **ma**] BaCDFGoHeJLMM₂NNeQSTaVZ; dam K₂Y

369. **la yang**] BaFGoLMM₂NeSVZ; la'ang CDHeJK₂NQTaY

370. **ste**] M M₂; te Σ

371. **gnas pa**] M₂ Σ; gnas M

372. **de'i tshe**] M₂V; om. BaCDFGoHeJK₂LMNNeQSTaYZ [Reading restored based on stock phrase *atha kalu bhagavān tasyāṃ velāyaṃ īmaṃ gāthā abhāṣata = de nas bcom ldan 'das kyi de'i tshe tshigs su bka' tsal to*, see Regamey 1938 [1990 reprint]:57.]

373. **gsung so**] M M₂; bka' tsal to Σ

374. **da ltar byung chos brjod pa ni**] BaCDFGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSTaY; da ltar byung ba'i chos brjod pas /
VZ

/don gyIs³⁷⁵ ma yIn tha snyad tsam/
/gcIg dang sna tshogs³⁷⁶ mtshan nyId myIn/

[2] /mtshan nyId myed par gang rtog pa/
/de dag nyId ni mtshan nyId 'gyur/
/mtshan nyId myed la rtog pa myed/
/rtog pa nyid kyang mtshan nyId myin³⁷⁷/

[3] ³⁷⁸/'**dus byas la**³⁷⁹ nI gang rtog dang³⁸⁰ /
/mya ngan 'das la gang rtog pa³⁸¹/
/gnyI **ga**³⁸² bdud yI³⁸³ las yIn zhes/
/de ni mkhas pas³⁸⁴ **rab du**³⁸⁵ bshad/

[4] /phung po skye mched khams gyl³⁸⁶ rnams/
(M na bchu gnyis 12a1) /de dag myIng gis brjod pa ste/
/myI skye **ba dang myIng dag kyang**³⁸⁷ /
/de dag nyId ni mtshan nyid **gcIg**³⁸⁸ /

[5] /tshul bzhIn la nI **gang rnams rtog**³⁸⁹ / /
de nyId tshul bzhIn ma yIn no/
/mkhas pa cung zad myI rtog ste/
/stong pa jI bzhin spyod yul 'o³⁹⁰/

[6] /gang **zhig**³⁹¹ rtog pa de dag g.yo³⁹²//
rtog pa myed pa g.yo ba myed³⁹³ / ³⁹⁴

375. gyi Z

376. sna 'tshogs M₂

377. myin M; 'gyurd M₂

378. Compare following with commentary fragment from Tabo (Otokawa 1999, p. 151): '*dus byas la ni gang rtog dang* // '*dus ma byas la gang rtog dang* // '*gnyi*' *ga bdud kyi las yin zhes* // '*de ni mkhas pas rab tu bshad* //

379. '**dus byas la** M; 'dus ma byas la M₂ VZ; 'du ma bya la BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaY

380. rtog dang[*]M₂

381. rtog pa' M₂

382. **gnyi ga** BaCDFGoHeJK₂MM₂QTaY; gnyis ga V; gnyis kha N; gnyis ka NeSZ; gnyis gang L; gnyig F

383. **yI** M; gyi M₂; kyi Σ

384. **pas** M M₂; pa rnams Σ

385. **rab du** M M₂; kyis Σ

386. gyl] M; gyi M₂; kyi Σ

387. **myi skye ba dang mying dang kyang** M; myI skye ba dang myi 'gag kyang / M₂. ming dang skye med gang yin pa CGoJK₂LNNeQTaY; ming dang skye mched gang yin pa BaDFHeSVZ

388. **de dag nyId ni mtshan nyid gcIg** M M₂; de gnyis mtshan nyid gcig pa yin Σ

389. **gang rnams rtog** M M₂; gang rtog pa Σ

390. yul lo M₂ VZ

391. **zhig** M M₂; dag Σ

392. g.yo' M₂

393. **g.yo ba med** BaCDFGoHeJLMM₂NNeSVZ; song sde Y; song ste K₂; g.yod pa med Q

394. M₂ inserts editorial mark *rtse* between lines

- / rtog pa rnams nI³⁹⁵ g.yo bar 'gyur³⁹⁶ /
 / rtog pa myed pa mya ngan 'da'³⁹⁷ /
- [7] /gang gIs rang bzhIn 'dI shes pa³⁹⁸ /
 /de³⁹⁹ nI ye shes ldan zhes bya/
 (M2 IDP 25.6) /de nas zad⁴⁰⁰ pa rjesu 'thob/
 /de ni rtog myed ye shes so/
- [8] /ye shes kyIs⁴⁰¹ **brjod ye shes dang**⁴⁰² /
 /ye shes brjod pa rnams kyang gsog /
 /ye shes 'dI ltar gang bzod pa/
 /de nI ye shes ldan zhes bya⁴⁰³ /
- [9] /gang gIs stong sum⁴⁰⁴ 'dI dag rnams /
 /rIn (M na bchu gnyis 12b1)chen bkang ste⁴⁰⁵ byIn pa bas/
 /gang gIs dam chos 'dI 'dra la /
 /bzod pa de nI bzod pa⁴⁰⁶ mchog /
- [10] /bskal pa bye ba⁴⁰⁷ bsam yasu/
 /sbyIn dang tshul khriims bzod pa dang /
 /brtson 'grus bsam brtan⁴⁰⁸ bsnyen pas⁴⁰⁹ nI/
 /mdo sde'i⁴¹⁰ 'dI dang mtshungs ma⁴¹¹ yIn/
- [11] /chos 'di dang nI theg pa 'dI/
 /yang dag rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gsungs/
 /mdo sde 'dI la **rten pa ni**⁴¹² /
 /thams cad de bzhIn gshegs par 'gyur/

395. ni BaCDFGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSY; kyis VZ

396. 'gyud' M₂

397. ***rtog pa myed pa mya ngan 'da'*** M₂ [written under line]

398. gang gis rang bzhin 'di shes pa M₂

399. **de**] BaCDFGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeSTaVZ; da QY

400. **de nas zad**] BaCFGoHeJK₂LMNNeQSTaY; de na zad M₂; zag D; de phyir zad pa rjes su thob VZ

401. gyis M₂

402. **brjod ye shes dang**] M M₂; ni ye shes brjod Σ

403. bya' M₂

404. sum] BaCDFGoHeJK₂LMM₂NNeQSY; gsum VZ

405. **ste**] BaCDFHeJLMM₂NNeSVZ; te K₂QTaY; bste Go

406. **pa**] BaCDFGoHeJK₂MM₂NNeQTaY; pa'i LSVZ

407. **ba**] BaCDFHeJK₂LM M₂NQTaVY; ba'i GoSZ; ni Ne

408. **bsam brtan**] M M₂; bsam gtan Σ [Note that M₂ preserves older spelling *bsam brtan* in verse but not in the prose.]

409. **bsnyen pas**] BaDGoHeLM M₂NeSTaVZ; bsnyes pa K₂QY; bsnyes pas CJN; om. F

410. **sde'i**] BaCDFJLMNQS Y; sde HeK₂ M₂NeTaVZ; bste Go; om. F

411. **ma**] BaDGoHeLMM₂NeSTaVZ; pa CJK₂NQY; om. F

412. **rten pa ni**] M, M₂; rten byas na V; brten byas na BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNNeQSTaVYZ; om. F

⁴¹³[§15] / chos gyI⁴¹⁴ rnam grangs 'dI bshad pa na / srog chags 'bum nI/ chos rnam la/ chos kyI myig rdul dang bral zhIng⁴¹⁵ dri ma **myed de**⁴¹⁶ rnam par dag go/ /dge slong lnga brgya nI len pa **myed cIng**⁴¹⁷ zag **pa**⁴¹⁸ las sems rnam par grol lo/ /gzugs na spyod pa'I / lha'i **sras po**⁴¹⁹ brgyad khri ni / bla na myed pa yang dag (M pa bchu gsum 13a1) par rdzogs pa'I byang chub du⁴²⁰ sems bskyed nas / de dag thams cad **bcom ldan 'das gyIs**⁴²¹ / bskal pa skar ma lta bu zhes bya ba na⁴²² / bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang chub du⁴²³ / mngon bar⁴²⁴ **'tshang rgyas**⁴²⁵ ste⁴²⁶/ de dag thams cad / kyang 'dI ltar **men tog**⁴²⁷ ces bya ba'I / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom ba yang dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas su myI⁴²⁸ 'thun⁴²⁹ bar 'gyuro zhes/ ⁴³⁰lung bstand to/ /bcom ldan 'das / **dgyes shIng**⁴³¹ de skad ces bka' stsald to⁴³²/ /'jam dpal gzho⁴³³ nur gyurd pa dang / tshe dang ldan ba sha rI bu dang / lha dang myI dang lha ma yIn dang dri zar bcas pa'I 'jig rten⁴³⁴ bcom ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar⁴³⁵ **dga'o**⁴³⁶ //

/⁴³⁷'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo⁴³⁸/

(M pa bchu gsum 13b1) **bam po gcig ste rdzogs so**⁴³⁹ //

phud bcad de gsol ba'I snying po / om ba ke sva +ra mo / /bdag tshal ma 'tshal ba dang /

⁴¹³. Compare this paragraph section with Skilling 2012: 121, 125.

⁴¹⁴. kyI M₂

⁴¹⁵. IOL 102 ends here at slide image 25.10

⁴¹⁶. **myed de**] M; med par BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaY; med pa VZ; om. F

⁴¹⁷. **myed cing**] M; med par Σ; om. F

⁴¹⁸. **pa**] M; pa rnam Σ; om. F

⁴¹⁹. **sras po**] M; bu Σ; om. F [On *lha'i sras po* as translation equivalent for *devaputra* in Old Tibetan see Karashima 2007:248, note 634; cf. Takata for *lha'i sras* in an eighth-century Tibetan inscription.]

⁴²⁰. **du**] M; tu Σ; om. F

⁴²¹. **bcom ldan 'das gyis**] M; om. Σ; om. F

⁴²². **na**] M; la Σ; om. F

⁴²³. **chub du**] M; chub Σ; om. F

⁴²⁴. **bar**] M; par Σ; om. F

⁴²⁵. **'tshang rgyas**] M; rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar 'gyur BaCDGoHeK₂LNQSTaVYZ; rdzogs par 'tshangs brgya bar 'gyur J; rdzogs par sangs rgyas bar 'gyur Ne; om. F

⁴²⁶. **ste**] M; te Σ; om. F

⁴²⁷. **men tog**] M; mye tog Go ; mi tog Ba; me tog CDHeK₂LNNeStAQVZ; om. F [On the Old Tibetan *men tog* see Karashima 2006:102, note 180; Pāsādika 1997, 489, note 11.]

⁴²⁸. **dI ltar men tog ces bya ba'I / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom ba yang dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas su myI**] M; 'di ltar de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas **me tog** ces bya bar **ming** Σ; om. F [I have left the Dunhuang reading in place although the vulgate Kanjurs readings differ.]

⁴²⁹. **'thun**] CDJK₂LMQSTaVYZ; mthun BaGoHeNNe; om. F [On the reading *'thun* reflected in early manuscripts rather than *mthun* see Mimaki 1992: 596.]

⁴³⁰. **om. bcom ldan 'das kyis**] M; bcom ldan 'das kyis Σ; om. F

⁴³¹. **dgyes shing**] M; kyis Σ; om. F

⁴³². **to**] M; nas Σ; om. F

⁴³³. **gzho**] M; gzhon Σ; om. F

⁴³⁴. **rten**] M; rten yi rang te CDHeJLNSVZ; rten yid rang te BaGoK₂NeQTaY; om. F

⁴³⁵. **bar**] M V; par BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaYZ; om. F

⁴³⁶. **dga'o**] M; bstod do Σ; om. F

⁴³⁷. **om. 'phags pa**] M; 'phags pa Σ; om. F

⁴³⁸. **mdo**] M; mdo rdzogs so BaCDHeJNNeS; mdo rdzogs sho GoK₂LQTaVYZ; om. F

⁴³⁹. **bam po gcig ste rdzogs so**] M; om. Σ; om. F

gshIn gyi tshal ma dbang thang 'dra ste //om ba la ba te / ba la dad te / de tshom le nI sva hā /
/'dI kun 'dra ste / lan bdun bdun sla ba slas //gtsang gtor gyI snyIng po ni om ma tsa le hum
/ /smye gtor gyi snying: po la / om a 'bra teI hum pha'd⁴⁴⁰ //

[Colophon (Vulgate Versions Only)]

rgya gar gyi mkhan po su⁴⁴¹ ren dra⁴⁴² bo dhi⁴⁴³ dang⁴⁴⁴ / zhu⁴⁴⁵ chen gyi⁴⁴⁶ lotstsha ba⁴⁴⁷ ban
de⁴⁴⁸ ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa⁴⁴⁹//

^{440.} phud bcad de gsol ba'I snying po / om ba ke sva +ra mo //bdag tshal ma 'tshal ba dang / gshIn gyi tshal ma dbang thang 'dra ste //om ba la ba te / ba la dad te / de tshom le nI sva hā / 'dI kun 'dra ste / lan bdun bdun sla ba slas //gtsang gtor gyI snyIng po ni om ma tsa le hum / /smye gtor gyi snying: po la / om a 'bra teI hum pha'd] M; om. BaCDFGoHeJK₂LNNeQSTaVYZ

^{441.} rgya gar gyi mkhan po su] BaCDHeJK₂NQY; om. rgya gar gyi mkhan po su FGoLNeSTaVZ

^{442.} ren dra] CDFJK₂NQSY; lendra Ba; len dra He; om. FGoLNeSTaVZ

^{443.} dhi] BaCDHeN; de K₂QY; dhī J; om. FGoLNeSTaVZ

^{444.} dang] BaCDHeJK₂NQY; om. dang FGoLNeSTaVZ

^{445.} zhu] BaCDHeJLK₂NQSVYZ; om. zhu FGoNeTa

^{446.} chen gyi] BaCDHeJLK₂NQSVYZ; om. chen gyi FGoNeTa

^{447.} lotstsha ba] DJK₂LQSYZ; lo tsā ba N; lo tsisha ba BaV; lo tsa ba He; om. FGoNeTa

^{448.} ban de] DK₂NQY; ban dhe BaCheJLSVZ; om. GoFNeTa

^{449.} ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa] BaCDHeJK₂LNQSYZ; ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab V; om. ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa FGoNeTa

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[ka gcig 1a1] \$// 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo/{/

// 'phags pa 'jam dpal gzho nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal

[ka gcig 1a2] lo // 'dI skad bdag gIs thos pa dus gcIg na/ bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i khab / gyI bya rgod phung po'i ri la / dge slong lnga brgya tsam gyI dge slong gi dge

[ka gcig 1a3] 'dun chen po dang thams gcIg tu bzhugs ste/ /de nas bcom lda ○ n 'das / phye 'bred kyI dus gyI tshe / nang du yang dag 'jog pa las

[ka gcig 1a4] bzhengs nas // 'khor mang pos kun nas bskor cIng / 'dus kyIs byas pa la chos stond to/ /de nas 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa / 'chag cIng dge

[ka gcig 1a5] slong lnga brgya po / de dag thams cad gyI // gtsug lag kang nas gtsug lag kang du byung ste/ /gnas brtan sha rI' bu'i'i gtsug lag kang gang na ba der song ste /

⁴⁵⁰[ka bdun 1b1] \$/: /'di ba'I sems can thams cad / 'khor ba'I btson ra 'di nis / /bla na myed pa'I byang chub du / ma bsgral du myI gtang ngo snyam du bsam //

[ka bdun 1b2] de ltar bsgral ba yang / chos thams cad gyi rang bzhIn ma rtogs par / myI nus pas / /phyI nang gi dngos po thams cad nI / yang dag par / bdag

[ka bdun 1b3] las kyang ma skyes / gzhan las kyang ma skyes / gnyI ga kyang ma ○ skyes / rgyu myed las kyang ma skyes te / de ltar dngos po yang myed

[ka bdun 1b4] cIng myi dmyigs / /dngos po myed pa yang / dngos po las bltos te / rang gi blos brtags pa tsam du zad pas / dngos po myed pa yang / dmyIgsu

[ka bdun 1b5] myed de / dmyIgs pa'i yul thams cad las / yang dag par 'das par khong du chud par byas nas / rnam par myI rtog par bsgom / /Ø

[kha gnyis 2a1] \$/: / phyIn nas/ 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pas / gnas brtan sha rI bu gcIg pu dben bar song ste / nang du yang dag 'jog pa la / zhugs par mthong ngo // /mthong

[kha gnyis 2a2] nas sha rI'i bu la / 'dI skad ces smras so/ /btsun ba sha rI bu / khyod bsam gtan byed dam / /smras pa / 'jam dpal de bzhin no// 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ /btsun

⁴⁵⁰. The following italicized text is not part of the *Mañjuśrīvihāra* but part of an unknown commentary on Mahāyāna scholasticism that has been inadvertently copied into the text by a scribe.

[kha gnyis 2a3] pa sha rI bu khyod nyon mongs pa / spangs pa spang ba'I phyir bsam brtan byed da ○ m / 'on te /ma spangs pa rnam spang ba'I phyir bsam brtan byed +dam / /cI btsun

[kha gnyis 2a4] ba sha rI bu khyod / 'das pa la gnas ste bsam brtan byed dam / 'on te ma 'ongs pa la gnas te bsam brtan byed dam / 'on te / da ltar byung ba la gnas te

[kha gnyis 2a5] bsam brtan byed/ cI btsun pa sha rI bu khyod gzugs la gnas te bsam brtan byed dam / 'on te tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang 'du byed dang rnam par shes pa la

[2b1] gnas te bsam brtan byed / / cI btsun ba sha rI bu khyod / myig la gnas te bsam brtan byed dam/ 'on te rna ba dang sna dang lce dang lus dang yId la gnaste bsam

[2b2] brtan byed/ /cI btsun ba sha rI bu / khyod gzugs la gnas te bsam brtan byed dam/ 'on te sgra dang drI dang ro reg bya dang chos la gnas ste bsam brtan byed <ci>

[2b3] ci btsun ba sha rI bu khyod 'dod pa'i khams la gnas te bsam rtan byed ○ dam/ 'on te gzugs gyI khams dang gzugs myed pa'I khams la

[2b4] gnas te bsam brtan byed/ /cI btsun ba sha rI bu/ khyod nang la gnas te/ bsam brtan byed dam/ 'on te phyI rol la gnas ste bsam brtan byed

[2b5] ci btsun ba sha rI bu / khyod lus la gnas ste bsam brtan byed dam/ 'on te sems la gnas te bsam brtan byed/ /sha rI bus smras pa/ /'jam

[ga gsum 3a1] \$:/ / dpal / **ji tsam du** tshe 'di la bde bar gnas shIng par **dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'i** / phyir bsam brtan byed do/ /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ /btsun ba sha rI

[ga gsum 3a2] bu / tshe 'di la bde bar gnas pa 'am/ tshe 'di <la> ma yin ba la / bde bar gnas pa 'am/ **dran ba nyams par myI 'gyur ba'i** chos de dag **gang yang** dmyIgs sam/

[ga gsum 3a3] sha rI bus smras pa/ / 'jam dpal bdag gis chos gang/ tshe 'di la bde bar ○ gnas pa 'am/ tshe 'di ma yin ba la/ bde bar **gnas chos** de dag yang

[ga gsum 3a4] dag par rjesu myI mthong zhing / myI dmyIgs myod gyi/ 'on kyang 'jam dpal / /**gang** de bzhin gshegs pas/ nyan thos rnam la rab tu dben ba'I

[ga gsum 3a5] chos su gsungs pa **de dag** la / bdag **nye bar gnas shing spyod do** / /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa'/ btsun pa sha rI bu gang de bzhin gshegs pas / nyan

[3b1] thos rnam la rab du dben ba'I chos su gsungs pa gang yIn **na** / btsun ba sha ri bu gang la / **nye bar gnas shIng spyod** / /sha rI bus smras pa/ 'jam dpal/ 'di la/

[3b2] dge slong ni/ 'das pa la **gnas shIng spyod** / /ma 'ongs pa la **gnas shIng spyod** / da ltar byung ba la **gnas shIng spyod** pa nas/ /**rgyas par sems gyI bar la gnas shing**

[3b3] **spyod par** khong du chud par bya <e> ste/ /'jam dpal chos de dag ni/ de bzhin ○
gshegs pas <tha>nyan thos rnams la / rab du dben **ba'I chos su** gsungs

[3b4] pa yin te/ bdag chos de dag la **nye bar gnas shIng spyod** do/ /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/
/btsun pa sha rI bu gang gi phyir 'di skad ces / 'das pa la **gnas**/

[3b5] **shIng spyod**/ ma 'ongs pa la **gnas shIng spyod** / da ltar byung ba la **gnas shIng spyod**
nas / **rgyas par** sems kyI bar la/ **gnas shIng spyod** ces smra/ /'dI lta

[nga bzhi 4a1] \$:/ ste / **btsun ba sha rI bu** / gang 'das pa'I de bzhin nyid de yang yod pa ma
yin/ gang ma 'ongs pa'I de bzhin nyid de yang yod pa ma yIn/ gang da ltar byung ba'I

[nga bzhi 4a2] de bzhin nyid de yang yod pa ma yIn te/ de ltar chos de dag ni yod pa ma yIn
na/ /jI ltar gnas brtan sha rI bu 'di skad ces/ 'das pa la **gnas shIng spyod** / ma

[nga bzhi 4a3] 'ongs pa la **gnas shIng spyod** / da ltar byung ba la **gnas shIng spyod** ces
smra/ chos ○ yod pa ma yIn pas / gnas pa yang myed do/ /yang btsun ba sha rI bu / gang

[nga bzhi 4a4] 'das pa'I de bzhin nyid dang / ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar *byung* ba'I / de bzhin
nyid ni/ ci yang ma yIn/ gang gis kyang ma yIn/ gang gl yang ma yIn/ gang la yang

[nga bzhi 4a5] myI gnas te/ gang myi gnas pa de'i gnas dmyigsu myed do/ /yang btsun **ba**
sha rI bu/ gang 'das pa dang ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar byung ba'I de bzhin nyid brjod **du**
myed

[4b1] cIng kun du gnas nas/ smra ba de dag ni / de bzhin gshegs pa la **bskurd** pa'o/ /de cI'i
phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar de bzhIn gshegs pa de dag ni / g.yo ba myed pa /

[4b2] rIom sems myed pa'o / /'dI ltar de bzhIn nyid ni / nyams pa myed pa'o/ /'dI ltar de bzhIn
nyId ni/ stong pa'o/ mtshan ma myed pa'o/ /smon pa myed pa'o/ /

[4b3] yang btsun ba sha rI bu / gang 'das pa'i de bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgs su myed ○ /
gang ma 'ongs pa'I de bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgs su myed/ gang da ltar byung

[4b4] ba'i de bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgs su myed / pa nas **rgyas par** sems gyI bar gyI de
bzhin nyid de yang dmyIgsu myed **mod gyI**/ /'on kyang shā ri'i bu de bzhin nyid ma

[4b5] gtogs par **gzhan chos gang yang mi dmyIgs pa:'am rab du bstan par myI nus so**/
/sha rI bus smras pa // 'jam dpal de bzhIn gshegs pa / de bzhIn

[ca lnga 5a1] \$/: nyid la nas chos stond to/ 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ btsun ba sha rI bu / de bzhin nyid yod pa ma yIn na / ji ltar / de bzhin gshegs pa / de bzhIn nyId

[ca lnga 5a2] la **gnas ste** / chos stond/ chos kyang yod pa ma yIn na/ jI ltar de bzhin gshegs pa / de bzhIn nyid la **gnas ste** chos stond/ de bzhin gshegs pa yang

[ca lnga 5a3] yod pa ma yIn na/ ji ltar de bzhin gshegs pa / de bzhin nyid la **gnas** ○ **ste** chos stond/ chos thams cad kyang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu med/

[ca lnga 5a4] de bzhin gshegs pa yang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyigsu myed **pas**/ /'dI la dmyigs pa'am / dmyigsu myed pa gnyIs gyis phye ba ma yin ba de lta bu'i

[ca lnga 5a5] **chos stond to** // de bzhin gshegs pa nI brjod pa'am / myI brjod pas phye ba ma yIn no // de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar btsun ba **sha rI dva tI'i** bu / <de bzhIn>

[5b1] de bzhin gshegs pa nI / **smra ba** yang dag par chad pa/ btags pa myed pa/ '**dogs par 'gyur ba ma yIn no**/ /sha rI bus smras pa / 'jam dpal / su 'dI lta bu'i chos

[5b2] bstan pa'I snod du 'gyur/ /'jam dpal gyis smras pa/ btsun ba sha rI bu / gang 'dus byas gyi khams 'khrug par myI byed cing / yongsu mya ngan 'da' ba

[5b3] la mos pa ma yin ba de na / 'di lta bu chos bstan pa'I snod du 'gyuro/ gang ○ 'das pa'I chos myi dmyigs pa dang / 'das pa'I chos shes par myi 'gyur

[5b4] ba dang / gang 'das pa dang / ma 'ongs pa dang / da ltar byung ba'i chos / myi dmyigs shing / 'das pa dang / ma 'ongs pa dang / da ltar byung ba'I chos shes par myI 'gyur

[5b5] ba de nI 'di lta bu'I chos bstan pa'I snod du 'gyur ro/ /gang kun nas nyon mongs pa dang / rnam <pa> par byang ba chad par myI byed cIng / rnam par byang bar 'gyur

[cha drug 6a1] \$/: / ba yIn ba dang / gang dag la yang ma yin la / bdag myed pa la yang myi spyod pa dang / gang 'dzIn pa myed cing / spong ba spyod par myI 'gyur ba de na / 'dI lta bu' <xnI>

[cha drug 6a2] chos bstan pa'I snod du 'gyur te //des nI bshad pa 'di'i don kun shes so // sha rI bus / smras pa / 'jam dpal 'dI la / cI zhig shes par 'gyur/ 'jam dpal

[cha drug 6a3] gyIs smras pa/ cI btsun ba sha rI bu / bshad pa 'dI'i don shes na / cI gang ○ gI phyir dris pa'i don 'dI yong shes par 'gyur 'am // sha rI bus smras pa

[cha drug 6a4] 'jam dpal 'di na zab mo bstan pa / mngon sum du 'gyur ba nyung ngo // 'dI na

yongsu 'dzin par 'gyur ba nyung ngo // 'jam dpal dgra bcom ba

[cha drug 6a5] dang / slob pa rnams dang kyang phyogs 'dI las rab du nyu<+ng> na / byIs ba so so'i skye bo lta jI smos // 'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ btsun pa sha rI bu / 'dI ni dgra

[6b1] **bcom ba'I sa ma yIn no/** de ci'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar dgra bcom ba yang myed na / sa gang la dgra bcom ba gnas par 'gyur/ gnas myed pas phye ba ni dgra bcom

[6b2] ba'o / /dmyIgsu myed pas phye ba nI dgra bcom ba'o / / brjod pa dang myI brjod pa shIn tu chad pas phye ba nI dgra bcom ba'o / de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar brjod

[6b3] pa dang / myI brjod pa / yang dag par chad pa nI dgra bcom ba ste / btags pa ○ myed pa'o/ /dgra bcom ba nI **sa'I dngos po myed pa/** 'dus ma byas pas phye

[6b4] ba'o / 'dus ma byas pa gnas myed <na> pa nI / dgra bcom ba na / de jI lta bur dgra bcom ba'I sar 'gyur / / dgra bcom pa nI mying dang gzugs gyIs

[6b5] phye ba ma yIn no // byIs ba so so'i skye bo na mying dang gzugs myed pa la rnam par rtog go/ /myIng dang gzugs la **rnam par myI rtog pa'I ye shes ni /** dgra

[ja bdun 7a1] \$/: / bcom ba ste / de'i phyir mying dnag / gzugs gyIs / phye ba ma yIn no / /byis ba yang myI dmyIgs / byIs ba'i chos dang / dgra bcom ba'I chos kyang myI dmyIgs

[ja bdun 7a2] so / nam myI dmyigs de na / myI rtog myI spyod do //de spyod pa myed spros pa myed nye bar zhl ste/ /yod do zhes khas myI lend / myed do zhes khas myI len / yod

[ja bdun 7a3] pa dang myed pa zhes khas myI len/ yod pa yang ma yIn myed pa yang ma yIn ○ zhes khas myi lend to/ /nam khas myi len pa de na / dmyIgs pa myed

[ja bdun 7a4] do/ /de dmyIgs pa thams cad dang bral bas / sems myed cIng sems dang bral / / bar gnas pa nI / gnas myed pa'I tshul gis / <sa> dge sbyong

[ja bdun 7a5] gI chos shes bya'o / /de nas 'jam dpal gzhonur gyur pas / bstan pa 'dI bshad +pa na / 'khor de'i dge slong lnga brgya po stan las langs nas / 'di

[7b1] skad ces / 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la myi blta'o/ /'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la myi nyand to/ /'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa phyogs **gag**

[7b2] na gnas pa'I phyogs de yang spang bar bya'o/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa nI / ston pa mngon sum du bzhugs bzhIn du /

[7b3] gang kun nas nyon mongs pa dang / rnam par byang ba'I mtshan nyI+d gcig du ○ ston

pas / chos ma yIn ba ston pa'o zhes smras nas / de dag yang 'dI

[7b4] snyam du sems te/ jI ltar bdag cag legs: par gshad pa'I chos gyI 'dul ba la tshangs par spyad snyam nas dong ngo / /de nas gnas brtan sha rI'I

[7b5] bus / 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la 'dI skad ces smraso // 'jam dpal khyod cI tсам du / sems can gyIs shes par myI 'gyur ba'i chos

[nya brgyad 8a1] \$/: / stond tam / 'jam dpal gyis smras pa/ btsun ba sha rI bu de bzhin no/ /sha ri'i bus smras pa/ dge slong lnga <brgya> brgya po 'di dag stan las langs nas 'phyas smod myi

[nya brgyad 8a2] snyan par zer zhing dong ngo / /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa/ btsun pa sha rI bu / gang gi phyir/ dge slong lnga brgya po de dag 'dI skad ces/ 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd

[nya brgyad 8a3] pa la / myI blta'o / 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa la myI mnyand to/ / ○ 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa/ **phyogs gang na gnas pa'I phyogs** de yang

[nya brgyad 8a4] spang bar bya'o zhes zer ba nI / legso legso/ /sha ri'i bu dge slong de dag gI tshig de ni legs par smras pa'o/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ /'dI ltar/ 'jam

[nya brgyad 8a5] dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa nI yod pa ma yIn te/ dmyIgsu myed do/ /gang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed pa de la / blta ba dang mnyan par myI nus so/ /

[8b1] 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa / phyogs gang na gnas pa'I phyogs de yang spang bar bya'o/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyurd pa yod pa ma

[8b2] yin te / dmyIgsu +myed pas / gang de'i gnas kyang yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed do/ /**gang gI phyir** yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu myed pa de la / bsnyen

[8b3] par **myI bya'o**/ /de nas dge slong lnga brgya po de dag / 'jam dpal gzho nur ○ gyurd pas bstan pa 'dI thos pa dang / **slar log ste / phyog nas** 'jam

[8b4] dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la 'dI skad ces smras so/ /'jam dpal bdag cag ni / ji ltar / khyod kyis bstan pa 'di myi shes so/ /'jam dpal gyIs

[8b5] smras pa/ dge slong dag legs so legs so/ /de lta bu nI ston pa'i **dge slong** zhes bya ba ste/ dge slong dag / 'dI la ni kun shes par bya ba **ma yIn**

[ta rgyu 9a1] \$/: / rnam par shes par bya ba **ma yIn no**/ /de cI'i phyir zhe na/ 'dI ltar gnas myed pa'I tshul gyis /'dI lta bu'i chos gyi dbyings nyId la gnas so // gang chos

[ta rgyu 9a2] gyI<sa> dbyings pa de dbyIngs ma yIn no/ /de yod pa ma yIn te / dmyIgsu

myed pas / myI g.yo zhing nyams pa myed pa de ni / kun shes par bya ba ma yIn / rnam par

[ta rgyu 9a3] shes par bya ba ma yIn te / rIom sems myed pa'o/ rIom sems myed ○ pa de ni
ston pa'I nyan thos shes bya / mchog thob +pa zhes bya/ gtso bo

[ta rgyu 9a4] zhes bya/ sbyIn gnas zhes bya/ /bstan pa 'dI bshad pa na / dge slong lnga
brgya po las/ dge slong bzhi brgya ni / len pa myed cIng / <ca> zag pa

[ta rgyu 9a5] las sems rnam par grol lo/ /dge slong brgya ni sems cher 'khrugs nas / lus de
nyid dang / 'o ded 'bod pa'i sems can dmyal ba chen por

[9b1] lhung ngo / de nas tshe dang ldan ba sha rI bus / 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la 'dI
skad ces smras so/ /jam dpal khyod sems can rjesu srung

[9b2] ba'I chos myI ston pas dge slong brgya po de dag ni 'khyimso // de nas bcom ldan 'das
gyIs / gnas brtan sha rI bu la 'di skad ces bka' stsald

[9b3] to/ /sha rI bu khyod de skad ma zer cig //de ji'i phyir zhe na/ sha ra bu dge ○ slong
brgya po de dag / 'o ded 'bod pa'I sems can dmyal ba chen por

[9b4] reg pa thang cIg reg nas / dga' ldan gyI lha rnams dang skal ba mnyam bar skye ba'o/
/sha rI bu ga la te dge slong de dag chos gyI rnams grangs

[9b5] 'dI ma thosu zin na / de dag gdon myi za bar / sems can dmyal bar 'gro bar 'gyur ro/ las
de zad nas myir skye ba 'thob ste / chos gyI rnam grangs

[tha bchu 10a1] \$:/ 'dI la brten pas / bskal par sems can dmyal ba myong bar 'gyur ba'I las
de yang cung zad cig myong bar 'gyur ro / /sha rI bu de'i phyir dge slong brgya po

[tha bchu 10a2] de dag / byams pa de bzhiIn gshegs pa'i nyan thos thog mar / 'dus par zag pa
zad nas / dgra bcom bar 'gyur ro/ /sha rI bu de bas na / chos kyi rnam grangs

[tha bchu 10a3] 'dI **the tshom** dang bcas par thos pa nI dam +pa yin gyi / bsam brtan bzhi la
○ snyoms par zhugs pas nI de lta ma yIn/ tshad myed pa bzhis ni de lta ma

[tha bchu 10a4] yIn/ gzugs myed pa'I snyoms par 'jug pa bzhi sgoms pas nI / de lta ma yin no/
/de ci'i phyir zhe na/ chos +'di lta bu +ma thos par / 'khor ba las

[tha bchu 10a5] yongsu myI grol/ skye ba dang rga ba dang na ba dang 'chI ba dang / mya
ngan dang smre sngags 'don pa dang / sdug bsngal ba dang / **yI mugs pa** dang / 'khrugs pa las
yongsu

[10b1] myI grol zhes bshad do/ /de nas tshe dang ldan pa sha rI bus 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa la 'dI skad ces smras so/ /'jam dpal **ji tsam du** sems

[10b2] can yongsu smyIn par bya ba'I phyir / khyod kyis / chos kyi nam<s> grangs 'dI legs par bshad pa nI/ ngo mtshar to/ /'jam dpal gyIs smras pa /

[10b3] btsun pa sha rI bu / de bzhin nyid ni / 'bri ba ma yIn 'phel ba ma yIn○ no / +chos kyidbyings kyang 'bri ba ma yin 'phel ba yang ma yin no/ /sems can gyI khams kyang 'bri ba ma yin 'phel ba ma

[10b4] yIn no / kun nas nyon mongs pa ma yIn/ rnam par byang ba ma yIn no/ /de cl'i phyir zhe na/ ji ltar myIng yang yod pa ma yin zhing dmyIgsu

[10b5] med de // tha snyad tsam du zad pas cl yang ma yIn/ gang gis kyang ma yIn/ gang gi yang ma yIn/ gang la yang myI gnas te / gnas pa myed

[da bchu gchig 11a1] \$:/ do/ /btsun pa sha rI bu bas na / gang 'dI lta bu'i myI 'gag pa de ni byang chub po/ /gang byang chub pa de nI thar pa'o/ /gang thar pa de nI rnam par myI rtog go //

[da bchu gchig 11a2] gang rnam par myI rtog de nI/ myI byed pa'o/ /<ma> myi byed pa de na yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa'o/ /de nas bcom ldan 'das gyIs / gnas brtan sha rI bu la

[da bchu gchig 11a3] 'dI skad ces bka' stsald to/ /sha rI bu ji ltar / 'jam dpal gzho ○ nur gyurd pas bstan pa de bzhIn te/ de bzhIn nyid ni / 'bri ba ma yIn

[da bchu gchig 11a4] 'phel ba ma yIn no/ /chos kyidbyings kyang 'bri ba ma yIn/ 'phel ba ma yIn no/ /sems can gyI khams kyang 'bri ba ma yin/ 'phel

[da bchu gchig 11a5] ba ma yIn / /kun nas nyon mongs pa ma yIn/ rnam par byang ba ma yIn no/ /de cl'i phyir zhe na/ **ji** ltar myIng de yang yod pa ma yIn zhing / dmyIgsu

[11b1] med de / tha snyad tsam du zad pas / cl yang ma yin/ gang gis kyang ma yIn/ gang la yang myI gnas ste gnas myed do/ /de nas bcom

[11b2] ldan 'das gyIs / tshIgsu bcad pa 'dI dag gsungs so/ /'das pa dag dang ma 'ongs dang / /da ltar byung chos brjod pa nI / /don gyIs

[11b3] ma yIn tha snyad tsam/ /gcIg dang sna tshogs mtshan nyId ○ myIn/ /mtshan nyId myed par gang rtog pa/ /de dag nyId ni

[11b4] mtshan nyId 'gyur/ /mtshan nyId myed la rtog pa myed/ /rtog pa nyid kyang mtshan

nyId myin/ /'dus byas la nI gang rtog dang / /mya

[11b5] ngan 'das la gang rtog pa/ /gnyI ga bdud yI las yIn zhes/ /de ni mkhas pas **rab du** bshad/ /phung po skye mched khams gyI rnams/

[na bchu gnyis 12a1] \$:/ /de dag myIng gis brjod pa ste/ /**myI skye ba dang myIng dag kyang**/ /de dag nyId ni mtshan nyid gcIg / / tshul bzhIn la nI gang rnams rtog/ /

[na bchu gnyis 12a2] de nyId tshul bzhIn ma yIn no/ /mkhas pa cung zad myI rtog ste/ /stong pa jI bzhin spyod yul 'o/ /gang **zhig** rtog pa de dag g.yo//

[na bchu gnyis 12a3] rtog pa myed pa g.yo ba myed / / rtog pa rnams nI g.yo bar 'gyur ○ / / rtog pa myed pa mya ngan 'da'/ /gang gIs rang bzhIn 'dI shes

[na bchu gnyis 12a4] pa/ /de nI ye shes ldan zhes bya/ /de nas zad pa rjesu 'thob/ /de ni rtog myed ye shes so/ /ye shes kyIs brjod ye shes dang/ /ye shes

[na bchu gnyis 12a5] brjod pa rnams kyang gsog / / ye shes 'dI ltar gang bzod pa/ /de nI ye shes ldan zhes bya/ /gang gIs stong sum 'dI dag rnams / /rIn

[12b1] chen bkang ste byIn pa bas/ /gang gIs dam chos 'dI 'dra la / /bzod pa de nI bzod pa mchog / /bskal pa bye ba bsam yasu/ /sbyIn dang tshul

[12b2] khirms bzod pa dang / /brtson 'grus bsam brtan bsnyen pas nI/ /mdo sde'i 'dI<'> dang mtshungs ma yIn/ /chos 'di dang nI theg pa 'dI/ /

[12b3] yang dag rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas gsungs/ /mdo sde 'dI la rten pa ○ nI/ /thams cad de bzhIn gshegs par 'gyur/ </> / chos gyI rnam

[12b4] grangs 'dI bshad pa na / srog chags 'bum nI/ chos rnams la/ chos kyI myig rdul dang bral zhIng dri ma myed de rnam par dag go/ /dge

[12b5] slong lnga brgya nI len pa myed cIng zag pa las sems rnam par grol lo/ /gzugs na spyod pa'I / lha'i **sras po** brgyad khri ni / bla na myed pa yang dag

[pa bchu gsum 13a1] \$:/ / par rdzogs pa'I byang chub du sems bskyed nas / de dag thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyIs / bskal pa skar ma lta bu zhes bya ba na / bla na myed pa

[pa bchu gsum 13a2] yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang chub du / mngon bar 'tshang rgyas ste/ de dag thams cad / kyang 'dI ltar **men tog** ces bya ba'I / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra

[pa bchu gsum 13a3] bcom ba yang dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas su myI 'thun bar 'gyuro

○zhes/ lung bstand to/ /bcom ldan 'das / dgyes shIng de skad ces

[pa bchu gsum 13a4] bka' stsald to/ /'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa dang / tshe dang ldan ba sha rI bu dang / lha dang myI dang lha ma yIn dang dri zar bcas pa'I 'jig rten

[pa bchu gsum 13a5] bcom ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o//

\$/: /'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo/

[13b1] bam po gcig ste rdzogs so //

[13b2] \$:/ / phud bcad de gsol ba'I snying po / om

[13b3] ba ke sva +ra mo / /bdag tshal ma 'tshal ba dang / ○ gshIn gyi tshal ma dbang thang 'dra ste //om ba la

[13b4] ba te / ba la dad te / de tshom le nI sva hā / /'dI kun 'dra ste / lan bdun bdun sla ba slas / /gtsang gtor gyI snyIng po ni

[13b5] om ma tsa le hum //smye gtor gyi snying: po la / om a 'bra tel hum pha'd //

IOL Tib J 278 diplomatic edition

[1a1] \$ /:/ bya /sbyIn ba'i gnas shes bya / /bstan pa'i '[d]I [b]shad b[.....] dge slong lnga
brgyad po las / /dge

[1a2] slong bzhI brgya nI len pa myed cing zag pa las sems nram par grol lo / /*dge slong
brgya nI sems* de nas tshe dang ldan ba sha

[1a3] ra dwa tI'i bus / 'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa ○ la 'dI skad ces smras so / / 'jam dpal
khyod

[1a4] sems can rjes su srung ba'I chos myI ston pas / /dge slong brgya de dag nI 'kh[y][a]ms
so / /de nas bcom

[1a5] ldan 'das kyIs / gnas brtan sha rI'i bu la 'dI skad ces bka' stsal [...] bu khyod de skad
ma zer

[1b1] cig / /de cI'i phyir zhe na / sha rI'i bu dge slong brgya po de dag 'o dod 'bod pa [...] na
dmyal ba chen por

[1b2] reg pa thang gcIg reg nas / dga' ldan lha'i rnam dang s[ka]l ba mnyam bar skye'o /
/sha rI'i bu

[1b3] gal te dge slong de dag chos kyI nram grangs ○ 'dI ma thos su zin na / de dag gdon
myi za

[1b4] bar sems can dmyal bar 'gro bar 'gyur ro / /las de zad nas myI r skye ba thob ste / /chos
kyI nram grangs 'dI la brten pas bskal par se[m][...] mya[...] bar 'gyur ba'I las de yang cung

IOL Tib J 277 diplomatic edition

[1a1] [.....] [-]r yod pa pa yIn te dmyIgs su myed pas de la /

[1a2] [.....] [-]stan bas 'di thos pa dang / slar log ste phyogs /

[1a3] [.....] nI ci ltar khyod kyis *b*stan pa myI shes so /

[1a4] [.....] [sby]o[ng] gyis byas ste / dge slong dag 'di ni kun

[1a5] [.....] kyis 'di lta bu' chos kyi dbyings nyid la gnas so /

[1b1] [.....] pa dpal gzho nur gyur pa la myI mnyan to /

[1b2] [.....] legs so so / /btsun ba sha ri'i bu /

[1b3] [.....] dpal gzho nur gyur pa nI yod pa ma yIn te /

[1b4] [.....] mnyan par myI nus so / 'jam dpal /

[1b5] [.....] zhe na / 'jam dpal gzho nur gyur pa yod pa ma yIn te /

Pelliot 714 diplomatic edition

[1a1] // bka' stsal to // sha ri bu khyod de skad ma zer cig / /de ji'I phyir zhe na / sha ri bu dge
slong brgya' po de dag 'o dod 'bod pa'I

[1a2] // sems can dmyal ba chen por reg pa thang cig reg nas / dga ldan gyi lha rnam
dang skal ba myam bar skye 'o /

[1a3] gal te sha ri bu dge slong de dag / chos kyi gzhung 'di ma thos su zin na / de dag gdon
myi za bar sems can dmyal bar

[1a4] 'gro bar 'gyur ro // las de zad nas myir skye bo thob ste / chos kyi gzhung 'di la brtens
pas / bskal par sem*s*

[1b] Blank page

[Note double // are written above and below the beginning and end of each line]

[2a1] can dmyal ba myong bar 'gyur ba'i las de 'ang chung zad cig myong bar 'gyur ro /
/de'i phyir dge slong brga' po de dag byam*s* // //

[2a2] pa de bzhin gshegs pa'I nyan tos thog mar 'dus par / zag pa zad nas / dgra bcom bar
'gyur ro //de bas na sha ri //

[2a3] bu chos gyi gzhung 'di the tsom dang bcas pas //thos ba ni dam pa yIn gyi / /bsam gtan
bzhi la snyoms par 'jug //

[2a4] pa bzhi bsgoms pas na de lta ma yin no //de ji'i phyir zhe na chos 'di lta bu ma thos pas
/ 'khor ba las yongsu //

Symbols used in the Transliteration

I	reversed <i>gi-gu</i>
s +ho	<i>sa</i> with subscribed <i>ha</i> plus <i>na-ro</i> vowel sign.
\$	page initial sign head <i>mgo-yig</i>
:	<i>tsheg</i> written with two dots
abc	insertions: letter, word, or phrase written below the line
abe	letters crossed-out by copyist
[abc] _{xxx}	scribal notation written above the line
[#a#]	page and line number
[abc]	supplements; letter illegible or disappeared, but supplied by editor
[...]	illegible letters; number unknown
[---]	illegible letters; number known
○	string hole

Abbreviations and Bibliography

IDP	International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/)
IOL	Indian Office Library
Msk	Manuscript Kanjur
Mvy	Mahāvvyutpatti
Pt	Pelliot Tibétain
Σ	A reading shared by all vulgate Kanjur witnesses
<i>v.l.</i>	<i>varia lectio</i> (variant reading)

Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts

M	IOL Tib J 149 (Folios <i>ka gcig</i> to <i>pa bchu gsum</i>)
M ₂	IOL Tib J 102
M ₃	IOL Tib J 277= (M3 IDP 1a1) and (M3 IDP 1b1)
M ₄	IOL Tib J 278
M ₅	Pelliot Tibétain 714

Tibetan Vulgate Kanjur Editions

Ba	Basgo Manuscript Kanjur, 053 mDo, Tsa 277a4-384a5. Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).
C	Cone (Co ne) Printed Kanjur, mdo sde, tsa 328a1-333b7 (vol. 41). TBRC W1PD96685. 108 vols. [co ne rdzong]: [co ne dgon], 1926. http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W1PD96685
D	Derge (Sde dge) Printed Kanjur, mdo sde, tsa 266b1-271b2 (vol. 61). chos kyi 'byung gnas. bka' 'gyur (sde dge par phud). TBRC W22084. 103 vols. delhi: delhi karmapae chodhey gyalwae sungrab partun khang, 1976-1979. http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W22084
F	Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur, mdo sde, sa 194b8-202a5 (vol. 82). Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).
Go	Gondhla Collection Proto-Kanjur, Ka 15a6-19a6 (vol. 16). Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).
He	Hemis Manuscript Kanjur, mdo, Tsa 310a6-317a8. Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).
J	Lithang Printed Kanjur, mdo sde, tsa 298b3-304a3 (vol. 56); readings from variants preserved in <i>dpe bsdur ma</i> .
K ₂	Kanxi 'Dragon' Manuscript Kanjur. Facsimile reprint preserved in National Palace Museum, Taiwan, volume Tsu, No. 865, 286/427a4-291/535a6). See Chou 2011.
L	London Manuscript Kanjur, mdo sde, ta 367b2-374a5 (vol. 39).
N	Narhang (Snar thang) Printed Kanjur, mdo sde, ba 427a7-435b1 (vol. 61); readings from variants preserved in <i>dpe bsdur ma</i> .
Ne	Bathang Manuscript Kanjur, vol. 10 (13b3-18a7). Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).

- dpe bsdur ma* 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Volume *deb re gcig pa, mdo sde tsa*, pp. 725-737 in *Comparative Edition of the Kangyur*, krun g'o'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug ste gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang (The Tibetan Tripitaka Collation Bureau of the China Tibetology Research Center). 108 volumes. Beijing: krun g'o'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang (China Tibetology Publishing House), 2006-2009.
- Q Peking Qianlong Printed Kanjur, mdo sna tshogs, mu 275a6-280a2 (vol. 34, p.238).
- S Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur mdo sde, ta 394a5-401a4 (vol. 60). bka' 'gyur stog pho brang bris ma. TBRC W22083. 109 vols. leh: smanrtsis shesrig dpemzod, 1975-1980. <http://tbrc.org/link?RID=W22083>
- Ta Tabo Manuscript, Ki 46-49. Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (<http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/>).
- Ta₂ Tabo Manuscript, Ka 37. Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (<http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/>).
- V Ulanbatar Manuscript Kanjur, mdo sde, ta 370a3-377a3 (vol. 62).
- Y Yongle Printed Kanjur, readings from variants preserved in *dpe dur ma*.
- Z Shey Palace Manuscript Kanjur, mdo, ta 443b2-451a4 (vol.56). Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (<http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/>).

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**‘Mahāratnakūṭa’ Scriptures in Khotan:
A quotation from the *Samantamukhaparivarta*
in the *Book of Zambasta****

DHAMMADINNĀ (Giuliana MARTINI)

In a previous volume of the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* (2011), I studied the transmission of the *Ratnakūṭa/Kāśyapaparivarta* in Khotan, on the basis of fragments of the Khotanese translation of this sūtra and of sourced and unsourced citations of the same identified in the mid-fifth century Khotanese composition known as the *Book of Zambasta*.¹ This time I once again follow the thread of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in Khotan, with a note on a quotation attributed to the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in the fourth chapter of the same *Book of Zambasta*.

The *Samantamukhaparivarta* is no longer extant in its Indian original, but is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan in the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ canonical collections (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經, T 310; *Dam chos dkon mchog brtsegs pa*, abbreviated *dKon brtsegs*, Derge/Tōhoku 87 etc.), as well as in an earlier, individually transmitted Chinese translation (T 315).

I start with a brief overview of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures featured in the *Book of Zambasta* (I). I then discuss the *Samantamukhaparivarta* citation in more detail (II), and, finally, I make a few observations on the significance of these scriptural threads for the reconstruction of the textual history of early Khotanese Buddhism (III).

I. ‘Mahāratnakūṭa’ scriptures in the *Book of Zambasta*

At least five ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures, in the sense of works that came to be included in the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ collections of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist canons, appear in the *Book of Zambasta*, in one case as an individual chapter, in the other cases as citations:

- 1) *Bhadramāyākāravvyākaraṇa* (= chapter two);
- 2) *Samantamukhaparivarta* (citation in chapter four);
- 3) *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*) (citations in chapters eight and thirteen);
- 4) *Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā* (citation in chapter thirteen);
- 5) *Daśadharmaka-sūtra* (citation in chapter fifteen).

Although not explicitly indicated by title, a Khotanese rendering of the *Bhadramāyākāra-*

* In part this article is a revised version of a chapter of my doctoral dissertation (Martini 2010). I thank Bhikkhu Anālayo, Mauro Maggi, Peter Skilling and Vincent Tournier for their suggestions. In quoting the text from Emmerick’s edition of the *Book of Zambasta* (Emmerick 1968) I have simplified and omitted some information such as stanza numbers given in the manuscript. For all text editions, on occurrence, I have adjusted the sandhi, punctuation, capitalisations etc.

¹ Martini 2011a. A new folio of the Khotanese translation of the *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*) is identified and studied in Maggi forthcoming b.

surprising, given that the extant manuscripts of the *Book of Zambasta* do not include colophons containing titles or summaries of contents for chapter two (or for any other chapters, with the exception of chapter nineteen) whether at the beginning and end of the chapters or of the work itself. As a result, one cannot be certain that the *Bhadramāyākāravvyākaraṇa* was known to the Khotanese by the Sanskrit title that we know today or by a Khotanese equivalent, although this may well have been the case. Chapter two, first studied in relation to the Tibetan version by K. Régamey (1938),² is a rather free adaptation of the *Bhadramāyākāravvyākaraṇa* as we know it from the Chinese and Tibetan translations belonging to the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ collections.³ The Khotanese version seems to be substantially a paraphrase except for a few stanzas that correspond closely to the Tibetan version (and thereby to its underlying Indian original). Régamey’s pioneering work – which has, inter alia, laid the methodological foundation for subsequent philological studies of Mahāyāna sūtras in general as well as for another ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scripture in particular, the **Ugraparipṛcchā* (Nattier 2003)⁴ – may, seventy-five years after its publication, deserve reconsideration in the light of the multiple model of oral, aural and written formation that in my reading best explains the redaction, transmission, function, features and overall textual and literary patterns of the *Book of Zambasta*. In other words, the adaptive and paraphrasing character of the Khotanese witness vis-à-vis the text preserved in the parallel versions of the *Bhadramāyākāravvyākaraṇa* may be better appreciated when we take into account such a complex model of transmission. Out of twenty-three extant chapters of the *Book of Zambasta*, chapter two is one of only five chapters for which complete sources or parallels have been identified.⁵ Thus, in the light of findings made since the publication of Régamey’s work, a new study would be especially helpful for the evaluation of the mode or modes of incorporation of textual sources into the *Book of Zambasta*.

The other ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ works attested in the *Book of Zambasta* (nos. 2 to 5 as listed above) are all mentioned by their own titles, including the *Samantamukhparivarta*, which I will discuss in the next section:

- *Samantamukhparivarta: samāntamukha-parivartto*, Z 4.39;
- *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*): *ratnakūlāna vātā*, Z 8.39; *ratnakūlāna*, Z 13.42;⁶
- *Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā: vinayaviniścayo sūttro*, Z 13.33;⁷

² Cf. also Leumann 1933–1936: 361–367 and Emmerick 1968: 10–11.

³ In addition to T 310.21, translated by Bodhiruci, there is an early individual translation, T 324, attributed to Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) in the Taishō edition. A translation of T 310.21 is available in Chang 1983: 3–26; see Régamey 1938/1990 for the edition, study and translation of the Tibetan version (corresponding to Derge/Tōhoku 65 etc.).

⁴ Cf. the remarks in Nattier 2003: 203 with note 4.

⁵ The chapters with identified complete parallels are chapters two, three, sixteen, twenty-three and twenty-four. On there being twenty-three instead of twenty-four extant chapters see Maggi and Martini 2014.

⁶ For a detailed study of the sourced (Z 8.38–39, Z 7.29, Z 9.19 and 13.42) and unsourced citations (Z 4.95, Z 8.44 and Z 9.16) of the *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*) in the *Book of Zambasta*, see Martini 2011a (and cf. also Martini 2008), where I also discuss at length the fact that all extant evidence, in Sanskrit, Khotanese and other languages, points to *Ratnakūṭa* rather than *Kāśyapaparivarta* as the original title of the text transmitted throughout India and Central Asia.

⁷ On the *Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā* quotation as cited and re-read in the *Book of Zambasta* see Martini 2013.

– *Daśadharmaka-sūtra: sūtrā daśadharmakā vītrā, Z 15.4.*⁸

II. A quotation of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in the *Book of Zambasta* (Z 4.39)

The title *Samantamukhaparivarta* (*samṃtamukha-parivartto*) as the source of a seemingly six-stanza long excerpt from this work comes at the end of what appears to be the cited excerpt itself (Z 4.39). No citation markers or any other indication signalling the beginning of the cited passage are employed. The text reads:

- [4.34] *gyastāni tcei' mañi gyastānu ni biśśā nandanu daindā*
cai vācu daindā handāri ni biśśā hā tranda hāmāre
 [4.35] *ni ju ye citrarahu . ni pārūṣaku ne ye nanda—*
nu kälste gyastānu aysmya vīpākā samu nā aysmya saittā
 [4.36] *ce ne vīpākā tye ne saittā . cu aysmūna ne dravyi .*
banhyānu bendā prahoṇe hamo bīnāña gyamāne
 [4.37] *ttye aysmuī hāvī vipākā cu samu aysmūna diyāri*
kho ye hūña daiyā cu niṣṭi ttāna padīmākā ni nāṣṭā
 [4.38] *hauda gyastānu gyasta-varṇa kho parikalpāte ttrāmā*
avacchoda tsīndī ttaura vaṣṭa vrraṇī nāṣṭā cu bettā .
 [4.39] *ttāna cu samu samñe jsa gyasta hāvī parikalpā ne dravyi*
samṃtamukha-parivartto balysā vāstarna arthā nijsaṣṭe

[4.34] Divine [are] the eyes of the gods, [yet] not all see [the city of] Nandana. Further, those other ones who see it cannot all enter it.⁹ [4.35] Nobody indeed has planted Citraratha [Grove], nor Pārūṣakā¹⁰ [Grove], nor [has] anyone [built the city of] Nandana. It is the karmic result in the mind of the gods: it merely appears to them in the mind. [4.36] To him who has no [such a] karmic result, it does not appear. What [appears to the gods] through the mind are not material substances – the garments on trees, goblets, music,¹¹ ointments. [4.37] The things which appear by virtue of the mind alone are the karmic result of that

⁸ The citation of the *Daśadharmaka-sūtra* (T 310.9, translated by Buddhaśānta in A.D. 539 according to T 2154 at T LV 542a₂₆; Derge/Tōhoku 53 etc.) awaits closer inspection. To complete the overview of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in the *Book of Zambasta*, it may be noted that the meeting of the Buddha’s father with his son, which constitutes the topic of chapter five of the *Book of Zambasta*, is the theme of another ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ work, the **Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra*, a text that contains an important formulation of the doctrine of the two truths, and is quoted in Kamalaśīla’s *Bhāvanakrāma* I, Śāntideva’s *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Prajñākaramati’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*, and Candrakīrti’s *Madhyamakāvatāra* (see Lamotte 2000: 46, Yuyama 2001: lix and Yuyama 2002: 199–200). From a cursory reading of the extensive *Yab dang sras mjal ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo* (Derge/Tōhoku 60 etc.), its ninth-century Tibetan translation, I have not been able to find any direct parallel to the Khotanese text. The text is also available in Chinese translation, the *Pusa jian shi hui* (菩薩見實會, T 310.16), translated by Narendrayāśas in A.D. 568 (no translations in Western languages are presently available). No Sanskrit manuscript containing a text corresponding to the **Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra* of the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ has come to light so far, although the two fragments from the Northern Silk Road (Kucha) in the Fond Pelliot containing a passage which is otherwise known from a quotation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* could in fact belong to a manuscript of this text (see Pauly 1996: esp. 290–291 and Yuyama 2002: 200). At best, the Khotanese could be an extremely abridged and summarised (thereby simply unrecognisable) rendering of such a long and articulated text as the **Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra*.

⁹ On the translation “cannot all enter it” (*ni biśśā hā tranda hāmāre*) with present potential construction for “have not all been able to enter it” in Emmerick 1968: 83 see Maggi forthcoming a (§ 6).

¹⁰ Since in Old Khotanese the phonological distinction *-u/-ū-* is accurately represented, the form Pārūṣaku can be taken to reflect a variant Pārū° rather than Pāru°, cf. Edgerton 1953: 343, s.v.

¹¹ On *bīnāña* ‘music’ instead of ‘lotuses’ in Emmerick 1968: 83 see Degener 1989: xxxiii.

[specific] mind, just as in a dream one sees what does not [really] exist. Therefore there is no creator of them.^{14,381} There are seven divine classes of gods. They are such as is imagined. Unhindered they go through walls. He [i.e., a god] has no wound which he laments,^{14,391} because gods [exist] only by virtue of perception. They are one's own imaginations, not [made up of] material substance. In the *Samantamukhaparivarta* the Buddha has shown the meaning of this in detail.¹²

Among earlier scholars who have dealt with this passage, S. Konow (1939: 26) was the first to point to the *Samantamukhaparivarta* of the 'Mahāratnakūṭa', although without locating the passage in the text. E. Leumann (1933–1936: 57), followed by R.E. Emmerick (1968: 83), remarked that the *Samantamukhaparivarta* constituting chapter twenty-four of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* does not contain any content relevant to the passage in chapter four of the *Book of Zambasta* in which the title *Samantamukhaparivarta* is quoted. I was then able to locate a parallel to the Khotanese excerpt in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* of the 'Mahāratnakūṭa'.¹³ A parallel to the Khotanese passage occurs in the context of a description of the 'samādhi of divine appearance(s)' (天相三昧) or 'divine form(s) samādhi' (*lha'i gzugs ting nge 'dzin*).¹⁴

With this identification, the Khotanese citation now provides evidence for:

(a) the Indian form of the title of this work which – to the best of my knowledge – is otherwise neither attested nor cited in Sanskrit texts; and

(b) the circulation of an Indian (most likely Sanskrit) recension of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in Southern Central Asia from at least the mid-fifth century, as an individual scripture not yet transmitted as part of a larger collection.

As mentioned earlier, two Chinese versions of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* are extant: an early translation, the *Pumen pin jing* (普門品經, T 315), carried out by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) in A.D. 287, and the *Wenshushili pu men hui* (文殊師利普門會, T 310.10), translated by Bodhiruci (d. A.D. 527) and contained in the 'Mahāratnakūṭa' / *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 collection. A detailed comparison of the passages as found in the two Chinese translations and in relation to the Tibetan version falls outside my present concern; suffice it to note that Dharmarakṣa's translation is rather idiosyncratic if the original on which it depends was close to the textual basis of the later Chinese and Tibetan versions.¹⁵ In order to provide the parallel to the Khotanese citation I quote in full the text of the versions included in the 'Mahāratnakūṭa' collections. The Chinese, in verse, reads:

復次文殊師利, 云何名為天相三昧? 即說頌曰:

¹² Ed. Emmerick 1968: 82; translated after *ibid.*: 83 with modifications.

¹³ Martini 2010: 150–155.

¹⁴ The expression **deva-rūpa-samādhi* or other equivalents to it appear to be unattested as the name of a *samādhi* in Sanskrit sources.

¹⁵ T 315 at T XI 772a25–b4: 又告溥首: 何謂菩薩遊於諸天? 諸天嚴淨功德自然, 其意鮮潔, 心淨口淨, 無有瑕穢, 宮殿綺飾無造立者, 心樹妙華亦無種者, 福德自然, 若如幻化, 生無思議, 淨光琉璃, 械度淨了, 亦無尸爽, 虛無成立天為偽體, 自然生形恍惚而現, 勝說平等現諸天像, 是為虛無, 無借外之喻。案內觀歷三十二天, 宮殿樓閣自然之數, 無有見者, 唯得道人乃知之耳。是以菩薩深觀內外平等無異, 是為菩薩等遊諸天。In Dharmarakṣa's translation, the name of the *samādhi* in question mentions bodhisattvas journeying through all the heavens, 菩薩遊於諸天。

因清淨信心 及以衆善業
受諸天勝報 端正殊妙身
珍寶諸宮殿 非由造作成
曼陀羅妙花 亦無種植者
如是不思議 皆因業力起
能現種種相 猶若淨琉璃
如是殊妙身 及諸宮殿等
皆從虛妄生 是名天三昧。

[The Buddha said:] “Then, Mañjuśrī, what is the so-called ‘*samādhi* of divine appearances’?” Then, he explained in verse:

“Because of a mind with serene and pure faith
and by way of manyfold wholesome deeds,
one will receive the excellent reward of [birth as] a god:

[that is,] a body of wondrous beauty.

Treasures and various palaces
will be completed without having been constructed.

The coral tree has wonderful blossoms,
yet no one has planted it.

Like this, without being preconceived,
it all arises through the power of karma,
[which] is able to manifest myriad forms,
just as [images appear] in a clear piece of beryl.

In this way, the awesome bodies
as well as all the varieties of palaces,
all arise from what is unreal.

This is called the ‘*samādhi* of divine [appearances]’”.¹⁶

The meditative instructions in the parallel prose Tibetan version read:

*'jam dpal, de la ji ltar na byang chub sems dpas lha'i gzugs ting nge 'dzin du rtogs par
bya zhe¹⁷ na – rnam rtog dge las byung ba yi las dge'i 'bras bu lha rnams te rab tu dang
ba'i yid kyis na¹⁸ mdzes pa'i lha rnams mngon par grub. gzhal med khang pa nyams dga'
ba, de dag gzhan sus byas pa min. me tog man ta¹⁹ ra ba yang de dag gzhan sus bskyed
pa min. sgyu ma'i las las kun byung bas byung ba rnams kyang bsam du med, bzang
bor²⁰ snang²¹ bai dūrya log pas grub pa rnams kyang brdzun. yang dag min pas kun
bskyed pas lha rnams brdzun par shes pas na ting nge²² 'dzin zhi ba brjod pa ni lha'i²³
gzugs kyis bstan pa yin. 'jam dpal, de ltar na lha'i gzugs ting nge 'dzin du rtogs par
bya'o.*

Therefore, Mañjuśrī, if it is asked how a bodhisattva should understand the divine form *samādhi*, [the answer is:] the gods are the fruit of good karma [that is] born of good

¹⁶. *Wenshushili pu men hui* (文殊師利普門會), T 310.11 at T XI 159c27–160a7; translated after Chang 1983: 138 with modifications.

¹⁷. Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *zhi*.

¹⁸. Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *ni*.

¹⁹. Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *dā*.

²⁰. Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *por*.

²¹. Derge/Tōhoku 54 adds: *ba'i*.

²². Derge/Tōhoku 54 omits: *nge*.

²³. Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *lha yi*.

thoughts. Handsome gods are created through a mind endowed with serene faith. Charming aerial pavilions [will manifest]: these have not been produced by anybody else. Flowers of the coral trees: these have not been produced by anybody else. Inconceivable objects produced by magic, [such as] beryl of the finest water, are fabricated and false. Being non-existent (*yang dag min pas*, Skt. *abhūta*^o) and entirely [mentally] fabricated, arisen from falsity, the gods are illusory: the detailed explanation of the *samādhi* [practised] through the divine form is expounded. In this way, Mañjuśrī, the divine form *samādhi* should be understood.²⁴

Although the philosophical theme of the passage in the *Book of Zambasta* relates it beyond doubt to the passage(s) of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in Chinese and Tibetan translated above, on reading the preceding and subsequent Khotanese stanzas against the parallels, the excerpt in the *Book of Zambasta* gives the impression of a loose and at the same time expanded rendering. Moreover, it is not immediately self-evident where the actual scriptural quotation begins and ends. Such a loose and non-verbatim correspondence between the Khotanese stanzas and the verse and prose counterparts in the Chinese and Tibetan versions is partly explained by the seemingly aural formation and composite textuality of the *Book of Zambasta*. However, in the absence of the Sanskrit source(s) which was or were actually used or consulted at the time and place where the passage was translated, it is not fruitful to attempt an evaluation of the faithfulness of the Khotanese rendering by comparing it to parallels translated centuries later in entirely different cultural and intellectual milieux, almost certainly on the basis of different Indian recensions of the text.

The *Samantamukhaparivarta* can be classified, in terms of genre, as a meditation text, and its citation in the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* fills in a small blank spot in the obscure puzzle that is the Central Asian formation and transmission of a number of visualisation and meditation scriptures.²⁵ It is structured around the description of various kinds of *samādhi* that take up different meditative objects and domains of existence. The meditative instructions are based on the use of visualisations that reveal the ultimately illusory nature of all mind-fabricated phenomena.

In my initial study of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* citation, I found it difficult to detect the actual beginning of the excerpt, and I was not able to single out which, if any, of the adjacent stanzas might have originated from a different source, perhaps creatively adapted to illustrate the theme of the relationship between one's *vipāka* (the karmic effect of previous intentional action), *samjñā* (the perceptual act of conceptual identification and the deriving consolidated cognition), and *parikalpa* (the process of proliferative and thus faulty imagination). These are all doctrinal topics encountered in different places in the *Book of Zambasta*, and they are certainly dear to a Yogācāra-inspired meditative milieu close in philosophical flavour and

²⁴ 'Phags pa kun nas sgo'i le'u shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Peking/Ōtani 760.10, *dKon brtsegs, dsi*, 209b₆–210a₂ [= Derge/Tōhoku 54, *dKon brtsegs, kha*, 188a₃–188a₅]; my translation.

²⁵ Cf. esp. Yamabe 1999, Martini 2011b with references, and now Greene 2012. Most notably, the so-called '*Mañjuśrīnairātmayāvātāra-sūtra*' (ms. P 4009), a Late Khotanese original composition based on Old Khotanese sources preserved in a tenth-century manuscript from Dunhuang, comes very close to the genre of visualisation texts, cf. Martini 2011b: 127, note 11.

time to the *Book of Zambasta*.²⁶ Immediately after the description of the heavenly landscape, the statement that such a beautiful realm is visible in dependence on one's perception, and the reference to the *Samantamukhaparivarta*, other examples are given to illustrate the theme of the illusory nature of perception – maintained to be nothing more than a relationship between cause and effect:

[4.40] *catāmahārāya-būma gyasta-bhūma yakṣa-vimāna*
niṣṭā ggarā sūttro tta hvīnde ku va yakṣa-bhavana ne āro

[4.41] *ttānu parikalpe vīpākā ttāna ju mā kīro ni tsīndi*
kho ju hūña saitto ditte kho ye cā'ya-nārmātu daiyā

[4.40] There are dwellings of the Four Great Kings, dwellings of the gods, palaces of the *yakṣas*. There is no mountain – so it is stated in the *sūtra* – so that there are no palaces of the *yakṣas*.^[4.41] Their imaginations are [their own] karmic result. Therefore they have no effect on us. They are just as what seems [to exist] or appears in a dream, [or] as one sees what has been conjured up by magic.²⁷

Now, although this doctrinal elaboration is compatible with the visionary and philosophical content of several passages in the *Samantamukhaparivarta* as well as with that of, broadly speaking, other Yogācāra-inspired meditation texts, I was not able to pin it down to a specific passage in the *Samantamukhaparivarta* nor to any other possible source or parallel.

Fortunately, among the annotations made by the late R.E. Emmerick on his personal copy of the *Book of Zambasta* recently edited by M. Maggi, a reference indicates that the example provided in Z 4.40–41 does not come from the *Samantamukhaparivarta* but from a different source. We learn from Emmerick's note that stanzas Z 4.40–41 were identified by G. Schopen as a loose and in itself cryptic but expanded reference to a passage in the *Sukhāvāṭṭvyūha*.²⁸ In particular, as remarked by Maggi, the identification of the source of the passage “makes clear that the unnamed *ggarā* ‘mountain’ in Z 4.40 is Mount Sumeru and that *sūttro* ‘in the *sūtra*’ refers to the *Sukhāvāṭṭvyūha* and not to the *Samantamukhaparivarta* quoted in Z 4.39”. The passage in the *Sukhāvāṭṭvyūha* takes up the mechanisms of karma and rebirth in the Land of Bliss (*Sukhāvāṭṭ*) where, contrary to normal world systems, the cosmographic model lacks a Mount Sumeru on which gods of the lower realms live.²⁹ The

^{26.} Martini 2010: 150–155. The status and validity of perception is taken up in several other places of the *Book of Zambasta*; especially relevant in this respect is the text of the Dharma sermon given by the Buddha to his father at the time of his first return to Kapilavastu, found in chapter five (cf. Martini 2014). The cross-referencing between different chapters and the by and large homogeneity of the philosophical discourse of the *Book of Zambasta* seems to me to be a noteworthy element in support of the hypothesis of the ‘unitary’ redaction of this work, that has been discussed by Maggi 2004 and Martini 2014.

^{27.} Ed. Emmerick 1968: 82; translated after *ibid.*: 83 with modifications.

^{28.} Schopen's letter to Emmerick dated 26 February 1980, in Maggi forthcoming a (note 7). One fragmentary but all important Central Asian folio of an Old Khotanese translation of the *Sukhāvāṭṭvyūha* survives in the British Library collection (ms. Kha 0013c2), preserving, in translation, a Sanskrit original somewhat different from the Nepalese recension, see Maggi 2009: 381–382.

^{29.} Ed. Fujita 2011: 39_{7–15} (= ed. Ashikaga 1965: 33_{19–34} and ed. Kagawa 1984: 202_{1–9}): *evam ukta āyusmān ānando bhagavantam etad avocat: ye punas te bhagavaṃs cāturmahārājakāyikā devāḥ sumeru-pārśvanivāsīnas trāyastriṃśā vā sumerumūrdhni nivāsīnas, te kutra pratiṣṭhitāḥ. bhagavān āha: tat kiṃ manyase, ānanda, ye ta iha sumeroḥ parvatarājasypari ... devāḥ, kutra te pratiṣṭhitā itī. āha: acintyo bhaga-*

yakṣas are absent in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, but their imagery fits well with the theme of apparitional visions to which all *dharmas* are classically compared.³⁰ Thus, most of stanza Z 4.41 is “an amplification required to fit the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* example into the context”.

Interestingly, the ‘real’ cosmography of Sukhāvātī – that is, with the ‘real’ non-existence, there, of the very mountain that otherwise serves as the dwelling place of the lower gods – provides a good example of the ‘non-reality’ of mental and meditative experience according to the meditation system of the *Samantamukhaparivarta*. This finding closes the circle while throwing once again into relief the composite and compilative genesis – explanatory, didactic, locally adaptive and inclusive by nature – of the textual material of the *Book of Zambasta*, as exemplified by these passages in chapter four.

III. Position of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in Khotan

By way of conclusion, I make a few observations on the significance of the study of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in the *Book of Zambasta* for the reconstruction of the textual history of early Khotanese Buddhism:

1. By referring to ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ texts featured in different ways in the *Book of Zambasta* ‘as if’ they were extracted from ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures, I do not intend to suggest that the Khotanese compiler(s) had an idea or awareness that these texts belonged to any kind of unitary scriptural entity equivalent to the received Chinese and Tibetan canonical collections. Strictly speaking, to group these scriptures under the heading ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ would only be appropriate in the context of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist canons, where the *Mahāratnakūṭa* exists as a scriptural division properly so called, i.e., a macro-unit of textual transmission. The history of the formation of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection is still too little known to even suggest that the individual ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures cited in the *Book of Zambasta* may have belonged to some sort of unitary corpus in mid-fifth and sixth century Khotan – the probable period of redaction of the *Book of Zambasta*³¹ – and it would not be accurate to treat these texts together in the context in which the *Book of Zambasta* was formed and circulated.

2. However, to collect the existing Khotanese materials that bear on the circulation of such ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures may prove useful by making relevant evidence available for future studies on the formation and purpose of the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ collection as one of the texts of scriptural ‘equipment’ of Mahāyāna followers active in Central Asia – or, more precisely, in ‘Greater (Buddhist) Serindia’.³² This is especially important from the point of view

van karmānām vipākaḥ, karmābhisamkāraḥ (translated in Gómez 1996: 86 [§§ 62–63]).

³⁰ Cf., e.g., the sūtra quotation on the ten similes of apparitional phenomena in the *Da zhīdu lun* 大智度論, T 1509 at T XXV 101c₈₋₉, translated in Lamotte 1944/1981: 357. Maggi forthcoming a suggests that the mention of the *yakṣas*, absent in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, was probably brought about by their being in the service of Vaiśravaṇa, the Great Guardian King of the North especially revered in Khotan (cf., e.g., Filigenzi and Maggi 2008 with references).

