創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年　報

平成29年度
（第２１号）

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

for the Academic Year 2017

Volume XXI

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
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#: paper written in Japanese.
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The Bronze of Pekapharṇa

Oskar von HINÜBER

After the study on the Palola Ṣāhi dynasty and their inscribed bronzes was published in 2004, more images with inscriptions became known, which were published in a series of articles in this journal.[1] Now it is my most pleasant obligation to thank Donald M. Stadtner, who brought yet another inscribed image to my attention, which is published here with the kind permission of the present owner. The preaching Buddha in *bhadrāsana* (fig. 1) can be added to those images discussed by N. Revire in his thesis on "The Enthroned Buddha in Majesty: An Iconological Study."[2]

The inscription in Proto-Śāradā script is written in six segments mostly along the front of the base of the pedestal. The end of the text is determined by an empty space following the case ending °-*ena* at the right side of the base below the female donor to the left side of the Buddha (fig. 2a-f).

> # *deyadharm(o)*
> *ya(ṃ) śakya*
> *bhikṣu pekapharṇana*
> *sardha(ṃ) (s)u*
> *manaśiri*
> *ena*

With the only exception of one slightly doubtful character the reading does not pose any serious problem, though the inscription as a whole is not always written very carefully, e.g., the top of the character *rm(o)*. The *siddhaṃ*-sign (rendered here by #) is indicated by a nearly closed circle at the very beginning.[3] It is impossible to decide whether or not there are faint traces of an *anusvāra* above *ya(ṃ)*. The long *-ā-* in *śākyabhikṣu* is not written. In the unfinished ligature *rṇa* the horizontal line at the bottom connecting both halves of *ṇa* is missing as is the superscript *-e-* in the case ending. In *sārdhaṃ* neither the long *-ā-* nor the *anusvāra* are indicated unless a hardly visible dot at the right side of *rdha* is meant to express nasalization. The first character of *sumanaśiriena* is not totally beyond doubt, though a reading *su* makes sense, and the sometimes similar characters *pa, ya, ma*, which all occur in the text, are of quite a different shape. A small dot on top of the case ending °*-ena* seems to favor the assumption that the assumed *anusvāra*s in *ya(ṃ)* and *sardha(ṃ)* are accidental rather.

There is no date. However, the form of the character *ya* indicates a date at the end of the seventh century or later, because the Proto-Śārada script hardly changes over a fairly long period since it slowly began to supersede the earlier "Gilgit Brāhmī" during the seventh century.[4]

In spite of some carelessness in writing and in the use of grammar, which is not unusual in inscriptions of this type, a corrected text can easily be established and understood:

deyadharmo yaṃ śākyabhikṣu-pekapharṇena sārdhaṃ sumanaśiriena
"This is the pious gift by the Śākyabhikṣu Pekapharṇa together with Sumanaśiri (Sumanaśrī)."

The designation *śākyabhikṣu* occurs sometimes in northwestern inscriptions accompanied by the following names:[5] Acintamittra, Puṇyajaya, Pekapharṇa, Bhadradharma, Ratnacittin, Ratnaprabha, Vidyāśrī (?), Vima(lī)bhānu (?), Vīkavarman (?), and Hariṣayaśa.[6]

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3.   On auspicious symbols at the beginning of manuscripts and inscriptions: G. Bhattacharya, *"Siddham, svasti and om — invocations in epigraphs and manuscripts,"* in: XX. *Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 2. bis 8. Oktober 1977 in Erlangen*. Vorträge hg. von W. Voigt. ZDMG Supplement IV. Wiesbaden 1980, p. 474 foll.; G. Roth, "Mangala-Symbols in Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts and Inscriptions," pp. 239–249 (and plates) and L. Sander, "Oṃ or Siddham - Remarks on Openings of Buddhist Manuscripts and Inscriptions from Gilgit to Central Asia," pp. 251–261 (and plates), both in: *Deyadharma. Studies in Memory of Dr. D. C. Sircar*. Sri Garib Dass Oriental Series no. 33. Delhi 1986. The corresponding Jain evidence is discussed by G. Bhattacharya, "The *bhale* symbol of the Jainas," *BIS* 8. 1995, pp. 201–228.

4.   O. v. Hinüber: *Palola Ṣāhis*, as note 1, p. 30, 179 and "The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research," in: Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (edds.): *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 June 15 – 19 2009*. ÖAW. Philos.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften, 460. Vienna 2014, pp. 79-135, particularly p. 88.

5.   The names are enumerated in O. v. Hinüber, "An Inscribed Bodhisatva from the Hemis Monastery," *ARIRIAB* XVIII. 2015, pp. 3–9, particularly p. 8; on concept "*śākyabhikṣu*" cf. R. Cohen, "Kinsmen of the Sun: Śākyabhikṣu and the Institution of the Bodhisatva Ideal," *History of Religions* 40.1. 2000, pp. 1–31, and G. Schopen in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. More collected Papers*. Honolulu 2005, p. 244–246 answering to L. S. Cousins, "*Sākiyabhikkhu/Sakyabhikkhu/Śākyabhikṣu*: A Mistaken Link to the Mahāyāna?," *Saṃbhāṣā. Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism* 23. 2003, pp. 1–27, cf. also *Palola Ṣāhis*, as note 1 above, p. 168, note 225.

6.   For the name Bhadradharma see U. von Schroeder: *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. Volume One: India and Nepal. Hong Kong 2001, p. 114, no. 22A–B; for Vidyāśrī: *ibidem* p. 34, no. 3B. — There is even a rare *śākyabhikṣuṇī* named Surendranāthā mentioned in the inscription of a bronze from Nepal (9/10th century),

The name Peka-pharṇa in the present inscription is clearly Sogdian. The first member of the name is well known, although the derivation of the word *pyk* or *pykk* remains unclear.[7] Two visitors to Shatial[8] are named Pēkak, unless both inscriptions refer to the same person: 34:61 (= 34:64?) *pykk* "Pēkakk" and 37:2 *pykk' | ZK 'n'xtβntk | BRY* "Pēkakk, son of Anākhit-vandak."[9] Moreover, the son of this (or one of these) Pēkakk(s) is perhaps mentioned twice at Shatial: 31:102 *'n'xtβntk | ZK pykk* and 34:45 *'n'xtβntk | ZK pykk | BRY* "Anākhit-vandak, son of Pēkakk." As assumed by N. Sims-Williams, it is not unlikely that father and son travelled together, who both wrote their names on stone 34. Consequently, it seems that Pēkakk followed the custom to name his son after the grandfather.[10] Still another Pekaka is mentioned in a Brāhmī inscription at Shatial: 5:2-5 [*saṃvatsa*]*re 50 ruṃ(e)ṣa pekako khāśa-rājyaṃ gata* "In the year 50 Ruṃeṣa Pekaka went to the Khāśa Kingdom." Reading and meaning of Ruṃ-eṣa are uncertain. This is a rare case in which a Sogdian name is transcribed into Brāhmī, which guarantees the pronunciation. Equally rare is the date. If the Laukika era is assumed the year 50 might correspond to either AD 374/5, or 474/5 following the script used. Both dates would fall within the time frame of the contemporaneous Sogdian inscriptions.

Therefore it is certain that the *śākyabhikṣu* Pekapharṇa lived at the very least about two centuries later. This seems to be the first time that a *bhikṣu* mentioned in a Brāhmī inscription of this area bears an Iranian name.

The second part of the name is Sodgian *prn* < Iranian **farnah-* > Avestan *xᵛarənah-* etc. "glory, splendor."[11] Comparable names are attested along the Upper Indus and in colophons of the Gilgit Manuscripts.[12]

In spite of the masculine ending *-ena*, Sumanaśiri (Sumanaśrī) is the lady,[13] who as a donor kneels at the left side of the Buddha, while Pekapharṇa as a monk of course sits on his right as usual.[14]

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v. Schroeder, p. 456, no. 139C.

[7.] P. B. Lurje: *Personal Names in Sogdian Texts*. Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Band II Mitteliranische Personennamen, Faszikel 8, Vienna 2010, no. 977 *pykk, pyk, „pykk' /Pēk?/*.

[8.] The inscriptions are published in D. König, G. Fussman: *Die Felsbildstation Shatial*. Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans Band 2. Mainz 1997 [rev.: M. Carter, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 9. 1995(!), pp. 276–279; H. Falk, *OLZ* 94. 1999, columns 239–246; R. Schmitt, *Kratylos* 44. 1999, pp. 189–192 (rev. of MANP 1 & 2); E. Olijdam, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 57. 2000, pp. 716–720; R. Salomon, *JAOS* 121. 2001, pp. 663 foll.].

[9.] Probably the same person is mentioned again at Shatial 39:35 *pykk' | ZK ('n)*[.

[10.] Cf. N. Sims-Williams in *Die Felsbildstation Shatial*, as note 8, p. 65 (on names), p. 68 (on dates); for an English version cf. N. Sims-Williams, "The Iranian Inscriptions of Shatial," *IT* 23-24. 1997–98, pp. 523–541, particularly pp. 530, 534. The custom to name a child after his grandfather which is prevalent in India and elsewhere is described, e.g., by A. Hilka: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altindischen Namengebung. Die altindischen Personennamen*. Breslau 1910, p. 8 foll.

[11.] Cf. P. B. Lurje, as note 7 above, no. 896 *prn /Farn/*.

[12.] Samples of these names are collected and discussed in O. v. Hinüber, "Names and Titles in the Colophon of the '*Larger Prajñāpāramitā*' from Gilgit," *ARIRIAB* XX. 2017, pp. 129–138, particularly p. 137.