³¹ The dating of the *Book of Zambasta*, probably the earliest extant original Khotanese text, from about the mid-fifth century, is based on structure and palaeography of the earliest extant folio of the *Book of Zambasta* (Maggi 2004, confirmed by Sander 2009); doctrinal and religio-historical analysis provides strong supportive evidence for this dating (Martini 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013 and 2014).

³² For the concept and term ‘Greater (Buddhist) Serindia’ (the addition “Buddhist” is my own), that I now prefer to the expression and extended notion of ‘Greater India’ that I adopted in Martini 2011: 176, I

of the hypothesis of the Central Asian formation of a number of scriptural assemblages, including the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ itself. Scriptural collections – inherently selective and therefore able to provide foundational frameworks of reference for local communities, functioning like syllabi and compendia – may well have had a major part to play in the transmission of the Dharma across Greater (Buddhist) Serindia, in times of both scriptural abundance and scriptural scarcity.³³

3. In order to better contextualise the Khotanese materials and the significance of the type of philological work they require, it may be useful to take into account the general situation of textuality of fifth/sixth-century Khotanese Buddhism.

3.1 In spite of royal patronage, early Khotanese Buddhism appears to have never undergone a process of canonisation in the sense of a programmed, centrally sponsored and formalised cultural operation of scriptural selection, classification and translation. The Buddhist communities of Khotan certainly possessed their own implicit and explicit awareness of the notions of scriptural canonicity, authenticity and normativity. One of the ways such notions are actualised is the selection of a number of texts that are ideologically and practically adopted as the frame of reference of religious learning and practice. This in itself renders especially important the study of the Indian sources that were received and chosen to serve the purpose of transmission of the Dharma and of the consequent building of religious identity.

3.2 Further, the limited and fragmentary nature of the surviving Khotanese Buddhist corpus makes even ostensibly minor pieces of evidence historically valuable. Thus, one of the possible ways of tracing back the ‘canonical scriptures’ of the Buddhism of Khotan – by reconstructing a theoretical canon of significant and authoritative scriptures – is to pay close attention to its Indian sources, for instance by way of sourced and unsourced citations of Mahāyāna works included in Khotanese Buddhist works.

3.3 Even when scriptural quotations can be traced back to their Indian originals (most often via their Chinese and Tibetan translations), it is in most cases hardly feasible to position these quotations accurately in terms of the Indian textual recension they witness and on which they depend. This is not only explained by the common problems posed by the philology of Mahāyāna scriptures (lack or fragmentary condition of the Indian originals, multiple versions circulating in India, diverse recensions of the same text witnessed by different Sanskrit manuscripts as well as the Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan translations etc.). Other complicating factors include the notable localising and adaptive tendencies and literary tastes of the Khotanese transmitters, and the stylistic gaps between originals that were

am indebted to Palumbo 2013: 283–323.

³³. Cf. Durt’s remarks (Durt 2006: 53, note 3), with regard to the situation in China: “The production of compilations was related to the fear of disappearance of the Dharma in a future age, as alluded to in the eulogistic verses following the introduction of the *Shijapu* by Sengyou (T. 2040, j. 1, p. 1a29–b4). It was probably also a way of compensation for the obstacles to the circulation of manuscripts resulting from the separation of China into North and South. Moreover, encyclopaedic compilations have a practical utility when manuscripts (or books) become too abundant. This aspect was not limited to Buddhism”. The prophecy of the end of the Dharma contained in chapter twenty-four (= twenty-three, see Maggi and Martini 2014) of the *Book of Zambasta*, which concludes the work, indeed points to a felt awareness and need for preserving the transmission of the Dharma through textual production.

in most cases in prose and their versified Khotanese renderings.

All such complications notwithstanding, investigations of the manner in which Khotanese Buddhist communities made use of the texts that they regarded as authoritative – in the present case, a ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ philosophical and meditative scripture, explained with the aid of the *Sukhāvāitīvyūha* – remain particularly important in that several ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ works seem to have been of religious significance in the Mahāyāna communities in which the *Book of Zambasta* circulated from the mid-fifth century onwards.³⁴

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Puñadatta's Contract of Sale of an Estate¹

DUAN Qing

In 2000, the Xinjiang team of the Archeological Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences launched a program of salvage excavations in the southern Domoko area of Qira County, and since then, the Xinjiang-based archaeological team has already discovered along the approximately 80 miles of the Domoko river basin area nearly 20 ancient Buddhist architectural remains. In 2012, the team collected the exquisite murals discovered throughout several years of excavation in the volume *Cele Damagou fojiao huiji zhi di* 策勒达玛沟佛教汇集之地 [Domoko in Qira County: A Meeting Place for Buddhism], where the superb art of ancient Khotan shines again in its former splendor. On pages 78-79 of this book were published four Khotanese double wooden tablets. When the National Social Science Fund approved the plan of our project, we decided to start with these documents.

Here published is one of the altogether four double wooden tablets preserved in the Cultural Administration Bureau of Qira County,² which turns out to be a contract of sale of an estate by a Khotanese man, Puñadatta by name. The sale took place in the 11th year of king Viśa' Vāhaṃ (Chinese *Yuchi Yao* 尉遲曜), i.e. 777 CE.³ This document is in several ways meaningful. As well known, the largest part of Khotanese documents from the 8th century is mostly penned on paper. However, documents written on double wooden tablets, which are called *pādā-* in Khotanese—a type of contracts or verdicts drawn up mostly for sales of slaves and estates or for cases concerning a great sum of money—were regarded as vital legal instruments that every household in the ancient time of Khotan may have preserved, symbolising a token of the tradition of Khotanese society. It has been generally assumed that at least from the reign of Viśa' Vāhaṃ onwards the tradition of writing documents on such double wooden tablets must have been abandoned due to the convenience of paper. This document shows that for important legal documents during the reign of Viśa' Vāhaṃ the traditional way of record preservation was still preferred.

¹ The photographs were made by Mrs. Shi Yan 史燕 from the Cultural Administration Bureau of Qira County. This article is one of the research outcomes of the project “Decipherment and Research on non-Chinese Documents Preserved from the Southern Silk Road in Xinjiang” (2012 National Social Science Fund 12&ZD179). I owe Mr. Diego Loukota very much for revising the English version of this paper.

² To the four documents no signatures have been assigned yet. Hereafter the document of Puñadatta will be provisionally designated as Qira 04 for convenience of reference.

³ See Zhang & Rong 2008, 256.

In a previous article I have discussed the Khotanese word *bisā-* that, though considered as a transparent and well-known word by scholars, was variously translated by ancient Chinese translators (Duan 2009, 65–70). This proves that at least during the Tang dynasty there was no ready-made Chinese concept that could completely convey the connotations of the Khotanese word *bisā-*. However, the *bisā-* was an essential social element in ancient Khotan. Puñadatta's contract of sale of his estate can precisely allow us to examine the structure of a Khotanese *bisā-*.

Generally speaking, this document designated here as Qira 04 is conserved in a good state. It is sized 19cm x 12.5cm. The text is fairly legible though written in very cursive Brahmī. I provide below a romanised transcription of the cursive Brahmī script followed by a translation, a survey of the people mentioned therein and a commentary so far as possible.

Transcription

Sigla:

<i>SI</i>	short-hand <i>si</i> for <i>siddham</i> .
—	empty space left by the scribe.
[]	an illegible character.
x	an illegible <i>akṣara</i> .
<>	text written below the lines.
+	sign for inserted text.

On the top of the cover-tablet with inscription upside down (a)

1. *SI* auva-haṃdasti spā-
2. ta salbī pyaṣṭi haṃgrīhy[a]

On the lower part of the cover-tablet (b)

1. *SI* ṣā' girya-vāḍi pāḍa
2. tte prracaina cu brraṇaṃdā
3. u sīḍakā + <u saṃṣṭa> bisa giryādi 600
4. mū<ri > ba<ka>narā nāma u śaṃdā va
5. giryādā 400 rī hālai puñada-
6. ttāna u yamadattāna bye spāta
7. vikrāttadattā — u pharṣa mayadattā ce-
8. gadattā saṃgabudā sirph[ū]kā

Inside of the cover-tablet (c)

1. *SI* salī 10 1 māstā haṃdyaja haḍā 10 8 rrudā viṣyi vāhaṃ tti-
2. ña beḍa ṣau aśaukā salya ṣā girya-vāḍā pāḍa tte pracaina
3. cu aṣṭi khaṣarāñña bīśai naḍā brraṇaṃdā u sīḍakā tti tta
4. hvādā si vaña ṣṭā mihā puñadattāna u pūri yamadattāna
5. bisa gināmaṃ bakinarāñña nāma daṃna śā kūḍā ttū jsa

6. dva u śaṃdā 400 rī hālai śā' śaṃdā dva-haṣkala śumāḍa pī-
7. hya ve mūri 600 hauḍi mī brranaṃdā u sīḍakā uspurri

Inside of the under-tablet (d)

1. mūri 600 nātemū aysā puñadattā u yamadattā
2. nau ni vara vistāte khu pā puñadattā u yamadattā mūri
3. himāde ttā vā bisa u [śaṃdā] uysgināri ttī ra śā' pā-
4. ḍa pramāna himā khvī auva-haṃdasti spāta salbī pyāśdi
5. [tt]i bura vara ttiña gvera byānā ya spāta vikrāttadattā
6. pharṣa mayadattā cegadattā ustākaji saṃgabudā sirphū-
7. kā parrāmā jiñya cājsa

On the outer edge of the under-tablet (e)

1. ays[ī] x pīḍai ka'ri saṃgaki spāta salbī parauna u yamadatti sal[ā]

Translation

The township head, the *spāta* Salbī, signed in the assembly (a1-2).

This *pāḍā* (double wooden tablet) of the sale-contract is for the reason that Brraṇaṃda and Sīḍaka bought for 600 *mūras* a hamlet Bakanarā by name and the plot there of 400 *rī* on the side, from Puñadatta and Yamadatta. (b1-6)

Witnesses: the *spāta* Vikrāttadatta, the *pharṣa* Mayadatta, Cegadatta, Saṃgabuda and Sirphūka. (b6-8)

Year 11, 18 days of the month Haṃdyaja, of king Viśyi Vāhaṃ, at that time in the year of the *śau* Aśauka. (c1-2)

This *pāḍā* (double wooden tablet) of a sale-contract is for the reason that there are the man Brraṇaṃda and [the man] Sīḍaka, resident at the settlement of the *Khaśaras*, who so said: (c2-4) “now we purchase from Puñadatta and [his] son Yamadatta the hamlet called Bakinarā, a manor, two gate-houses with wall and plot of 400 *rī* on the side”. This plot [consisting] of two parts is valued at *bi* price for 600 *mūras*. ” (c2-7)

Now Brraṇaṃda and Sīḍaka paid the whole 600 *mūras*. (c7-d1)

I (=we) Puñadatta and Yamadatta received them. There is no disagreement between them. (d1-2) When Puñadatta and Yamadatta will have the money, then they will redeem this hamlet and land. (d2-3)

This *pāḍā* (double wooden tablet) will become authoritative when the head of the township, the *spāta* Salbī, signs. (d3-4)

These are the witnesses for this contract: the *spāta* Vikrāttadatta, the *pharṣa* Mayadatta, Cegadatta, Saṃgabuda of Ustāka, Sirphūka, the inspectors Jiñya and Cājsa. (d5-7)

This I wrote the scribe Saṃgaka, according to the command of the *spāta* Salbī and from the word of Yamadatta.

Notes about Personal names

Aśauka: Skt. Aśoka. As this document shows, Aśauka was in the 11th year under the Khotanese king Viśa' Vāhaṃ a *ṣau* official, a title that means the highest position direct under the king. Aśauka as a *ṣau* official is for several times noticed in Khotanese documents as for instance in Hardinge 074.1 (*Catalogue*, 125), which is a fragment of a letter addressed by him to the township head of Gaysāta and all people there, and in Or.8211/1473 (*Catalogue*, 40), according to which he seemingly was in possession of water.

Cājśa: an inspector and witness. So far I have not found traces of this person in other Khotanese documents.

Cegadatta: A witness. The name is a compound with its first member seemingly derived from *ciṃga-*, *cega-* “Chinese” (*Dictionary*, 101-102), while its second member *datta-* “given” is a Skt. word. Cegadatta occurs also as witness in the Or.9268b document of the British Library (*Catalogue*, 68-69) dated in the year 17th of an unidentified king when Puñadatta was giving a 3-year-old child in adoption to another family. Since Puñadatta and Cegadatta appear together in this document of the 11th year of Viśa' Vāhaṃ, it is safe to infer that the 17th year happened as well to be a regnal year of king Viśa' Vāhaṃ.

Jiñya: an inspector and a witness. I have failed to find traces of this person in other Khotanese documents.

Puñadatta: one of the vendors of hamlet and land, father of Yamadatta. This name is quite frequent in Khotanese documents. The *pādā* document designated BH5-2 of the National Library of China (hereafter as NLC) is a contract concerning the sale of a girl by his uncle to a man named Puñadatta. Despite of an interval of almost 50 years between the documents of Puñadatta as the earlier vendee and as the later vendor,⁴ a few witnesses shared by these two documents prove that the vendee 50 years prior is to be identified with the Puñadatta in Qira 04. It is absolutely a rare case that by referring to several Khotanese documents the life course of an ancient Khotanese individual can be even roughly traced. I intend to write another paper devoted to Puñadatta's life story. Here I will only briefly survey the Khotanese documents in which the same name appears with a similar background. A certain Puñadatta is first seen in Or.12637/14.1 (*Catalogue*, 124) dated in the 14th year of the Viśa Vākraṃ (i.e. 705-706 CE), in which he is described to have “conjured up”⁵ 108 *kūsas* of wheat and thus solved the debt dispute between two districts. Chinese-Khotanese bilingual wooden slips dated to 722

⁴ The document BH5-2 bears two dates: the first one is written on the inside of the cover-tablet and reveals itself as from the 9th year of Khotanese King Viśya Sīhye while the second one, written on the outside of the under-tablet, is of the first year of a certain supervisor of the kingdom. Accordingly it is quite for certain that the event of BH5-2 took place around year 725. Cf. Duan 2013, 44; cf. Skjærvø 2009, 131. According to the chronology summarised by Zhang & Rong, the 11th year of Viśa' Vāhaṃ corresponds to year 777 CE (Zhang & Rong 2008, 261).

⁵ “Conjured up” is a rendering of *usthīyā*, 3rd singular masculine of the perfect tense derived from root *usthamj-* “to pull out; to conjure up”. Cf. SGS, 18; cf. Duan 2010, 182.

and 727 CE confirm that Puñadatta corresponds to *Peina* 裴捺 in Chinese (Rong & Wen 2009, 105–106). In the 9th year of the king Viśya Sīhye (i.e. 725–726 CE), he bought a girl that would bear him offspring by 2100 *mūras* (approximately equal to four bolts of silk at that time). Afterwards he was promoted to the position of *ṣau* official of Khotan as confirmed by Hedin 33 (KT 4, 41). In this document, dated in the 11th regnal year of Viśa' Vāhaṃ (i.e. 776–777 CE), Puñadatta sold his estate. Six years later, in the 17th year of the same regnal era (782–783 CE), Puñadatta, approaching death, gave a child in adoption.

Brraṇaṃḍa: one of the vendees of Puñadatta's estate. This name, slightly different in spelling as *brṇaṃḍi*, is noted in M.T.a.i.0040 (*Catalogue*, 277) with a date in the 4th regnal year of an unidentified king. BH5-1 of NLC is another Khotanese document in form of double wooden tablet which shed light on collateral pledge and loan in ancient Khotan.⁶ For the present occasion it is noteworthy that the contract dated in the 5th year of Viśya Dharmā (approximately around 732 CE) mentions Brraṇaṃḍa as a witness for the man, Auśaka by name, who came from the village of the *Khaśaras*. This Brraṇaṃḍa of BH5-1 is without any doubt the same man who reappears in Qira 04, for Brraṇaṃḍa and Sīḍaka were also living in the village of the *Khaśaras* as stated in the document.

Mayadatta: a *pharṣa* official. His name might come from Skt. *māyādatta* “given by illusion.” It is not viable to identify *pharṣa* Mayadatta with the man with the same name in Or.6397.2 (*Catalogue*, 9) which was written in the 20th year of Viśa Vāhaṃ (785–786 CE) in Gaysāta.

Yamadatta: one of the vendors, the son of Puñadatta. *Yama-datta* is a Skt. compound that means “given by Yama”. In ancient Indian mythology, Yama is the judge of the underground and god of death.

Vikrāttadatta: a *spāta* official. In this name it is clear to see the original Skt. compound *vikrānta-datta* that means “given by courage, given by the warrior”. Vikrāttadatta is a familiar person in Khotanese documents of the 8th century who, for instance, signed as a *pharṣa* official the document dated in the 5th year of Viśya Dharmā which now bearing signature BH5-1 is preserved in NLC in Beijing, and who functioned as a witness in Or. 9268a (*Catalogue*, 67), also dated in a year of Viśya Dharmā, and was in the position of *pharṣa* official. It is thanks to the cross-references of Vikrāttadatta and Puñadatta in the document designated as BH5-2 of NLC and again in the document labeled here Qira 04, in which Vikrāttadatta first witnessed for Puñadatta as a vendee in the transaction regarding a girl and then was witnessing again for him when he sold his hamlet and land, that we are quite sure to have them both as the same figures in documents bridging a gap of 50 years. However, in the latter case Vikrāttadatta had already been promoted from a *pharṣa* to a *spāta*. Judging from several extant documents, Vikrāttadatta had been active between *circa* 720 and 780 AD.

Viśyi Vāhaṃ: a dative/genitive form of Viśa' Vāhaṃ. This is the name of the King of

⁶ BH5-1 will be published in my forthcoming paper entitled “Pledge, Collateral and Loan in Ancient Khotan,” in *Eurasian Studies*, vol. 2, Sydney: Asia Publishing Nexus, 2014.

Khotan referred to in Chinese sources as *Yuchi Yao* 尉遲曜. Historians have already discussed in depth the data available on this king who, according to the research of Zhang & Rong (2008, 256–258), reigned around 767–802 CE.

Samgaka: the scribe of document Qira 04. This name seems to have been popular in Khotan. An aristocrat from Khotan left the same name, his own, repeatedly attested in the famous Khotan scrolls Ch.c.001, for instance IOL Khot.S.46 (*Catalogue*, 542) which was discovered among the documents of the Dunhuang hidden Cave, dating at least from a hundred years later than the document Qira 04.⁷ To ascertain that we are dealing with one and the same Samgaka, there is no scarcity of cross-references of documents in which Samgaka should co-occur with one or two of the same fellows. In fact documents of this kind are not scarce: Or 11252/16 (KT 2, 21; *Catalogue*, 95) dated in the 35th regnal year is an instance in which Samgaka is written together with Sirphūka in a namelist; Hedin 6 (KT 4, 24) has a namelist of men of duty, in which Puñadatta, Samgaka and Sirphūka are found; In Hardinge 074.4 (*Catalogue*, 131) dated to the 1st year of a young new king, 41-year-old Samgaki was recorded together with 28-year-old Salbī.⁸

Samgabudā: witness in Qira 04 as well as in Or.9268b, the document that records Puñadatta giving away his son in adoption (*Catalogue*, 68-69). The namelist of Or.6401.2.1 (*Catalogue*, 19) has this name together with Puñadatta's.

Salbī: In the 11th regnal year of Viśa' Vāhaṃ, Salbī was 37 years old and in position both as the township head and as a *spāta*. His age is figured out on the basis of Hardinge 074.5 (*Catalogue*, 131) dated in the 1st regnal year of the young king: it records his name and also his age as 26 years, but without mentioning his official position. However, in Hardinge 074.5 he was listed among the *kīraraas* of the township Birgaṃdara, a word which I translate as “weaver”.⁹ The fact is that he had become in the 11th regnal year of Viśa' Vāhaṃ a head of the township and a *spāta*.

Sīḍaka: he was the most prominent figure in the last 30 years of the 8th century in Khotan; but in this document we see him as one of the purchasers of Puñadatta's estate. Ancient Chinese transcriptions of this name include Silüe 思略, Silüe 斯略 and Xilüe 悉略. Before this document Qira 04 turned up, the earliest document referring to his name is one dated in the 16th year of the Dali 大歷 era of the Tang dynasty (i.e. 781 CE). He appears initially as a commoner, but after 782 he served as township head of Gaysāta, and after 785 as a *spāta*.¹⁰ Qira 04 shows that Sīḍaka came originally from the village of the *Khaśaras* and was perhaps son of Brraṃaṃda. It seems to be a later event that Sīḍaka moved to Gaysāta.

Sirphūka: a witness. This name is very common in late 8th century and in beginning of the 9th century in Khotanese documents. Just to list a few: Or 11252/14 (*Catalogue*, 93),

⁷. It is recorded in the manuscript that the writing occurred in the Year of the Rabbit. Hamilton believes that this Year of the Rabbit should be identified with 943 CE. Cf. Hamiltom 1979, 54; cf. Emmerick 1992, 22.

⁸. Zhang & Rong (2008, 258) identify this young king with Viśa' Vāhaṃ and date his first year in 767CE.

⁹. Cf. Duan 2013, 320 note 56.

¹⁰. See Zhang & Rong 2008, 109; Wen 2009, 135.

Or 11252/16(Catalogue, 94), Or.11344 / 1 (*Catalogue*, 104-105) and OIOC Photo 392/57 TO46 (*Catalogue*, 582). The last one above is a photo of a document collected by Stein from Domoko during his last expedition in Xinjiang. Note that the original text is dated in Viśā' Vāhaṃ's 34th regnal year, which corresponds to 799 CE.

Notes about the place-name Khaśarāṃṇa

Other than Puñadatta's estate, the only other place-name in document Qira 04 is Khaśarāṃṇa, which also appears in BH5-1 document of NLC dated in the 5th year of Viśya Dharmā, where it is spelt Khaṃśarāṃṇa. The purchaser in Qira 04, Bṛaṃṇaṃda, also appears in this just mentioned document. This place-name is a word ending with suffix -āṃṇa-, thus originally being a denominative adjective of derivation (Degener 1989, 71–72). As attested in the Khotanese-Chinese bilingual document bearing signature BH1-15 of NLC (Duan 2009, 66), words ending with suffix -āṃṇa- indicate ethnic groups. The most salient example is Suttīnāṃṇa rendered as 速底囊村 'village of the Sogdians'. Thus I prefer to translate Khaśarāṃṇa "village or settlement of *Khaśaras*" or simply "of the *Khaśaras*". Hedin 4 (KT 4, 23) and Hedin 64 (KT 4, 48) have the same spelling as found in Qira 04. It is according to Hedin 42 that in the settlement of *Khaśaras* there was a military garrison.¹¹

Re-approaching bisā-

Perhaps in an environment of English mother tongue, *bisā-* seems lucid enough and not worthy of scholarly commentary because its connotation coincides with that of the English term "house", as once Professor Skjærvø pointed out to me in a private communication. Thus conventionally this Khotanese word is translated into English as "house". However, I was quite puzzled when confronted with a variety of classical Chinese translations of this word: 1) *gongdian* 宮殿 "palace", 2) *jia* 家 "home", *wushe* 屋舍 "dwelling", 3) *cun* 村 "village".¹² Apparently there was no Chinese word exactly suited to convey the meaning of *bisā-*. All along, I have been looking forward to the occasion to scrutinise the interior of a *bisā-* because this is a very important word that stands for the essential unit of tax-payment in the society of ancient Khotan. Finally, document Qira 04 provides an exact description of a real *bisā-*. Now let us turn to a basic Khotanese *bisā-* as described by document Qira 04. However, to be less hermetic, I prefer for the document under discussion the word "hamlet" to render *bisā-*.

Firstly, every hamlet must have owned a proper name. But the name of the hamlet offered by Puñadatta has to be clarified. It occurs twice: first in the lower part (b4) and

¹¹. Compare with the related utterance in Hedin 42: *khaṃśarāṃṇa hīṇai vāra I* "one is owed to the garrison in the village of the *Khaṃśaras*." The Khotanese text is taken from KT 4, 43. Bailey's different understanding of this sentence is in page 151 of the same book.

¹². In an earlier paper I have shown the variety of translations of the specific word with reference to different texts. For the English version of this paper, cf. Duan 2009, 65–73.

then in the inside (c5) of the cover-tablet. In line c5 the name reads fairly clear as *Bakinarāna* based on which the correct form in line b4 can be retrieved. Here below are the characters as they are written in line b4: —

The scribe seems to have the habit to add the forgotten *akṣaras* in subscript so that *akṣara -ri* of *mūri* is penned under the *akṣara ba*—the initial *akṣara* of the name of the hamlet. At first sight one reads the name of the hamlet as “batkarā” which seems to be a distorted form of *bakinarāna* (line c5). However, taking the habit of the scribe into consideration, the name can be reconstructed as *bakanarā*, or even *bakinarā*, a result much closer to the correct form *bakinarāna*.¹³

The hamlet sold by Puñadatta- consists of the following basic constituents:

(i) *daṃna śā* “a manor”. As discovered by Bailey (*Dictionary*, 152), the etymon of *daṃna* is *damāna-*: the only element which may be doubted of is the grammatical masculine gender of *damāna-* as suggested by Bailey. As our text indicates, *daṃna* might stem from *damānā-*, for it is followed by a feminine numeral *śā* “one”, while the masculine form is *śau* (*śśau*). But based on an isolate case of our text, no definitive pronouncement can be yet achieved.

(ii) *kūḍā ttū jsa dva* “with its surrounding wall with two gatehouses.” *kūḍā*, accusative plural, derives from **kūṣḍa-*, *kuṣḍa-* (*Dict.* 63). *kūḍā* for *kūṣḍā* should be a normal variation, for cases of *-ṣḍ-* written as *-ḍ-* can be observed in *māḍe*, *māṣḍān(a)* “mercy” (*SGS*, 338-339). The key lies in the semantics. In *Dict.* there are two entries under *kūṣḍa-* “palace” and **kūṣḍa-*, *kuṣḍa-* “hole”. But I think that these two entries are discussing one and the same word with various meanings. The meaning “mansion, palace” of the first *kūṣḍa-* is well attested several times through parallel versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottamasūtra*, as for instance, Khotanese *rruīyā kūṣḍā* translating Sanskrit *rājadhānī*, which is rendered by Yijing 義淨 as *gongdian* 宮殿 “palace.”¹⁴ As for the etymology of this *kūṣḍa-*, both Bailey and Skjærvø trace it back to the Avestan *kaoḍda-*, which appears as last member in the compound *ašta.kaoḍda*, defined in Bartholomae’s *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* as “having eight parts, eightfold.” It is an adjective that describes the crown worn by the Avestan goddess Anāhita. Skjærvø believes that the “eightfoldness” conveyed by this adjective refers to eight tiers of the crown of the goddess.¹⁵

According to Bailey there is another homophonous *kūṣḍa-* with meaning “hole” (*Dictionary*, 62-63). But at least the passage he quoted from Khotanese *Bhadra-*

¹³ Hedin 75 seems to contain the spelling *baktaraṃ* (KT 4, 50), read by Skjærvø read as *baknaraṃ*, but he suspects that this piece is forged. All this was kindly informed to me by Professor Skjærvø in a private letter.

¹⁴ The Khotanese and Sanskrit examples are in Skjærvø 2004, 100 (6.2.5), 256 (vocabulary). Yijing’s translation is taken from CBETA, T16, no. 665, 428b5.

¹⁵ Original German: achteilig, achtfacht geteilt. See Skjærvø 2004, 256.

caryādeśanā cannot support his idea that Khotanese *kuṣḍa-* (*kūṣḍa-*)¹⁶ corresponds to Sanskrit *puṭa*¹⁷ that means a “bag, pocket” or “basket made of leaves”, but not “hollow hands”; for the latter meaning becomes true only when it is rendering the Sanskrit compound *puṭāñjali* which exactly means “joining the hollowed hands in an *añjali* gesture”. If *kuṣḍa-* translates Sanskrit *puṭa*, it should be generally consistent with the meaning of “pocket”. However, after comparing the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese parallels of the relevant passage, it seems to me that the Chinese translation of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhānarāja* made by Amoghavajra in the Tang Dynasty is surprisingly close to the Khotanese version that helps to understand what *kuṣḍa-* (**kūṣḍa-*) means by rendering Skt. *puṭa*. The whole corresponding stanza goes as follows:

cu ri buṣāñā pīrmāttami vāstyau haṃtsa .
 sūmīrā garā māññāmdā kuṣḍyām’ jsa cuṇyau jsa
 carauvyau bva’ñāṃ śirkām jsa bīsāmnā .
 paṃetuṃ diśi’ vī biśā sāmmūha : ba’ysa¹⁸

“With whatever best perfumes and clothes,
 With towers [full] of fragrant powders resembling the Sumeru Mountain,
 With lamps and all good incenses,
 I venerate all Buddhas present in [all] directions.”

Amoghavajra:

以勝衣服及諸香，
 末香積聚如須彌，
 殊勝燈明及燒香，
 我悉供養諸如來。(CBETA, T10, 880a)

“With splendid clothes and perfumes,
 Fragrant powders in heaps as mount Meru,
 Blazing lamps and incense burning,
 I venerate all Tathāgatas”

Here *sūmīrā garā* → “Sumeru”, *māññāmdā* → “like”, *kuṣḍyām’* (plural) → “heaps, accumulations”, *cuṇyau* (plural) → “fragrant powders”. If the Khotanese version is to be literally translated, it would go something like “with heaps made of fragrant powders [as high] as mount Meru”. From the point of view of the Chinese version, **kūṣḍa-*(*kuṣḍa-*) corresponds to “heap, accumulation”, and from here the meaning “barn, granary” seems natural, but the solution proposed by Bailey, “hole” is not suitable at least in the quoted stanza.

16. In Late Khotanese, non-final *u* and *ū* are frequently interchanged. See Emmerick 1979, 246.

17. For a synoptic Khotanese-Sanskrit edition, see Asmussen 1961, 11.

18. The phrase *sūmīrā garā māññāmdā kuṣḍyām’ jsa cuṇyau jsa* “with incense heaps large as mount Meru” corresponds to BHS *cūrṇapuṭebhi ca merusamebhiḥ* “with incense large in measure as mount Meru.” The Khotanese texts can be found in KT 1, 223 (45r4). For the comparison with the Sanskrit, see Asmussen 1961, 11.

Discussing the etymon of the “second” **kūṣḍa*-(*kuṣḍa*-), Sims-Williams pointed out that the Khotanese word is related to Buddhist Sogdian *kwč’kh*, Man. and Chr. *qwč’* ‘mouth’, which is derived from **kauždačr-* +-*ā-kā*.¹⁹ “Opening, mouth, hole”, the meaning of Sogdian related words as elucidated by Sims-Williams is enlightening (Sims-Williams 1983, 47).

However, I believe that the Khotanese terms *kūṣḍa*-“mansion” and **kūṣḍa*-(*kuṣḍa*-) “hole” are merely a single word which refers to the ancillary buildings attached to an estate. As the word can be translated as “accumulation”, it could also be interpreted as “barn, granary”; as it can be compared to mount Meru, it must also be able to indicate a tall building. After combining the two homophonous *kūṣḍa*- —one means “a tall building”, the other means “opening, hole”, I think that this single and only word means “gatehouse”. This idea is supported by evidence other than purely linguistic.

One should place more reliance upon *Prophecy of the Li Country* (Emmerick 1967, xii). In that book, one description draws my attention. As translated by Emmerick from the Tibetan text, it goes as follows:

“Then later, this king, being on one occasion in the gate-house of the northern gate high above the fortress of Hu-then, looked and saw behind the fortress a monk doing obeisance to a householder and conversing with him.” (Emmerick 1967, 55)

Through this informative description, two facts can be gathered: 1) a high gate-house was a part of the construction of the royal estate in ancient Khotan; 2) a royal estate had more than one gate-house.

Although we do not physically know what a Khotanese hamlet or estate may have looked like, because all physical remains and traces of the ancient kingdom of Khotan have completely disappeared, in the painted caves of Dunhuang that depict scenes of Khotan, we can still grasp some of its general contours. For example, see the following two images:



Image 1



Image 2

¹⁹. This is quoted from Emmerick, cf. *Studies* 2, 34; cf. Sims-Williams 1983, 47.

These two paintings are both taken from the fresco in the Southern wall of 榆林 Yulin cave 33 that represents Gošīrša Mountain in Khotan.²⁰ The two yards represented here have surprisingly similar features, with a main house, a courtyard surrounded by walls and two gatehouses. I believe that what the two pictures outline is precisely the appearance of an ancient Khotanese *bisā*-. The central house can be easily exemplified by the manor house sold by Puñadatta-, namely the so-called *damna*, whereas the term *kūdā* refers to the two gatehouses.

I will discuss next the phrase *ttū jsa*. At first glance the form *ttū* looks like a pronoun. However, under detailed analysis, one realises that *ttū* can be by no means a pronoun; because such an irregular inflection, even in late Khotanese, is something I have never seen before. *ttū* must indicate a certain concrete notion.

Bailey has pointed out that a series of Iranian language family vocabulary suggests the existence of a root *tau-/tu-*. After comparison between Ossetic, Parthian and Khotanese, Bailey postulated the existence of a root *tau-/tu-* meaning “to cover”. For example, Ossetic has *äftāun-*, *äftud*,²¹ meaning “put, throw over, add, pile up, place upon”; Parthian has **vitāvana-*, meaning “distance of a bowshot”; Armenian preserves the Iranian loanword *vtauat* “veil”, which also belongs to this category. In turn, Khotanese has *tturaka-* “cover” of a quiver, and *taura-* “wall” (Bailey 1960, 32). By accepting Bailey’s theory, I think that the word *ttū* in *ttū jsa* is also a word derived from the root *tau-/tu-* meaning “cover, shelter.” Now based on the context of the document at hand and as well as the two images, I believe the word *ttū* here indicates the walls surrounding the estate. That is the solution I have achieved at this stage: needless to say that the meaning of this word needs to be confirmed with further evidence.

(iii) *śaṃdā* <*śandaā*- “land; plot”, which cannot lack to a *bisā*-. However, there is some difficulty for restoring the reality of the transaction concerning the part of land. First of all, one is to figure out how large the sold land had been. But now the information is quite confusing. On the cover-side it is written as follows:



u śadā va giryādā 400 rī hālai

Note that 𑖀 *rī* is very similar to the *akṣara* “60”. When I published the Chinese version of document Qira 04, I decided for “60”. Then, however, I miss a term of a measure unit which naturally should follow after the given number. After comparing this *rī* with “60” of other scribes, I think that the *akṣara* should read *rī*. Then the next

²⁰. Cf. Sun 2000, 86-87.

²¹. I quote here Bailey’s examples from the Digoron dialect of Ossetic, see Bailey 1960, 32.

question is: what is *rī*?

I have not yet found a satisfactory explanation for the etymon or cognates for *rī*, which is expected to be a measure unit for calculation of area. Besides there is no attested example for *rī* in a similar context in the whole extant Khotanese literature as in document Qira 04.

Concerning terms of measure units in ancient Khotan, it is proven that the Khotanese had adopted the Chinese system for measuring textiles, as Chinese terms for length of textiles are found such as *chā* for *chi* 尺 and *tsuna* for *cun* 寸. However, examples of Chinese units for measuring farm land area are rare. Or.6393/2(M.9) (*Catalogue*, 4) is a contract of Sīḍaka for renting a farm land which is dated in a regnal year of Viśā' Vāhaṃ, but there is no mention of the size of the area. Looking at the Turfan area, land there was conventionally measured in *mu* 亩, which could be further subdivided into *bu* 步.²² *mu* as a measure unit for farm area is not found in the whole Khotanese literature. However, the Hetian Museum keeps a lease contract of mulberry trees subscribed by Sīḍaka in which the unit *buna* is used to measure the area of the orchard. Yutaka Yoshida believes that the term *buna* refers to the bases of single mulberry trees.²³ I am inclined to think that it is a term for a measure unit for measuring area, a phonetic rendering of *bu* 薄 or *bu* 步²⁴ meaning “a pace”, since the method to use human paces for measuring area is not only observed in environments in contact with the Chinese culture, but also seen in the Indian tradition.²⁵

As for the plot of Puñadatta, one point should be highlighted, i.e.: this plot was located not outside, but inside his hamlet which was encompassed by a wall, for it is mentioned in the context of a complex of a *bisā-*. However, at this stage, I have to stress the fact that till now no archaeological research has been undertaken focusing on dwellings and estates of the ancient kingdom of Khotan, and that, concerning architectural customs and building materials of Khotanese estates, modern knowledge is as scarce as lacunose. A hypothesis is allowed. My idea is that the rules for measurement for laying a foundation of a hamlet should be different from those for farmland. I assume that a standard pattern was in use for laying the foundation of the wall around an estate, so that it was easy for ancient Khotanese to calculate how big an estate and how wide the plot was, and that this pattern was called *rī*.

Khotanese *hālaa-* has several meanings: “side; half; direction; disabled”.²⁶ In this

²² For example, in *Zhongguo gudai jizhang yanjiu zhi houtu* 中国古代籍账研究 [Research into the Ancient Chinese Household Registration System] 196, document 129 has the following: 一段半亩五十步 “a section is of half a 亩 *mu* and 50 步 *bu*”.

²³ Yoshida 2011, 59 thinks *buna* is the *racine ou base (d'un arbre, employé pour compter les mûriers)* “the root or base (of a tree, [a measure] employed to count the mulberry trees”).

²⁴ For an examination of this document, see Duan 2009a.

²⁵ As pointed out by S. K. Maity: “In the Vākātaka and Maitraka kingdoms a measurement called *pāda-varta* was in common use, and is referred to in connexion with the areas of fields and tanks.” The term is further discussed by the author as follows: “if we interpret it etymologically as ‘a turning of the feet’ it might imply a square measuring a pace on each side, or approximately 9 square feet.” Cf. Maity 1957, 106–107.

²⁶ For the meaning “side, direction”, see Skjærvø 2004, 366, as well as the relevant entries in Bailey’s

document, *hālai* following the measure of the plot seems to mean “side”. It might be used for expressing the measurement of an area. However, we have to wait for more evidence to confirm the meaning used in such a context.

As for the plot, the document gives yet another explanation: *ṣā’ ṣaṃdā dva-ḥaṣkala ṣūmāda pīhya ve mūri 600* “this plot [consisting of] two sections is valued at the *bi* price of 600 coins.” *dva-ḥaṣkala* means “two regions, in two parts.” *ṣūmāda*, a feminine past passive participle in the nominative case, comes from the root *ṣumār-* “to count” (SGS, 128).

pīhya is the genitive/dative case of *piha-* “Chinese currency *bi*”. The new definition of this word is proven in the document designated as BH5-2 of NLC—the contract concerning the sale of a niece by her uncle (Duan 2013, 53–55). While reading Sims-Williams’ collection of Bactrian materials from Afghanistan, published in 2000, one can see that wherever money is mentioned, the currency to be paid is always specified. For example, on pages 72–73, two currencies are mentioned: one is *dirhams* issued by king Kavad,²⁷ while the second is *dinars*. Even if ancient Khotan was far apart from northern Afghanistan, the language used belongs in both cases to a middle Iranian *milieu*, and thus some of the expressions show certain analogies. Although it is quite certain that the term *pīha-* is borrowed from the Chinese 幣 *bi* “coin, currency”, I’m afraid that it refers to a certain coin from Tang dynasty and is not to be generalised for all periods of the Tang time. Here a contrast of prices will be enough to show indications of changes of currency undergone in ancient Khotan during the last 30 years of the 8th century: According to the document designated as Godfrey (*Catalogue*, 577) dated in the 15th regnal year of Viśa’ Vāhaṃ (781CE), the price for summer clothing had reached 150 *mūras* for a 尺 *chi* whereas the price registered in Hedin 48 (*KT* 4, 45) was only 12.5 *mūras* per *chi*. Here Puñadatta’s hamlet sale includes a house and land, but the price is only 600 coins. That sounds impossibly cheap. Although there must be another reason behind that Puñadatta should be in an urgent need of money, the currency offered in the price is not to be ignored. This will be an issue to be explored in the future.

A Note about the vocabulary

Other than the specific terms as discussed above, the general vocabulary of this document consists of common words, and therefore no commentary seems necessary. All documents from the Qira Museum will be compiled into a book, and a general glossary will be attached. The only word that needs an explanation here is *saṃṣṭa*.

The word *saṃṣṭa* is added later, as can be viewed on the photo (b3-4), and is to be read after Sīḍaka-’s name. Among already published Khotanese materials I have failed to find other occurrences of this term. I suspect *saṃṣṭa* is an alternate spelling of *ṣiṣṭa*, the past participle of *ṣiṣ-* (*ṣṣiṣ-*) “hold, possess”, so I translated it as “belonging to”. If it is

Dictionary. For the meaning “half”, see Skjærvø’s detailed discussion in *Studies* 3, 169-173. For the meaning “disabled”, see Duan 2009, 70.

²⁷ Sims-Williams 2010, 193.

not an alternate spelling of *ṣiṣṭa*, it may then be a personal name. This is another unsolved question regarding this important document.

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The Tocharian *Karmavācanā**

Tatsushi TAMAI

There is already an excellent unpublished study concerning the present topic (*Karmavācanā* in B-Tocharian) by K. T. Schmidt. My work here is based on his work. I should express my gratitude to him for his permission to use his work (on March 20, 2013 in Scheidt).

The transcription is on the left side and my translation is on the right side. The word order is close to the Tocharian original, so it is not always identical with that of K. T. Schmidt, and the English is somewhat awkward. Text or words in italics, in both transcription and translation, are from the Skt. version of the Kvāc or Skt. The underlined words in footnotes are Toch.

After Kvāc in B-Toch. follows my transliteration, translation and commentary on the text in A-Toch. (THT 1048), which is bilingual (Skt./A-Toch.) concerning *poṣatha pravāraṇa*.

	<a1> Consequently I have gone from the house ¹ and made an <i>Upādhyāya</i> (as) a refuge. Take me (as a novice,) Venerable ones! (I have) consented ² to obey (←keep) the law of the famous one ³ , of the Śākya-sage [=Buddha], <a2> from now (for my whole) life ⁴ I go (to his) refuge, (in which I) believe ⁵ .
Folio (9)	
a1 (ompo)staṃ ostameṃ la[au] • upādhy(ā)y(e)ṃ saim y[ā](mu) + + + + + (ni)ś, peṅksaT, śaulassoñc, cw[ī] ñeM, klawisso[ṃ]nte śakke(ññepi) rṣākeṃ-	
a2 (ts)e (p)el[ai](kne) ñakesa wa○rñai śau(ltsa warñai) + + + + + (wä)rpoṢ, pāssi • saimne y[ku]weṢ,	

* I should like to express my thanks to those who corrected my unidiomatic English, and to Prof. Karashima, Prof. Saito, Prof. von Hinüber and Dr. Hu-von Hinüber for some significant suggestions. Needless to say, any errors that remain are my own.

¹ "(becoming) a monk". Japanese 出家 (going out from the house).

² In the form of obl.sg.masc. of pp. *wārpos* "accepted", *ikuweṣ* "gone" and *tatākaṣ* "been", which are appositions with *niś* "me" of "take me!". I am not sure, that *Dharmadāsi* or *uvāsā* in Emmerick (p. 9) is a fem. form. In Chin. it is very difficult to determine masc. or fem. (after Dr. Hu-von Hinüber).

³ Literally "his name and fame" According to Bernhard (p. 116) *ñem-klawis(s)u* is a compound meaning Skt. *bhagavat* "Erhabene", but *cw[ī]* "his" argues against a compound. *klāwissu* could be a substantival adjective like *śaulassu* "the venerable one", or "his name (was) announced" with *-ssu*. In any case this is not a compound of *ñem* and *klāwissu*.

⁴ Skt. *yāvajjīvam prānopetaṃ* (synonym). The Tocharian translation is "life and so on", i.e. "as far as I live".

⁵ Literally "been faithful" (*tatākaṣ* obl. of pp. of √nes "to be"), i.e. "(take me, who) is faithful", see fn. 2 supra.

- [ṣ.]re[n/t]te + + + + + + + + + + you (should not commit) such <a3> a sin. (If
[c]. ykusaimpa ṣesa • [MA]kte kca you can do it, then) say it! "I can."
[t]w(e) ce te-yä-
- a3 k(n)ecce ī(ke) + + + + + + + + + + 4. Keeping away (from a lie [=no lie] is) the
(warpata)R, poñ ce wārpan(a)m(a)R, commandment for a novice. Then you <a4>
+ + + + + + + + (na)rKAṢAlyñe (should not have the intention to say a) lie
ṣanmīremtse ŚAkṣapāT, [t](a)ne tañ, (for (your) whole life), even as well as a
a4 + + + + (PAkn)āmo waike (mā joking(←laughing). (In any case) you should
weṢA)[I](l)e po[s](ta)ṃñ[ñ]e not commit such a sin. If (you can do it,
r(a)[no] kerīyem(ane) + + + + c[e] <b1> then say it! "I can.")
te-ya(←ä)knece [ī](ke) [m]ā
kā[tkat, kr_u]i + + + + (5.) Keeping away from (drink)ing of
b1 + + + + + + (wārpanama)R, 4 alcohol, (intoxicants or firewater is) the
m(ā)[l](a) + + + + .s. commandment for (a novice.) Then you
(yo)[k](a)lyñem[e](m (should not) drink (for (your) whole life
nar)[KA](ṢAlyñe ṣanmīrem)[tse] <b2> alcohol, intoxicant or firewater, even
śikṣapāT, tane tañ, [ś](aultsa warñai) as well (as much as the tip of) Kuś(a-grass.)
b2 + + + + + + (tr)i(k)ele + + + + In any case you should not commit such a
(y)[o](ks)le (p)o(staññ)e (ran)o sin. If <b3> you can do (it, then) say! ("I
a[s](kwacentse ākesa) MAkte kca can."
twe ce te-yäknece īke mā kātkaT,
kr_ui 6. (Keeping away from the using of) a high
b3 warpataR, [p]o(ñ) + + + + + + + + (and) wide¹² (bed is) the commandment for
(TA)pp(r)em orocce + + + + + + a novice. Then (you should use) for (your)
ṣanmīremtse śikṣapāT, tane tañ, whole life <b4> (no) high (and) wide (bed.
(ś)aultsa warñai In any case you should not commit such a
b4 TApreṃ oro(cc)e + + + + + + + + sin. If you can do it, then say!) "I (can)."
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
(wä)[rp](a)[na]maR, 6 (7. Keeping away from) self¹³ (-adorning
PAssaKA(n)[t](a) [p]y(a)pyainä- with) chaplets, flower-
<a1> (perfume is the commandment for a
novice.) Then you should not (adorn
a1 (ṣṣe) + + + + + + ṣañeM, (/ṣāñ ñem/) yourself with chaplets and perfumes for
+ + + + + + + + (narKAṢAly)ñ(e) + (your) whole life <a2>). In any case
+ + + (śikṣapā)T, tane tañ, you should not commit such (a sin). If you
ś(ault)[s](a) + + + + + + + + + + can (do it), (then say! "I) can." <a3>
+ + +

Folio (11)

- a1 (ṣṣe) + + + + + + ṣañeM, (/ṣāñ ñem/)
+ + + + + + + + (narKAṢAly)ñ(e) +
+ + + (śikṣapā)T, tane tañ,
ś(ault)[s](a) + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ + +

in K.T. Schmidt). The Toch. version here is for a layman because of obl.sg.f. *ykusai* (Skt. *gatayā* inst.f.), while the Tumsh. version could be for laywoman, if Tumsh. *ustamatau* [x]āsariṣvāṇa aṣoñā (Emmerick p. 10 §25) corresponds to Skt. *antatas tiryagyonigatenāpi* (inst.m.) *sārdham* (Bhī 24b1), but it seems to me that an intercourse with an animal (Emmerick p. 11 §24–25) is not a normal commandment for laywoman.

¹² Literally "large". Skt. *mahā* (cf. Härtel p. 57)

¹³ Literally "his/her own name".

- a2 + + + + + + + + + + ŞAlle MAkte (8.) Keeping away from (dancing, singing
kca MAntrakā y(ä)[k]n(ece īke) mā and making music is the commandment for a
kātkaT, kr_ii warpaTA(←ta)R, (po)ñ novice. Then you should not intend to dance,
ce wä(rpanamaR,) + + + + + (sing and make music for (your) whole life
<a4> and also to go to see) a dancing, a
a3 + + + + + + + (yamaly)[ñ](e)m(e)m singing, a musical performance and a
narKAşälyñe şanmîretse śikşapāT, dramatic performance (←decoration). In any
om tañ, şaultsa warñai PA[k](n)āmo case (you should not commit) such a sin just
mā tsipa[l](e) + + + + + as much. (If <a5> you can do it, then say! "I
a4 + + + + + + + + + + (tsai)p(e)m can.")
şarka ploriyaṃ yetweṃ lkātsi yale
MAkte kca MAntrakā-yäknece [i](ke
m)ā + + + + + (9.) Keeping away from seizing
a5 + + + + + + + + + + [y]e + + himself/herself (is) the commandment
[t]a şamñ, eñkaly(ñ)e(m)eṃ for a novice. (Then) you should (not) seize
(na)rkaşalyñe şanmîretse (such a things for (your) whole life)
ś[i](kşapāT,) + + + + + <b1> In any case (you should not
b1 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + commit) such a sin just as much. (If you can
(eñkaŞA)lona m[ä]kte [k]c(a do it, then say! <b2> "I can.")
MAntra)kā-yäknece ike mā
k(ātkaT,) + + + + + 10. Keeping away from (eating at a wrong
b2 + + + + + + + + + + (nar)k(ä)ş(ä)lyñe time is) the commandment for a novice.
şanmiretse śikşapāT, omp t(a)ñ, Then (you should not intend to eat at a
şaultsa warñai PA[k](nāmo) + + + + wrong time) for (your) whole life. (In any
+ + + + case <b3> you should not) commit (such a
b3 + + + + + + + + + + (kātka)T, kwri sin.) If you can (do it, then) say it! "I can."
warpataR, poñ ce wārpanamaR, 10 ||
se takāsta şanmîre (şe)c(a)keṃts[e] Here you have become¹⁴ a novice. (in
e[n](äşälyñene) + + + the teaching) of the (Şäkya-)lion¹⁵
b4 + + + + + + + + + + [p]p.[S/T], <b4> hard (to find is) a capability of
amāskai krentaunants (y)āt(a)ly(ñ)e || virtues¹⁶.
[yp]arwe paiyne wīnāşäle
[p]ai(y)n(e) wewinaşo(rm)e(m) + +
+ **The ordination [upasaṃpadā]**
1. Adoption of monk's robes [tricīvara]

¹⁴ After K.T. Schmidt *takāsta* "you became" [= "you are now"] (Skt. *asi*, Härtel p. 55) is a good example for a perfect-value of the Tocharian preterit (cf. Thomas 1957, p. 209–218). Syntactically it shows no problem, but if the prototype was written in pres. (as in Härtel supra), it could be a mistake of the Toch. writer, or if it is a BHS and *a-* instead of *ā-*, 'si is a pret. of *vas* "to be" (cf. Edgerton Vol. 1 p. 205). These two are weak hypotheses. The pret. are used hereafter in our text. This means, it could be another text, whose Skt. was written in pret. or aor. opt. (Prof. Karashima's suggestion).

Toch. *se* is equivalent to Skt. *eṣaḥ* "here" (M-W. p. 231). Another possibility for *se* is a demonstrative pronoun relating to *şanmîre* "you became this novice".

¹⁵ Skt. *śākyaśiṃhasya* (Härtel p. 55). In Toch. there is no counterpart *śakkeññepi*. After K.T. Schmidt it could be *metri causa*, but Skt. version is unmetrical.

¹⁶ A Skt. equivalent for these Toch. words could be *guṇasaṃpadā*, while in Härtel p. 55 it is *kṣaṇasaṃpadaḥ*(←*āh*) "fortune of moment" (cf. Edgerton p. 575).

- b5 + + + + (was)ts(i) eñ(kašäle) + + At first one should honor the feet (of the
[t]e [p]o[y](š)i + + + + + Buddha figure)¹⁷. Having honored the
w(a)sampāt yamal(y)e(p)i feet, <b5> (one should) take hold of
[o](n)[o]l(m)et(s)e //// the (Kāšāya-ro)be. the all knowing
(=Buddha) for the person who should
make the monk's consecration (=the
ordinand for the monkhood)
- Folio (12)**
- a1 ////¹⁸ [t]w. + + + + (wa)si Silk-ropes, which evoke Kleśas, ...
yāskem̄tRA¹⁹ tonowāsa[n]ma <a2> Gangā(-river) divine (and
kleśanma eršēnc(ana) + + human robe, which) is found (in the endless
a2 ////²⁰ sp[o]rtomane sū [w](asi) + + + Saṃsāra, did not) remain, which you did not
+ līpa ñikcīye śāmñe ce twe mā wear.
(wä)[s]ātai iś[ā](mna) + + Among people <a3> you wore
a3 + + + + + (tona)K(.) even (these) splendid robes (and) you
pārsantaṃšana wāsanma yourself are mighty with kinglike
wa(←ä)sātai laṃtuñeṃ yetwetsa decoration.
šaññ añMA yātatai ente iña(k)[t](em̄) When you (were born again?) among the
+ + + god(s), <a4> you wore excellent (silken(?)
god)like robes.
a4 + + + + + (ñikci)yana Having worn silken robes, thereupon
śp(ā)lmeṃ wāsanma wāsātai someone (who had) a passion, hate (and)
tono{ṃ}-wāsanma ausormem̄ tu envy <a5> Among the Asuras²²) you
yparwe kete kca em̄KAL, (śc)o(n)ai wore some robes, which bring fear to
[i]s(aly) + + living-beings, like a war-fighting.
a5 + + + + + somona wāsanma <b1> (you were born again among the
wāsātai onolmet(S), pro[s](k)ai Pretas) whenever you adhered to wrong
[KA]la[š]eñcana māk(t)e weta views [=false doctrine, *mithyādr̥ṣṭi*], you
wata(lyñe) [=15a5] + + + + +

¹⁷ Cf. Härtel p. 64 fn. 2, pointing out also La Vallée Poussin, Etudes et matériaux, Ādikarmapradīpa, p. 206; Minayeff, Recherches sur le Bouddhisme, Annales du Musée Guimet 4 (1894), p. 298.

¹⁸ Around 16 *aḱṣaras* are missing. Presumably the fragment F a1 /// (vipa)[š]yi pañ[i]kt(e) /// belongs to this lacuna.

¹⁹ The root is √yāsk, which shows the same form in the stem of the pres. and pret. (/yāsk-/), but in the subj. /yāsk-/ (here and TH1 143a3). This is not normal, because /ä-/ā/ contrast is seen as pres./subj. ↔ pret. or pres. ↔ subj./pret. Krause puts this subj. in class I (p. 273), but Hackstein (p. 185, 242) and Saito (p. 263) in class II, and Peyrot does not treat this root in his dissertation "The Tocharian Subjunctive". *yāstRA* in 143a3 (in old writing I-2, cf. Tamai p. 25) was presumably recognized as abnormal, but the second evidence is here. One possibility: √yā "to go" (not √i) + /sk/-suffix, whose function is not sure (causative, iterative or others?), seems to suit the semantics in the case of alms, and *yāsk*- became a root by means of analogy to ā-pret. If this is right, the subj.-stem shows the old form. TH1 143 is palaeographically old, and the prototype of our text could be also old.

²⁰ Around 13 *aḱṣaras* are missing. Presumably the fragment F a2 /// *m̄mem̄ [g]ā[ñ].e* /// belongs to this lacuna, and before *sp[o]rtomane* there could have been *snai-yparwe samsārne* like folio 15 b1.

²² K.T. Schmidt got this information about Asuras and Pretas here from Prof. D. Schlingloff (München).

- b1 + + + + + + + + (e)nt(e) dirtied(?) the body with dust(?)²³ of
 ankaiṃ-pilkontan(e) [t](e)[t]r(e)ṅku excrements(?) <b2> you wore
 ṣaiyTA ṅatkem[e].n. [ṣ]p(e)ltsa(?) dust(?), naked(?)²⁴.
 kektseñ kariṣ yamaṣatai + + + + + Ditto, when you were born in the hells, (you
 + were wedged(?) in) a glowing (←glowed)
 b2 + + + + + + (ṣ)[p](e)L*, peruwartse iron plate (=Skt. *pātra*?). <b3> (When) you
 wa(←ā)sātai : taisa ente nraintane were born (among animals), you wore in
 tetemu ṣaiyTA pālkoṣ*, eñcuwañeṃ many kinds, *ausa*(?), fur(?), feathers(?) (and
 pa[t]r.[KAN.] tw(ā)ṅ[k.]+ + *pitsamonta*²⁵, thereupon for living-beings
 b3 + + + + + + (tet)mu ṣaiyTA • <b4> (on the four) continents
 makā-yākne ausa aṣitaṃ pār Having worn the robes, thereupon you
 pitsamonta(?)wa(←ā)sātai tu yparwe partook unimaginable²⁶ sufferings in the
 onolme[t](S), + + endless Saṃsāra (Kāṣāya-)robe
 b4 ////²¹ (wāsa)nma ausormeṃ <b5> (If you wore) the
 snai-y(parw)e (sa)ṃ(s)ā[r](n)e (Kāṣāya-)robe, at last you are carefree. Like
 [ai]rpittona LAKlenta wārpātai : the householders among the people
 [t](an)e kaṣār,-was[i] + +
 b5 + + + + + + + + + [w](a)s(s)i
 [w./au] + + + + + (po)stañe
 snai-mentsiñe MAske[t](ar) [MA]kte
 kattāki śām[n]a(n)[c] + +

<Folio 13 missing>

Folio 14

- a1 kaṣār-wassi myāskate pañikte [ñ.] + +
 + + + + + ak(a)LKAlye(ṃ)ts yātka te <a1> he has exchanged the Kāṣāya-robe.
 kaṣār-wastsi tane ñake [g.] + + + + + The Buddha has ordered it for pupils,
 + + the Kāṣāya-robe there now <a2> like
 + + you should behave in the manner of (←in)
 a2 eneśle pañikte-KAṣṣintaṃtS, (mind)! "How (do) I (take) this the commandment of the Buddha-teachers.
 yaknene watk(ā)śālyñene K(āṣāya-robe)? <a3> Whatever is suitable to
 s[po](rto)le starc, te ka ṣPA ñake your Kāṣāya-robe, (namely) giving [*dāna*],
 palskone pyāmtsar, [MA]kte ce (modesty [*śīla*], in)sight [*prajñā*], patience
 k(aṣār-wastsi eñka-) [*kṣānti*], energy [*vīrya*], (and) meditation
 a3 skemaR, k_use cwi kaṣār-wā(ss)itse [*dhyāna*], <a4> in the virtues I would be

²¹ Around 11–12 *aṣaras* are missing. Presumably the fragment F b4 //// [r.] dv(i)p. //// belongs to this lacuna.

²³ K.T. Schmidt restores b1 [ṣ]p(e)ltsa and b2 (ṣ)[p](e)[l], and supposes a meaning of *speḷ* as "Pulver, Staub" rather than "Kügel(chen)" in TEB II, p. 252 (*ṅatkem[e].n.* and *kariṣ* are also not clear). If "Pulver, Staub" is correct, it could be "ash-besmearing heretics" (cf. "Ashes" by M. Hara, in Cracow Indological Studies Vol. IV-V 2002/2003).

²⁴ *peruwartse* is found only here. K.T. Schmidt supposes a meaning as "nackt(?)" quoting *Petavatthu II,1 and II,7*, "Hāretiker in ihrer Petageburt nackt erscheinen (after K.T. Schmidt)". If it is a gen. of *peruwar*, it could be "dust of *peruwar*". In any case it is not clear.

²⁵ One speculative possibility is pl. of *pittsau* "filament".

²⁶ After K.T. Schmidt *airpitte* is "unerdulbar" (privativum of √wārp "to partake"). Cf. Tamai p. 150–151.

- tava*)*daṃ civaraṃ* [p](o)ñ, *mama* (N.N.), *get (this robe) Antarvāsa, (a) so(ft)*
samanva(←*ā*)*harāyushmāṃ aha*(ṃ) *Antarvāsa*³². "So twice (and) thrice.
- a2 + + + + + + + + + + (*cīvara*)*m*
 (*a*)*nt(a)rv(ā)saṃ adhit*[i](*ṣṭhā*)*mi* **2. Adoption of the alms-bowl** [*pātra*]³³
śla(*ks*)*[ṇ](o a)ntarvāso vā evaṃ dvir* Also (you should) get the alms-bowl. <a3>
a(*pi*) *trr api* || *te rano pātro eṅka-* The All-knower, the Buddha has ordered for
 a3 (*ṣalya*) + + (*wasanpā*)*t yamaṣālyepi* a man, who makes ordination (=ordinand for
 [o](no)*lmetse poyśi pañikte yātkā* monkhood) to obtain the alms-bowl, because
pātrai eṅtsi ce snai yarmā papā- (it leads to?) immeasurable morality [*śīla*]
 a4 (*ṣorñe*) + + + + + + + *papāṣprñetse* <a4> (Anyway?) you should get the
ayātośc(ā) (ś)[auL], śailyñe(*tse* alms-bowl for the purity of the life-living
 a)*starñeś, pātro eṅkaṣalya* (=livelihood) [*ājīvapārisuddhi*], (which is)
starca(←*ā*) *MAkte ñake ka-* suitable for the morality [*śīla*]. As now <a5>
 a5 (*ttākeṃne*?) + + + + + (*ya*?)*[kte] śauL,* (among the householder(?) no way of
śailyñe[*n*](*t*)[*a s*](*k*)*e*[*n*](*t*)*e [w*]*e*[*t*a] livelihood [*ājīva*] remains,) low(?)
wa[*t*]*a*[*l*](*yñe p.*)*to ya*(*ma*)*lyñe* livelihoods are war-fighting(?), farming(?)³⁴,
karyor pito yamalyñe amo[*KA*?] + trading [*krayavikraya*], handwork(?),
 b1 + + + + + + + + + + *lyñesa warñai k,se* <b1> beginning with, which are
 [*ś*](*au*)*L, ś(ai)ly*[*n*](*enta*) *skente* livelihoods, so (there is) also (not) any
tai[*s*](*a ra*)*no snai-yparwe saṃsārne* alms-bowl situated in the endless Saṃsāra,
sportomane su ksa bhājaṃ <b2> you (would not) eat³⁵.
 b2 + + + + + + + + + + [*ś*](*a*)*wāsta ente* When you were born among the gods, (in the
yñaktem tetemu (ṣaiyT.) bowl of) divine gold, beryl, silver (and)
ñikciya[*n*](*a*) *y*(*sā*)*[ś](a)na* cristal(?) <b3> you ate (heavenly?) foods.
vairuḍḍṣana ṅKAñcana In the hell again you ate a glowing iron
mastarkaLAṣana bha(*jāntane*) ball³⁶ (and drank) melted copper. <b4>
 b3 + + + + + + + + + + *śpālmem* of the heretics, (who are) going out from the
śwatsanma śa(*wā*)*sta nano nrain*(*e*) house with (96 manners³⁷), some enjoy the
eñcuwañem palkoṣā(*m*) alms-food in(←from) the palm(←hand),
krepasta(←*e*)*m śawāsta mloṣā pilke* others (from) human- <b5> (skulls)
 b4 + + + + + + + + + + (*yā*)*k*(*n*)*esa* (All) such livelihoods are false (and) amiss,
PArna(←*ā*)*ñetS, ostame*(*m*) (they) are seizing(←leading) (nine re)births
[l](a)lyñ[*e*] + *.e*[*e*] *neSAṃ ṣemi* (and)

³² After K.T. Schmidt our text should be *śla(ks)[ṇ](am a)ntarvāsaṃ* (compared with Mainz 629 b5), but *vā* "or" after these words (15 a2) is unclear. *ślakṣṇa* is perhaps not "soft" in my view, but rather a name or sort of cloth because of *vā*. *antarvāsa* is mentioned in formula VII in the text from Gilgit (cf. von Hinüber p. 108).

³³ *pātraṃ* is mentioned in formula VIII in the text from Gilgit (cf. von Hinüber p. 111), and Hārtel p. 75–76.

³⁴ After K.T. Schmidt it could be a counterpart of A-Toch. *pate* "farming", but it is not sure (also the transliteration).

³⁵ This pret. functions not as indicative, but as subjunctive (after K.T. Schmidt "gegessen hättest") which is not a normal Toch. subj. denoting the future, because the predicate *skente* directly before this verb is pres. I have discussed in fn. 14 supra that the original text could be pret. or aor. opt., but there is another possibility that the Toch. pret. could function as subjunctive or optative.

³⁶ Cf. THT 529 b5 *iñcuwaññem krepaste*(*ntsa*).

³⁷ Literally "with (96) manner from-house-out going". For example 摩訶僧祇律 (T1425_22.0313a23) 九十六種出家人.

āline pintwāt warpanantRA
 alye(←ai)K, śāmñai
 b5 + + + + + + + + + + (p)o (t)o(m)
 (t)e-[y]ā(knet)sana (ś)[au](L,
 śai)[l]yñ[e]nta po tsa(tkwa)[m]
 añ[k]ai(m) skente cmela
 eñkaṣeñcana sam-

Folio 16

a1 sār tsāmṣeñcana poyśi pañikte
 p(ātrai) + + + + + + + +
 ly<a>kacenne nauṣaṇi pañikti
 piṃtwāt w[ā]rpānte lyakace pā-
 a2 trai[y]ne cene ompostam tsañkalyi
 w(ā)rpanantRA ly.[c]. + + + + +
 pañikte pātrai eṃksate teK,
 akalyṣalyeṃts yātka
 a3 te p(ā)tr(o) eñk(aṣalya) [s](ta)r(c),
 t(ai)sa śauL, śawaṣāle starc(ā) kwri
 yakte [s]key(e)m ka piṃtwāTA
 śwātsi KAllāTA wārpanale mā
 a4 no KAl(l)āTA tā [p]ā[tr]ai(sa)
 y(a)[s]kaṣ[ṣ]āle starcā mā śwātsitse
 pernesa śaul śaiyñe ṣparKAṣāle
 starc[ā] pātrai no te ce yama-
 a5 (lyñesa) + + + eñka(ṣṣe)ñca s(t)e te
 ka ṣPA ñ(ak)e p(a)l(sk)one
 pyāmtsa[R]*, MAk[t]e te pātro śuke
 eñkaṣeñca ste taisa ñiś, papāṣo
 b1 + + + + (eñka)ṣṣeñca tāk[o]yMā
 krentaunatS, [p](āt)[r](o
 tā)[k](o)yṃā || [t](e) ñake
 pre(k)[s](auc.) tañ, sā pātro poñ ce
 ñi aiśai te pyāmtsaR, śaulasu ñiś,
 b2 (te)-[ñ]emts(a) tā pātrai prucamñai
 eñkaskemaR, solmīyai pātrai
 rṣāKAññe bhājam te tarya weṣāle ||

<a1> increasing Saṃsāra.

The All-knower, the Buddha (has enjoyed his alms-food from) a brilliant(?)³⁸ (bowl), in which the former Buddhas have (also) enjoyed alms-food from(←in) a brilliant(?) bowl, <a2> in which (also the Buddhas, who) will arise later, (will) enjoy³⁹ (their) alms-food The Buddha seized the bowl (and) ordered even this to (his) pupils. <a3> Then (you should) seize the bowl.

So you should live (a) life (=get your livelihood). If you will obtain the alms-food to eat (with) even little effort, you should enjoy it, but (if) you will not <a4> obtain (it), you should beg for (it with) this bowl. You should not make (your) livelihood (only) for the sake of the food. Thus (with) such a way (←doing) <a5> (the monk?) seizes the bowl. And now make this even in (your) mind! (=remember) "As the alms-bowl seizes such a quintessence [rasa]⁴⁰, so I would <b1> (seize the bowl of) the moral behavior [śīla] (and I would be a bowl) of the virtues."

This I ask (you) now. "(Is) this your bowl?" Say it! "(Yes, it is) mine. Ponder it, Venerable one! I, <b2> N.N., seize this splendid bowl, a complete bowl, a Rṣi's bowl." This (is) thrice to say. "(Is) this your bowl?" Say! "(Yes, it is) mine. Ponder,

³⁸ ly<a>kacenne is unclear. From lyakace pātraiyne cene in the same line, it could be lyakace cene, and lyakace could be an obl. of an unknown adj. /lyākātstse/ "brilliant", but this is not sure.

³⁹ The n-pres. w(ā)rpanantRA functions as future which is shown normally by subj. in Toch., while the verbal adj. tsañkalyi is made from subj. stem with function of future. Here I recognize a peculiarity of the Toch. verbal system together with pret. (cf. fn. 35) which has not been studied. One should start from the stem-opposition of pres./subj. ~ pret. or pres. ~ subj./pret. to understand the subj. in Toch.

⁴⁰ Literally "taste". Cf. THT 33 a3 samāññentse śūke.

- tavedaṃ pātraṃ poñ, mama Venerable one! <b3> I, N.N., seize this
samanvāharāyuṣmā(ṃ) splendid bowl, a complete bowl, a Ṛṣi's
b3 ahaṃ itthaṃnāma idaṃ pātraṃ bowl." So twice (and) thrice.
pāribhogikam adhiṣṭhā(mi)
paripūrṇaṃ pātraṃ ṛṣibhājanam,
evaṃ dvir api trr api || ṅake
upādhyā-*
- b4 ye yaskaṣāle starcaṃ(←ā) te rano
p[o]yī pañikte KAṣṣitse
[y]ai(tk)au(←o)(rsa wasa)[ṃ](npā)t
yamalyepi onolmetse upādhyāye
yaskaṣāle kāts{ī} ce
- b5 pañikte-prekesa kuśalamūLAcī
ono(lm)ī + .eṃ + + + + +
(triśa)[ra]ṅāgamtsa : wasanpāt
yamaṣṣe(←a)re kete tuśca(←ā)
kuś,(←a)lamuLAnta

3. Request for a teacher [*upādhyāya*]

Now you should ask for a teacher [*upādhyāya*]. <b4> Also the ordinand(←the man making consecration) should ask for a teacher [*upādhyāya*] (on) the behest of the all-knower, of the Buddha-teacher. Why indeed? Because <b5> in the time of Buddha the people of merit-roots [*kuśalamūlāni*]⁴¹, (the home-leavers without teacher made the ordination only) by (the triple refuge-)acquisitions. Some, who had obtained(←bound) the merit-roots [*kuśalamūlāni*] for that,

<a1> (were) sav(ed). The others, who had gone from the house without instruct)or, were without refuge [*anātha*]. They go(t) neither annunciation(←saying) nor instruction, <a2> they did not get care in (the case of) disease. The T(īrthikas) were destroyed. "The Śākya-monks (are) without refuge [*anātha*]!" For the sake of protecting from this accusation, the Buddha ordered the U(pādhyāya). <a3> As father (and mo)ther are⁴² support (and hope) for(←in) the house(holder, keep away) from the evil (and) join (the good), compared to this, the Upādhyāya <a4> (is) a support (and) ho(pe) for(←in) the law of (Bud)dha, (keeps away) from the evil (and) binds to the good). Whatever lack here you have, with (food, drink), <a5> bed, medicine and so on, (he is) taking) care in (the case of) disease. So whatever longing (you) have, (he) gets rid of(?) your arising doubt⁴³ through

Folio 17

- a1 MAkauwa ṣeyeṃ cai PAstā
tsā(lpiyentRA) + + + +
(upādhyā)yeyṃ ostameṃ Inaṣyeyṃ
anāSA (MA)skiyentRA welyñe
enāṣalyñe mā KA(lpāṣyeyṃ)
- a2 tekine spaktāṃ mā KAlpāṣyeyṃ
[t](īrthi) nakṣ(i)y(e)ntRA an[ā]S,
(ske)nt(e) ṣakeñi śamāni ce [n](ā)k(i)
pāṣitse pelkiñ, pañikte
u(pādhyāyeyṃ yā)-
- a3 tka MAkte kattaKAñene pāceR,
(mā)[ce]R, MAsket(RA) (s)ai(m) +
+ + + (y)olo(m)[eṃ] (a)l(astRA
KA)r(ts)e[n]e rittaṣā(ṃ) tumpa
tase[m](ane pañi)-
- a4 KTAñe pele(←ai)knene
upa(←ā)dhyāye saim, (PA)rma(ñK.)
[y](o)l[o]meṃ + + + + +
(ritta)ṣṣ(āṃ) k_use ṅke tañ, tane

⁴¹ Cf. Edgerton p. 188: *alobha, adveṣa, amoha*.

⁴² Because of *rittaṣā(m)* (in the same line a3) there should be here a sing. form, and "father and mother" could be a collective.

⁴³ Cf. Filliozat/Kuno, JA 230, p. 48: *utpannaṃ kaukrtyam* (after K.T. Schmidt).

- menki tā(ka)[m] + + + +
a5 leki sātkesa warñai tekine ñke
s[p](aktām yamaṢAṃ)ñ[c](,))
tai[s](a) + + + + + + + + k_use ñke
kulypele tākaṃñca(←ä) [s]ū(t)RA +
+ (abhidhā)-
b1 [r]m(ä) arāñeṣṣe palskalyñesa
wa(r)ñ(āi) + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ + [t.] m(ā) c(i)mp(a)m[o] tākaṃ tu
ñke ale(K, yamaṣām-)
b2 cā tañ no MAkte mātaR, pātaR, ne
tai(sa upā)dhyāyenne + + + + + + +
[l.] perne KAlpoṣne taisa
u(pādhyāyenne)
b3 yamaṣāle starca(←ä) perne
KAlpoṣne [t]e upa(←ā)(dhyāyenn)e
[y.] + + + + + + + + .e (upā)dhyāye
weñco enasta(←ä?)(rc.) + + + +
b4 spa(←o)rtole upādhyāyetse
p[e](lai)kneṣṣ[e] waTKAṣ(ä)ly[ñ](e
a)ñc[ā]l(i) up(ā)dhy[ā]yetse welyñe
enāṣālyñe tarnesa wā[r]pana(le) + +
+ +
b5 upādhyāyetse spaktāṃnne
a(lāLA)[t]e [MAS](k)ele ce ñ(ak)e
(re)[kau]na weñauc wentsi tu
we(k)[ts](e) p[o]ñ, aiśai te
pyāmtsar, śaulasū ñ(i)ś(,) + + +

Folio 18

- a1 ci śaulasontā upādhyāye[m]
yaskaske(maR,) (t)[w](e) + + + + +
+ + + + + + [ci] śaulasonta
upa(←ā)dhyāye<ṃ>tsa niś,
wasanpāt yāmu [t](e)
a2 tarya weṣṣāle || *utsahasi [tv](aṃ)*
[i]tthamñāmasypādhy(āyah) + + +
+ + + *utsahasi tvam vimalayaśa*
yāśakāmasyāmuśāsaka [•]
a3 *utsahāma(←i)* tumem
anu(śā)[h.](←sa)ke nesalyepi
wasam(n)pāT, yamalye ṣanmireṃ
- the) concept (of) Sūtra, (Vinaya,
Abhidharma), <bl> (the entity(?) of
Āraṇyaka-(monk) and so on (If he
himself) would not be capable (of that, he)
assigns it however (to?) another. <b2> (You
should have love) of (←in) the Upādhyāya
like of father (and) mother. (Like to a man
who has) gotten worth, so (you should
worship) the U(pādhyāya <b3> (Like? to a
man who has) gotten worth, so(?) (to an)
Upā(dhyāya) (If the Upā)dhyāya
will say to you (or) instruct (you), you
should behave yourself (in this manner)
<b4>
A law-command of the Upādhyāya (with)
añjali, speech (and) instructing of the
Upādhyāya with (inclining of) head, (you
should) partake. (So) <b5> (you should) be
(tire)less in the service of the Upādhyāya.
The words which now I give(←say) to say
for you, you must say this loudly! "Ponder it,
Venerable one! I, (N.N.),
<a> beg you, the Venerable, (as)
Upādhyāya. (You, the Venerable, want to be
my Upādhyāya.) With (you,) the Venerable,
(as) Upādhyāya I will perform(←make) the
ordination." This <a2> (is) thrice to say.
"Are you capable to be Upādhy(āya) for
N.N.?" ("Yes, I can!")
4. Undercover inquiry
a. Choice of Upādhyāya as instructor
[anuśāsaka]
"Vimalayaśa! Can you be a instructor
[anuśāsaka] for Yaśakāma?" <a3> "(Yes,) I

- klyauṣalye ikemeṃ pkante aśalle *can!*" Hereupon he, who is to be an
lka(←ā)lyñe ikene instructor [anuśāsaka], should lead
a4 stamā(←ā)ṣṣa(←ā)le tumeṃ nano separately a novice, who is to
anuśāsa[k](e nesa)lyepi e[n](e)[ñ]ka perform(←make) the ordination, from the
PAstā yānmaṣṣāle ṣaṅ, sthānne place, (where one) can hear (him, and) make
ṣmale || tumeṃ [ka]rmapāyā (him) put up at a place, where one) can see
weṣeñcatse (him) ⁴⁴. <a4> Hereupon he, who is to be an
a5 tonak rekauna yemtuKAñe pe[l]e instructor [anuśāsaka], should enter again
we[ṣ](le || śruṇ)[o]tu [bh](ada)nt(a) herein, (and) sit in his place. Hereupon the
s(a)m(gha) Karmavācanā-leader(←speaker) sould speak
itthaṃnāmasyōpasampatpre(k)ṣ(a)ka <a5> just the(se) words in the Indian
ut[s](ahate) 'nuśāsa- law(←language) [=Sanskrit].
b1 k[o] yaḥ itthaṃnāmam "Hear, the venerable⁴⁵ com(munity)! Can
anuśāsaya[ṣy](ati) + + + the supporter(←intending to view⁴⁶) of the
(an)u(śāsa)k(e) [n](esa)[l]y(e)pi ordination of N.N. be a instructor
uts[ā]ham yamaṣā[le] || tumeṃ [anuśāsaka], <b1> who will instruct the
karmavācaketse na- N.N.?" (Hereupon he, who) is to be
b2 no toyK,k rekauna yemtuKAñe instructor should profess(←make) (his)
pe[l]e (sāṅ)KAśc(ā) weṣā(le ||) decision. Hereupon again the Karmavācaka
śruṇotu (bha)danta saṃ(gha) <b2> should speak just these words in the
itthaṃnāma(s)y(ô)[p](a)[s](am̐pa)tp Indian language for the community
rekṣī tam utsahate [saṅgha].
b3 itthaṃnāmam anuśāsituṃ sace[t] "Hear, the (ve)nerable com(munity)! Can the
saṃghasya prāptak(ā)[l](ah) supporter of the ordination of N.N. <b3>
kṣamate ājñā ca saṃghasya yaḥ instruct this N.N.? If for the community the
saṃgha itthaṃnāmam anuśāsakaṃ present time (is) right(←the right time
saṃ- forgives) and (it is) the will(←order) of the
b4 manyeta yaḥ itthaṃnāmam community, that(←which) the community
a(nuś)āsiṣyati eṣā j[ñ](apt)i(h) • would ordain the N.N. (as) instructor
śruṇotu [u bh](a)danta saṃgha : ayam [anuśāsaka], <b4> who will instruct the
yaśakāma yaśasyōpasampatprekṣī N.N., (so) this (is) the proposal.
b5 tam utsahate vimalayaśam "(Hear,) the venerable community⁴⁷! This
anuśā(situṃ sa)m(gho) + + + + + Yaśakāma(←Vimalayaśa), a supporter of
(anuśā)sama(m̐) saṃmanyate yaḥ the ordination of Yaśa(kāma), <b5> can

⁴⁴ Cf. Bhikṣuṅgīkarmavācanā 130, 16–18: śravaṇopavicāram vijahayya darśanopavicāre sthāpayitavyā (after K.T. Schmidt).

⁴⁵ *bhadanta* is normally used as an address to Buddhist monks (cf. Edgerton, p. 405), but K.T. Schmidt sees it as adj. (cf. folio 21 b1 *klyomo sāñK*, "noble Saṅgha"). It is, however, still possible to see two voc. as in Härtel p. 77.

⁴⁶ After K.T. Schmidt *pre(k)ṣ(ī) ka* "Wer ist wünschend". It could be BHS *prekṣaka* "intending to view" (cf. Edgerton, p. 394) or *ka* for *tam* as line b2 in this folio. I prefer BHS, because I see no trace of *-ī* of *ṣī*, and Prākṛit form [ka]rmapāyā for *karmavāca* is written in folio 18 a4 whose *pā* (←Skt. *vā*) could be Toch. form with accent, but *-yā* is not Toch., because Toch. had /cā/.

⁴⁷ *saṅghah* after K.T. Schmidt, but I take it as *saṅgha* and a punctuation, because the voc. ends in *-a* or *-o* (cf. Härtel, p. 77 and Edgerton vol. I p. 51, 8.28). Another possibility is confusion between nom. and voc.

- b4 nesañcā śāmane tañ, pā(c)e(r mā)ce[R.] plāksataime kre[.e] + + + n(o) ostamem laṃtsi mapi nauṢ, ṣamāne ṣaiyTA kwri weṃ ṣamāne ṣaiM, prekṣa-
- b5 le ymasu ŚAkṣapātā(nta cā)rkāsta + + + .ai + (anuśā)[s](a)ketse a[n]tarāyānta prekṣalona tumem anuśāsaketse wasaṃnpā(T.)
- [6] Are you surely not bankrupt?⁴⁹ 不破得不。 <b2>
- [7] Are you surely no officer(←thing) of a king? 非官人不。
- [8] (Do you make false statements) surely not (against) the king? 不犯官事不。
- [9] Do you consider (surely no) plot⁵⁰ against(←to) the king? 不陰謀王家不。
- [10] Have you surely no debt⁵¹ to another 不負人債不。 neither little <b3> nor a lot?
- [11] Now there are such diseases of a man 丈夫有如是病。 black leprosy, white leprosy, scrofula, tuberculosis (and) epilepsy. 若癩癰漏癩疽疥疾癩病。 Have you surely not such disease? <b4>
- [12] Are your parents(←father and mother) (still) living? 汝有父母在不。
- [13] Have you asked them for the agreement, (and gotten) the permission to become a monk? 若言在。 父母聽汝出家不。
- [14] Were you surely no monk in the past? 先不作比丘不。 If he say 若言作。 "I was a monk", one should ask him (as follows).
- [15] <b5> "Have you mindfully [=samprajānan] given up commandment(s) 清淨持戒不。 (and will you now return mindfully to them?) 捨戒時一心如法還戒不。
- (So the instructor [*anuśāsaka*] should ask about the hindrances. Hereupon the instructor, having asked the ordinand <a> about the hindrance, (should again enter and revere the community.) Having made reverence, he should stand up, put his hands together [*añjali*] <a2> (and) say. "*It is instructed.*" Hereupon the whole
- Folio (20) < by another hand >**
- a1 yamalye antarāyā(nta) prepark[o](r)[m](em) + + + + + + + + (wināṣṣāl)l(e) : wewinaṣṣormem

⁴⁹ The unknown word *weretemasē* is rendered after the Chin.

⁵⁰ *kastuma* is an unknown word, after K.T. Schmidt "etwa heimliche Anschläge(?)" (so nach dem Chin.).

⁵¹ After K.T. Schmidt "etwas als Schuld habend" (Bahuvr̥thi), but *peri nestā* is "you are owed". Anyway *ca* is opaque.

kauc", klyelle : añcāl-ṣarn(e) [y](a)-
 a2 maṢAlle : weṢṢAlle : *anuśiṣṭam* ||
 [tu](mem) + + + + + (weṢṢA)lle ||
yadi pariśuddha āgacchatu || kr_ui
 [ā]{r}stare tā-
 a3 kaṃ tumem̄ anuśā(sa)kentse • te
 weṢṢA(lle) :
pariśud[dh](o) 'ntarāyikair
dharmai(h) || tumem̄
 anuśā(sa)kentse wasam̄npā-
 a4 t yamalye ṣanmīreṃ enēnka aśa(l)[l]e
 + + + + + (yāṣt)s(i) waTKAṣle •
 tumem̄ putantimeṃ waip̄tār,
 aśarintam̄S,
 a5 [pai]yne wināṢṢAlle ṣemepi ṣeme(pi)
 + + + + + (yamaṢṢA)[ll](e) kauc",
 rupne lkāṢṢAlle wasam̄npāt
 yaskaskemar-cme(ṃ)
 b1 eṃṣke nawanti TAñtsi •
 te-yā(k)n(esa) + + + (yayāṣor)m(em̄)
 nano (karma)wā[ca]keś", aśalle •
 enepre laMA-
 b2 ṢṢAlle || tane tarya-wassi pātrai
 a(tiṣṭhit)(=adhi°) + + +
 (upadhya)yeṃ yaṣṣāt(ai) || ta(ne)
 ñake wasam̄npāt, yaskaṢṢAlle
 b3 starc, || tane wasa(n)[p](āT,) + + + +
 + st(e) • cintāmani wamermpa
 tasemane : MAkte śaumo
 b4 cintāmani wameR, kallaṃ po-yākne
 [ṣ]e + + + + + (snai)[tSA]ñenta
 lyeccim̄(←lyaiccāṃ √litk) : po
 akāLKAnta knaskentTARne
 b5 tumpa tasemane wasanpā(t)
 (y)[ā](mu) + + + + +
 (śpā)l[m]e(ṃ) wakīce wāntareŚc[,]
 kramartse prayoK, yama-

community) should (say). "If he is pure, he
 must come." If (he would be) pure, <a3>
 then so the instructor [*anuśāsaka*] should
 say. "(He is pure) with regard to the
hindrance-quality." Hereupon the instructor
 [*anuśāsaka*] should lead herein the novice
 who should make the ordination <a4> (and
 order (him to ask the ordination of the
 community). Hereupon he (=the ordinand)
 should venerate the feet of the Ācāryas
 individually from oldest senior <a5> one by
 one (he, putting the hands together?), should
 look up to (their) face (and say). "I ask
 you(←from you) for the ordination."
 Up to the youngest junior, (having asked)
 the ordination thusly, again he(=instructor)
 should lead (the ordinand) to (the
 proceeding-)leader [*karmavācaka*] (and
 make (the ordinand) sit before (the leader).
 <b2> "Here (you have obtained) three
 (monk's) robes (and) the bowl, (and) asked
 for an in(structor). Now you should here ask
 for the ordination." <b3> The ordination is
 here (an excellent thing), comparable to a
 Cintāmaṇi-jewel. As a man, <b4> (if) he
 will gain the Cintāmaṇi-jewel, in all ways
 (he will get the wealth of the world and)
 eliminate the privations – (because) all his
 desires are realized –, compared to this, the
 ordination (is performed). (Now here) the
 difficult (←heavy) practice should be made
 for (attainment of) this excellent, distinctive
 thing.

<a1> You have asked here for the ordination
 from every monk one by one (up to
 youngest?) But now you should ask the
 whole community <a2> for the ordination. If
 the whole community (agrees by keeping

Folio 21 <by another hand>

a1 ṢAle • ta(ne) ṣeme ṣṣeme
 ṣamā(neṃmem̄) + + + + +
 (wa)[s](a)npāt yaṣṣātai • ñake no

- ysomo saṅkameṃ wasa- still), you will be able to perform(←make)
- a2 npāt yaskaṢAlle starc[,] kr_ui ysomo the ordination. (If) just one monk <a3>
[s](āñ)[K](,) + + + + + ka hampers you, you cannot perform (any)
wasanpāT, yātaṃc“, • še ṣamāne ordination.
postaññe te- Say aloud the words, (which) I will
- a3 ñKAñc“, wasanpāT, mā yāt(amñc“,) give(←say) to you to say, for the sake of the
+ + + [c]e rekauna weñaus wentsi tu hearing of the whole community⁵²! <a4>
wekte poñ“, po saṅka- Say it! "(The Venerable of the community)
a4 nte klyaus<si>sa || poñ ce aiśai te will know it. I (am) Yaśakāma, an ordinand
yāmtRA + + + + + [ñ]iś“, of Yaśa. <a5> I⁵³ (ask) the community (for)
yaśakāme yaśentse wasanpāt, ordination with Yaśa (as my) (Upā)dhyāya.
yamaṢA- May the community accept(←pull up) me,
a5 lle • su ñiś, saṅkameṃ wasanpāT, may the community be able to <bl> ordain
[y](askaskemar upā)dhyā«yem» me (with) mercy!" (This is to be said thrice).
yaśet[s]a • kauc“, ñiś, sāñK, The noble community has accepted you with
pannoy“, yāTAṣṣi loving sentiment <b2> by (their) merely
- b1 ñi sāñK, wasanpāT, sitting still to make your ordination.
āñmālāṢAly[ñ]e(sa) + + + + + [||] "(Hear it, o venerable) community! I,
w](ār)pātec, klyomo sāñK, Yaśakāma, an ordinand of Yaśa, <b3> (ask)
TAñwaññai palsko- the community (for) ord(ination). Catch hold
b2 sa āM, lmosfera ka wasanpāT, yāmtsi of me⁵⁴, the community! Make me attain,
+ + + + (bhadan)t(a) saṃgha : ahaṃ <b4> the community! With mercy!" So (it is
yaśakāma yaśasyōpasa(m)- twice and thrice) to (be said). 3.
- b3 patprekṣī so 'haṃ saṃghād **b. Inquiry in view of the hindrance-quality**
u[p](asampadaṃ yācā)mi **[antarāyikā dharmāḥ]**
avalambatu māṃ saṃgha : Now then the ordinand <b5> (should be
upasampā(da)yatu mā[ṃ] asked) about the hindering-things.
b4 (saṃ)gha : anukampāṃ upādāya (Why) so? Because in the time of Buddha
evaṃ (dv)[i](r) + + + + some people, who
(vakta)[v]yam, 3 || ñake no wasanpāt
yamalyepi ono-
b5 lmentse pKAnte yamiññana
[w]ā(antarwa) + + + + + (kā)[tts]i
ce pañākte-prekesa ṣemi onolmi •
k_use

⁵² After K.T. Schmidt "zum Hören (=Gehörtwerden, passive Infinitiv) durch die ganze Gemeinde". My opinion is that the inf. here is a substantive in the perlativ (klyaussisa), and with gen. subject (saṅkantse).

⁵³ su before ñiś "I" is not clear (Skt. equivalent so 'haṃ in line b3). Normally it is a pron. "he/she/it" (demonstrative) or "this, the" (anaphoric), but it is used for emphasis connected with another pron. in Skt. (M-W. p. 1111). Toch. does not have such a function, but the writer translated it literally from the Skt.

⁵⁴ After K.T. Schmidt "Neben avalambatu findet sich ullumpatu "soll aufheben" (Bhi 133,17 u. Pā.). Vgl. Dickson, JRAS 7, p. 14 Anm. d". If the meaning of avalamb- is "to catch hold of, support one's self by" (M-W. p. 103), not "to hang down" (an etymology for ullambana Chin. 盂蘭盆, cf. Nakamura, p. 114), then the context shows no problem, as the Toch. kauc panno "he) might pull up" (√pān "to stretch") shows.

Folio 22

- a1 mā aṣāṃ cai tane ostameṃ lateṃ + + + + + (yo)[l](ai)na yāmorntasa (keke)n(o)Ṣ, tu yparwe māka onolmeṃ-
- a2 ntso aprasāt tāka • tirthi nāksante • śāsa(nāntse) + + + + [k.] • ce nāki pāssintse pernesa poyī pañākte yātka anta-
- a3 rāyānta parktsi • MAkte śpā[l]m(e)ṃ wakīse śūke tākaṃ : solmeṃ bhājanne kuṣalle • ente tu saille
- a4 tākaṃ śpālmeṃ waT, {•} naumiye tākaṃ : tu mā ente r[a] + (ta)[ṣa][l][l]e • prakrona yasnane ta[ṣ]alle • pera(←ā)K, śaumo[nt]se
- a5 kaLPAṢṢAlle • MAkte waT, lānte soy, + + [e] + + + + (ya)[m](a)Ṣ(Ṣ)Al(l)e tākaṃ k(u)s(e) intrintasa solme tākaṃ ṣaṇa-
- b1 nmasa kekenu ce_u yapoy“, amāc[i](nta) [a](rt)t(as)k(e)ntRA [l](ānt) y(ā)mts(i) (tu)[m]p(a) [t](asemane) [k]_us(e) su onolme tā[k](aṃ) [i]ntrintasa
- b2 solme • yolaina yāmorntasa mā kekenu • sū aṣāṃ MAsketRA p[o](y)ś(im) pañāktentse pelaikneṣṣepi cakrawartti lānte so-
- b3 y nessi • ce_u pañākte yātka wasan[p]āT, yāmtsi • tu ṇake tane prekuc“, MAkte wānta-
- b4 re tākaṃ tu-yāknesa poñ“, || klyauṣi a[ṣ](an)ī(k)e [ṣ]ā(ñK,) se yaśakāme yaśentse wasanpāt yamaṢṢAlle • se sa-

<a1> (were) not worthy, went out then from the house (and received ordination, even though they) were provided with (ev)il deeds. Thereupon many people <a2> became(←were) unbelieving. The Tīrthikas condemned "(They add damage?) to the teachings." For the sake of defending this accusation, the All-knower, the Buddha ordered <a3> to ask about the hindrances.

(Just) as an excellent (and) distinctive juice, (when it) would be poured in a spotless vessel, so (←where) it would keep its taste(←support oneself) <a4>, or (just as) an excellent jewel, (when it) would be put not (in a wrong place, but) in safety(←firm) treasuries⁵⁵, (or) a faithful man <a5> should keep it(←make attain to jewel), or (just) as a king's son, who would be perfect with (his) power of sense (and) <b1> is provided with (his) skills, (he should) become(←make himself) (a king, and) the ministers of the country agree(←praise) to make him a king, alike(←comparing with it) the person, who would be perfect with (his) power of sense <b2> (and) free from(←not provided with) evil deeds, is worthy to be a son of the world-ruler-king possessing(←of) the all-knowing Buddha's law⁵⁶. <b3> The Buddha ordered such a person(←him) to perform(←make) the ordination.

I will ask you now here(=before the community) about that(=hindrance). Answer(←Say) so, how the thing <b4> would be!

"May the worthy community hear!⁵⁷ This Yaśakāma, the ordinand of Yaśa, <b5> asks the community for ordination (with Yaśa as

⁵⁵ It should be sing. from the context. Presumably *yasna* is Plurale tantum.

⁵⁶ After K.T. Schmidt an equivalent Skt. for *pelaiknesse cakrawartti walo* could be *dharmacakrarājan* which is unknown in the buddhistic Sanskrit-Literatur. I suppose that *pañāktentse* is a gen. connecting with *pelaiknesse*, i.e. "pertaining Buddha's law" Chin. 佛法. And *cakrawartti walo* is Skt. cakravarti-rājan, Chin. 轉輪王 (cf. Nakamura, p. 1226).

⁵⁷ The proceeding-leader [*karmavacāka*] makes the following petition, which is given in Härtel, p. 83–85.

b5 *ñkameṃ wasanpāT, yaskas(tRA) + + + + + k(r_u)i sañkantse yainmu preke ārttoy*, waTKAṢṢAlyñe ṢPA sa(ñkantse) Upādhyāya). If the actual(←obtained) time might be right⁵⁸ for the community and (it is) the wish(←order) (of) the com(munity)⁵⁹

<Folio 23 is missing>

<a1> [sein sollte], dann (←daß) möchten wir den Yaśakāma mit Yaśa [als] Upādhyāya inmitten der Gemeinde nach den Hinderungsumständen fragen. So [lautet] der Antrag:)

[Nach der Vorbringung des Antrags und der Beschlußfassung (←Kvāc 18b1–19a3) – die Gemeinde stimmt dem Antrag durch Schweigen zu – beginnt die Befragung des Kandidaten vor der Gemeinde (←Kvāc 19 a4 – b5):]

("Höre, Ehrwürdiger! Dies ist für dich the Zeit, den Tatsachen entsprechend zu reden. Dies ist the Zeit, die Wahrheit zu sagen. Hier werde ich dich fragen, wie es mit dir steht; und du sollst darauf antworten: was ist, so wie es ist; was nicht ist, sollst du so, wie es nicht ist, kundtun:

[1] Bist du männlichen Geschlechts?

[2] Bist du volle zwanzig Jahre alt?"

Usw. usw. (Nachdem der Unterweiser den Kandidaten nach diesen Hinderungsumständen gefragt hat,) (in Kvāc 19 b5 f.),

<a1> (he) should hear also other hindrances. (The delinquencies?)⁶⁰ as

Folio 24

a1 rano aloKkna antarāyānta [o/tu] + + + + + (.s. + .ñ.k.)kn. kly[au]ṣalle : MAkte PāTAR, mātRA

a2 arahante kāwāly(ñ)e sāñK, w[ī p](a)k(e) (y)[y](amal)[y]ñ(e mamāntau PA)lsko pañāktentse

[1] Father(-murder) [*pitṛvadha*],

[2] Mother(-murder) [*māṛvadha*], <a2>

[3] Arhat-murder [*arhadvadha*],

[4] Community-schism(←making two portions) [*saṃghabheda*],

[5] (malicious) blood-shedding(←expelling) of the Buddha

⁵⁸ *yainmu preke ārttoy* meets *prāptakālam kṣamate* "der gegenwärtige Zeitpunkt recht ist" (Härtel, p. 84).

⁵⁹ Folio 23 is missing. After the Skt.-presentation (folio 25 a1 *sa(m)ghasya*) one can supply *sa(ñkantse)*. The wording of the petition can be restored by comparing it with the Skt. text, folio 24 b5 – 25 a2 and with Bhu p. 24, 1–4 and Bhī 17 b3–5.

I give the translation of K.T. Schmidt (in Germany).

⁶⁰ The following list involves the 5 mortal sins [*ānantaryāni*, B-Toch. *anantārśānta*] and the 6 "the heresy". This corresponds to the *abhiñhāna* "mortal sins" of Pāli in which 6 are mentioned (after K.T. Schmidt).

- yasaR, lyucalyñe • añkaṃ pi- [tathāgataduṣṭacitta-rudhirotpāda],
 a3 lko eRAllyñesa warñai ce no śaumo <a3>
 ets[u]wai c[e] n(ā)kisa sklokate [6] Heresy⁶¹ and so on. Insofar then (such
 tākaṃ tu prekṣalle • ce temeṃ mante things belong) to a man (=community?), he
 ṣa- (=instructor) would be doubtful
 a4 māneṃ aśiyaiṃ kattākeṃmeṃ about(←with) this blame, he should look
 waT, klyauṢT, te tam [ts]a ke into (←ask) it. What you hear henceforth
 antara(←ā)y", MAsketRA : tu po mā <a4> from a monk, from a nun or from
 eñkastaR, : te toT, house-holders (namely)
 a5 pañākte poyśiññe aiśamñesa "This (or) that is a hindrance indeed", do not
 antarāyān[t]a ly[ā](ka) tuk [c]i take(←seize) it (or) each (of them)!
 yāt[k]a parksi tek ci prekuwa • So <a5> the Buddha recognized(←saw)
 t[e]men no hindrances with (his ability of) all-knowing.
 b1 ksa mā ṣeycā snai sklok ptāka • snai Even this he ordered to you to ask, (and) just
 antara(←ā)y", nesT", • astare this I asked you. Then because of that <b1>
 bhāj(am) starc[,] • aṣāṃ nesT, there was nothing (against) you. Be without
 prātimoKṢAṣṣepi śu- doubt! You have no (←are without)
 b2 kentse śmoñña nesi • aṣāṃ nesT, hindrance. Your bowl is pure. You are
 poyśi paña(←ā)ktentse {•} worthy <b2> to be (in) a place of
 pelaikneṣṣepi cakkravārtti lānte soy Prātimokṣa-taste. You are worthy to be a son
 nesi • ce[n]e te of the Cakravarti- king possessing(←of) the
 b3 epiṅte paiye wināṣṣasta wassi pātraī all-knowing Buddha's law.
 at(←dh)iṣ(ṭh)i[t] yamaṣatai • Therein⁶² <b3> meanwhile you worshiped
 upādhyāyem yaṣṣātai ta(ne) māwK, (both) feet (of the Venerable),
 te obtained(←made possessing) the robe (and)
 b4 wasanpāt tākaṃñc", wasaṃnpāTAs bowl (and) asked for an instructor
 [k]au[k]e p.. + + + + + [.TA/.n.] [Upādhyāya]. (There) by no means⁶³ <b4>
 n(←t?)añkeṃ tu weñau cesa the ordination will be for you, (if the
 wasanp[ā]t tākaṃñc", • || hindrances) will stand against(←stop) your
 b5 śruṇotu bhādanta saṃgha : ayaṃ + ordination, (the call(?) of the petition(?)), I
 + + + + + (upasamṃpatpre)k(s)ī will (now) say it(=the formula),
 saṃghād upa(samṃpa)daṃ yāca[t]e thereby(←by this) the ordination will be
 [ya]śasyo- (meted out) to you.
 <b5> "Hear, the venerable community! This
 (Yaśakāma, ordinand of Yaśa), asks the
 community for ordination with Yaśa
 <a1> (as Upādhyāya). If for the community

⁶¹ Literally "evocation of false view [mithyādrṣṭi]. In the Pāli-list of *abhiñhāna* this corresponds to 6. *aññasatthāruddesa* "adopting another teacher" (after K.T. Schmidt).

⁶² K.T. Schmidt reads ce te, which makes no sense. I read it as cene "in this". I see that this ne is a little different from the following te and thereafter a downward stroke is added to the left middle by the writer wrongly.

⁶³ te after māwk is not clear. The writer has forgotten ne for tane. This te could be ne for tane, which is forgotten and added afterwards. I see the same writing in fn. 62 supra.

Folio 25

- a1 (pādhyāye)na • sacet sa(m)ghasya of the community, then(←that) we want to
[prā](ptakālah) + + + + + + + + + + ask Yaśakāma with Yaśa (as) Upādhyāya
+ + + + + + + + + + <a2> among the community) about the
- a2 + + + + antarāyikāṃ dharmāṃ hindrance-quality. (So is the petition.
pṛc(chema) + + + (jñap)t(iḥ Hear, Venerable one! It is for you the time to
ś)[r](nu) + + + + + + + + + + say the truth, and it is the time to speak
- a3 + + + (t)[vā] pṛcchāmaḥ tatra corresponding with truth. <a3> To which
[bhū](taṃ ca bhūta)taḥ pr(a)t(i) + + we ask (you), then(←there) (you should say)
+ + + + + + + + + + (pu)- corresponding with truth and declare the
- a4 (ru)ṣo 'si paripūrṇaviṃśo 'si • mā + + untruth as untruth. <a4>
+ • mā kri(←ī)to ('ś)i + + + + + + + + [1] Are you (a man)?
+ + + + + + + + [2] Are you a full twenty years old?
- a5 + [•] mā rāja[k]il(v)i[s]o [ś]i • mā te [3] (Are you) no (slave)?
ki[ñ](c)i(t) + + + + + + + + + + [4] (Are you) not purchased?
+ + + + + + + + <a5>
- b1 + [: te] puruṣasya im(a) evamrūpā [8] Have you committed no misdeed against
ā(bādhās) + + + (kuṣ)[t](aṃ) the king?
[k](ilāso) + + + + + + + + + + [9] Have you (done) no (scheme against the
+ king?
- b2 s(aṃ)vidyante : jivitās te [10] Are you in debt to nobody, neither little
mātā[p]i(tarau • a)nujñāto 's(i) + + nor much?
+ + + + + + + + + + [11] Well there are) <b1> for man the
- b3 + ..ṃ + [jā] samprajānaṃ following d(iseases: black leprosy, white
śik(ś)ā(padeṣu • pa)ripūrṇaṃ (t)e + leprosy, scrofula, tuberculosis (and)
+ + + + + + + + + + epilepsy. You) ha(ve surely not such
+ + + + + + + + + + diseases?) <b2>
- b4 + + + + + m[ai]yyācc[e] nuwalyñe [12] Alive (still are) your parents?
[p]ry. + + + + + + + + + + [13] Have you a permission (from your
+ + + + + + + + + + parents)?
- b5 + + + + (pe)r(ā)k no wāntare ekītacce <b3>
KA + + + + + + + + + + + + [15] (Are you) conscious of(←in) the moral
+ + + + + + + + + + + + commandments
[16] (Have you) completely (obtained the
three robes and the bowl)?

5. The ordination [upasampadā]

a. Introductory remarks of mind and goal for ordination

α. Three forms of restraints [saṃvara]

..... <b4> strong roaring

- karma<pa?>TA[nta] + + [.m. y.] +
 «[KA]l[i]?» + + iKA(ṃ) ṣ(e)
 kl[au](tkem)
 b4 + + + + (KA)llālle • tesa
 wa(sa)ṃ(npāt) + + + + + ñyāSA
 erṣalle starc, k(ā)ttsi ce ta(ne) +
 pelaiknenta ñya
 b5 + + + + nt. wakīṣe no [w](āntare) ..
 + + + + + ñyās tākaṃ [k]w[ā]lpelle
 sū te KA(lpā)[Ṣ](ṢAṃ) kā no teṢ,

<a1> should (he) evoke desire?
 Because (is) made.

Folio (28)

- a1 ñyā[SA e](rṣa)l[l]e ste katu + + + + +
 + + + + + + ñ yāmu trai tane
 wakīci onolmi (neSAṃ pañā)[kt](e)
 pr(a)tti-
 a2 [ka]pañākte a[r](a)hā(nt)[e] (k_use
 nervāṃ KAlpāskentRA • pañākte tā
 pre)ściyaine kante kalpanma tar(ya
 asaṃ)[kh]y(ai)nta lalaṢṢAṃ
 a3 ākene ostameṃ (lnaṢṢAṃ
 pañāktiññe perne KAlpā)[s]tRA
 khaḍgaviṣāne prattikapañākte
 [k](ante ka)[l]p(a)nma lalā-
 a4 lormem ākene otameṃ [l](naṢṢAṃ
 prattikapañāktiññe perne
 KAlpāstRA) [ś](r)ā[v]aki bhadanta
 śāriputrentsa warñai [ś](k)[a](ska
 kalpanma) lalā-
 a5 lormem • ākene otameṃ (lnaskem
 arahanteññe perne KAlpāskentRA •
 t)esa oṣaP, śpāl(m)em wān(tar)e (mā
 neSAṃ ce kreñc, onolmi)
 b1 ārttalyi ſeyem • katu cai [ś](āmna) +
 + + + + + + + + + [nt]RA k[a]tu
 te(mem tarya) + + + + + (yātalyñe
 KA)-
 b2 llāllona skente • k_use toṃ ske(nte) +
 + + + + + (saṃsārmem

β. The three vehicles [yānāni]

(There are) here three excellent beings, the
 Buddha, <a2> the Pratyekabuddha (and) the
 Arhat, (who obtain the Nirvāṇa. The
 Buddha) exerts himself in (this?) time for
 one hundred Kalpas (and) three
 Aṣaṃkhyeyas (long), <a3> (goes out) finally
 from the house (and obtains the
 Buddha-worthiness.) The Khaḍgaviṣāṇa
 [rhinoceros], the Pratyekabuddha, having
 exerted himself (for one hundred) Kalpas
 (long)⁶⁷ <a4> g(oes out) finally from the
 house (and) gains the
 Pratyekabuddha-worthiness.) The Śrāvakas
 (pupils like) the venerable Śāriputra and so
 on, having exerted themselves for (sixty
 Kalpas)⁶⁸, <a5> (go out) finally from the
 house (and obtain the Arhat-worthiness.)

γ. Three effects of the ordination⁶⁹

(There is no) thing more excellenter than
 (th)is(=ordination), (as good beings) <b1>
 were to be praised. Because these
 (people) Because consequently
 (three effects(←abilities)) should <b2>
 (be) obtained. What are these?

⁶⁷ Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, Abhidharmakośa III, p. 195 f.

⁶⁸ So after La Vallée Poussin, Abhidharmakośa, Index, p. 136, s.v. Śāriputra (Vibhāṣā 71, p. 366, 101, p. 525):
 "soixante kalpas de carrière" is to be supplemented.

⁶⁹ Because of the many gaps the comprehension of the text is very difficult.

- tSA)[l]pālyñeṣṣe ŚAktālye [1] (He, who will make the ordination,) KAlpāṢṢAṃ + + + + + (tumpa) obtains the seeds of the (deliver)ance (from the Saṃsāra. Compared to Indra's Vajra⁷⁰)
- b3 [ta]semane MAkte mena(←ā)(k.) + + <b3> – as (in the) parable (Indra, when) the + + + + + (ṣar)n(e)meṃ vājār <b3> – as (in the) parable (Indra, when) the Vajra would slip(←depart) from (his hand,) laitaṃ sū nta kca tane śmoññai (mā there he (does never reach(←get) his KAlpā)ṢṢAṃ : k[e](m) [PA]sT, goal(←place, *upasthāna*), the earth <b4>
- b4 (sa)LPAm ṣaleṃ war yente [ta.e] + + (glo)ws, mountain, water, wind⁷¹ – (but + + + + + + + [o]mte ka ṢP, he reaches his goal, when he seizes(?) it and sainastRA tumpa tase(mane) sustains himself on it, – comparable to this, prātimoKṢA- (it <b5> is) the self-discipline of Prātimokṣa.
- b5 (ṣ)ṣ(e) saṃwaR, (sa)n[ai] (He, who loses this self-discipline just o)ne pre[ś]c(iyaine) + + + + + + + + + time, does not reach the goal (of the [śmo]ññai mā KAlpāṢṢAṃ • parna ordination(?) and stays(?) outside (of) nervā[n](tsa) + + k(r)eñc onolmi Nirvāṇa.

(Why scatter) good beings

<a1> (the seeds) of deliverance from Saṃsāra? (Because Saṃsāra is) rough, peccable(?) (and) inconstant. (The always-again-birth)⁷², <a2> the always-again-dying, (the parting from one's beloved [*priyaviprayoga*]), the joining with unpleasantness [*apriyasamprayoga*] (and the not-gaining of a) cherished wi(sh) [*yad apicchan paryeṣamāṇo na labhate*], <a3> in short even, (the bundle of) five elements (is suffer)ing⁷³. Therefore good beings (scatter the seed of) deliverance from Saṃsāra. <a4> This (is for you) the first effect(←ability) of the ordination.

Folio (2)9

- a1 (sa)[m]sārmem tSAIpā<lyñe>[ś](e ŚAktālye katnaṃ) + + + + + + + + + peccable(?) (and) inconstant. (The always-again-birth)⁷², <a2> the always-again-dying, (the parting from one's beloved [*priyaviprayoga*]), the joining with unpleasantness [*apriyasamprayoga*] (and the not-gaining of a) cherished wi(sh) [*yad apicchan paryeṣamāṇo na labhate*], <a3> in short even, (the bundle of) five elements (is suffer)ing⁷³. Therefore good beings (scatter the seed of) deliverance from Saṃsāra. <a4> This (is for you) the first effect(←ability) of the ordination.
- a2 [l]e • nano nano sruk[all](e • unpleasantness [*apriyasamprayoga*] (and the larenmem tsrelle) [a]n(ai)wacempa not-gaining of a) cherished wi(sh) [*yad apicchan paryeṣamāṇo na labhate*], <a3> in ṣe śmalyñe • ritauwa akā(LKAntatS, mā-KAllyñe au-) short even, (the bundle of) five elements (is suffer)ing⁷³. Therefore good beings (scatter the seed of) deliverance from Saṃsāra. <a4> This (is for you) the first effect(←ability) of the ordination.
- a3 ltsorsa ka piś-antse(ṣṣe perpette la)[k](l)e ka ste tusa kreñc onolmi This (is for you) the first effect(←ability) of the ordination.
- samsārmem tSAIpā(lyñeṣṣe ŚAktālye katnaṃ)
- a4 [s]e wasanpāTantse PAR[w]e(ṣṣe yātalyñe starc, k_u)[se] ste ce yarpo [2] (Wha)t is (it), that (of which) the merit is temem māka MA[s](k)e[tRA] more than this(=ordination)? [Answer:]

⁷⁰ After K.T. Schmidt the interpretation of *vajra*, the weapon of Indra, is not easy (cf. T.K. Das Gupta, *Der Vajra, eine vedische Waffe*, Wiesbaden 1975, Abb. 13–14, p. 88 (from Chotscho) and Abb. 15–16, p. 88 f. (from Khotan)). From mural paintings and reliefs in Central Asia, we can assume that a type similar to the classic *vajra* could be presupposed.

⁷¹ In Tocharian obliqui.

⁷² Skt. *jāti*. Therewith the definition of the noble truth of "suffering" begins. The Sanskrit-wordings are found for example in CPS 14.5; NidSa 23.13b; BBS 8 (13 V2 f.); Mvy. § CXII (2233–2240); MV.III. 332.1 and LV. 417.4 (after K.T. Schmidt).

⁷³ Skt. *saṃkṣiptena pañcopādānaskandhā duḥkham*. Chin. *Saṅghabhedavastu* T1450 .24.0128b05: 乃至五取蘊苦。 (translated by Waldschmidt, CPS p. 159 "schließlich: das Bündel der fünf (Grundlagen individueller) Betätigung ist Leiden"). In the Toch. enumeration, the sufferings of "seniority" [*jarā*] and "disease" [*vyādhi*] are absent.

- (cw)[i] (yärpontse snai ya-)
 a5 rm [k]eś neSAṃ snai yarM, snai
 [k]e(ś śtwāra wāntarwa neSAṃ
 MA)[k](te) tā kem śikon[t]a(sa) + .i
 akās [w]at pok[ai](nesa maistsi?)
 b1 s(a)[m]udRA PAltakwasa
 su(MAstsi?) + + + + + + + +
 [l]y.y.[t. k./r./u] + + .m. + + (.)[t]s. +
 + + + +
 b2 + + [ā]ro[n]ne mā toṃ śtwā(ra) + + +
 + + + + + śtw(ā)r(a) wāntarwatS,
 ya(r)m k(e)ś m(ā) [n](e)[SA]ṃ
 (t)aisa c[w]i wa(sa)ṃ(npāTAṣṣe)-
 b3 [p](i yār)ptse yarm keś mā + + +
 (KAlā)lle • k_ute(←a)mem tentse
 kallau ste tonaK, + + + +
 (wāntarwa)-
 b4 mem kallau ste • ce o(nolmeṃtsana)
 + + (wānta)rwameṃ ce yāknesa
 KAlālle • kos po + + + + + + + +
 b5 nt. piś-[c]ma(←e)laṣṣi ṣe(m)e + + +
 + + + [ā.ek/n]tsa yarpō KAlālle kos
 po saṃ(sārne) + + + + +

(This merit has no) <a5> measure (and)
 number. Without measure (and) without
 number (are the four elements. As it is not
 possible to survey) this earth (with) footsteps
 or the sky (with) fathoms(← two arms),
 <b1> to make full(←trickle) the ocean with
 dribblets (Which things just)
 <b2> might cease for him, these four
 (elements would) not (cease for him(?). As
 these) four elements have neither measure
 nor number, so this merit of the ord(ination
 has) <b3> neither measure nor number, (so
 you) should (obtain it). From where is the
 benefit(←gain) of this? From even this (the
 elements, the earth and so on) <b4> is the
 benefit, inasmuch as one should obtain
 it(=merit) from the (organic and inorganic
 base materials⁷⁴) in this manner. How many
 (in?) the whole (of Saṃsāra?) <b5> of
 the five birth forms , (so much?)
 merit one should obtain on (manners?).
 How many (in?) the whole of
 Saṃ(sāra?)

<a1> twenty(?) In (this
 manner) one can obtain it(←merit) from the
 organic base materials. In which <a2>
 manner (can one obtain it(←merit) from) the
 inorganic (base materials)? So one can
 obtain the earth from (the elements and)
 self-discipline [saṃvara] from the
 earth-atoms <a3> From all green, (white?)
 and black(?) seeds⁷⁵, which are seeds near
 or far, <a4> from all one can obtain
 self-discipline. (So) one can obtain them
 from (all organic and inor)ganic base
 materials. As <a5> the organic (and) the
 inorganic (base materials have neither
 measure nor number), so this merit of the
 ordination <b1> (has) neither measure nor
 number. This (is for you the second effect

Folio 30

- a1 nt.t. i[KA/TA/SA] + + + + + + + +
 + + + (yākne)s(a) onolmeṃtsana
 wāntarwameṃ KAlālle • ce
 a2 yāknesa snai-on(o)lm(eṃ)t[s](ana) +
 + + + + + te kenameṃ kenaṣṣana
 paramānuntameṃ sa(ṃ)var KA-
 a3 (l)[l]ālle • po motarcca(na) + + + + +
 + (ŚAktā)[l]y(e)ntam[e]ṃ • k_use
 ŚAktālyenta skente etsuwai elauke
 a4 waT, pomem sanvar KA[l](ālle) + +
 + + + + (snai-ono)[l]m(eṃ)tsana
 wa(←ā)ntarwameṃ KAlālle •
 MAkte {te} o-
 a5 nolmeṃtsana snai-o[no]lm(eṃtsana)
 + + + + + + + (ne)[SA]ṃ taisa c(w)i

⁷⁴ It means blood, flesh, fat, bone, pith and semen of living-beings and of not-living-beings (after K.T. Schmidt).
 For the first, cf. La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa* I, p. 49 fn. 2.
⁷⁵ The seeds are counted as inorganic material (after K.T. Schmidt).

wasamnpāTA<ṣṣe>pi yarpointse ya-
b1 rm keś mā neSAṃ se
wasam(npāTAṣṣe) + + + + + + +
(pkē)lyñ(e) k_use ste kr_ui ce yarpo
saṃsārṣ<ṣ>a<na> skwa-
b2 nmaŚ, yuwāsT, t[e] + + + + + + +
ylaiñāKTAññe cakkravārtti lantuñesa
b3 [wa]rñai toṃ po akā(LKAnta) + + +
+ + (ma)m[rau]skaṣ palskosa te
saṃsārmem tSAIpātsiś, yūwa-
b4 sT(.) • [t]rai kleñkentsa saṃsā(rmem
tSAIpātaR, pañākti)ññe •
prattikapañāktiññe arahanteññe • ce-
b5 ścā ñke ..ṃ + + + + + + + + + + +
(kne)[TA]rc[,] : se tri(te)
wasamnpā<TA>n[ts]e yātalyñe
starc,

of) the ordin(ation).

[3] (Ripen)ing [*vipāka*], what is (it)? If you made ripen this merit for the fortunes of Saṃsāra, <b2> (so you will obtain(?) all of) this. All (your) hopes, (like) the Indra-worthiness, the Cakravartin-king-worthiness <b3> and so on, (will go to you in fulfillment. If) you made ripen this(←merit) with a mind of aversion for the deliverance from Saṃsāra, <b4> (so you will be free from) Saṃsāra by (one of) three vehicles [*yānāni*], of the Buddha, of a Pratyekabuddha (and) of an Arhat. <b5> For which then (you will also make ripen yourself, the deliverance from Saṃsāra will come) to you. This is for you the thi(r)d effect of the ordination.

Folio (31?)

(no photo of THT1122)

a1 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
(mai)y(a)ne KAllāllona tarya
naumiyyentatS, maiyyane
a2 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
(TA)rya naumiyyentane maiyyātse
takarṢKAññe yama-
a3 (ṢṢAle) + + + + + + + + + + + + +
(TA)[r]y(a) naumiyyentamT, •
krentauna mā <ke>klyauṣu tākaT, •
ñake
a4 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + sa
pañākte snai yarm keś krentaunasa
kekenu aultso-
a5 (rsa) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
(pru)[cca]mo ṢP, ce yāknesa
krentaunatse ste • ce po saṃsā-
b1 (rṣṣi onolmi) + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ po śarsa • ce ṢPA po saṃsārṣṣ[i]
onolmi mā aiksante

ḍ. The virtues [*pāramitā*] (Jātaka examples)

<a1> (Now I will render to you, which virtues [*pāramitā*] one can obtain (through the power of the three jewels) ⁷⁶. Through(←In) the power of three jewels <a2> (one can obtain the virtuous munificence Then one should) evoke(←make) strong faith in the three jewels. <a3> (If) you (still) have not heard the virtues of three jewels, (then hear) now <a4> with The Buddha, (who) is equipped with virtues without measure (and) number, (is) in short <a5> (virtuous?) and (excel)lent. In which manner is he virtuous? All, what (the) Saṃsāra-<b1>(beings needed for their deliverance, that) all he knew. And all, what the Saṃsāra-beings did not know, <b2> (that all he taught.)⁷⁷ In this manner (he) is virtuous.

⁷⁶ So it could be supplemented. The three jewels are the Buddha 佛, the Dharma 法 and the community 僧 (Tumshuqese in gen. forms: *bāsā, dātā* and *saṅgā*, cf. Emmerick p. 10).

⁷⁷ The supplements of lines b1 and 2 are suggested by Prof. Schlingloff (München) to K.T. Schmidt.

- b2 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + In which manner is (he) excellent?
 c(e) yāknesa krentaunatse ste ce <b3> (in numberless births?), because
 yāknesa pruccamo ste of (just one good speech [*śubhāṣita*]?), (his
 b3 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + (pe)lkiñ", two) hands (and) feet, nose (and two) ears,
 ṣarne paiyne • melem klautsane • skin (and) bl(ood), <b4> (all
 yetse ya- good and) agreeable things, all he gave up
 b4 (sar) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + (and) from the mountain <b5> (he jumped
 (la)rona cāñcarona wāntarwa po down).
 rintse(←a)te • ṣlemem (When he) was a (ki)ng (named
 b5 + + + + + + + + + + + + + + Subhāṣitagaveṣim⁷⁸) , (he) sacrificed
 (wa)lo ṣey", ṣemepi ślokantse himself (←went out) for the sake of one
 pe<r>nesa lamṣa(←ā)(te) Śloka

b. jñāpticaturthakarman

(cf. Härtel p. 15, fn. 23)

6. The date of the ordination

(cf. Härtel §38, p. 86 f.)

7. Closure: Manner for the ordination

- <a1> (With timidness (and) shame so
 you should love your teacher [*upādhyāya*]
 like) father (and) mother⁷⁹
 <a2> speech (and) instruction
 (of the teacher [*upādhyāya*]) you shou(ld)
 partake with (inclining of your) head.
 <a3> Why indeed? Because (only)
 he, who has Moral-behavior [*śīla*], is a
 monk. Moral-beha(vior)
 <a4> Moral-behavior is the feature
 of all virtues. Mor(al-behavior)
 <a5> is the speech of (the
 Buddha-teacher).⁸⁰ "..... <b1>
 your virtues for(?) all." Like it
 <b2> (If? it) is , (you would)
 obtain this with (your) whole soul by
 Moral-behavior. <b3> studying
 (of and) Moral-behavior in the service it
 (is) then (in) whose force

Folio A

(identical with folio 17 b2~)

- a1 //// (MAkte pā)t(ā)R, mātārne (tai)sa
 larau(w)ñ(e) ////
 a2 //// (we)lyñe enāṣṣā[ly]ñ(e) • tarnesa
 wārpanal(e) ////
 a3 //// (k)ātsi ce ket papāṣo<r>ñe sū
 ṣamāne papā(ṣorñe) ////
 a4 //// .ā papāṣorñe [ṣ]otri ste po
 krentaunā(←a)t(S), pa(pāṣorñe) ////
 a5 //// (KA)[ṣṣ]itse weweñor ste :
 [c./v./d.] ////
 b1 //// .v.[d]guṇā sarveṣām tu ramTA
 [k]e ////
 b2 //// [le] ste po āñmtsa [t]e
 papāṣorñ(e)sa k(al)l(aṃ) ////
 b3 //// [āk]lyilyñe spaktāṃne
 papā<ṣo>rñe no te kete maiy[y](ane)
 ////
 b4 //// lau mā neSAṃ e<m>[ṣ](k)e ñakti

⁷⁸ After K.T. Schmidt *Subhāṣitagaveṣin* could be here supplemented (*Subhāṣitagaveṣyavadāna* cf. Av. 38, BAK 53, Rpp. ed. L. Finot p. 21). In the Toch. version (cf. THT 99–103, Thomas 1953, p. 34) the king *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*, for the sake of one Śloka, jumped in a fire-hut, which is as wide as the Avīci-hell. For the same theme, cf. also KhJSt. 8 (and another parallels in p. 447 f.), but I am not sure of this, because we can see here neither the name *Subhāṣitagaveṣin* nor "fire-hut" (cf. Akanuma p. 639).

⁷⁹ Literally "love (for teacher like) for father (and) mother".

⁸⁰ A Sanskrit-strophe follows, which – until the closing words – is lost in the gap.

- skente viṣn(←ṅ)u mahi(śvare) //// <b4> is not (obtaining?). While(?)
 b5 //// (tarya naumiyaṅ)TS, the gods (like) Viṣṇu, Mahe(śvara and so on)
 maiyya[n]e [KA]lpāsTA tusāk(s)a are, <b5> you obtained
 //// by(←in) the power of (the three jewels).
 Even therefore
 <a1>⁸¹ should be for you. (You
 should) take ⁸² the three jewels (as
 teachers. <a2> (It is (a behest(?) of
 the Buddha(?) that) one should be clever, the
 head <a3> (And then take it to
 heart(?)) "May (the virtues) with (this good)
 deed, (the virtuous munificence [*dāna*],
 a1 //// lyñe ta(←ā)kañcä tarya Moral-behavior [*śīla*], intelligence [*prajñā*],
 naumiyaṅ)nta KAṣinta patience [*kṣānti*], energy [*vīrya*], meditation
 eñkaṣā(lona/le) //// deed, (the virtuous munificence [*dāna*],
 a2 //// (pañāktents)e (watkä)šālyñe ste heart(?)) "May (the virtues) with (this good)
 maimatse MAskele āścä //// deed, (the virtuous munificence [*dāna*],
 a3 //// (c)e (kr)e(NT) [y](ā)morsa k_use cwi Moral-behavior [*śīla*], intelligence [*prajñā*],
 wastsi //// patience [*kṣānti*], energy [*vīrya*], meditation
 a4 //// [yā]toyeñ, || || [dhyāna] and so on), which (are required)
 for this robe, <a4> be
 verso: not written apportioned(←capable) to me!"
 [the end]

THT 1048 (A-Tocharian; T II S 56.1; MIK III 28; poṣatha-pravāraṇa)⁸³

THT 1048a

1 *nipatit[ah]* kiṃ samghasya karaṇīyaṃ : || sañKAsteryāñce⁸⁴ tRAñKAL* : •⁸⁵ ||
 poṣatha⁸⁶ : pravāraṇā : TMAṢ* , karma-

⁸¹ The fragment B should be hardly a following folio to fragment A directly.

⁸² *eñkaṣā(lona)* or *eñkaṣā(le)*. Both constructions, either personal or impersonal depending on the obl.-object, are found in this manuscript. Cf. Thomas 1952, p. 16ff. and 22ff.

⁸³ I have gotten a small piece of this folio for the ¹⁴C-test from Ms. Yaldiz in the museum in Berlin, and Mr. Oda in Nagoya University gave me the result which shows 1313±19BP. This means that the paper was made in 674 A.D. by the highest possibility

⁸⁴ *sañKA* is Toch. form of Skt. *saṃgha*, *ṅ* is the allophone of /n/ before guttural /k/. *ā* is an anaptyxe between /k/ and /st/. *stery* (B *stere*) is BHS *sthera* (= Skt. *sthavira* Pāli *thera*, cf. Edgerton p. 611) "elder". *-āñc-e* is a fem.-suffix (cf. SSS p. 30 §53 with many examples) and gen.-marker *-e* (gen.-subject of ger.), but I am not sure that *-āñc* came from Sogh. **ync (i/ēñc*: Gharib, Sogdian Dictionary p. 87) "woman" because of /ā-/ /ā/ could be indocuro. fem.-marker *eh₂*, but in Toch. /-ā/ is recognized as pl. in the nominal system (an analogy of Skt. fem. *-ā* is possible). The *-ñc* was a suffix in Uigur (e.g. *ubasantsa (= -ñca)* "Leienchwester", cf. Müller p. 47), but in Toch. it is used as an ending of nom.pl.m. of old nt-stems (cf. TEB p. 155–156). *Pluralis Majestatis* from another country or a collective in pl. form is possible to consider. Diachronically and because of only one example *-āñc* is hard to accept as a loan-suffix from Sogh. My tentative opinion: if it is really a f.-marker, *-ā* was an influence from Skt., and then it was used in Buddhist texts in A-Toch., and *-ñc* was borrowed from B-Toch. If this is right, my hypothesis that A-Toch. was an artificial language for Buddhism could be supported.

⁸⁵ This mark is not a numeral 1 as in Sieg/Siegling 1921 p. 229, but a punctuation-mark "•" which was written in cursive, and this came only with "•" in this manuscript. I find no difference between the two even in combination, and they are sometimes superfluous. This means that the writer was not a specialist in this kind of document. Therefore somewhat unclear writings are found, e.g. *pravārāpakinya* (see fn. 88 infra)

⁸⁶ This is a BHS (*u*)*poṣadha* (*poṣatha* in Pāli: Edgerton p. 147). Because of *ṣa* (Toch. phoneme) and *tha* (unvoiced *dha*) I suppose that this is a (tocharianized) Toch. word rather than Skt.

2 vāckāñce tRAñKAL*, ○ • || *anāgatānām āyuṣmann*⁸⁷ *yac chandaṃ pārisuddhiṃ cārocayata ārocitañ ca*

3 : *pravēdayata ya○d uta poṣatha : pravāraṇāya : kā utsahante saṃghasya : pravārāpakīnya*⁸⁸

4 : • || TMAṢ, tri pravārāpakāñcāśśi orto kāTAñkāl*, neyaṃ kanwenā ṢMAL*, • TMAṢ*, karmavāckā-

5 ñce tRAñKAL*, : • || *utsahasi tvam āryāsikṣā : saṃghasya pravārāpakīnī : utsahasi tvam āryāsik(ṣ)ā*⁸⁹ • (*saṃ*)-

Translation:

1 *fallen out, what should be done?* || The monastic overseer should say || *The Buddhist Sabbath ceremony*. Then

2 the speaker of the matter (*Karmavācañā*) should say || *Sir of the future! (You should) agree with the pure approval! And*

3 *make known the approved (thing), which is concerned with the poṣadha for the ceremony! What are the ceremony makers*⁹⁰ *able (to do) for the community?*

4 || Then three ceremony makers should stand up (and) kneel down on the mat(?). Then the speaker of the matter

5 should say || *Can you (do it)? Āryāsikṣā! The community maker! Can you (do it)? Āryāsikṣā!*

THT 1048b (folio number 126)

1 *ghasya pravārāpakīnyau : • || tosmāśśi*⁹¹ *tRAñKAL*, : utsahāmi : TMAṢ*, karmavāckāñce pravārāpakāñc(āśśi)*

2 kāRAM*, tRAñKAL*, : • ○ || *śṛṇotv āryasaṃgha : āryāsikṣā : ratnāsikṣā ca bhikṣuṇī : utsahante : sa(m)-*

3 *ghasya pravārāpikā*⁹² : *sacet saṃghasya : prāptakālaṃ kṣamate : anujāñyāt saṃgha : yat sa-*

4 *magrasaṃgha : i○yaṃ āryāsikṣā : ratnāsikṣāñ ca : saghasya : pravārāpikāṃ san manyeta eṣā*

⁸⁷ The transliteration must be *āyuṣmann* (vocative), not *-nt* as in Sieg/Siegling 1921.

⁸⁸ From the predicate *utsahante* this should be a nom.pl. form (of Skt. *pravārabhaga?*, Poucha p. 197). *pravārāpakīnī* in r5 would be nom./voc.sg.f., and *pravārāpakīnyau* in v1 is nom./voc.f. dual, whose Toch. equivalent might be *pravārāpakāñc*, but it is unclear, whether it really reflects Skt. *pravārabhaga*. Presumably *-a* of *pravārāpakīnya* is pl.-marker, but *ā* before *pakīnya* is unclear. I would like to take this word as an incorrect Skt. form of an appellation in the community corresponding to BHS *pravāraka* in meaning of *pravāraṇa* "presentation" (Edgerton p. 385), or as a misunderstood new word *pravāraṇaka* "a person in the ceremony" and the f. form would be *pravāraṇakanī*, if *ña* → *pa* is explained. In any way the writer is not a specialist in Buddhist documents, as I mention in fn. 85 supra.

⁸⁹ *Āryāsikṣā* could be also an appellation in the community. This appellation are addressed in sg. form to three persons (in voc.sg. and voc.dual). It could mean "female leader of a nun-candidate" from the context.

⁹⁰ This is a tentative translation, see fn. 92 infra.

⁹¹ This is a demonstrative pronoun gen.pl.f. of *sām* "she, the", which here has anaphoric function.

⁹² *pravārāpikā* should be *pravārāpakīnya* as in r3 supra. *pa* → *pi* occurred because of labial /p/, or this writing is an error for *pakī*. Another possibility is that all these writings are errors for *pravārīka* "making *pravāraṇa* (ceremony)" (Edgerton p. 385). Here I see also an inconsistency on the part of the writer. I give a tentative translation "ceremony maker" for these words.

5 *jñapti* : *śṛṇotv* *āryasaṃgha* : *iyaṃ* *āryaśīkṣā* : *ratnaśīkṣā* *ca* *bhikṣuṇī* : *utsahante* : *saṃghāsyā* : *pravā*

Translation:

1 *two community makers!* They (who are there) should say. *I can (do it)*. Then the speaker of the matter

2 should tell the effect of the ceremony makers. || *Hear, (my) noble community! Āryaśīkṣā and the nun Ratnaśīkṣā can (be)*

3 *the ceremony maker of the community. If it is worthy of the right time for the community, the community might follow in being produced, namely*

4 *the harmonious community. This (is) Āryaśīkṣā, and (she) might take Ratnaśīkṣā for the ceremony maker of the community. This (is)*

5 *the proposal. Hear, (my) noble community! This Āryaśīkṣā and the nun Ratnaśīkṣā can (be) the ceremony (maker).*

These texts show that Skt. was used as formal language in the Buddhistic ceremony. Appellations and names in the community are also Skt. This means that Skt. was an important language for Toch. Buddhism and showed an influence not only on semantics, but also on morphology, if my hypothesis about the fem.-marker /ā/ (cf. fn. 84 supra) is right; note that the writer kept Toch. phonology, for example tha for Skt. *dha* (cf. fn. 85 supra).

Abbreviations and Symbols:

Bhī: Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā

Bhu: Bhikṣukarmavākya

BHS: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

Kvāc: Karmavācānā

M-W.: (Dictionary of) Monier-Williams

Skt.: Sanskrit

T: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō

THT: Tocharische Handschriften aus

Turfan

Toch.: Tocharian

Tumsh.: Tumshuquse

a: recto

b: verso

adj.: adjective

fn.: foot note

gen.: genitive

nom.: nominative

obl.: oblique (case)

pl.: plural

pp.: past participle

pres.: present

pret.: preterit

sing.: singular

subj.: subjunctive

phoneme interpretation: //

damaged *akṣara*(s): []

restored *akṣara*(s): ()

correction: (←) or (→)

interpretation: (=)

interlinear insertion: « »

omitted *akṣara*(s): < >

superfluous *akṣara*(s): { }

lost part in folio: { { }

lost *akṣara*: "+"

illegible *akṣara*: "·"

illegible part of *akṣara*: "·"

traditional diaeresis over *akṣara* ^ā; "''"

string hole: ◯
 nonsyllabic *u*: "u"
virāma line: ", "

virāma sign over *akṣara*: "*" "
 punctuation: • and :

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Tocharian Syllabary with Uigur Explanations, M34.4 of the Mannerheim Collection in Helsinki*

Tatsushi TAMAI

While I was in Helsinki as a member of the delegation for the Chinese documents found in Central Asia (March 12–20, 2013) I found a small document M34.4 in the Mannerheim Collection which contains a Tocharian syllabary in Brāhmī script including "Fremdzeichen" (capital letters in my transliteration) with Uigur explanations.

The document is very small containing only eight legible Toch. characters in italics, and Uig. explanations in bold after Zieme.

The first line: */// .. SA śa sa ///*

1) According to Maue the Toch. *".."* could be *va*, and a illegible remnant could be **w'** below.

2) Uig. below Toch. *SA* (it seems nothing to see below *śa sa*): **s'** = **śa**¹

The second line: */// wa RA i .i ///*

3) Uig. is unreadable for me below Toch. *wa*, but according to Maue it could be Uig. **v'** after a trace.

4) Uig. **'r** below Toch. *RA*

5) Uig. **'yky** (= iki "two") **py**. (two labial akšaras?) below one hook-form *akšara* (*thā, dhā* or *ta?*).

6) It is broken out below *.i*

My commentaries:

For 1), 3) and 6) I cannot give any commentary (*.i* in 6) is not sure).

2) Toch. *śa* could come next to *sa*. No comment² below *śa* and *sa* could mean that these signs were already familiar (Hitch's suggestion), but **s'** and **śa** have the same form in Uig. as Zieme and von Gabain (cf. p. 17) show, and Toch. *SA* has also the same value. This means that there

* The Mannerheim Collection is owned by the Finno-Ugrian Society, and the Collection is located as a deposition in the National Library of Finland, and this work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 24401026. I should like to express my thanks to the Finno-Ugrian Society for giving me a permission to publish, Prof. Oguchi who took me to Helsinki and gave me the clear photo of this document, Prof. Katayama who helped us to take photos and gave me an article of Reuter which is difficult to obtain, Prof. Sekio who encouraged me to write this article, Prof. Zieme who has kindly read the Uig. under the Toch. syllabary, Mr. Hitch who gave me some significant suggestions and corrected my unidiomatic English, and Dr. Maue who checked my work carefully. Needless to say, any errors that remain are my own.

¹ According to Hitch /s/ and /š/ in Uigur are distinguishable with two dots beside the letter to make /š/ in careful writing. No Uig. caption below *śa* and *sa* could mean "pronounce Brāhmī SA like Uig. script sa".

² I recognize no character comparing to Uig. **s'** below Toch. *SA*, but Maue: "*Vielleicht ist darüber sogar das š-Diakritikum erkennbar.*"

is no difference in Uig. between Toch. /s/ and /ś/ as well as /a/ and /ä/. I will discuss a phonetic and phonologic value of /ä/ in "Fremdzeichen" below.

4) This character was used as *RA* and *-R*, in Toch., *-r*- and *-r* in Uig. (cf. Bailey p. 33 and 41; von Gabain p. 17; Hitch 1983, p. 297ff.). I will discuss the *virāma*-system in Toch. below.

5) Toch. hook-formed character in the second line is difficult to decipher. L. Sander confirmed my initial reading as *thā*, *dhā* or *ṭa*³. Zieme then proposed to read Uig. 'yky py. as /iki bitig/ "two writings, letters". As a result, I realized that the Toch. remnant may be the independent vocalic *akṣara i*, which has three hooks. I do not know exactly why *i* comes here in the syllabary, but presumably it could be treated as a half-vowel (approximant in IPA *j*) like /w/ (IPA *v*) and /r/ (IPA *ɹ*). I suppose that this line is for a category of approximant, like vowel- and consonant-line in other syllabary, but this fragment is too small to decide it. My opinion that *i* is in Toch. half- or semi-vowel (approximant) is not a speculation, for example in Toch. /i-/ was written as *yä*- in general (except in words from Skt. or influenced by Skt.) and the root usually given as *i*- 'to go', is actually *yä*- (cf. Tamai p. 37). My opinion is against *communis opinio*, but this is the fact.

Regarding "Fremdzeichen" (cf. Tamai pp. 13–14):

The characters were new inventions in Toch. for its own phonemic needs involving /ä/ whose sound is "schwa" in IPA [ə]⁴. This weak sound can be easily deleted, when there is no attention to it, but it was retained, when it had a signification, e.g. the causative marker /ä/ before /-sk-/. And then because of the accent rule in Toch. which came into existence presumably after 6th century A.D. (cf. Tocharisches Elementarbuch I, p. 43, §10), like "rhythmic law" in Sogdian (cf. Sims-Williams p. 359), /ä/ became <a>, when it was accented. To express this /ä/ the Tocharian invented "Fremdzeichen" (consonant + /ä/) or used *trema* (dieresis) on *akṣaras* which was used also in Khotanese⁵. This /ä/ appeared as an epenthesis (*Anaptyxe*) between two consonants (Skt. *svarabhakti*). This sound was so vague that phonetically it became <i> in late time, when surrounding sounds were palatal. Therefore I cannot agree with Pinault's opinion (LALIES 1989, Paris, p. 38) that Toch. *ä* is [i] which should be Turkish *ı* or *î*.

I cannot decide the sources of "Fremdzeichen", whether it was Manichaean script (Hitch p. 298), Kharoṣṭhī (Durkin-Meisterernst "Tocharian Texts in Context", see fn. 5) or others. My tentative opinion about sources of "Fremdzeichen": <LA> could be Semitic, i.e.

³ Maue thinks after another syllabary that at first a numeration (1, 2, 3 ...) could be written after *RA*, but it is because of form not applicative, and then a punctuation because of Uig. /iki/ "two", but I think the character is too big as a one of two dots for a punctuation. And then the last one he wants to read a number "1", but the script is too fat. At last, "*Daher vorerst unklar*".

⁴ Reuter (1925, p.197) suggested the Fremdzeichen showed "Mouillierung" (softening like the Slavic soft consonants with ь?). He tried to distinguish "gewöhnliches n" ~ "palatales ñ" ~ "mouilliertes n (= <N>)", but <na> is merely orthographic for /nä/. In our fragment Uigur recognised that <SA> and <sa> including <śa> have the same sound value. I suppose that Reuter saw this fragment and thought <śa> stood for a palatalized /s/, but <ś> is a palatalized /k/ in Toch. (presumably IPA [x] as Pinault one time agreed with me). There was no exact correspondent to this Toch. phoneme in Uigur.

⁵ I am not sure about the phonetic value in Khotanese (Emmerick considered it to be schwa, while Hitch thinks <ä> is short /ɛ/ corresponding to <e> for long /ē/), and Durkin-Meisterernst mentioned in his lecture for "Tocharian Texts in Context" in Vienna on June 28, 2013 as "*an inherent vowel short e <ä> whereas the default value of Brāhmī is a vowel a, whatever its realisation was*" (he kindly sent me a draft). In Toch. /ä/ is phonemic, while <a> represents an allophone of /ä/ and /ā/, i.e. accented /ä/ and unaccented /ā/. In late B-Toch. and A-Toch. generally there is a phoneme /a/.

Aramaic or its follower's script, as Hitch and Durkin-Meisterernst think (*supra*), because Aramaic is considered as *lingua franca*, and also the origin of Brāhmī was North Semitic (cf. Dani pp. 27–28). A connection of <LA> and Skt. 𑀲 is not apt because of the form (cf. Dani, Plate VIII).

<ṢA> (THT128v5) is not from Manichaean or Kharoṣṭhī (<ṢA> (THT127r2) is the inverted form of <ṢA>), because the old ones are in the middle open (THT227a1) and (THT388r3), so ṢA seems to me to be similar with Uig. *ḍa* (cf. von Gabain p.34, *da* Hitch p. 299) without *hasta* (vertical line in middle), 90° to left rotated in Tumšūqese (z Skjærvo p. 90, z K.T. Schmidt p. 143⁶) or m-sign of Ethiopic Amhārese which is a follower of Semitic. All these possibilities are only by means of forms, but I cannot understand Malzahn's opinion (a relation between <50> and <ṢA> / <ṢA> *Instrumenta Tocharica* 2007 Heidelberg, pp. 262–263) although the form is similar⁷.



THT128v5



THT127r2



THT227a1



THT388r3



Tumšūqese

<KA, TA, PA, SA> are written in cursive or simplified forms of the normal Brāhmī. <MA> is at first written in a form with a crossing (from old <ma> crossing with circle below?) in middle of <PA> (THT295r7) and then one horizontal line (because of similarity to <NA>?) instead of the cross (THT496r2). Like <MA>, <NA> has a interior cross in middle of <SA> (THT273r1). <NA> was not used after *virāma* in B-Toch. (used in A-Toch. only 3 times THT885v4, 868v1 and 991v3). Presumably *anusvāra* was substituted to write final consonant /n/. This *anusvāra* was used for /n/ in Toch. and <ṃn> meant /nn⁸. <RA> is a reversed form of <-ra> like Skt. cerebrals in Tibetan.



THT295r7



THT496r2



THT273r1

⁶ K.T. Schmidt thinks $\text{ṣ} \rightarrow \text{z} \rightarrow \text{ṣ} \rightarrow \text{z}$. Formerly this sign could be read as <rra> in general, but <r> should be superscribed to normal <ra> (cf. TArre below), and moreover after my new observation of Skt. manuscripts it should be <ra>, because this sign is used for example as a superscript to <la> (<rla>, not <rrla>) or the circle (as well as a returned line to the right) below is seen also in the case of <u>, i.e. a cursive writing to the next right *akṣara*.

⁷ I cannot see any letters on the photos in Helen Wang's book (*Money on the Silk Road 2004* London, Plate 4, 49–50), and after a sketch of <50> on the *Qiuci wuzhu* coin (Wang *ibid.* p. 40) it could not be Brāhmī (no two circles at both ends), but rather Pah avi 'pd abd "excel ent" as Wang writes. Even if it is <50>, does the circle represent a weight unit equal to one-tenth of 朱 *zhu* denoting 五朱 *wuzhu* (50 x 0.1 = 5)? According to Wang 朱 *zhu* without the radical 金 *jin* is a characteristic found on Chin. coins of the Jin period (265–420). Is this coin so old in Toch.? There is, however, no connection between <50> and Toch. *ṣānk* "measure of volume", and it is difficult to imagine that <50> and <ṢA> / <ṢA> are used in the same time, if <ṢA> / <ṢA> developed from <50>.

⁸ The *anusvāra*-system was imported from India, but the function was not same, as Reuter (1924, p. 454) mentioned. This <ṃn> is understandable when <ṃ> of the word end (e.g. obl.) with <n> of the word beginning (e.g. locative), otherwise I could not find a good solution for <ṃn>. Once I thought <ṃ> as a redundant or as a preparation of nasal sound, but it could be a gemination of consonants. I suppose that the gemination is to be seen as an attention or intention for the consonant (neither approximant /ṃ/ nor nasalization), e.g. <yy> in /maiyā/ "power" can be explained with this proposal, not an assimilation of a "Kehlkopfverschluslaut" (glottal stop) before the initial vowel to the final consonant of the preceded word as in Reuter 1927 p. 458.

The absence of "Fremdzeichen" for <ca, ña, ya, wa> is difficult to explain. In Toch. /ā-ā/ and palatal-nonpalatal oppositions were important morpho-grammatical elements, e.g. for *modi* or *tempora* (pres. /kārśnā-/~ subj. /kārś-/~ pret. /šārsā-/ from √kārś "to know"). The /ā-ā/ opposition could be realized by "Fremdzeichen", and /c, ñ, y/ are palatal oppositions to /t, n, w/, so it was not necessary to produce new characters for denoting the opposition. If /-ā/ was necessary for a syllable beginning with these phonemes, it was expressed with *trema*. This could be interpreted as support for Reuter's "Mouillierung", but consonants of "Fremdzeichen" are not changed, only the vowel /ā/ is important for distinguishing from /ā/.

<w> was a Toch. invention, but it is not sure whether this character was made from Indian <o> as Hitch (1983, pp. 309–310) and Malzahn (*Instrumenta Tocharica* ibid., pp. 260–261) mention, even though these two signs are similar (<o> is like "Z" in Aśokan brāhmī, cf. Dani, p. 276 and Plate IIIa), because I cannot recognize any phonological relation between /w/ and /o/⁹, but rather between /w/ and /u/ (half-vowel), e.g. <kwri> and <ku_uri> "if".

Malzahn has discussed about "foreign sign" in *Instrumenta Tocharica* ibid. pp. 261–263, but I cannot give any comment (except <ṢA> and <ṢA> supra). There is already a good review of Hitch in TIES 2012, pp. 284–289.

Regarding *virāma*-system:

The origin of the *virāma*-system was to express a word final consonant (contoido). In Skt. (*Devanāgarī*) a slanting line (*virāma*) is added to an *akṣara* containing *a* (without vocalic sign) at right-low position, but in Toch. *virāma* was different. In early manuscripts there was a horizontal line between two *akṣaras* (<ce_u> THT273a1, contoido was written in lower position). This *virāma*-line was distinct from a binding line between two *akṣaras* in vertical position for ligature <ḍñā> THT273a4 (cf. Tamai p. 10). Then *virāma* evolved to a form of diagonal stroke between two *akṣaras* as is most commonly seen.



Sieg/Siegling used "u" after consonant in their transcription as in Skt., but did not use it in cases of vowels, e.g. <ke_u>, even though the Toch. writers wrote *virāma*-lines in the same way. <ke_u> is not one *akṣara* with subscript <u>, but two *akṣaras* with the second in *virāma* and could be transliterated <ke_u> (<keu> is possible, but it misleads to diphthong). The *virāma*-system is, as I mention above, for showing voiceless consonants (contoido), and "Fremdzeichen" or "trema" on normal *akṣaras* are used for it, i.e. consonant with "schwa". Sometimes "Fremdzeichen" was used without *virāma*, when a syllable was *metri causa* necessary, as <ā> is syllabic (vocoïdo). Therefore <ṭ> and <u>¹⁰ after *virāma*-lines are to be

⁹ A different use between /o/ and /w/, e.g. <onolme> ~ <wnolme> "person" and <orotse> ~ <wrotse> "big", is depend on metre, although there is no phonological relevance between /w/ and /o/. In Toch. there was no non-syllabic /o/, so <w> was substituted for that (just as <y> for /e/) because of phonetic similarity (rounded) of [u-] which was written as <wā>.

¹⁰ <ṭ> was imported from India in early time (presumably 4th century A.D.), but this was not a long vowel, because in Toch. there was no short-long opposition, and <ṭ> was used as <y>, e.g. ike (THT333r7) for yke (passim) "place" or √yā- for √i- "to go" above. After Sieg/Siegling <ṭ> and <ṭ> are confused (cf. Tamai p.11). Theoretically <ṭ> could be used after *virāma*-line, but there was no special sign for that (there was only <u> + long marker), so they used <u> after *virāma* and the newly produced <wā> for initial position like <yā>.

seen as semi-consonants (contoids *y* and *w*).

Apropos I would like to give my commentaries based on the Berlin collection (THT0001–1101) to Malzahn's *A Tocharian Brahmi Chart* in *Instrumenta Tocharica* *ibid.* pp. 223–254:

1) p. 223: The title should be *Brāhmī* as she writes in the content.