[13.] On the use of the masculine ending *-ena* with feminine names in formulas cf. Names and Titles, as previous note, p. 133.

[14.] The position of donors is discussed in O. v. Hinüber: Palola Ṣāhis, as note 1 above, pp. 93, 170 (note 229), 174.

A second Copper-Plate Grant of King Subandhu

Oskar von HINÜBER

Until 1990 two inscriptions of King Subandhu of Māhiṣmatī[1] were known, one found in (?) cave II at Bagh, the other found south of Bagh in Barwani district. The "first Bagh plate" records the donation of a village to a Buddhist monastery, which had been founded by Dattaṭaka. The Barwani plate documents the donation of a field to a Brahman. Both are edited in the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* by Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi (1893-1985).[2]

A third inscription, also found at Bagh, is mentioned in *Indian Archaeology 1991-92. A Review* (published in 1996). A single sentence describes it as follows: "A copper-plate inscription in Gupta Brahmi character was found at Bagh Cave, which records the excavation of the cave during the reign of Subandhu of Mahishmati" (p. 116). Two excellent plates, one accompanying the report (plate LV A), the other in the catalogue "Rediscovering India" (plate 106)[3] allow us to correct this wrong statement immediately. The inscription is a land grant for a Buddhist monastery founded by Ajitasena. The name of the monastery is not mentioned. There is no mention at all of the Bagh Caves.

In spite of the fact that King Subandhu and his relation to the Bagh caves have been discussed occasionally in recent years,[4] this copper-plate is nowhere mentioned; it seems to have gone unnoticed and to have remained unedited. After an initial reading of the text on 25 July, 2005, I put the inscription aside, until my interest was revived by Peter Skilling (EFEO Bangkok), who in 2016 put his own excellent colored photograph at my disposal and also drew my attention to the catalogue mentioned above (figure 1).[5]

The inscription is written in 9 lines on a single side of a copper plate, which measures 26.1 cm by 11.1 cm and is 0.2 cm thick. On the whole, the inscription is well preserved.

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[1]. Māhiṣmatī is modern Maheśvar on the northern bank of the Narmadā: cf. J. Neuss, "Oṃkāra-Māndhātā. Tracing the Forgotten History of a Popular Place." *BIS* 21 (2013), pp. 115–172, particularly p. 120.

[2]. V.V. Mirashi: *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. IV, 1, Ootacamund, 1955, pp. 17–21, nos. 6 and 7.

[3]. *Rediscovering India: An Exhibition of Important Archaeological Finds: 1961–2011*, Delhi, 2012, p. 194, where the wrong description of the content is repeated verbatim.

[4]. The last to write on Subandhu at some length is probably W. Spink: *Ajanta: History and Development*, Volume 7, *Bagh, Dandin, Cells and Cell Doorways* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Zweite Abteilung: Südasien, Volume 18/7), Leiden, 2017, pp. 11–36, where our inscription is not mentioned. The narrative presented there goes far beyond the facts known from surviving sources.

[5]. According to information provided by P. Skilling and based on his interview on 23 March 2016 with D.S. Sood (Senior Conservation Assistant, Indore) and Mukut Bahadur, who found the inscription, the copper-plate grant was discovered on 5 May 1991 during the clearing of debris above (not in) cave II at Bagh. — It is my very pleasant obligation to thank P. Skilling for improving the English.

However, a very small but crucial part at the end is damaged with the result that the date is lost.

The text is easily understood in spite of a few mistakes committed by the engraver. At the very beginning he should have written *vaṭapadrān=mahā-°* rather than *vaṭapadrām = mahā-°*, which is incorrect. The *-ā-* in the ending of *prativāsināś*, line 2, is a mistake for *prativāsinaś*. An *anusvāra* seems to be missing in the name *vidhyadeva*, line 3, for Viṃdhyadeva. In the same line, the reading *guśūra* is more likely than *bhuśūra*, when one compares the character *bhu* in *paribhuktaka* which occurs twice in the same line, and the character *ga* in *bhagavataś ca*, line 5.

The engraver executed *atisṛṣya* instead of *atisṛṣṭha* at the end of line 7, where again an *anusvāra* is missing. It is at first not entirely certain, whether or not *sṛ* or *sra* is intended by the engraver, because both characters are very similar. However, after a close comparison of the subscript *-r-* in *°-kṣetraṃ*, line 3 (twice), or in *°-kartre*, line 5, we find two distinctive characteristics (figures 2–4). A subscript *-ṛ-* is connected to the respective *akṣara* by a straight vertical stroke with a slightly curled end. In contrast, in the subscript *-r-* the curl is missing and the vertical stroke is slightly wavy. This can be seen clearly only after enlarging the image. Although the curl is hardly indicated in *atisṛṣya*, the stroke is clearly vertical, and the interpretation as *-ṛ-* can be considered as fairly certain.[6] This cannot be said of two dots at the very edge of the copper-plate at the end of the same line, which are clearly visible only after enlarging the color photograph, which might be interpreted as a marker of the end of the sentence.

The part of the superscript *-ai* in *atraivā-°*, line 4 that branches off to the right, is barely indicated. Similarly, in *mātāpitrār*, line 7, for *mātāpitror*, the left part of the superscript *-o* is forgotten. An *anusvāra* is missing again at the end of *°-bheṣajyārttha[ṃ]*, line 7. Again in line 7, the problem of how to interpret the character *vra/vṛ* arises again in *puṇyābhi-v(ṛ)ddhaye*.

Finally, the name of the king is written vertically on the left side of the text as on the first Bagh plate: *śrī Subandhoḥ* "of Śrī Subandhu."

1. svasti vaṭapadrām=mahārāja **Subandhuḥ** kuśalī valguvaiṣayika-śaṅkarapathakīya-yakṣa-dāsānake
2. svān=pattalaka-dānasādhakadūta-cāṭa-bhaṭa-kāṣṭhikādīn=prativāsināś=ca samājñāpayati
3. viditam astu vo yad atra vi[ṃ]dhyadevaparibhuktakakṣetraṃ (gu)śūraparibhuktakakṣetraṃ vihari-pāṭakaḥ
4. ārāmadvayaṃ kūpadvayaṃ ca tan=mayâcandrārkkārṇṇavakālīnam=a(trai)v**âjitasena**-kāritakavihā
5. rasya sphuṭita-khaṇḍa-śīrṇṇa-saṃskāraṇāya bhagavataś ca jagaddhitakartre mahākāruṇikāya
6. buddhāya gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-tailādihetor āryyasa[ṃ]ghāya ca caivarika-piṇḍapāta-

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6. It is important for historical linguistics to decide whether *-ra-* or *-ṛ-* is written, because *-ṛ-* was also pronounced as *-ra-* besides (more frequently) *-ri-*; cf. J. Wackernagel: *Altindische Grammatik, Band* I, *Laut-lehre*, Göttingen, 1896, § 28 with A. Debrunner: *Nachträge zu Band I*, Göttingen, 1957, p. 19 on 31,14; J. Bloch, "La prononciation de R en sanskrit", 1951, in: *Recueil d'articles de Jules Bloch 1906–1955*: Textes rassemblés par C. Caillat, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Série in-8°, Fasc. 52, Paris, 1985, pp. 401–403; O. v. Hinüber, *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 576, "Linguistic Experiments," in: P. Olivelle et alii (eds.): *Re-imagining Aśoka*, Delhi, 2012, p. 202, note 9 and *ARIRIAB* XIII (2010), p. 5, note 8; *brahaspati, ARIRIAB* XVIII (2015), p. 70; further: *pṛhṛṣṭo < prahṛṣṭo*, L. Sander & E. Waldschmidt: *Sanskrit-handschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Teil IV, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 237.

śayanāsana

7. glānapratyaya-bheṣajyārttha[ṃ] mātāpitrār=ātmanaś ca puṇyābhiv(r)ddhaye āgrahārikam= atis(r)ṣya(ḥ)

8. yato smadīyair anyaviṣayapatibhiś câtra vyāpāro na kāryya   (symbol)   pratihāra **Śaṅkara** dūtaka

9.   saṃ + (tsa)ra   āṣā(ḍh)a su di 2

"Hail! From Vaṭapadra.[7] Mahārāja Subandhu, who is in good health, instructs his Pattalakas, his messengers who ensure the execution of a donation, his police officers, constables, and police-men armed with wooden sticks, etc., and the residents (*prativāsin*) in Yakṣadāsānaka, which belongs to the Śaṅkara subdivision (*pathaka*), in the Valgu district: Be informed that: Here are the field used by Vindhyadeva, the field used by Guśūra, the hamlet named Vihari, two parks and two wells. This has been given away by me as an *āgrahārika* (donation) for time as long as moon, sun and ocean endure, for the purpose of repairing what is cracked, broken and worn out in the monastery founded by Ajitasena exactly here (i.e. in Yakṣadāsānaka): (given) to the greatly compassionate Lord, the Buddha, who brings benefit to the world, for (veneration with) fragrance, incense, lamps, and oil and to the noble community (of monks) for clothing, food, living quarters and medicine for the sick, and for the increase of merit for my parents and for myself: whence our own (officers) and other district governors must not interfere here. The messenger is the Pratihāra Śaṅkara. Year (lost) Āṣā(ḍh)a, bright day 2."

At the beginning King Subandhu addresses five classes of his officials, the *pattalakas, dānasādhakadūtas, cāṭas, bhaṭas, kāṣṭhikas,* and unnamed others whose office requires them to be informed of his donation. This group is much smaller than that of the grant to the monastery built by Dattaṭaka, in which seven groups are mentioned[8] — which, compared to other copper-plate grants, is still a fairly low number.