2) p. 224: *-w* is found only two times, one is *t[a]ñw*, THT239r2 (←*tañkw*, not *w* alone), another is *tauw*, THT362r2 whose *-w* is abnormal and redundant. The double dots over *akṣara* (^ā of *ryañ^ā*) is a sign of /ä/ and later this was simplified in *virāma* to one dot shaped like a comma functioning occasionally as a punctuation in the end of Pāda. Sometimes this is written even on Fremdzeichen or semi-vowel (*ī* and *u*, see above). This is not a homograph of the *anusvāra* dot. <yac> with *anusvāra* on <ya> is simply abnormal or a mistake. Without knowing the context, it is hard to know what the writer intended.

3) p. 225: *ṃñcu* should be transliterated as *ṃñcu*. Vocalic radicals *i* and *o* are used in ligature only on two folios in A-Toch. (*śe*, *ta*, *ḶAT* in THT1005, *wñā-*, *ḶAt* in THT1029). THT1005 is not metrical and palaeographic unskillful, so these could be mistakes (an influence of *ḷpādhyās* in v2?). THT1029v5 is metrical and these words should be written as normal *winā-* and *oḶAt*. If Sieg/Siegling gave right syllable count 20/22/10/15 (cf. Sieg/Siegling p. 220), then the spellings are also mistakes which could be caused by the inability of the writer. There is initial non-syllabic *u-* written in Skt. words, but not Toch. since it had no initial vowel *u-* in native words (B-Toch. *uwe*, see Tamai p. 309). About <ṽ> see fn. 10 above.

4) p. 227: Initial *ā-* is found only in A-Toch., which means it is a new invention or adaptation. Malzahn's (*i*) is *ī* as is noticed. *ī* before *u* in the chart (*ī* + long-marker) I have never come across. *ṛ-* is for Skt. words, but the form is not assured, because no photos (THT108, 112, 499) exist. The right *au-* is found only in THT89r1 and 127v3, and I see it as mistake due to ignorance of the writer. *ṛ-* is for Skt. words, but I have seen it only in syllabaries. *u/ṽ* is only for <ku/*k_u*>, <kr_i/i> could be <k_u/ri> because of <kwri> (metathesis /ur/ to /ru/ is possible). Labio-velar /k^w/ is possible as I and many scholars have thought, but I prefer rather nonsyllabic /u/ like <s_u/ka> or <p_u/ka> on p. 225 in this book, as a vertical line for <ṽ> is impossible in the case of <k_u>. *ṽ* and *ṽ* (only in mistaken <winā>) are not written below *Ca*, but in ligature or after *virāma*-stroke. These signs can be confused with signs in *virāma*-system which Malzahn does not mention.

5) p. 228: *ña* (also *ñ* + vowels) is not used in Toch., but only <ñ> as the upper part in the ligatures with gutturals (*ññ* are italics in the table), i.e. <ñ> is an allophone of /n/. <ñ> ← <ñk> is caused by dropping of /k/ because of phonetic complex (occlusion and explosion) of [k], as *t[a]ñw*, THT239r2 (←*tañkw*.) supra. *va* (also *v* + vowels) is for Skt. words, so it should be in italics. *visarga* (Skt. *:*) can be confused with punctuation presumably due to ignorance of its function in Skt., so Skt. philologists in Central Asia call it *visarga-daṇḍa*.

6) pp. 239–253: Upper *akṣaras* in ligatures should be written without *-a* or *-ā* (left vertical column). p. 243 *ṭṣā* should be *ṭṣā*. p. 249 *ṭṣā* should be *ṭṣ*. p. 239 *ṇḷā* is attested only in A-

Toch. p. 246 *rra* could be *ra*, as I have recently noticed THT 3599v a5 TArre  in which *r* is written over *-rre* (←*re*). Many theoretically possible ligatures are shown in the tables, but some are very rare or even do not exist as far as I see in THT0001–1101, e.g. p. 240 *ṇna*, p. 241 *ñra*, *ñra*, p. 250 *ṣṇā*, *ṣṇā*, *ṣṇā*, p. 251 *śḷā*, *śḷā*, *śḷā*. It would be helpful to show the place

where these ligatures exist. We can see in A-Toch. some ligatures with coupled "Fremdzeichen" which are not found in B-Toch. I see an artificial development of orthography in it.

Abbreviations and Symbols:

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| IPA: International Phonetic Alphabet | illegible <i>akṣara</i> : "·" |
| Skt.: Sanskrit | illegible part of <i>akṣara</i> : "·" |
| TIES: Tocharian and Indo-European Studies | phonetic interpretation: [] |
| Toch.: Tocharian | phonemic interpretation: // |
| THT: Tocharische Handschriften aus Turfan | graphic interpretation: < > |
| Uig.: Uigur | |

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Figure. M34.4 in the Mannerheim Collection. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Finno-Ugrian Society)



Collecting of the Buddhist scriptures: Notes on Old Uigur “annals”

Peter ZIEME

*Introduction*¹

Probably the first scholar who mentioned the fragment of an Old Uigur manuscript in Uigur script to be discussed here was Niu Ruji², but he gave no comment on its importance. Although he mentioned the entry on the left margin of the verso side of the leaf he wrongly assigned it to a Buddhist sūtra. The fragment (shelf number: BG 68975) belongs to the Pelliot Collection kept at the Musée Guimet in Paris.³

This fragment can closely be linked to two other leaves in Beijing⁴ exceptionally well preserved, only large parts of the lines of the recto side of the second leaf faded away. Altogether there are now three leaves of a totally new genre of Old Uigur literature: *ötüg* 4, *ötüg* 18, *ötüg* 22. Judging from a hypothetical timeline according to the contents of these pieces the order is 18, 4, 22. As leaf 4 recalls events which follow those related in leaf 18, some doubt remains whether the three leaves are coming from one and the same manuscript. The solution can be that we have two different manuscripts of a very similar format and script recording events of the time of the Buddha and the post-Buddha time in different order. The doubt can be removed only by an examination of the physical state of the fragments. The Beijing leaves measure 17.5 × 29.3 cm, and the Paris leaf only slightly differs: 17.3 × (>) 28 as its right half is not totally preserved.

¹ This article is the enlarged version of a part of the lecture “Old Uigur Buddhism. Generalities and Peculiarities“ (古代ウイグル仏教——普遍性と特異性——) I read at The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology of Sōka University on 16, November 2013. Here I acknowledge the help and encouragement I received through the discussion of the participants and through the assistance of the director of the Institute, Seishi Karashima. I also thank Noriyuki Kudo for preparing my paper for publication.

² Niu 2000, p. 279.

³ I express my sincere thanks to M. Francis Macouin who sent me digital images of this manuscript as well as to M. Jérôme Ghesquière (Musée Guimet, Paris) for giving me the permission to publish the text. It is necessary to underline that the fragment discussed here is known only from these photographs. As it is in this case improbable that Paul Pelliot brought the original text with him to Paris, the original item might still exist somewhere in China.

⁴ Zhang/Zieme 2011, Zhang/Zieme 2013.

Summary of leaf 18

Leaf 18 starts with an elaboration of some Buddhist principles that Gautama Buddha taught for the welfare of the people. Referring to this ideal time we read about the transmission of the *dharma*: “While Buddha, the God of Gods, graciously preached about these ten objectives (= stages), he graciously let all *vaineeyikas* to be rescued reach goodness and happiness. As much as Buddha, the God of Gods, graciously preached through such and such different methods, he made profit to the *vaineeyika* living beings and graciously led them into the realm of the *nirvāna* without remainder. After that holy priest(s) worked in God Buddha’s *sāsana* called *adhigama* rescuing through the two kinds of reasons. Forever through the teaching called *āgama* the *dharma-sāsana* which is called good was transmitted.”⁵


The next passage is connected to the Inner Asian principles of religion and state/society termed as [1] “inner sphere” and [2] “outer sphere”: “When it was thus transmitted, it was transmitted through the power of the two kinds of good, charismatic noble matters. [1] Firstly, in the inner sphere by the power of widely spreading and handing down the *dharma-sāsana*: through teaching night and day without being lazy and negligent as the *bahuśruta* wise masters of Buddha’s *dharma* do, through making the transmission of the *dharma-sāsana*, further through making *śāstras*, *geyyas*, *ṭikās*, *jātakas* and *upadeśas*. [2] Secondly, [in the outer sphere] by the power through which the kings of very high and true belief protect the *dharma-sāsana* which is called good from the outer *apaksāla* dangers, and through which God Buddha rules and leads and thus honours the pupils as mother and father, as son and daughter. (Thus) the *dharma-sāsana* which is called good was handed down and transmitted to the world.”⁷

This relationship between religion and state/society is based on such works as the *rājaśāstra* which was quoted in *ötüg* 22⁸. Incorporated into the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* the *rājaśāstra* as part of this famous Mahāyāna sūtra was well-known in the West Uigur Kingdom since at least the end of the 10th century. The principles laid down there belonged to the acculturated Buddhist common knowledge among the Uigur people, but the foundation of the inner (religion/Buddhism) and outer (state/society) principles goes back to much earlier periods.

For the period after Buddha’s *nirvāna* Ānanda and Ajātaśatru are highlighted in the text: “If one asks, how it was (later, one should know): After Buddha, the God of Gods, graciously entered the *nirvāna* without remainder, the Arhat Ānanda without erring in the

⁵ Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 404.

⁶ Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 401 l. 47 *kyyy* should be transcribed not *geya*, but *geyi* or *geye* (< Skt. *geya*). The transcription differs on p. 404 where it is written *gati*, but in the note 47 on p. 406 it is again *geyi*. This confusion is based on the unclear spelling and in the fact that both occur one after the other in the Sanskrit

lists (*geya*, *gāthā*), ep. p. 407. Now, after examining once more the photograph  I transliterate *kyyy* under the assumption that the letter *k-* has a final hook which is sometimes the case in the late manuscripts. Therefore one has to assume that the term *gāthā* was omitted, only the term *geyi/geye* < Skt. *geya* occurs here. Moreover, one can also read *kavyikavye* < Skt. *kāvya*, but as this term does not occur in the lists of Budchizet genres, it is less probable.

⁷ Zhang/Zieme 2013, pp. 404-405.

⁸ Zhang/Zieme 2011, pp. 138, 146.

noble 80000 *dharma* doors and branches⁹ heard from God Buddha preached like God Buddha. As much as Ānanda the Honourable was striving in the [1] inner (sphere) for swallowing the *dharma-śāsana*, in the same manner in the [2] outer (sphere) the king Ajātaśatru strived also in such a manner and became supporter of sustaining the *dharma-śāsana* which is called good for a long time. By the power of these, for 95 years the *dharma* taste of the Three Treasures [= *tripiṭaka*] remained safely in the world like at the time when God Buddha was living. After that Ānanda the Honourable went into the *nirvāṇa* without remainder. King Ajātaśatru went into the heaven's land."¹⁰

In this passage too the text is structured according to the two principles featured by [1] Ānanda and [2] Ajātaśatru. The span of the existence of the *dharma* is given as 95 years, but this specification poses a problem. According to the tradition the Buddha started his teaching when he was 35 years old. Twenty years later when he had reached the age of 55 he selected Ānanda as his pre-eminent disciple. Both were at that time 55 years old. Ānanda is said in the *Theragāthā* to have served the Buddha for 25 years¹¹ up to the time when Buddha entered Nirvāṇa. At that time Buddha was 80 years old. If it is true that Ānanda had the same age as Buddha¹², both were at the time of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* 80 years old. Thus the duration of the existence of the *dharma* after the enlightenment when the Buddha was 35 years old was 45 years during the lifetime of the Buddha¹³. Taking the traditionally acknowledged lifespan of Ānanda as 120 years¹⁴, the

⁹ This is probably a misinterpretation of the 八萬法門 “eighty thousand *dharma* gates”. According to the DDB (sub 八萬法門) this equals to 八萬四千法門 “all the permutations of the Buddhist teaching” “to save all beings from 84,000 delusions” (DDB sub 八萬四千法門).

¹⁰ Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 405.

¹¹ *Theragāthā* 1041-1043.

¹² Malalasekera, p. 251.

¹³ 45 years, cp. the Old Uigur version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (*Altun Yaruk sudur*) in the chapter on the lifespan of the Buddha: 1) *be[š ä]ll[ig yul bo yertinčüdä] yorip säkiz [on yul yašmta nirvan]ka kirgüsin bilgüčä* “knowing that (the Buddha) roamed 45 [years on this world] and entered [Nirvāṇa in his age of 8]0” (BT XVIII 0701-0702) translating T. 665, p. 405b26 若見如來入於涅槃 “if (the beings) see that a Tathāgata enters Nirvāṇa” (the Uigur translator transferred the general statement to one coined on the historical Buddha); 2) Buddha himself declares the entry into Nirvāṇa in a *sloka* (BT XVIII 0771-0782 // quotation in an Uigur commentary using Chinese excerpts + Old Uigur translation after 北大附 T 3 recto [Shanghai 1995, vol. 2, plate 17]): *kejurü no[m no]mlayur-m(ä)n bo [tä]riñ nom ärdinig* “Extensively I preach this deep *sūtra* jewel.” [T. 665, p. 405c26 宣說此經寶] / *ädgülärkä tükällig kılğalır üčün tun(ı)glarig* “To make the beings possessing good (things)” [405c27 成就[> 熟 as Nobel 1958, p. 24 fn. 3 assumes]衆生故] / *körkitür b(ä)lgürtür-m(ä)n ni[rva]nka kirmäkig* // (T 3 recto 1-2) *körkitür biltürür-m(ä)n nirvan[ka] kirmäkig* “I show and demonstrate (T 3 make known) the entry into Nirvāṇa.” [405c27 示現般涅槃] / *[örüt]särlär t(ä)rs tätrü kö[rümlä]rig (?)* // (T 3, 2-4) 凡夫起邪見 *t(ä)k äränlärig tätrü körüm turgurup* “If they arouse heretic v[IEWS] // (Supposing) that simple [rare meaning of *täk*, but cp. kirg. *täk* Judachin 220] men raise wrong views” [405c28 凡夫起邪見] / (only T 3, 4-6) 不信我所說 *kertgünmägäylär tep mänin aymış y(a)rıgımın* “and will not believe the teaching I spoke,” [405c28 不信我所說] / (only T 3, 7-9) 爲成就彼故 *oları ukguluk (?) nomda bütä kılğalır üčün* “for letting them become perfect in the teaching to understand” [405c29 爲成就彼故] / (only T 3, 9-10) 示現般涅槃 *körkitür biltürür-m(ä)n nirvanka kirmäkig* “I show and make known the entry into Nirvāṇa.” [405c29 示現般涅槃] (end of *sloka*) *tep* (T 3, 11) *muni munčulayu yarlıkadı* “Thus he graciously spoke”. (missing part) (in prose: BT XVIII 0797-0798) *beš ülig yul yorıy[u Jnirvanka kirür* “[after] 45 years roaming [on earth] (the Buddha) enters Nirvāṇa” [as above no dates in Chinese T. 665, p. 406a2-3 聞世尊說入般涅槃 “(Kaundinya) heard the Lokajyeṣṭha announcing the entry into Nirvāṇa.”].

teaching existed already 40 years after Buddha. Counting the 45 years during Buddha's lifetime and the 40 years after his *parinirvāṇa* gives the result of 85 years. But this number differs from the 95 years of our text by 10 years. This means that there existed once a different tradition giving Ānanda the extremely long, but still not impossible age of 130 years.

The following passage is a short report about Ajātaśatru's son Udāyin: "The son of King Ajātaśatru Prince Udāyin sat on the throne of the realm in the city of Pāṭaliputra. At that time the Honourable Arhat Śaṅavāsa ruled the *dharma-sāsana*. Inside, Arhat Śaṅavāsa made much profit for the *dharma-sāsana*. Prince Udāyin sat as king 60 years on the throne of the realm. Like his own life he protected the *dharma-sāsana* which is called good and honoured it."¹⁵

The leaf ends with Aśoka about whom we read: "After that King Aśoka, the third son of King Udāyin, became the *balacakravartin-rāja* ruler of the whole Jambudvīpa. He erected 80000 *dharmarājika stūpas*, much (...)."¹⁶

These passages give as a whole a short survey of the development of Buddha's teaching from the beginning until Aśoka's reign.

The leaf 4 (of another copy?)

Now I would like to present the new leaf numbered as "leaf 4". It takes up the story about Mahākāśyapa and Ajātaśatru and their cooperation, but partly overlaps with events already recorded in leaf 18.

Description of leaf 4¹⁷

The leaf 4 is written in rather the same Uigur cursive script as the other two leaves. Although not marked the distance between the lines is rather even, but on the verso side much larger than on the recto side. The script is a typical one of the Yuan period with its irregular setting of dots to the letters q, s and n. It is to note that the text ends on the verso side with a cluster of four dots usually marking the end of a text, but here the last word is *burxan-lig* after which the text should continue as this is an impossible clause. Like the two fragments of Beijing the document was produced in the Yuan period, but it is not excluded that the text itself is of an earlier time. A further item is to be mentioned. On the recto side at the end of the leaf there is an additional line written upside down. There is also an additional line in a smaller script at the end of the verso side, but here it follows the same direction as the other lines.

A note on the word ötüg

The leaf has on the verso side an entry which much resembles that of the two Beijing leaves so that one can assume that all three belong together: *ötüg*¹⁸ *tört kädä*¹⁹ 記四

^{14.} Malalasekera, p. 263 (after *Dhammapadatthakatha* II.99).

^{15.} Zhang/Zieme 2013, pp. 405-406.

^{16.} Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 406. On p. 407 we mentioned the "correct" traditional number 84000, as e.g. in T. 1462, p. 681b5 八萬四千寺. Is the number in the Old Uigur text a mistake or a shortening (for the latter cp. SH 39)?

^{17.} See the attached photographs.

^{18.} Written 'wydwk.

“*ötüg*, 4 paper (= leaf 4)”²⁰. And the title is just the same. But how to translate *ötüg*? It depends of course from the contents. When I worked on the Beijing leaves I held the opinion that the text is a kind of memorandum. In the Ötüken Sözlüğü we find the following meanings: wish (*dilek, istida, istek, rica*), prayer (*dua, niyaz, ibadet*), question (*soru*).²¹ Gerard Clauson focuses on the meaning “memorandum to a superior” because Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī expressively says: “a memorial and request submitted to a Sultan, originally a narrative about the matter”²². This is also the use of the word in the Kutadgu Bilig.²³ In the runic inscriptions beside envoys (*yalavač*) good news (*ädgü sav*) and reports (*ötüg*) are mentioned that did not reach their recipients.²⁴ Naturally also the “good news” and the “reports” were handed over by some persons. Here I prefer now to translate the word *ötüg* simply as “report” as Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī himself put it: “originally a narrative about the matter” (*wa ašluhu hikāyatul-şay*).

T. Moriyasu examined carefully the word *ötüg* as an epistolary term: “Therefore, when this term is used in a letter I translate it as ‘statement,’ ‘submission,’ ‘petition’ or simply ‘letter.’ The *ötüg* is basically a document submitted by an inferior to a superior, and this is most definitely the case when this is emphasised by the use of the phrase (*y)inčgä ötügümüz* ‘a humble statement of ours.’”²⁵ This is not contradictory because one can argue that sending a report (*ötüg*) changes it into a letter (*ötüg*).

Recently N. Useev discussed the compound *ötüg taşı* of the Runic inscription Talas XVII and concluded that it is more appropriate to interpret it in the sense of “a book of narratives of events and happenings”, “an exposition of circumstances”²⁶.

A note on the contents

Given that such reports of (pseudo)historical contents were collected and composed into a book one can speak of a historical work, and in this sense my view on the contents as a kind of “annals” in the framework of a “world history” should be understood. Still it is unknown which matters were treated in the missing or lost leaves of this manuscript, but the fact that two leaves discuss matters of religious history and one leaf is an account of political affairs focused on the campaigns of the young Xan can underline my argumentation. I hope that more leaves will turn up one day.

Transliteration (first line) and transcription (second line) of the text

00 [ärk]
 01 lyk tkry lʻr . kwnkw lʻrw kwysʻdw twdmys ymyz . kʻrkʻk ʻykynty ʻlty
 01 -lig t(ä)ŋri-lär . köñül-gärü küsädü tudmıš-ımız . kärgäk ikinti altın
 02 yʻlnkwq yyrtynčw syndʻky ʻqyr ʻwlwq ʻylyk lʻr qʻn lʻr []s pynvʻt tw

19. The Old Uigur word *kägdä* “paper” which possibly is of Greek origin is here used as a kind of counting word. This is exceptional, normally one used for “page number” *p(a)tr < Skt. patra* “leaf”.

20. The Chinese characters mean the same.

21. Ötüken Sözlüğü (sub *ötüg*).

22. ED 51a.

23. For examples cp. ED 51a.

24. BK O 39, cp. Şirin User 2009, p. 293. She offers as meaning beside “rica” also “arz”.

25. Moriyasu 2008, p. 140.

26. Useev 2013.

02 yalḡuk yertinčü-sindäki ağır ulug elig-lär xan-lar [a]š pinvat ton
 03 k'dym t'wl'ty . twyrt twyrt twyrlwk t'pyq yn t'pynw "lqw t'styn synk'r
 03 kädim-tä ulati . tört tört türlüg tapig-in tapınu alku taštın sıḡar
 04 qy "d' twd' l'rtyn "pyyw kwys'dw "rt p'swt pwlwp kwyw kwys'dw
 04 -kı ada tuda-lartin apıyu küsädü art basut bolup küyü küsädü
 05 twdmyš l'ry k'rk'k . "nyn 'mtı pyz pw twšd' "č't's'twrw 'ylyk nynk
 05 tudmiš-ları käreğäk . anın amtı biz bo tušda ačatašaturu elig-nıḡ
 06 kwnkwl yn tyqr'typ "y'q q' t'kymlyk mq'k'sypy 'rq'nt q' 'wydwkčy pwlwp
 06 köñül-in tıgratıp ayag-ka tägimlig m(a)xakašipi arxant-ka ödüğči bolup
 07 'dkw tytywkw nwmwq s'zynyq yyrtyñw t' 'wyr kyč 'wydwn twrqwrqw q'
 07 ädgü tityük nomug šazınıḡ yertinčü-tä ür kič üdüñ turgurgu-ka
 08 q'tyql'nmys ymyz k'rk'k typ mwnčwl'yw k'nk'syp . tnkry qwrwmwzt' tnkry
 08 katıḡlanmıš-ımyz käreğäk tep munčulayu käreğäšip . täñri xorumuzta täñri
 09 qwty yyrtyñw k' 'ynyp . mq'k'syp 'rq'nt q' 'ykylyw 'wyč "qylyq nwm
 09 kutı yertinčü-kä enip . m(a)xakašip arxant-ka ikiläyü üč agılık nom
 10 l'ryq s'nkyt qylyp pytykd' 'wšyk t' 'yndwrwp 'wrn'dqw q' 'wydwkčy
 10 -larıḡ sangit kılıp bitigdä ušik-tä endürüp ornadgu-ka ödüğči
 11 pwlw 'ynč' typ tydy . "y "y'q q' t'kymlyk "ty kwydrwlmys tyryk "s'n
 11 bolu inčä tep tedi . ay ayag-ka tägimlig atı ködrülmiš tirig äsän
 12 yrlyq'r ynd' 'wyč "qylyq nwm l'rwq q'yw q'yw nwm l'ryq nwml'yw yrlyq's'r .
 12 yarlıkar-ında üč agılık nom-larug kayu kayu nom-larıḡ nomlayu yarlıkasar .
 13 "ny p'rč' twyzwn 'n'nt pyr 'sydmys t' 'wk tw'r s'rkwrwr 'rty . syzl'r
 13 anı barča tözüñ anant bir äšidmiš-tä ök tutar särgürür ärti . sizlär
 14 ym' 'ynč' t'rynk kwnkwl wnkwx l'rt' twd'r 'rtynkyzl'r . 'mtı tnkry pwrq'n nyrv'n
 14 ymä inčgä täriḡ köñül-ünüz-lärtä tudar ärtiñizlär . amtı t(ä)ñri burxan nirvan
 15 pwlw y'rlyq'dy . qlty lww sy kydmys 'wlwq kwyl t'k . "y tnkrysy 'wynmys
 15 bolu yarlıkadı . kaltı luu-sı kidmiš ulug köl täḡ ay t(ä)ñrisi ünmiš
 16 kwyk q'lyq ywwzy t'k . pw nwm s'zyn . n'č' syzl'r ny t'k 'wlwq 'dkwkw 'rq'nt
 16 kök kalık yüüzi täḡ . bo nom šazin . näčä sizlärni täḡ ulug ädgülüg arxant
 17 l'r p'r 'rs'r ((l'r)) ym' 'wnčy qy ' yytlynkw k' ywq'dqw q' 'vnt pwlwp twrwr .
 17 -lar bar ärsär ((lär)) ymä unači-k(ı)ya yitlingü-kä yokadgu-ka avant bolup turur .
 18 s'n twyzwn 'n'nt pyl' . nyrv'n q' p'rs'r syz l'r . "nt' p's' 'wyč "qylyq
 18 sän tözüñ anant bilä nirvan-ka barsar sizlär . anta basa üč agılık
 19 nwm l'r yq kwnkwl t' twdwp y'nkylm'tyn s'rkwrkwčy l'r . pwlm'q'y l'r . "nyn 'mtı "y'q
 19 nom-lar-ıḡ köñül-tä tudup yañılmatın särgürgüçi-lär . bolmagay-lar . anın amtı ayag
 20 q' t'kymlyk . "ty kwydrwlmys tnkry tnkrysy pwrq'n nynk 'wmwq lwq kwnkwl 'wyz
 20 -ka tägimlig . atı ködrülmiš t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burxan-nıḡ umug-lug köñül üz
 21 ' syz l'rk' nwmyn s'zynyn 'wrwnč'q qwm'rw twdwsy yrlyq'mys
 21 -ä sizlärkä nomın šazınıñ orunčak kumarı tudusu y(a)rlıkamıš
 22 yrlyq yn 'wydyk k'lwrkyl . 'wyč "qylyq nwm l'ryq "ryql'yw s'nkyt qylyp
 22 y(a)rlıḡ-in ödig kälürgil . üč agılık nom-larıḡ arıḡlayu sangit kılıp
 23 pytyk t' 'wsyk t' pytyp 'wrn'dqw qylqyl . 'wl 'ys k' n' k'rk'k yn
 23 bitig-tä ušik-tä bitip ornadgu kılıḡ . ol iş-kä nä käreğäk-in
 24 "č't's'twrw 'ylyk pyrk'y typ tydy . mq' k'syp 'rq'nt qwrwmwzt'
 24 ačatašaturu elig bergäy tep tedi . m(a)xa-kašip arxant xorumuzta

25 tnkry nynk 'wydwkyn t'pl'p 'ynč' typ tyty . tnkry l'r 'ylyky y 'pw 'ys
 25 t(ä)ñri-niñ ödügin taplap inčä tep teti . t(ä)ñri-lär eligi-y-a bo iš
 26 'wqr'yw m'nk' 'ysl'kwlwkw 'ys 'wl . "ny 'wyčwn p'qšym tnkry tnkrysy
 26 ugrayu maña işlägülik iş ol . ani üčün baxšım t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi
 27 pwrq'n myny nyrv'n pwlq'ly 'ydw yrlyq'm'dy mn ym' 'wydwkčy syz 'wyz
 27 burxan mini nirvan bolgalı idu yarlıkamadı m(ä)n ymä ödügči siz öz
 28 t'pl'p qylq'ly t'pl'm'tyn syzny kwys'dyp twrwr 'rtym . pw 'ys yk
 28 taplap kılğalı taplamatin sizni küsädip turur ärtim . bo iş-ig
 29 twyswn "n'nt p'r ynk' synk'r l'p qylm's'r kynynd' ynk'lwq swz twlw
 29 töşün anant bar-ıña sınar-lap kılmasar kenindä yañluk-suz tolu
 30 twyk'l pwydm'z . 'wn' 'mt'y 'wyč' "qylyq nwml'ryq . snkyt qylyp pytyk
 30 tükäl büdmäz . una amtı üç agılık nomlarig . sangit kılıp bitig
 31 t' 'syk t' 'wrn'typ qwldym . qwp 'wqryn pw 'wydwkwkwzyny t'pl'yw
 31 -tä ušik-tä ornatıp koldım . kop ugrın bo ödügünüzni taplayur
 32 mn typ tydy . 'wytrw qwrwmwzt' tnkry . mq'k'syp 'rq'nt nynk 'wl
 32 m(ä)n tep tedi . ötrü xorumuzta t(ä)ñri . m(a)xakašip arxant-nıñ ol
 33 s'v ynk' 'wykyryp s'vynyp "č't's'dwrw 'ylyk k' y'qyn p'ryp .
 33 sav-ıña ögirip sävinip açatašaduru elig-kä yakın barıp .
 34 tnkryd'm y'ltryyw twrwr 't'wyzy 'wyz' kwyk q'lyq ywwz ynt'
 34 t(ä)ñridäm yalrıyu turur ät'özi üzä kök kalık yüüz-intä
 35 twrwp (...) mq'k'syp 'rq'nt twyzwn "n'nt p's yn s'nkyt qylqw
 35 turup (...) m(a)xakašip arxant tözün anant baš-in sangit kılgu
 36 čy pwrskn qwvr'q q' n' k'rk'k yn pyryp "rt p'swt pwlqw q' 'wyd
 36 -či bursaq kuvrag-ka nä kärgäk-in berip art basut bolgu-ka öd
 37 l'p 'rykl'p . "nt' qy ' 'wq yydlynyp 'wystwn tnkry yyr ynk' p'rt'y .
 37 -läp äriğläp . anta ky-a ok yidlinip üstün täñri yer-ıñä bartı .
 38 "nt' 'wytrw mq'k'syp 'rq'nt . "č'd's'twrw 'ylyk yk "rt p'swt "lynyp
 38 anta ötrü m(a)xakašip arxant . açadašaturu elig-ig art basut alınıp
 39 pypyl'v'nt "tlq t'q 'wynkwr ynt' q'm'q qyrq twym'n 'rq'nt l'r pyl' "l yn
 39 pipilavant atlıg tag ünür-intä kamag kırk tümän arxant-lar bilä al-in
 40 'ld'q yn twyswn "n'nt yq . 'rq'nt qwvr'q t' twrqwrwp 'nkylky
 40 aldag-ın töşün anant-ıg . arxant kuvrag-ta turgurup äñilki
 41 'wyč' "qylyq nwm l'ryq "ryq l'yw s'nkyt kylyp . t'l y'lpqr'q ynt' pytyp
 41 üç agılık nom-larig arıg-layu sangit kılıp . tal yalpirgäk-inta bitip
 42 swr'ty q'd'ky yytlynm'kwlwkw qylyp 'wrn'typ qyldy . y'nkyrty
 42 suratu-kadägi yitlinmägülik kılıp ornatıp kıldı . yañırtı
 43 š'str k'vy y'r'tm'q nynk . 'nkylky p'š'l'q'ly 'wl pwldy . "nt' t' p's'
 43 šastr kavi yaratmak-nıñ . äñilki başlagalı ol boldı . anta-ta basa
 44 'wystwn str'y's'trys tnkry yyr ynd' . qwrwmwzt' tnkry nynk
 44 üstün strayastaris täñri yer-indä . xorumuzta täñri-niñ
 45 'wyd[]k[] p'y[]]t' ykynty []yt qylyp y'n' 'wk 'wyč'
 45 öd[ü]g[ıñä] baya[]jat ikinti [sang]it kılıp yänä ök üç
 46 []lp []d'm pylyklyk pylyky 'wyz'
 46 [agılık nomlarig]lp []täñri]däm bilgä biligi üzä
 47 []d'n l'r

47 []dan-lar
 48 []k t'
 48 []g-tä

(in opposite direction)

01 pw s'v tylt[]
 01 bo sav tilt[aginta]

verso

(marginal note) `wydwk twyrt k'kd' 記四

ödüg tört kagdä 記四

01 `yndwrwp qwd[ly . `nt'd' p's' twyrt ywz yyl t' kyn .
 01 endürüp kodtı . antada basa tört yüz yıl-ta ken .
 02 k'nysky `ylyk nynk `wydwkynk' . k'smyr `wlws t' vydy'sty
 02 kaniški elig-niñ ödügiñä . kašmir uluš-ta vidy'sti
 03 qysyl t' . `yntyr'mxy kwn'kyrvy `yky 'rq'nt l'r . p's yn pys ywz
 03 kısıl-ta . intiram(a)xi gunakirvi iki arxant-lar . baš-in beš yüz
 04 v'yp'z `nk'd'ry [or: "kr'd'ny?"] p'qšy l'r . m'ytry pdwystv t'nwq lwq yn
 04 vaibaž aṇadari [or: agradani?] baxšı-lar . maitri bodistv tanuk-lug-in
 05 `wyčwnč q'd' `wyč `qylyq nwm l'ryq s'nkyt qylyp mq'
 05 üçünč kada üç kapıgılgı nom-larıg sangit kılıp mxa
 06 dyvy twyyn tynp'rw `wyswt `žwn synkymys y'vl'q twyyn
 06 -devi toyın-tınbärü üsüt ažun siñirmiš yavlak toyın
 07 l'r nynk `wyz `wykd'm pylk' pylyk l'r y `wyz' y'r'dmys
 07 -lar-nıñ öz ökdäm bilgä bilig-lär-i üzä yaradmiš
 08 kyr lyk mwyn lwk q'd'q lyq . t'trw nwmlwq v'm v'px'w
 08 kir-lig mün-lüg kadag-lıg . tätrü nomlug vam vapxau
 09 l'ryq t'rynk'd' t'rynk pylk' pylyklyk . ywms'q sypyrkw
 09 -larıg täriñdä täriñ bilgä biliglig . yumšak sipirgü
 10 l'r `wyz' . `wyč `qylyq nwmlwq `wrwd q'rsy tyn sypyrp
 10 -lär üzä . üç agılık nomlug ordu karşı-tın sipirip
 11 `rydyp . `wyč `qylyq nwm lwq kwyrkd's kwyrkyn . kwyrkwlwk
 11 arıdıp . üç agılık nom-lug körkdäš körkin . körgülük
 12 p'qqwıwq v'yp's s'str lyq t'rynk swyzwk `ryq .
 12 bakguluk vaibaš šastr-lıg ärtiñü süziük arıg .
 13 qwndymys qwnč kwyswnkw y'r'typ `wrn'typ qwdty l'r .
 13 kondimiš kunč kösünü yaratıp ornatıp kodtı-lar .
 14 `nt' t' p's' `wynky `wynky p'qsy l'r . pdwystv `wykws
 14 anta-ta basa öñi öñi baxšı-lar . bodistv uguš
 15 lwk pylk' l'r `wl `wq `wyč `qylyq nwm l'rd'qy v'yp's
 15 -lug bilgä-lär ol ok üç agılık nom-lardakı vaibaš
 16 s'str t'qy ywrwk l'rk' t'y'ny . š't p'd .
 16 šastr-takı yörüg-lärkä tayanıp . šat pad .
 17 `pyd'rym s'str . kws'v'rdy pr'typ . `yny'nws'ry
 17 abidarim šastr . košavardi pratip . inyanusari

18 t' w'l'ty s'str l'r . [] swry²⁷ q'ryppy²⁸ d'tnt'k'm'l t'
 18 -ta ulatı šastr-lar . [] suri (?) xarib(a)di (?) datantakamal-ta
 19 'w'l'dy k'vy l'r č'tw st'k dyvyn't's'tk t'
 19 uladı kavi-lar čatu stak divy(a)nataštak
 20 'w'l'ty st'p l'r dyky l'r 'wp'dys l'r . yr'typ szyn
 20 ulatı stap-lar diki-lar upadeš-lar . y(a)ratıp š(a)zın
 21 lyq p'ryč'tyr swykw'd wk . 'wynky 'wynky ywrwklwk
 21 -lıg paričatır söğüd-üg . öñi öñi yörüglüg
 22 qw' č'č'k twyš ymys' l'r 'wyz' 'ydyt' l'r
 22 xua čäčäk tüš yemiš-lär üzä edti-lär
 23 y'r'dty l'r . 'nt'q qylm'q 'wyz' q'lysyz nyrv'n
 23 yaradı-lar . antag kılmak üzä kalısız nirvan
 24 q' y'rlyq'mys tnkry tnkrysy pwrq'n nynk kwnkw'l yn
 24 -ka yarlıkamış t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burxan-nıñ köñül-in
 25 yytyp 's'nky t' qy 'mk'k yn k' 'wtly s'vynč
 25 yitip asanki-ta-kı ämgäk-in-gä utlı sävinč
 26 y'ntwrdy l'r . 'dkw tytywk nwm wq s'zynyq 'ydy
 26 yanturdı-lar . ädgü tityük nom-ug šazınıg idi
 27 l'd'čy 'k'l't'čy 'qyr 'wlwk 'ylyk l'r nynk q'n
 27 -lädäči igälätäči ağır ulug elig-lär-niñ xan
 28 l'r nynk kwnkw'l l'ryn yydyp 'tyn ym' swyzwk
 28 -lar-nıñ köñül-lärin yitip atın ymä süzük
 29 kyrtkwnč kwnkw'l lwk y'lnkwq l'ryq pwrq'n lyq ::
 29 kirtgünč köñül-lüg yalñuk-larıg burxan-lıg ::
 30 ::
 30 ::
 31 (in smaller script) pyr kyšy nynk pytymy[]
 31 bir kiši-niñ bitimi[š]

Text²⁹ and translation

[Firstly:]
 00 [... ärk] 01 -lıg täñrilär . köñülgärü küzätü tutmuşumuz . kärgäk
 01 [Firstly: ... Omigh]ty gods! Regarding (it) we should protect (it)!

[Secondly: Kings should present offerings and protect]
ikinti altın 02 yalñuk yertinčüsindäki ağır ulug eliglär xanlar aš pinvat ton 03 kädim-tä ulatı . tört türlüg tapıgın tapınu alku taštın sıñar 04 -kı ada tudalartın apıyu köšidü art basut bolup küyü küzätü 05 tutmuş-ları kärgäk . anın munta biz bo tušda açatašaturu eligniñ 06 köñülin tıgratıp ayagka tägimlig m(a)xakašipi arxantıg ötüğči bolup 07 ädgü tetyük nomug šazınıg yertinčütä ür keč üdün turgurguka 08 katıgılanmışumuz kärgäk tep munčulayu kəñäšip .

27. It is possible that one or two letters are now missing.
 28. Reading unclear.
 29. Here I give a running text divided into sections preceded by headers in [] .

(01-05) Secondly: The very great kings and rulers in the human world below should present the four kinds of offerings beginning with *piṇḍapāta*³⁰-food and dress, protect and screen against external dangers and needs³¹, be support and help and guard and protect (thus)!

(05-08) Therefore, at that time we should exert ourselves to enhance³² the heart of King Ajātaśatru and to ask³³ the Honourable Arhat Mahākāśyapa for establishing the teaching (*dharma*) called good and the discipline (*śāsana*) in the world for a long time³⁴. When we were discussing it,

[Indra asks Mahākāśyapa to collect the scriptures]

xormuzta tāñri 09 kuti yertinčükä enip . m(a)xakašip arxantiğ ikiläyü üč agılık nom 10 - larıg sangit kılıp bitigdä ušiktä entürüp ornatguka ötüğči 11 bolu inčä tep tedı . ay ayagka täğimlig atı kötrülmiš tirig äsän 12 yarlıkarında üč agılık nomlarıg kayu kayu nomlarıg nomlayu yarlıkasar . 13 anı barča tözün anant bir äšidmištä ök tutar särgürür ärti . sizlär 14 ymä inčgä täriñ köñülünjüzlärtä tutar ärtiñizlär . amtu t(ä)ñri burxan nirvan 15 bolu yarlıkadı . kaltı luusı kitmiš ulug köl täğ ay täñrısı ünmiš 16 kök kalık yüüzi täğ . bo nom šazın . näčä sizlärni täğ ulug ädgülüğ arxant 17 -lar bar ärsär ((lär)) ymä unačık(ı)ya yitlingükä yokadguka avant bolup turur . 18 sän tözün anant bilä nirvanka barsar sizlär . anta basa üč agılık 19 nomlarıg köñültä tutup yañılmatın särgürgüçilär . bolmagaylar . anın amtu ayag 20 -ka täğimlig . atı kötrülmiš täñri täñrısı burxannıñ umuglug köñül üz 21 -ä sizlärkä nomın šazın orunčak kumarı tutuzu yarlıkamiš 22 yarlıgın ötig kälürgil . üč agılık nomlarıg arıglayı sangit kılıp 23 bitigtä ušiktä bitip ornatgu kılğul . ol işkä nä käreğäkin 24 açatašaturu eliğ bergäy tep tedı .

(08-11) His Majesty God Indra descended to the earth and asked³⁵ the Arhat Mahākāśyapa again to collect³⁶ the *dharma*s of the *tripiṭaka* and to write down and to maintain them in script and letters, and he spoke: (11-19) “O Honourable! When (Buddha) whose name is exalted graciously existed safe and sound and graciously preached whichever of the *dharma*s of the *tripiṭaka* the Noble Ānanda kept and preserved³⁷ them all in mind by listening to them only once, and you, too, kept them in your honest and deep heart. Now the Godly Buddha graciously passed into Nirvāṇa. Like a great lake from which the Nāgas appeared, like the surface of the firmament from which the moon disappeared³⁸ there are surely causes that this *dharma* and discipline

³⁰. The pair word is *aš pinvat* (also Ch/U 6207 verso l. 8 ol *aš-in pinvat-in*), but *pinvat aš* is also documented.

³¹. The biverb *apı- köši-* (for *köši-* cp. ED 753 still called a Hap[ax] leg[omenon]), in Mainz 813 l. 15 *apı-köli-* (cp. Röhrborn 2010, p. 64).

³². The verb *ıgrat-* (ED 472b) can be translated here as “to encourage, to motivate”.

³³. Literally “to be (or: become) petitioner” (cp. ED 53a). For the construction cp. Suv 143/8-11 *ikinti alku beš azun tnl(ı)glar üčün ol ok burxanlarıg nom nomlayu y(a)rlıkaguka ötüğči bolmak* “Secondly: On behalf of all living beings of the five existences to ask the Buddha to preach graciously the *dharma*”.

³⁴. The phrase *ür keč üdüñ* deserves further attention.

³⁵. For *özüğči bol-* cp. note 33.

³⁶. The compound *sangit kıl-* means “to make a collection”, i.e. the collection of the scriptures of the *Tripiṭaka*. The word *sangit* can be derived from Skt. *saṃhita* “collected” or *saṃhitā* “compilation, collection of literary texts”.

³⁷. For *särgür-* cp. ED 850b.

vanish and fade away although great and charitable Arhats like you exist. When you and the Noble Ānanda will pass into Nirvāṇa thereafter will be nobody who keeps the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka* in their hearts and protects them without erring. (19-22) O Honourable! Therefore write down³⁹ now the *dharma* and the discipline that the God of Gods Buddha whose name is exalted graciously handed over to you as a deposit⁴⁰ with a hopeful mind! (22-24) Choose⁴¹ and collect the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka*, write down them in script and letters and keep them! Whatever is necessary for doing it the King Ajātaśatru will give you.” Thus he spoke.

[Mahākāśyapa responds to Indra’s request]

m(a)xakašip arxant xormuzta 25 täjriniiḡ ötügin taplap inčä tep tedī . täjrilär eligiya bo iš 26 ugrayu maḡa išlägüliik iš ol . anı üčün baxšum täjri täjrisi 27 burxan mini nirvan bolgalı idu yarlıkamadı män ymä ötügčisiz öz 28 taplap kılğalı taplamatın sizni küzätip turur ärtim . bo išig 29 tözün anant barıḡa sıḡarlap kulmasar kenindä yaḡluksuz tolu 30 tükäl bütmöz . una amtı üç ağılık nomlarıḡ . sangit kılıp bitig 31 -tä ušiktä ornatıp koldım . kop ugrın bo ötügünüzni taplayur 32 -män tep tedī .

(24-32) The Arhat Mahākāśyapa accepted the request of God Indra and spoke: “O King of Gods! This matter is a matter that will be done by me. Therefore my master the God of Gods Buddha has not deigned to send me into Nirvāṇa. And I myself accepted (this task) without supplicants and thus saved you from not accepting it to do so.⁴² If one does not accomplish this matter as long as the Noble Ānanda is alive and helps⁴³, later it cannot be accomplished blamelessly and completely. Now I collected the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka* and made⁴⁴ them in script and letters. By all causes I accept your request.” Thus he spoke.

[Indra turns to King Ajātaśatru requesting him to support the project]

ötrü xormuzta täjri . m(a)xakašip arxantniḡ ol 33 savıḡa ögiriḡ sävinip ačatašaturu eligkä yakın barıp . 34 täjridäm yaltrıy turur ät’özi üzä kök kalık yüüzintä 35 turup (...)
m(a)xakašip arxant tözün anant bašin sangit kılḡu 36 -či bursaḡ kuvragka nä kärgäkin berip art basut bolḡu-ka öt 37 -läp äriḡläp . antak(ı)ya ok yitlinip üstün täjri yeriyä bartı.

(32-37) Then God Indra was pleased about this speech of the Arhat Mahākāśyapa and approached the King Ajātaśatru, he stood with his godly illuminating body on the firmament suggesting and advising the *buddhasaḡḡha* convent led by the Arhat Mahākāśyapa and the Noble Ānanda that collects the scriptures, to procure the necessary items for doing it and to be ready for help and support. Immediately he disappeared and went upwards into the heaven’s land.

38. Literally “went out”.

39. Literally “bring it into a list!”

40. Expressed by the binomen *orunčak kumarı*.

41. For *arıḡla*- “wählen, auslesen” cp. Röhrborn 2010, p. 69.

42. I am not sure about the correct meaning of this sentence.

43. Beside Maḡmüd al-Kāšḡarī’s record (ED 841-842) the verb *sıḡarla-* is not attested. Maḡmüd al-Kāšḡarī’s definition sounds a little bit dubious. G. Clauson translates the given example *ol anı sıḡarladı* through “He took advantage of his weakness and took revenge on him when he found him isolated and without a helper.” The context here requires the meaning “to help, to support”.

44. The spelling *qwlđym* has to be emended to *qylđym*, here *kol-* “to request” cannot be meant.

[Mahākāśyapa collects the scriptures]

38 anta ötrü m(a)xakašip arxant . ačatašaturu eligig art basut alınıp 39 pipalavant atlıg tag üjürintä kamag kırk tümän arxantlar bilä alın 40 altagin töziün anantıg . arxant kuvragta turgurup äjilki 41 üç agılık nomlarıg arıglayu sangit kılıp . tal yalpirgakınta bitip 42 suratkatägi yitlinmägülük kılıp ornatıp kıldı . yañırtı 43 šastr kavi yaratmaknuj . äjilki başlagalı ol boldı . antata basa 44 üstün strayastayas täñri yerindä . xormuzta täñriniñ 45 öit[ü]g[iñä] baya[] It ikinti [sang]it kılıp yänä ök üç 46 [agılık nomlarıg bitip]p [] täñri]däm bilgä biligi üzä 47 []dan-lar 48 []g-tä

(38-42) Then the Arhat Mahākāśyapa requested the King Ājātaśatru for help and support and in the mountain cave called *Pippalavanta he together with all 400000 Arhats⁴⁵ advanced⁴⁶ through means (= *upāya*)⁴⁷ the Noble Ānanda to the convent of the Arhats, choose firstly the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka* and collected them, wrote them down on palm leaves thus making them imperishable forever and ensuring them. (42-48) What further regards the writing of *śāstras* and *kāvya*s it was the first he started with.

After that on request of God Indra above in the heaven's land Trāyastrimśa firstly (?) [], secondly he collected and then [] the [*dharmas* of the] *tri[piṭaka*] through divine wisdom []

01 entürüp kod[t]ı

(verso 01) laid down and ensured.

[Third Collection of the scriptures under King Kaniška]

antada basa tört yüz yıl-ta ken . 02 kaniški eligniñ ötügiñä . kašmir ulušta vidyasti 03 kısılta . intiram(a)xi gunakirvi iki arxant-lar . başın beş yüz 04 vaibaž aņadari [or: agradani] baxšılar . maitri bodistv tanuklugın 05 üçünč kata üç agılık nom-larıg sangit kılıp m(a)xa 06 -devi toyın-tınbärü üzüüt ažuñ siñirmiş yavlak toyın 07 -larnıñ öz ökdäm bilgä biliglari üzä yaratmış 08 kirlig münliug kadaglıg . tätrü nomlug yam vapxau 09 -larıg täriñdä täriñ bilgä biliglig . yumšak sipirgü 10 -lär üzä . üç agılık nomlug ordu karšitun sipirip 11 arıtıp . üç agılık nomlug körkdäš körkin . körgülük 12 bakguluk vaibaš šastrlıg ärtiñü süzük arıg . 13 kondımıš kunč közüñü yaratıp ornatıp kodtular .

⁴⁵. According to the sources the number of participants is mostly 500, only once 1000, cp. Bareau 1955, pp. 4-5. He concludes on p. 5: "Pourtant, le nombre de 500 y figurait très probablement, ce qui du reste ne signifie rien en ce qui concerne le nombre véritable des membres du concile." 400000 arhats are to the best of my knowledge nowhere else recorded. Arthur E. Link mentions "some thousand men", cp. Link 1961, p. 93b: "At the time Mahākāśyapa selected some thousand men." (Fn. 73 reference to Lamotte Traité p. 92 n. 2: "Le premier concile réunit 500 participants selon la plupart des sources, 1.000 d'après le Vinaya des Mahāsāṃghika (Concile, p. 204) et Hiuan tsang, Si yu ki, tr. Beal, II, p. 161; Watters, Travels, II, p. 160. Le Mppś connaît ces deux chiffres: ici il parle de 1.000 membres, mais plus loin (p. 69 c) de 500. Son récit n'est donc pas homogène, comme l'a remarqué M. Przymusiński").

⁴⁶. The phrase connected to the verb *turgur-* is difficult to understand. Probably it reflects the role of Ānanda as it is told in the Sarvāstivādin tradition: "C'est Mahākāśyapa qui propose de lui-même de convoquer Ānanda car celui-ci est «le premier de ceux qui ont beaucoup entendu (*bahuśruta*)». La Communauté accepte sans difficulté cette proposition." (Bareau 1955, p. 8).

⁴⁷. This term is not quite clear, usually al *altag* is the equivalent of Skt. *upāya* "means" and may here refer to the account that Ānanda still was not an *arhat*. Because of his severe striving he succeeded in getting the arhatship and used magical means to reach the convent in time clearly showing his position.

(verso 01-13) Then after four hundred years on request of King Kaṇiṣka five hundred *Vibhāṣā*-**aṅga-dhara* [or: **agra-dhāna*]⁴⁸ masters headed by the two Arhats *Indramahi and *Gunakirvi in the valley of Vitastā of the country Kāśmīra by the testimony of the Bodhisattva Maitreya collected for the third time⁴⁹ the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka* and brushed off and cleaned with brooms of the deepest wisdom the *vam-vapxau*⁵⁰ (= “confusions of the Indian *dharmas*”?) of the dirty and sinful heretic teachings created by the self-glorifying⁵¹ knowledge of bad monks since the monk Mahādeva penetrated into their souls from the palace of the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka*, they fabricated and established the utmost pure and clearly polished steel mirror of the *vibhāṣā-śāstras* through which one can see and regard the mirror image of the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka*.

[Further activities]

14 antata basa öñi öñi baxşular . bodistv uguş 15 -lug bilgülär ol ok üç ağılık nomlardaki vaibaş 16 şastrtaki yörgülärkä tayanıp . şat pad . 17 abidarim şastr . koşavardi pratip . inyanusari 18 -ta ulatı şastrlar . [arya]şuri xayabadi datantakamalta 19 ulatı kavilar çatu stak divyanataştak-ta 20 ulatı staplar dikilar upadeşlar . y(a)ratıp ş(a)zın 21 -lug pariçatir sögütüg . öñi öñi yörgülgüg 22 xua çäçäk tüş yemişlär üzä ettilär 23 yarattılar .

(verso 14-23) Then several masters and wise men of the Bodhisattva clan based on interpretations in the *Vaibhāṣa-śāstras* of the *dharmas* of the *tripiṭaka* created *śāstras* beginning with *Ṣaṭpāda-Abhidharmaśāstra*⁵², *Kośavṛtti*⁵³, *Prāpti*⁵⁴, *Nyāyānusāra*⁵⁵, *kāvya* beginning with [*Ārya*]śūra (?)⁵⁶, *Haribhaṭṭa* (?)⁵⁷, *Datantakamal* (?)⁵⁸, *stavas* beginning

48. The first part of this compound is the well-known school name *vibhāṣā*. The second part is difficult, both reading possibilities offered above can be reconstructed either as **aṅgadari* < Skt. *aṅga* “limb” + *dhara* “keeping” (cp. *vinayadhara* or *vidyādhara*) respectively **agradana* < Skt. *agra* “superior” + *dhāna* “belonging to”, but as none of such compounds is attested I must leave the solution to more competent scholars. In any case, in the context one has to understand that the masters belong to the *Vibhāṣā* school.

49. From the traditional First Council our text jumps into the account of the Third Council. The leaf is on its right side partly damaged, but it is questionable whether the supposed space would be sufficient to give a full narration of the Second Council, unless one may conclude from the few words in ll. 44 to 48, especially if one considers the word “secondly”, that the text contained a short report on the Second Council only. But the gap remains doubtful and astonishing insofar as the account on the Third Council mentions that the scriptures were collected for the *üçünçü kata* third time.

50. If the spelling is correct, I would suggest a derivation from Chinese: < ? **梵法淆 fanfa hao* (I owe the reconstruction of the third character Wang Ding). The problem is that such a term is not attested, but it could fit to the supposed meaning “confusions of the Indian *dharmas*”.

51. For *öz ökdäm* cp. ED 102 *öktem* “proud, boastful”. See also Ch/U 6181 verso, l. 3 [] *kurug öz ökdäm* : *taplap* “pleased with empty boastful (things)”; Ch/U 8192 verso, l. 10 [] *ökdäm kük-lug äriğlig* “having a boastful behaviour”.

52. The *Abhidharmaśāstra* is known under *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra*, cp. Yamada 1959, p. 111. In the Old Uigur texts often called *abidarmakoş* < Skt. *abhidharmakośa*, cp. Shögaito 2008, p. 468.

53. *Kośavṛtti*, vgl. Shögaito 2008, p. 568.

54. *Prāpti*, vgl. Shögaito 2008, p. 613.

55. Kudara 1982; Nakamura, p. 112.

56. Uncertain emendation. But considering the next name reconstructed as *Haribhaṭṭa Āryaśūra* as author of a *Jātakamālā* might be possible.

57. *Haribhaṭṭa* as author of a *Jātakamālā*. How these author names are related to the *kāvya* work title (cp. next fn.) has to be studied. But M. Hahn who devoted many studies on the different *Jātakamālās* kindly mentioned in an email that the works of both *Āryaśūra* and *Haribhaṭṭa* were well known in Central Asia.

58. Uncertain, but the last part of the title is apparently derived from Skt. *mālā* like in *Jātaka-mālā*.

with *Catuḥśataka*⁵⁹, **Divyāvadānaśataka*⁶⁰, *ṭīkās*, *upadeśas* and decorated and ornamented the *pāricitra* tree⁶¹ of the discipline (*śāsana*) with various blossoms and fruits of interpretations.

[Gratitude to the Buddha]

antag kulmak üzä kalısız nirvan 24 -ka yarlıkamuş täyri täyrisi burxannıy köñülin 25 yitip asankitaki än-gäkiñä utlı sävünç 26 yanturdılar .

(verso 23-26) By doing so they fulfilled their duty according to the mind of the God of gods Buddha who graciously passed into the *nirvāṇa* without remainder and showed gratitude for his sufferings in the *asamkhyeya* times⁶².

[Gratitude to the kings]

ädgü tetyük nomug şazınıg idi 27 -lädäçi iğälätäçi ağır u'ug eliglärmıñ san 28 -larnıy köñüllärin yitip atın ymä süzük 29 kirtgünç köñüllüg yaljuklarıg burxanlıg :

(verso 26-30) They fulfilled their duty according to the minds of the very great kings and rulers who possess and rule on the *dharma* which is called good and the discipline, they [conducted] more ceratures with pure belief to Buddha[hood ...].

(verso 31)

[The ...] writt[en] by one man [...].

Notes on persons and places

As a whole, the leaf 4 offers a concise account of the Buddhist councils that took place after Buddha's Nirvāṇa. The text is based on Buddhist sources that cannot be determined exactly. For lack of a distinct source on which this text was based and could now be compared with I give here a list of the names of persons and places mentioned in this manuscript including leaf 18, but I confine myself to those aspects that are connected to the contents of this Old Uigur text and its understanding leaving aside the whole "corpus" of Old Uigur Buddhism. My intention is here simply to offer a very small brick to a project aimed for bringing together the Old Uigur and in a larger frame the Central Asian data of Buddhist names and concepts.



Reading the second letter of *ḍṛṣṭāntaka* as -r-, one gets *d(a)rt(a)ntakamal* which comes very near to **Dṛṣṭāntaka-mālā* a title reconstructed by S. Karashima who estimates that this might be the underlying title of T. 201 [大莊嚴論經 (馬鳴菩薩 / 鳩摩羅什 Aśvaghōṣa / Kumārajū (= Kumārajīva); cp. Édouard Huber, *Aśvaghōṣa, Sūtrāluṅkāra*, traduit en français sur la version chinoise de Kumārajīva, Paris 1908] by concluding "but Huber's reconstruction is wrong. It is assumed as **Dṛṣṭāntamālya* or *Kalpanā-alaṅkāṭikā*, -maṅḍikā."

⁵⁹ *Catuḥśataka*, a work of the philosopher Āryadeva, cp. Nakamura, p. 244.

⁶⁰ This title resembles a contamination of the famous *Divyāvadāna* and the earlier *Avadānaśataka* (cp. Nakamura, p. 138).

⁶¹ The word *parīcatir* can be derived from Skt. *pāricitra*, cp. UW 114. Cp. Karashima 1992, p. 34 and p. 280 (65b13).

⁶² Link 1961, p. 93b quotes from Lamotte's translation of the *Traité*: "The Buddha in his great love and compassion (*mahāmaitrīkaruṇā*) had suffered for the many beings."

Ajātaśatru, king

Ajātaśatru⁶³, king of Magadha during the lifetime of the Buddha, is characterised as a king who eagerly supported the collection of the doctrine and played an active role in the first council.⁶⁴ Bu-ston writes: “But Mahākāśyapa went straightly (without roaming about), came to Rājagṛha and was seen by Ajātaśatru (...) Well, - said the king, - I shall provide all that is necessary.”⁶⁵ Leaf 4 has the section “Indra turns to King Ajātaśatru requesting him to support the collection”, but no dialogue is mentioned. In the next paragraph Mahākāśyapa turns to King Ajātaśatru asking for help. This situation is described more drastically in the 大智度論 (T. 1509, p. 67c25-68a3) “At this time Mahākāśyapa together with the thousand men went to the city of Rājagṛha, to the Gṛdhrakūṭa peak. He said to King Ajātaśatru, ‘Give us food to be sent to us daily; now we are compiling the storehouse of the Law, and are unable to engage in other activities.’”⁶⁶ In leaf 18 it is said that Ajātaśatru was reborn in the heaven’s land⁶⁷, while Ānanda entered Nirvāṇa.⁶⁸

Ānanda, Buddha’s pre-eminent disciple

According to one tradition Mahākāśyapa wanted to exclude Ānanda from the first council arguing that he had not reached arhatship. But as only Ānanda remembered all sayings of the Buddha the codification was not possible without him. Finally Mahākāśyapa agreed that Ānanda can participate in the council as soon as he has reached enlightenment. On the day when the council was to be opened Ānanda by striving in *dhyāna* reached his goal, after flying through the air he sat himself on the seat reserved for him, and the council was opened. The Old Uigur text does not mention any dispute between Mahākāśyapa and Ānanda. This was made probably possible because God Indra interferes and conducts the whole story. When Indra requested Mahākāśyapa to collect the Law he declares that it was only Ānanda “who kept and preserved” all sayings of the Buddha. Still, in leaf 4 the stock epithets are used, *arhat* for Mahākāśyapa and *tözün*

63. For explanations of the name cp. Radich 2011, pp. 147-148.

64. Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 405 (leaf 18, ll. 58-60). Cp. Wu (forthcoming), p. 1 fn. 2: “As for Ajātaśatru’s relationship to the Buddhist community, he is said to have patronised the First Buddhist Council in Rājagṛha.” Juan Wu lists the relevant literature concerning this aspect.

65. Obermiller 1932, p. 77.

66. Link 1961, p. 95.

67. The future life of Ajātaśatru is discussed in many works. The aspect of his rebirth in the heavens is discussed at length in Wu (forthcoming) 3.2 (after T. 508).

68. In Old Uigur texts Ajātaśatru occurs in many other text fragments. Here I only want to mention U 1460 of the Collection of Turfan texts at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. On one side of this badly preserved *pustaka* one reads: 01 ač[ataśatru] 02 kälmiš-dä adakturgal[ı] 03 m(ä)n račagr(a)h ulug balikka kird[i] 04 // pinvat kolur ärkän ačataśatru [elig] 05 mini ulatı alku tısi-ları[g] 06 -galı ugrap övri tanap[ali atıg] 07 äsürük yaya-nı utdı . ol [] 08 ol üdtä ülgülänčsiz yüz miğ [] 09 -larıg täpip sadgap ölürdi tnl(ı)g[] 10 tükädüktä [] “When[King] Aj[ātaśatru [] came, he entered the large city Rājagṛha (saying) ‘I [will] perturb []’. While [Buddha] was begging for alms (he knew that) [King] Ajātaśatru intended [to kill me and all pupils and sent the drunken elephant [called] Dhanap[āla]. Then (the elephant) trampled and trod down numberless hundred thousand [living beings]. When he had [killed (?)] the living beings [], Buddha calmed the elephant]”. This story of the complot of Ajātaśatru and Devadatta to affect the Buddha is widely known, for references cp. Deeg 2005, pp. 411-412; Silk 2008; Silk 2009; Radich 2011, p. 143; Wu (forthcoming). But it is still an open question to which work the quoted Old Uigur text may belong.

“noble = *ārya*” for Ānanda. But leaf 18 calls Ānanda Arhat, although other epithets like *ayagka tägimlig* “Honourable” or *tözün* “noble” are used.⁶⁹ Also in another Old Uigur text Ānanda is addressed as Arhat.⁷⁰

Aśoka, King

In Leaf 18 it is mentioned that Aśoka, the famous king (304 BC - 232 BC) of the Maurya Dynasty whose title is given as *balacakravartin-rāja*⁷¹ was the third son of King Udāyin⁷². Taking it seriously, one cannot understand how Aśoka could be the third son of Udāyin who lived more than hundred years earlier, but one should interpret this wording as the third generation after Udāyin. But also this assumption is difficult, because the *Aśokāvadāna* mentions other six generations in between.⁷³ Here in leaf 4 Aśoka is not mentioned.

Buddha, God of Gods

In Old Uigur terminology Buddha is (nearly) always called *burxan*, a term coined on an old, probably Tang pronunciation of Chinese 佛 *fo* “Buddha”⁷⁴ augmented by the Inner Asian ruler title *xan*. Usually he has the title *täñri täñrisi* “God of Gods” (*devatādeva*).

*Gunakirvi, Arhat

Leaf 4 mentions a certain *Gunakirvi, one of two Arhats (see *Indramahi) who were leading the group of 500 masters at the Third Council. As Sanskrit *guṇa* means “productive of good qualities, profitable”⁷⁵ we often find it in personal names. But I cannot find a good equivalent for the second part of the name, *-kāra* is only a guess. According to F. Edgerton a certain Guṇakāra was probably the name of a former Buddha⁷⁶. Xuanzang mentions Pārśva and Vasumitra⁷⁷. Bu-ston, on the other hand, says that it were 500 Arhats with Pūrṇika at their head⁷⁸. I cannot find the names of these two Arhats in other records on the councils.

Indra, God

According to leaf 4 Xormuzta⁷⁹ *täñri* “God Indra” descended to earth to encourage the monks for collecting the teachings of the Buddha. After having all arranged in the best way, he suddenly disappears. Indra’s name here is Xormuzta as a substitute derived from the Sogdian tradition.⁸⁰ Only in learned borrowings in which Indra is a part of a compound, the spelling of *indra* is preserved. Exceptionally even the Sanskrit term *indra*

^{69.} Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 405

^{70.} Zieme 2013, pp. 18, 29-31.

^{71.} Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 407.

^{72.} Zhang/Zieme 2013, p. 406.

^{73.} Strong, p. 204.

^{74.} Still preserved in the Inherited Uigur Pronunciation, cp. Shōgaito 2003, p. 133.

^{75.} MW 357.

^{76.} BHSD 212b (LV 5.5., cp. LV 73.22?).

^{77.} Li 1996, p. 104.

^{78.} Cp. Obermiller 1932, p. 97.

^{79.} Consistently spelled *qwrwmwzt'* (ll. 8, 24, 32, 44).

^{80.} Yoshida 2009, p. 305.

for Indra can be found, e. g. Ch/U 7524 verso ll. 5-6 [tokuz] on bir intiri atl(ı)g oylanlar “einund[neun]zig Söhne namens Indra”.

***Indramahi, Arhat**

The second of the two Arhats in leaf 4 bears a name that might be derived from Skt. *indramaha* found in Monier-Williams’ dictionary: “a festival in honour of Indra (cf. MBh. cf. Hariv. &c.)”⁸¹, but this meaning is not appropriate. The spelling here is not absolute clear. As no other records are known, I have to leave the identity of this person unsettled.

Kaniška, King⁸²

Our leaf 4 has the statement that King Kaniška arranged 400 hundred years later a new council. This concurs with Xuanzang who writes: “In the four hundredth year after the demise of the Tathāgata, King Kaniška ascended the throne and ruled over Jambudvīpa.”⁸³, partly preserved in an Old Uigur fragment of the Biography of Xuanzang.⁸⁴

Kaśmīra, country

Leaf 4 mentions the country of Kaśmīra as the place of the third council. Cp. Bu-ston: “Others (speak about the 3rd council) as follows: “The aim of it was to clear the doubts of the 18 sects as regards the spurious texts of Scripture. The time was 300 years after the Teacher had passed away. The place was the country of Kashmir and the monastery of Kuvana, and the alms-giver was Kaniška, the king of Jalandhara.”⁸⁵

Mahādeva, monk

Leaf 4 mentions the monk Mahādeva at the time when the Third Council under Kaniška took place. This monk is made responsible for the heretic teachings forwarded by some evil monks. This concurs with the later tradition although it was proven by Lamotte⁸⁶ that it was an interpolation. Bhikkhu Sujato writes: “It is rather a shame that, despite the fact that Lamotte has clearly demonstrated that his Mahādeva is a later interpolation in Vasumitra’s treatise, we still see countless references asserting that Vasumitra blamed the schism on Mahādeva. This is no doubt due to Xuan-zang’s prestige as a translator. It is an important point, for Mahādeva’s name is smeared with the dung of scandal like no other, and the smell will linger as long as he is associated with the Mahāsaṅghika’s origins. All translations of Vasumitra speak of a later Mahādeva, and so we will henceforth distinguish Mahādeva I, the supposed causer of the schism, from this Mahādeva II. He was an ascetic of an other religion who went forth in the Mahāsaṅghika 200 years after the Nirvana, and founded the Caitya sub-school. Xuan-zang, having mentioned the first Mahādeva, says that after 200 years there was one who went forth, abandoning wrong and undertaking right, who was also called Mahādeva. Thus he clearly acknowledges the

81. MW 166c.

82. Some data of Kaniška in the Old Uigur Buddhist literature are collected in Zieme (forthcoming).

83. Li 1996, p. 71.

84. Zieme 1990, p. 102.

85. Obermiller 1932, p. 97.

86. Lamotte, pp. 276-277.

existence of two Mahādevas. It is not immediately obvious what relationship, if any, the two Mahādevas have to each other.”⁸⁷

Mahākāśyapa, Arhat

Mahākāśyapa occurs as the main person in charge of the compilation. In leaf 4 Mahākāśyapa occurs in the episode when Indra asks him to compile the *tripiṭaka*. In the following paragraph not only Mahākāśyapa accepts this offer, but explains also boldly that no one else can do that. He admits that he needs the help of Ānanda. Finally he goes to King Ajātaśatru to ask him for material help.

Maitreya, Bodhisattva

Leaf 4 relates that the monks engaged at the Third Council first invoked Maitreya before starting the compilation (and discussion).

Pāṭaliputra, city

The city of Pāṭaliputra is mentioned in leaf 18 as the place where Udāyin and Śāṇavāsa worked.

***Pippalavanta, cave near Rājagṛha**

A. Bareau summarises the sources concerning the place of the First Council in the following way: “Si nos sources sont bien d'accord sur le choix de Rājagṛha, elles ne le sont plus sur celui de l'endroit précis de cette ville ou de ses environs où siégea le concile. Il semble bien que la tradition primitive n'ait pas noté ce détail, soit qu'elle ait négligé de préciser la localisation d'un événement légendaire. (...) Tous les autres endroits sont des grottes de la banlieue de la ville : grottes du Pippalāyana, du Saptaparṇa, de Tch'a-ti, du Nyagrodha, du mont Dakṣiṇa.”⁸⁸

Śāṇavāsa, Arhat

Leaf 18 relates that the Arhat Śāṇavāsa ruled the work for the *dharma* supported by the ruling King Udāyin, son of Ajātaśatru, in Pāṭaliputra. According to the Old Uigur text there is no direct connection between this section and the preceding one which ends with Ānanda's and Ajātaśatru's deaths. As G. Yamazaki points out, monks of Mathurā fabricated a relationship between Ānanda and Śāṇavāsa “to assert the orthodoxy of their sect, that is the Sarvāstivāda or the proto-Sarvāstivāda”⁸⁹.

Refusing a historically possible relationship between Śāṇavāsa and Ānanda, Yamazaki maintains: “Śāṇavāsa must be Sambhūta-Śāṇavāsa of Ahogaṅgā/Mathurā who took part in the Second Council 100/110 years after Nirvāṇa. The dating of the Second

⁸⁷. Bhikkhu Sujato, p. 68.

⁸⁸. Bareau 1955, pp. 2-3. For the sources cp. Akanuma 1979, p. 507b-508a (Pāli Pippalavana; Skt. Pippalavana). Cp. also BHSD 345b-346a; (for Xuanzang:) Li 1996, p. 273.

⁸⁹. Yamazaki 1991, p. 314. This tradition still existed when Tāranātha wrote: “On another occasion, *ārya* Ānanda was residing at Jetavana, the householder Śāṇavāsika lavishly entertained the *saṃgha-s* for five years. After this, he was ordained (*pravrajyita*), being instructed by the *ārya* [Ānanda]. In course of time, he became proficiet in the three *piṭaka-s* and eventually attained *arhat*-hood, free from the two-fold obscurations.” (Tāranātha 1970, pp. 23-24).

Council and Śāṇavāsa's participation in it is quite possible, because legend of different sects agree on this point.⁹⁰ If this is correct, the quoted section of leaf 18 can be regarded as a short account on the Second Council.

Udāyin, King

In leaf 18 Udāyin is mentioned as son of king Ajātaśatru who ruled in Pāṭaliputra (between 460 and 444 BC). The text still kept his former title *tegin* "Prince" while he ruled already as *elig* "King".

Vitastā, river/valley

Vidyasti > Vitastā it the name of the largest river in Kaśmīra (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vitasta>).

Conclusion

It is too early to draw far-reaching conclusions from these new type documents of the Old Uigur Buddhist heritage. Some events and names could be identified and located in Buddhist scriptures, others not. Here, my first aim was to introduce these fragments to show that during the rather short history of Old Uigur Buddhism of which only the tip of the iceberg is known so far even the history of Buddhism aroused interest in some circles. My hope is that Buddhologists will further elucidate these materials. On one hand, new manuscript finds of this kind give a new impetus for further research, especially on the role such documents might have had at the time of the West Uigur Kingdom or also later during the Yuan time. On the other hand, one should not forget that Uigur monks, scholars, in other words the author(s) of the manuscripts, could have used sources we do not know of today. Finally it cannot be ruled out that these people also added some items from their oral knowledge or even "invented" some motives or events. A good example of this kind seems to be the episode when the text introduces God Indra as a supervisor who encourages monk and king to organise the First Council. One cannot overestimate the value of these new sources that came to light in recent years.

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⁹⁰. Yamazaki 1991, p. 314.

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Gandhāran Art (Part 2)

Isao KURITA

Hereafter, I introduce several interesting panels from Gandhāra from old collections from all over the world.

■ Fig. 1. The Stupa

It is rare to find a complete stupa. This stupa might be from Bajaur district, dating from around the 3rd or 4th century i.e., late Gandhāra. The shape of the stupa becomes thinner after the 3rd century. The umbrella is of bronze on which, probably, there was a bronze *tri-ratna*.

■ Fig. 2. Standing Buddha, flanked by Kushan nobles

This large relief (h. 107cm) is said to be from Humzarghar (Kapisa), Afghanistan. In March, a very similar carving relief (h. 106.8cm) was sold at Christie's auction, N.Y. (19 March 2013, No. 209). Probably both are from the same stupa. Kushan nobles or soldiers, wearing Kushan robes, are depicted in Gandhāran sculptures, often in panels from Afghanistan (especially from Kapisa) though rarely in Pakistani ones. (Cf. *Gandharan Art I*. p. 277, No. 592. From Bhatbaer, near Peshawar)

■ Fig. 3. Seated Bodhisattva and Kushan people praying and donors

This is a rare Gandhāran (Katran, Pakistan) panel in which we find Kushan nobles. The expression of Kushan robe is little bit different from that of Kapisa.

■ Fig. 4. The Story of the Buddha and the Skull-Tapper.

(Cf. M. Taddei, "The Story of the Buddha and the Skull-Tapper. A Note in Gandharan Iconography," *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale de Napoli* 39, 1979, pp. 395-420.)

There are only a few reliefs of this story in existence. However, one more has been found recently.

■ Fig. 5. Making wine

This is probably a wine-making scene, though it does not explain why the animals are here. The one in the center seems to have one or perhaps two horns. However, this could be a different story.

■ Fig. 6. Loving

H. 17×w. 27cm. From Charsada.

We have hereafter some primitive carving panels.

■ Fig. 7. Fragment

■ Fig. 8. Departure

Green Schist. Probably from Swat.

■ Fig. 9. Birth of Buddha

Green Schist, h. 49cm. Probably from Zurmkot.

■ Fig. 10. The Renunciation

Green Schist, h. 22cm.

■ Fig. 11. A *Repoussé* Buddha

Sometimes, a *repoussé* Buddha made of copper or bronze from the late Swat, i.e., 4th-5th centuries, is found. These are attached to bases of bronze stupas, most of which are covered with gilt, or other words, all bronze stupas were covered completely with gilt and shining at all times.

Hereafter, we have several interesting cosmetic plates.

■ Fig. 12. Banquet

Gray steatite. From Swabi.

■ Fig. 13. Seated noble with attendants

Gray steatite. From Swabi.

■ Fig. 14. Winged sea monster

Gray steatite. From Shari-Balol.

■ Fig. 15. Naked boy and a bird

Gray steatite.

■ Fig. 16. Woman and angel

Gray steatite.

■ Fig. 17. Lid of a cosmetic box

Gray steatite, 13×10cm. From Swabi.

■ Fig. 18. Cosmetic plate or lid of a cosmetic box

Gray steatite. From Swat.

The following are Hellenistic-influenced cosmetic plates from Charsada.

■ Fig. 19. Nereid with baby riding on a sea monster (Cf. Henri-Paul Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhâra*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, vol. XXIII, Paris, diffusion de Boccard, 1979. no. 9, p. 16).