The first group called *pattalaka* refers to a class of officials whose function remains unknown. They are most likely "**not** an officer in charge of a territorial unit called *pattalā*" as stated by D.C. Sircar.[9] Sircar's statement might have been influenced by the wording in the Sarnath inscription of Queen Kumāradevī,[10] which mentions a certain lady Jambukī (*sā*

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[7]   The probably frequent place name *vaṭapadraka* "Banyan village" occurs again in the Banswara plates of King Bhoja (11th century): *sthalī-maṇḍale ghāghradora-bhogāntaḥpāti-vaṭapadrake*, EI 11. 1911-12, p. 182, line 8.

[8]   As usual, *āyuktaka*, "appointed, posted", and *viniyuktaka*, "delegated", are erroneously taken by V.V. Mirashi (and many others) to mean classes of officials. On these two words see O. v. Hinüber: Review of F. Virkus: *Politische Strukturen im Guptareich (300–550 n. Chr.),* Asien- und Afrika-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Band 18, Wiesbaden 2004 in *IIJ* 50 (2007), pp. 183–192, particularly p. 188. This agrees well with the usage in legal literature, where *niyukta* denotes somebody delegated to represent and plead for a party in a law suit: L. Rocher, "The Terms Niyukta, Aniyukta, and Niyoga in Sanskrit Legal Literature," in: L. Rocher: *Studies in Hindu Law and Dharmaśāstra*, ed. by D.R. Davis, London, 2012 [rev.: A. Michaels, *JAOS* 113 (2013), pp. 363f.], pp. 603–612 (the original date of Rocher's article[s] is unfortunately not given in his collected papers).

[9]   There is some confusion, though, because in contrast to this explanation in his *Epigraphical Glossary* s.v. *pattalaka*, in his *Indian Epigraphy* Sircar writes "the *Pattalaka* the officer in charge of a territorial unit called *Pattalā*," p. 360, which seems to be an error.

[10]   The inscription was edited by S. Konow: "Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī," *EI* 9 (1907–08), pp. 319–328 and again by D.C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Volume II: *From the Sixth to the Eighteenth Century A.D.*, Delhi, 1983, no. 20, pp. 293–298 and in T.P. Verma and A.K. Singh: *Inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas and Their Times*, Vol. I, Study, and Vol. II, Text, Delhi 2011 (edition in vol. II, pp. 645–648, cf. vol. I, p. 366). Only S. Konow points out the considerable difficulties in understanding verses 22 foll. of the inscription; in contrast, it is impossible to benefit from D.C. Sircar and T.P. Verma and A.K. Singh, who simply gloss over all problems. The crucial verses may be translated as follows, keeping as far as possible to the original word order: "Having prepared this excellent copper(-plate) charter (*tāmraśāsana*) in

jambukī, "this Jambukī") with the rank "foremost of all *pattalikā*s" (*sakala-pattalikā-grabhūtā*, p. 325, line 25, verse 22).[11] Obviously there were many *pattalikā*s; Jambukī was their chief or leader, and it was her or their task, it seems, to prepare copper-plates, in this case perhaps the one recording the donation (*tat-tāmraśāsanavara[ṃ]*). It makes sense that an official charged with preparing a copper-plate (interestingly, in Kumāradevī's case, a lady or rather several ladies) is mentioned here, when we take into consideration the next class of official listed in our inscription. The term *dānasādhakadūta*, which seems to appear here for the first time, is clear in itself. The person conveying the text to all concerned is named after the issuing official called *pattalaka*.

The next two groups of officials are regularly named *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa*, in this sequence. Despite their frequent occurrence, the exact meaning of the two terms is unclear, and the present inscription might shed a little light on them. Following G. Bühler and J.F. Fleet, it is usually assumed that both words refer to some sort of policemen and soldiers.[12] This was doubted by J. Ph. Vogel,[13] who draws the attention to the modern term *cāṛ* still in use at the time in Cameāḷī, the West Pahāṛī dialect spoken at Cambā, but not found in inscriptions, which is derived from *cāṭa* and means "head of a *pargaṇā*." Vogel also points out that the same meaning is assumed by Pṛthivīdhara in his commentary of uncertain date to Mṛccha-kaṭika act V (prose between verses 7 and 8) in an enumeration of persons from whom it is hardly possible to escape… *kāyattho bhikkhu cāṭo* (read *cāḍo* rather?) … , when he explains this as *cāṭaḥ kṣudraviṣayabhoktā*.[14] This concurs with Vogel's idea: in the light of the modern evidence he pleads for a translation of *cāṭa-bhaṭa* as "an official subordinate to the head of the *pargaṇā*" also in ancient documents. As J.F. Fleet already pointed out, however, the compound should be a *dvandva* and not a *tatpuruṣa*. Moreover, following this and the other rather few occurrences of *cāṭa* in literary texts recorded in our dictionaries, e.g., in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti *cāṭa-taskara-° … °-ādibhiḥ … kāyasthaiś ca viśeṣataḥ*, I 336, again in an enumeration of unpleasant persons against which the king must protect his subjects, it is

accordance with the teachings of the Śrīdharmacakrajina (i.e. the Buddha: *jinaśāsana*), this Jambukī, the foremost of the Pattalikās, and having handed it over to her (Queen Kumāradevī), by her (the Queen) — (may she last) as long as moon and sun are on earth — this Śrīdharmacakrajina was made exactly as it was at the time of King Dharmāśoka by preserving his (the Buddha's) way (of appearance), but it was made still more wonderful. With effort this monastery was made by her (Queen Kumāradevī) for this Sthavira (identity unclear), and it was handed over to him (the Sthavira) alone that he may live there (as long as) moon and sun are there."

11. The compound *sakala-pattalikāgrabhūtā* does not mean, as S. Konow translated it, "who was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalikā*s by her (Kumāradevī)" but "who was the foremost …"

12. This guess by G. Bühler, *IA* 5 (1876), p. 115, note ‡ ("I now translate the word *châṭa* by 'irregular soldiers'" without further comment) is most likely based on the established meaning "soldier, mercenary" for *bhaṭa*. The reasoning is that if *bhaṭa* means "soldier", *cāṭa* probably means something similar, cf. J.F. Fleet: *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, Calcutta, 1888 (repr. Benares 1970 with notes and bibliography of Gupta Inscriptions by A.K. Narain), p. 98, note 2. P.V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, Poona ²1973, pp. 983 foll., gives a survey of research on the two words.

13. J.Ph. Vogel, "Errors in Sanskrit Dictionaries," *BSOAS* 20 (1957), pp. 561–567, particularly p. 566, cf. J.Ph. Vogel: *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, *Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammadan Period*, ASI New Imperial Series XXXVI, Calcutta 1911, pp. 130ff., which contains a highly important discussion of various titles of officials. Vogel's article escaped the attention of D.C. Sircar: *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, s.v. *bhaṭa,* and particularly in the long but inconclusive discussion s.v. *cāṭa*.

14. Vogel erroneously attributes this explanation to "a gloss from an early Calcutta edition." However, the only old edition published in Calcutta in 1829 has only a *chāyā*, but no gloss. The explanation is, however, also found in the early 19th century Mṛcchakaṭika commentary by Lalla Dīkshita published together with the text of the play by N.B. Godabole in the Bombay Sanskrit Series as no. LII, Bombay, 1896.

assumed that *cāṭa* means "deceiver" or the like, which makes sense, while the very specialized modern meaning "head of a *pargaṇā*" nowhere does.

In Subandhu's copper-plate grants both titles occur in a new combination with *kāṣṭhika* added after *cāṭabhaṭa*. This, at first, poses a new problem. If "bearer of wood", the standard dictionary meaning of *kāṣṭhika*, is proposed, it does not make much sense in this enumeration together with and after "police (*cāṭa*) and constables (*bhaṭa*)." At first an error might be suspected, perhaps for *goṣṭhika*, "member of a corporation," when °-*cāṭa-bhaṭa-(go)ṣṭhika-*° in the first Bagh plate of Subandhu is compared. However, *(go)ṣṭhika* turns out to be only a suggestion made by V.V. Mirashi.[15] It cannot be verified from the accompanying plate, where only very faint traces of the character *ṣṭha* are visible, while the first syllable is almost completely rubbed off. Therefore, it is not unlikely that *kāṣṭhika* should be reconstructed instead of *goṣṭhika* in the first Bagh plate as well. A meaning of *kāṣṭhika* that suits this context can be found in Śyāmilaka's Pādatāḍitaka: *kaṣṭhakamahattarair api vidhṛto'smi ciraṃ mṛgayamānaiḥ*, verse 80b (vol. I, p. 108, cf. p. 248) "the court-attendants chased me and detained me for a long time" (G. H. Schokker, II p. 27).[16] The meaning "policeman armed with a wooden stick" not only fits the context of the inscriptions perfectly after *cāṭa* and *bhaṭa*, it is, moreover, perhaps the earliest reference to a weapon (Hindī *lāṭhī*) that is used by policemen in India to this very day. Lastly, the inscription and the Pādatāḍitaka are in all likelihood contemporaneous, because both are dated to the 5th century and thus support each other.[17]

Consequently, all that can be safely said about these three terms is that they refer to enforcement personnel and thus designate policemen of different ranks and tasks with the *kāṣṭhika*, who according to the Pādatāḍitaka executes orders when he is actually pursuing persons, clearly standing at the lower end.