Gray steatite. From Charsada.

■ Fig. 20. Merman and mermaid

Gray steatite. From Charsada.

■ Fig. 21. Women dancing

From Charsada.

■ Fig. 22. Chariot with women

Gray steatite, d. 10cm. From Charsada.

■ Fig. 23. Aphrodite and Eros

(Cf. *ibid.* Francfort, no.15, P.22)

Yellow soapstone, d. 10cm. From Charsada.

■ Fig. 24. Aphrodite and Eros

Yellow soapstone, d. 10cm. Probably from Charsada.

■ Fig. 25. Drinking scene

Yellow soapstone. Probably from Charsada.

■ Fig. 26. Drinking Couple

Yellow soapstone, d. 9cm. From Charsada. Some red pigment still remains on this. (Cf. Akira Hori & Shoko Ueyama, "A Newly Found Example of Gandharan Cosmetic-Palette," *Bulletin of MIHO Museum* vol. 13 2013.) Private collection, Japan.

■ Fig. 27. Man with elbow on an altar and a woman

Green steatite, d. 10.5cm. From Charsada. Private collection, Japan.

■ Fig.28-A, B, C. Set of cosmetic plates, a merman and mermaid

Gray steatite, d. 11cm. From Charsada.

Rarely, do we find this in a flat shape, having an opening beneath? (Cf. Francfort, *ibid.*, no. 29, p. 34). This feature could not be explained until now.

■ Fig. 29. A cosmetic plate

Sir Mortimer Wheeler excavated Charsada in 1958 (*Charsada: a Metropolis of the North-*

West Frontier, Oxford University Press 1962) and discovered one fragment of a cosmetic plate, Fig. 29-A (pl. XL, c, Charsada). (Cf. Francfort, *ibid.*, no. 7, p. 14). Only one monochrome picture remains but by its very smooth appearance, it could be of yellow soapstone. Its carving is very similar to those above from Charsada, very Hellenistically-influenced. It is important to note that this figure was found in the layer, beneath that of the gray schist Gandhāran fragments (Fig. 29-B, pl. XLII, Charsada).

■ Fig. 30. Angel and others

Gold *repoussé*. h. 4-10cm. From Charsada.

Here, we have a Hellenistic angel and drinking scenes from Charsada as well. This angel reminds us of the one which John Marshal discovered in Taxila (t = no. 97). It is well known that many Hellenistic sculptures come from Charsada, for example Fig.31., showing Charsada figurines. People from that locale say that such figurines come only from that area (especially around the hill at Marchaka Dheri). However, these can also be found in Taxila, but not very often. Charsada is an important place, when considering Hellenism in North-west India.

Keeping Up With the Joneses From William Jones to John James Jones

Jonathan A. SILK

Sir William Jones has been rightly lauded as one of the founders of the scientific study of India and her religions.¹ I am honored and humbled to have been invited here this evening to offer a lecture in his name. That said, I hope it does not seem unappreciative or disrespectful if I remind you that Sir William Jones was, for all his greatness, after all not Welsh as such, although he was of Welsh descent. Indeed, although he claimed to have some knowledge of the Welsh language, he rated his fluency alongside his knowledge of Tibetan, Pāli, Phalavi, Deri, Russian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Swedish, Dutch, and Chinese, and after, one must add, his mastery of Latin and Greek, French, Italian, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, and secondarily Spanish, Portuguese, German, Runik (by which he may have meant Gothic, or perhaps Old Norse), Hebrew, Bengali, Hindi and Turkish.² It is also true that as a circuit judge he worked in Wales, and his biographer Cannon speculates that he seemed to be able to exert extra effort in the land of his forebears.³ That Jones was not Welsh is surely not sufficient reason, however, even in the present venue, for a scholar of Buddhism such as myself to shy away from a detailed consideration of his legacy. Rather, we become aware of just how far we have come from his pioneering ventures when we recall that in 1786, in his Third Anniversary Discourse to the Bengal Asiatic Society, of which he was the founder, Jones considered the Buddha to be none other than Wotan.⁴ While Sir William Jones, then, surely deserves a special place in the pantheon of our illustrious scholarly forefathers, he belongs to a

¹ I remain grateful for the assistance I received from Marieke Meelen, with special reference to Welsh and to the Jones materials in Aberystwyth, and to Vincent Tournier, on the Mahāvastu, especially from the philological point of view. This paper is a lightly edited version of a lecture delivered to the Centre for the History of Religion in Asia, University of Cardiff, Wales, on 24 May 2010 as the Inaugural William Jones Lecture. I am grateful to Prof. Max Deeg and his colleagues for the honor they did me by their invitation. The delay in the publication of this lecture is due to the failure to materialize of an original plan to publish the texts of the William Jones Lectures.

² *The Works of Sir William Jones*, London: John Stockdale, 1807: II.264-265, in the note. I think the suggestion that Runick means Gothic is better than Jeremy Bernstein's speculation that it refers to Old Norse (*Physicists on Wall Street and Other Essays on Science and Society*, New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2008, p. 74).

³ Garland H. Cannon, *Oriental Jones: A biography of Sir William Jones, 1746-1794*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1964: 60.

⁴ Urs App, "William Jones's Ancient Theology," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 191, 2009: 42, 85. Not everything Jones said about the Buddha was quite this wild, it should be noted. App's study is an excellent review of Jones in his context.

different age—one just freeing itself, for example, from the notion of the world's languages as descending from the three sons of Noah—and I would venture to say that, at least with respect to the study of Buddhism, there is precious little we can directly learn today from his patrimony.

The same certainly cannot be said of another Jones, the one to whom I will devote the lion's share of my attentions. He was a real Welshman, John James Jones, better known perhaps as J. J. Jones, the translator of a relatively early Indian Buddhist text called the *Mahāvastu*.⁵ Born 12 March 1892 in New Quay, Cardiganshire, he studied in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, between 1911-1914, graduated with an honors B.A. in Latin, and earned an M.A. for a thesis on “The native Italian element in early Roman religion.” He taught for nine years in English grammar schools, but when Latin was removed from the curriculum, he returned to the Classics department at Aberystwyth. In 1926 he was appointed Assistant Keeper in the Department of Printed Books at the National Library of Wales, promoted to Deputy Keeper in 1928, finally becoming Head of the Department in 1950, a post he held until his death on 20 February 1957, a few months before he was due to retire. His biography found on the Welsh Biography Online of the National Library of Wales, upon which I rely for this information,⁶ states that Jones had a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek as well as French, Spanish and Italian, that he knew German, Russian, Polish and Hungarian,⁷ could read most of the Slavic, Scandinavian and, of course, Celtic languages, and that he was interested in Persian and Arabic. However, this accounting appears to be too modest. His notebooks, kept in the National Library, indicate much more.⁸ In addition to containing his notes on Japanese, they provide the following schedule for his language study (the year is not mentioned):

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Vocab. 15 min. | 30 min. each |
| Monday – Polish | Chinese, Arabic |
| Tuesday – Danish | Syriac, Persian |
| Wednesday – Norwegian | Ethiopic, Arabic |
| Thursday – Italian | Chinese, Persian |
| Friday – Spanish | Syriac, Arabic |
| Saturday – Dutch | Ethiopic, Persian |
| Sunday – Swedish | Russian, Hebrew, Hungarian (1 hour each) |

It is probably needless to add, given the central topic of my discussion, namely

⁵. J[ohn] J[ames] Jones, *The Mahāvastu* (1949-1956; Reprint: London: Pali Text Society, 1973-1978).

⁶. See <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s2-JONE-JAM-1892.html>, apparently based on R. T. Jenkins, E. D. Jones and B. F. Roberts (eds.), *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-1970: Together with a supplement to the dictionary of Welsh biography down to 1940*, London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 2001: 133-134. See also his obituary by Thomas Parry, *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales Journal* 10 (1957-1958): 119-120.

⁷. What the site actually says is that he was familiar with Hungarian languages, but as far as I know, there is only one Hungarian language, namely Hungarian.

⁸. For a peek at these, I am indebted to M. Meelen.

Jones's work on Buddhism, that he also read Pāli and Sanskrit very well, and his notebooks additionally give evidence of his study of Vedic. In regard to this polyglottism, at least, John James Jones certainly concedes nothing to Sir William Jones.

Jones published a number of articles on various topics, but only two on Buddhism, as far as I know, both in Welsh, these addressing “The Buddha and the Problem of Evil” in 1941, and “Dharma and Logos” in 1946.⁹ His magnum opus, however, was of course his three volume English translation of the *Mahāvastu*, sometimes but probably erroneously called the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, published in 1949, 1952, and 1956.¹⁰ This remains the only published complete Western language translation of this work, the *editio princeps* of which was published by the French scholar Émile Senart in three volumes in 1882, 1890 and 1897.¹¹ As such, and given the importance of this text, which is among other things a mine of material on Buddhist mythology and legend, it is no surprise that, while direct access to Senart's edition was of course limited to those who could read its often difficult language, Jones's translation has been constantly cited by specialists and non-specialists alike since its publication. It is therefore all the more surprising that, as far as I have been able to determine, neither upon its publication nor in the half-century since, did this translation receive even a single serious review.¹² It was his sensitivity to this neglect in its initial moment that led Sir Harold Idris Bell, a papyrologist and scholar of Welsh literature, to begin his review in the Welsh “Philosophical Studies” journal (*Efrydiau Athronyddol*) as follows:¹³

It may perhaps appear presumptuous for one who does not know a word of Sanskrit to attempt the review of a work like this. My sole excuse is that no one else was prepared to undertake the task and that I have for long been interested in Buddhism. It would be an affront to Welsh Scholarship if the *Efrydiau Athronyddol* ignored such a masterly work by a Welsh scholar.

Bell then goes on to link J. J. Jones to the tradition of Sir William Jones, and praises the translation for its many points of interest and comparison with Christian myth. He

⁹ “Buddha a phroblem y drwg,” *Efrydiau Athronyddol* 4 (1941): 45-62, and “Dharma a logos” *Efrydiau Athronyddol* 9 (1946): 3-18, respectively.

¹⁰ *Mahāvastu*. Sacred Books of the Buddhists 16, 18, 19. London: Luzac. On the title, as so much else, see the considerations in Akira Yuyama, *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna: In Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts. I. Palm-Leaf Manuscripts*. Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 15 (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco / The Toyo Bunko, 2001 [Actually published 2003]). The introduction to this volume presents the fullest English language treatment of the text by this author. See much earlier his “A Bibliography of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 11/1 (1968): 11-23. For comments on the title I am indebted to V. Tournier.

¹¹ Émile Charles Marie Senart, *Le Mahāvastu*, Société Asiatique, Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux, Seconde Série (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1882–1897; Reprint Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1977). A complete Bengali translation is noted by Yuyama, *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna*: §3.1.1, and a complete Japanese translation is now published: Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡聡, *Buddha no Ōinaru Monogatari: Bonbun Mahāvastu Zenyaku* ブツダの大いなる物語 —梵文『マハーヴァストウ』全訳. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan 大蔵出版, 2010.

¹² However, Jones himself in the Foreword to his volume II, p. ix, speaks of “more than one reviewer of the first volume of the translation,” without however offering any references.

¹³ I have seen this only in typescript, in English. The published version, in Welsh only, is ‘Adolygiad o *The Mahavastu*, cyf[ieithiad] J.J. Jones,’ in *Efrydiau Athronyddol* 14 (1951): 39-41.

concludes his appreciation as follows: “It is clear that fidelity to the original and correctness of interpretation rather than nicety of expression is Mr. Jones’s aim, but it can be said without hesitation that his style is always clear and elevated, and sometimes even beautiful.” Miss I. B. Horner, the long-time pillar of the Pali Text Society who assisted Jones in his project after the death of Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids, if not also before, is quoted in an obituary of Jones to the effect that: “he has not failed to discuss a single textual, linguistic or doctrinal problem in his felicitous and revealing Introductions and footnotes.”¹⁴ More recently, this commendatory attitude has been echoed by one of the contemporary scholars to pay the most attention to this text, Akira Yuyama, who notes with regret that “representative scholars and periodical publications all over the world at that time did not take his translation seriously enough for review. It may have been more difficult for the reviewers than to translate it!” For Yuyama, “the difficulty of Jones’s task must be duly recognized. It is often a matter of regret to witness some scholars discussing only his defects.”¹⁵

Notwithstanding the great respect I have both for Jones and for Prof. Yuyama, I would stress that appreciation and criticism are not poor bedfellows. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that I believe careful, appreciative criticism to be the very sincerest form of flattery. It is in this spirit, then, that I propose to consider Jones’s work in a critical light, evaluating its quality, to be sure, but more importantly, asking what we can more generally learn from it as we ourselves strive to move forward in the study of this and other texts.

This lectureship in the Centre for the History of Religion in Asia at Cardiff University is meant, as I understand it, to provide a forum for discussions about the religious traditions of Asia, as well as the representation of Asian religions and their past and present in the western world. The Joneses, Sir William and John James, present us with an excellent opportunity to begin to think through some of the issues raised by evolving presentations of Asian religions in the West. I will restrict myself to examining this question through the lens of the latter Jones’s translation of the *Mahāvastu*, as I mentioned above. Of course, I do not forget what for textual scholars often seems to disappear from view, namely that Asia and Asian religions exist on the map as well as in the abstract sphere of thought, or on paper or palm-leaf pages. That I concentrate my remarks on an English translation of an Indian Buddhist text edited by a Frenchman does not mean that I believe that the data, the raw materials for our construction of Asian religions, resides only in such books, much less that it resides somewhere close to the Prime Meridian and the 50th parallel. In response to those who might suggest that the beating heart of religion exists on the ground, among communities of believers, I would remind such critics that the texts we study and translate are texts produced by these very communities and, at least in the case of Buddhism, repeatedly translated into foreign tongues within those very same communities.

Now then, let me begin where I just began a moment ago. Sir Harold Idris Bell wrote that “It is clear that fidelity to the original and correctness of interpretation rather than

¹⁴ See n. 6 above.

¹⁵ *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna* §4.1.1.

nicety of expression is Mr. Jones's aim, but it can be said without hesitation that his style is always clear and elevated, and sometimes even beautiful." Bell illustrates this latter point by quoting from Jones's translation two verses in praise of the Buddha, the second of which reads:

Both when thou lookest out upon the world, O thou whose tread is like a Nāga's, and when thou reachest the shore beyond death, mindful and with thy thought unsullied, then does this life-bearing earth quake.¹⁶

I suppose it a matter both of personal taste and of the age—and let us remember that Jones was born in the 19th century, in fact precisely during the years in which Senart was publishing his edition—whether one considers this sort of English beautiful. But the questions of “fidelity to the original and correctness of interpretation” are another matter. This verse I have just quoted has, of course, a context, and Jones rendered the verse immediately preceding as follows:

Men who strive in perplexity and ignorance know not the whole-hearted endeavour of him who ensues solitude and blissful concentration. Homage to thee, who art adored by devas and men.

I leave aside the correctness of this translation as a whole, and the obscurity, for me at least, of the obsolete use of ‘ensue’ as a transitive verb in the sense of ‘pursue,’ pointing out only that the topic here is perplexed and ignorant beings, which for one scholar proved very important. The verse under discussion, then, which follows immediately thereafter, reads in Senart's edition:¹⁷

^{16.} Jones I.130. This is probably some improvement, at least stylistically, on the version of Ernst Leumann and Shindo Shiraishi, “Mahāvastu,” *Proceedings of the Faculty of Liberal Arts and Education, Yamanashi University* 3 (1962): 75-149, p. 116, reprinted in Shiraishi Shindō 白石真道, *Shiraishi Shindō Bukkyōgaku Ronbunshū* 白石真道・仏教学論文集 [The Collected Papers of Shiraishi Shindō]. Shiraishi Hisako 白石寿子 ed. (Sagamihara-shi, Japan: Kyōbi Shuppansha 京美出版社, 1988): 247: “Und wenn du schaust, (o du) wie ein Elefant Gehender, / und wenn du zum andern Ufer des Todes gelangt (bist), / (du) Kenntnis- und Erinnerungsreicher, mit fleckenlosem Denken, / dann zittert diese ‘(alle) Wesen Tragende’ [d.h. diese Erde].”

^{17.} In Senart I.165,7-10. The reading in manuscript Sa in Akira Yuyama, *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna*, 47a1, is: *yadā ca ālokasi nāgagāmī | yathā ca gata maraṇāye pāraṅgato smṛtimām vimalena cetasā tadā ayaṁ bhūtadharā prakampate* ||. Vincent Tournier offers the following:

Note that the compound *matismṛtimām* is the fruit of an emendation by Senart (who justifies himself in I.509-510). I would be myself tempted to keep the reading *pāraṅgato*, and to explore the possibility that this compound was in between two *pādas*. ... If we accept it, we can see a similarity of construction between the first two propositions : *yadā* + vb. (in the second proposition strangely a p.p.) + epithet of the Buddha in voc. (or in the second case, voc. + oblique sg. in *-āye*). There is, I think, more to it. For the sentence to make sense, these two propositions must bear a reference to events of the life of the Buddha which actually were causes of earthquakes. The second proposition (*gata maraṇāye pāraṅgato*) is fairly certainly a reference to his *parinirvāṇa*, and these very events are referred to in the beginning of the *Daśabhūmika-upadeśa* (Mvu I.64.8-18), the very section from which this verse is taken. The first proposition, following ... Edgerton's understanding of the phrase, could refer, though rather vaguely, to the *dharmacakrapravartana*. In that case, however, the epithet *nāgagāmin* is not particularly meaningful, and the fact that *ālokasi* refers to the «perplexed and ignorant beings» of the preceding stanza is made difficult by the fact that the *pāda namo 'stu te*

yadā ca ālokasi nāgagāmi
yadā ca āgata maraṇāya pāraṃ |
matismṛtīmām vimalena cetasā
tadā ayaṃ bhūtaḍharā prakampate ||

The first words, *yadā ca ālokasi*, which Jones took to mean “when thou lookest out upon the world” are understood rather by Franklin Edgerton as “when you provide illumination,” that is, illumination for those perplexed and ignorant beings mentioned in the preceding verse.¹⁸ This is based on Edgerton’s evaluation of the morphology of the verb in question. It is quite possible, however, that the whole has been misunderstood not only originally by Senart and then by Jones, but also by Edgerton. Vincent Tournier suggests an interpretation of the verse as referring principally to key events in the Buddha’s life, and while agreeing with Jones’s interpretation of the verb, in many other respects he offers a considerably different understanding. Without going into his interpretation in detail, his suggestions, which tie the two images in the verse to moments in Buddhist mythology at which the earth shook, read the verse as follows:

And when you look [upon the city of Vaiśālī, where you surrendered your life-sustaining mental processes], you who have an elephant’s gait, and when you depart, mindful and with a pure thought, you who reached the shore beyond death [at your nirvāṇa], then does [the earth] which supports beings quake.

However exactly one decides in the end to read the verse, it seems clear that Jones did not get it quite right, even that he did not think to make sense of the verse in a broader mythological and doctrinal context. I do not draw attention to this misunderstanding in Jones’s translation because it is particularly egregious, nor because it is necessarily typical. Rather, I have taken up this verse because it was singled out by a sympathetic reviewer, who openly proclaimed himself unable to evaluate the translation’s accuracy. All he had to go by was the clarity of the English. The point, therefore—or one point—is rather obvious and simple: that a translation reads well does not indicate that it is accurate.

The converse of this truism, however, in fact has something a bit more to be said for it: if a translator cannot express a text’s meaning in natural language, we may well

devamanuṣyapūjita closing this stanza may establish a syntactical break. I would prefer, even if it may sound speculative, to see in *ālokasi nāgagāmi* a reference to the *nāgāvalokita* of the Buddha. Since the *nāgāvalokita* is the look displayed by the Buddha on many occasions, but especially upon leaving Vaiśālī, which he does after having rejected his *āyuhśamskāras*, this would point nicely to another event of his life, going well along with the reference to the *parinirvāṇa*. In Waldschmidt’s edition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, the *nāgāvalokita* is not the cause of the earthquake, but its antecedent. In § 20 to 22 (p. 226-233), the succession of events is: 1) the Buddha looks back on Vaiśālī ‘with the look of the elephant who turns his whole body to the right’ (*dakṣiṇena sarvakāyena nāgāvalokitena*, hence the insistence on the elephant’s gait in the *Mvu* verse); 2) Ānanda asks about the reason of such a marvelous look, to which question the Buddha answers; 3) Then (*tena samayena*), the earth quakes.

¹⁸ Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953): s.v. ālokati.

suspect that he or she may not have really understood the original. If we were to take this as a rule of thumb, I am afraid that we would be forced into the conclusion that the vast majority of presently available translations of Buddhist texts were produced by translators who lacked confidence in their own understandings. This might be going a bit too far, but perhaps not excessively so. Moreover, a so-called literal translation may be justified by all sorts of excellent reasons, such as a desire to retain the rhythms of the original, its imagery, its logical development and so on, or simply for instance as a pony for students learning a language. But a translation into English which does not sound like English is not a translation into English. My Leiden predecessor in the chair in the study of Buddhism, Tilmann Vetter, in commenting on early Chinese translations of Indian works has spoken of ‘transvocalization,’ a term I like very much, and which I find that we probably owe, as so much else, to Max Müller, who used it already in 1864 in the context of his students’ edition of the *Hitopadeśa*, apologizing for the barbarism *sit venia verbo*.¹⁹

It is, as is well known, a nasty and ungenerous sport of philologists to seek mistakes—blunders, as one rather arrogant critic liked to call them—in the translations of their predecessors and peers. While I would proudly proclaim myself a philological positivist, I also think it entirely natural that our understandings of texts should evolve over time. After all, when we compare the history of philological consideration of Buddhist literature to the tradition of study of our colleagues toiling in the fertile fields of the Bible, for example, or to those studying the Confucian Classics, we cannot help but gaze in awe at the centuries-long accumulation of reliable results upon which they perch themselves. Without in any way claiming that I am any less nasty a critic than the next fellow, then, it is emphatically not my intention here to criticize Jones for failing to achieve perfection. The question should be much less “What did he do?” than “What should we do?”

It is often repeated that Jones had the great misfortune to publish his translation just as the previously mentioned Franklin Edgerton, professor at Yale and one of the leading Sanskritists of his generation, was preparing and publishing his monumental *Grammar and Dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, a pair of volumes which appeared in 1953. For Edgerton, the purest form of this so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is the language of the *Mahāvastu*, and a large proportion of his study addresses aspects of the grammar and vocabulary of this text. Edgerton’s opus appeared between the publication of the Jones’s second and third volumes, something Jones himself comments on with regret, although he was able to revise the third volume in light of Edgerton’s work.²⁰ Edgerton for his part laments that he was not able to take advantage even of the first volume of

¹⁹. Max Müller, *The First Book of the Hitopadeśa, containing the Sanskrit text, with interlinear transliteration, grammatical analysis, and English translation*. Handbooks for the Study of Sanskrit I (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1864): vi: “The fourth line supplies an English interlinear translation. As far as possible each Sanskrit word is here rendered by an English word, the succession of words in Sanskrit being preserved throughout in English. Any attempt at English idiom was out of the question; yet it is hoped that, by the help of the grammatical analysis, this English transvocalization (*sit venia verbo*) may be intelligible and useful to a diligent student.”

²⁰. III.xiii, n. 1.

Jones's work as much as he would have wished.²¹ This is all very gentlemanly, but it also highlights a circumstance from which, I believe, we can stand to learn something. For Edgerton's work did not appear in a vacuum, and especially his grammar was preceded by many published studies dating back at least to 1936.²² To judge by the notes accompanying his translation, Jones made very little use of previous scholarship, be it by Edgerton or by the many other scholars who had wrestled with the *Mahāvastu* before him, giants such as Hermann Oldenberg, Ernst Windisch, and so on.²³ This is no doubt due to some extent to his isolation, and he mentions in his first volume that he lacked access to most relevant sources with the exception of those published by the Pali Text Society. But there is probably something more to it. A peek at Jones's correspondence might shed some light on this.²⁴

On Dec. 4th 1934 Jones wrote in a letter, apparently to Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids, then president of the Pali Text Society, that he sent her his translation "for what it is worth." Very carefully he states: "It is for others to decide the measure of my success, but I hope it will be borne in mind that this is the first attempt at original work on the part of one who is entirely self-taught in the language. May I also say that an adverse verdict will not at all damp the enthusiasm for Buddhist studies which your kind interest has kindled in me." He adds a P.S. "As I regard this translation as a test I have striven to be literal and made no attempt at poetic form." These very same sentiments are repeated in the Foreword to the first volume of his translation, published fifteen years later.

On 17 December 1934 Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote back to Jones: "William Stede sent a note: 'Translation offered by Mr. Jones: The translation is not accurate enough. The translator has not grasped the exact meaning of a good deal of what he has translated. His knowledge of grammar is insufficient, often he has missed the construction of a sentence and in many cases translated a word wrongly. It would take too long to go into detail here, but if Mr. Jones wishes, I am ready to give analysis of passages in question. The translation, as it stands, is not suitable for publication.'" Perhaps immediately upon receiving this letter, on 20 Dec. 1934, Jones wrote to Mrs. Rhys Davids: "I thank you very much for your kind encouragement which largely mitigated the severity of Dr. Stede's criticism of my translation." And as he records, again in the Foreword to his first

²¹ Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953): xxvi: "The first volume of Jones's translation ... appeared, to my regret, too late to be much used (I received it in 1950)." In a letter of Jones to C. A. F. Rhys Davids of June 21, 1939, Jones obliquely refers to his failure to receive help even from Edgerton, writing: "I am really discouraged at not being able to secure somebody's helpful interest in my work. It is possible, however, that Prof. Edgerton's help will yet be forthcoming." This demonstrates that Jones tried to solicit Edgerton's input. Edgerton's comment, in this respects, appears to have been somewhat disingenuous.

²² "The Prakrit underlying Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (University of London) 8 (1936): 501-516. Jones in fact quotes this very paper in the Foreword to his first volume (pp. x-xi), although he has its author at Harvard rather than Yale.

²³ Both of these names do however appear in the Foreword to Jones's third volume. For a now outdated bibliography, see that published by Yuyama noted above n. 10.

²⁴ I have not seen these letters, and rely on the transcripts very kindly provided by M. Meelen. It would additionally be interesting to examine the papers of Mrs. Rhys Davids, kept at Cambridge (see <http://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/faclib/archive/rhys.html#cafrd>). Box RD J/6/23 contains correspondence with William Stede between 1914 and 1941. There is no mention in this online catalogue of the name Jones as one of her correspondents.

volume, his translation was undertaken at Mrs. Rhys Davids's request.

We must notice the date of this correspondence, namely 1934, fully fifteen years before the appearance of the first volume of Jones's translation. In his Foreword, Jones thanks Mrs. Rhys Davids, William Stede, C. A. Rylands, and Prof. (not yet Sir) Harold Bailey, for their help. But Jones saves his most profound thanks for I. B. Horner, and Jones's archive contains a large number of her letters, a study of which will no doubt repay the effort to visit Aberystwyth and examine them. These scholars whom Jones thanks provided much needed support, both linguistic and moral, for Jones's great undertaking. What they do not seem to have encouraged, and we may speculate is related to the motive behind Jones's translation to begin with, is reference to secondary scholarship, and this absence is a trait that Jones shares with his mentor Ms. Horner.

I quoted Ms. Horner a few moments ago as writing of Jones that "he has not failed to discuss a single textual, linguistic or doctrinal problem in his felicitous and revealing Introductions and footnotes." With all due respect both to the enormous work Jones brought to completion and to Ms. Horner's invisible hand behind at least some of it, I beg to differ. Jones either often fails to discuss textual, linguistic or doctrinal problems, or he failed to recognize them as problems to begin with. Part of the reason for this may be that he appears to have placed a rather great amount of trust in Senart's edition. Of course, I hasten to add, without any sarcasm intended, that he had absolutely no choice; to have done otherwise would effectively have meant to abandon the project. But one does notice that he rarely takes recourse to readings treated by Senart as variants, and in this sense he trusts Senart's printed text, with all of its conjectures, too much.²⁵ Still, there are good reasons why we remain without reliable English translations or even editions of such fundamental works as the *Lalitavistara* or even the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, namely that the philological groundwork responsible scholars recognize to be necessary before such work could be undertaken in good faith is simply overwhelming. The Japanese scholar Hokazono Kōichi in 1994 began a reedition of the former text, earlier edited quite unsatisfactorily by Salomon Lefmann in 1902, but gave up half-way through, and no one has dared tackle the latter, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, since the editio princeps was published by Rājendra Lāla Mitra in 1888. At the very same moment that we recognize the difficulties of such tasks, we must think to ourselves, to radically misquote the sage Hillel: if we don't do it now, when will be the time? Who will do it?

In this respect, it is educational to call to mind one of the greatest works of modern Buddhist Studies, the French translation of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* published by Louis de la Vallée Poussin between 1923 and 1931.²⁶ In La Vallée Poussin's day, the Sanskrit of this text had not yet been discovered, and his translation is based, in the first place, on Xuanzang's Chinese translation, with which he compared principally the Sanskrit commentary by Yaśomitra, the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, the Chinese translation by Paramārtha, the Tibetan translation of Vasubandhu's work, and the massive commentary called **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā*. One shudders to think what a nasty philological reviewer would make of such a hodge-podge today, such a conflation of

²⁵ I owe this observation to a private comment by Vincent Tournier.

²⁶ Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (Paris: Geuthner, 1923–1931; Reprint, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 16, Bruxelles: Institut Belge des hautes Études Chinoises, 1971).

diverse materials in which, moreover, all too often the source is translated not into French, but into Sanskrit. It is frequently not possible to take La Vallée Poussin's translation and match it up exactly with any single one of his sources. And yet. And yet, there is no doubt that this translation, with its extensive annotations, is one of the masterpieces of modern Buddhist Studies, one of the greatest monuments to the study of Buddhist scholasticism ever produced. This does not mean that La Vallée Poussin's translation should not be redone in light of now available Sanskrit sources—it should, and it is in fact being redone, save that the most reliable translation now available is done into Japanese, which is not very accessible to most non-Japanese scholars. (I may parenthetically note that the English translation of La Vallée Poussin's French was, with the exception of the fact that references to Chinese texts were converted to the now standard Taishō edition, a step in the wrong direction.) It is a pity that Jones did not take much advantage of this summa, nor of La Vallée Poussin's many other contributions. Although, perhaps needless to say, Jones does not mention the available scholarship of which he chose *not* to avail himself, in other respects he was well aware of the limitations of his own work, and he refers once again to his mentor Mrs. Rhys Davids in avowing on the first page of his first volume that “if subsequent work on linguistic and textual criticism wrought so many changes in the text that a fresh translation would become necessary, this pioneering effort at a first translation would not be wasted.” One cannot but agree wholeheartedly, both with the humility and with the implicit call for both a new edition and a new translation, while at the same time rueing the undeniable fact that Jones made much less good use of already available work on work on linguistic and textual criticism than he might have.

Senart's edition, made at the very dawn of the scientific study of Indian Buddhist literature, is, like La Vallée Poussin's, although for quite different reasons, also a master work, truly a monument to scholarship. One cannot praise it highly enough. That it marks, however, the beginning of a scholarly enterprise, not the end, is, despite Jones's just quoted words from his Foreword, not very evident in the body of Jones's work. If he does not advert to the secondary scholarship on the *Mahāvastu*, then, to the body of work that illustrates, inter alia and in a piecemeal fashion, to be sure, how much progress can now be made, what Jones does refer to in his notes, and amply so, are Pāli sources.

As I mentioned a moment ago, in part this emphasis on Pāli to the exclusion of other materials is an artifact of the access, or rather lack of access, he had to such materials.²⁷ But I think there might be, once again, more to it. For although I. B. Horner surely had access to the fruits at least of German, French and American scholarship, the notes in her own translations almost never refer to secondary sources; when they do, these are almost always English. In Jones's case, as I am sure in Miss Horner's too, this is not due, as it is so often in English language scholarship today, to ignorance of the relevant languages. I dare say that J. J. Jones may have been able to read even more languages than the legendary J. W. de Jong, who was well known for his linguistic prowess. Why, then, the focus on Pāli? While it is hard to say here which is the chicken and which the egg, I wonder if at least part of what lies behind this choice might not be connected with several

²⁷ See vol II, p. x.

of the statements we find in Jones's Foreword. When referring to the sources of some of the stories in the text, he wrote : "The *Mahāvagga* and the *Jātakas* are far from being the only parts of the Pali scriptures which are to be found incorporated in the *Mahāvastu*, or, we should more correctly say, which have their parallels in it."²⁸ Moreover, in the Foreword to his second volume, Jones wrote that: "the comparative study of the *Mahāvastu*, as of other Buddhist texts, must proceed from the assumption that both Pali and Sanskrit texts preserve as a fixed core a very primitive tradition. This tradition, whether written or spoken, was originally preserved in a language closely related to, but not wholly identical with, either Pali or Buddhist Sanskrit."²⁹ Let us remember when we read this that Jones wrote it in 1951, before the publication of Edgerton's *Grammar and Dictionary*, although to be sure Edgerton and others had expressed similar opinions already earlier. Finally, in the Foreword to his third volume, in which he expresses his great appreciation for Edgerton's work, he writes: "it cannot be assumed that all the Prakrit or Middle Indic dialects of the Buddha's time have left records or traces behind them, and difficulties of vocabulary or grammatical forms may sometimes be due to our ignorance of a lost dialect to which they belonged."³⁰ In regard, then, to the issue of the languages of the Indian Buddhist traditions, Jones got it exactly right: we simply cannot say much about what forms of language a text or parts of texts may have gone through without careful, painstaking work. And he is also right that one of the best guides, if not the best available guide, if only in terms of the comprehensiveness of the extant corpus, is texts preserved in Pāli.³¹ But this acceptance of a special status for Pāli is not the same thing as asserting, as Jones does, that the doctrinal content of Theravāda teachings is very close to that of the *Mahāvastu*.³² In any event, if we accept, along with Jones, that extant early literature represents reworkings of yet earlier but now lost materials, we must consider both the form of what we have now and its putative earlier form in order to approach a correct understanding.

The *sine qua non* for such work is careful accounting of all available sources, something which, it is somewhat distressing to say, has yet to be undertaken even for the Pāli materials themselves, for which we continue to use the pioneering but avowedly tentative editions of the Pali Text Society. Ever since the publication of Senart's remarkable edition, however, scholars have paid considerable attention to the *Mahāvastu*, or at least to its language. How much of our image of this language is due to the published edition and how much to the true nature of the text—the unitary existence of which is itself a problematic idea—remains a much debated question. But one thing is sure: the availability of manuscripts not accessible to Senart should change our picture of this text, often considerably. This much is evident especially from the earliest known

²⁸. Vol. I, p. xiv.

²⁹. II.x.

³⁰. III.xvii.

³¹. I might mention, on a less serious note, that Jones and I share an interest in Pali, though perhaps for different reasons; *pali* is a Welsh word for *silk*, a loan from an Old French form of *paille*, according to M. Meelen.

³². As V. Tournier expresses it, in a private communication, "When Jones says (vol. I, p. xii), that: 'apart from the special tenets of the Lokottaravādins these [*sūtras* of the *Mvu*] show hardly any variation from recognised Theravādin teaching,' he could not be more wrong."

manuscript of the text, published in an excellently legible facsimile in 2001 by Akira Yuyama. This source contains readings often demonstrably better than those recorded by Senart, even in his variants which, it must be said, are a far from comprehensive record of the manuscript tradition—because, again, to have attempted to prepare such an edition would have been tantamount to renouncing the realistic completion of the project, the more so since it has been usual for scholars toiling on such projects to do so alone. The necessity of taking recourse to manuscripts raises a point long discussed with central reference to the pioneering work of Edgerton, namely that he worked—as he too could not avoid doing—from printed editions. These editions were themselves the work of editors who often either did not well understand the nature of their materials, or had access only to inadequate sources, or both. Edgerton and Jones, as Senart their great forerunner, no doubt made the very best of what they had. But in many cases, standing upon their shoulders, we can now do better.

Although the approaches may differ somewhat, it may be helpful to think for a moment of the translations of Buddhist works increasingly published not by professional academics but by—what shall we call them?—enthusiastic amateurs. For in many respects, this is precisely what Jones was, self-taught in Pāli and Sanskrit as in Indology and Buddhist Studies, just as at least some of today's enthusiastic amateurs are admirably well prepared for their tasks, although their goals may be far from those of soi-disant disinterested scholarship. The standpoint of the translator, and of the imagined audience of the translation, has manifold implications for the aimed-at result, just as does the decision *where* to publish. Questions such as just what sort of annotation is appropriate, and how much of it, can shape the entire presentation, and hence reception, of a translation. But perhaps more importantly, stepping back one pace, we should consider who is involved in the production of a translation.

Sir William Jones resided for the latter part of his short life in India and was guided, as many after him, by native informants. While there are serious questions concerning the authoritative standing of a modern pandit qua informant with respect to an ancient text, there is no question that there existed and still exist genuine Indian traditions of learning, in grammar, in law, in literature and theatre, and so on, namely in the fields of most interest to Sir William Jones. The same is true in different ways for some traditions of Pāli literature, for which there are living lineages of study in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, although how continuous and traditional they have been is, as with the pandits, another question. Since we know that such native scholars have been involved at the very least with English scholarship on Buddhism for a very long time, we cannot help but suspect that the contributions of some of these native scholars have not always been as well acknowledged as we might think proper. For a text like the *Mahāvastu*, however, which has no surviving tradition, and hence no native informant, what can be done? Or turning this question around somewhat, and casting it *mutatis mutandis* in another contemporary context: are translations of Tibetan texts produced together with native informants—not even to mention translations of Indian texts made with the assistance of such scholars—inherently more reliable, or more traditional even—as if we really know what that might mean—than those produced by non-native scholars? Given the inherent judgmentalism in such a question, let us set it aside and ask instead: Who should, even ideally, participate in the translation of a text?

Jones's experience leads us, I think, to one answer. To abuse the expression made famous by Hillary Clinton, it takes a village to translate a text. Jones's virtual village was populated by the likes of William Stede and I. B. Horner, and his letters and Forewords show that he deeply appreciated their guidance. I believe that all work will benefit from this sort of approach. Indeed, it is clearly the experience of those now studying the earliest known Buddhist literature, the texts in Gāndhārī recently discovered in Afghanistan and environs, that two—or seven or ten—heads are infinitely better than one. Those of us who study texts are accustomed to sitting by ourselves, publishing papers under a single name, but perhaps we should in this respect think a bit more like natural scientists, and experiment with working in teams. Or, we might learn more directly from Jones, but modernize his lesson: our virtual village can now, thanks to Skype or similar technologies, extend around the globe instantaneously. I have had the delightful experience for some years now of reading texts with colleagues spread across the globe. One problem Jones faced in his isolation is that he was not able to discuss his work easily with others, although thankfully for us, he was an energetic letter writer, as I remarked above. Unless we are lucky enough to live in one of the few places in the world with a concentration of others interested in the same arcana as we are, most of us also will be deprived, most of the time, of this experience of close and sustained proximity to colleagues interested in similar things. While I don't know the first thing about John James Jones's personality, I would like to think that he would have welcomed the type of opportunities available to us now for joint work, whether those who join with us are other arm-chair bound scholars scattered in the far corners of the globe, or perchance monastics equally widely distributed, but who would nevertheless be willing to share their familiarity with the wealth of Buddhist traditions with us.

John James Jones was born nearly a century after the death of Sir William Jones, and we are here today a bit more than half a century after his own death. Much has changed even in these last fifty years, but this span, just as the gap between the two Joneses, is a mere blink of an eye when set beside the ages which have passed since the composition of the ancient Indian literatures for which we all share a passion. Sir William Jones and John James Jones both worked tirelessly to bring to a world far distant in time and place some of the wealth of ancient Indian culture. Let us learn from their examples as we strive to carry on their legacies.

Appendix

A problematic verse in the *Mahāvastu* concludes the discussion between the monk Maudgalyāyana and a god, formerly the horse Kaṅṭhaka, the noble steed who carried the future Buddha from his palace, thereafter died of grief and attained divine rebirth for his merits. The verse is printed by Senart as follows: (Mv II.195,1-2):

tasmim cittaṃ prasādetha dakṣiṇīyeṣu tādṛśaṃ |
paśyati rakṣabhūtena karmaṃ upacitaṃ śubhaṃ |

Jones (II.186) translated as follows:

Set your hearts on him who is outstanding among those deserving of offerings. Thus it is seen that a fair karma was accumulated by one who was merely a horse.

Jones offered two notes, the second of which is relevant here.³³ It concerns *rakṣabhūtena*, “by one who was merely a horse.” Here Jones wrote: “Adopting Senart’s conjecture that *rakṣabhūtena* (= by a rakṣa or rākṣasa) should be changed to *aśvabhūtena*.” Jones should have noticed, however, that *paśyati* is not passive, and thus his “is seen” is impossible: something must be wrong.

This volume of Senart’s edition was published in 1890. 22 years later, Hendrik Kern published a short paper in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* which evidently escaped Jones’s attention.³⁴ Here Kern proposed that the verse’s second line be read: *paśya tirakṣabhūtena karmaṃ upacitaṃ śubhaṃ*, suggesting that *tirakṣabhūta* is a “failed Sanskritization” of Prakrit *tiracchabhūta*, with which he compared Pāli *tiracchūna* [rather *tiracchāna*] and Sanskrit *tiryāñc*, *tiryagyona*, and so on. (V. Tournier points out that the word regularly used to refer to animals in the *Mahāvastu* is *tiracchāna*, which occurs six times. He speculates that the word *tiraccha-* is a variant of a more common *tiracchāna*, probably for metrical reasons.) Kern translated the line “Sieh! (wie) ein Tier Lohn einer guten Handlung sich erworben (eig. gesammelt) hat.” That is: “Look! (like) an animal has acquired (lit. collected) the reward of a good action.” He went on: “The variant reading in [manuscript] C is curious: *paśyantiratnacchatrabhūtena*. One needs only to drop the syllables *tna*, *tra* and the *n* of *paśyanti* and one sees the old good reading *paśya tiracchabhūtena*.” (Senart printed the variant in Roman letters as: *paśyanti ratnacchatrabhūtena karmopaücittam* [read^o*opacittam*] *śubham*, the spacing perhaps again prejudicing the reading.)

³³ To the word *tādṛśaṃ*, which he translated “outstanding,” Jones wrote: “We should expect the locative *tādṛśe* in apposition to *tasmim*. Senart renders *tādṛśaṃ*, ‘comme moi,’ i.e. as a sort of adverbial accusative, but this would seem to leave *dakṣiṇīyeṣu* without syntactical connexion with the rest of the sentence. The accusative word may plausibly be explained as due to the distance between it and the word to which it is in apposition, the indirect object coming to be felt as a direct object.”

³⁴ H. Kern, “Deutung einer missverstandenen Stelle im Mahāvastu,” *Indogermanische Forschungen* 31 (1912/1913): 194-197.

In 2001 Akira Yuyama published photographs of the oldest known manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*. The verse in question is contained in this manuscript (Sa) as follows (176a3):³⁵

tasmim cittam prasādetha dakṣiṇīyeṣu tādṛśam |
paśya tiracchabhūtena³⁶ karmopacitam śubham |

Kern’s conjectures about the second half of the verse are fully confirmed by this manuscript.³⁷ The word *tiracchabhūta* appears to be attested in Pāli, although perhaps only once, in the commentary to the *Dīghanikāya*, as pointed out by *The Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary*.³⁸ It should be noted that the sense of °bhūta here remains unclear.

Concerning the first half of the verse, Harunaga Isaacson offers the tentative suggestion that one either read *tādṛśaḥ* instead of *tādṛśam* or understand the latter as neuter for masculine, and at any rate take the word as a nominative. Furthermore, the two halves of the line should be seen as syntactically separate. We then arrive—with considerable hesitation—at something like the following:

You all should believe in him! Such a one is among those deserving of offerings. Look! [Even] while a [mere] animal [I] accumulated [by devotion to him such] lovely karma [which resulted in divine rebirth]!

³⁵ In MS Sb (174b6) we find: *tasmim cittam prasādetha dakṣiṇīyeṣu tādṛśam | paśya tiracchabhūtena karmopacitam śubham |*

³⁶ Here the akṣaras *pa śya ti* are written in small letters, the importance of which is however not entirely clear.

³⁷ His idea about the first half of the verse is, however, a bit less solid; he suggested that *tasmim* be read instead *tasmā*, which is not confirmed. He understood the half verse as follows: “Darum habe man im Geiste Wohlgefallen an solchen Verehrungswürdigen!” That is, “Therefore one takes pleasure in his mind’s eye in such beings worthy of reverence.”

³⁸ s.v. *tiraccha*. See now Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli II* (Bristol: The Pali Text Society, 2010), s.v. *tiraccha*, in which *tiracchabhūta* is rendered ‘being across; being sideways to,’ but under *tiraccānabhūta* she offers ‘being an animal; as an animal.’

Supplement to
‘A List of Writings with Brief Bibliographical Notes
Appendix: Curriculum Vitae – A Succinct Autobiographical Record’,
ARIRIAB, XVI: 2012 (2013), pp. 343-390:

Addenda et Corrigenda
as of 1 January 2014

Akira YUYAMA

p. 347: ARIRIAB = ... for Buddhology ⇒ ... for Advanced Buddhology

p. 349 (after line 19): add between Fujita & Hayashima Volumes:

Guenther Volume = Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization: Essays in Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on His Sixtieth Birthday, ed. Leslie S. Kawamura & Keith Scott (Emeryville CA USA: Dharma Publishing Co., 1977).

p. 352: *Item Ia.3*: Cf. also *Bibliographie linguistique de l'année 1973 et complément des années précédentes publiée par le comité international permanent de linguistes ...* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1976), No. 4324.

p. 353: *Item Ia.4a*: *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)*, edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang by A. Yuyama: A Digital Paperback Reprint Edition (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne / Madrid-Cape Town-Singapore-São Paulo-Delhi-Dubai-Tokyo-Mexico City: Cambridge University Press, 2010):

— ISBN 978-0-521-14320-2 (Pb).

— As a matter of fact, I came to know of this digital paperback reprint edition through a certain overseas bookseller's sales catalogue just by mere chance early summer in 2012. The CUP seems to have failed to locate my present address, as I have been moving from Canberra, Auckland, Göttingen, Tokyo, and so forth since I heard the acceptance for publication of the first edition whilst in Canberra around 1972. I am however very grateful to the CUP to have re-issued it in the paperback edition easily available to the students in the related fields of study in need of the text.

Incidentally, soon after having obtained doctorate at ANU Canberra, I heard that the CUP was looking for works done by young scholars all over the world to publish them from Cambridge. I applied for it, and mine was accepted for publication by typeset printing. Then I was informed later that they decided to bring out in offset printing. I was a little disappointed not just for a better look, but I could not make some tiny revisions. Furthermore, Professor J. W. de Jong (1921-2000) insisted that I should publish an annotated translation together with the text volume. I was very reluctant to do so, because I wanted to make it with ample time. After a few years I received a letter from Professor John Brough (1917-1984), one of the external examiners of my doctoral dissertation, advising me to publish the textual edition immediately. Whilst wondering about it, alas, I lost a chance to start on the fresh enterprise with strong enthusiasm. My tentative translation has not been polished again!

Indeed, it is no use crying over spilt milk: I regret very much that I did not edit an exhaustive index to the texts, as I had prepared a complete card index to Indic in comparison with the Tibetan and partially Chinese translations while I was analysing the Indic text in order to make a grammar. This grammar consisted Part II of my thesis, and was published from Canberra (cf. my "List of Writings", p. 352: item 3).

— On this occasion, however, I wish to draw attention of serious scholars in the relevant field to the fact that the late Dr. Edward Conze (1904-1979), versed in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, had long maintained that the *Rgs* represented the earliest statement of the *Prajñāpāramitā* thought, as he has repeated in his review of my book published in 1976: see *JRAS*, 1978, 1, p. 89.

— Furthermore see E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd., revised & enlarged edition (= *BPB-SM*,

I) (Tokyo 1978), p. 53-55: §5A. Verses on the Accumulation of Perfect Qualities.

— Cf. A. Yuyama, “The First Two Chapters of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *Conze Volume* (Berkeley 1977), p. 203-218!(= my “List of Writings”, II.31).

p. 355: *Item 11a*, line –2: tables ⇒ table

p. 356: *Item 1b.3a*, line 2: (Tokyo 1982) ⇒ (Tokyo 1983)

— Add: “Besprechung” von S. Kratzsch (Halle/S.), *OLZ*, 82. Jahrgang 1987, Nr. 8, Sp. 187.

p. 360: *Item 11* & p. 363: *Item 28*: cf. further an enlightening article by Akira Saitō, “A Shape in the Mist: On the Text of Two Undetermined *Sūtra* Citation in the *Prasannapadā*”, *Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism*, XX (Tokyo: Department of Indian Philosophy and Buddhist Studies, University of Tokyo, 2013), p. 17-25, esp. p. 20-24: “III. The Edited Text of Citation No. 2” (textcritical remarks on the *Prasannapadā* 524.1-4 cited from *Rgs* XXII.6). — see my paper in this volume, p. 147-156.

p. 363: *add 26bis*. “Svalpākṣarā Prajñāpāramitā”, *Guenther Volume* (1977), p. 280-301.

Attention is drawn to one of the very short *Prajñāpāramitā* texts within the framework of Tāntric tradition, now extant in Ind., Tib., Chin., et alibi.

— Cf. esp. E. Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Lit.*, 2nd rev.ed. (see my ‘List of Writings’, No. 27), p. 14, 81f., and p. 135 (item No. 36) as well for further details.

p. 365: *Item 40*: line 7: Budshism ⇒ Buddhism; line 15: Ling ⇒ Lin; Yamaguci ⇒ Yamaguchi

p. 366: *Item 42*: *add* 4 characters to the title as follows “ · · · 写本断简二点覚書”.

p. 366: *Item 43*: This paper was first presented to the XXXIII Congress of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies held at Komazawa University in Tokyo on 16-17 October 1982 with a 4-page A4 handout.

It was in September 1979 I visited China for the first time with a group of Japanese specialists in literature, history and art led by Professor Osamu Takada (高田修: 1907-2006). During our short stay at Turfan I had a chance to see a torn fragment of a blockprint exhibited in a glass showcase at the Turfan Prefectural Exhibition Hall (吐魯番縣展示館). The folio was inclined ninety degrees to the left like other non-Chinese documents from Central Asia. The caption on the very fragment read as follows: “A Buddhist sutra in the ‘Phags-pa script printed in the Yüan dynasty (1280-1368 CE) discovered at ‘Thousand-Buddha Caves at Bāzāklik’ (八思巴文仏経印本 · 元代 [公元1280-1368] · 柏孫克里克千仏洞). The caption contained a few serious mistakes. I was easily able to identify the fragment as a portion of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (abbr. *Rgs*) in Indic, furthermore written in the so-called Rañjana script (and never ‘Phags-pa). I had very little time, and importuned the staff to allow me to take a photo just in vain. Owing to a purely lucky chance towards the end of 1981 I found a photo of the very fragment in a book published by a Chinese-born Japanese photographer named Shih Chia-fu, or Seki Kafuku (石嘉福): 天山南路を往く シルクロード 絲綢之路千里 (東京 · 講談社, 1979), p. 30f.: Photo No. 4. In it the photo is printed in the same manner as shown in Turfan, now with a different caption as it was a non-Chinese text unearthed from among the Astāna Tombs. There are some letters printed in a smaller point, which were therefore undecipherable. Again my repeated request for a photocopy from the author became in vain. However, it was a pleasure that I was at least able to find a hitherto unknown version. — Now at last I was delighted to see a better photo of the fragment, and therefore I could decipher the whole text easily with great interest: see for further details e.g. my “List of Writing”, II.100 (*ARIRIAB*, XVI, p. 376).

— Towards the end of the last year I was ultimately able to obtain a much clearer photo taken by Professor Chang Yung-ping (張永兵) by courtesy of Professor Li Hsiao (李蕭). In my article “Reviewing *Rgs* XIV 2 & 7”, to appear in the present volume, I could thus fully use the very material. An important reading has become clear, e.g. a damaged portion of folio 12b, line 3 begins with <...>*aiti*, which attests that this fragment text offers *upaiti* here (*Rgs* XIV 7b) equal to Recension B, where as Recension A (= singly Calcutta Ms: K) reads *prayāti*! But this does not necessarily means that it belongs to Recension B. I have already discussed this complicated problem in my previous article: see my “List of Writing”, II.43, 97, 99-101).

p. 367: *Item 52*: line 4: Farhād-B.,g ⇒ °-Bēg

p. 373: *Item 83*: line 8: Śāntideva ⇒ Candrakīrti; line 10: ... No. 97 ⇒ Nos. 88, 97.

p. 376: *Item 100*: line 4: -*saṃcaya*- ⇒ -*saṃcaya*-

p. 376: *Item 101*: line 2: p. 259-268. ⇒ p. 1070-1074.

p. 377: *Item 108*: Add 108a: 再録・中国関係論説資料・第54号 (2012年発表論文集／書籍版・CD-ROM版)・第一分冊・下巻: 哲学・宗教・文化 (東京・論説資料保存会, 2013.11), *DVD edition*, No. C54-1310.

p. 378: *Item 109: line 4*: Indoloy ⇒ Indology; — *line 5*: Know ⇒ Konow

p. 381, *line -16: IV.C.I, No. 9*: — In October 1981 I was officially invited to the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan by the National Religious Committee. It was as a matter of fact an invitation of the National Library of Bhutan, of which Director was really learned and gentle-hearted Lopen Pemala.* I was again invited by the National Library in 1984. My visits were extremely fruitful. I am sad, however, to see our mutual intercourse discontinued for various reasons. My visit was announced in the weekly news bulletin in English called *Kuensel*, XVI, 45 (Week ending 8 November 1981), p. 3, col. c, with a caption “Visit of the National Religious Committee Guests”, citing my speech delivered during a dinner hosted by the Chairman of the National Religious Committee: ‘... Bhutan while making a steady progress in all aspects of modernization yet succeeded in preserving its traditional and spiritual background. His country Japan of which is very proud, he says has made a great economic progress with rapid speed, but there is now the problem of pollution. Bhutan he hopes will not make the same mistake. ...’**

* Lopen Pemala passed away on 27 February 2009 at the age of 83: — cf. Yoshiro Imaeda [今枝由郎], “恩師の死”, 圖書 [*Tosho*], No. 728 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, October 2009), p. 21-25.

** *Kuensel* is perhaps *kun-gsal* in Tibetan, equivalent to *prakāśanam* in Sanskrit?

p. 385, fn. 8, *line 3*: Instituute ⇒ Instituut

p. 385, fn. 8 *end*: (1921-2002) ⇒ (1921-2000).

Reference may be made to the following obituaries:-

原實, “J. W. de Jong 博士の長逝を悼む (15/2/1921-22.1/2000)”, *Tōhōgaku*, No. C (= *Special Issue – Prospects for Eastern Studies Towards the 21st Century*) (September 2000), p. 301-309.

- - , “In Memoriam J. W. de Jong (15.2.1921-22.1.2000)”, *JiABS*, XLIII, 4 (2000), p. 1-5 [= *infra Gedenkschrift J. W. de Jong* (Tokyo 2004), p. xvii-xx].

- - , “de Jong 教授回想二題”, *JiCABS* [= *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* / 國際佛教學大學院大學紀要], III (Tokyo 2000), p. (402)-(396).

- - , “The Death of the Hero”, *ibid.*, IV (2001), p. *340-*315 [*Contribution in Memoriam Prof. J. W. de Jong* (see p.*340 bottom) with a ‘Post Script’ cherishing his memory with him on p. *316-*315].

F. B. J. Kuiper, “Jan Willem de Jong (15 February 1921 – 22 January 2000)”, *IJJ*, XLIII (2000), p. xi-xii [= *infra Gedenkschrift J. W. de Jong* (Tokyo 2004), p. xi-xii].

Pankaj N. Mohan, “J. W. de Jong: His Life and Legacy”, *IJBS*, N.S. 1 (1999-2000), p. 205-208.

David Seyfort Ruegg, “In Memoriam J. W. de Jong (1921-2000)”, *IJJ*, XLIII, 4 (2000), p. 313-317 [= *infra Gedenkschrift J. W. de Jong* (Tokyo 2004), p. xiii-xvi].

齋藤明, “Jan Willem de Jong 教授を偲ぶ”, *IBK/JIBS*, L, 2 (March 2002), p. 206(734)-211(739).

Further reference may also be made to:-

J. W. de Jong, “Some Theoretical Aspects of Buddhism”, *Studia Orientalia Slovaca*, IV (Bratislava 2005), p. 96-101 [Prefixed by Josef Kolmaš, “O autorovi”, p. 83f.; - - , “O textu”, p. 94-96, including de Jong’s letter to Kolmaš dated 23 March 1964 in facsimile, p. 95, and a photo of J. W. de Jong on p. 101].

Attention may be drawn to the World Wide Website, offered by Koshin Suzuki: “chofukuji.jp/de_Jong”.

The following volumes may be worth recording here:

Buddhist Studies by J. W. de Jong, ed. Gregory Schopen (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press: A Division of Lancaster-Miller Publishers, 1979), ix, 717 p. — ISBN 0-89581-002-6.

J. W. de Jong – Tibetan Studies (= *IT*, XXV) (1994), XI, 254 p. — ISBN 3-923776-25-X.

Gedenkschrift J. W. de Jong, ed. H. W. Bodewitz & Minoru Hara (= *SPB-MS*, XVII) (Tokyo 2004), xx, 257 p., 1 col. frontisp. (photo). — ISBN 4-906267-50-5.

p. 386: Academic Posts Held: *line 6*: January 1966- ⇒ January 1967-

p. 386 – *Brief note on Indo-Asian studies at the Australian National University (Canberra)*:

The Australian National University was established in 1946 soon after the end of the World War II with special emphasis on pure research and post-graduate education of the higher global standard. In 1960 it amalgamated with the University College of Canberra to foster undergraduate education in addition.

Australia, being a member of Asia-Pacific region of the globe, felt necessity to establish the Faculty of Oriental (later Asian) Studies to promote research and teaching Asian subjects. It is said to be modelled after the School of Oriental (and African) Studies at the University of London. Early 1960s the ANU made a plan to introduce South Asian studies. Professors Arthur Llewellyn Basham (Loughon, Essex 24.V.1914 - Calcutta 27.I.1986) of London and Jan Willem de Jong (Leiden 15.II.1921 – Canberra 22.I.2000) of Leiden had applied for the chair. ANU was naturally much interested to employ both of them and, in accordance with the suggestions made by the both, decided to found the Departments of Asian Civilizations and of South Asian & Buddhist Studies. Thus both of them were invited to become the founding departmental heads respectively in 1965. The Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies started in practice on the arrival of Professor de Jong and his research assistant Akira Yuyama in July 1965. Sanskrit was taught in the first instance from the academic year 1966. By then it had been taught in the Department of Indonesian.

p. 386 (bottom): April 1977- ⇒ April 1997-.

p. 386f.: *Professor of Buddhist Sanskrit Philology at Soka University*: Strictly speaking, an Extraordinary Contract Research Professor (the so-called 特任教授 in Japanese) for the period of the last three years from 1 April 2004 to 31 March 2007 — after the compulsory retirement at the end of the academic year ending on 31 March 2007 in accordance with the age-limit system of the University).

p. 388: 1978-1995: Regional Secretary for Asia, IABS, and 1981-1983: Committee Members of the XXXI CISHAAN & Local Secretary to VI CIAIBS (1983):

Some of my activities regarding the IABS and the congresses held in Tokyo-Kyoto in 31 August – 7 September 1983 are to be found e.g. in the “Notes and News”, reported by Ms. Rena Haggarty, Assistant Secretary to Professor A. K. Narain, IABS Secretary-General, University of Wisconsin at Madison WI:

JIABS, V, 1 (1982), p. 144-152 (Report on the IV CIAIBS, held in Madison, 7-9 August 1981):

“Regional Secretary’s Report, by Akira Yuyama, Asia: - ‘Dr. Yuyama informed the meeting that new members were needed to join the IABS from Asian countries, ... To help solve the problems, Dr. Yuyama announced that he is in the process of setting up liaison officers for IABS members living in this region of the world.’ (p. 151).

JIABS, VI, 1 (1983), p. 167-179 (Report on V CIAIBS held in Oxford, 16-21 August 1982):

‘ ... to propose the name of the President of the 6th Conference, Dr. Akira Yuyama proposed that Professor Gadjin Nagao, Honorary Fellow and Founding Chairperson, IABS, be the President This resolution was passed unanimously’ (p. 177f.).

JIABS, VII, 1 (1984), p. 184-195 (A detailed report on VI CIAIBS held in conjunction with XXXI CISHAAN, Tokyo-Kyoto, 31 August – 7 September 1983).

p. 388: 1985-1995: Member on the Board of the Planning Committee of the Lumbini Library Project within the Lumbini Development Trust under the (Royal) Government of Nepal (Kathmandu – Lumbini).

— It was decided that the “Lumbini International Research Institute (= LIRI)” should be established within the framework of the Master Plan of the Lumbini Garden. In February 1995 Dr. Christoph Cüppers was appointed its LIRI Founding Director. — Before my engagement in the committee I visited Lumbini in December 1979 for the first time with the then responsible person in charge of the Royal Government of Nepal.

p. 389: *Add* — 2002-2009?: Member on the Scientific Committee of the *Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum: Sanskrit Series on Social and Religious Law*, edited under the direction of Oscar Botto (Turin) <A project under the umbrella of the Union Académique Internationale = UAI> [梵語法典叢書].

Cf. A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (I)”, *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 351: ‘*CIS* = *Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum*’, as one of the difficult international projects.

— , “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (III)”, *ARIRIAB*, VIII: 2004 (2005), p. 377-379: §1. ‘*CIS* = *Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum* — 発刊を慶んで’.

— , “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (IV)”, *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. p. 281-293, esp. p. 281f.: §2. ‘*Le code népalais (AIN) de 1853*, par Jean Fezas, 2 vols. (= *CIS*, II) (Torino 2000) — In the framework of Hodgson in Nepal with its historical background’.

p. 389: *Add* — 2003-2009?: Member on the Scientific Board of the *Indologica Taurinensia: The Journal of the*

International Association of Sanskrit Studies [Abbr.: IASS] (*An Official Organ of the IASS*), founded and directed by Oscar Botto (Turin / Torino: Edizioni A.I.T., 1973-).

Obituaries — Oscar Botto (Torino, 10 July 1922 – Torino, 24 August 2008), e.g.: — Motilal Banarsidass, Newsletter, XXX, 9 (Delhi, Sept. 2008), p.15b.

Irma Piovano, “Oscar Botto: A Life Devoted to India”, *IT*, XXXV (2009), p. XIII-LVI.

p. 390, line 2: वाग्देवी ⇒ वाग्देवी

p. 390: Comments on the *stuti*:

The Sanskrit language had shown local dialects from the outset and was not a language unable to understand by the people. It is indeed proved by the fact that it has produced many talented indigenous grammarians. Furthermore, one can measure how well the classical Sanskrit in the dramas, for example, has been understood by the ordinary people. — Sanskrit is said from ancient times (*purā*) to have been the word (*vāc-*) of Brahmān (*brāhmī-*), and has thus been loudly said (*ghuṣ-*) to be that of the heavenly world (*daivī-*). However, it has further survived as that of the humans (*mānuṣī-*). — The wise (*pañḍita-*) know (*jñā-*) it exactly, and therefore the learned (*vidvat-*) tell of (*vad-*) the *Dharma* as it is easily (*sukham*) grasped (*grah-*) by the people (*jana-*). The preacher (*[dharma-]bhāṣaka-*) knows (*jñā-*) the word (*vākya-*) of the others (*apara-*) and that of his own (*sva-*).

— Reference • 拙論, “エジプトの仏教梵語研究の学史的背景”, *Watanabe Memorial Volume*, II (1993), p. 83, and p. 66 as well. • • • [cf. “A List of Writings”, p. 369: item II.59]

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‘Sanskrit war das Lebenselement der indischen Kultur und wird leben, solange diese Kultur nicht gänzlich abgestorben ist.’, so says Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937) in his enlightening article “Was ist Sanskrit?”, *Scientia*, XIV: Jahrgang 7 (1913), p. 27 = *Hermann Jacobi - Kleine Schriften*, II, hrsg. Bernhard Kölver (= *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, IV, 2) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970), p. 1132.

— See also A. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology*. A Revised Edition (1992) [cf. “A List of Writings”, p. 356: item Ib3b], p. vii.

大乘仏教とガンダーラ——般若経・阿弥陀・観音——*

辛嶋静志

(I) 仏典の言語と伝承

(1) 口語から梵語へ、口承から書写へ

古代インドのヴェーダ聖典は、紀元前千数百年から紀元前五世紀頃まで、一千年間にわたって順次創作された。これら聖典は師から弟子へと口頭で伝授され、近世に至るまで二千年以上連綿と口承で伝わった。その言語はヴェーダ語と呼ばれる。前四世紀半ばに、文法学者パーニニは、これら多様なヴェーダ文献の言語に基づいて、文法を規範化した人工的な言語を作った。これがサンスクリット(*samskr̥ta*; 原義は“精練された、人造の”)である。サンスクリットは、バラモンや支配者階級・知識階級が高尚な文章に使う雅語である。それを母語にする人はいない。師や父から習う“父語”ともいうべき言語である。その習得方法と果たした役割は、ヨーロッパにおけるラテン語や、中国における文言(ぶんげん; 先秦時代から二十世紀初めまで使われた文章語)に比べることができる。しかし、後で述べるように、中国における文言とは異なり、サンスクリット(梵語)は、文字に書かれることを前提としていなかった。

文語であるサンスクリットに対して、日常的に使う口語は、プラークリット(*prākṛta*; 原義は“自然の、本来の”)と呼ばれる。これは一般庶民の言語である。庶民はサンスクリットを理解できなかった。それは、ラテン語や文言の場合と同じである。先史時代から口語が使われていたはずだが、インド口語資料として今日まで伝わっている最古のものは、パーリ語仏典、アルダ・マーガディー語のジャイナ経典、そしてインド各地の様々な方言で書かれたアショーカ王碑文(紀元前三世紀)である。従って、紀元前四世紀より前には遡ることができない。インド口語は、このように古いのではあるが、紀元前千数百年に遡るヴェーダ語(古期インド・アーリア語, Old Indo-Aryan¹)に比べると、時代が下がるので、「中期インド・アーリア

* 本論文は、「阿弥陀・観音・般若経—大乘仏教とガンダーラ—」, 宮治昭編著『平成20年度～平成24年度科学研究費補助金(基盤研究(A) 20242003)研究成果報告書 ガンダーラ美術の資料集成とその統合的研究』, 龍谷大学, 2 vols., 2013, pp. 527~566に加筆、修正したものである。原稿を読んで貴重なご意見を下さった橋本貴子博士、佐々木大悟博士、工藤順之博士、裘雲青氏に感謝する。

¹ 古期インド・アーリア語という場合、前四世紀半ばから使われ始めた古典サンスクリットも含める。ヴェーダ語と古典サンスクリットを区別するために、前者をEarly Old Indo-Aryan、後者をLater

語」(Middle Indo-Aryan)あるいは「中期インド語」(Middle Indic)と総称する。具体的には、古マーガディー(マガダ地方の古い方言。釈尊はこの口語で話したと言われる)、パーリ語、アルダ・マーガディー、ガンダーラ語、マハーラーシュトリー、サウラセニー、マーガディー、パイシャーチー——以上は大体紀元前四世紀から紀元後七、八世紀の間に使われた——、そして紀元後六世紀から使われるアパブランシャ語の総称である。アパブランシャ(“俗語”の意味)は六世紀から十三世紀の口語の総称である。中期インド語のうち、パーリ語を除いた言語をプラークリット(口語)と総称する。今日まで連綿と南伝の上座部仏教で使われているパーリ語は、通常プラークリットに含められない。

ヴェーダ語を大元と考えれば、文語であるサンスクリットと、口語である中期インド語(プラークリットとパーリ語)とは、兄弟のように併存した。言語的な説明において、便宜上、サンスクリットからプラークリットが派生したかのように表記するが、それはあくまで方便であって、サンスクリットとプラークリットは同じコインの裏表のように併存していたのである。庶民はもちろん口語を話し、それだけを理解したが、エリートは文語と口語の両方を話すことができた。

釈尊の時代から仏典はサンスクリット(梵語)ではなく、口語で伝承されていた。釈尊自身も口語で説教をし(それが後の時代にパーリ語に体系化された)、弟子たちにも口語を使うことを勧めた。僧団にはさまざまな出自のものがいたし、またエリートだけではなく様々な階層の人々への布教をする上で、口語の使用は必然であった。高尚な梵語で仏教を説いても、大衆は理解できない。梵語は、ヨーロッパで色々な民族出身の修道士が共通語として使ったラテン語に比べることができる。ヨーロッパの教会で、ラテン語で説教しても庶民には分からない。それで実際の説教は何語でするかという、スペイン語であり、フランス語であり、イタリア語などです。それと同じく、大衆のための経典は、最初はみんなが分かる口語で説かれていた。それが後になって、高尚な梵語に翻訳されたわけである。エリート僧侶が哲学的考察を纏めた論書(いわゆるアビダルマ論書)は、比較的早く梵語を使うようになっていた可能性はある。また、馬鳴(アシュヴァゴーシャ;二世紀)が『仏陀の生涯』など梵語で仏教叙事詩を作っているが、これも国王や知識人に聞かせるため、庶民に聞かせるものではない。一般の僧侶や庶民に聞かせることを目的とした仏典(いわゆる小乗の経典も大乘の経典も)は、三世紀頃までは概ね口語で伝承されていたようだ。写本・碑文²・漢訳仏典³の研究からみて、三世紀頃から

Old Indo-Aryanと呼ぶこともある。古典サンスクリットが古期インド・アーリア語と呼ばれるからといって、中期インド・アーリア語より以前に古典サンスクリットが存在したかのように誤解してはならない。後で述べるように、中期インド・アーリア語と古典サンスクリットは併存したのである。

² 最初期のガンダーラ出土ブラーフミー碑文を研究したFalk氏によれば、ガンダーラ地方では、口語(ガンダーラ語)・カローシュティー文字の使用から、ブラーフミー文字で口語混じりのブロークンな梵語を書く段階を経て、紀元後四世紀に、正規な梵語・ブラーフミー文字の使用に移行したという(2004: 153)。

³ インドにおける口語から梵語への移行が、漢訳仏典にも反映している。特に音写語にそのことが端的に見て取れる。個々の経典の来歴にも依るが、鳩摩羅什訳(401~413年訳出)の原典は梵語化が進んでいたものの可能性が高い。羅什訳以前の古訳の原典は、まだ口語で伝承されていたものが多かった

徐々に梵語に置き換えられるようになったと推定される。おそらく四世紀になるとかなり梵語化が進んだのではないだろうか。

さて、釈尊の時代には文字がなかった。釈尊の時代どころか、その後もずっと文字はなかった。今日、パーリの五部經典、漢訳の四阿含として伝わる初期經典は、本来、それぞれ専門に暗記暗誦する僧侶たち (*bhāṇaka*, 暗誦僧) がいて、彼らが何百年もの間、口承で伝えたものである。暗誦僧たちは、釈尊が説いたとされる經典を、忠実に記憶し暗誦し、それを次の世代へ受け渡すという重要な役目をもっていた。彼らの存在なしには、初期仏典は今日まで伝わることはなかった。インドでは、ヴェーダ文献もウパニシャドも『マハーバーラタ』も『ラーマヤナ』もジャイナ經典も文字で書かれず、口伝で伝承された。七世紀末にインドに留学した義浄はヴェーダの口伝について伝えている。また十一世紀初頭インドをたびたび訪れたペルシア人の大学者アル・ビールニー(al-Beruni)はその『インド誌』(1030年)第十二章の中で、ヴェーダ文献は口承のみで伝えられていたが、最近になって、人々が墮落してヴェーダの伝承が失われるのを心配したカシュミールの婆羅門が文字に書き留め始めたことと記している。ジャイナ經典は、多くの經典の口伝が途切れた後、紀元後二世紀から文字に記されるようになった。口伝による伝承は、古代インドのみならず、世界中で行われてきたことである。古代ギリシアの詩人ホメロスの叙事詩『イリアス』・『オデュッセイア』も、稗田阿礼が暗誦していたとされる『古事記』も、アイヌの『ユーカラ』や、ケルト神話・北歐神話・インカ神話など膨大な量が口承で伝えられていたのである。

ここで、インドにおける文字の考案と「書くこと」について述べておこう⁴。紀元前519年アケメネス朝ペルシア帝国が、西北インド(ガンダーラ)を征服すると、その地域にアラム語とその文字が行政語として導入された。そのアラム文字から、遅くとも紀元前四世紀までにはインドの言語を表せるようにカローシュティー文字が発明された。このガンダーラ地方では、ヴェーダが伝承され、パーニニなどの文法学者が輩出した。ガンダーラは伝統的学問の中心地であり、その地域の梵語がもっとも洗練されていた——ジャータカには、若者がガンダーラの中心地タクシラに学問を求めに行く話が数多く出る。前四世紀半ばのパーニニの時代に、すでに文字はあったが、パーニニのサンスクリット文法書は暗記を前提としている。その後、紀元前三世紀までにブラーフミー文字がおそらくマウルヤ朝において考案された⁵。マウルヤ朝第三代のアショーカ王(紀元前268~232年に在位)は、領土の各地にその教勅を口語で刻ませたが(アショーカ王碑文)、西北インドからアフガニスタンにかけては、ギリシア文字、アラム文字、カローシュティー文字を使い、それ以外の地

であろう。筆者は、竺法護訳『正法華經』(286年訳)に、*bhoti* (< Skt. *bhavati*)が「佛道」(*bodhi*)と訳されるなど数多くの例証から、その原典が口語で伝承されていたことを示した(Karashima 1992)。また、ガンダーラ出身の仏陀耶舎が暗唱し、竺仏念が訳した『長阿含經』(413年)に見える約500の音写語を分析して、その原語がガンダーラ語・梵語・ガンダーラ語以外の口語が混淆したものであることを示した(辛嶋1994)。

⁴ 以下の部分に関しては、von Hinüber 1989, Falk 1993, Salomon 1995a, 1998, Witzel 2011を参照。

⁵ 遅くとも紀元前四世紀末までに成立していたと見る考えもある(Norman 1992)。

域ではもっぱらブラーフミー文字を使っている。その後も、カローシュティー文字がガンダーラ地方とその文化圏で使われたのに対して⁶、ブラーフミー文字は全インドとインド文化の影響を受けた広い地域で使われた。ブラーフミー文字が普及した理由は、カローシュティー文字よりもインドの言語を表記するに適していたからである。しかし、カローシュティー文字とブラーフミー文字が考案された後も、バラモンは、学問は口承と暗記によるべきと規定し、書くことを知的とは考えていなかった。『マハーバーラタ』13.24.70に「ヴェーダを書く者たちは地獄に行く」とあるように、ヴェーダを書くことは長く法典で禁止されていた。伝統的学問では、ヴェーダ文献を読誦する時の発音に細心の注意が払われている。これはその当時の文字では表記できないものであった。その点から書くことに抵抗があったであろう。またバラモンは、子供の時から暗誦することで、聖典をある意味占有してきた。その聖典が書かれることによって、彼らの専売特許が失われることを恐れたこともあったであろう。こうして文字は、もっぱら行政と経済のための世俗的な文書に使われ、学術に使われるようになるのは、紀元後のことと考えられる。碑文においても、紀元後一世紀まではすべて口語で書かれ、サンスクリットの碑文が現れ始めるのは紀元後二世紀後半である。最初は口語混じりの碑文であり、正規なサンスクリットの碑文は四世紀になって初めて一般的になる。従って、サンスクリットを文語と述べたが、本来は書かれるための文章語ではなかった。この点は、同時代の中国における文言と異なるところである。

上にバラモンは聖典を書写しようとはしなかったことを述べた。一方、仏教徒は書写に抵抗がなかった様で、紀元前後から部分的に仏典を書写し始めた。最初に書写されたのは、パーリ語やガンダーラ語の経典である。スリランカでは、紀元前一世紀にパーリ語の仏典が筆記された。近年パキスタンで次々と見つかったガンダーラ語写本には、紀元後一世紀に遡るものがある。また紀元後179年に支婁迦讖が漢訳した『道行般若経』には経巻を書写するという表現が九十回近く見え、同じ経典の最後にある常啼菩薩の物語には、黄金の板に書かれた《般若波羅蜜》の経巻を礼拝する描写がある。後で見るように、この漢訳のガンダーラ語原典は、紀元後一世紀後半に成立したと考えられる。『道行般若経』のこれらの記述は、紀元後一世紀にガンダーラ語経典を書写することがあったことを明らかに示している。ブラーフミー文字でサンスクリットのテキストが書かれるようになったのは、紀元後二世紀以降のようである。キジル千仏洞で、ドイツ中央アジア探検隊が発見した馬鳴の仏教劇梵語断簡は、二世紀中葉にインドのどこかで書写されキジルにもたらされたと考えられている(Lüders 1911)。同じ場所(おそらく僧院の書庫であったと考えられている)から、三世紀後半に遡る梵語論書断簡(Franco 2004: 33)なども見つかって

⁶ ガンダーラ地方では、紀元後三世紀頃まで、カローシュティー文字とガンダーラ語を使い、その後段々にブラーフミー文字を使うようになった。碑文を見る限り、ブラーフミー文字導入後も、最初は口語と梵語が混淆した言語をブラーフミー文字で書いているが、四世紀からは正規な梵語をブラーフミー文字で書くようになった。以上、Damsteegt 1978; Glass 2000: 2; Falk 2004を参照。中央アジアのホータンと楼蘭では、紀元後三、四世紀、行政言語として、ガンダーラ語とカローシュティー文字が使われた。ホータンでは五世紀にはブラーフミー文字を使うようになった。Maggi 2004: 187; 吉田 2005: 60f.