Therefore, J. Ph. Vogel is obviously on the wrong track with his idea about *cāṭa-bhaṭa*. The same is partly true for the dictionaries if "deceiver" or the like is given as the only meaning of *cāṭa*.[18] For, this hinges on the explanations of relatively late commentators, who probably were no longer acquainted with the original meaning "policeman" preserved in epigraphic Sanskrit. If *cāṭa* occurs in literary texts, it most probably refers originally to (corrupt) policemen. The interpretation "policeman" is supported by the reference to the second class of officials, to scribes (*kāyastha*) who are mentioned together with them as a second category of unpleasant people.[19] As a result a development of the meaning of *cāṭa* beginning with "policeman" used in inscriptions as well as in contexts with a negative connotation in older literary texts such as the Mṛcchakaṭika or the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and leading to "deceiver" in the mind of commentators can be traced. The latter negative meaning

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[15.] V.V. Mirashi refers to his edition of the "Kaman stone inscription," *EI* 24 (1937–38), pp. 329–336, where *goṣṭhika*, "member of the managing committee," occurs in lines 12, 23 and 24. This badly preserved inscription, dated to the 10th century, was found in North India not far from Mathurā.

[16.] G.H. Schokker: *The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka*, 2 vols, Dordrecht, 1966, 1976 [rev.: W. Rau, *Oriens* 20 (1968-69), pp. 572 foll.; S. Levitt, *JAOS* 90 (1970), pp. 594 foll.; B. Stoler Miller, *JAOS* 97 (1977), pp. 375 foll.; K. de Vreese, *JRAS* 1978, pp. 182 foll.; L.A. Schwarzschild, *IIJ* 20 (1978), pp. 278–280; O. v. Hinüber, *ZDMG* 128 (1978), p. 215; M. Kraatz, *OLZ* 77 (1982), columns 186–188].

[17.] This observation supports G.H. Schokker's dating of the Pādatāḍitaka, Vol. I, pp. 31 foll.

[18.] So also Hemacandra: *Deśīnāmamālā*, ed. R. Pischel, Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 17, Bombay ²1938, *cāḍo māyāvī*, III 8.

[19.] The dubious reputation of scribes is mirrored in the verse *yamo pi vañcito yena gakārāntaralekhakaṃ / kalamam āyudhaṃ yasya tasya devo pi śaṅkate*, Kṣemedra: *Lokaprakāśa*.

is perhaps supported by the only trace of *cāṭa* in modern languages (besides *cār*) in Pashai *čāṛā* "stupid, mad."[20] Our dictionaries should be adjusted accordingly.

The last group to be informed is the *prativāsin*s.[21] These are the residents of Yakṣa-dāsānaka, in the subdivision (*pathaka*) Śaṅkara and the district Valgu.[22] These places are not identified, but they are most probably in the vicinity of Bagh. The formation of the name of the village Yakṣadās-ānaka with the suffix -*ānaka*[23] follows a pattern known from place names in the inscriptions from the Bagh hoard: Kukkuṭ-ānaka, Garjj-ānaka, Jayasen-ānaka, Daman-ānaka, Droṇadantik-ānaka, Dharm-āṇaka, Nāgaravarddh-ānaka, Piñchik-ānaka,[24] and Susah-ānaka. It is remarkable that all these formations can be easily explained from Indo-Aryan vocabulary in contrast to other names of villages such as Bheṭuṅkalikā. It is an open question whether or not this points to villages founded comparatively later. So far, this type of place name seems to be limited to the wider Bagh area.

The objects donated encompass two fields, which were at the time of the donation used by or in the possession of two persons, Vindhyadeva[25] and Guśūra. This is expressed by the term *paribhuktaka*, which is also used in the Barwani plate of Subandhu, where the *sāti-paribhuktaka-kṣetra* is donated to the Brahman Ṣaṣṭhisvāmin. In documents of other rulers different terms of probably the same meaning are used in this connection. Wordings like *āryadāsa-kumbhakāra-pratyaya-kṣetrapadaṃ* "the field attached to the potter Āryadāsa" (Rudradāsa, appendix no. IV, line 4, p. 67) are found in the grants of the Bagh hoard or in Maitraka donations, if fields are donated to Brahmans.[26] In all these cases, it seems, it was not the property right of the fields that was transferred to the monasteries (or to the Brahmans), but the revenue from these fields, as already observed by J. Jolly.[27]

[20.] R.L. Turner: *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, 1966, no. 4735 *cāṭa*-, where *cār* is not listed — It is impossible to find out at which point *cāṭa-bhaṭa* ceased to be mentioned in inscriptions.

[21.] The meaning "resident" for *prativāsin* is not registered in our dictionaries, which list "neighbor" only. Other inscriptions show that it was used also as a more general term, cf., e.g., the grant year 102 of Bhaṭṭāraka which is published in K.V. Ramesh & S.P. Tewari: *A Copper-plate Hoard of the Gupta Period from Bagh, Madhya Pradesh*, Delhi, 1990, p. 52, no. XXIV, line 3 (p. 56, no. XXVI, line 3): *aśvaśatīpathake susahan[ā]nake samupāgatān svān āyuktakān grāmaprativāsinaś ca bodhayati* "he alerts his employees, who assembled in Susahānaka in the subdivision (*pathaka*) Aśvaśatī and the residents of the village;" cf. also *sarvvān [e]va-ikṣaraky-āhārāntarggata-purohitapallīkā-prativāsino* "all the residents of Purohitapallīkā included in the subdivision (*āhāra*) Ikṣarakī," Surat Plates of the Traikūṭa ruler Vyāghrasena, year 241, line 8, CII IV,1, p. 27, and °-*āyāṃ prativāsi-kuṭumbinas*, CII III, p. 193, line 4 foll., and p. 198, line 5.

[22.] Territorial divisions are discussed by V.V. Mirashi, as note 2 above, pp. CXXXIV foll. and by D.C. Sircar: *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 379.

[23.] The relevant place names found in the Bagh hoard are listed by K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari (as in note 21 above), pp. XIX–XXI. Their explanation of the suffix as Skt. *ānaka* "drum" can be safely forgotten. The only example for the suffix -*ānaka* in a place name recorded in J. Wackernagel: *Altindische Grammatik* Band II, 2: A. Derunner: Die Nominalsuffixe, Göttingen, 1954, p. 278, § 163 is *āryāṇaka*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The suffix is not listed in T.R. Sharma: *Personal and Geographical Names in Gupta Inscriptions*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 209–292 "Place-names and their suffixes."

[24.] The form *piñchika* confirms the rare reading *kapāla-śikhipiñchābhyāṃ*, Budhasvāmin: Bṛhatkathāśloka-saṃgraha, ed. F. Lacôte, XIX 3, cf. M. Mayrhofer: *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Band III, Heidelberg, 1976, p. 757.

[25.] Three names beginning with Vindhya-° are listed by J. A. van Velze: *Names of Persons in Early Sanskrit Literature*. PhD Thesis, Utrecht, 1938, p. 106.

[26.] K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari, as note 21 above; material from Maitraka donations is collected in M. Njammasch: *Bauern, Buddhisten und Brahmanen. Das frühe Mittelalter in Gujarat*, Asien- und Afrika-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Band 2, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001 [rev.: O. v. Hinüber, *IIJ* 47. 2004, pp. 308–320], p. 57–59.

[27.] J. Jolly: *Recht und Sitte. Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, II. Band, Heft 8,

The name of the owner of the second field is Guśūra. This word has been discussed more than once. First, H. Lüders drew attention to this word occurring in manuscripts from Qyzil, which he took as a title of unknown, but likely Iranian, derivation. Then H.W. Bailey, following T. Burrow, wanted to connect it to Avestan *vīsō.puθra*; this has been accepted by N. Sims-Williams, who lists *guśūra* among eastern Iranian loan words in various Indian languages.[28] In the meantime, the word *guśūra* appeared in the Senavarma inscription and as *gaśūra* in a Brāhmī inscription from Gandhāra.[29] In both cases it is again used as a title. However, inscriptions from the Upper Indus *guśuraspālasya*, Thor 235:41 (p. 257) "of Guśūraspāla" and *vicarati guśu* + ///, Gukona 9:1 (p. 121) "Guśu[wanders" show that *guśūra* can also be part of a name,[30] because Guśuraspāla "Guśura-sena" which can be compared to the hybrid Indo-Iranian names Yaśaspāla "Yaśa-sena" or Śīlaspāla "Śīla-sena" hardly contains a title. Therefore, Guśūra in *guśūra-paribhuktaka* should also be taken as a name as in the partly destroyed inscription Guśu[in Gukona.[31]

In addition to the fields a *pāṭaka* called Vihari, two parks or gardens (*ārāma*) and two wells (*kūpa*) were included in the gift. Probably, part of a village, possibly even Yakṣa-dāsānaka, is meant by the term *pāṭaka*.[32]

The purpose of the donation is threefold. The first is for repairs of the Buddhist monastery founded by Ajitasena situated exactly here (*atra-eva*, line 4), that is, in Yakṣa-dāsānaka. Here the name of the monastery is not given, in contrast to the first Bagh plate, where both the name of the monastery and of the founder are given as *dattaṭaka-kāritaka-lāyana-vihāra* "Lāyana-vihāra established by Dattaṭaka," while nothing is said about its location. The wording used for repairs *sphuṭita-khaṇḍa-śīrṇṇa-saṃskāraṇāya* adds yet another variant to this formula.[33] Secondly, the donation is made to provide the means for the

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Straßburg, 1896, p. 105 "Ausser Land, insbesondere Feldern, Häusern oder ganzen Dörfern, worunter jedoch *nur das Recht auf den Steuerertrag aus denselben* zu verstehen ist, werden auch … verschenkt," cf. also J. Duncan M. Derrett, "An Indian Contribution to the Study of Property," *BSOAS* 18 (1956), pp. 475–498 = *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law*, Vol. I, *Dharmaśāstra and Related Texts*, Leiden, 1976 [rev.: L. Rocher, *JAOS* 97. 1977, pp. 367 foll.; J. C. Wright, *BSOAS* 40 (1977), p. 221; O. v. Hinüber, *ZDMG* 127 (1977), p. 465; L. Sternbach, *JRAS* 1978, pp. 190–192], pp. 333–357, particularly p. 342 (= p. 484).

[28] H. Lüders, "Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans," 1922, in: *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen, 1940, pp. 526–546, particularly pp. 544–546 with additions pp. 788 foll.; H.W. Bailey: *Dictionary of Khotanese Saka*, Cambridge, 1976, s.v. *bäsīvärai* with references to his earlier discussions; N. Sims-Williams, "Eastern Middle Iranian," in: R. Schmitt (ed.): *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, pp. 165–172, particularly p. 166, no. 3.2.0.2.4.

[29] O. v. Hinüber: *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Senavarma-Inschrift*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg 2003, Nr. 1, p. 29, § 9b and H. Falk, "Six Early Brāhmī Inscriptions from Gandhāra," *AION* 64. 2004, pp. 139–155, particularly pp. 148–150, reprinted in *Hariśyenalekhapañcāśikā. Fifty Selected Papers on Indian Epigraphy and Chronology*, Bremen, 2013, pp. 352–373, particularly pp. 361–363, cf. also *ARIRIAB* XX (2017), p. 137, note 46.

[30] D. Bandini-König: *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan VI*. Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans, Band 11, Darmstadt, 2013. The hybrid names are discussed in the commentary on Thor 15:1 (p. 239); on names ending in °-*spāla*, cf. also *ARIRIAB* XX (2017), p. 137 and R. Schmitt, *Kratylos* 47 (2002), p. 159.

[31] A merchant from Ujjain named Khaṃgghuśūra is mentioned in a document found at Sañjeli (Gujarat) issued during the reign of Toramāṇa to establish a foundation (*akṣayanī[vī]*), *EI* 40 (1973–74) [1986], p. 181, line 11. The relation between Guśūra and this structurally similar name, if any, is unclear.

[32] I. Strauch: *Die Lekhapaddhati-lekhapañcāśikā. Briefe und Urkunden im mittelalterlichen Gujarat* (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, Band 16), Berlin, 2002, p. 466 s.v.

[33] The first Bagh plate has *gandha-dhūpa-mālya-bali-sattra-upayojya*, although *bali* and *sattra* belong rather to a Brahmin context: cf., e.g., *vali-caru-sattra-upayogārtha* in the Vaiṣṇava Koh plate, CII III, p. 114, line 13 and O. v. Hinüber, "Behind the Scene: The Struggle of Political Groups for Influence as Reflected in Inscriptions," *IIJ* 56 (2013), pp. 365–379 on these formulas, and on Brahmin vocabulary in Buddhist donations *IIJ* 47

veneration the Buddha, and lastly for various necessities for the monastic community. Although the wording varies in details, the aims of the first Bagh plate are the same. This is not entirely clear from V.V. Mirashi's translation, in which *bhagavato buddhāya* "for Lord Buddha" is left out.[34]

The recipients of the gift seem to be the Buddha and the community of monks. Both are mentioned in the dative, the case usually used to mark the recipient, such as *asmai brāhmaṇaṣaṣṭhisvāmine* in Subandhus's Barwani grant and elsewhere. Both Buddhist donations of King Subandhu are given as an *agrahāra* or *āgrāhārika* "rent-free donation,"[35] while the Brahmana Ṣaṣṭhisvāmin receives a *brahmadeya*.

As usual, it is said at the end that the grant should not be violated by "our subordinates nor by other governors of a district" (*asmadīyair anyaviṣayapatibhiś ca*, line 8). The phrasing *vyāpāro na kāryya* "it should not be the business of …" is an unusual wording among the frequent warnings that nobody should obstruct the donation. The use of *asmadīya* to designate the officials of a king is confirmed by grants from Valkhā preserved in the Bagh hoard. The blissful inconsistency prevailing in the chancellery of the rulers of Bagh allows easily determining the meaning of the various expressions used at the beginning, when officials are addressed or at the end when their consent is demanded. Here "our" officials is expressed in various ways by *asmadīya* (*sarvvair eva-**asmadīyair** anumantavyaṃ*, Bhuluṇḍa, no. V, line 7, p. 11 "all our [officials]") which is equivalent to *asmatsantaka* "our" (*samājñāpayati sarvvān eva-**asmatsantakān** āyuktakān*, Bhuluṇḍa, no. III, line 1 foll., p. 6 "all employees belonging to us")[36] or *asmatpakṣīya* (*sarvvair eva-**asmatpakṣīyaiḥ** samanumantavyaṃ*, Bhuluṇḍa, no. IV, line 9, p. 9 "all those on our side"). Only the ruler Bhaṭṭāraka has *sva (svān āyuktakān … bodhayati*, Bhaṭṭāraka, no. XXVI, line 3, p. 56, "notifies his employees").[37] Therefore it is unlikely that "our and other *viṣayapati*s" is meant.

Consequently, Subandhu as a *mahārāja* seems to consider himself as only a *viṣayapati* "ruler (or governor) of a district",[38] because he addresses "other *viṣayapati*s" when he admonishes his counterparts not to obstruct the use of his grants to Buddhist institutions, which points to a subordinate rather than an independent petty ruler in spite of the absence of any reference to a superior authority in all three grants.

(2004), pp. 314 foll. = *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 1065 foll.

[34] This was pointed out by G. Schopen, "The Buddha as an Owner of Property and Permanent Resident in Medieval Indian Monasteries," 1990, in: *Bones Stones and Buddhist Monks*, Honolulu, 1997, pp. 258–289, particularly p. 261 with note 15. Cf. also L.N. Owen, "Constructing another Perspective for Ajaṇṭā's Fifth-Century Excavations," *JIABS* 24 (2001), pp. 27–59, particularly p. 46. Unfortunately, G. Schopen's important warning went unheeded that a donation for repairs does not tell anything at all about the age of buildings and cannot be used as an argument for dating the Bagh caves, as done again in 2017 by W. Spink: *Ajaṇṭā*, as note 4 above, p. 11.

[35] U.N. Ghoshal: *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, Second Edition revised by S.K. Mitra, Calcutta, 1972, p. 386. It is not clear whether or not the meaning of the two words is really identical as generally assumed.

[36] The word *satka* can be used as a suffix to express a genitive relation in compounds according to F. Kielhorn, *EI* 1 (1892), p. 164. The same is most likely true in compounds such as *mahattara-dāsaka-satka-kṣetraṃ* "the field of the Mahattara Dāsaka" occurring in Maitraka donations, cf. the material collected in M. Njammasch: *Bauern*, as in note 26 above, p. 34, 76. In the light of F. Kielhorn's observation, the conclusions drawn from the use of *satka* by M. Njammasch need revision.

[37] The numbers refer to K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari, as in note 21 above.

[38] P.V. Kane, *Dharmaśāstra*, as in note 12 above, Vol. III, p. 1004.

The end of the document is marked by a symbol followed by the name and title of the messenger.

The last line contains the date. Only the month and the day can be read, although the last character in *āṣa(ḍha)* is not beyond doubt. It is, however, impossible to figure out the year. The word *saṃ + (tsa)ra* can be recognized followed by very faint traces of what might have been the original text of the date written by a scribe on the copper-plate before it was incised. The engraver, however, failed to execute the figures. Therefore, this inscription shares the fate of the first Bagh plate of Subandhu, which also lost its date, because the end of the last lines is broken off. Consequently, the year 167 in Subandhu's Barwani stone inscription remains the only date known of this king which may be AD 417 or 486/7 depending on whether the Kalacuri or the Gupta era is considered. However, there is no way to determine with certainty, which era is used.[39] The first date places Subandhu in the period of transition from Candraguta II (ca. 376–415) and Kumāragupta I (ca. 415–447), the second in the troubled times at the end of Budhagupta's reign (ca. 477–488), when Mahārāja Suraśmicandra was the Gupta viceroy in the territory between Gaṅgā and Narmadā and consequently should have been the immediate superior to the Viṣayapati Mahārāja Subandhu.[40]

Another point of uncertainty is how the monasteries mentioned in the plates relate to the Bagh caves. As long as there was only one plate, it would appear obvious to assume that the *vihāra* established by Dattaṭaka was identical with Cave II, where the copper-plate was found. Now there is a second monastery established by Ajitasena in Yakṣadāsānaka. The plate was found on top of the same cave. If this plate, too, should refer to one of the Bagh caves, the old name of Bagh was Yakṣadāsānaka and one of the caves was excavated by Ajitasena. As neither plate, however, seems to speak of a cave (*layana / leṇa*)[41] it is likewise not impossible to conceive that neither refers to the Bagh caves and that these are the remnants of an archive of donations made to various monasteries in the area kept in or near Cave II, of which only two copper-plates survive by chance. At any rate the good relations of King Subandhu to the Buddhists in this area are underlined by the second Bagh plate.

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[39]. V.V. Mirashi, as in note 2 above, p. XL and p. 17 foll., prefers a Kalacuri in contrast to a Gupta reckoning, which seems to be almost generally assumed now, cf. H.T. Bakker: *The Vākāṭakas. An Essay in Hindu Iconology*, (Gonda Indological Studies, Volume V), Groningen, 1997 [rev.: H. v. Stietencron, *OLZ* 94 (1999), columns 366–374; G. Michell, *BSOAS* 63 (2000), pp. 127f.; R.L. Brown, *JAOS* 121 (2001), pp. 664–667; A. Malinar, *WZKS* 49 (2006), pp. 260–262], p. 38, note 131, and p. 50.