いる。これら梵語テキストは、最初から梵語で創作された文学叙事詩と論書であり、一般の僧侶や庶民に聞かせるための経典ではない。経典として、今日知られている最も古い仏教梵語写本は、バーミヤンで発見された三世紀前後に遡る《八千頌般若》梵本断簡である(Sander 2000)。この写本はかなり梵語化されているが、口語形も混在している。

(2) 初期大乘仏教経典研究の新しい視点

上に古代インドにおける言語と文字そして筆写の実態について簡単に紹介した。これら実態を踏まえれば、大乘仏典の言語と伝承の変遷の過程は、おおよそ次のように推定される。

- (1) 口語・口承だけの時代（紀元前）
- (2) 口語・口承と並行して口語・書写（カローシュティー文字）の時代（紀元後一～三世紀）
- (3) 口語まじりのブロークンな梵語の時代（紀元後二、三世紀）
- (4) （仏教）梵語・筆写（ブラーフミー文字）時代（紀元後三、四世紀以降）

勿論、中にはこれらの段階を経ていない経典もあるに違いない。けだし個々の経典にはそれぞれの成立背景と歴史があるからである。いずれにせよ**経典が梵語で書かれるようになるのは、紀元後三、四世紀以降のことである**ということを再度強調しておきたい。

これらのことを踏まえると、紀元前後に続々と創られた初期大乘仏典の誕生と発展（変遷）を考える上で、従来の研究に欠けていた重要な視点が三つ見えてくる。

- (1) 初期大乘仏教経典は本来、梵語ではなく、口語で伝承されていたということ。
- (2) 最初は書かれていたのではなく、口頭で伝承されていたということ。
- (3) 経典は、不断に変化変遷（あえて発展とは言わない）して来たということ。

これらの視点が欠けると、今日、普通に行われているように、古くて十一世紀、多くは十七世紀以降に書かれた梵語写本があたかも“原典”かのように思いこんで、それら後世のテキストの読み方と比べて、より古いテキストである漢訳や、中央アジアなどから出土した古写本の読み方が訛っているなどと、誤った判断をすることになる。その端的な例が、後で見る観音である。

筆者は、二十年以上前、《法華経》漢訳と梵語写本などを逐語的に比較し、竺法護訳『正法華経』（286年訳）の原典が、中期インド語で伝承されていたことを示した(Karashima 1992)。初期大乘仏典が、本来中期インド語で伝えられていて、後に少しずつ（仏教）梵語に“翻訳”されたという筆者の長年の推定は、最近発見された紀元後一、二世紀に遡る《般若経》ガンダーラ語写本 (Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013) が明確に証明してくれた。今日私たちが目にする梵語テキストは、換言するなら、数世紀にわたる不断の梵語化・間違った逆形成(back-formation)・追加・挿入の結果なのである。だから、私たちが初期大乘経典を理解し、それらが生まれた“原風景”に近付こうとする時、現存する梵語写本——断簡以外は殆ど十一世紀以降のもの——に多くを頼っては、永遠に目的を果たせない。梵語写本以外の全ての文献資料を総

合的に考察する必要があるのである。例えば、漢訳・蔵訳以外にも、古代ガンダーラ文化圏（今日の西北パキスタンから東アフガニスタン・ウズベキスタン南部）・中央アジアから出土した梵語断簡・ガンダーラ語断簡、そしてコータン語仏典なども、仏典の生成・発展・変遷を跡付けるのに有力な資料となる。特に、近年次々と見つかった紀元後一世紀にまで遡るガンダーラ語大乘仏典写本は、初期大乘仏典に関する私たちの常識を大いに改めさせてくれるであろう。また漢訳仏典の中でも、二世紀から六世紀に翻訳された訳経は、完本であり、しかも翻訳年代が比較的明確な点から、最も重要な資料である。さらに、これら漢訳の経緯を記した経録は、大乘仏典の成立という観点からもう一度読み直せば、重要な情報を伝えている。文献資料以外にも、碑文や考古・美術資料に関する研究成果も参照する必要がある。これらあらゆる資料を総合的に考察すれば、私たちは初期大乘仏典に関する新しい展望に到達することができるであろう。

私たちは、往々にして常識と呼ばれる“眼鏡”を通して仏教の歴史と教理を理解してきた。しかし、鳩摩羅什訳諸仏典や『大智度論』・『婆沙論』・『俱舍論』などという言葉は仏教学の古典よりも遙か向こうに、初期大乘仏典の“原風景”は存在するのである。手垢のついた“眼鏡”をはずして、改めて一次資料を丁寧に正確にそして総合的に見直すことによってのみ、初期大乘仏典の原初の姿に近付けると筆者は考える。その幾つかの例を紹介しよう。

ここでは『○○経』（例えば、『阿弥陀経』・『無量寿経』）は特定の漢訳經典を指し、《○○経》（例えば、《阿弥陀経》・《無量寿経》）は梵本・諸漢訳・蔵訳も含めた総称として用いる。

(II) 《般若経》

(1) ガンダーラ語《般若経》写本

最近パキスタンの北西部アフガニスタンとの国境地帯にあるバジョール地方の僧院跡から、樺皮にカローシュティー文字で書かれた、それぞれ異なる内容の19巻の仏教写本が発見された(Nasim Khan 2008に、写真とIngo Strauch博士によるらしい暫定的転写がある。なおStrauch博士の次のサイトを参照：<http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/indologie/bajaur/content/index.html>)。これら写本は書体から見て紀元後一、二世紀に遡ると考えられ、また《中阿含経》、《戒本》のほか、声聞乗・独覚乗・等正覚乗(*śravagayāna*, *pracebudhayāna*, *samasabudhayāna*)と阿闍(*Akṣobha*)如来に言及する経典(Nasim Khan 2008: 47~93)、般若(*prañāparamida*)に言及する経典(同113-119)がある。これとは別に、おなじくパキスタン(おそらくアフガニスタンとの国境地帯)で発見され、放射性炭素年代測定法で81.1%の可能性で紀元後47-147年に遡るとされる《八千頌般若》のガンダーラ語写本(Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013)が発見された。これらガンダーラ語大乘仏典写本は最古の漢訳大乘経典である支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』(A.D.179年訳出)の原本と同時代のものと言える。これらの発見によって、初期大乘仏典研究は全く新しい局面を迎えた。これら新出ガンダーラ語写本および古訳経典の文献学的研究は、初期大乘仏典の成立と展開に全く新しい視点をもたらすに違いない。

さて、筆者は2011年に出版した『道行般若経校注』で、支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』と六種の漢訳、梵本、蔵訳を逐語的に比較し、《八千頌般若》における増広・削減・変化・改訂の跡付けを試みた。筆者の研究によれば、《八千頌般若》諸本は、次の三つのグループに分かれる。

- (一) 最初期テキスト群：ガンダーラ語写本、『道行般若経』(西暦179年訳)、支謙訳(222-257年訳)、『摩訶般若鈔経』(3世紀後半訳)⁷
- (二) 中期テキスト群：鳩摩羅什訳(408年訳)、玄奘訳第五会(660-663年訳)、バーミヤン出土梵語写本断簡(紀元後2~3世紀)
- (三) 後期テキスト群：玄奘訳第四会(660-663年訳)、施護訳(982年訳)、ネパール出土梵本写本(11世紀以降)、チベット語訳

概して、古いバージョンは簡潔で、新しいバージョンになるほど詳しくなる——例外は常啼菩薩品である——。これら三つのグループのなかでも、(一)と(二)・(三)の間には、量的のみならず、質的にも大きな変化がある。例えば次の二点において、それが顕著に見られる。

(1) 慈悲——Schmithausen, Fronsodal, Choong, Anālayoなどが明らかにしたように空の思想とは矛盾する——に関する記述は、古訳(支婁迦讖訳・支謙訳・竺佛念訳)に少ないが、後世のテキストになるほど多くなる。従来しばしば『般若経』は空と慈悲を説くと説明されてきたが、よく考えれば、空と慈悲は矛盾した概念である。空に徹底すれば、目の前の苦しむ衆生を哀れむ根拠がないからである。

⁷ 筆者は最近出版した論文で、支謙訳『大明度経』と竺佛念訳『摩訶般若鈔経』は、直訳で晦渋な支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』を漢語として読みやすくした“焼き直し”に他ならないことを示した(辛嶋2011, 2014)。

(2) 逆に、常啼菩薩の物語は支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』とその改訂版の支謙訳では、後のバージョンに比べると遙かに詳しく、また主題も異なる。後で見ると、この物語の古いヴァージョンにこそ、《般若経》の成立背景、成立地と成立時代を明らかにする鍵がある。

従って、《八千頌般若》の原初の姿、出来たてのほやほやの姿を知ろうとするならば、支婁迦讖訳と新出ガンダーラ語写本に依るべきである。

新出のガンダーラ語写本断簡の表側(recto)は、『道行般若経』の第一巻の冒頭(T.8, 425c4~426c10)に、裏面(verso)は、第二巻の終わり(436c17~438a7)に対応している。Falk教授と筆者は、『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所年報』第15号(2012年)、同第16号(2013年)にこの断簡のローマ字転写と『道行般若経』英訳とを並べて出版した。概してガンダーラ語断簡の方が簡潔だが、ガンダーラ語断簡にあつて漢訳にないものもある。従って、この二つのテキストは一致してはいないが、それでも驚くほど近似している。

思想史研究上、特に注目すべきことは、この二つのテキストには、梵本や他の諸漢訳(『大明度経』を含む)及び蔵本に見える *prakṛtiś cittasya prabhāsvārā* (「心の本性は輝いている」) という「自性清浄心」(*prakṛti-prabhāsvara-citta*)を意味する表現が欠けているという点である⁸。

(2) 支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』の原語がガンダーラ語であったこと

さて、Stefan BaumsとAndrew Glassがインターネット上に公開している *A Dictionary of Gandhārī* (http://gandhari.org/a_dictionary.php)は、ガンダーラ語とその文献を検索するのに飛躍的に容易にした。一方、上記のバジール出土ガンダーラ語写本断簡と《八千頌般若》ガンダーラ語写本断簡によって、大乘仏典特有のガンダーラ語語彙が飛躍的に増した。これら最近の研究成果に基づいて、『道行般若経』に見える音写を分析すると、その原語がガンダーラ語(以下Gāと略す)であったことが明らかになる。

(1) *-th->-s-*

梵語の *-th-* が *-s-* に変化するのは、ガンダーラ語の特徴の一つである。『道行般若経』に200回も出る「怛薩阿竭」⁹ (Kṛsh 2010: 98; 後漢代推定音 [以下EHと略す] *tat sat ṭa gjiat; *tasa-agad(a)*) は、Gā. *tasagada*¹⁰ (< BHS. *tathāgata*) に対応する。しかし、興味深いことに、この音写語は、*tathāgata* が *tathā-gata* (如に行くもの、すなわち「如去」)ではなく、**tathā-āgata* (如より来たるもの、すなわち「如来」)と理解されていたことを示している。この理解はまさに「如来」という漢訳に一致しているわけ

⁸ 辛嶋 2011: 4, 注25; Falk/Karashima 2012: 34~35, 注15.

⁹ 『道行般若経』, T.8, No.224, 429a27, 429c14 *etc.* 支婁迦讖訳とされるその他の漢訳にも出る。例えば、『文殊師利問菩薩署経』, T.14, No.458, 435b6, 16 *etc.*; 『阿闍世王経』, T.15, No.626, 391c3, 392a21 *etc.*; 『佉真陀羅所問如来三昧経』, T.15, No.624, 348c19, 351b8 *etc.*; 『般若舟三昧経』, T.13, No.418, 906a2, 911a3. この音写は、後の時代の漢訳にも稀に見える。例えば、竺法護 (233-311年頃): 『阿術達菩薩経』, T.12, No.337, 84b7, c1 *etc.*; 『無極宝三昧経』, T.15, No.636, 508c11, 511b11 *etc.*; 安法欽 (安息国出身) 『道神足無極变化経』, T.17, No.816, 805c24, 813c6 *etc.*

¹⁰ Ajitaseṇa Inscription: 3-4; British Library Fragment 7: a Da1 = Baums 2009: 241; Nasim Khan 73.18f., 77.3f., 81.10 *etc.*

である。

(2) *-dh- > -s-*

「末須(←願)捷提」(471c11; cf. Krsh 2010: 329)からは、*masu-ga<m>dhi* (< BHS. *madhu-gandhika* < *mṛdu-gandhika*)という原語が推定され (cf. Gā. *masu* < Skt. *madhu*)、ガンダーラ語特有の *-dh- > -s-* という変化を示している。同様に、*bodhi*は *bosi*に *bodhisatva*は *bosisatva*となる。『道行般若経』に見える「佛」(438a2, 460c26 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 164f.)、「菩薩」(425c8, -10 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 351)からは、その原語が *bodhi*と *bosi*どちらであったか分からない。

(3) *-bh- > -h-*

「首呵」(435a12; **Śuha* < *Śubhā*), 「波栗多修呵」(435a13; **Parittaśuha* < *Parittaśubha*), 「首訶迦」(439c25; **Śuhaka-* < *Śubhakṛtsna*), 「阿波摩首訶」(439c24; **Apama(ṇa)śuha* < *Apramāṇaśubha*)は、原語に *śuha*(< *śubha*)とあったことを示している。*śuha*はガンダーラ語《法句経》に見える¹¹。この場合、梵語の *-bh-*が原語で *-h-*となっていたことを示しているが、この変化は、ガンダーラ語を含む中期インド語では一般的な変化である¹²。なお、『道行般若経』に600回以上出る「須菩提」(Skt. *Subhūti*)からは、その原語が *Subhuti*もしくは**Subhudi*が推定されるが、上記ガンダーラ語《八千頌般若》断簡では *Suhuti*と *Subhuti*の両方の形が現れる¹³。

(4) *-h- > -'*

ガンダーラ語の特徴の一つは、*h*が弱化し、しばしば脱落したり、単に glide consonantとして使われ、他の glide consonantに取って替わられることである¹⁴。『道行般若経』に見られる次の音写は、*h*が脱落したか、発音されなかったことを示している。會波羅(467b9; cf. Krsh 2010: 234; **Ve'a(p)phala* < *Vehapphala* [= Pā] < BHS. *Vṛhatphala* / *Bṛhatphala*), 梵摩三鉢(431a27; cf. Krsh 2010: 159; *Brama Sa'aṃpati* < Gā. *Brama Sahāmpati*¹⁵ < BHS. *Brahmā Sahāmpati*), 僧那(443a24; cf. Krsh 2010: 405; **sa(m)ṇa'a* < **sa(m)ṇaha* < Skt. *saṃnāha*), 摩訶僧那僧涅(427b29, 427c2 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 323; **mahasa(m)ṇa'a-saṃnaddha* < Gā. **mahasa(m)ṇaha-saṃnaddha* < BHS. *mahāsaṃnāha-saṃnaddha*)。

(5) *-bh- > -h- > -'*

次の諸例は、いずれも *-bh- > -h-*と変化し、さらにその *h*が脱落したか、発音されなかったことを示している。阿波摩那(467b9; cf. Krsh 2010: 1; **Ap(r)amaṇa'a* < **Ap(r)amāṇāha* < *Apramāṇābha*), 阿波摩修(435a13; cf. Krsh 2010: 1-2; **Ap(r)amaṇaśu'a* < **Ap(r)amāṇaśuha* < *Apramāṇaśubha*), 阿會亘修(431a16, 435a12 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 2-3; **Avasvara śu'a* < **Avasvara śuha* < BHS. *Ābhāsvara* + *śubha*?), 波利陀(435a11, 439c23; cf. Krsh 2010: 45; **Paritta'a* < **Parittāha* < *Parittābha*), 耨(v.l. 盧)波摩那(435a12, 439c23; cf. Krsh 2010: 143; **Ap(r)amaṇa'a?* < **Apramāṇāha* < BHS. *Apramāṇābha*), 修乾(435a13; cf.

¹¹ Dhṛp-G^k: r 19b, r 217a, r 241b.

¹² 辛嶋 1994: 24, § 2.4.6.iを参照。

¹³ Falk/Karashima 2012: 28(1-02), 30(1-05) *etc.* *Suhuti*; 30(1-04), 32(1-10) *etc.* *Subhuti*.

¹⁴ 辛嶋 1994: 28, § 2.8を参照。

¹⁵ Salomon 1995: *Brahma Saha[m]pati*; Senavarma Inscripton: 10 = von Hinüber 2003: 34. *Bramo Sahāmpati*.

Krsh 2010: 552; **Su'akinn(a)* < **Suhakinna* < *Śubhakṛtsna*; cf. Pā. *Subhakiṇha*, °*kinna*). 下で見る「阿彌陀」(*Amida'a* < **Amidaha* < *Amitābha*)もこの例に他ならない。

(6) *-p- > -v-*

「優婆塞」(431a15, 451a13 *etc.*; Gā. **uvasak(a)* < BHS. *upāsaka*), 「優婆夷」(431a15, 451a13 *etc.*; Gā. *uvasia* < BHS. *upāsikā*)は、いずれも原語で *-v-* (< *-p-*)とあつたことを示し、バジヨール出土ガンダーラ語仏典に見える *uvasea*, *uvasia*(Nasim Khan 110.9¹⁶)に類似している。また、次の音写に見える「愁」(EH. *γwa*), 「和」(EH. *γwa*), 「洹」(EH. *γwan*), 「日」(EH. *γjwat*), 「越」(EH. *γjwat*)は、いずれも原語で *-v-* (< *-p-*)とあつたことを示している。漚愁拘舍羅(433c7 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 346f.; **uvaakośalla*¹⁷ < BHS. *upāyakaśalya* or *upāyakaśala*), 波耶和提(431a1; cf. Krsh 2010: 48; **Pajavadi*, **Prajapati* < BHS. *Prajāpati*), 和夷羅洹(455b28; cf. Krsh 2010: 212; **Vajiravāṇi*, *Vayiravāṇi*¹⁸ < BHS. *Vajrapāṇi*), 提和竭羅(431a7; cf. Krsh 2010: 478f.; **Diva(m)gara* < BHS. *Dīpaṃkara*), 摩訶惟日羅(468c12; cf. Krsh 2010: 324; **Maha-vevula*¹⁹ < **Mahā-vevulla* < BHS. *Mahā-vaipulya*), 三昧越(455b14f.; cf. Krsh 2010: 400~401; **samavaj(adi)*²⁰ < Skt. *samāpadyate*)。

(7) *-t- > -d-*

次の音写の「陀」(EH. *da*), 「檀」(EH. *dan*)は、原語で *-d-* (< *-t-*)とあつたことを示している。阿陀波(435a15; cf. Krsh 2010: 11; **Adapa* < BHS. *Atapa*), 阿比耶陀(439c25; cf. Krsh 2010: 1; **Aviyada(va)?* < **Aviha Adava* < Pā. *Avihā Atapā* > BHS. *Avrhāḥ Atapāḥ*), 兜術陀(435a4, 468b-3; cf. Krsh 2010: 129f.; Gā. *Tuṣida*²¹ < BHS. *Tuṣita*), 沙羅伊檀(470a21; cf. Krsh 2010: 405; **ṣal-ayadaṇ(āni)* < BHS. *ṣaḍ-āyatanāni*)。

(8) *-d- > -l-, -ḍ- > -l-*

次の音写は、原語で *-l-* (< *-d-*)とあつたことを示している。拘文羅(471c10; cf. Krsh 2010: 281f.; Gā. *kumula*²² < Skt. *kumuda*)。また次の例は、*ratna* > MI. *ratana* > Gā. *radaṇa*²³ > **ralaṇna*という変化を示している²⁴。羅蘭(←麟)那枝頭(461c1, 9; cf. Krsh 2010: 315f.; **Ralaṇnakedu?* < *Radana*° < *Ratana*° < BHS. *Ratnaketu*)。次の例は、*-ḍ- > -l-*という変化を示している。沙羅伊檀(470a21; cf. Krsh 2010: 405; **ṣal-ayadaṇ(āni)* < BHS. *ṣaḍ-āyatanāni*)。

¹⁶ *uvasiana*は*uvasiana*の誤植。

¹⁷ Cf. Gā (Baums 2009: 636~637). *kośala* < *kauśalya*.

¹⁸ Cf. Gā (Senavarman Inscription: 5; Mount Banj Inscription: 3~2). *vayira-*.

¹⁹ Cf. Gā (Nasim Khan 81.12). *vehula* (< *veulla* < *vevulla* < *vaipulya*); Gā (CKI 249: 4; Dhṛp-G^k: r 164). *vivula* < Skt. *vipula*.

²⁰ Cf. Gā (EĀ-G: r 43, 46, 49, 56, 59). *pradivajadi* < *pratipadyate*; Gā (Dhṛp-G^k: r 232f.). *uvavajadi* < Skt. *upapadyate*

²¹ Cf. Nasim Khan 73.38. *Tuṣidaṇa*.

²² Cf. Dhṛp-G^k: r 145d.

²³ Cf. Nasim Khan 77.8, 83.55 *etc.*

²⁴ 《法華經》の提婆達多品に相当し、西晋代(265-316)の失訳である『薩曇分陀利經』(T.9, No.265)に「抱休羅蘭」(MC. *pāu: xju lā lān*; 197a12)という音写が見え、これはSkt. *Prabhūtaratna* (> **Prahūtaratana* > **Prahūtaradana* > **Pahū(la)ralan(a)?*)に対応する。休(MC. *xju*)はその原語で *-bh-* > *-h-*と変化していたことを示す。

(9) *jñ > (ṃ)ñ*

ガンダーラ語では、他の中期インド語同様、*jñ*は(ṃ)*ñ*となる。『道行般若経』の音写も、その原語で(ṃ)*ñ*とあったことを示している。般若波羅蜜(425c8 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 23; Gā. *prañāparamida*²⁵ < BHS. *prajñāpāramitā*), 般遮旬(433b29, c2 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 23f.; Gā. **pa(ṃ)cavi(ṃ)ñ(a)*²⁶ < BHS. *pañcābhijñā*), 尼惟先(465a7; cf. Krsh 2010: 336; **Nevasaṇā*²⁷ < BHS. *Naivasamjñā(nāsamjñāyatana)*), 薩芸若(426a24 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 395-396; Gā. *sarvaṇā*²⁸ < Skt. *sarvajñā*)。従って「般若」は梵語*prajñā*ではなく、ガンダーラ語*pra(ṃ)ñā*の音写である。後世、おそらく唐代になって、「般若」が梵語*prajñā*の音写であることをこじつけるために、「はにゃ」(現代中国語で*bo re*)と特殊な読み方をするようになったと考えられる。現代中国語では*bo re*あるいは*ban ruo*と発音されるが、*ban re*が正しい。

(10) *-nt- > -nd-, -mp- > -mb-*

次の三つの音写は、BHS. *Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra*に対応せず、むしろPā. *Puṇṇa Mantānīputta*に近い。那那(←那)文陀弗(427b29, c21, 23; cf. Krsh 2010: 43; EH. *pjñn na mjñn da pjñt*), 那那文陀羅弗(430a14; cf. Krsh 2010: 43; EH. *pjñn na mjñn da la pjñt*), 分漫陀尼弗(454a21; cf. Krsh 2010: 163; EH. *pjñn man da nrjñi[niñi-] pjñt*)。「文陀」は*Mantā-*が*Mandā-*となっていたことを示す。また次の音写からは、**cambaka* (< Skt. *campaka*; cf. Kho. *cambaa*)という原語が推定される。占甸(471c12; EH. *tšjam bjək?*; cf. Krsh 2010: 623)。これらは、*-nt- > -nd-*, *-mp- > -mb-*という変化を示しているが、このような変化は、コータン出土ガンダーラ語《法句経》とニヤ出土のガンダーラ語文書およびコータン語の中のガンダーラ語からの借用語に見える²⁹。

(11) *-nd- > -ṇṇ-*

次の音写は、コータン出土ガンダーラ語《法句経》とニヤ出土のガンダーラ語文書に見える*-nd- > -ṇṇ-*という音変化を示している。不那利(471c11; cf. Krsh 2010: 51f.; EH. *pju na ljñi-*; **puṇṇari(a)* < Skt. *puṇḍarīka*), 鳩垣(475b19; cf. Krsh 2010: 281; EH. *kju jwjan*; **kuvṇṇ(a)*³⁰ < **kubhāṇḍa* < BHS. *kumbhāṇḍa(ka)*)。

(12) 波斯匿 = Gā. *Praseniga* ≠ BHS. *Prasenajit*

「波斯匿」(434a9; cf. Krsh 2010: 47; EH. *pa sjei nrjək*)は、語尾に軟口蓋音(*k*)がある。従ってBHS. *Prasenajit*とは異なり、Gā. *Praseniga*³¹に一致する。

(13) 彌勒 = Bactrian *Metraga*

「彌勒」(425c6, 438a-16; cf. Krsh 2010: 318; EH. *mjei[mjjei:] lək*)も、語尾に軟口蓋

²⁵ Falk/Karashima 2012: 28(1-03), 32(1-13), 34(1-14, 16) *etc.*

²⁶ Cf. Gā (Senior Fragment 19: v 30). *aviṇā-* (< *abhijñā*); Gā (British Library Fragment 9: v 156 [Baums 2009: 255]). *ṣaḍa[vi]ñā* (< *ṣaḍ-abhijñāḥ*).

²⁷ Cf. Gā (British Library Fragment 1: r 32d; Senior Fragment 5: r 17, 21, v 26; Nasim Khan 75.18, 79.23, 81.1f., Nasim Khan 81.14f., 83.38f. *etc.*). *saṇā* (< *saṃjñā*); Pā. *Nevasaṇā(nāsaṇāyatana)*.

²⁸ Gā (CKD 399: Obv 2; CKD 272: Obv 3; CKD 358: Obv 3; CKI 241: 7, 10). *sarvaṇā-*; Gā (EĀ-G: r 3d). *sarvaṇu*; cf. Pā. *sabbaññū*.

²⁹ 辛嶋 1994: 34, 71~72(注 109)参照。

³⁰ Cf. Gā (Senavarman Inscription: 13). *kuvhaḍa-*.

³¹ British Library Fragment 14: recto 75 = Allon 2001: 304. *P[r]aṣen[i]ga*.

音(k)があり、BHS. *Maitreya*, Pā. *Metteya*とは異なる。ガンダーラ語では、弥勒仏ではなく、個人名を表す *Metreya*³², *Metrea* (AD 74年の碑文)³³の例が碑文に見える。他方、二世紀のカニシカ王の銅貨に *Metrago Bouḍo* (*Metrago Boudo*)とあり、また *Samādhiraśasūtra*の偈で四度³⁴、*Gaṇḍavyūha*第54章(*Maitreya*)の偈で二度³⁵、*Mekhalādhāraṇī*の散文³⁶で一度、弥勒仏を指す *Maitraka*という語形が出る。トカラ語の *Maitrāk*, *Metrak*もこの語形に一致する³⁷。漢訳の「彌勒」もこれら軟口蓋音を伴う語形の音写である。バクトリア語形 *Metraya*, **Metraga*は、おそらく一方で *Maitraka*と梵語化され、他方でガンダーラ語で *Metreya*, *Metrea*となり、それからさらにBHS. *Maitreya*, Pā. *Metteya*という語形が造られたと考えられる。あるいは、ガンダーラ語形の *Metreya*, *Metrea*から、一方で *Metraya*、他方でBHS. *Maitreya*, Pā. *Metteya*と変化した可能性もある。いずれにせよ、BHS. *Maitreya*, Pā. *Metteya*が出发点とは考えがたい。パーリ *Dīgha-nikāya*の *Cakkavatti-Sīhananda-suttanta* (*Dīghanikāya* III; 漢訳『長阿含經・轉輪聖王修行經』)で、*Metteya*成仏の予言が述べられているが、かつて指摘したように³⁸、対応する『中阿含經』卷十五、王相應品、「轉輪聖王經」(大正1, 520b~525a)にはこの話がない。弥勒仏の登場は、轉輪聖王の出家修道を主題とするこの經典に関わりがなく、弥勒に言及しない『中阿含經』の方が本来的と考えられる。また *Metteya*に言及するのは全 *Nikāya*の中でここだけである。従って、初期仏教から弥勒信仰があったと見るよりは、西北インドで成立した弥勒仏信仰がこの經典の中に取り込まれたと見るべきであろう³⁹。 *Metraya*, *Metreya*の本来の意味は分からない。従来言われてきたヴェーダの *Mitra*神やイランの *Mithra*神との関係もまだはつきりしない。ガンダーラ文化圏で崇拜されていた神か英雄が仏教に取り込まれたと考えるのが自然ではないだろうか。

(14) 耆闍崛 = **G(r)ija-guḍa*

「耆闍崛」(425c4 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 356; EH. gj̥iəi d̥zja gj̥wət)という音写からは、**G(r)ija-guḍa*というような原語が推定されるが、これはガンダーラ語《八千頌般若》断簡の *Grija-udā*⁴⁰やパーリ語の *Gijjhakūṭa*に類似している。BHS. *Gr̥dhra-kūṭa*とは異なる。

(15) 泥犁 = *nīrea*

³² CKI 141 = Peshāwar Museum Inscription, no. 5: 1 = Konow 1929, 133, pl. 24.7; IBInsc I 988.2.

³³ CKI 564 = Copper Manuscript in Five Sheets: 6 = Falk 2010: 18.

³⁴ *Samādh*(D) 165.7 (第11章, 第60偈), 380.9 (第29章, 第82偈), 424.12 (第32章, 第137偈), 580.2 (第37章, 第68偈) = *Samādh*(V) 76.15, 183.11, 204.12, 273.10

³⁵ *Gv* 488.25 (第54章, 第171偈), 489.7 (同第175偈) = *Gv*(V) .392.17, 393.2

³⁶ *Md* 116R2. *bhagava Maitrakam*.

³⁷ Cf. Bailey 1946: 780; Brough 1962: 92, 注4; Ji 1998: 57f.

³⁸ 『現代語訳「阿含經典」・長阿含經』第二卷, 東京 1997: 平河出版社, p. 310~311, n. 121.

³⁹ Cf. Anālayo 2010: 95f. 南インドのカルナータカ州のカンガンハリ(Kanaganahalli)大塔には紀元前一世紀から紀元後三世紀初の彫刻と口語碑文が多量に残っていて、貴重な仏教研究資料である。そこに過去六仏、釈尊と並んで未来仏の像がある。その像の下には未来仏 *Ayita*(*Ajita*の口語形)とあり、「弥勒」とはない(Nakanishi/von Hinüber 2014: 79)。このことも弥勒が仏教に取り入れられたのが遅いことを証左している。

⁴⁰ Falk/Karashima 28, 1-01. Cf. MPS-G: r b1. *Gri[ja] ///*.

「泥犁」(440b14 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 337-338; EH. niəi liəi[ljiəi])という音写は、梵語の *niraya*(地獄)よりもむしろ *Gā. nīra*⁴¹に近い。

(16) 塔 = *thuva*

「塔」(435b11; cf. Krsh 2010: 475f.; EH. thəp)は、*Gā. thuba*⁴², *Gā. thuva*⁴³(*< stūpa*)を音写するために造られた字である。

(17) 三耶三菩, 三耶三佛 = **samya-bosi*, **samya-budha*

「阿耨多羅三耶三佛」(432a13; cf. Krsh 2010: 8), 「阿耨多羅三耶三菩」(437b24 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 8-9), 「三耶三佛」(429a28 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 403)は、梵本の *anuttara~samyaksambodhi~*, *samyaksambuddha~*に対応する。ガンダーラ語形は、*Gā. aṇutara~sa(m)masa(m)bosi~*⁴⁴, *aṇutara~sa(m)masa(m)buddha~*⁴⁵, *sa(m)masabudha~*⁴⁶, *sa(m)me-sa(m)budha*⁴⁷である。しかし、「三耶」という音写からは、*Gā. sa(m)ma-*, *sa(m)me-*ではなく、むしろ *samya*⁴⁸, *samya*⁴⁹ (*< Skt. samyak*)とあつたことが分かる。

(18) 曇無竭 = *Gā. *Dha<m>mogada*

「曇無竭」(471c23 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 477)からは、*Gā. *Dha<m>mogada* (*< BHS. Dharmodgata*)というガンダーラ語形が推定される。

(19) 阿僧祇, 般泥曰, 釋迦文, 釋提桓因, 伊沙

次に挙げる幾つかの音写も、ガンダーラ語形からの音写と考えられる。阿僧祇(427c5 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 10; EH. ʔa səŋ gjei; *Gā. asa(m)khea*⁵⁰ *< Skt. asaṃkhyeya*), 般泥曰(438b25; cf. Krsh 2010: 22; EH. pan niəi ʔjwat; *Gā. pariṇivuda*⁵¹ *< BHS. parinirvṛta*), 釋迦文(431a10 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 447f.; EH. śjiak kja mjən; *Gā. Śakamuṇi*⁵² *< Śākyamuni*), 釋提桓因(429a11; cf. Krsh 2010: 448; EH. śjiak dei ʔwan ʔjiən; *Gā. Śakra~devaṇa imtra*⁵³; *Gā. Śakra~devana i(m)dra*⁵⁴; *Gā. Śakra de[va]ṇa i(m)dra*⁵⁵; *Gā. Śakra~devaṇi(m)dra*⁵⁶ *< Skt. Śakra devānām indra*), 伊沙(431a2; cf. Krsh 2010: 566; EH. ʔjiəi sra; *Gā. iṣi*⁵⁷ *< Skt. rṣi*)。

(20) 斯陀含 = *saiḍaḡami*, 須陀洹 = *sodavaṇa*

「斯陀含」(429b8 *etc.*; cf. Krsh 2010: 459-460; EH. sjei da gəm)と「須陀洹」(429b8

⁴¹ CKM 252: r 12, 14; Salomon 2003: 88を参照。

⁴² Nasim Khan 77.8.

⁴³ British Library Fragment 1: r 82c; Senavarman Inscription: 2 *etc.*

⁴⁴ Nasim Khan 73.13, 81.12, 81.29, 83.53.

⁴⁵ Falk/Karashima 2013: 5-55.

⁴⁶ CKI 176: D2; CKI 334: 4; CKI 564: 3-4.; Nasim Khan 50.20, 52.27, 73.13, 73.18, 73.24 *etc.*

⁴⁷ Dhṛp-G^k: r 3b, r 77d, v 304d

⁴⁸ Mansehra Rock Edict 9: 4. *samya-(paṭipati)*.

⁴⁹ Mansehra Rock Edict 11: 12. *samya-(paṭipati)*.

⁵⁰ Nasim Khan 73.12.

⁵¹ Senavarman Inscription: 7 = von Hinüber 2003: 23; Nasim Khan 66.42, 46, 76.12.

⁵² Senavarman Inscription: 11 = von Hinüber 2003: 37; Senior Fragment 14: r 21 = Salomon 2008: 354 *etc.*

⁵³ Falk/Karashima 2013: 5~57.

⁵⁴ BL16+25: r 25 = Lenz 2003: 144.

⁵⁵ Loṇa's reliquary inscription 1.

⁵⁶ Senavarman Inscription: 10 = von Hinüber 2003: 34.

⁵⁷ AG-G¹: r 25a (= Salomon 2008: 220); Nid-G¹: 9.2 (= Baums 2009: 242); Nid-G¹: 13.58 (= Baums 2009: 268).

etc.; cf. Krsh 2010: 555; EH. sjour da ɣwan)も、明らかにガンダーラ語形 *saidaḡami*⁵⁸ (< BHS. *sakṛdāgāmin*), *sodavaṇa*⁵⁹ (< BHS. *śrotaāpanna*)の音写である。しかし、これらの語は、支婁迦讖訳に先立つ安世高訳『七處三觀經』(T.2, No.150A, 877a11~12)、金剛寺本『安般守意經』に出る。

以上の音写の例から見て、支婁迦讖訳『道行般若經』の原典はガンダーラ語で伝えられていたと考えられる⁶⁰。

(3) 《般若經》はガンダーラ地方で創られたか

『道行般若經』には(446a28f.; 辛嶋 2011: 225f.)、仏の滅後、この般若波羅蜜が南インドへ流布し、南インドから西インドを経て北インドに到る、とある。羅什訳、施護訳も同じく、南→西→北とある。玄奘訳第五会には、南→北とある。他方、玄奘訳第四会には、東南→南→西南→西北→北→東北とあり、梵本・藏訳には、南→東→北の順番で流布するとある⁶¹。経路は異なっているが、南インドから最終的に北インドに到達するという点では一致している。この記述に続いて、漢訳諸訳・梵本・藏訳で一致して、「北インドには大変多くの菩薩・摩訶薩がいるけれども、般若波羅蜜を学ぶものは少ない」と釈尊が述べている⁶²。般若の教えはあるけれども、ここにはそれをきちんと学ぼうとする者が少ないと書いているわけである。これらの記述は、《八千頌般若》の最終的な形が北インドで成立したことを示している。《八千頌般若》の核となる思想は、従来言われているように、南インドのアーンドラ地方の大衆部の許で形成されたかもしれない。しかし、経典の形になるのは、上の記述が明言しているように、北インドである。この場合の北インド(北天竺、*Uttarapatha*)とは、他ならぬガンダーラ地方のことである。なお後で述べるように、《八千頌般若》の最後にある常啼菩薩の物語で、*Dharmodgata* (曇無竭)菩薩は *Gandhāvati* (健陀越)国に住んで、《般若波羅蜜》を説き、彼が建てさせた楼閣

⁵⁸ Nasim Khan 36.6; Falk/Karashima 2013: 53.5. *saidaḡami*-; cf. CKI 358 = Reliquary Inscription of Azes year 98, B = Sadakata 1996: 308, Nasim Khan 1997; Senavarman Inscription: 8b = von Hinüber 2003: 28. *sadaḡami*.

⁵⁹ Nasim Khan 54.26f., 73.34f.; Reliquary Inscription of Azes year 98, B = Sadakata 1996: 308, Nasim Khan 1997.

⁶⁰ 以下の『道行般若經』からの例は、支婁迦讖が原典を中期インド語で解釈していたことを示している。「所語如甘露」(431b29)は、AS.27.7 = AAA.197.16. *mṛdu-vacana*~ ... *mita-vacana*~に対応する。支婁迦讖は *mṛdu* (“柔らかい”)あるいは *mita* (“適度な”)を *amṛta* (“甘露”; MI. **amita*, Gā. **amṛda*, **amṛida*)と誤解したようである(辛嶋 2011: 62, 注 69参照)。また「菩薩至無水漿中時、心不畏怖。白念言:“……願我後得阿惟三佛時、使我刹中皆有水漿、令我刹中人悉得薩芸若八味水。”」の「薩芸若」(*sarvajña*の音写; 457c29)は AS.179.21 = AAA.741.6. (*tathā ca sarvasattvān*) *pūṇyaiḥ* (*saṃniyokṣye yathā 'śtāṅgopetapāṇīyalābhino 'mī bhaviṣyanti*)に対応する。支婁迦讖は Skt. *pūṇya* (Pkt. *puñña*; “功德”)と Pkt. *pañña* (< Skt. *prajñā* “智慧”)を混同したようである(辛嶋 2011: 337, 注 327参照)。また、支婁迦讖は梵語 *jana* (“人々”)を「禪」と訳しているが(Krsh 2010: 57~59, s.vv. 禪, 禪法を参照)、これは梵語 *jana* と梵語 *dhyāna* (MI. *jhāna*; “禪定”)が、ガンダーラ語で *jaṇa*, *jaṇa* という同じ形になることを反映していると考えられる。すなわち「悉逮得禪」(428c7~8, 10)・「逮得禪者」(454b-13)は、AS.15.3, 7, 161.5 = AAA.120.2f., 10, 666.3. *prthagjana*~ (“凡人”)に対応し(辛嶋 2011: 33, 注266; 同304, 注7)、同じく「悉逮得禪法」(428c11)は AS.15.7 = AAA.120.15. *prthagjana-dharma*~ (“凡人法”)に対応している(辛嶋 2011: 33~34, 注269を参照)。

⁶¹ 辛嶋 2011: 225f., 注289を参照。

⁶² 辛嶋 2011: 226f.を参照。

には黄金の板に書かれた《般若波羅蜜》の経巻があると言われる。この国名はガンダーラを暗示しているのではないだろうか。

ガンダーラ地方で創られたと推定される《八千頌般若》の言語が、梵語・ガンダーラ語・それ以外の中期インド語のいずれであったかを判断するには、さらなる研究が必要である。その際、バーミヤンで発掘され、いまスコイエン・コレクションに含まれる《八千頌般若》梵本断簡も考慮に入れる必要がある。この写本断簡は、クシャーナ時代の書体で書かれ、三世紀前後に遡ると推定されている。この写本を研究したLore Sander博士が列挙しているように(2000: 3f.)、この写本には中期インド語の痕跡がかなり残っている。例えば*tat kisya heto; kho, khu* (< Skt. *khalu*); *āvusa; thera, arahatā, unminyata-niminyitāni* (< BHS. *unmiñjita-nimiñjitāni*), *bhoti* (< *bhavati*)などである。この梵語断簡は内容的に、《八千頌般若》の新しいバージョン(すなわち、玄奘訳第四会・施護訳・梵本・チベット語訳)に近いことが分かっている。このことから、おそらく、ガンダーラ語写本・『道行般若経』に代表される古い系統と、このクシャーナ書体梵語写本・玄奘訳第四会・梵本などの新しい系統が、かなり早い時期に枝分かれしたことが推定される。

(4) 常啼菩薩の物語と仏像の起源

さて、《八千頌般若》の最後に、*Sadāprarudita* (常啼) 菩薩の物語がある。無仏の時代に生まれた不運を嘆き啼いている彼に、空中からの声が「東方へ行って《般若波羅蜜》を求めよ」と告げる。あてもなく東へ進んでいると、化仏が現れて、「東の方、五百由旬にある*Gandhāvātī* (犍陀越) 国の*Dharmodgata* (曇無竭) 菩薩から《般若波羅蜜》の教えを聞くのだ」と告げられる。その言葉通り*Gandhāvātī* 国の曇無竭菩薩のもとへ赴いた。そこには曇無竭菩薩が《般若波羅蜜》のために建てさせた楼閣があり、その中には宝石で出来た箱の中に黄金の板に書かれた《般若波羅蜜》の経巻が安置されていた。常啼菩薩は曇無竭菩薩の説法を聴き、数々の三昧に入る(『道行般若経』と『大明度経』では、さらに十方無数の諸仏に成仏の記別を受けるという記述がある)。この話は『六度集経』に「常悲菩薩本生」という名前で取り入れられている(T.3, No.152, 43a13f.)。

支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』とその改訂版の支謙訳『大明度経』に見える常啼菩薩の物語は、鳩摩羅什訳以降の漢訳および梵本・藏訳に比べると遙かに詳しく、また主題も異なる。ガンダーラ美術との関係でしばしば取り上げられる『道行般若経』の次の文(T.8, 476b17f.; 辛嶋 2011: 525f.)は、仏像の起源のみならず《八千頌般若》の成立の時期について手掛かりを与えてくれる。

“譬如佛般泥洹後，有人作佛形像。人見佛形像，無不跪拜供養者。其像端正姝好，如佛無有異。人見，莫不稱歎，莫不持華、香、繒綵供養者。賢者！呼佛神在像中耶？”

薩陀波倫菩薩報言：“不在中。所以作佛像者，但欲使人得其福耳。不用一事成佛像，亦不用二事成。有金，有黠人，若有見佛時人。佛般泥洹後，念佛故，作像，欲使世間人供養得其福。”

薩陀波倫菩薩報師言：“用佛般泥洹後故，作像耳。”

（「たとえば、仏が般涅槃なされた後、ある人が仏像を作ったとしよう。人々は仏像を見て、みな跪き礼拝して供養する。その像は端正で、きれいで、仏にそっくりである。人々は見て、みな賛嘆し、みな花・香・あやぎぬを捧げる。賢者よ、仏という神⁶³が像の中にいますか？」

薩陀波倫菩薩は答えた：「中にはいません。仏像をつくるのは、他の人に〔供養による〕功德を得させたいと思っているからに他なりません。一つの条件で仏像はできません。二つの条件でもできません。〔三つの条件が整ってできます。すなわち〕金〔きん〕があり、賢い人がいて、仏在世の時に仏を見た人がいることです。〔製作者は〕仏が般涅槃なされた後、仏のことを思念するから、像を作り、世間の人々に〔像を〕供養させ、それぞれに功德を得させたいと思っています。」

薩陀波倫菩薩は師に言った：「仏が般涅槃された後だからこそ、像を作るのです。」⁶⁴

これには、支謙訳にのみ対応する文がある(T.8, 507a22f.)。梶山先生はこの文を支婁迦讖の作文と考えているが⁶⁵、そうではないだろう。おそらく、常啼菩薩の物語は、ガンダーラ地方における仏像供養をひややかに見る僧が創ったものと考えられる。彼にとっては、無仏の時代に、仏像を供養するよりも、一切智と諸仏を生み出す《般若波羅蜜》、すなわち《般若経》を書いた経巻を供養することの方が、本当に諸仏を供養することになると考えたのである。上に見たように常啼菩薩の物語は、黄金の板に書かれた《般若経》経巻に言及している。このことは、この物語の成立以前にすでに原始《般若経》が成立していたことを意味している。ある経典が創作されて、「仏が説いた教え」として信じられるには五十年以上かかると考えられるので、179年に漢訳された『道行般若経』の原典は、おそらく遅くとも一世紀後半には成立していたと思われる。このことは、新出の《八千頌般若》ガンダーラ語写本が紀元後47~147年に遡ることからも証左される。ガンダーラの仏像もまさにその頃造られ始めたわけである。次々出現する仏像とその崇拜を目の前にして、『道行般若経』の原典の作者は、造像は無仏の時代の方便にすぎないと、その流行をシニカルに見ている。この記述が、『道行般若経』の焼き直しに他ならない支謙訳『大明度経』に対応文があるだけで、それ以降のバージョンに見えないのは、時代が下がると、造像と仏像崇拜が普遍化してしまい、もはやそれをシニカルに見ることがアナクロニズムと感じられ削られたと推定される。

『道行般若経』・『大明度経』の常啼菩薩の物語は、無仏の時代における仏像崇拜に対して、《般若波羅蜜》経巻供養の優位性を説くことが、重要なテーマとなっている。これに対して、後のバージョンではそのテーマがすっぱり抜け落ち、空の思想を強調した抽象的・哲学的な内容になっている。筆者は、そこにガンダーラ地方における仏像興起の時代と、仏像が普遍となった時代の違いが見られるのではないかと考える。

⁶³ 「佛神」に関しては、Krsh 2010: 172を参照。

⁶⁴ 辛嶋 2011: 525, 注146に英訳した。

⁶⁵ 梶山 1976: 79.

(III) 阿弥陀⁶⁶

(1) 『大阿弥陀経』の原語

《無量寿経》の最古の漢訳は、『大阿弥陀経』(T.12, No.362)と通称されるが、本来の経題は『阿弥陀経』で、小経『阿弥陀経』が翻訳された後に、それと区別するために唐代以降「大」が加えられたようである⁶⁷。この『阿弥陀経』という題からは、**Amitāha-/Amidāha-vyūha* (< *Amitābha-vyūha*)という原語が推定される。訳者に関しては議論があるが、支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』とその焼き直しである支謙訳『大明度経』の関係は、『大阿弥陀経』とその焼き直し『無量清浄平等覚経』(T.12, No.361)の關係に相応している。支婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』の音写を、支謙は『大明度経』で漢語に置き換えているが(経題がまさにその例である。般若→明度)、『大阿弥陀経』に見える音写も、『無量清浄平等覚経』では殆ど漢語に置き換えられている。経題がまさにその例である(阿弥陀→無量清浄)。常用詞の上でも、後者には支謙の顕著な特徴が現れている。すなわち、支婁迦讖が「我」を使うのに対し、支謙は、より文語的な「吾」を使うが、『大阿弥陀経』になく『無量清浄平等覚経』で追加された偈文にのみ「吾」が現れる⁶⁸。従って、『大阿弥陀経』が支婁迦讖訳で、『無量清浄平等覚経』が支謙訳であるのは、言語的に疑う余地がない。それを経録の記載だけを根拠に、逆に『無量清浄平等覚経』を支婁迦讖訳とみる研究者は、《無量寿経》の思想史的研究の出発点から間違っているわけである。

さて、上で『道行般若経』の原語がガンダーラ語であったことを音写語から推定した。同じく支婁迦讖が翻訳した『大阿弥陀経』にも数多くの音写が見え、それらもまた、原語がガンダーラ語であったことを伺わせる。例えば、提憇竭羅(300b21; **Divagara* < *Dīpamkara*), 迦爲拔抵(←坻)(300a8; **Gavavati* < *Gavāmpati*), 摩訶羅倪(300a13; **Moharaya* < *Amogharāja*), 耆闍崛(300a4; **G(r)ija-guḍa*), 泥犁(301a24; *Gāṇireya* < *niraya*), 須摩題(303b18; **Su'amadi* < **Suhāmātī* < *Sukhāvātī*)など。また他ならぬ「阿彌陀」も、*Amitābha*のガンダーラ語形*Amitaha*/**Amidaha*(おそらく**Amida'a*と発音されただろう)の音写と考えられる。

支婁迦讖訳『大阿弥陀経』の直接の原典は、おそらくガンダーラ語であったであろう。この経典がそもそもガンダーラ語で創られた可能性は高い。そのことを考慮せず、原典の成立から千年以上も経ち、かなり梵語化が進んだ梵本写本を手がかりに、初期大乘仏典の本来の姿に近付こうとするのは不可能である。2011年に出版された藤田宏達先生の『梵文無量寿経』の校勘本は長年の研究の結晶といえるだろうが、先生には、おそらく、このテキストは本来中期インド語で伝承されていたものが徐々に梵語化されたものだという認識がないため、より本来的な中期インド語の読みを梵語の知識で"訂正"してしまっている⁶⁹。いわば、先生が梵語化のプロセスの

⁶⁶ 以下の部分に関しては辛嶋 2010, Karashima 2013を参照。

⁶⁷ 藤田 1970: 51を参照。

⁶⁸ 辛嶋 2013を参照。

⁶⁹ 例えば、同書p. 64, l. 1. 'sādrśyāは、*ābr̥dha-salyā*, **āvrdha-salyā*あるいはスコイエン写本のように*āvrd̥dha-salyā*とあるのが正しい。パーリ聖典には、*abbūlhesiko niraggaḷo (ariyo pannaddhajo pannābhāro)*という表現の用例がたくさん見られる。CPD, s.vv. *abbūlha-salla*, *abbūlhesika*参照。写本で*ā*と*su*

最後の一押しをなされたのである。

(2) 無量光 *Amitābha* / 無量寿 *Amitāyus*

すでに何度か書いたことであるが、筆者は *Amitābha* (“無量光”) が本来の名前で、後にその名前から *Amitāyus* (“無量寿”) という別名が生じたと考えている。支婁迦讖訳『大阿彌陀經』で、この仏は無比の光明を持つ者と、繰り返し形容されているが、無量の命を持つ者とは言われていない。しかも彼は般涅槃し(309a15)、その後を盧樓亘 (*Avalokitasvara*, 観音) が継承するとある。要するに、この最古の漢訳では彼は“無量寿”とは見なされていないのである。

《無量寿經》梵本を見ると、面白いことに、*Amitābha*が散文部分にのみ出るのに対して、*Amitāyu*は偈頌にのみ出る——スコイエン・コレクションのアフガニスタン出土梵語断簡も同様である。確かに、現在の梵語写本では、*Amitāyus*(*Amitāyu*の梵語化された形)が散文部分で七カ所出るが、そのいずれもが、蔵訳か漢訳あるいは両方に対応がなく、後世の挿入か、あるいは後世に、本来の *Amitābha*をよりポピュラーになった *Amitāyus*という語形で置き換えたものと考えられる。

どうして偈頌にのみ *Amitāyu*が出るのだろうか。その理由について、筆者は次のように考えている。

Amitābha (むしろ中期インド語形の *Amitāha*) が偈頌で使われ、その主格・単数形 *Amitābho* (中期インド語形 *Amitāho*) の語尾が韻律の関係で短音でなければならなかった時、この仏の名前は *Amitābhu*あるいは中期インド語形 **Amitāhu* となっただろう。中期インド語形 **Amitāhu* は、*h* が発音されないガンダーラ語では **Amitā'u* あるいは **Amidā'u* と発音されたと考えられる——「阿彌陀」はこのガンダーラ語発音の音写と考えられる——。このガンダーラ語の *-ā'u* は、梵語 *āyus* (“いのち”) に対応するとも理解され得た (梵語 *āyus* は中期インド語で *āu* になる)。従ってガンダーラ語 **Amitā'u* (あるいは **Amidā'u*) は、“無限の光をもつ者”とも“無限の命をもつ者”とも理解できたのである。おそらく三世紀前後から、本来ガンダーラ語など方言や口語を多く含む言語で伝承されていた初期大乘仏典も梵語化・文言化され始めたと考えられるが、**Amitā'u* (あるいは **Amidā'u*) という偈頌に出る形も梵語として理解可能な形にする必要があった。その時、この仏の名前としては“無限の命をもつ者”という名称が相応しいと考えた伝承者が、*Amitāyu* と梵語化したと考えられる。こうして、*Amitāyu* / *Amitāyus* (“無限の命をもつ者”) というハイパーフォーム(hyperform)⁷⁰ が生まれたのである。

筆者が考える *Amitābha* > *Amitā(b)hu* > *Amitāyu* という展開を裏付ける例が、《法華経・普門品》梵本の第29, 30, 32偈に見える。それらの偈では、梵語写本や蔵訳で、*Amitābha* / *Amitābhu* / *Amitāyu* という読みが混在している。

はよく似ているので *su-* と書き間違いし、また *br̥dha*, *vr̥dha* が珍しい形なので、*svyūḍhasalyā* というハイパーフォームが造られ、そこからさらに *svyūḍhasatvā* などハイパーフォームが造られた。藤田先生が採用した *asādr̥śyā* に至ってはパーリ以来の言い回しを知らない、ハイパーフォームの最たるものである。なお、本論文では、口語の単語の意味を誤解して新たに造られた似非梵語形の意味で、ハイパーフォーム(hyperform)を使う。

⁷⁰ ハイパーフォーム(hyperform)については前の注を参照。

まずKern-Nanjio本の読みを引く: SP(KN) 454.5~455.5:
sthita dakṣiṇavāmatas tathā vījayanta Amitābhanāyakaṃ /
māyopama te samādhinā sarvaḥṣetre(←°a) jina gatvā(←gandha) pūjīṣu || 29 ||
dīśa paścima yatra sukhākarā lokadhātu virajā Sukhāvātī /
yatra eṣa Amitābhanāyakaḥ samprati tiṣṭhati sattvasārathih || 30 ||

...
so caiva Amitābhanāyakaḥ padmagarbhe viraje manorame /
siṃhāsani saṃniṣaṇṇako Śālarājo va yathā virājate || 32 ||

これらの偈頌には三度Amitābha仏が出るが、実際の梵語写本や蔵訳では、Amitābha / Amitābhu / Amitāyu という読みが混在している。

SP(KN) 454.5. Amitābha-(nāyaka~) (= C5, C6, R etc.⁷¹) (= Tib. Kanj.⁷² *sNang ba mtha' yas*) / L2, L3, K, Bj, N2, B etc. Amitābhu- / O, D2, L1, C4, N1 etc. Amitāyu- (= Tib. Kho. ga 45a7⁷³. *TSe mtha' yas*)

SP(KN) 455.2. Amitābha-(nāyaka~) (= K, C5, C6, R etc.) / L2, L3, Bj, N2, T8, B etc. Amitābhu- / O, D2, L1, C4, N1 etc. Amitāyu- (= Tib. Kho. ga 45b1. *TShe mtha' yas pa*, Tib. Kanj. *TShe mtha' yas pa*)

SP(KN) 455.5. Amitābha-(nāyaka~) (= P1, A2 etc.) / C4. Amitābhu- / L2, L3, Bj, C5, C6, B etc. *tatha loka*-(nāyaka~) / O, D2, K, N1. Amitāyu- (= Tib. Kho. ga 45b2. *TSe mtha' yas pa*, Tib. Kanj. *TShe mtha' yas pa*)

また《阿弥陀經》(the Smaller *Sukhāvātīvyūha*)は、散文のみからなるにもかかわらず、《無量寿經》梵本とは逆に、一カ所を除いて、全編、二次的なハイパーフォームであるAmitāyusが使われている。その例外的な一カ所とは、この仏がなぜ二つの名前を持つかが説明される部分である。

tat kiṃ manyase Śāriputra! kena kāraṇena sa tathāgato 'mitāyur' nāmōcyate? tasya khalu punaḥ Śāriputra! tathāgatasya teṣāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ aparimitam āyuhpramāṇam. tena kāraṇena sa tathāgato 'mitāyur' nāmōcyate. tasya ca Śāriputra! tathāgatasya daśa kalpā anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhasya. tat kiṃ manyase Śāriputra! kena kāraṇena sa tathāgato 'mitābho' nāmōcyate? tasya khalu punaḥ Śāriputra! tathāgatasyābhāpratihātā sarvabuddhakṣetreṣu. tena kāraṇena sa tathāgato 'mitābho' nāmōcyate. (“舍利弗

⁷¹ 《法華經》梵本 *Saddharmapūṇḍarikasūtra* の略号は次の通り: B = Or. 2204, 大英図書館蔵写本; Bj = 北京, 民族文化宮図書館旧蔵写本(1082年書写); C4, C5, C6 = ケンブリッジ大学図書館蔵写本, Add. No. 1683, No. 1684, No. 2197; D2 = インド国立文書館(ニューデリー)蔵のギルギット写本; K = 東洋文庫所蔵の河口慧海将来写本(1069/70年書写); L1 = ラサのポタラ宮所蔵写本; L2, L3 = ラサのノルブリンカ所蔵写本(それぞれ1065年と1067年に書写); N1, N2 = ネパール国立文書館(カトマンズ)所蔵写本のNo. 4-21とNo. 3-678; O = 所謂カシュガル写本, 実際はカーダリックで出土し、カシュガルで購入された; R = 英国王立アジア協会(ロンドン)所蔵写本, No. 6; T8 = 東京大学総合図書館所蔵写本, No. 414.

⁷² Tib. Kanj. = カンジウル中の *Dam pa'i chos padma dkar po*; Karashima 2008: 215f. 参照。

⁷³ Tib. Kho. = 国立民俗学博物館(ストックホルム)に所蔵のコータン出土チベット語訳《法華經》古写本; Karashima 2008: 215f. 参照。

よ！どう思うか。なぜその如来はAmitāyusと呼ばれるのだろうか。実は、舍利弗よ！その如来とそこの人間たちの寿命の量が無限なのである。だからその如来はAmitāyusと呼ばれるのだ。舍利弗よ！その如来が無上の正覚を得てから十劫が過ぎている。舍利弗よ！どう思うか。なぜその如来は Amitābha と呼ばれるのだろうか。実は、舍利弗よ！その如来の光は一切仏国土において遮られることがない。だからその如来はAmitābhaと呼ばれるのだ。”)

漢訳だと、この二つの名前の区別がつかない。

「舍利弗！於汝意云何？彼佛何故號阿彌陀？舍利弗！彼佛光明無量，照十方國無所障礙。是故號爲阿彌陀。又舍利弗！彼佛壽命及其人民無量無邊，阿僧祇劫。故名阿彌陀。舍利弗！阿彌陀佛成佛已來於今十劫。」

藤田先生は、阿彌陀仏は本来、AmitābhaとAmitāyusという別々の名前で信仰されていたと考えておられる。そしてAmitābhaを信奉していたグループが《無量寿経》を編纂し、他方Amitāyusを信奉していたグループが《阿彌陀経》を編纂したと考えておられる。先生によれば、二つの経典はほぼ同じ頃に異なった視点から編纂されたというのである。しかし、この説は極めて恣意的な説であるといわざるを得ない。

おそらく、本来Amitābhaの《無量寿経》偈頌におけるハイパーフォームであったAmitāyu (= Amitāyus)は、段々とポピュラーになり、この仏のより相応しい名前として人々に受け入れられ、そして終には散文でも使われるようになったと考えられる。こうしていつのまにか、一つの仏が全く異なる名前と概念——すなわち“無限の光をもつ者”と“無限の命をもつ者”——を持ったのである。しかし、この仏を信仰する人々は、二つの仏名が同一の仏を指していると知っていて、神々や人々が別名を持つと同様⁷⁴、そのことに大した違和感がなかったかも知れない——上の「弥勒」に関する考証で指摘したようにGaṇḍavyūha第54章(Maitreya)の散文ではMaitreya、偈ではMaitrakaが出るのと同じ現象である。

さて、『大阿彌陀経』に見えるさまざまな音写語から判断して、《無量寿経》は本来ガンダーラ語で伝承されていたと考えられる。それに対して《阿彌陀経》は、《無量寿経》よりも成立が遅く、最初から（仏教）梵語で創られたと考えられる。その（仏教）梵語時代の《阿彌陀経》の作者は、この仏をAmitāyus（もはや偈頌内のAmitāyuの形ではない）として信仰していたに違いない。そのような背景をもつ作者が、もはや梵語の語形上では関連付けられないAmitāyusとAmitābhaが同一の仏を指すことを何とか説明付けようとして、上に引いた文を創ったのではないだろうか。

Amitābha（口語ではAmitāhal*Amidāhaとあったであろう）は、最古の漢訳『大阿彌陀経』の記述から見て、「無量なる光をもつ（仏）」と理解されていたことは明らかである。また、マトゥラーで出土した仏像の足部のみを残す台座に、その仏像造立の縁起を書いた銘文があり、「仏Amitābhaの像」(buddhasya Amitābhasya pratimā)と書かれている。この銘文はHuviṣka26年(紀元後180/181年)の日付があり、

⁷⁴ 例えば、IndraはŚakra, Maḡavā, Purandara, Vāsava, Sahasranetraなど数十の別名を持つ。また、Śiva神はHara, Śaṃkara, Mahādeva, Maheśvaraなど数百の別名を有するという。

この名前が古いことが分かる。

梵語では *amita* は「無量」の意味しかないが、口語では、*amita* (あるいは *amida*) が、梵語 *amṛta* (“死を離れた、もはや再生しない、涅槃；甘露”) ⁷⁵ に対応すると解釈することも可能であった ⁷⁶。後で紹介するフロリダ Ringling 博物館に収蔵されている紀元後三、四世紀のものと思われる仏三尊像のこの主尊は阿弥陀仏と推定されるが、その像の真下に「BudhamitraのAmridaaへの(供物)」とあり、阿弥陀仏が *amṛta* と結びつけて解釈されたことを示す。また類似した形 *Amritā(bhya)* が、パキスタン北方 Thalpan の石刻碑文に見える (IBInsc III 169, Thalpan 53.3)。コータン語の *Armātāya*, *Armetāya* も、**Amṛtāyu* という解釈に基づくと思われる ⁷⁷。この仏の名前を *amṛta* と結びつけて解釈することは、《悲華經》など時代の下がる文献にも見られる ⁷⁸。しかし、上にも述べたように、「無量なる光をもつ(仏)」が本来の意味であったと筆者は考えている。

⁷⁵ Schmithausen 2000: 38f., Norman 2006: 17f.によれば、仏典の *amṛta* は「不死」(immortal; Unsterblichkeit)の意味ではなく、“死を離れた、もはや再生しない”(without death; Aufhörnung der Wiedergeburt)の意味であり、涅槃と同義である。

⁷⁶ *amita* を梵語の *amṛta* に対応すると考えることが可能だったことは、次の三点からも確かめられる。(1) 口語の *Ardhamāgadhī* では *amiya* (< Skt. *amṛta*)、また *Bhāsa* に帰されるドラマ(600–800年頃)で使われる口語では *amida*, *amia* (< Skt. *amṛta*) の形が出る。(2) 現代語でも *amiyā*, *amia*, *amī* (CDIAL 571 *amṛta*) となる。(3) Mvu I 117.13. *Amitakīrti* は幾つかの写本で *Amṛtakīrti* となっている。従って、*amita* と聞いた人々が、*amṛta* を連想した可能性は大いにある。

梵語では別々の語形でも、口語では同じ語形になるものは数多い。逆に言えば、口語の段階では二つの意味を持った単語が、梵語化すると一つの語形に限定され、もはや本来の意味が理解できない例が、仏典には数多くある。例えば、釈尊が死の直前に弟子の阿難に「自らを灯明(*dīpa*)とし、法を灯明(*dīpa*)とせよ」という言葉を遺言として残したといわれる。この *dīpa* は、梵語では「灯明」の意味としかたれないが、口語で考えれば、「灯明」とも「島」(梵語 *dvīpa*)とも理解できる。実際、この釈尊の遺言は北伝仏教では「灯明」と解釈し、南伝仏教やチベット語仏典では「島」となっている。おそらく釈尊もそれを聞いた阿難も、そのどちらではなく、*dīpa* という一語で、両方の意味を持たせたはずである。後の時代になって、口語と梵語とに伝承が分かれた結果、本来両方の意味を持っていた *dīpa* が、*dīpa* と *dvīpa* の二つの解釈に分かれたのである。

⁷⁷ *Arm-* は *Amr-* の首位 転換 (metathesis) である。この点に関し、コータン語専門家の Mauro Maggi 博士にご教示頂いた(2014年2月3日)。

⁷⁸ Yamada 1968, vol. 1, 192f.; IBInsc III 170を参照。

(IV) 観音 *Avalokitasvara*⁷⁹

(1) 漢訳語：「○音」から「○自在」へ：「闍音」「現音聲」「光世音」「觀世音」「觀音」「觀世自在」「觀自在」

観音菩薩は、数多い仏教の菩薩の中でも、古今を問わず、もっとも信仰される対象である。これだけ親しまれてきた菩薩にもかかわらず、また、これまでに数多くの論文が現れたにもかかわらず、その信仰の起源とこの菩薩の名前の由来は、二千年の星霜のヴェイルに包まれてはつきり分かっていないのが実情である。ここでは《法華経・普門品》を中心に、この菩薩の名前の由来と変遷を見ることにしよう。結論を先に述べるなら、《法華経・普門品》の偈頌では、観音菩薩は「音を観る菩薩」ではなく、「念を観る菩薩」と理解していたと推定され、その理解の方がより本来的であると筆者は考えている。

まず、観音の梵語形だが、五、六世紀のものとして推定される中国旅順博物館とハーバード大学蔵の中央アジア出土《法華経》梵語断簡には、*Avalokitasvara* (“音を觀察する者”?) という形が八度出る。キジルから出土した同じくらい古い梵語断簡にも (*Apalokidasvara*) という形が見える。他方、七世紀に遡るパキスタンのギルギット出土《法華経》梵語写本、八、九世紀に遡ると考えられるコータン出土《法華経》写本や十一世紀以降のネパール・チベット出土《法華経》写本では *Avalokiteśvara* (“自在を觀察する者”?) となっている。この *Avalokitasvara* から *Avalokiteśvara* への変遷は、漢訳仏典にも見て取れる。

まず、支婁迦讖訳の『大阿弥陀経』などに「盧樓亘」という音写が出るが、この音写からは *Avalo...sva*r という原語が推定されるが、正確な原語の形を復元することは不可能である。

紀元後180年頃に訳された安玄訳『法鏡経』(T.12, 15b5)と、支謙(220~257年頃翻訳に従事)が訳した『維摩詰経』(T.14, 519b16)と『無量門微密持経』(T.19, 680b13)に「闍音」という訳語が見える。「闍」は *avalokita* (“見た”)、「音」は *svara* (“音”)の訳で、*Avalokitasvara* に対応する。

次に、竺叔蘭と無羅叉が291年に訳したとされる『放光般若経』には「現音聲」という訳語が見える(T.8, 1b3)。実は古い文献においては「現」という漢字は現れず、「見」が「見る」(*jiàn*)と「あらわす」(*xiàn*)の両方の意味で使われていたのである。しかし、後になって、意味の違いをはつきり示すために、文脈に応じて「あらわす」の意味の「見」を「現」に置き換えていったのである。「現音聲」も、本来は「見音聲」(音声を見る菩薩)とあったと考えられる。従って、この訳語も *Avalokitasvara* を *avalokita* (“見た”)と *svara* (“音”)で解釈したものである。

次に、竺法護(265?-311年頃翻訳に従事)は、『正法華経』のみならず(T.9, 128c~129c; 286年訳)、他の經典でも一貫して「光世音」と訳している。竺法護は多くの言語に通じていたと言われるが、実際は、梵語と中期インド語をごちゃまぜに理解したようで、ファンタジーに富んだ訳語を造っている。逆に言うと、彼の翻訳をきちんと理解するには、梵語のみならず、中期インド語の知識が必要ということ

⁷⁹ 以下の部分に関しては辛嶋 1999を参照。

になる。さて、西北インドのガンダーラ語では、*-bh-*と*-v-*の区別がない（日本語と同じである）。またその言語を記したカローシュティー書体では、母音の長短の区別が示されない。それで、竺法護は、*Avalokitasvara*の*ava-*を梵語*abhā*（“光”）と理解して「光」と訳し、*lokita*（“見た”）を梵語*loka*（“世間”）に結び付けて「世」と訳し、*svara*（“音”）を「音」と訳し、結果として、この「光世音」という訳語が出来たようである。実際、梵語*abhā*のガンダーラ語形*ava*は、バジヨール出土ガンダーラ語大乘經典に見える⁸⁰。

この「光世音」という竺法護の特殊な解釈に基づく訳語は、彼の死後、その筆受者であった聶道真（四世紀初に翻訳に従事）によって、「觀世音」と“修正”される。『文殊師利般涅槃經』（T.14, 480b8）や『大宝積經』「無垢施菩薩応弁会」（T.11, 556a 13, 24）などに見える。彼は、*Avalokita-*を常識的に「見る」の意味でとって、「觀」と訳したが、「光世音」の「世音」を温存した結果、奇妙な訳語となっている。この「觀世音」という訳語は、鳩摩羅什や法顕に踏襲され、さらに五世紀の翻訳經典まではこの訳語が主流であったようである。

この「觀世音」から「觀音」という省略形が出来た。「觀音」という漢語は、鳩摩羅什門下の道生が五世紀前半に記したとされる『法華經疏』の例や求那跋摩が431年に訳したとされる『竜樹菩薩為禪陀迦王說法要偈』の例（T.32, 747c22）がもっとも古いようである。勿論、『妙法蓮華經・普門品』の偈頌にも「念彼觀音力」と繰り返し出る（T.9, 57c）。しかし、『普門品』の偈頌は、羅什訳には本来欠けており、601年に闍那崛多が訳した『添品妙法蓮華經』から挿入されたと考えられる。『法華經疏』や『普門品』を始め、「觀音」という語が出る文献では、概して「觀音」と「觀世音」の両方を使っており、また、『竜樹菩薩為禪陀迦王說法要偈』や『普門品』のように、多く偈頌に見える。従って、新しく翻訳された語というより、句の語数を整えるために「觀世音」を略して「觀音」としたのではないかと思われる。

さて、六世紀になると、従来とは異なる新しい訳語が現れる。まず、菩提流支、（瞿曇）般若流支、那連提耶舎、闍那崛多、仏陀扇多などが「觀世自在」という新しい訳語を使うようになった。おそらく「光世音」に由来し「觀世音」に引き継がれた「世」に引き摺られて、このような訳語になったと考えられる。さらに七世紀半ばの玄奘は、従来の訳語を排して「觀自在」という訳語を使った。「觀世自在」も「觀自在」も、「音」に替わって「自在」（*īśvara*）という語を含み、漢訳が基づいた梵語写本で*Avalokitasvara*から*Avalokiteśvara*に変わったことを反映していると考えられる。

これ以外に「觀世音自在」という訳語が唐代の密教經典などに見えるが、これは、おそらく「觀世音」と「觀世自在」を併せたか、あるいは「觀世音」と「世自在」と結びつけて出来た語で、原語を直訳したものとは考えられない。

⁸⁰ Nasim Khan 82.3.