[40]. The dates of the Gupta rulers follow M. Willis, "Later Gupta History: Inscriptions, Coins and Historical Ideology," *JRAS* 3 (2005), pp. 131–150; on Suraśmicandra see H. Bakker: *Monuments of Hope, Gloom, and Glory in the Age of the Hunnic Wars. 50 Years that changed India (484-534)*, 24th J. Gonda Lecture 2016, Amsterdam, 2017, p. 9 with note 19.

[41]. Because of the form *kāritaka* in *ajitasena-kāritaka-vihāra* besides *paribhuktaka* (also used in the Barwani grant) in Subandhu's second Bagh plate, it is certain that V.V. Mirashi's segmentation must be changed from *dattaṭaka-**kārita-kal**āyana-vihāra* to *dattaṭaka-**kāritaka-l(ā)**yana-vihāra*. Now, it is pointed out in CII IV.1, p. 20 note 4 that the *-ā-* of *lāyana* is, though hardly visible, still beyond doubt. If so, the name of the monastery would be Lāyana. However, it seems also possible that the *-ā-*, if really written, might be an error, which should be corrected to *layana* "cave." A *layana-vihāra* "cave monastery" would almost certainly refer to the cave, where the copper-plate was found.

A standing bronze Buddha in Gupta style
from the north-western Himalaya

Harry FALK

Bronze statues from the North-West are many, usually about 20 cm in height, with or without mandorla, on cubical or lotus socles, and rarely inscribed. Most of the pieces are collected in the standard publications of U. von Schroeder (1981) and J. Siudmak (2013), which also show that the bronzes become larger with the centuries. Pieces of 40 cm are not rare. One piece was added to the Hirayama collection in recent years, published in an exceptional book (Tanabe 2008: 126; II-31) and in an out-of-the-way catalogue (NN 2013). This piece with its 68 cm height is of medium size, of a high quality and displays a particularly delicate expression. A second piece of equal quality and style will be presented here and compared to the Hirayama statue. As the latter was dated to the seventh century by its editor(s) we will also look for arguments to support or question this date for the new piece. The Hirayama standing Buddha owes a great deal to the Gupta period styles seen in Mathura during the fifth and early sixth centuries, on the other hand the gown is asymmetrically covering only the left arm, a feature common on standing stone statues at Mathura in Kushan times. At the time being nothing permits to assign a homeland for this piece, but it shows stylistic similarities with a new piece from the North-West probably hinting at a dispersal of similarly educated metal casters all over India under political or financial constraints, which, on a trial basis, I link to the upheaval resulting from the inroads of the Huns at the beginning of the sixth century AD.

This new piece was recently seen in a private collection in London; its previous owner had acquired it from the collection of Samuel Eilenberg, then London. It is a standing Buddha in front of an openwork mandorla fixed to his back (figs. 1-2), standing on a bipartite lotus socle. The figure measures 44.8 cm in height, the mandorla is 51.8 cm high and 20.6 cm wide. With these dimensions it surpasses most of the standard statues by its almost doubled size. The lotus base was attached to the figure by a tang under each foot inserted into holes in the base and the tang then split and hammered into a "butterfly" lock. The bronze was analyzed by Pieter Meyers, Los Angeles, for both mandorla and base of the figure. The metal composition for base/mandorla was reported as 95/94 % copper, 3.7/3.0 % tin, 0.65/1.0 % lead, trace/1.4 % zinc and 0.26/0.53 % iron.[1]

The body has been cast by the lost wax technique around a clay core, a tiny part of which

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[1] A large collection of data through many centuries is contained in von Schroeder (1981: 49-52), none of the samples meets the composition of the London Buddha; the content of zinc is the biggest difference to the Masque Court, with its 18% compared to 1.4 % of the London Buddha, at the most.

was removed and TL dated,[2] with a resulting wide time-frame from AD 300 to 1000, a range which includes the Gupta era and a number of centuries more, but excludes a modern fabrication.

Its size allowed the artist to go into details, giving particular attention to the contemplative expression of the face and the posture of each finger. While the right hand (fig. 3) is raised to signify "safety" (*abhaya*) the left hand holds the hem of the upper garment. The hollow socle is cast in the shape of a lotus bud with eight leaves pointing up and another eight pointing down. Similar lotus seats are dated to the sixth century by von Schroeder (1981: 82f., nos. 5F-5I); unfortunately, the socle of the Hirayama Buddha is lost for comparison.

The mandorla can be removed, being attached to the socle by a tang at its lower end to be inserted into a hole of the socle, while it has a squarish hole, made to receive another tang protruding from the back of the Buddha. Once put in place this perforated tang can be fixed with a splint. This splint went missing.

The lower part of the forehead (fig. 4) has received a small inlay of a stone of red colour for the front jewel, probably a garnet. The white of the half-closed eyes has been rendered by an inlay of silver.

The lower series of leaves of the socle have been inscribed all the round in a variety of Brāhmī based on the Gupta Brāhmī, with closer parallels only in the area from Gandhara and up the Indus. In addition it presents some letter forms which seem to be unique so far, but explicable as arising from more standard forms common in this area, none of them excluding a date around the early sixth century.

The legend starts due left for the onlooker and reads, with the reach of the single leaves indicated by a central dot (·) (fig. 5):
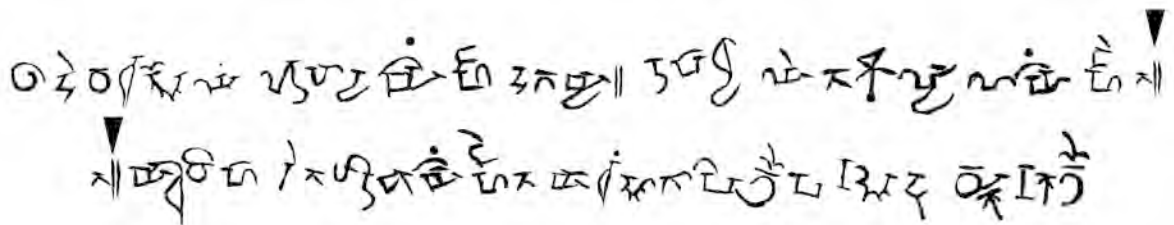
@[3] *devadhamo yaṃ / · ācāryasiṃṅha·datasya // upādhyā·yena kalyāṇasiṃ·ṅhena // sādhevihā·rena śubhasiṃṅhena · sādhaṃ mātāpitrau · pa·ramaduṣkarakatrau*
"This is the pious donation of the teacher Siṃhadatta (and) of the preceptor Kalyānasiṃha (and) of (his) co-residential (pupil) Śubhasiṃha together with (their) mothers and fathers who performed the most difficult task."

[2.] Sample N116j64 of Oxford Authentication, 1 August 2016.
[3.] It has become customary to call this curl *"siddhaṃ"* although no early evidence points towards such a connotation. Instead, the curls in their graphical form are successors of a short horizontal stroke which together with a second stroke at the end of the text frequently frame donative inscriptions in Kushan times. The gold leaves from Śrīkṣetra from late Kushan or early Gupta times use curl and written *siddhaṃ* in succession (Falk 1997: 18f.), certainly not as a duplication. The Eran boar inscription turns the @ in a clock-wise direction, contrary to how an *i*-bent would run. At some time the @ certainly started to be understood as *siddhaṃ*, but this does hardly explain its origins.

It is impossible to decide whether the scribe had the intention to note pre-consonantal *r-* or not. Some *dha* could be *rdha*, as in **sārdhaṃ*, the same applies to *ma* which could be *rma* in °*dharmo*, but there is certainly no *r(tr)-* in **duṣkarakartrau*.

From this simple text it arises that the statue was ordered to be produced by three Buddhist monks, certainly living together in one monastery. How many more monks the monastery held is an open question. The three monks carry names derived from the "lion" by which the victorious Buddha *śākyamuni* can be meant with his "lion's roar" (*siṃhanāda*) after the many debates won over adherents of other worldviews. Still, such names need not be Buddhist at all, Siṃhadatta for one can also be derived from the asterism *siṃha*, our Leo, and as such it is found also in other communities, even Jainistic ones (*sihadatā*, Siṃhadattā, Bühler 1892: 387f.).[4] The second name Kalyānasiṃha, the "merciful Lion", is unique as far as I can see, while the last name Śubhasiṃha, the "auspicious Lion" has already been found hammered into rock as *śubhasigha* at Hodar in the upper Indus valley (von Hinüber in Bandini-König 1999: 300, no. 65: 16). This similarity between the two names can perhaps shed important light on the original source for the bronze.

The three monks are listed in hierarchical order, with an *ācārya* leading, an *upādhyāya* following, and his "co-residential (pupil)" closing.

The orthography is indicative of relatively early times, when geminata where not regularly expressed in writing; the seemingly curious *siṃṅha* with its velar nasal derives from an earlier *siṅgha*, and the *anusvāra* before a nasal-initial cluster is common also for other written vernaculars of the time.

Remarkable with regard to paleography are the forms of *sa, ṣa* and inital *ā*. *Sa* and *ṣa* are produced by outlining a rectangle or a circle and then adding a short line slanting upwards to the right. The initial *ā* connects all standard lines of a "Karakoram" *ā* (e.g. Hodar 32:4) into a form which can be written in one stretch, without lifting and re-placing the pen, apart from the serif.

The characterization of the parents as "performing the most difficult deed" has a parallel on another bronze Buddha figure of standard size, its legend once read by Raymond Allchin for Neil Kreitman (1992: 217), which I read and translate from the illustration, with slight changes against the printed version:

> *deyadharmo yaṃ śākyabhikṣo*
> *buddhapratimā yaśonandina(*ḥ)*
> *sadhaṃ mātapitrau paramaduṣkara*
> *(*kar)trau sadhaṃ upadhāyena*
> "This is the pious donation of a statue of the Buddha of the Buddhist monk Yaśonandin, together with his parents, who perform the most difficult task, together with the preceptor (. . .)."

The text is said (Kreitman 1992: 215a) to continue on the adjoining right side of the socle, having become illegible after some repair work; however, most of the meaningful details are given on the front side. Here as well, the term *paramaduṣkara*(*kar)*trau* refers to the parents. A very similar piece of comparable size (Sachs 2003a, 235/261 no. 213) is likewise inscribed,

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[4.] The beautiful catalogue edited by M. Carter (2015: 194, no. 47) on the exhibition at the Al Sabah Museum, Kuwait, shows a silver bowl inscribed in Bactrian. On the underside is a further dotted legend, "unfortunately unreadable". However, the dots can be read, reading *viṣṇusinhasya* in a Brāhmī of the fifth/ sixth century, showing the combination of *-siṃha* with clearly non-Buddhist components.

with mention of "mother and father", but without the "most difficult task" (Falk 2008: 141).

Two literary parallels come from colophons of texts found at Gilgit. One is the Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa (von Hinüber 2004: 79),[5] reading:

devadharmo yaṃ bālosiṃhena sārdhaṃ bhāryājījaḍiena sārdhaṃ mātāpitrau paramaduṣkatrau (follow more persons and the scribe).
"This is the pious donation of Bālosiṃha, together with his wife Jījaḍī (?), together with his parents, who perform the most difficult task."

The second Gilgit text (von Hinüber 2004: 77) is the Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra where the colophon starts with: *tathā sārdhaṃ mātāpitrau paramaduṣkarakatrau.*

Both colophons are replete with personal names of unknown linguistic extraction, at home in the valleys in or around Gilgit and Hunza, but alien to Gandhara proper.

Formally, there is a difference between *parama-duṣkartṛ* and *parama-duṣkara-kartṛ,* but the meaning is not affected, and in all the four cases known so far the term refers to the parents. Which activity is meant by the "most difficult task" may be questioned. Buddhist texts distinguish between the "most difficult tasks" for Bodhisattvas as a life in emptiness (*śūnyatāyāṃ carati*, Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā 20; Vaidya: 185), and for ordinary monks (*muṇḍake śramaṇake*) as attaining *bodhi* (*bodhir hi paramaduṣkarā*, Saṅghabhedavastu, II: 23). The texts mention more and different "most difficult deeds", even celibacy *(brahma-cāryaṃ,* Saṅghāṭasūtra), but parents occur only once, and without the "most": According to the Divyāvadāna (Vaidya p. 31) = Avadānaśataka (Vaidya p. 92) they perform a "difficult task" by nurturing, feeding, raising a son, giving the breast and introducing the world to him.[6] In the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā 12 (Vaidya p. 125) it is the mother alone who performs this task.[7]

The rarity of the expression in literary and epigraphical texts may be due to a rather short period during which the idea of mother or parents "performing a (most) difficult task" was current at all; alternatively, the phrase could have been current over a longer time in a rather limited area. The Avadāna collections, the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, the name Śubha-siṃha on a rock in the Indus valley, and the Gilgit colophons with their foreign names speak in favour of regions north of Gandhara and the valleys on the upper Indus. The only open case is the Kreitman Buddha, but with its alleged background in the Hindu Kush (von Schroeder 1981: 64) it can be called "north-Gandharan" as well.

Comparing the scripts on the two Buddhas which mention the "most difficult task" no big difference is found, apart from *sa, ṣa* and initial *ā-* where the Kreitman Buddha preserves the standard Gupta style, while the scribe of the London Buddha developed an idiosyncratic form without precedents nor successors, possibly in a sort of clerical diaspora.

When and where was this new statue made? The inscribed but undated Kreitman Buddha

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5. The two texts are re-read in von Hinüber 2004: 77-79 without touching the topic inherent in *paramaduṣkara-(kara)-kartṛ*. Cf. also Schopen (2005: 236 with fn. 33) and (2014: 325).
6. *duṣkarakārakau hi bhikṣavaḥ putrasya mātāpitarau āpyāyakau poṣakau saṃvardhakau stanyasya dātārau citrasya jambūdvīpasya darśayitārau*; Schopen (2004: 179) presents the translation of a Tibetan rendering in context.
7. *duṣkarakārikaiṣā asmākaṃ jīvitasya dātrī lokasya ca saṃdarśayitrī*. Oguibénine (gandhari.org → dictionary → MLBS, s.v. *duṣkarakārikā)* refers to the Bhikṣuṇīvinaya (ed. Roth, § 10) for the term; the explanation again refers to one woman alone: *duṣkarakārikā ca bhagavato mahāprajāpatī gautamī āpāyikā poṣikā janetrīye kālagatāye stanyasya dāyikā* (...).

(28 cm with socle) is given a date of AD 450-550 by von Schroeder (1981: 64); Siudmak (2013: 74) estimates a very similar standing Buddha (20 cm) to the fifth/sixth century as well. Both figures show a row of half-moon folds of their gown from the navel downwards, while the London piece continues these half-moon folds mechanically up to the collar. At least paleography adds more information on a further example with identical design, of 26.5 cm height including square cubical socle, published in the Lattes catalogue (Sachs 2003: 235a, 261, no. 213). Its legend was discovered only after 2003 and published in Falk 2008: 141, the script does not contradict a date in the fifth or sixth century as estimated by Sachs.

This seems to show a consensus regarding the early and smaller types with "Afghan" hairstyle. An earlier date seems also precluded when considering that none of them is inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī script. To assume a later date would presuppose expecting that Sanskrit orthography was still violated by non-expressed geminata e.g. in the seventh century.

Compared to these early types, the Hirayama bronze Buddha (Tanabe 2008: 126, no. II-31) shows some advancement, shared by the London Buddha. The Hirayama Buddha is 68 cm high with mandorla lost,[8] while the London Buddha measures only 45 cm in height with the mandorla preserved. To understand both bronze statues we have to include some more pieces in a conspectus. The first piece is the so-called Masque Court, an almost life-size mask collected by General Court some place in the Peshawar valley to the West of the Kashmir Smats (Falk 2013). A forth piece akin in many ways is the bronze Brahma from Mīrpur Khās, in Sindh, on the lower Indus, quite large with its 95 cm, but still not as large as the bronze Buddha from Sultanganj, Bengal, now in Birmingham, with its 225 cm (von Schroeder 1981: 216f., no. 45D).

The majority of smaller pieces from Afghanistan and Gandhara have a completely different molding of the face with less stylized features, while the two Buddhas, the Masque Court and the Mīrpur Khās Brahma share a profile with a straight front-nose line. Another link is provided by the brows: The Mīrpur Khās Brahma and the two Buddhas from the Hirayama Collection and from London have their brows not as prominent ridges but as deeply incised lines working with light and shade.

Although the Hirayama Buddha has his right shoulder free and the London Buddha has both shoulders covered, the treatment of the hem of the cloth below the left arm is absolutely identical with a long row of small whirls all the way down.

The hair-style in tiny curls is standard east of Gandhara, but in Gandhara another arrangement in concentric curves without prominent curls is widespread as well. Kreitman (1992: 217a) concluded that Buddhas with hair arranged in concentric curves originated from Afghanistan, while in Gandhara and further east the rows of curls prevailed. Both the London and the Hirayama Buddha show curls, which would put them east of Afghanistan; however, a Buddha from China, dated by an epigraph to AD 486,[9] and a sitting Buddha from Devnimori in Gujarat, certainly not older than AD 376,[10] show with their concentric rows in "Afghan

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[8.] From the published photographs this is not evident. Prof. K. Tanabe was so kind as to contact the Hirayama Museum and received a photograph which shows the perforated tenon in the back, which proves that a mandorla was at least planned, most likely lost in the course of time.

[9.] Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc.no. 26.123, 140 cm high (online); this is probably the piece referred to by Kreitman (1992: 217a) with a superceded date of AD 477, adopted most likely from Snellgrove (1978: 209: fig. 156).

[10.] This is the date of 127 years in a *kathika* era, that is probably Kalachuri-Chedi, of a reliquary found inside the same brick stūpa. Williams (1982: 58f.) places the undated Buddha (her pl. 57), carefully encased within

style" that style can only be used with difficulty for fixing boundaries. However, it also shows that the Kreitman Buddha should rather be dated at the lower end of the "fifth to seventh century AD" which Kreitman (1992: 217a) assigns to it.

A better tool for a geographical separation, seemingly of a general nature, is the cordon around the waist indicating the upper end of the under-gown. For the centuries concerned, this line is found only east of Gandhara. Neither the London nor the Hirayama Buddha show it, nor any of the many smaller Buddhas of Gandhara or Afghanistan. The Brahma of Mīrpur Khās with his bare chest naturally shows the winding around the belly. The line is prominent with the Sultanganj Buddha, as it is with another of the rare early dated bronze Buddhas, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.[11] It is 46 cm high and carries a date read as *500-10-3* by G. Vajracharya.[12] Taken in the Śaka era this dates the piece reliably to AD 591.