(2) *Avalokitasvara*から*Avalokiteśvara*へ

上に見たように、「闍音」、「現音聲」、「光世音」、「觀世音」という古い訳語は、*Avalokitasvara*という形に対応している。一方、六世紀の翻訳經典に見える「觀世自在」と七世紀半ばの玄奘が使った「觀自在」は、*Avalokiteśvara*に対応している。他方、すでに述べたように、五、六世紀のものと推定される中央アジア出土《法華經》梵語断簡には、*Avalokitasvara*とあるが、七世紀以降に書写された梵語写本などでは全て*Avalokiteśvara*となっている。これらの事実から、六世紀前後に*Avalokitasvara*という古い形から*Avalokiteśvara*という新しい形への移行があったと推定される。

では、どのように*Avalokitasvara*が*Avalokiteśvara*に変化したのだろうか。二つの可能性がある。

(1) *s*と*ś*との交替はインド、ネパール、中央アジアに亘る広範囲の地域と様々な時代の梵語写本や碑文においてごく普通に見られる。*sv* / *śv*の交替例も少なくない。おそらく*Avalokitasvara*は伝承のある段階で誤って**Avalokitaśvara*と発音され、さらに隣接する*ś*の影響で母音*a*は*e*となり、結果として*Avalokiteśvara*という形が生じたのだろう。この変化の際には、*Īśvara*(自在天)という語が連想された可能性も十分に考えられる。

(2) もう一つのより高い可能性は、この菩薩は、本来、ガンダーラ地方の神であり、梵語とは本来関係のない名前だったということである。後に見るように、ガンダーラ出土の三、四世紀の観音像下の碑文に*Oloiśpare*とある。このことから、本来の意味は分からないが、例えば**Oloki(t)aspara*あるいは**Oloki(t)aśpara*のような語形から、ある時点で*Avalokitasvara*というハイパーフォームが造られ、さらに後に*Avalokiteśvara*という別のハイパーフォームが造られたと考えられる。

なお、*Avalokitasvara* > **Avalokitaśvara* > *Avalokiteśvara*という音変化は、同じ《法華經》梵語写本に見られる*Meghasvara* / *Meghaśvara* / *Megheśvara*の交替からも裏付けられる。

さて、一旦*Avalokiteśvara*という語形が新たに造られると、この菩薩をより積極的に*Īśvara*に結び付けて解釈しようという試みがなされた。現代の研究者もこの空しい解釈を続けている。梵語文法研究で最高峰であったフランスのインド学者ルイ・ルヌー(Louis Renou)は、梵語文法に沿って“celui qui contemple (ou qui vénère) le Seigneur” (自在者を観想するあるいは敬う者)と解釈をしている。梵語としてはルヌーのようにしか解釈できないだろう。しかし、問題は、*Avalokiteśvara*という語形は、六世紀以降の梵語化の産物であり、本来の形ではないということである。後から出来た語形を*Īśvara*に結び付けて、どんなに解釈しようと、それは単なる「こじつけ」に過ぎない。

観音の原義を知るためには、経文自体に立ち返る必要がある。そこで、観音に関してもっとも詳しい記述のある《法華經・普門品》の経文を読み、そこで縷々述べられるその名前の由来を見ることにしよう。ただ、同じ《普門品》でもその散文部分と韻文部分(偈頌)では説かれる内容に違いがある。まずは、散文部分から見ることにしよう。

(3) 《普門品》の散文部分に見られる観音の語義

(3.1) なぜ観音は観音と呼ばれるか

《法華経・普門品》の散文部分の冒頭で、無尽意菩薩は世尊に「なぜ観音菩薩大士は観音と呼ばれるのですか」と問いを発し、世尊がそれに応えて観音の語義とその威力を述べる。以下に、まず梵本の記述を見てみよう。

(I) この世で多くの衆生が様々な苦しみを受けているが、彼らがもし観自在菩薩大士の名を聞くならば、みなその苦しみから免れるだろう。

(II) 観自在菩薩大士の名を憶持するものは、もし大火の中に落ちて、観自在菩薩大士の威光により、この大火から免れるだろう。

(III) また、衆生が河に流されても、観自在菩薩大士を大声で呼べば、河は彼らに浅瀬を与えるだろう。

(IV) また、たくさんの人々が金や宝石を求めて航海しているとき、暴風によって羅刹の島に打ち上げられても、彼らのうちの誰か一人が観自在菩薩大士を大声で呼べば、彼らはみな羅刹の島から逃れるだろう。

世尊は観自在菩薩のこれら四つの威力を挙げて、それを纏めて「こういうわけで、観自在菩薩大士は『観自在』と名付けられるのだ。」と言う。さらに続けて、以下の観自在菩薩の威力を列挙している。

(V) 処刑されようとしている人が、観自在菩薩を大声で呼べば、処刑者たちの刀は砕ける。

(VI) 三千大千世界に夜叉・羅刹が満ちていても、観自在菩薩の名前をとさえれば、彼らは（その人を）見ることもできない。

(VII) ある人が木製、鉄製の足枷・手枷・枷に繋がれていても、観自在菩薩の名前をとさえれば、すぐさま足枷・手枷・枷に（手足を抜く）すきまが生じる。

(VIII) かりに、財宝をたくさん持った大きな隊商が剣を手にした盗賊などにであったとしよう。彼らがおそれおののいているとき、その隊商を率いる隊長は、彼らに言う。「おそれることはない。みんなで声を合せて、安寧を与えて下さる観自在菩薩を大声で呼びなさい。そうすれば、すぐさまこの危険を免れる」と。そこで、みんなは声を合せて「かの安寧を与えて下さる観自在菩薩大士に帰依します」と観自在を大声で呼ぶ。名前を称えるやいなやその隊商は危険を免れるであろう。

(IX) 観自在菩薩に帰依すれば、貪欲・憎しみ・無知をもつ者はそれらがなくなり、男の子が欲しい者にはすばらしい男の子が、女の子が欲しい者にはすばらしい女の子が生まれるだろう。

(X) 六十二のガンジス河の砂の数ほどの多くの仏を敬い、それらの名前を（心に）保持し、あるいはそれら諸仏に様々な生活必需品を供養した場合の功德と、観自在菩薩をただ一度でも帰依し、その名前を（心に）保持する場合の功德は全く等しい。観自在菩薩の名前を（心に）保持する功德はこのように計り知れないのだ。

竺法護訳『正法華経』(T.9, 128c19f.)と羅什訳『妙法蓮華経』(T.9, 56c3f.)の記述

も概ね梵本に一致する。

(3.2) 声を観る菩薩

上に引いた《法華経・普門品》梵本の記述から、この菩薩の名前と *Īśvara*（自在天）との結びつきが本来なかったことは明らかである。上記、観音の語義と威力のリストのうち、(III) ~ (VIII) はこの菩薩を「大声で呼ぶこと」やその「名をとなえること」で救済されると述べている。すなわち衆生が菩薩の名前を声（梵語 *svara*）に出したとき、それに応えて菩薩が救済してくれるというのである。この菩薩の名前の意味を説明する箇所（とくに III, IV）で、菩薩名と声結び付けられている以上、菩薩名は本来、中央アジア出土の《普門品》梵本断簡のように *Avalokita-svara* とあったと考える方がよいわけである。逆に言えば、《普門品》の散文部分のこの菩薩名の説明の記述は、*Avalokita-svara* という形を想定して初めて理解できるのである。また、羅什訳に「觀世音菩薩即時觀(*avalokita*)其音聲(*svara*)、皆得解脫」という表現が見えるが(56c7)、これは『普門品』の散文部分に縷々述べられる観音の定義を簡明に表している。

《普門品》散文部分の作者が *Avalokita*- をどう理解していたかは、散文部分の梵本からは明らかではないが、羅什訳のように、*Avalokita-svara* という複合語を“声を観るもの”と理解していたと考えられる。

しかし、音は聞くものであって、見るものではないことは、古今東西同じはずである。一体、どうやって「声を観る」ことができるのだろうか。「声を観るもの」というこの菩薩名の定義には、問題があるといえる。続いて《普門品》の韻文部分での記述を見てみよう。

(4) 《普門品》の韻文部分に見られる観音の語義

(4.1) 《普門品》の散文部分と韻文部分の関係

《普門品》の偈頌は、竺法護訳(286年訳)、本来の羅什訳(406年訳)、五、六世紀に遡る中央アジア出土梵語断簡に欠けており、《法華経》に組み込まれたのは比較的遅いといわれている。しかし、そのことが直ちにその成立が五、六世紀まで下がるということの意味しているわけではない。観音信仰を讃える詩として早くから民間に流布し有名であった偈頌が、ずっと後になって《法華経》に組み込まれた可能性もあるのである。《普門品》の散文部分と韻文部分のどちらが早く成立したかは、《法華経》に組み込まれた時期の先後で判断することはできない。

《普門品》の散文部分は、諸本一致して、無尽意菩薩の問いかけに対して世尊が答える形式をとっている。それに対し、偈頌の導入部は、諸本間で混乱がある。莊嚴幢(*Citrādhvaja*)という菩薩が突然登場して無尽意菩薩に観世音について質問し、それに無尽意菩薩が答えるという形になっているが、これは《法華経》の他の部分の形式と異なる。この点も、この偈頌が、本来《法華経》とは別個に伝承されていたことを示している。このように《普門品》の散文部分と偈頌は、成立した時代や背景も異なると思われるが、内容的には対応した部分も多く、どちらかがどちらかを参照したことは明らかである。では、どちらが先に存在したのだろうか。《普門品》の散文部分を参考にして偈頌を作り、それを《普門品》の中にはめ込めたにしては、偈頌の形式があまりにも《法華経》の形式とずれている。む

しろ偈頌（あるいはその祖型）が民間に伝承されていて、それに基づいて《法華經》の編者が《普門品》散文部分を作り、さらに時代が下って、その偈頌も《法華經》に組み込まれたと考えられる。

では、その偈頌では観音はどのように描かれているのだろうか。

(4.2) なぜ観音は観音と呼ばれるか

散文部分が、無尽意菩薩の世尊に対する「なぜ観音は観音と呼ばれるのですか」という問いかけで始まったように、偈頌でも莊嚴幢菩薩の「なぜ観自在と呼ばれるのですか」という無尽意菩薩への問いかけから始まる。この質問に答える形で第4偈から観自在菩薩の威力が次々と述べられる。

「観自在」という語の語義を尋ねられたのに、語義を直接述べず、その威力を列挙する構造は散文部分と同じである。従って、他ならぬこの威力を述べている部分に語義説明が隠されていると考えるべきである。

列挙された観自在の数々の威力のなかには、散文部分と対応するものも幾つかある。散文部分での威力の列挙に使った (I) , (II) , (III) ……の数字を使って、偈頌との対応を示す。

散文 (I) ⇨ 第4偈：(観自在の名を) 聞くことあるいは(彼を) 見ることも、そして次に(彼を) 追憶すること(*anusmṛti*)により、衆生のあらゆる苦悩と生存の憂いは今世で間違いなく消える

散文 (II) ⇨ 第5偈：悪意をもった人が殺害するために(ある人を) 火の坑につき落としたとして、(その人が) 観自在を念じていると(*smarato Avalokiteśvaram*)、火は水を懸けられたかのように消える

散文 (III) ⇨ 第6偈：(ある人が) ナーガ、マカラ、阿修羅、化け物の棲む海の難所に落ちたとして、(その人が) 観自在を念じていると、海には決して沈まない

散文 (V) ⇨ 第10偈：(ある人が) 処刑者たちの手に落ち、いまにも処刑されようとしているとして、(その人が) 観自在を念じていると、そのとき刀はこなごなになる

散文 (VI) ⇨ 第13偈：精力を奪う夜叉、ナーガ、阿修羅、化け物、羅刹が(ある人が) 取り囲んだとして、(その人が) 観自在を念じている間、毛穴(さえも) 害することはできない

散文 (VII) ⇨ 第11偈：(ある人が) 木製、鉄製の足枷・手枷・枷に繋がれたとして、(その人が) 観自在を念じていると、すぐさま枷はゆるむ

散文 (VIII) ⇨ 第9偈：(ある人が) 殺意をもち、剣をもった敵に囲まれたとして、(その人が) 観自在を念じていると、すると(彼らは) すぐさま好意的になる

(4.3) 念ずる者を救済する菩薩

散文部分と偈頌で対応するものを比較して、すぐ気付くことは、散文部分では、観音菩薩を「大声で呼ぶこと」「名をとなえること」で救済されていたのに、韻文では、「念ずること」により救済されることである。

上に列挙した偈頌以外の偈頌でも、観音菩薩を「念ずること」($\sqrt{smṛ}$)は繰り返し

説かれるが、観音菩薩の名前を声に出すことは全く説かれていない。逆に、散文部分では、観音菩薩を「念ずること」(\sqrt{smr})は全く出てこない。このように散文部分と偈頌では、観音の性格が全く異なるのである。

散文部分、偈頌どちらも、この菩薩の名前の由来を尋ねる質問に答える形で、このような記述がなされていることに注意すべきである。つまり、ここには、その名の由来が述べられているはずなのである。従って、散文部分と偈頌とでの観音の性格の違いは、その名前の捉え方の違いを反映しているはずである。

この観音の性格の違いを端的に言うならば、散文部分では、この菩薩の名前・威力は*svara*（“声、音”）と結び付けて説明されていたが、偈頌では*smara*（“念”）と結び付けて説明されているということである。

では、散文部分と偈頌とにおける、同じ菩薩名の由来の説明に、なぜこのような違いが生じたのだろうか。

(5) *Avalokita-smaraがAvalokita-svaraになる

(5.1) *svara*が“声、音”と“思念”を意味する

この《普門品》偈頌の梵語写本を子細に見ると、西北インド方言ガンダーラ語に特徴的な-*aṃ* / -*o*, -*u*の交替が見られ、その言語との結び付きが推測される。この少なくとも紀元前三世紀から紀元後三世紀まで使われたガンダーラ語では、梵語の*sm*と*sv*が同じ形になる。この言語で書かれたアショーカ王碑文では、どちらも*sp*になり、コータン出土ガンダーラ語《法句経》・バジヨール出土の大乗経典ではどちらも*sv*になる。例えば、*anusmaran* > *aṇusvoro*; *smṛti* > *svadi*など。さらに最近見つかった*Anavatapta-gāthā*という写本では、梵語*sm*, *sv*, *śv*が全部*śp*になる。例えば、*asmi* > (*a*)*śpi*, *tasmāt* > *taśpi*, *smara* > *śpara*, *smarāmi* > *śparami*; *visvaram* > *viśpara*, *svayam* > *śpaya*, *svakam* > *śpagho*; *īsvarah* > *iśpare*など。従って、アショーカ王碑文のタイプ(*sp*)、ガンダーラ語《法句経》・バジヨール出土の大乗経典のタイプ(*sv*)、*Anavatapta-gāthā*タイプ(*śp*)のいずれでも、梵語*smara*（“思念”）と*svara*（“声、音”）とは、*svara*, *spara*あるいは*śpara*という同じ形になる。言い換えれば、ガンダーラ語では*svara*(*śpara*, *spara*)は、“思念”と“声、音”を意味していた。

《普門品》の偈頌に、本来*smara*と*svara*が同じ形になっていたことを示す痕跡がある。それは、第24偈である。

meghasvara dundubhisvaro jaladharagarjita brahmasusvaraḥ /
svaramaṇḍalapāramiṅgataḥ smaraṇīyo Avalokiteśvaraḥ //24//

（“雷雲のような響き、太鼓のような響き、海のような轟き、梵天のようなきれいな声もち、音の領域で完璧さに到達した観自在を念ずべし”⁸¹）

この第24偈は《普門品》の偈頌で唯一、観音と*svara*（“声、音”）を関連付けている偈である。本来、*Avalokiteśvara*ではなく*Avalokitasvara*（あるいは**Avalokitaśpara*）とあり、*smara*-も*svara*-（あるいは*śpara*-）という形になっていたと想定すると、この偈は、

**meghasvara dundubhisvaro jaladharagarjita brahmasusvaraḥ /*

⁸¹ 「妙音觀世音 梵音海潮音 勝彼世間音 是故須常念」(58a26f.)と漢訳されている。

*svaramaṇḍalapāramiṅgataḥ svarāṇīyo Avalokitasvaraḥ //*⁸²

あるいは

**meghaśpara dundubhiśparo jaladharagarjita brahmasuśparaḥ /*

śparamaṇḍalapāramiṅgataḥ śparaṇīyo Avalokitaśparaḥ //

となり、“声、音”と“念”の両方の意味をもつ *svara* (あるいは *śpara*) を六度も繰り返す言葉遊びになっている。同様に、《普門品》の偈で繰り返される *s m a r a t o Avalokiteśvaraṃ* という句は、ガンダーラ語では、**svarato Avalokitasvaraṃ* あるいは **śparato Avalokitaśparaṃ* とあつたはずで、ここにも言葉の遊びがあつたと考えられる。

(5.2) *Avalokitasvara*: “声を見る者” / “念を見る者”

先に、*Avalokitasvara* という菩薩名は、《普門品》散文部分では *svara* (“声、音”) と結び付けて、偈頌では *smara* (“念”) と結び付けて解釈されていることを見たが、その原因は、ガンダーラ語で *svara* が“声、音”と“念”の両方の意味をもったことにあると推定される。すなわち、散文部分の作者は、*Avalokitasvara* という名前を“声を見る者”と解釈し、偈頌の作者は“念を見る者”と理解したのである。

実は鳩摩羅什も、*Avalokitasvara* が“声を見る者”と“念を見る者”の両方にとれると考えていたようである。羅什の弟子僧肇が記した『注維摩詰經』には、「世間で危難があつたとき、観世音菩薩の名をとなえて帰依すれば、菩薩はその声を観察し、(その人は危難から) すぐに免れる。『観世念』ともよばれる」(T.38, 331a25f.) という羅什の解説を紹介している。

では、*Avalokitasvara* が“声を見る者”と“念を見る者”の両方に解釈されたとして、どちらの解釈が古い、すなわち、より本来的なのだろうか。

この問題は、《普門品》の散文部分と偈頌のどちらが成立が早いかという問題にも関わってくるが、上で述べたように、筆者は、偈頌の方が散文部分より成立が古いと考える。

また、*Avalokitasvara* という複合語を考えたとき、*avalokita* (“見られた”) + *svara* (“声、音”) と解釈するよりも、*avalokita* (“見られた”) + *smara* (“念”) と解釈する方が自然だろう。少なくとも筆者は音や声を見ることはできない。しかし、思念は見て取ることができる。筆者が声を見ることができないのと同じく、古代インド人も声を見ることはできなかつたようで、梵語、パーリ語、中期インド語の文献を調べても、*svara* (“声、音”) あるいはその類義語と *ava√lok* (“観る”) が結び付いた例は見つからない。*ava√lok* が *smara* (“念、愛”) と結び付いた例も見つからないが、それに類似した表現は数多くある。すなわち、*adhyāśaya* (“願い、心の状態”), *āśaya* (“心の状態”), *citta* (“心”), *cittācāra* (“考え方”), *cittāśaya* (“考え”), Pā. *manam* (“意”) などを世尊が「見る、見てとる」(梵語 *ava√lok*, パーリ語 *oloketi*) という表現である。これらと同じように、心の中にある *smara* (“念”) を「見る」(*ava√lok*) ことは可能である。だから、*Avalokitasvara* の解釈としては、“念を見る者”とする《普門品》偈頌の方が、理に

⁸² 再構成した偈では、ガンダーラ語における *smara* > *svara* 以外の音変化は無視している。目下の論点に関係がないからである。

かなっている。

(6) 観想する *Oloispara* 像

さて、フロリダ Ringling 博物館に収蔵されている紀元後三、四世紀のものとする
 仏三尊像は、色々と議論されて来た⁸³。この三尊像は向かって左の部分に欠き、主尊
 と向かって右の半跏思惟像を残すのみである。台座にカローシュティー文字で次の
 ようにある。*dhamitrasa oloispare danamukhe budhamitrasa amridae* (以下欠損)。カ
 ローシュティー文字を読まない人たちは、ローマ字化された文だけを見て、この文
 字が右から左へと書かれることを意識しないようである。しかし、この銘文は真上
 の座像と関連付けて解釈しなければならない。向かって右側に、右手人差し指を額
 に当て、蓮華を下げた半跏思惟の菩薩像、すなわち観音像の可能性の高い像があ
 り、その真下に「Dhamitra⁸⁴のOloisparaへの供物」と書かれている。真ん中の仏は蓮
 華座に坐り、説法印を結んでいる。阿弥陀仏国は蓮華と連関が深い点から考えて、
 この主尊は阿弥陀仏と推定されるが、その像の真下に「BudhamitraのAmridaa⁸⁵への
 (供物)」とある。残念ながら向かって左側の右脇侍の像も碑文も欠損している。
 観音像の真下に「DhamitraのOloisparaへの供物」とあり、阿弥陀像の真下に
 「BudhamitraのAmridaaへの供物」にあることから考えると、兄弟もしくは縁者がそ
 れぞれ仏・菩薩像を寄進したものと考えられる。もし右脇侍の菩薩像が残っていた
 ら、そこには、三番目の人物がその菩薩へ供えるという類似の文があったはずであ
 る。従って、この碑銘は、真上の座像と関連付けて、上のように解釈すべきで⁸⁶、
Oloispara を地名ととり、座像との関係を見捨て、“Gift of Dhamitra at Oloispare for
 the immortality of Buddhmitra”と訳す Salomon 氏と Schopen 氏の解釈⁸⁷は間違いである
 と筆者は考える。⁸⁸

⁸³ Brough 1982, Fussman 1999, Salomon/Schopen 2002, 岩松 2006, 宮治 2010: 141f., 山中 2010 など。写真は Davidson 1968: 23, fig. 23; Salomon/Schopen 2002: 4f. などにある。

⁸⁴ Dhamitra という人名は、別の菩薩像の銘文に現れる。平山郁夫シルクロード美術館 (山梨県) 所蔵の、右手人差し指を額に当て、蓮華を手にした半跏思惟像——おそらく観音像——(下の写真を参照)の台座に、*dhamitrasa navakarmu* (以下破損; “建築監督のDhamitraの”)とある (定方 2006; 田辺 2007: 104~106; Falk 2010a: 94)。同一人物の可能性はある。

⁸⁵ *Amridaa* という語形は、*Amitābha* のガンダーラ語形 *Amitaha*/**Amidaha* (おそらく **Amida'a* と発音された) を *amrta* (“不死、甘露”) と結びつけて解釈した形であろう。

⁸⁶ Brough は “The Avalokiteśvara of Buddhmitra, a sacred gift, the Amṛtābha of Buddhmitra...” と訳し (1982: 67)、Fussmann は “Don de Buddhmitra, <cet> Avalokiteśvara; <don> de Buddhmitra, <cet> Amitābha...” と訳している (1999: 543)。

⁸⁷ Salomon/Schopen 2002 : 27. Fussman 氏 (2004: 858) は、*Oloispara* を地名と見る Salomon/Schopen の解釈に反対した。Falk 氏 (2010a: 95) は、*Oloispara* を「観音寺」の様な寺の名前と見る折衷案を出したが、それでは *Amridae* の説明がつかない。なお、岩松浅夫氏の「Dhamitra [Dharmamitra] による「観自在(者)」の [像の] 奉獻物。Budhamitra の涅槃に資するように」(岩松 2006) という奇妙な解釈も座像との関連を見捨てている。

⁸⁸ この筆者の考えを、2008年に共同研究のために国際仏教学高等研究所に滞在した Salomon 氏に伝えた。最初は、ガンダーラの像の下にその像の内容を示す銘文の例はないと認めたが、筆者がそういう例を示すと、筆者の考えを受け入れた。2013年に村上真完氏も筆者と同様の考えを発表していること (村上 2004: 22~24; Murakami 2008: 127~131) をご本人から教えて頂いた。同氏に感謝する。ただ、*Dhamitra* を *Budhamitra* の *Bu* が欠損していると見たり、明らかに *Amridae* とあるところを不鮮明な写真に抛らざるを得なかった Brough の読みに従って *Amridaha* と見るのは間違っている。



“BudhamitraのAmridaaへの(供物)” | “DhamitraのOloisparaへの供物”

- ／ Ringling博物館三尊像碑銘 (Sa'omon/Schopen 2002: 7)
- ← Ringling博物館三尊像 (Salomon/Schopen 2002: 4)
- ／ 平山郁夫シルクロード美術館蔵菩薩思惟像 (田辺 2007: 104)
- ↓ 松岡美術館蔵菩薩思惟像 (『館蔵古代東洋彫刻』松岡美術館 1994, p. 16)
- ↘ Renzo Freschi - Oriental Art所蔵菩薩思惟像 (Freschi 2000: 47)



Ringling博物館所蔵の三尊像の半跏思惟像が、その下の碑銘が示すようにOloisparaすなわち観音であるなら、同様に思念する姿をしたガンダーラの半跏思惟像は、観音を描いたものであり、上で見た“念を見る者”という解釈と関係しているのではないかと思う。

なお、Schopen氏はガンダーラに数多く見られる半跏思惟像⁸⁹⁾を在家供養者像と考え、根本説一切有部文献に出る*kare kapolcṃ dattvā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ*という表現に結びつけて解釈している⁹⁰⁾。しかし、この文は「頬杖をついて物思いに耽っている」という意味である。氏は*kapola*が額を意味すると書いているが⁹¹⁾、筆者が知る限るその様な用例はない。*kapola*は頬の意味しかない。半跏思惟像と上の表現とを結

⁸⁹⁾ 現在までにガンダーラで見つかった単独の半跏思惟像の作例は十五例ほどあるという。宮治 2013: 49-50.

⁹⁰⁾ Schopen 2000: 84.

⁹¹⁾ Schopen 2000: 84.

びつける解釈は、「望文生義」の典型的な例あり、明らかな間違いである。⁹²

(7) *Avalokitasvara*の原意は不明

《普門品》の偈頌が成立した地方の言語（おそらくガンダーラ語）では、この救済者の名前**Oloki(t)aspara*, **Oloki(t)aśpara*あるいは*Avalokitasvara*の*spara*, *śpara*, *svara*は“声”とも“念”とも解釈でき、偈頌の作者は“念を見るもの”と理解していただろう。しかし、時代が下がって、*svara*が“念”を意味するということがもはや分からなくなったとき、この*svara*を文字どおり“声”と理解するようになったのではないだろうか。それが《普門品》散文部分に見られる解釈であり、「鬪音」「現音聲」「光世音」「觀世音」と訳した漢訳者たちの理解でもある。

偈頌の作者が、*Avalokitasvara*を“念を見るもの”と理解していたことまでは推定できても、その原義が本当に“念を見るもの”であったかは筆者には確信がない。仏教が進出した土地に土着の信仰の対象を仏教に取り入れて、名前を梵語らしくした可能性が大いにある。その場合、梵語や中期インド語の知識で原意を推定することすら、すでに間違いである。筆者が上に縷々述べてきたことも、*Avalokitasvara*という語の解釈の歴史に過ぎないのであり、その原義はなおも二千年の星霜のヴェイルに包まれたままである。

最後に

上で述べたように、《般若経》はその核となる思想が他の地域であったのであれ、今の経典の姿を取るのには、ガンダーラ地方であった可能性が高いのである。阿弥陀信仰、観音信仰も同じガンダーラ地方で成立したことが分かる。初期大乘仏典の成立と展開を明らかにするためには、さらなるガンダーラ語写本の発見を待ちつつ、すでに発見されたガンダーラ語写本および漢訳古訳経典の文献学的研究を着実に進め、その確実な基盤の上に、文献と考古・美術の総合的研究を行う必要がある。今日、アメリカや日本では、文献学の訓練なしにテキストを拾い読みして、大乘仏典の成立に関して論文を書く風潮がある。このような憶測、類推(speculation)、仮説に基づく研究にとりあえず終止符を打ち、目の前にある紀元後一、二世紀に遡る新出ガンダーラ語大乘仏典写本および古訳経典の文献学的研究が喫緊の課題だといえる。

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AG-G¹ = *Gāndhārī London Anavataptagāthā* = Salomon 2008

Allon, Mark

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⁹² 袴谷氏(2002)も同じ間違いを犯している。宮治 2004: 15~16, 田辺 2011: 52~78を参照。

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- 2004 “Histoire du monde indien: Cours : Histoire des religions anciennes de l’Afghanistan, et plus spécialement du bouddhisme. Séminaire : Documents bouddhiques d’Afghanistan et des pays avoisinants”, *Annuaire* 2002-2003, 847~861 (http://www.college-de-france.fr/media/gerard-fussman/UPL25181_gfussman.pdf)
- Gā = Gāndhārī ガンダーラ語
- Glass, Andrew
- 2000 *A Preliminary Study of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Paleography*, MA thesis. Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington.
- Gv = *Gaṇḍavyūha*, ed. Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki, Hōkei Idzumi, Kyoto 1934~36: The Sanskrit Buddhist Texts Publishing Society; New rev. ed. Kyoto 1949: The Society for the Publication of Sacred Books of the World.
- Gv(V) = *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1960: The Mithila Inst. of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 5).
- 袴谷憲昭
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- Kho = Khotanese コータン語
- Konow, Sten
1929 *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.
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MC = Middle Chinese (表記方法はCoblin 1983: 41に準拠する)

Md = Chandrabhāl Tripathi, “Gilgit Blätter der Mekhalā-dhāraṇī”, *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 7 (1981), pp. 153~161.

MI = Middle Indic 中期インド語

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2013 『仏像学入門 ほとけたちのルーツを探る』(増補版): 東京: 春秋社.

MPS-G = Gāndhārī *Mahāpariṇirvāṇa-sūtra* (ed. Allon/Salomon 2000)

Murakami, Shinkai 村上真完

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Nid-G^l = Gāndhārī Verse Nideśa (ed. Baums 2009)

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Pā = Pāli

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- Samādh(V) = *Samādhīrajasūtra*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1961: The Mithila Inst. of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning (Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 2).
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- 2000 “A Brief Paleographical Analysis of the Brāhmī Manuscripts in Volume I”, *do.*, pp. 285~300.
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- Skt = Sanskrit
- SP(KN) = *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. Hendrik Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, St. Petersburg 1908~12: Académie Impériale des Sciences (Bibliotheca Buddhica X); reprint: Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.
- T = 《大正新修大藏經》高楠順次郎・渡邊海旭都監, 100冊, 東京 1924~1934年: 大正一切經刊行會.
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- 1968 *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka: Edited with Introduction and Notes*, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2 vols.
- 山中行雄
- 2010 「ガンダーラにおける阿弥陀信仰についての一考察」『佛教大学総合研究所紀要』17: 115~126.
- 吉田豊
- 2005 『コータン出土 8-9 世紀のコータン語世俗文書に関する覚え書き』神戸市外国語大学外国語研究所(神戸市外国語大学 研究叢書 第38冊) .
- < = 音法則的变化を示す。例えば、中期インド語 *ratana* < 梵語 *ratna*
- ~ = 梵語の語幹。例えば、*dharmā~*
- * = 文献には見えないが理論上推定された語形であることを示す : 例 **snāru*

(Mahā-)Karmavibhaṅga 所引經典類研究ノート(4): Nandikasūtra, Devatāsūtra 追補

工藤 順之

はじめに

これまで筆者は、Karmavibhaṅga (= KV) に引用される文献のなかで、複数回引用される文献、即ち Nandikasūtra, Cakravartīsūtra, Purvāparāntakasūtra, Devatāsūtra¹について、また文献名の明示されるもの（直接の引用である可能性を持つもの、参照として言及されるだけのもの）、文献名が明示されないが例証として引用或いは抜粋引用されるもの、業がそれを為した者に返ってくることを示している個人の事跡に言及するものを「残余の文献」として纏めた²。

さて、この数年に限っても、新たに写本が発見され、あるいは新出写本に基づくテキストの出版などによって、仏教文献研究が更新され続けている。拙稿で扱った資料もまたその例に漏れず、前述の複数回引用される經典のうち、二つまでがこれまで知られていなかった新しい写本に含まれ、テキストが校訂され発表された。それに基づいてあらためて所引文献について検討を加えてみたいと思う。対象となるのは Nandikasūtra と Devatāsūtra である。

4.0.

新しく見出された写本は以下に所収されている：

A Unique Collection of Twenty Sūtras in a Sanskrit Manuscript from the Potala, 2 volumes, Edition and translation by Bhikṣuṇī Vinītā, Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region No. 7/1-2, Beijing/Vienna: China Tibetology Publishing House, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2010.

本書には、現在チベット・ポタラ宮に保存されている写本（以下、ポタラ宮写本と呼ぶ）を基に校訂された經典が含まれている。基になった写本は1-44葉のみが残された不完全なものであるが、二十経が含まれていて、十二経が初めて発見されたサンスクリット本であり、更にそのうちの二本がチベット本も漢訳も存在しないものである。編者ヴィニター師 (Vinītā Tseng, 自運) は中国蔵学研究中心 (China Tibetology Research Center [CTRC]) 所蔵のモノクロの写真焼き付け (photostat) を利用

¹ 第1は工藤 2002a, 第2は工藤 2004a, 後二者は工藤2005aで扱った。

² これは工藤 2009 である。

した (CTRC Box 111)。この写本を早くに調査したルオジャオ(罗昭, Luo Zhao)博士のカタログ (所謂「ルオジャオ目録」)³の記述が編者によって再録されているが、それによればこの写本は「44葉、不完全、黄色チベット紙、30.4×6.2cm、黒色インクで dhārikā 文字、8行」からなる⁴。奥書に筆写年代が書かれていた可能性はあるが、最終葉を含む後半がないので (全体として何葉あったのかも不明であるので何を持って「後半」とするかも不確定であるが)、年代も不明である。

そのうち本稿で問題とする Nandikasūtra は写本束の中で3番目 (Ārya-Nandika-paripṛcchāsūtra, 7a3-10b7)、Devatāsūtra は7番目 (16b4-19a2) に位置する⁵。更に、Nandikasūtra には中国蔵学研究中心にもう一本の写本 (の写し) があり (CTRC Box 112)、それも含めて校訂されている。同じく「ルオジャオ目録」に基づく編者の註記によれば、こちらの写本は「6葉、30.9×5.1cm、6行、黒色インク、斜体の dhārikā 文字」で書かれたものとのことである⁶。

4.1. Nandikasūtra

この名を持つ経典の全文はチベット訳のみに残り、梵本と漢訳は無いとされてきたが、拙稿2002aで論じたように、この経の漢訳と見なしても差し支えないと考えられる文献がある (これについては後述する)。原本であろうサンスクリット語テキストは、他文献で言及される限りにおいて見いだされるが、それもわずかに KV と Yaśomitra 称友作 *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* だけで、経のごく一部の内容が知られるに過ぎない。引用が原文をどれだけ正確に反映したものであるかどうかは分かっていなかった。

KV では3回引用されている Nandikasūtra の一節は以下の通りである。拙稿発表当時には未入手であった KV の新しい写本の読み⁷を加えて再掲する：

KV §1: MS[A]: tathā daśādīnavā Nandikasūtre uktāḥ prā(12r.4)nātipātasya ||

MS[B]: [t](a)thā daśādīnavā (7v.2) (Nandi)kasūtre ukta(h) prānātipātasya (l)

MS[E]: tathā daśādīnavā Nandi(4v.11)kasūtre uktaṃ prānātipātasya (l)

「また殺生する者に十の過失があることが『ナンディカ経』に説かれている」

³ “布达拉宫所藏贝叶经目录” [A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved at the Potala Palace, 1985. Unpublished manuscript]. ルジャオ博士によるチベット・ポタラ宮所蔵写本の調査に関しては、北京で行われた写本研究会での発表を基にした論文が公表されており、その和訳がある。松田 2008 参照のこと。

⁴ 編者による原本・中国語からの英訳 [Vinitā 2010: I.1, Introduction, p. xvi]: “*Potala Manuscript Catalogue: Kangyur vol. 1 (1985, July): No. 3* — “44 leaves, incomplete. ... The leaves are made of Tibetan paper dyed yellow. 30.4 by 6.2 cm. Black ink, Dhārikā script, 8 lines.”

⁵ 編者によれば、各テキスト末尾にはこの写本でのナンバリングを伴う経典名が記されている (Introduction: xvi, 4th paragraph)。このことは種々のテキストが或る意図の下に集成されたということを示唆するが、その意図がどのようなものであったかは、少なくとも写本全体の奥書が無い以上、不明である。

⁶ 同じく編者の英訳による。Vinitā 2010: I.1, p. 98: “in Luo Zhao’s Catalogue, *Potala Manuscript Catalogue, Tangyur*, no. 28. item h: “The manuscript contains 6 leaves, 30.9 by 5.1 cm. 6 lines each folio, black ink, slanted dhārikā script.”” Box 111 の写本を S1 とし、Box 112 の写本を S2 とされている。

⁷ 即ち、E 写本である。この写本は B 写本の読みによく一致し、B 写本から直接、筆写されたか、あるいは B 写本を筆写したのから更に筆写されたものと思われる。詳しくは Kudo 2006 参照のこと。

KV §13: MS[A]: (19v.4) yathoktañ ca Nandikasūtre | catvāriṃśad ādīnavāḥ |
surāmaireyamadyapramāda(19v.5)ṣṭhāne (< -sthāne) yojayitavyāḥ |

MS[B]: (11v.3) yathoktaṃ Nandikasūtre (l) pañcatriṃśad ādīnavāḥ
surāmaireyamadyapāne yojayitavyāḥ (l)

MS[E]: yatho(7r.9)ktaṃ Nandikasūtre | pañcatriṃśad ādīnavāḥ
surāmaireyamadyapāne yojayitavyāḥ |

「例えば『ナンディカ経』において説かれているように、穀酒・果酒・薬草酒を飲む場合に三十四（A写本。B/E写本では「三十五」）の過失が（あると）知られるべきである」

KV §14: MS[A]: yathoktañ ca Nandikasūtre | catvāriṃśad ādīnavān madyadoṣāḥ
akuśalapakṣeṇa yojayi(21r.2)(ta)vyāḥ ||

MS[B]: (12r.5) yathoktaṃ ca Nandikasūtre (l) pañcatriṃśat madyapānadoṣāḥ
akuśalapathe*¹ yojayitavyāḥ || *¹[A]21r.1: °pakṣeṇa (= T.: phyogs).

MS[E]: yathoktaṃ ca Nandi(7v.7)kasūtre (l) pañcatriṃśan madyapānadoṣā
akuśalapathe*¹ yojayitavyāḥ | *¹[A]21r.1: °pakṣeṇa (= T.: phyogs).

「例えば『ナンディカ経』に説かれているように、飲酒による過失が三十四（A写本。B/E写本では「三十五」）あることが不善の面として知られるべきである」

他方、*Abhidharma-kośa-vyākhyā* に引用される一節は以下の通りである：

caturvidhaṃ hi Nandikasūtrādiṣu kāyaduścaritam uktam. prāṇātipātaḥ adattādānaṃ
kāmamithyācāraḥ surāmaireyamadyapramādashānam iti [*Abhidh-k-vy*, 380, 4-5]⁸.

「何故なら『ナンディカ経』等に四種の身体の悪行が説かれている。（即ち）殺生、不與取、邪淫、穀酒・果酒・薬草酒を飲むことである。」

surāmaireyamadyapramādashānen' āsevitenā bhāvitenā bahulikṛtenā kāyasya bhedān
naraḥśeṣapadyata iti Nandikasūtre vacanāt [ibid., 381, 1-2]⁹.

「『穀酒・果酒・薬草酒を飲むことを習し、修し、多く為すことによって、身体に区別が生じ、地獄に墮ちる』と『ナンディカ経』に説かれているからである。」

サンスクリット文以外の引用ということでは『大智度論』にのみ見いだされるがここでは挙げない¹⁰。

さて拙稿 2002a では、岡田 1986 によって漢訳の失訳とされていた文献、即ち『仏説出家縁経』(T 791) がチベット訳 *Nandikasūtra* であると指摘されていたことを受け、梵本 *Nandikasūtra* が『仏説出家縁経』に相当することと KV と *Abhidh-k-vy* に引用されていることを指摘した。これによって梵本、漢訳、チベット訳の三種の *Nandikasūtra* の存在が確認できたことになる。

さて、KV に引用されているのは殺生と飲酒に関する一節である。そのうち前者は

⁸ Yaśomitra が註を加えた『俱舍論』該当部分には梵本 (218, 24–25) では単に “-vacanāt” とあり、同漢訳の内、玄奘訳(T 1558, 29, 77b20-22)には「經説」、真諦訳(T 1559, 29, 234b3-5)では特に明示をしていない。つまり、梵本も漢訳も典拠とする経典名は挙げていない。

⁹ 玄奘訳(T 1558, 29, 77c1-11)に「契経」とあるだけで梵本『俱舍論』及び真諦訳にも経典名は挙げられていない。

¹⁰ 拙稿 2002a: 16-18 を参照されたい。

十の過失があることを述べるだけで具体的な内容には触れられていない。

Potala: § 5a Bhagavān etad avocat — daśame Nandikādīnavāḥ prāṇātipāte veditavyāḥ.

KV: tathā daśādīnavā Nandikasūtre uktāḥ prāṇātipātasya.

もう一例の、飲酒に関する一節では、興味深い一致が見られる。

Potala: § 9a pañcatrīṃśad ime Nandikādīnavāḥ surāmaireyamadyapramādasthāne veditavyāḥ.

KV: yathoktañ ca Nandikasūtre | [MS(A)] catvāriṃśad / [MS(B, E)] pañcatrīṃśad ādīnavāḥ
surāmaireyamadya-[MS(A)]pramādasthāne-/[MS(B, E)]pāne yojayitavyāḥ

既に指摘したように、飲酒についての過失を列挙する漢訳文献にはいくつかある。三十五を挙げるもの、三十六を挙げるものである。三十五を挙げるものは『仏説出家縁経』と Nandikasūtra を引用する『大智度論』だけであり、このことから『仏説出家縁経』が Nandikasūtra の漢訳であることの傍証となる。他の漢訳はほとんどが三十六の過失を挙げる¹¹。

ポタラ宮写本の読みは KV の写本 B・E と一致し、Nandikasūtra の漢訳（『仏説出家縁経』）とも一致する。KV 写本の内、A, B, E 写本の前後関係は用いられている文字からみて B 写本の方が古いことが分かっている¹²、この經典の本来の読みは「三十五の過失」であることが確定し、逆に考えれば写本 A の読みは別の伝承を受けたものである可能性が改めて浮かび上がってきたことになる。何故なら、筆写上のミスから「三十四 (catvāriṃśat)」から「三十五 (pañcatrīṃśat)」、あるいはその逆が書かれることはまずあり得ないからである。

ポタラ宮写本がどのような経緯を辿って伝承されたものなのか分からず、また年代も不明である¹³、KV 諸写本の想定されている年代との先後関係も確かめることが出来ない¹⁴、このような短い一節の一部の引用から分かることとしては大変興

¹¹ 拙稿 2002a: 19, fn. 14; Kudo 2004: NOTE 12, 240-242. また Vinītā 2010: I, 1, p. 126.

¹² 写本 A には年代を含む奥書が残っていて、ネワール紀元 531 年、即ち西暦 1410/11 年である。他方写本 B はおそらく 13 世紀以降、写本 E は 17 世紀以降と思われる。Kudo 2006: 49, fn. 8. E 写本が B 写本からの直接の筆写本、或いはその派生写本からの写しである可能性については、Kudo 2006 の中で、B 写本に欠落している箇所が同じく E 写本にも欠落していること、同じ筆写ミスなどの事例を挙げて論じた。

¹³ Vinītā 2010: Introduction, xvi, 5th paragraph.

¹⁴ 現存する二十経がどのような意図の下に集められたのかについて、編者はその序論第 5 節で論じている (ibid.: xxviii ff.): 「しかし、この写本の場合、共通のテーマを見出すことができる。戒 (śīla) をテーマにしたものを予備的に例示しよう。この点については[本書]第 2 巻でも行う。V.2 この集成に含まれる種々のテキストは以下に示すように様々な戒について扱っている：(表は省略、訳者)。上に示したように、集成者は道徳的訓練の様々な側面を選んでいるということである。その内のいくつかは ādhipatyaka や upānantaryakarma といった滅他に扱われないものもある。表に挙げた全体はその道徳的な行いに応じて 4 つのカテゴリーに分けることが出来よう：即ち、在家信者、僧侶、サンガ全体、そして大乘もしくは後代の仏教の実践である。即ち、個々の項目は別々であるけれども、それらは相互に補って一つの全体を構成するように成っているのである。(中略) 上述したような簡略な例が示していることはこの集成の中に含まれる經典が共通なテーマの一つを共有しているということである。」(工藤和訳)。

この論述は一見したところ説得力を持つように思えるが、選び出された經典の写本内の番号を並べてみればテキストの筆写順に全く対応していないことが分かる。4 つのカテゴリーに分けられた經典を表から抜き出してみよう：在家 {I: 3, 11}, 僧 {II: 9, 19§32}, 僧伽 {III: 19, 4}, 大乘 {IV: 1, 12}。この分け方では一部の經典のみが分類されているだけで、「集成の意図」についての説明にはならない。

編者はまた、經典のタイトルに着目して、「集成の意図」を探ろうとしている (ibid.: xxix-

味深い。

4.1.2. ギルギット本 *Nandikasūtra*

またこれとは別にギルギット写本にも本経の一部を残す断簡があることがわかっている。但し、残された部分は KV の引用箇所には関係しない。

GBM no. 59b, FE 3249, Folio no. 243 recto1–3; 1 folio. 5.4 cm × 32.9 cm. Birch bark. Gilgit/Bamiyan II (Proto-Śāradā).¹⁵

第243葉というフォリオ番号があり、その表面1～3行に筆写されている。残っているのは経典の末尾部分だけである（尚、3行目から裏面にかけては *Pradakṣiṇagāthā* 冒頭部分が残っている¹⁶）。

xxxii). i). タイトルが複合語で記載されているもの、1, 2, 9; ii). タイトルが複合語になっていないもの、12, 15, 17, 19; iii). 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18. しかしこのアプローチもまた意図に近づくことは難しい。複合語になっているかどうかは、アヌスヴァーラの欠落によって生じた可能性があるからである。（例えば、ii. に分類される 12. *caturddharmmikaṃ nāma mahāyānasūtram dvādaśam [sic.] samāptam* は、もしアヌスヴァーラが欠落したならば、*caturddharmmika-nāma-mahāyānasūtram* となり、これは iii. に挙げられる例、13. *bhavasamkrānti-nāma-mahāyānasūtram trayodaśamaṃ samāptam* と同じになる。写本の特徴としてアヌスヴァーラの欠落があるとされているので、この分け方では問題の解決にはならないのである。）

注目したいのは編者が VI.ii. で論じている「～という名の大乗経典」(～ *nāma mahāyānasūtram*) という表記である。この表記はチベット訳の経典に統一的に見出されるもので、この写本がポタラ宮に保持されていたということからも、そうした表記の統一化が行われていた時期或いはそれ以降に筆写された可能性があることを示唆しているように思える。

¹⁵ この情報は本研究所で出版する「インド国立公文書館所蔵ギルギット写本・写真版」の編者であるオスカー・フォン・ヒニューパー博士のデータに基づく。同定したのは G. Melzer 博士である。フォン・ヒニューパー博士による最新の研究を網羅したギルギット写本に関する概説は Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartman (eds.): *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research. Papers Presented at the Conference 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field.'* Stanford 15–19 June 2009. Vienna 2013 [2014], pp. 79–135 にある。

¹⁶ 尚、*Pradakṣiṇagāthā* は「ギルギット写本」中には3本の写本が残っている。

No. 13: FE 1585 [= folio no. 283verso1], 1524/1525 [= fol. no. 284], 1526 [= fol. no. 285recto7]

No. 59: FE 3249 [= fol. no. 243r3]/3250.

No. 60: FE 3356/3357 [= fol. no. 19]

No. 13 写本は完本であるが、fol. no. 283 verso1 までは *Prasenajid-gāthā* が筆写されており、他方 fol. no. 285recto7 からは *Caityagāthā* が筆写されている。つまり連続するいくつかの *gāthā* の内の一つである。（尚、*Caityagāthā* とは松村恒氏によって暫定的に付けられた題名で、奥書があるのではない。）

No. 59 写本はフォリオの途中の3行目から (3249 [= folio no. 243r3] から始まり、その裏面 (3250) で終わる。残されているテキストは冒頭から v. 11 d pāda 途中までである。更に No. 60 は v. 35 から v. 44, 即ちこのテキストの終わりまでに対応する（尚、v. 44 が終わった後にもまだ一部テキストが筆写されているが、それが何に相当するのか分からない）。つまり、このテキストは全てテキスト集成のような写本に残されていることになる。

尚、*Pradakṣiṇagāthā* については松村氏によってギルギット本の校訂がなされるとの予告があるが (Matsumura 1985: 149)、未だに公表されていない。またそれは松村淳子氏の未出版の修士論文『梵文右邊仏塔功德経』1980 に基づいているとのことであるが、こちらも未見である。ギルギット本では *Pradakṣiṇagāthā* と *Caityagāthā* は、前者の終わりに “|| ◎ || [FE1526, 285r7] *pradakṣiṇagāthā (sa)māptāḥ || ◎ ||*” とあるように、別々のテキストとして筆写されているのだが、チベット訳では一つのテキスト、即ち *Caityapradakṣiṇagāthā* (Mchod rten bskor ba'i tshigs su bcad pa) として伝承されている。チベット訳 *Caityapradakṣiṇagāthā* にはサンスクリット本 *Pradakṣiṇagāthā* にならぬ14傷が加えられているが、実はこれらがギルギット写本 *Caityagāthā* と一致するのである。サンスクリット語では別々のテキストとして筆写されているものが、チベット訳では一つのテキストになっていること、テキストのほとんどが別の文献にパラレルを見出すことができ、その中でも *Caityagāthā* と呼ばれるテキストのほとんどが *Vinayavastu* からの引用であることを含めて、ギルギット写本テキストに関する詳細は別稿に譲りたい。尚、チベット訳 *Caityapradakṣiṇagāthā* を扱った未出版の修士論文がある：Warner A. Belanger III,

Transliteration.

- 1 na pibec ca madyaṃ padeṣu śikṣeta imeṣu pañcasu • // gr̥hastha?viṣkāvara?vastradhāriṇā
gr̥hastham adhyāvasato ime tava • athottaraṃ pravrajitasya
- 2 deśitā [j]iṇeṇa śikṣāpadasarvadarśi○nāḥ // atha nandikopāsako bhagavato bhāṣitam
abhinandyānumodya bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śira-
- 3 sā vanditvā bhagavato ntikāt prak[r]ān(t)aḥ ○ // ◎ //

Text in verse style.

(3249.1) na pibec ca madyaṃ
padeṣu śikṣeta imeṣu pañcasu • //
gr̥hasthaviṣkāvaravastradhāriṇā
gr̥hastham adhyāvasato ime tava •
athottaraṃ pravrajitasya (3249.2) deśitā
[j]iṇeṇa śikṣāpadasarvadarśi○nāḥ //
atha Nandikopāsako Bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinandyānumodya Bhagavataḥ pādaḥ
śira(3249.3)sā vanditvā bhagavato (')ntikāt prak[r]ān(t)aḥ ○ // ◎ //

さて、ポタラ宮写本には前述したように2本の写本があり、上記のギルギット写本に対応する箇所には違いが見られる。(Vinīta 2010: 138–140)

Potala § 10

S1

prāṇaṃ na hanyān na haret parasvām
mṛṣā mna bhāṣeṇa na pibec ca madyam |
parasya bhāryāṃ manasāpi necchet
svargaṃ ya icchet gr̥havat praviṣṭum || [6]
gr̥hīṇa tāvac chitavastradhāriṇām
agāram adhyāvasatām ime 'naghāḥ |
ato bhuyo pravrajitasya deśitā
jīnena śikṣāpadadharmadeśanā || [7]

S2

prāṇān na hanyān na parasvam ādadet
parasya dārān manasāpi nākramet |
mṛṣāṃ na bhāṣet na pibec ca madya
padesu śikṣeta imeṣu pañcasu ||
gr̥hīṇān ca tāvat sitavastradhāriṇā
agāram adhyāvasatām ime 'naghāḥ |
atrottari pravrajitasya deśitā
jīnena śikṣāpadadharmadeśanā ||

§ 11 atha Nandikopāsaka imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ Bhagavato 'ntikāc chrutvā hr̥ṣṭas tuṣṭa
udgrāttamanāḥ pra muditapr̥tisaumanasyajātaḥ, utthāyāsanād Bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śirasā
vanditvā, Bhagavantaṃ tripradakṣiṅkratya bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinandyānumodya
Bhagavato 'ntikāt prakrāntaḥ. idam avocad Bhagavān āttamanāḥ. te ca bhikṣavo Bhagavato
bhāṣitam abhyanandanann iti.

Āryānandikapariṣchāsūtram tr̥tīyaṃ samāptam .

ポタラ宮写本には S1, S2 の二つのヴァージョンがあり、ギルギット写本はそのうちの S2 によく対応する。また、全体としてポタラ宮写本の方が増広されていて、ギルギット本より後のものであることが推測される。(Nandikasūtra の新たな写本が確認されたという点を報告するだけでこれ以上は扱わない。KV の引用箇所とは直接の関わりを持たないからである。)

Caityapradakṣiṇā Gāthā: A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text Based on Six Editions of the Kanjur, M.A. Thesis submitted to The University of Texas at Austin, 2000. ここではギルギット本は現行写真版の状態の悪さからほとんど扱われて居ない。

4.2. Devatāsūtra

この経典には梵、藏、漢にわたって複数の伝本があり¹⁷、そしてそれぞれがこの経典の発展段階の一つ一つを反映したものであることが分かっている¹⁸。

4.2.1. § 66 「衣服を施与することの功德」の引用例

KV における引用の第一例は § 66 にある。

§ 66. 89.5-6 [Text: 186-87]; A53v.3-4; B31r.6.¹⁹

yathā cokaṭṭaṃ Bhagavatā Devatāsūtre |

“vastraprado bhavati varṇavān* ||”

「例えば世尊が『デーヴァター経』で説く（が如し）。

『衣服を施与する人は妙色となる』」

4.2.2. § 70 「乗り物を施与することの功德」の引用例

第二例が現れる § 70 には二種の文献を引用する。そのうちの一つがこの Devatāsūtra である²⁰。

§ 70. 94.6-7 [Text: 192-93]; A55r.4; B32r.5.

yathā cokaṭṭaṃ Devatāsūtre |

“yānadaḥ sukhito bhavati yo dadāty upānahau ||”

「例えば世尊が『デーヴァター経』で説く（が如し）。

『乗物を施与する人は安楽になる。履物を施与する者も（同様である）^{20a}』」

4.2.3.

KV の引用は Devatāsūtra の諸本について見てみれば、そのいずれにも対応箇所が見つからない²¹。しかし、拙稿 (工藤2005a: 41-42) には KV により近い対応を見せている阿含・ニカーヤテキストを挙げた²² (対応箇所に下線を施した)。

Samyukta-Nikāya, I. 5.2: *Kimḍadasuttam* (I. 32):

annado balado hoti, vatthado hoti vannado.

yānado sukhado hoti, dīpado hoti cakkhudo ||

so ca sabbadado hoti, yo dadāti upassayam.

amatam dado ca so hoti, yo dhammam anusāsātī ||

『雑阿含経』 卷第三十六・第九九八經 (T 99(998), vol. 2, 261b25-29):

¹⁷ 工藤 2005a: 39 にテキストを挙げた。ところが KV に引用される箇所はそのいずれにも見出されない。4.2.3. で扱うように、この経典が展開していく中の関連資料に対応箇所がある。

¹⁸ 詳しくは履本 1982、松村 1982 を参照されたい。

¹⁹ KV の写本 A では経典名を挙げないが、写本 B には Devatāsūtra とある。工藤 2005a: 38 参照。

²⁰ もう一つの経典は Cakravartīsūtra である (工藤 2004a 参照)。経典名は写本 A では “Abhidharma Cakravartīsūtre” とし、写本 B では “(Cakra)vartīsūtre” と引用する。

^{20a} 校正段階で、yāna を upānah と解釈する用例が *Dīgha-nikāya* の注釈書にあることを辛嶋静志博士よりご教示いただいた。ここに記して感謝申し上げたい。その用例は次の通りである：*Sumaṅgalavillāsīnī* (I. 82): *yāna-sannidhimhi yānaṃ nāma vahaṃ ratho sakaṭṭaṃ sandamānikā pātānkīti. na paṇ'etaṃ pabbajitassa yānaṃ, upāhanā yānaṃ pana*. この解釈を考慮に入れると、KV の引用箇所は「履物を施与する者、(即ち) 乗り物を施与する人は安楽になる」と訳し直す必要がある。upānah が含まれるのは KV だけなので、乗り物と履物を同一視した理解の下に引用された可能性がある。

²¹ Kudo 2004: p. 309, NOTE 70.

²² 同じく Kudo 2004: 309, NOTE 70; 316, NOTE 73.

爾時。世尊說偈答言

| | |
|-------|-------|
| 施食得大力 | 施衣得妙色 |
| 施乘得安樂 | 施燈得明目 |
| 虛館以待賓 | 是名一切施 |
| 以法而誨彼 | 是則施甘露 |

『別譯雜阿含經』卷第八・第一三五經 (T 100(135), vol. 2, 426c5-9):

爾時世尊以偈答曰

| | |
|-------|-------|
| 施飲食得力 | 施衣得盛色 |
| 施乘得安樂 | 燈明得淨目 |
| 屋宅一切施 | 如法教弟子 |
| 能作如是施 | 是名施甘露 |

KV の引用箇所は、既に榎本文雄氏によって指摘されているように²³、現行梵本である Gilgit 写本中の Devatāsūtra には対応する部分がないばかりか同経の漢訳・藏訳にもないのに対して、敦煌写本中の藏訳 2 本と別の文献である Ratnamālavādāna 中の Devatāparipṛcchāsūtra には含まれている。工藤 2004a において榎本氏の想定する発展段階をまとめた部分を多少長くなるが再掲する：

「榎本博士は主に松村博士の成果に基づいて、この經典の発展段階を次のように考えている：漢訳の元となった梵本（C本。榎本論文による略号。以下同）に二偈が加えられたものが現行梵本（G本）の原型となり、その韻文の順序がかなり入れ替えられたものが現在のG本であり、更に二偈付け加えられたものが藏本の元となったT本である。

更に榎本博士は上記の伝承以外の文献の存在、即ち現存のT本とは異なるテキストが敦煌写本中の藏訳本にも存在し、また、Ratnāvadānamālā ch. 8: Devatāparipṛcchāsūtra にもT本に相当するものが丸ごと引用され、CGT本には存在しない多くの偈が含まれていることを明らかにした。そしてその両者にはKVに引用されている偈が含まれているのである。（榎本 1982b: 398）

榎本博士は梵本（ギルギット写本）や漢訳『雜阿含經』所収の經典よりも更に増広された Devatāsūtra が転用されて Rv ch. 8 の元になったものと考えている。言い換えれば、KVに見出される引用はRvが基にしたような、より発展した形のものからであったことになる。」（工藤 2004a: 39-40）

先ずは新たに見いだされた写本からのテキストを見てみよう (Vinīta 2010-I: 270-272)。(Rv と異なる箇所には下線を施してある。)

devatā prāha —
 kiṃdado balavān bhavati kiṃdadaś cāpi varnavān /
 kiṃdadaḥ sukhito jñeyaś cakṣuṣmān kiṃdado bhavet // [4] //
 Bhagavān āha —
 annado balavān bhavati vastradaś cāpi varnavān /
 pānadaḥ sukhitaḥ jñeyaś cakṣuṣmāms tu pradīpadaḥ // [5] //

²³ 榎本 1982: [88] 398 参照。

他方、Ratnamālavādāna, Ch. 8 Devatāparipṛcchāsūtra の中で対応する偈は次の通りである。（ポタラ宮写本と異なる箇所には下線を施してある。）

kiṃdado valavāṃ syāc ca kiṃdadaś ca praśobhitah /
 kiṃdadaḥ sukhito lokaḥ cakṣuṣmān api kiṃpradaḥ // Rm_8.25 //
 annado valavān bhogī vastradaḥ śobhito bhavet /
 pānadaḥ sukhitaḥ trptaś cakṣuṣmān bhavati dīpadaḥ // Rm_8.48 //

ポタラ宮写本には Gilgit 本 Devatāsūtra には存在しない5つの偈が冒頭に含まれていて、それらは順に Rv の23, 42, {43, 44}²⁴, 25, 48 に対応し、中には KV で引用される偈(48)も含まれている。つまり、ポタラ宮写本 Devatāsūtra (Rv がこれに近い) はギルギット本 Devatāsūtra より増広されたものであり、そこには KV が引用する偈が存在するのである。

KV 引用文に対応する部分だけを対照してみると以下ようになる。

KV: vastraprado bhavati varṇavān.
 Potala: vastradaś cāpi varṇavān.
 Rv: vastradaḥ śobhito bhavet.
 SN: vatthado hoti vaṇṇado.
 『雑』: 施衣得妙色
 『別』: 施衣得盛色

KV: yānadaḥ sukhito bhavati.
 Potala: pānadaḥ sukhitaḥ trptaś
 Rv: pānadaḥ (yānadaḥ?) sukhitaḥ.
 SN: yānado sukhado hoti.
 『雑』: 施乘得安樂
 『別』: 施乘得安樂

KV: yo dadāty upānahau.
 Potala: x
 Rv: x
 SN: yo dadāti upassayaṃ.
 『雑』: 虚館以待賓
 『別』: 屋宅一切施

このようにして新たに見いだされたポタラ宮写本によって、これまで知られていた Devatāsūtra の更に増広されたテキストが得られたことになる。そして、このテキストは Devatāsūtra の発展段階の中でかなり後に位置づけられるものである。この新出のポタラ宮写本の読みは、したがって、Rv が基にしたもの、そして KV が引用したテキストのそれに相応するものに他ならない。

²⁴ ポタラ宮写本では § 2 の第3偈が a-f pāda から成っていて、a-d pāda は RV 8.43 に対応し、e-f pāda が RV 8.44ab に当たる。RV 8.44cd に相当する部分はない。

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Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica

Marginal Anecdote (VI)

新刊論著紹介

Introducing Some Recent Publications

湯山明 / Akira YUYAMA

はじめに・都心から遠く西端の地に居住して早や十数余年が経ち、定年退職後の隠居に閉じ籠もる歳月も長くなり、球上の学界の動向にも疎く、益々最新の研究やその成果を目にし耳にすることが稀になってきた。こうした中でも、ときに関する書店目録から懐具合が許すものを購入したり、有り難くも旧友から、あるいは稀に気鋭の学徒から贈られる論著が、衰え行く脳細胞を刺激してくれる。そうした限られた中から、興味を惹くものを恣意的に選んで紹介してみたい。いつもながら愚痴を零す羽目になるが、今は遠くにある旧蔵書を見ることも能わず、思い浮かべながらも参看できない文献が多々あるが、書誌的な詳細が提示できなくとも、省くよりはマシかと、せめて若干の内容を紹介してみたいと思う。まずは、大方の読者の寛恕を仰ぎたい。

◎ サンターニ博士頌寿記念論集の公刊を慶んで

サンターニ博士 (Dr. Narayan Hemandas Samtani: *1924) は、いわば卒寿を間近にした碩学である。インドの名門バナラス・ヒンドゥ大学 (BHU = Banaras Hindu University) のパーリ・仏教学科 (Department of Pali and Buddhist Studies) で長年に亘って研究・教授に携わり、退官して名誉教授である。彼の学問的後継者・ラールジー (Lalji 'Shravak': *1960) が現在は外国語学科教授として活躍している。その彼が、内外の学界で著名なベルギーはゲント大学東洋語仏教学科を退官して名誉教授の称号を得て、さらにはタイ国の国際仏教大学の学長を務めるヴィレメン博士 (Dr. Charles Willemen: *1941) を誘って、サンターニ博士に、長寿を祝って、内外から論文を集めて編み公刊した。幸いに、論集の巻頭には、サンターニ教授の履歴・著作目録があつて、便利である。が、必ずしも詳細を網羅したものではないようである：

Dharmapracicaya: Aspects of Buddhist Studies: Essays in Honour of N. H. Samtani,

Edited by Lalji 'Shravak' & Charles Willemen

(Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2012), xxi, 497 p., 1 col. frontisp. (photo).

ISBN 13: 9789380852218. — Rs.2,500/- or US\$62.50.

サンターニ博士の履歴については、ラールジー教授が詳しく記述しているので、掻い摘まんで紹介しておこう。・・・一九二四年六月二十四日、今はパークスターン領内のシンド州ダドゥ郡ジョーヒ村 (Johi - Dadu) に生まれる。小学校教育を受ける前に父親を失う。イン・パ分割後にインド領ボンベイ / ムンバイ近郊に移転、一九四九年にボンベイ大学で文学士号を得る。その後、向学心は止まず、ナーランダールのマガダ大学付置のパーリ大学院研究所 (Pali Postgraduate and Research Institute) の著名な学者・カーシャプ (Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, né Jagdish Narain: 1908-1976) 教授の許で、優秀な成績をもって修士号を取得し、更に師匠の薦めでデーヴァナーガリー版のパーリ大蔵経 (*Nālandā-Devanāgarī-Pāli-Series*) 編纂にかかわる。

ついで大々的に仏誕二五〇〇年記念事業に刺激されてか、当時の指導的な仏教学者・バーパット (Purushottam Vishvanath Bapat: 1894-1991) 教授を招いてデリー大学に仏教学講座が創設されるや、サンターニ氏も参画し、バーパット教授の指導を得て、一九三四年にラーフラ・サーンクリティヤーヤナ (Rāhula Sāṃkrītyāyana: 09.IV.1893-Dargeeling 14.IV.1963) が中央チベットのゴル寺で発見したアルタヴィニシュチャヤ梵本の校訂を、これまた当時のインドを代表する碩学・ゴーカーレー (V. V. Gokhale) 教授の指導を得て、博士論文を完成する。不朽の学術的成果である。早速まずは貴重な発見者ラーフルジーのお膝元で、幸いにもその存命中に発表している:

N. H. Samtani, “The *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra*: — An Important Buddhist Text Discovered by Rahul Sankrityayan in Tibet”, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLVII (Patna, Jan.-Dec. 1961), p. 398-404.

この論文は、どうしたわけか当該の記念論集の著作目録に欠いていて、代わって次が挙げられているが、もしかして同文か。未見だが、少なくとも内容的には同類であろう:

N. H. Samtani, “The *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* (An Important Buddhist Text Discovered by Rahul Sankrityayana in Tibet)”, *Bhāratī: Bulletin of the College of Indology*, VII, 1-2 (BHU, Varanasi, 1963-1964).

その後、期待の原典校訂版が、ナーランダー大僧院のヴィーリヤシュリーダッタ (Vīryaśrīdatta) 比丘の注釈(これもラーフルジー発見)と共に、十年の歳月を経て刊行される:

Arthaviniścaya-Sūtra & its Commentary (Nibandhana) (written by *Bhikṣu Vīryaśrīdatta of Śrī-Nālandāvihāra*). Critically edited and annotated for the first time with introduction and several indices by N. H. Samtani. With a foreword by P. V. Bapat (= *Tibetan Sanskrit Works [भोट-देशीय-संस्कृत-ग्रन्थ-माला]*, XIII) (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1971), xxxi, 185, 413 p.

本書は、二〇〇五年に再版されているようである。また、ヴァージニア大学がデジタル版を公表しているともいう。サンターニ博士は、本注釈書にも強い関心を示し、仏教梵語(術語)を、史的背景を探りながら興味深く論述する。取りあげた語は *prahāraṇa-*, *abhiśaya-*, *mutodī-*, *ekotībhāva-*, *avaśīrta-* 五語だが、会議で数人の学者の討論も記録していて興味深い:

N. H. Samtani, “Arthaviniścaya-Nibandhana: A Study of Some Buddhist Sanskrit Words”, *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Language of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts (1-5 October 1991)*, edited by Kameshwar Nath Mishra (= *Samyag-Vāk Series*, VI) (Sarnath-Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993), p. 460-482.

サンターニ博士は、仏教梵語に深い関心を持ち、エジヤトン (Franklin Edgerton: 1885-1963) の追悼文を記している事は、余り知られていないようなので、ここに付け加えておこう:

N. H. Samtani, “Obituary Notice — Prof. Franklin Edgerton”, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, II, 1 (Hoshiarpur 1964), p. 167f.

その後も彼の精魂は、本典籍に傾注し、ついに英訳の大著を公刊する:

Gathering the Meanings: The Compendium of Categories: The Arthaviniścaya Sūtra and its Commentary Nibandhana, translated from the Sanskrit with an introduction and notes by N. H. Samtani (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 2002), xxxiv, 390 p. — ISBN 0-89800-267-2 (pb), °-268-0 (hb).

Reviewed by Charles Willemen, *IJBS*, VI (Varanasi 2005), p. 185-188.

ここで肝心の和訳が、わが同国人によってなされているが、折角の労作が然るべき専門の出版社から刊行されなかったのは、出版界も学界も貧しく恥ずかしい:

本庄良文 (*1951), 梵文和訳・決定義經・註 (京都・自家出版, 1989), 178 p.

さて、サンターニ博士の業績などの詳細については、この祝賀記念論集に譲って、少しく筆者の個人的な感懐を述べてみたい。それは恐らく彼と親しくした友人たち

が等しくもつものであろう。彼はいつも紳士的で優しく同学の士に接した。語弊があるかもしれないが、はっきりいってインドの学者と学会などで討論に及ぶと、彼らの果実なき遣り取りに閉口する。時に討論は結末を見ることなく終始することになる。苛立つ専門家も多い。そうした中で、サンターニ博士は、常に温厚に討議に加わり、主張すべきは主張し、受け容れるべき意見には素直に耳を傾ける。そして討論は先に進展して行く。

こうした中で、筆者も突然の事で驚いたが、彼の優しさは、折角得たインドの学友を失った時に深い哀悼の文を寄せている。パンジャービー大学で教鞭を執っていて、内外の多くの親しい友を失った気持ちを表してくれた：

N. H. Samtani, "Obituary – Lal Mani Joshi (1935-1984)", *JIAS*, VIII, 1 (1985), p. 135-137, with a "Note" by Robert Alexander Farrar Thurman" on p. 137.

上の記述からも推察できようが、サンターニ博士は、何人かの師匠に記念論集を編集し献呈している。光栄にも筆者は編者に誘われて拙論を寄稿できた：

Amalā Prajñā: Aspects of Buddhist Studies – Professor P. V. Bapat Felicitation Volume, edited by N. H. Samtani (Associate editor: H. S. Prasad) (= *Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica*, LXIII) (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications – A Division of Indian Book Centre, 1989), xxx, 574 p., ills..

See e.g. Malati J. Shendge, *ABORI*, LXXI (1990), p. 406-411.

Śramaṇa Vidyā: Studies in Buddhism – Professor Jagannath Upadhyaya Commemoration Volume, edited by N. H. Samtani. 2 vols. (= *Samyag-Vāk Series*, III-IV) (Sarnath-Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1987-1988).

[Volume II, edited in Hindi by Ram Shankar Tripathi].

彼に学問的な道を拓いた恩師バーパット教授 (Purushottama Vishvanath Bapat: 12.VI.1894-04.XI.1991) には、内外から論文を募った。丁度、仏誕二五〇〇年記念には片腕となって働いたであろう。ついであるが、バーパット教授の追悼文二点だけ紹介しておこう：

佐藤良純, *IBK*, XLI, 2 (1993), p. 325-330.

Malati J. Shendge, *ABORI*, LXXIV (1994), p. 347f.

更に、サンターニ博士の恩師・カーシャップ比丘の追悼論集には、仏教の祖師について論攷を寄せている。思うところがあるか？ 編者ナライン教授については、余白を借りて簡略に後述したい：

N. H. Samtani, "Buddha: The Teacher Extraordinary", *Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*, edited by A. K. Narain (assisted by Leonard Zwillin) (Delhi: B. R. Publication Corporation, 1979), p. 341-346.

さて、肝心の祝賀論集に収められた論文は、サンターニ博士の交友を物語り、内外から多彩な論攷が載せられているので列挙しておきたい：

Contents

Lalji 'Shravak' & Charles Willemen, "Preface", p. v.

Lalji 'Shravak', "Professor N. H. Samtani: A Biographical Note", p. vii-xiii.

"Academic Contribution of Professor N. H. Samtani", p. xiv-xviii.

1. Anālayo, "Teaching and Liberation: Rāhula's Awakening in the *Samyukta-āgama*", p. 1-22.

2. Dipak Kumar Barua, "Sándor Körösi Csoma and Ladakh, the Land of the Origin of Modern Tibetan Studies", p. 23-44.

3. Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, “*Vigrahavyāvartanī*”, p. 45-70.
 4. Mahinda Deegalle, “Contested Religious Conversions of Buddhists in Sri Lanka and India”, p. 71-101.
 5. Florin Deleanu, “The Path of Spiritual Cultivation in the *Śrāvakahūmi*”, p. 103-130.
 6. Ven. K. L. Dhammajoti, “The Sect-Affiliation of the *Arthavinīscaya-nibandhana*”, p. 131-160.
 7. James Duerlinger, “Candrakīrti’s Introduction to the Selflessness of Persons in the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*”, p. 161-170.
 8. Ananda W. P. Guruge, “Hīnayāna, Śrāvakayāna, Theravāda or Southern Buddhism: The Need for Clarification”, p. 171 -194.
 9. Shohei Ichimura, “Toward a Restoration of India and Sri Lanka in Terms of the Theravāda Buddhist Tradition”, p. 195-224.
 10. Bimalendra Kumar, “Sri Lankan Buddhism under Colonialism”, p. 225-232.
 11. Lalji ‘Shravak’, “*Saṅgīti Sutta*: Recitation of Dhammas at the First Abhidhamma Saṅgīti”, p. 233-241.
 12. Darui Long, “Buddhism at the End of the Ming Dynasty as Revealed by Wan Wei’s Colophons in the *Yongle Northern Edition of the Buddhist Canon* in Princeton University Library”, p. 243-260.
 13. Bhikkhu Pāsādika, “Translations of Buddhist Didactic Letters in Sanskrit and Tibetan by Michael Hahn and Siglinde Dietz”, p. 261-268.
 14. Suniti Kumar Pathak, “*Dukkhaṃ ariyasaccaṃ* as depicted in the Buddhist Nikāyas and Āgamas”, p. 269-283.
 15. Harishanker Prasad, “Buddhism and Interfaith Dialogue: Ethicization and Humanization of the World”, p. 285-320.
 16. K. T. S. Sarao, “Some Reflections on Buddhist Conversions to Islam in Sind, Bengal and Kashmir”, p. 321-338.
 17. S. D. Sebastian, “Mādhyamika Ethics in Context: an Exposition of Nāgārjuna’s *Suhṛllekha*”, p. 339-355.
 18. Min Bahadur Shakyā, “Exploring the Sanskrit Buddhist Canon”, p. 357-374.
 19. T. R. Sharma, “Bodhisattva and *Pāramitās*”, p. 375-405.
 20. H. S. Shukla, “Mental Well-Being”, p. 407-422.
 21. Peter Skilling, “Discourse on the twenty-two Faculties (Translated from Śamathadeva’s *Upāyikā-tīkā*)”, p. 423-458.
 22. B. R. Subrahmanyam, “The Buddhist Schools and Monuments in Āndhradeśa”, p. 459-467.
 23. Meena V. Talim, “King Aśoka in Ajantā Caves”, p. 469-479.
 24. Charles Willemen, “Mahīśāsaka : some new Ideas”, p. 481-493.
- “List of Contributors”, p. 495-497.

* * *

ナライン博士を偲んで

In Memoriam Awadh Kishore Narain

(Gayā, Bihār 28.V.1925 – Vārāṇasī 10.VI.2013)

サンターニ博士は、ナライン博士の一年ほど先輩である。共に学んだこともあろうかと想像している。つい先だつて亡くなったナライン博士を偲んだ一文を認めることは許して戴き、また若干の記憶違いがあるやも知れないが、ご寛恕願いたい。

先にあげたカーシャブ師は、ビハール州ランチの産で、釈尊成道の地ガヤーで生まれたナライン博士とは、叔父・甥か、何か親戚関係にあったように思う。おそらく、アウドゥは、幼少時から大きな影響を受けたに違いない。

さて、われわれ仲間うちでは、ナライン博士を、親しみをこめてAK [eikéi]と呼んでいた。彼の専門は根底には歴史学であつて、私にはとやかく評価できない。彼はBHUで学び、優秀な成績でロンドン大学に留学し、かのバシヤム教授 (Arthur Llewellyn Basham: Loughton Essex 24.V.1914 – Kolkata/Calcutta 27.I.1986) に師事し、次の論攷で博士号を取得する。名著の譽れ高く、オックスフォード大学出版会から公刊され、再刷もされている筈である:

A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), xvi, 201 p., maps, plates.

彼の主たる関心は、これで判るように、インドから中央アジアなどの文明史に関心があつたのであろう。また、上記の事柄からも推察できようが、仏教に深い関心を寄せていて、釈尊の年代論など、学界の関心を惹く著作も多い。

ナライン博士とは、研究・教授の場を共にしたことはないが、マディソンを訪れた時などに、教職・学生などと接して、彼が愛された師であつたことが容易に想像が出来た。

何といつても、私には、彼がマディソンにあつた頃、国際仏教学会の創立の原動力になつた人だと思ふ。丁度、わが長尾雅人博士が、招聘教授としてか、マディソン滞留中で、長尾教授を会長に出発し、学会を国際的に認知させるまでの努力は並大抵ではなかつたはずだ。彼の馬力は凄い。これが時に誤解を招くようだったが、私は機関車・ナライン号でなければ、学会を大人になるまで牽引できなかったと思ふ。学会創設の頃の、インド学仏教学の学界は、決して地球的な規模の纏まりはなかつた。一言で簡単に耳を貸して、一列に揃う時代ではなかつた。

長尾会長から、強引にアジア地区代表理事を引き受けるよう説得されたが、この地区を纏めるのは至難の業であることは明白であつたのでお断りしたが、結局は引き受ける羽目になつた。その後も、今度は国際東洋学会との共催を強く要請されて、大任に困惑した覚えもある。本邦の学会などで、広報活動の許可を得ようと試みたが、反対されて為す術を失つた時は悲しかった。結局は、段々と個々に認知されて、大方の協力を得るようになった。第六回・国際仏教学会・学術大会は、ナライン教授の本部の協力と、日本の多くの個人・団体から支援を得て、東京・京都で、無事に進行できた。

のちにバシヤム教授が会長職に就いた。彼とは、全く時を同じくして、キャンベラに赴任したこともあり、親しく見守って下さつた。ナライン事務局長の勢い余つた発言などが理事会であると、バシヤム会長が、機関車AK号にブレイキをかけて宥めたりして、難航する会議が上手く纏まつた。二人の連携で、会の運営が滑らかに進んだ事なども思い出される。因みに、バシヤム教授を親しい間では、Bash [bæsh]と呼んでいた。

かのナライン博士が、国際仏教学会の創立・運営の立役者としての評価を正しく受けていないのではないかと、久しく悲しい思いがしていたが、彼の功績を褒賞して、名誉会員に推挙したことに安堵したしだいである。

ナライン博士は、米印両国を往復するいわばflying professorだったが、最終的には祖国に戻り、仏教学の交流・興隆にさらなる貢献をなした。その成果が、1999年次からの国際的な定期刊行物の編輯で、更に縁ある研究所から公刊し、幸いに今日も継続している:

Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies / बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिका, I:

1999 (Sarnath-Varanasi: BJK Institute of Buddhist and Asian Studies, 1999/2000-).

ここに博士を偲び、その功績を讃え、ご冥福を祈る。

◎ *Pacific World:*

Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies (Berkeley)

This journal bears on the last page of every issue “The *Pacific World* — Its History” written by the late Founder of the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, Dr. Yehan Numata (沼田惠範). From it we learn that he started the periodical in 1925 as a bimonthly and then issued monthly from 1927. He had to stop publishing it after four years. One can easily imagine why. It restarted in 1982.

The *Journal* comes out annually and the latest Number 14 in the Third Series appeared in 2012, thanks to the painstaking endeavours of the Editorial Committee, chaired by Dr. Richard K. Payne, Professor of Buddhist Studies at the Institute of Buddhist Studies in Berkeley, California. Already in the past I had noted that the IBS tried hard to establish collaborations with relevant scholars and institutions in its vicinity.

In these years, furthermore, I have noticed that the *Journal* has been making a steady development with regard to its contents. Contributors to this periodical publication are not only from well-known celebrated scholars but also a number of young and promising students of Buddhist research in varied fields beyond the horizon.

From my personal interest in this issue I see a large number of pages occupied by James F. Hartzell of the University of Trento in Italy. I am amazed how splendidly the author is well read and learned. It is an article devoted to Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric literature with very extensive bibliographical references: “The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras: ‘The Samādhi of the Plowed Row’”, p. 63-178.

Rolf W. Giebel, an independent scholar as he calls himself, has contributed with his profound knowledge on the subject. This is the topic that has been thought very important, but it has not been treated into this depth like his. This paper will shed light on the less known or little studied materials. The paper is entitled: “Notes on Some Sanskrit Texts Brought Back to Japan by Kūkai”, p. 187-230.

Since I am so much interested in the history of Sanskrit studies in the East, particularly in Japan, it is hoped that he will recover more materials with his spurious erudition from the buried storehouses of Indic materials preserved in this part of Asia. In this field of study it is to be remembered that Junjirō Takakusu (高楠順次郎: 1866-1945) had played a great rôle:

Cf. A. Yuyama, “An Appraisal of the History of Sanskrit Studies in East Asia”, *Warder Volume* (Toronto 1993), p. 194-20 [= *Yuyama 2013*, p. 369: II.58].

Kūkai, or Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師空海: 774-835 CE) must have played a great rôle in this field. He must also have brought original Indic texts back to his home country. There are materials written in the original scripts, e.g. an extremely important fragment of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*:

Cf. A. Yuyama, *Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, I. Koyasan Manuscript* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, IV) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library 1981), esp. p. 1-16: ‘Introductory remarks’ [= *Yuyama 2013*, p. 354: I.6], esp. p. 5 (§5).

In the lineage of studies in Indic materials we must mention Jiun Sonja Onkō (慈雲尊者飲光, Maitrimegha Kāśyapa?: 1718-1804) at the Temple Kōki-ji (高貴寺) in the first place among many others — at least in this limited space. It is a great pity that his voluminous writings on the subject are still in a dormant state, e.g. his *Bongaku Shinryō* (梵學津梁) in 1,000 fascicles (most probably completed around 1766 CE):

Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, “Remarks on the Kōkiji Fragment of the *Lokaprajñapti*”, *Eggermont Volume* (Leuven 1987), p. 215-227 [= *Yuyama 2013*, p. 366: II.45].

In this connection I cannot escape from Shūen Shōnin Shinna (宗淵上人眞阿: 1786-1859), who has left with us a meticulous work entitled *Asharajō* (阿叉羅帖), or *The Book of Akṣaras*. In it one finds many important manuscripts copied and printed precisely in blocks:

Sanskrit Bījas and Mantras in Japan, eds. Raghu Vira & Lokesh Chandra (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XXXIX) (New Delhi: International; Academy of Indian Culture, 1965):

Cf. A. Yuyama, “巖松院貝葉顛末記”, *Katsumata Volume* (Tokyo 1981), p. 1269-1278 [= *Yuyama 2013*, p. 363f.: II.32].

— See also A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (III)”, *ARIRIAB*, VIII: 2004 (2005), p. 381-391: §3 ‘雁が飛べば石龜も地團駄’ [= *Yuyama 2013*, p. 375: II.94].

◎ 熊本裕教授退官記念論集刊行を慶ぶ

一九八九年から二十有余年に亘って東京大学で言語学講座を担当し、特に中期イラン語・印欧語比較文法のみならず、種々の言語に関する天賦の才を活かして貴重な貢献を内外の学界に供し、同時に数多くの有為の学徒を育ててきた。特に、インド・イラン学の分野で、彼の国際学界への貢献は知る人ぞ知るところであろう。その熊本裕教授が定年を迎えて退官するのを聞いて、少しでも多くの後進を育ててほしいのに惜しい。あと一年遅く生まれていたら、今年度まで定年退職を延ばして、さらに有為な学徒を育成できたであろうに。東京大学が、遅ればせながら、世界の常識的な定年制を採用して十余年を要してのことだ。

熊本博士は、学生時代から一貫して印欧語に深い関心を示し、良き師にも恵まれてきた。若い頃にイランに留学し、ついでフィラデルフィアの東洋学、ことにインド・イラン学の一中心であるペンシルヴァニア大学で一九八二年に博士号を取得した。

下記の論集に、熊本博士の略歴が記されていて、さらには詳しい著作目録もきめ細かく記されている。加えて彼が得意とする手腕で、ウェブ上で貴重な著作が参看できるのは誠に有り難い。

Festschrift for Professor Hiroshi Kumamoto

(= *Tokyo University Linguistic Papers*・TULIP, XXXIII)

(Department of Linguistics, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, Faculty of Letters at the University of Tokyo, January 2013), xiv, 399 pages.

With a frontispiece on page ii: Coloured photo taken during his giving a lecture on Middle Iranian. ISSN 1345-8663 / ISBN 978-4-99063221-2.

東京大学言語学論集・第33号：熊本裕先生退職記念号

こうした背景を思えば、まず印欧語比較文法などの分野で令名の高いジョージ・カードーナ教授が、論集の巻頭を飾っていることにも驚くに足らないかも知れない。関連の学徒が必ず参照すべき、八十頁にも及ぶ大作の論攷である。— ついでながら、カードーナ (George Cardona: *1936) 博士は、いわばペン (といえど誰もが解るペンシルヴァニア大学) で言語学教授を務め、多くの分野で貴重な業績を残す碩学である。丁度十年ほど前に、次の献呈論文集が贈られている事を記しておくに留めたい：

Indian Linguistic Studies:

Festschrift in Honor of George Cardona,

Edited by Mahav M. Deshpande and Peter Edwin Hock

(Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002), xxv, 384 pages

ISBN 81-2081-885-7.

以下に、われわれにも特に関係の深いインド・イラン学に関連した論文を主に、熊本教授への祝賀論集から引用列挙しておきたい。この分野で、活躍する人材が本邦にも排出し、活躍していることが知れよう。極めて個人的なことを許して戴ければ、いわば古典的な文法問題にも関心を示す学徒の輩出であり、また必要な関連言語・文献にも木目細かい目配りのできる仏教文献学者が、若手に出てきていること

に注目してきた。いうまでもなく、熊本教授の指導よろしきを得て、内外で活躍出来る学徒が育ってきているわけである：

T. Hayashi, M. Kobayashi, Y. Nishimura, “Editors’ Preface”, p. vi-vii.

“Hiroshi Kumamoto – Bio-Bibliography”, p. viii-xix.

George Cardona, “Development of Nasals in Early Indo-Aryan: *anunāsika* and *anusvāra*”, p. 3-81.

Eijirō Dōyama [堂山英次郎], “**mans d’ā*: A Morphological Study”, p. 83-98.

Shigeaki Kodama [児玉茂昭], “Latin Metals”, p. 133-138.

Yasuhiro Kojima [児島康宏], “Relative Time Reference in a Conditional Construction in Georgian”, p. 139-153.

Kanehiro Nishimura [西村周浩], “On the Phonological Mystery in Latin *suspīciō*: A Trick of *suspectus*?”, p. 187-203.

Hirotohi Ogihara [荻原裕敏], “Tocharian Fragment THT333 in the Berlin Collection”, p. 205-217 (with a b/w plate on p. 216).

Yasuhiko Sakuma [佐久間保彦], “Terms of Ornithomancy in Hittite”, p.219-238 (with a b/w figure on p. 238).

Ken Sasahara [笹原健], “Zur Wortfolge von Gregorius Martinis, *Die Sieben Bußpalmen des königlichen Propheten Davids. Windisch und Deutsch (1627)*”, p. 239-253.

Kashinath Tamot & Makoto Kitada [北田信], “A Newly Discovered Fragment of the *Śrīkrṣṇakīrtan*”, p. 293-300.

Kazuhiko Yoshida [吉田和彦], “Return of Wackernagel: The Weak Suffix *-nī-* in Sanskrit Ninth Class Presents”, p. 363-373.

Yutaka Yoshida [吉田豊], “When Did Sogdians Begin to Write Vertically?”, p. 375-394 (with 13 b/w figures on p. 389-394).

ここで余白を借りて、熊本裕教授が強い関心を示す中期イラン語文献学に関して、かつて本邦にも大きな影響をもたらしたエンメリック博士 (Ronald Eric Emmerick: 1937-2001) の次著を挙げておきたい。約束の第三版を間近に控えて、惜しまれて他界してしまった。誠に悲しい：

Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan (= Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series, III)* (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1979), vii, 63 pages [out of print]. — ISBN 4-906267-09-2.

Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged (1992), ix, 61 pages. — ISBN 4-906267-30.0.

Cf. A. Yuyama, “The *Golden Light* in Central Asia”, *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 3-32, esp. p. 3! — Further see my “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 374: item II.88.

Cf. also A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)”, *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 255-259: §1. ‘Buddhica Iranica’. — Further see my “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 374: item II.89.

更に一言・この東京大学言語学研究室の刊行してきたTULIPは、本書が三十三号から見ても歴然としたように、熊本教授の若い頃から長い間に亘って、極めて少数の人口の言語を地球全域に求めて、若い学徒が追求してきている。その成果の多くが、本誌で見ることが出来る。なお、仏教文献学徒にとっては、少壮精鋭の荻原裕敏博士が、貴重な典籍を徹底研究していることは、誠に将来への希望を抱かせるものである。

◎ **Catalogue of the Catalogues of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal:**

Shanker Thapa,* “Catalogues of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts of Nepal”, *Abhilekha* : अभिलेख वर्ष ३० - २०६९ - पूर्णांक ३० (राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखालय - रामशाहपथ काठमाडौं), p. 107-116.

*Dr. Shanker Thapa is Professor at the Central Department of History, Tribhuvan University:

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Historical Context of Buddhist Mss of Nepal, p. 107a-108b.

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Indian Collections, p. 111a-b.

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Conclusion, p. 115b-116b.

上記の雑誌を管ては毎号通読していたが、暫くぶりを見る機会を得たら、上記の興味深い書誌学的な内容の論攷を見出した。きめ細かく調査した報告書である。著者は、トリブヴァン大学の歴史学教授である。上に挙げるように、広い世界に目を配って、しかも最新の情報にも配慮している。写本を扱う学徒にとっては一読しておくべきであろう。

こうした仕事は労多くして、すべての読者を満足させるのは難しい。しかし、これだけの資料がネパールに揃っているとは実に慶ばしい。著者は参照していないようだが、筆者もかつて佛教文献学徒のための入門書シリーズを公刊し始めたことがあるので、著者の労苦を察し、本論攷を多としたい。

Cf. A. Yuyama, **बौद्धसंस्कृतभाषालिखितपुस्तकालयाः / Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology (= Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica: Pamphlet Series, II)** (Tokyo: IIBS, 1992), ix, 28 p. [for further details see my “List of Writings”, *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 356f.: 1b.4].

See also A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (IV)”, *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 280-291: ‘ホジソンのネパールにことよせて — 近代仏教学の最初期から未来へ (Under the pretext of Hodgson in Nepal — The earliest stage of modern Buddhist studies and the future, including such topics as Sanskrit manuscripts of good quality — Bibliographies on Nepal)’.

最近再び写本類への関心が昂まっているようで、今日まで秘蔵されていた資料も出現していることは慶ばしい。

また、つい最近になって見た中に、例えば貴重な貢献をなしたラーフラ・サーンクリティヤーヤナ (1893-1963) のチベットへの写本探査に同行して助手役を務めたゲンドウンチュンペー (Dge-'dun Chos-'phel: 1903-1951) の記録は、彼の近代仏教学への補助役を追加する記録として、極めて強い関心を覚えた。ほかにも興味をそそる業績を矢継ぎ早に公刊する著者の今後に大きな期待を寄せたい:

加納和雄, “ゲンドウンチュンペー著『世界知識行』第1章和訳 — 1930年代のチベットにおける梵文写本調査記録 — (1)”, 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要, XXIII (2010), 146(63)-106(103).

◎ 北京のインド学仏教学に矚目

梵文貝葉經與佛教文獻系列叢書・第三卷

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まさに待ちに待った目録である。しかし、これは目録というには、内容がまったく研究論文集と違って差し支えない刊行物である。写本は能うかぎり原本の様態を知るべく色刷りにし、寸法も糲で明白に示している。梵文殘葉の研究編は、すべての細かな断片までも示して、正確にローマ字化し、既に既知の原典があれば、その当該箇所を一見して判るように工夫されている。仏典は、梵文に限られているようなので、本書に取りあげる典籍を挙げれば以下の通りである。ここでは図版番号と研究篇の頁とを合わせて記しておく：

Avadānaśataka [撰集百緣經] (Plate 1): ‘Study’, p. 1-4 (以下・叶少勇).

Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā [八千頌般若經] (Plate 2): ‘Study’, p. 5f.

Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā [二万五千頌般若經] (Plates 3-7): ‘Study’, p. 7-20.

Prajñāpāramitā literature [般若經類] (Plate 8-10): ‘Study’, p. 21-28.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra [妙法蓮華經] (plates 11-15): ‘Study’, p. 29-40.

Ratnaketu-parivarta [寶星陀羅尼經] (Plates 16-28): ‘Study’, p. 41-120 (薩爾吉).

Bhadrakalpasūtra [賢劫經] (Plate 29): ‘Study’, p. 121-134 (段晴).*

* Cf. Duan Qing, “A fragment of the *Bhadrakalpasūtra* in Buddhist Sanskrit from Xinjiang!”,

Sanskrit Manuscripts in China (Peking 2009), p. 15-39 (incl. 2 col. figs. = 1 fragmentary folio).

Buddhanāmasūtra [佛名經] (Plate 30): ‘Study’, p. 135f. (以下すべて・葉少勇).

Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra [金光明經] (Plates 31-33): ‘Study’, p. 137-146.

Jñānotkadhāraṇī [智炬陀羅尼經] (Plate 34): ‘Study’, p. 147-150.

Unidentified fragments (Plates 35-50): ‘Study’, p. 151.

図版は色刷りで、原本の現在を彷彿とさせていて、更には目録・研究部分には白黒写真を用い、調査研究に多大の便益を図っている。誠に行き届いたもので、かつて一九六〇年代に始まったドイツ・トゥルフアン探検隊将来の写本類の目録同様に、

極めて信頼度の高い果実となっている。すでに十一巻を数えてなお余す所がある。写本目録の番号からすれば数千点に及ぶであろう。こうした仕事が、各方面にある蒐集写本の目録に模範的なものとして普及して行くことを願ってやまない:

Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil I. Herausgegeben von Ernst Waldschmidt unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Holzmann(-Sander) (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, X, 1) (Wiesbaden: Farnz Steiner Verlag, 1965), XXXV, 368 p., 43 Tafeln. — Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, *III*, XII, 4 (1970), p. 266-269.

See further A. Yuyama, *बौद्धसंस्कृतभाषालिखितपुस्तकालयाः / Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *BIBPS*, II) (Tokyo 1992), ix, 28 p.

各典籍に関する原典批判と書誌学的な完璧さは、写本本体と共に研究者にとって実に有難い。ただ、筆者はいま手許に資料がなく、自分なりに今日までの研究成果とあわせて考証できないのが残念だが、こうした仕事は眺めるだけでも勉強になる。さて、残念ながら、筆者にはカロシュティー文書に関しては、感想を述べる程度の事しかできない。しかし、梵本と同様に、段晴教授が筆頭に、精緻な研究は、これまたドイツなど欧州の学的成果を見るように、整然としていてまさに晴れやかになる。パロウ (Thomas Burrow: 1909-1986) が、画期的な研究を公刊してからの学史的な展開を見る思いがする:

T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge at the University Press, 1937), ix, 134 p.

巻末のカロシュティー文書の語彙表 (p. 207-211, et p. 233-236) は簡略ながら、梵語との比較も挙げて、恐らくは今後の当該文献とその言語の研究に寄与するものであろう。段は、また、梵文断簡の研究でも、例えば『賢劫經』について既に公刊したことがあるが、ここに精緻な成果を収録していて有り難い。梵藏漢を丁寧に比較し、末尾に竺法護の訳語との比較表 (p. 133f.) などは、訳経史の研究にも資するものであろう。最後に、段教授が、カロシュティー文字表 (p. 237-242) を付していて便利である。末尾に、参考文献 (p. 251-253) を挙げて参考になる。

この叢書は、初巻を叶(葉)少勇博士の、中論頌の徹底的な研究で、すでにこの分野の研究の未来を知らせてくれていた。確かに、長い間に亘って全容を知ることができなかったものが、叶君ひとりで成し遂げて将来に光明を見る気がしたものだ: cf. *ARIRIAB*, XV: 2011 (2012), p. 240: ‘遊余白・XV-3’.

本書に取りあげられた典籍のほかにも、今後に発掘される未知の梵語仏典などの明るみにでるのを期待したい。将来、西域から出土した、たとえば木版典籍などが、こうした形で報告されるのを鶴首しているところである。個人的には、どうしても吐魯番博物館に保管される『寶徳藏般若』木版断簡のさらなる発見を望んでやまない。これは批判的原典研究だけではなく、経典成立史に貢献するに相違ない。

* * *

さて、西域に含めるかどうかはさておいて、チベットはインド系写本類の宝庫である事は良く知られている。何と云っても、身をもってそれを世界の学界に知らしめてくれたのが、ほかならぬラーフルジー (Rāhula Sāṃkrṭyāyana: 9.IV.1893-14.IV.1963) である。しかし、当時の事ゆえ、貴重な写本も若干の乾板写真で将来されて、多くの貴重な典籍が存在のみ知らされて、たとえ在処が明白でも、研究者にとっては手の届かぬ、まさに隔靴搔痒の思いで何十年かを過ごしてきた:

Rāhula Sāṃkrṭyāyana, “Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet”, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa*

Society, XX, 1 (Patna 1935), p. 21-43, plates on 2 pages. — [*Expedition 1919-1930*].

— , “Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS. in Tibet”, *ibid.*, XXIII, 1 (1937), p. 1-57, plates on 7 pages. — [*Expedition 1936*].

— , “Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Tibet”, *ibid.*, XXIV, 4 (1938), p. 137-163. — [*Expedition 1938*].

Cf. further J. L. Hill, *Honorary General Secretary to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, “Annual Report (dated 4 March 1937)”, *ibid.*, XXIII, 1 (1937), p. 160f.

Michael Torsten Much, *A Visit to Rahula Saṅkṛtyāyana’s Collection of Negatives at the Bihar Research Society: Texts from the Buddhist Epistemological School* (= *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft XIX) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Wien, 1988), 34 p. (incl. 3 photos on p. 5f.).

こうして何十年も続いた中で、もう既に存在しないと思われてきた典籍までが姿を現してきている。筆者が最も驚いた事件が、維摩經の梵本が完全な形で姿を現したことである：— Cf. A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)”, *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 267-269: §4 ‘*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* — Discovery of an Indic Manuscript’.

*

こうした中で、貴重な仏典資料の多くが北京へと運ばれた。どのくらいの数量になるのは審らかではないが、確かに中に貴重な典籍が多いことは疑いない。最近になって、中国の内外の研究者によって、多数の未知の典籍が日の目を見るようになってきている。

先のラーフルジーが報告し、その後イタリアのトゥッチ (Giuseppe Tucci: 1894-1984) が、*Āva Ri-phug* で撮影したという典籍が北京にあつて、それを発掘して精緻な研究を公刊してきた範慕尤博士の業績に触れなくてはなるまい：

Fan Mu-yu (Fàn Mù-yóu · 範慕尤), “Some Remarks on the Relationship between a Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Advayasamatāvijaya* from Tibet and its Tibetan Translation”, *ARIRIAB*, XI: 2007 (2008), p. 375-380.

幸いに、彼女の学位論文の成果が、いま上に取りあげている叢書に加わっているので、その貢献についても一言触れておかない訳にはいかない。この叢書を飾るに相応しい、徹底した研究だと思う。ただ、筆者は、この分野の専門家ではないので、これを正しく評価・論評する資格がないが、触れずにおくわけにはいかない。

刊行順に挙げれば、見落としがあるやも知れないが、更に下記の関連論文を経て、一書に纏め上げた大冊である：

範慕尤, 梵文寫本《無二平等經》的對勘與研究 / *A Study Based upon the Sanskrit Manuscript Found in Tibet* (= 梵文具葉經與佛教文獻系列叢書, II) (Shanghai 2011), B5: (vi), 10, 355 p., 7-page plates (facsimiles of Ms. No. 76). — ISBN 978-7-54750303-4.

Fan Mu-yu (Fàn Mù-yóu · 範慕尤), “Some Notes on Editing the Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Advayasamatāvijaya-mahākalparāja* with Reference to the Chinese and its Tibetan Translations”, *Tantric Studies*, (Hamburg 2008), p. 155-178, with 2-page ill. (photos of the Ms).

この論文の大半 (p. 162-180) は、いわば本典籍の批判的校訂本を作成する直前の見本を提供したもので、その精緻な成果を垣間見ることが出来る。

— , “Some Grammatical Notes on the *Advayasamatāvijayamahākalparāja*”, *Sanskrit Manuscripts in China: Proceedings of a Panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies, October 13 to 17*. Edited by Ernst Steinkellner in collaboration with Duan Qing,

Helmut Krasser [恩斯特斯坦因凱勒等編・中國的梵文寫本・北京藏學研討會梵文論] (Peking: China Tibetology Publishing House / 中國藏學, 2009), p. 41-46.

この梵語仏典に相当するのが『無二平等最上瑜伽大教王經』(Taisho No. 887)で、本邦にも関心を持つ学徒が多かろう。いうまでもなく、この極めて貴重な典籍を、巻末には写本の複写を挙げているなど、緻密で懇切な研究成果である。上にも見るように、写本の内容・伝承の経緯などを踏まえての成果である。

批判的原典の編纂にあたって、丁寧に写本の場所までも明記しているのは、誠に親切だと有り難く思う。ただ、筆者の個人的な関心からすると、著者は原典の批判的な研究に強い関心を持っているようなので、上の文法解析にしても、先ずはじっくりと偈頌の韻律を攻究して欲しかった。さもないと、音論を論じて、少しく中途半端に終わる危険があろう。また、折角の珍しい文法的な例外を挙げたらば、せめてエジャトンが取りあげているかどうかに言及して欲しかった。さすれば、本典籍の特色が、さらに一層浮かび上がる筈である。

いうまでもなく、本典籍の性格からして、単純に佛教梵語といって、エジャトンを参照すべきとは考えないが、参照するに値すると思う。実は、今日までも、仏教典籍で、極めて珍しい形があると、正しく古典梵語文法の範疇であるものを、仏教梵語形と決めつけて憚らないものも散見されるからである。

韻文の部分であれば、偈頌の韻律が、たとえ単純なアヌシュトウブ(*anuṣṭubh*, or simply *śloka*)であったとしても、こうした非古典梵語の文法体系を示すのであれば、本典籍なりの定型律が求められるかもしれないのだ。長母音の短音化や、母音連続禁忌のための子音挿入(Hiatus Bridger)などの特色も、どうした所で見られるかとか、極めて貴重な事実が判明してくるかも知れない。この典籍の時期の特徴も判明し、初期大乘經典の梵語文法の正確も浮き彫りになるかも知れないではないか。今後の更なる研究に、彼女の卓越した能力を発揮して戴きたく、今はもはや期待をかけるのみの老輩の希望を叶えて戴きたい。

彼女の文法解析で、真っ先に取りあげた長母音の韻律上の短音化は、例外のあることを認めて付記している事実からも、唯一の写本に頼らざる場合には、苦渋の決断を迫られる事例も多い。まさに真っ先に彼女が取りあげる *paripāṭe*, m.c., for *paripāṭo* も、著者が本文に前者を採用しながら、意を汲めば *paripāṭyā* が良いかと注記しているように、第五音節の短音節に執着しすぎてはならないようにも思う：

Cf. e.g. among numerous others III.1c *madhye cōtpalaṃ* ...; V.22c *svabimbaṃ kāmārci-°*.

前者では、一音節欠けているから、あるいは *ca utp°* と母音連続禁忌を避けて、つまり誤って書写したのかもしれない。こうすれば八音節がきちんと揃う。後者の場合、もしどうしても長母音を避けたければ、*kām'-arci-°* と原作者は逃げる方を選んだかも知れない。

また、どうしても第五音節に長母音を避けねばならないとすれば、続く語頭音が短音節を長母音化しかねれば、語頭の重子音を韻律上単子音と見做す例と取っても良いのではないか: e.g. III.21c *dīpra-jvāl°* (= / -).

実は、こうした実例は決して不自然ではない。これに固執すると、実は、本典籍には第五節の長母音(long by nature)は非常に多い。つまり、筆者は、古典的な韻律法則に余りに束縛されて、写本表記をすべて書写者の無知による誤写と見做して修訂を施し過ぎる危険に陥ることを恐れる。いずれが可か考え抜いてから(=)、長母音を採

用しても良いのではないか: cf. further Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, XV: 2011 (2012), p. 218-220: §4.2.6-9.

しつこく韻律について述べてしまったが、決して範博士の欠点を論う積もりではない。彼女も、例外を認めなければならない事を承知している。古典梵語文学ではあり得ないような短母音二個を長母音一個に代用できる等は、仏教梵語文献に珍しい事ではない。典籍それぞれに木目細かく精査しなければならない。ある典籍では、短母音二個を長母音一個に代用できるのは(≡)、句(*pāda*)頭に限られるが、他の典籍では異なる韻律で句中でも出来るとか。しかも、この二短音節は、次に連続する音節に重子音があっても、上記のように影響を受けずにいるとか(≡ + ≡):

Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, “Remarks on the Metre of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *Commemoration Volume on the 70th Birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira*, II (= *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, II) (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XCVI (New Delhi 1973), p. 243-253. — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 361: Item II.18.

See also e.g. A. Yuyama, “Supplementary Remarks on ‘Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from the N. F. Petrovsky Collection’ by G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin”, *IJJ*, IX, 2 (1966), p. 85-112, esp. p. 104-107 (on the *Triṣṭubh[-Jagatī]* metre). — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 359: Item II.4.

仏教梵語文献の韻文は、各典籍のそれぞれが、文法体系と韻律定型との掛け合いによる一進一退の結果、その典籍の特徴を掴み取るしかない。こうして積み上げてこそ、歯がゆいが、初めて終着点に至る長い道程だと思う。ましてや写本が一本だけの場合は、かえって易しさよりも難しさが増すことも多い。

蔵漢訳が存在して、長らく梵語原典が散逸してしまっている時に、蔵漢典籍の持つ意義は極めて大きい。確かに、それらは原典と考えて然るべきであるが、過大に評価してはならない。蔵漢訳の成立以後、現代に至るまで果たした訳文の役割は、極めて大きく貴重であるが、蔵漢訳の成立した背景を考慮して初めて原典的な意味を持つのだ。これが屢々誤解されてしまう。

こうした文献学的・原典批判的な問題に入り込むと複雑な議論になってしまうので、今は翻訳・訂正・修復にも特別な配慮が必要な事を喚起しておきたい:

Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, “Why Kumārajīva Omitted the Latter Half of Chapter V in Translating the *Lotus Sūtra*”, *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, hrsg. von Friedrich Wilhelm (Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1996), p. 325-330. — cf. cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 370: Item II.64.

Cf. —, “Restoration – Translation – Emendation: Along the Way to Revisit the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* Cited by Kamalaśīla in his *Bhāvanākrama*”, *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori* [森祖道博士頌寿記念・仏教学インド学論集] (Hamamatsu: Kokusai Bukkyōto Kyōkai, 2002), p. 215-224. — cf. Yuyama 2013, p. 373: Item II.84 for further reference.

つまり、仏教梵語典籍の原典批判をするに当たっては、古典梵語の韻律を当て嵌める事には所詮無理がある事から出発しなくてはならない。例えば、古典梵語典籍の韻律に関しては、ごく最近に目を瞞る論文に接したので挙げておきたい。著者は、スタンフォード大学で、印欧語比較文法を専攻し、就中インド・アーリヤ語の権威のもとで学位を取り、現在はイェール大学にあって研究教授に携わっているようだ。

この論文では、われわれが今試行錯誤を重ねているような問題はなく、すでに土着

文法家と近代の印欧語の研究者による韻律研究の土台の上での議論になって行くように見える。

しかし、こうした古典梵語文学の中で、実はヴァサントティラカー律(Vasantatilakā scheme)にも、この三音節単位を重ねて作る (trika-system) 幾つかの韻律型が生じている事を知る。

ましてや、これに前述の『寶徳藏般若』における、少なくとも句初の変形などを考慮すれば、際限のない問題を孕んでいるわけである:

Ashwini S. Deo, “The Metrical Organization of Classical Sanskrit Verse”, *Journal of Linguistics*, XLIII, 1 (Cambridge, Jan.-March 2007), p. 63-114, see esp. p. 104f. on the *Vasantatilakā* metre (§6.4)!

余録・このチベットや中央アジア方面で出土・発見される典籍類は、今や人種・宗教を問わずに、貴重な人類の文化遺産というべきで、筆者の関心をよく知る友人が、興味深い記事を送ってくれた。中国政府も、こうした仕事で国民を鼓舞し、異民族間の団結を促しているのかも。・・・二〇一一年八月二十二日十時五十分付の新華社通信の提供で、中華人民共和国中央人民政府のホームページに、次のようなキャプションで報じているのに瞠目した。簡体字を繁体字に直して引用しておこう:

『西藏完成貝葉經編目工作 現存5萬多葉(頁)貝葉經』

五万葉にもものぼる写本類の解説・編纂が、既に進んでいるという、上記の一書は正しく氷山の一角がお目見えしただけである。

また、それまでに五年の歳月をかけて、「西藏啓動梵文貝葉經保護」や研究などが進んでいて、すでに編撰の完成したものもあるという。

しかし、今もって、内部資料と称するものもあるようで、残念でならない。筆者が一九八二年に招かれて中国を訪ねた折にも、書店で喉から手が出るほど見たい資料の買い付けが出来ず、旧國際佛教學研究所圖書館のために購入したくも厳しく拒絶されたり、郵便局へ持ち込む荷物が書籍と判ると、すべて荷造りを解かれて検閲されたりしたものだ。今もなお涙を飲んだことを鮮烈に思い起こす。中国で少数民族と称する人々の言語資料は、概して内部資料として、外国人の購入・帯出を禁じていたが、いまだに厳格な印象を与える記事でもあった。チベット自治区に珍藏されている貝葉經の影印本の集成なども既にあるようだが、判然としない報道も研究者を悲しめるだけか。

さて、愚痴を零していても始まらない。こうして見ると、北京のインド学仏教学は、将来に非常な期待を抱かせるに十分な発展を遂げて来ていることが知られよう。今後に極めて大きな期待を寄せるものである。

その北京から、北京大学の梵文貝葉經與佛教文獻研究所 (Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature) が、タイ国の法身寺法勝大学 (Dharmachai Institute of Dhammakaya Temple) と協同して、パーリ三蔵の中国語訳を刊行し始めたことである。

われわれは、仏教漢語が現代の中国人にとって、極めて難しい古語であることをあまり知らない。だから、こうした大企画に疑問を持つ向きもあるに違いない。しかし、いま学問的な背景をもって、きちんと仏典が優れた研究者たちによって現代中国語に翻訳される事を歓迎したい。少しく煩雑な人材構成だが、初めてなので挙げておきたい:

Peking University - 北大・法勝巴利佛典(= PKU-Dhmmachai Pali Series):

北京大學梵文貝葉經與佛教文獻研究所／Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist

Literature・泰國法身寺法勝大學／Dhammachai Institute of Dhammakaya Temple: 漢譯巴利三藏・經藏／Chinese Translation Series of Pali Text・長部／Dīgha-nikāya (上海・中西書局, 2012): — 主編／Chief Editors: 中國・China — 段晴／泰國・Thailand — 釋賢星・Ven. Thanavuddho Bhikkhu — 編委・Editorial Committee: 中國・China — 王邦維・薩爾吉(Saerji)・叶少勇・高鴻／泰國・Thailand — Phra Surapornchai Smacitto, Phramahā Ariya Ariyajayo, Chakhrit Laemmuang, Wilaporn Sucharitthammakul／訳者: 段晴／皮建軍・朱卿竟旻・李穎・李膺函・普倉・周利群・孫皓・李函思・賈姍姍／協助証義: 泰國法勝大學 (上海・中西書局, 2012.8), (vi), 35, 591 p. — ISBN 978-7-5475-0382-9. — P120元.

*

目次からみると、Thanavuddho Bhikkhu (釋賢星) が巴利仏典の由来を解説し(p. 1-6)、段晴が詳細に巴漢の関係などをきめ細かく解き明かし(p. 7-30)、更に彼女が翻訳上の問題点を説明する(p. 31-35)。また、巻末に、付録として巴漢と漢巴対照表も挙げる(p. 567-575 / 576-588)。

筆者に、訳文の評論が出来るはずはないが、翻訳を担当する漢訳者に、主編の段晴教授を筆頭に戴き、信頼のおける專家が揃っているの、タイ国のパーリ語文献の專家と協同した学術的な成果であろうと思う。

タイ国の詳しい仏教・仏教学の事情を知らないが、法身寺の財団は、早くから国際的にも、仏教学の交流・促進に力を惜しまなかったようである。因みに、1990年には、諸外国からも仏教学者の参加を得て、二十一世紀に向けての仏教はいかにあるべきかの学会を模様している。その折の記事録が、遅れに遅れたが、刊行されているので周知のことであろう:

Buddhism into the Year 2000: Proceedings of the First International Conference, held in Bangkok from 7 to 10 February 1990 (Patumthani near Bangkok: Dhammakāya Foundation, 1992, actually appeared in 1996), 345 p., 9-page plates, ill., portraits. — ISBN 978-89-2093-3.

そして、当該寺院財団(Wat Phra Dhammakaya)は、二〇一〇年四月には、“The Dhammachai Tipiṭaka Project”を打ち上げ、現存する貝葉写本の蒐集・保存、三蔵文献のデジタル化にも乗り出した。例えば、すでにスリランカ各地の諸寺院などに保管される貴重なパーリ語仏典のデジタル化も進んでいるらしい。

これらのデータベースを保存するだけでなく、古典語を理解しない人々のために近代語訳を作成しようという。

今回は、こうした動きに、北京大学の協力のもとに、学術的な中国語訳が企画されたのであろう。また、恐らく、タイ国の中国系人口の精神的・財政的な支援もあるのではないか。

これは恐らく、本邦の仏教学研究にとって、将来は参照するに値する文献となるに違いない。この壮大な計画を歓迎し、その順調な進捗・完成を期待したい。

早くも、この中国語訳の大蔵経は、わが国の大学図書館にも、台湾の仏教系の大学図書館にも入庫・配架されていることを付記したい。本邦の專家の論評を期待する次第である。

かつて本邦にも、国内のインド学仏教学を専攻する学徒を総動員しての大企画がいくつもあった中で、『南傳大藏經』の翻訳があったことを思いおこす。かたや、片山一良教授のごとく、その大難事を独りで成し遂げる快挙もある。

遊余白・XVII-2: महायानसूत्रालंकारः
『大乘莊嚴經論』の睽目すべき協同研究

ここで門外漢の筆者が余計な事を書き並べてはならないが、これまた睽目すべき協同研究の可能性を如何なく発揮する事に触れざるを得ない。かのシルヴァン・レヴィ (Sylvain Lévi: 1863-1935) が本典籍の梵本と仏訳を公刊したのは、既に一世紀余前のことである:

Asaṅga: Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra exposé de la doctrine du grand véhicule selon le système Yogācāra, édité et traduit d'après un manuscrit rapporté du Népal par Sylvain Lévi, I-II (= *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques*, CLIX-1 & CXC-2) (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1907-1911), III, 191 p. (texte en devanāgarī) & 344 p., 1 table.

その後、上海で復刻版が出たり(1940)、本邦でも京都・臨川書店が復刻叢書に加えた (= *Rinsen Buddhist Text Series*, IV, 1-2) (1983) [ISBN 4-65300950-3 & 951-1].

因みに、レヴィは机上での仕事だけではなく、常に「現地」に赴いた。楽しんででもいたようだ:

Cf. e.g. Désirée Sylvain Lévi, *Dans l'Inde (de Ceylan au Népal)* (Paris: F. Rieder et C^{ie}, 1925), 244 p.

学術的な索引の範を垂れるように長尾雅人 (1907-2005) が、日本学術振興会から、戦後の苦しい中で、梵蔵漢の索引を公刊した(1958-1961):

Index to the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra, ed. Gadjin Nagao, 2 vols.: xxii, 285 p. & vii, 274 p.

長尾雅人は、まさに生涯をかけた研究をなし、四巻の研究ノートも遺している。その間に多くの研究が公刊されてきた。舟橋尚哉も写本の研究との深く対照を試みる研究を公刊する:

『ネパール写本対照による大乘莊嚴經論の研究』(東京・国書刊行会, 1985), 238, 19, 55 p.

その他、宇井伯壽・小谷信千代・袴谷憲昭／荒井裕明など等の研究や和訳などがあり、龍谷大学所蔵の梵文写本の写真復刻版も、御子神恵生の責任編集のもとに公刊されている:

Sanskrit manuscripts of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra from Nepal (龍谷大学佛教文化研究所編) (京都・法蔵館, 1995), 406 p. [写本Bの美しい一葉・fol.117aが下記の能仁正顕編・大乘莊嚴經論, XVIIの表紙カバーを飾る].

江島恵教の非常な努力で、当代の先端を行く仲間に声をかけて、東京大学所蔵のデルゲ版大藏經の複製刊行を企画した中に、唯識部は袴谷憲昭が担当し、極めて便益性の高い書誌学的な記述を担当した。まさに適材であった。今に参照すべきであろう:

東京大学文学部印度哲学印度文学研究室編集・デルゲ版 チベット大藏經 論疏部(東京大学文学部所蔵)唯識部 (*Sems-tsam*) (東京・世界聖典刊行協会発行, 1979): Derge No. 4020, p. 1-4.

しかし、上記のように、その後の研究の進歩は目覚ましく、特に目を惹くのは、いつもながら人文科学での協同研究で京都勢の仕事、就中仏教学で長尾雅人先生一門のいわゆる「長尾塾」の成果には、よくぞ塾生多人数で出せるものと驚愕するばかりである。次の二点の刊行がそれである:

能仁正顕編集／執筆: 荒牧典俊・桂紹隆・早島理・芳村博実・内藤昭文・能仁正顕・藤田祥道・乗山悟・那須良彦・長尾重輝, 『大乘莊嚴經論』第一章の和訳と注解 — 大乘の確立 — (= 龍谷大学仏教文化研究叢書, XX) (京都・自照社出版, 2009), 197 p. — ISBN 978-4-9033858371. — [Including a detailed 'Introduction' (p. 19-33), a critically edited Sanskrit text on even pages and a Japanese translation on odd pages (p. 35-83) followed by meticulous notes (p. 84-135) and 6 appendices, including Gadjin M. Nagao's introductory remarks on Chap. I, verses 1-6 (= Appendix I), p. 138-140; Noritoshi Aramaki's articles on some problems on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, I: *Mahāyānasiddhi*' (= Appendix II, p. 141-164).

そして僅か四年後の最近になって、第十七章{Tib. Derge XVIII}の詳細な研究成果が刊行された。編集は同じく能仁正顕、執筆陣には次の世代の塾生も加わる: 荒牧典俊・岩本明美・上野隆平・大西薫・桂紹隆・加納和雄・内藤昭文・能仁正顕・乗山悟・早島理・藤田祥道・若原雄昭:

『大乘莊嚴經論』第XVII章の和訳と注解 — 供養・師事・無量とくに悲無量 — (= 龍谷大学仏教文化研究叢書, XXX) (京都・自照社出版, 2013), viii, 386 p. [No ISBN]

これも前巻同様に、梵語原典を批判的に編み、右頁に和訳を対照して、非常に分かり易く、さらに詳しい注記を施す。更に、注解にくわえて、附論も注目に値する。丁寧な梵和索引・要語索引・書誌と至れり尽くせりというべきか。また、さすがに時代は進んで、近年の各地で出土した写本類などが、遺憾なく利用される。下に附論の内容を簡略に記しておきたい:

- 1 加納和雄, “『大乘莊嚴經論』ゴル寺伝存具葉写本の翻刻”, p. 216-220 [Chap. XVII, verses 27-39].
- 2 — —, “ヴァイローチャナラクシタ作『大乘莊嚴經論』注”, p. 221-257 [Comm. ad XVII text & trsl.].
- 3 Gadjin M. Nagao, “The Bodhisattva's Compassion Described in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*” (in: *Nagao Volume*, Honolulu 2000), trsl. into Jap. by Kaoru Ōnishi (大西薫), p. 259-264 [Chap. XVII, verses 29-64].
- 4 内藤昭文, “『大乘莊嚴經論』の構成と第XVII章 — 「供養・師事(親近)・無の章」の構造 —”, p. 265-313.
- 5 若原雄昭, “『菩薩地』 「供養・師事・無量の章」和訳”, p. 315-343 [梵漢対照・和訳].
- 6 岩本明美, “第XVII章全66偈頌の韻律”, p. 345.---[韻律から推し量る原典の性格を解説して欲しかった].

◎ 南米から仏教哲学の真髓を説く

今や世界的に活躍するアルゼンティンの首都・ブエノス・アイレスの鴛鴦学者夫妻＝フェルナンド・トーラ博士 (Fernando Tola: *1915) と、その夫人カルメン・ドラゴネッティ博士 (Carmen Dragonetti: *1937) を知らぬ仏教学者もいまい。あらためて紹介するまでもなさそうだが、フェルナンドは、ペルーの首府リマのサン・マルコ国立大学名誉教授で、かつてカルメンは彼の一番弟子であった。

長い話はさておき、熱心なキリスト教界の中心地で、インド学仏教学を専攻すること自体、並大抵の苦勞ではなかったはずである。その困難の中で、しかも高い国際水準を常にひたすら歩む姿は、もはや尊敬の域すら超えている。残念ながら、南米の地に足を踏み込んだ経験がないので、肌で知る由もないが、恐らくは、仏教の研究などは、いわば敵情視察にも等しい学問であったろう。フェルナンドは、若いうちにパリへ留学して、西欧の進んだインド学を修得していた。

彼らがインド学仏教学に限らず、比較哲学的な論著も公刊している。インド哲学・仏教哲学と幅広い分野に卓見を示すと評価されている。

何はともあれ、国際仏教学会が、その長い歴史の中で多数の優れた研究者で、学会および学界に貢献した方々を顕彰してきた。遅きに失した感はあるが、フェルナンド・トーラ博士を二〇一一年六月の学術大会で、名誉会員に推挙されたことを知り、慶びに堪えない。すでに九十六歳を目前としてのことで、今に健在に研究業績を公刊するフェルナンドとカルメンの益々の健勝と活躍を念ずる次第である。

彼らは、アルゼンティンへ移ってから早くも数十年が経つが、独自に研究所を設けて、いわば中南米の斯学にも多大の影響を与えてきた。しかも、彼らの公刊した業績は、質のみならず、その数量にも驚嘆せざるを得ない。その中で最新作が、下記の一書である：

Fernando Tola y Carmen Dragonetti,
Filosofía Budista - La vaciedad universal
(= *Colección Anthropografías*, Ricardo Abduci, IV)
(Buenos Aires: Las cuarenta, 2013), 232 pages.
ISBN 978-987-1501-53-4.

この書と似た研究成果も早くに公刊されているが、内容がすべて重複しているわけではない。本書では、アーリャデーヴァ (Āryadeva) の *Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti*、ナーガールジュナ (Nāgārjuna) の *Pratītyasamutpādayakārikā* と *Catuhstava* を三部にわけて扱っているが、二十年も前に出た次著では、*Hastavālanāmaprakaraṇavṛtti* に加えて、*Yuktiṣaṣṭikārikā*, *Śūnyatāsaptatikārikā*, *Catuhstava* を解明する。次著は、恐らく更に五年遡って、スペイン語で出したものの改訂英語版だろうと思う：

Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti, *A Study on Buddhist Nihilism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1995), xxxv, 170 p. — ISBN 81-208-1061-9.
— , *Nihilismo Budista: La doctrina de la vaciedad* (= *Le Red de Jonás: Oriente*, V) (México: Premiá, 1990), 217 p. — ISBN 978-968434502-7.

梵語原典を精確に読み、文献学的に不可欠の方法を駆使し、根本的に龍樹にはじまる中観派の普遍的な空思想を、しっかりと原典に照らして究明する。その問題の一端を解明するにあたって、今日までの世界的な学界の業績を踏まえて立証して行

く。筆者の力量を遙かに超えた議論で、とても論評できる立場にないが、序論と巻末の参考文献を見るだけでも、十分に初学者向け以上の教科書にもなろうかと思う。

幸いに、彼らの、語学力をもって、種々の言語で書かれた論攷に目を通し、母国語のスペイン語のみならず、お隣のポルトガル語で書かれたものもあるが、相当数が英文論著である。上記の書も英文で公刊されれば、広く学界に裨益することであろう。こうした業績が、ゆくゆくは少なくとも中南米の若い学徒を刺激して、有為の学者が育ってくることを願わずにはいられない。

もはや大分古い話だが、縁あって筆者の古巣であった国際仏教学研究所に招いて、共に学び、我が国の学界の多くの研究者と親交を深めて下さったことは、懐かしくもあり、有り難い交流の出発となった。両人が一書を同研究所の叢書に貢献して下さった事も同慶のいたりである：

The Avayavinirākaraṇa of Paṇḍita Aśoka: Sanskrit Text, edited with an annotated English Translation by F. Tola & C. Dragonetti (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Monograph Series*, X) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1994), xxi, 145 p. — ISBN 4-906267-35-1.

彼ら両人は、いうまでもなく哲学的な領野を得意とするが、大乘経典にも深い関心を示し、法華経の梵本からスペイン語への翻訳もものしている：

El Sūtra del Loto de la Verdadera Doctrina: Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra. Traducción del sánscrito al español, con Introducción y Notas por Fernando Tola y Carmen Dragonetti (Mexico DF: Centro de Estudios de Asia y Africa – El Colegio de México / Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Budistas, 1999), (iv), xxxi, 555 p. — ISBN 978-12-091-5-X. これが彼ら自身で修訂・第二版をものしたのは、特にアメリカ大陸でのイスパニック系の人々にインパクトを与えるものであった：

Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra: El Sūtra del Loto de la Verdadera Doctrina. Traducción del sánscrito al español, con Introducción y Notas por Fernando Tola y Carmen Dragonetti. Segunda edición revisada, aumentada y corregida por los autores (Hillsborough, N.J.: Dharma Translation Organization, 2010) [Distributed by Fundación Bodhiyāna, Buenos Aires / Associação Budista América do Sul Tzong Kwan, São Paulo, Brasil / Printed in Taiwan], 678 p. — ISBN 978-0-578-04576-4.

このスペイン語版から、さらにポルトガル語の重訳書も出て、法華経の魅力を、世界の多くの人口に見せたことも特記しておきたい：

Sūtra do Lótos da verdadeira Doutrina: Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra. Tradução para o português a partir da segunda edição espanhola revista e corrigida pelos autores Fernando Tola e Carmen Dragonetti por Carlos Alberto da Fonseca (Florham, N.J.: Primordia, 2006), 623 p. — ISBN 1-933554-09-6 (alk.paper).

更に加えれば、これに飽きず、無量義経 (Taisho 276) のスペイン語訳も刊行する。彼らの仏教学に必要なアジアの諸言語に通じている証でもある：

El Sūtra de los infinitos significados. Wu Liang I Ching. Traducción del Chino al español con introducción y notas por Fernando Tola y Carmen Dragonetti (= *Religiones en Dialogo: Textos 7*) (Bilbao: Desclée De Brouwer, 2000), 94 p. — ISBN 84-330-1322-2.

ご両人の業績を挙げ出したら、まさに際限がない。せめて上に紹介した最近刊書の末尾に付された参考文献を参照して戴きたい。彼らの活動の一面が見れよう。

ただ一つ付け加えたいのは、彼らが洋の東西の文化比較にも関心を抱き、論著をいくつか多方面で公刊していることである。たとえば、その片鱗だけでも：

Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti, *On the Myth of the Opposition between Indian Thought and Western Philosophy* (= *Philosophische Texte und Studien*, LXXIX) (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms, 2004), 293 p. — ISBN 3-487-12596-X.

Besprechung von Ernst Steinkellner, *WZKS*, XLVIII (2004), p. 224f.

Review by Peter Stephan, *ZDMG*, CLVII, 2 (2007), p. 515-518.

Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti, “India y Grecia Antes de Alejandro”, *Boletín Española de Proentalistas*, Año XXXIV (1998), p. 353-377 (continuará); —, “ —, II”, *ibid.*, XXXV (1999), p. 247-258.

彼らの本拠は、全く私的な書齋を研究所として、その活動を展開してきた。おそらく蒐集したブエノス・アイレスの文庫は、中南米随一であろうと想像するに難くない。今は財団組織になっているようだ：

Fundación Instituto de Estudios Budistas (= FIEB).

そこで半年刊を試みた純粋に学術的な定期刊行物は、大きな役割を果たしたにもかかわらず、極めて残念にも財政的に無理で、十年の歳月で休刊してしまった。惜しみて余りある。何とか再刊して欲しいと念願する：

Revista de Estudios Budistas, I

(México DF: Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Budistas, 1991-)

ISSN 088-591X.

彼らの関心の深さ・広さは大変なもので、興味のある方は、二十点は下らないと思うので、内外の主要な国公立の図書館や東洋学、就中インド学仏教学に関心をもつ大学図書館など等で検索してみたい。

遊余白・XVII-3:

重要な近刊書の数行紹介をあきらめて略覚書

時間切れで然るべき紹介が出来ないので、この余白を利用して、近刊の維摩経現代語訳・下記二点を見て、かつて興味をもった問題を思い出し、まさしく未完成の感想文を簡略に書き留めておきたい：

今となれば大昔、筆者はカマラシーラ (Kamalaśīla/蓮華戒) の『修習次第』 (*Bhāvanākrama*), IIIの写本(複写本)の原典研究を始めたことがあった。その計画は、事情があつて中断したが、重要な經典原本の散逸していた時代に、彼が本典籍で引用する經典類、特に維摩経に、非常な興味を抱いた：

“Kamalaśīlaの*Bhāvanākrama* に引用された維摩経”，*東方學*, XXVIII (1969), p. 1(105)-16(90) [‘English summary on p. *9*] (= Yuyama 1969). — Cf. also my review of “Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, III: *Third Bhāvanākrama* (= *SOR*, XLIII) (Roma: IsMEO, 1971)”, *IJ*, XII, 4 (1975), p. 265-270.

そうこうしているうちに、幻かと思われる維摩経の梵本を、大正大学のラサへの調査団が発見・公刊した事は、誰もが驚き慶んだに相違ない: cf. *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 267-269!

梵本の公刊をみて、更に日本語訳・漢語訳とを購入手続きで、蓮華戒の引用一カ所を覗いて見たら、案の定というべきか、その引用は確かに要点を掴んだ表現だったことが再認識できた：

『修習次第・三』の写本を再構した... *upāya-rahitā ca prajñā bandhaḥ / prajñā-rahitāḥ copāyo bandhaḥ / prajñā-sahita upāyo mokṣaḥ / upāya-sahitā <ca> prajñā mokṣa iti ... /* (folio 6a6) で見ると、語呂を合わせた如く明快に記されているが (Yuyama 1969, p. 10/96-11/95)、經典原本は方便・智慧／束縛・解脱の説示を *saṃgrhīta- / a-saṃgrhīta-* を対語にしているところなど、蓮華戒の簡要直截な *sahita-/rahita-* を更めて非常に愉快地読んだ。今後は、他の引用も含めて、もっと掘り下げて見ると興味は尽きないだろう。

高橋尚夫・西野翠, 梵文和訳・維摩経 / *Vimalakṛti-nirdeśa* (東京・春秋社, 2011), p. 100-102.

東西の主要な研究成果を縦横に駆使して、詳細な訳注を施し、分かり易さを心がけた労作だと評価したい。黄寶生, 梵漢対勘・維摩経所説経 (= 梵漢佛經対勘叢書) (北京・中国社会科学出版社, 2011), p. 156-158.

梵本の公刊を待っていたかのように、原典を挙げて、現代漢語訳をなし、羅什・玄奘訳を併記して便利である。

Brief Communication: Newly Identified Folios in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*

As I remarked earlier [Kudo 2013: 255, fn. 1]¹: “the National Archives of India (New Delhi) and the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University (Tokyo) agreed on publishing a new facsimile edition of the Gilgit manuscripts — except those of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* — now deposited at the former organization,” the Gilgit Manuscripts preserved in the National Archives in India are newly taken in color so that it becomes possible to decipher them again and identified. This brief communication is a result of our joint project and was made possible by reading the new photographs.

No. 47, FE 3119/3120.

Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II.

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|---------|
| FE no. recto/verso | Hidas | Iwamoto |
| 3120 recto | 13.14-20 [p. 47] | Mp 6 |
| 3119 verso | 13.21-26 [p. 47] | Mp 6 |

Gergely Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī, the Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells: Introduction, Critical Editions and Annotated Translation*. (Śata-pīṭaka series: Indo-Asian literatures: v. 636), New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture/Aditya Prakashan, 2012.

Yutaka Iwamoto, *Mahāpratisarā Pañcarakṣā II*, (Beiträge zur Indologie, 3) Kyoto 1937 .

No. 51e, FE 3292–3295.

Rājāvavādakasūtra

Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II, 7 lines.

Sanskrit text of this sūtra is not available but a part of it is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*². These fragments correspond to the quotation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

| | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|---------|---------|
| FE no. recto/verso | Śikṣ | Śikṣ.[Ch], T1636 | T 515 | T 593 |
| 3292 recto | 207.10-208.4 | 117a6- | 788a16- | 126a19- |
| 3293 verso | 208.4-11 | 117a22- | 788b9- | 126b17- |
| 3294 recto | 208.11-209.2 | 117b1- | 788b26- | 126c2- |
| 3295 verso | 209.2 | 117b13- | 788c16- | 126c17- |

Cecil Bendall (ed.), *Çikṣhāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhist Teaching* (Bibliotheca Buddhica no. 1), St. Petersburg, 1897–1902.

Rājāvavādakasūtra.

Ch. No. 515 如來示教勝軍王經 *Rúláishìjiàoshèngjūnwángjīng*, tr. by 玄奘 (Xuán zàng), 649 CE., 786c-789a.

Ch. No. 514 佛說諫王經 *Fóshuō jiàn wáng jīng*, tr. by 沮渠京聲 (Jù qú jīng shēng), 464 CE., 785c-786c, esp. 786c3-7 (but it does not correspond to our fragments).

Ch. No. 516 佛說勝軍王所問經 *Fóshuō shèngjūnwángsuǒwèn jīng*, tr. by 施護 (Danapāla), 789a-791a, esp. 790a11-? (but it does not correspond to our fragments).

Ch. No. 593 佛為勝光天子說王法經 *Fówéishèngguāngtiānzīshuōwángfǎ jīng*, tr. by 義淨 (Yìjìng), 705 CE., vol. 15, 125a-127.

Tib. *Rājāvavādaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (*Phags pa rgyal po la gdams pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i*

1. Noriyuki Kudo, “A Newly Identified Manuscript of the *Pāramitāsamāsa* in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*,” in: *ARIRIAB XVI* (2013), 255–266.

2. Quotation in Śāntideva’s *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 12, pp. 206.11–209.2: (“Rājāvavādakasūtre 'py āha l’”); Ch. of Śikṣ., T. 1636 大乘集菩薩學論 *Dàchéng jí púsà xuélùn*, vol. 32, 117b2–14.

mdo). Tōh. no. 221. Derge Kanjur, vol. DZA, folios 78r.1–84v.4.

No. 51e, FE 3300–3301.

Sudhanakumāra-avadāna

Divy. XXX, esp. 440.4-441.6. Parallel to *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, GBM, FE 1020-1021, 176r5-176v4, ; Dutt, III.1, 130.12-132.5.

| | | | | | |
|------|-------------|------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| FE | recto/verso | FE | Folio (Bhaiṣajyavastu) | Dutt | Divy. |
| 3300 | r | 1020 | 176r5-8 | III.1, 130.12-22 | 440.4-15 |
| 3301 | v | 1020 | 176r8-1021.176v4. | III.i, 130.22-132.5 | 440.15-441.6 |

Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*. Vol. III.1. Srinagar, 1947.

E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, *Divyāvādāna. A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, 1886.

No. 51e, FE 3281–82.

Avadānaśataka* § 72 *Supriyā

| | | | | | |
|------|-------------|-----------------|------|-------------|------------------|
| FE | recto/verso | Aś | FE | recto/verso | Aś |
| 3281 | recto | Aś. II. 8.6-9.6 | 3282 | verso | Aś. II. 9.6-10.4 |

Avadānaśataka. A Century of Edifying Tales belonging to the Hīnayāna. Ed. by J. S. Speyer, (Bibliotheca Buddhica. III) [Rep. Meicho-Fukyū-kai, 1977].

No. 52d, FE 3320, 3322.

Mahāpratisāra Pañcarakṣā

Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I.

| | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|---------|--------|-------------|---------|
| FE no. | recto/verso | Iwamoto | FE no. | recto/verso | Iwamoto |
| 3320 | left recto | 16 | 3320 | right verso | 16 |
| 3322 | right recto | 17 | 3322 | left verso | 17 |

3322 right is a lefthand part of 1109r3-5 (serial no. 6); 3322 left is that of 1109v1-3.

Yutaka Iwamoto, *Mahāpratisāra Pañcarakṣā II*, Kyoto 1937 (Beiträge zur Indologie, 3).

Text of 3322 corresponds to Hidas:[28-29], p. 63.

No. 59a, FE 3241-3248.

Sumāgadhā-avadāna

Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II. 6 lines.

These folios comprise Manuscript C of the *Sumāgadhā-avadāna* in the *GBM*. There are three manuscripts: Ms A = no. 7 [1285/1284], 10 [1414-1425]; Ms B: 52c [3305, 3304/3303], 51c [3268, 3277/3278]; Ms C: 51c [3270–3275], 52c [3310], 59a [3241–3248], 60c [3358/3359].

Gilgit version of the *Sumāgadhā-avadāna* is very close to its Tibetan translation and shorter than a Sanskrit text of Nepalese manuscripts and a Kashmir recension preserved in the *Bodhisatvāvadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra. Our Gilgit version belongs to C-stage which might be a prototype of a present Sanskrit text from which the Tibetan text and the Kashmir recension had derived (see Iwamoto, pp. 189–190). Details are discussed in another occasion.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|------------|------|-------|-----|------------|
| FE | Folio | r/v | Tibetan | FE | Folio | r/v | Tibetan |
| 3241 | 164 | r | Tib. 67-69 | 3242 | 164 | v | Tib. 70-74 |
| 3243 | 165 | r | Tib. 75-78 | 3244 | 165 | v | Tib. 79-82 |
| 3245 | 166 | r | Tib. 82-84 | 3246 | 166 | v | Tib. 84-87 |
| 3247 | 167 | r | Tib. 87-90 | 3248 | 167 | v | Tib. 90-97 |

岩本裕 『佛教説話研究第五巻 「スマーガダー＝アヴァダーナ」 研究』, 東京: 開明書院, 1979 [Yutaka Iwamoto, *Bukkyo setsuwa kenkyu Vol. 5, Sumāgadhā-avadāna kenkyū*] 1979, Tokyo: Kaimei shoin].

Noriyuki KUDO

活動報告 (平成25年2月以降)

「研究所運営委員会」を年に2、3回の割合で開会。

「国際仏教学高等研究所委員会」を月2回の割合(夏期・冬期休暇中を除く)で開会。

以下、主立った活動について記す

平成25年度

4月10日(水)~18日(木) 辛嶋教授 ドイツ・ザクセン学士院の招聘でドイツ出張

4月11日：ライプツヒ大学、インド学・中央アジア学研究所で“*What did the word mahāyāna originally mean?*”と題して講演

4月12日： *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins* 三冊に対して、ドイツ・ザクセン学士院から、アジア研究に対して出されるFriedrich-Weller賞を授与される

4月16日：ミュンヘン大学、インド学・チベット学研究所で“*Was the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Compiled in Gandhāra in Gāndhārī?*”と題して講演

4月 研究所出版物発送

・『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』平成24年度(第16号) [3月31日付発刊]

4月19日(金)~5月16日(木) ベルリン自由大学名誉教授 ハリー・ファルク博士 (Prof. emer. Dr. Harry FALK, Free University of Berlin) 招聘研究員として滞在

5月1日(水) 第64回 仏教学懇話会

講師：ローレ・ザンダー博士(元ベルリン・インド美術館学芸員) (Dr. Lore SANDER, ex-curator, Museum of Indian Art, Berlin)

テーマ：キジル石窟壁画に見えるトカラの王侯たち (Tokharian Royals in Kizil Caves)

講師：ハリー・ファルク博士 (ベルリン自由大学名誉教授) (Prof. emer. Dr. Harry FALK, Free University of Berlin)

テーマ：ガンダーラの仏教寺院におけるワイン (Wine in the Buddhist Monasteries of Gandhāra)

7月12日(金)~15日(月) 辛嶋教授 中国出張

7月13日~14日：故宮博物館内の故宮博物院で開催された国際学術シンポジウム「宮廷典籍与東亜文化交流」に参加、“论《甘珠尔》的系统及对藏译佛经文献学研究的重要性”(カンジュールの系統とそのチベット語訳仏教文献学に対する重要性)と題して発表

7月8日(月)~8月9日(金) フライブルク大学 オスカー・フォン・ヒニューバー博士 (Prof. emer. Dr. Oskar von HINÜBER, Freiburg University) 招聘研究員として滞在。ギルギット写本研究について討議。同大学孔子学院院長 ハイエン・フー・フォン・ヒニューバー博士 (Dr. Haiyan Hu-von HINÜBER 胡海燕博士, Freiburg University) 来所し研究に従事

7月25日(木) 第65回 仏教学懇話会

講師：オスカー・フォン・ヒニューバー博士(フライブルク大学名誉教授)

テーマ：書写者、貝葉、写本—南アジアおよび東南アジアにおけるパリー写本伝承— (Scribes, Leaves and Manuscripts: The Pāli Manuscript Tradition in South and South East Asia)

8月10日(土)~10月6日(日) 辛嶋教授 中国教育部が管轄する国家漢語国際推广領導小組弁公室(孔子学院)の招聘で中国出張。復旦大学、杭州仏学院、浙江大学、北京大学に滞在

8月18日~8月26日：杭州仏学院にて“A Philological Approach to Māhāyāna Scriptures 大乘經典之文献学剖析”(大乘仏典の文献学的研究)と題して連続講義

8月28日：浙江大学漢語史研究中心にて“《道行般若經》和“異譯”的对比研究”(『道行般若經』と異訳の对比研究)と題して講演

8月31日~10月6日：北京大学海外漢学家研修基地にて研究に従事

9月16日：人民大学国学院にて“论《甘珠尔》的系统及对藏译佛经文献学研究的重要性”(カンジュールの系統とそのチベット語訳仏教文献学に対する重要性)と題して講演

9月17日：北京大学海外漢学家研修基地にて“《道行般若經》和“異譯”的对比研究”(『道行般若經』と異訳の对比研究)と題して講演

9月21日：北京市海淀区の龍泉寺にて“佛教文献学有关问题”(仏教文献学に関する問題)と題して講演

9月25日：中国社会科学院外国文学研究所にて“文献考证揭示的佛教本来面貌—《般若經》的产生以及佛经中的大乘、观音、阿弥陀、一闍提、孟兰盆等本来含义”(文献考証が明らかにする仏教の本来の姿—『般若經』の成立および經典中の大乘・観音・阿弥陀・一闍提・孟蘭盆などの本来の意味)と題して講演

9月25日：人民大学文学院にて“利用‘翻版’研究中古汉语演变—以《道行般若經》‘异译’与《九色鹿經》为例”(‘翻版’を利用した中古漢語の変遷の研究—『道行般若經』と『九色鹿經』を例として)と題して講演

9月26日：人民大学仏教与宗教学理論研究所にて“孟兰盆之意(自恣日的“飯鉢”)—解开一千四百年来的一个迷”(孟蘭盆の意味[自恣の日の“飯鉢”]—千四百年の誤解を解く)と題して講演

9月27日：清華大学人文学院にて“孟兰盆之意(自恣日的“飯鉢”)—解开一千四百年来的一个迷”(孟蘭盆の意味[自恣の日の“飯鉢”]—千四百年の誤解を解く)と題して講演

10月16日(水)~20日(日) 辛嶋教授 台湾・法鼓仏教学院の招聘で台湾出張

10月17日：清華大学人文社会学院にて“《道行般若經》與“異譯”的对比研究”(『道行般若經』と異訳の对比研究)と題して講演

10月18日~19日：法鼓仏教学院で開催された国際学術シンポジウム「The Chinese Translation of the Dīgha-āgama 長阿含經国際検討會」に参加、“The Sarvāstivādins’ “encroachment” into the Chinese translation of the *Daśottarasūtra* in the *Dīrghāgama* of the Dharmaguptakas”(法蔵部の漢訳『長阿含經・十上經』への有部の“侵食”)と題して発表

10月23日(水)~28日(土) 辛嶋教授 コレージュ・ド・フランス日本学高等研究所の招聘でパリ出張

10月24日~25日：国際研究集会「Bouddhisme et encyclopédie 仏教と百科辞書」に参加し、「『佛典漢語詞典』の構想」と題して発表

11月4日(月)~6日(水) 辛嶋教授 中国出張

11月5日~6日、北京大学で開催された国際学術シンポジウム「Sino-Pakistani Academic Exchange: Gandhāran Culture and its Spread in China 中巴学术交流：犍陀罗文化及其在中国的传播」(中国・パキスタン学术交流：ガンダーラ文化とその中国での伝播)に参加、“On *Avalokitasvara* and *Avalokiteśvara*”(観世音と観自在)と題して発表

11月16日(土) 第66回 仏教学懇話会

講師：ペーター・ツィエ博士(ドイツ・ベルリン自由大学名誉教授)(Prof. emer. Dr. Peter ZIEME, Free University of Berlin)

テーマ：古代ウイグル仏教—普遍性と特異性—(Old Uigur Buddhism. Generalities and Peculiarities)

11月30日(土) 第67回 仏教学懇話会

講師：加藤九祚博士(国立民族学博物館・創価大学名誉教授)

テーマ：マルグシュの文化をめぐって

講師：田辺勝美博士（元中央大学教授）

テーマ：マーカンディカの「申し込み」図浮彫について—図像の典拠と二三の造形上の問題—

12月7日(土)~11日(水) 辛嶋教授 Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan の招聘でインド出張

12月8日~9日、Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan で開催された国際学術シンポジウム「Sanskrit on the Silk Route」（シルクロードの梵語）に参加、“New research on the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia”（中央アジア出土梵語仏典写本の新研究）と題して発表。“Languages of Early Mahāyāna Scriptures: From Colloquial Languages to Sanskrit”（初期大乘仏典の言語：口語から梵語へ）と題して講演

平成26年

1月30日(木) 辛嶋教授 京都出張

龍谷大学・アジア仏教文化研究センターにて「文献考証が明らかにする仏教の本来の姿—「盂蘭盆」の本当の意味—」と題して講演

国際仏教学高等研究所・所員の著作
(List of Publications of the IRIAB Fellows)

辛嶋静志 (Seishi KARASHIMA)

- “Two Inscriptions in Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhī”, in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University*, vol. XVI (2013): 27–28 + plates 12–13.
- “Manuscript Fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika(-Lokottaravādin)s (2)”, *ibid.* 47–90 + plates 14–51.
- “A first-century *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Gandhāra – *parivarta* 5 (Text from the Split Collection 2)”, by Harry Falk and Seishi Karashima, *ibid.* 97–169 + plates 52–53.
- “Was the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* Compiled in Gandhāra in Gāndhārī?”, *ibid.* 171–188.
- “On the “Missing” Portion in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*”, *ibid.* 189–192.
- “A Study of the Language of Early Chinese Buddhist Translations: A Comparison between the Translations by Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian”, *ibid.* 273–288.
- “The Meaning of *Yulanpen* 盂蘭盆 — “Rice Bowl” on *Pravāraṇā Day*”, *ibid.* 289–305.
- 「言葉の向こうに開ける大乘仏教の原風景：経文に見える大乘，一闍提，観音，浄土の本当の意味」『真宗文化：真宗文化研究所年報』22, 2013: 1-48.
- “一闍提(icchantika)”『仏教学レビュー』(金剛大学校)12(2013): 303–321. (韓国語訳)
- 「阿弥陀・観音・般若経—大乘仏教とガンダーラ—」宮治昭編著『平成20年度～平成24年度科学研究費補助金(基盤研究(A)20242003)研究成果報告書 ガンダーラ美術の資料集成とその統合的研究』, 龍谷大学, 2 vols., 2013, pp. 527–566.
- 「「盂蘭盆」の本当の意味」『中外日報』2013年7月25日, p. 5.
- 「「盂蘭盆」の本当の意味——千四百年間の誤解を解く——」『大法輪』2013年10月号, pp. 182–189.
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工藤順之 (Noriyuki KUDO)

- “The *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*: A Transliteration of the Nepalese Manuscript A (5),” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University for the Academic Year 2011*, vol. XVI (2013): 91–96.
- “A Newly Identified Manuscript of the *Pāramitāsamāsa* in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*,” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University for the Academic Year 2011*, vol. XVI (2013): 255–266.

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* We should like to express our gratitude to those who have kindly sent us their publications. The following list of books and CD-ROMs, exclusively in the fields of Indology and Buddhism, is certainly by no means complete.

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編集後記 (Editorial Postscript)

本誌第17号をお届けします。今号は英文25篇、和文3篇、Brief Communication 1篇を掲載することが出来ました。これまでになく多くの方々から投稿いただき、感謝に堪えません。前号まではそれぞれのご論攷について簡略にその内容を紹介して参りましたが、紙面の都合上、今号ではそれを網愛させて載せます。ご多忙の中、執筆頂いた諸先生方にあらためてお礼申し上げます。

今号は更に、別冊として、インド、カルナータカ州北部、サンナッティにある Kanaganahalli 遺跡で発見された全碑文 (300) を厳密な読みと解説、そして鮮明な写真と共に刊行いたします。この遺跡は碑文の年代として、最も古くは紀元前1世紀に遡る、仏教史の中でも極めて古い時代のもので、これまで包括的に研究がなされてきたことはありませんでした。今回インド考古局 (Archaeological Survey of India) からの許可を得て、碑文の全貌を公開いたします。この研究は、本誌では碑文研究を継続的に発表して頂いているフライブルグ大学名誉教授・オスカー・フォン・ヒュンバー博士と、同遺跡の現地調査を行い、またほぼ全ての写真を撮影した佛教学大学院・中西麻一子氏によるものです。

研究所出版物について 今年度、漸く『インド国立公文書館所蔵ギルギット写本・写真版』第1巻 (*Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India: Facsimile Edition, Vol. I: Vinaya Texts*) を出版することとなりました。第1巻には Vinaya Texts として、同館所蔵の *Vinayavastu*、*Prātimokṣa*、*Karmavacanā* 写本のカラー写真が含まれます。編者はカナダ、マクマスター大学のシェーン・クラーク博士 (Dr. Shayne Clarke) です。博士にはこれまでの律蔵研究を網羅する序論と、写本各葉について梵・藏・漢にまたがる詳細な対照表を作成して載せました。また、インド国立公文書館には仏教研究の専門機関たる本研究所への信頼の下、貴重な資料の出版をお任せいただき、ここにあらためてお礼を申し上げたいと存じます。入手方については本研究所までお問い合わせ下さい。

研究所より 研究所の日々の活動は、事務全般担当の学事部・浦上輝子さん、林久子さんと松井博子さん、蔵書管理の及川弘美さん、そして多くの留学生・学生諸氏の献身的な協力に支えられております。また大学学事部の飛田部長をはじめ、研究所運営委員会委員長・寺西宏友副学長、大学理事会をはじめとする関係部署、学外の各機関からの様々な支援の下、研究所は運営されております。若干二名の我々の研究と活動を支えて下さる多くの方々はこの場を借りて深くお礼申し上げます。次年度より研究所は学内の別の建物に移転いたします。新しい環境の下、これまで以上の成果を挙げられるように精進して参りたいと存じます。

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