One further meaningful point seems to have been overlooked so far, that is the left hand. Whatever the type of Buddha and whatever the material, in most cases the left hand holds the hem of the upper garment. While standard statues just grasp it with all fingers at once, a number of the inscribed statues highlighted here uses an unnatural *mudrā*-like posture with little finger and forefinger stretched out, and the central middle and ring finger curved inwards towards the palm where they press down the fabric. In a number of cases only the little finger is stretched out. This mannered *mudrā* can be chronologically fixed, as it is used by the said Cleveland Buddha from Nepal with its date of AD 591. The Brahma from Mīrpur Khās[13] shows it as do the London and Hirayama Buddhas in an identical form. This way of shaping the left hand is not found on Kushan plastic art, possibly because statues in stone would be liable to lose such isolated fingers. In Gupta stone art it is found at Sarnath on one of the rare inscribed stone statues with a date and preserved left hand, Gupta era 154, that is around AD 474 (Harle 1974; fig. 67); tellingly, the piece has lost most of its little finger. This posture is also found on a standing Buddha from Katra, Mathura, dated in a non-Kushan way at the end of the text, reading *saṃvatsaraḥ 200-10*.[14] If taken as a Gupta date it would amount to ca. AD 530. Half of the little finger is broken away, but the *mudrā* as such is recognizable. The left hand of the huge bronze Buddha from Sultanganj has just the little finger stretched out. Von Schroeder (1981: 216; with p. 207) with good reasons dates it to AD 500-550; other proposals cited range from AD 400 to 850.[15]

The delicate fingers of all hands, in particular the mannered posture of the left hand fingers are difficult to produce "free-standing" on small bronzes with the danger that the cavities for the fingers will not be filled properly with the molten metal, or if they do that the fingers are too brittle to withstand wear and tear. In fact, the small (10 cm) "third Buddha"

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the brick construction, in between AD 400 and 415.

[11.] Acc.no. 68.40; Czuma 1970; von Schroeder 1981: 304f., no. 74E; Siudmak 2013: 268, pl. 121.

[12.] Published in Slusser 1975/76: 84, 93. Siudmak (2013: 267) cites this interpretation without reference to Slusser and attributes the reading to G. Bhattacharya. For further literature cf. von Schroeder 1981: 304, no. 74E. A clearer case of a comparable *500* is found in Pant [1964]: 13.

[13.] His right hand reverses the *abhaya-mudrā* by showing the outside of the hand to the spectator, a *mudrā* unknown from other pieces.

[14.] This has been read as 200-80 (Lüders 1961: 35, fn. 3) or 200-30 (Fleet 1888: 273f. no. 70 with pl. 40D. Williams (1974) tends to put the piece in a transitional phase between Kushans and Guptas and opts for a Kushan date 120+280 = AD 400. The cipher is unique for Mathura, but it is the prototype of the contemporary Lichavi *10* with opening bow and still ending in a C-bend.

[15.] This provides a possible low date, while higher dates are not excluded by this *mudrā*, as can be seen in an 11th cent. Buddha from Nālandā (Snellgrove 1978: 282).

(Middleton 2010: 122) from Dhanesar Khera in Banda District (100 km west of Kauśāmbī) shows that the *mudrā* took on a life of its own. It is clearly recognizable although all finger tips broke away. The hand is held empty, with fingers still bent and stretched, without any hem inside the palm.

In consideration of these obvious developments I regard the London and Hirayama bronze Buddhas as representatives or successors of the prototype for the stone Buddhas with similar left hands, and some of these stone Buddhas date to the late fifth and early sixth century.

As this is the same time frame used for the small Afghan Buddhas we see that von Schroeder and Kreitman were perfectly right in keeping the styles of Gandhara and Gupta-influenced areas apart without using one group to date the other.

The rarity of the Gandharan type of large size bronze Buddhas stands in contrast to their beauty. That means there was a highly skilled group of metal casting artists and there were very few customers able or willing to cover the charges. A continuation of the activities of the artists is seen in Nepal, in eastern India and in China. Was it the fiscal oppression put on the population by the Hūna invasions in Gandhara and Western India after ca. AD 480 that was responsible for the end of this tradition? Verardi (2012: 158) names the period between AD 550 and 580 as of "severest duress for Gandharan Buddhists". This was probably the time when some of the Gandharan Buddhist artists working in metal left the country for safer heavens in the East.

While the end of Buddhist metal casting in the wider Gandhara region outside Gilgit can be linked to the Hūnas and the lawless times following their dispersal, the beginning is less clear. Slusser (1975/76) has shown that Nepal metal work starts much earlier than previously expected. For Gandhara a clear definition of the beginnings seems to be missing, although there is one piece, known as the Nitta Buddha from its first collector, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which by some is regarded as the earliest preserved representation of the Buddha in cast metal. The status of "the oldest" was allotted in a paper of M. Carter (1985/86),[16] where she compares the hairdo of this figure with the hairstyle of Augustus and the young Nero. Based on an assumed identity in style this piece is said to document the beginning of metal figures of the Buddha in the first or second century, an idea which found adherents (Behrendt 2007: 48; Siudmak 2013: 73). This comparison appears unwarranted and misleading[17] and I have recently (Falk 2016: 35b) expressed my view that for technical reasons this beautiful little statue should be placed a good deal later than the second century.

With the Nitta Buddha gone the search for an earliest form of the Buddha is open again and will necessarily evoke the arguments brought forward by Cribb (1983; 1999/2000) showing that on the coinage of Kaniṣka I a standing Buddha is seen in a posture quite comparable to the one of the bronze statues. This is true, but all discussion is unsatisfying as

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[16.] Siudmak (2013: 73) refers to "Carter 1988", without a match in the References, but Behrendt (2007: 101) has Carter's paper as dated to "1988" and seems to have provided the basis for Siudmak.

[17.] A look at the hairstyles in Carter 1985/86: 36+37 shows that Augustus and Nero comb their hair from the crane to the front, thus *ending* in short strands, parallel strands in the case of Nero. The Nitta Buddha, on the other hand, shows the hairstyle of a Brahma (cf. Mīrpur Khās) or yogi, with parallel strands *starting* at the front and being led upwards and banded together on the crane building a bushel of dreadlocks. Thus, any resemblance to the hairdo of the early Roman emperors disappears.

long as the impression is maintained that the coins depict statues and nothing but statues, metal or stone. The possibility that the die-engravers used paintings for their designs is ignored. There is one exceptionally great painting on silk from the time of and depicting Huviṣka (Marshak & Grenet 2006), clearly the result of a long artistic tradition; there is evidence of Kushan wall-painting (Carter 1997) of a non-Buddhist nature. Buddhas painted on a wall need to be highlighted and can receive golden aureoles and body mandorlas much easier on a wall painting than in stone or metal. All Buddha figures on Kaniṣka's gold coins have a body mandorla,[18] while the stone-masons for a long time create nothing but head aureoles. There is not a single bronze statue with or without body mandorla inscribed in Kushan Brāhmī, while there are dozens of stone Buddhas and stone Bodhisattvas inscribed in Kushan Brāhmī with an aureole solely around their head. From this I conclude that the die-engraver worked from a painting, or the sketch of a painting, not from the sketch of a metal statue, and thus Kaniṣka's Buddha coinage loses much of its relevance for dating plastic art.

Returning to the London Buddha we can summarize that its home place, if not its place of production, most likely was in the regions around the upper Indus. The time of its production can only be given in a loose frame, from the late fourth to the middle of the sixth century AD. The artists skilled in shaping and casting such exceptional pieces of plastic art needed solvent customers, which after the Hūna disaster were found rather to the North and East.

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[18.] On gold coins the body mandorla is framed by the legend BOΔΔO on one side and the king's tamka on the other. When the name is enlarged to BOΔΔO / CAKAMANO or BOUΔO / MHTPAΓO the tamka is regarded as more important and takes the place of the body mandorla.

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Sex-change in Buddhist Legal Literature
with a focus on the Theravāda tradition

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Abstract

Sex-change is a widespread phenomenon in Buddhist literature, most probably inspired by Indian narrative literature where it appears already earlier. The ultimate cause of sex-change in Buddhism is *karma* (Pāli *kamma*), and its first mention in the Theravāda tradition is in the monastic law code (*Vinaya*), followed by the *Milindapañha*, and the Pāli commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*, ca. from the 4th c. CE onwards). The present contribution examines the references for sex-change in the Theravāda legal literature (I). As a kind of preview, select references to sex-change in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition are collected and compared (II). The bulk of the information on sex-change comes from a long passage in the *Vinaya* commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā*. This passage is given in the original Pāli and an English translation as an Appendix (III) to this contribution.

Keywords

Sex-change, female and male sexual characteristics, *liṅga*, *liṅgaparivattana*, Theravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda

Introduction

Sex-change is a widespread phenomenon in Indian literature from Vedic times onwards, and it is mentioned in texts of various religious movements (Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism). It appears mostly as a male to female, rarer, as a female to male transformation[1] caused either by divine intervention (gods, apsarases) as a curse or a boon, by magical means (herbs or pills), by bathing in a magical pond, by changing one's sex with that of another person, by changing sex at will, on account of actions (*karma*) or as an act of truth (Skt *satya-kriyā*, Pali *sacca-kiriyā*).[2] Sex-change thereby consists in the change of the biological sex and gender,[3] and is reversible.

Sex-change as represented in Buddhist texts certainly was inspired by its presence in the Indian cultural setting in which Buddhism originated. But it had to be adjusted to the Buddhist doctrine concerning its potential cause. Therefore, sex-change in the Buddhist context is finally caused by the agent of causality, namely by *karma* (Pāli *kamma*). In the

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[1]. Rare are transformations into a sexless being (*napuṃsaka*), Doniger O'Flaherty 1980: 308; Gonda 1989: 70.
[2]. On sex-change see Anālayo 2014: 111–114 (with further literature in n. 8); Anderson 2017; Appleton 2010: 95; Balkwill 2016: 127–148; Balkwill forthcoming; Brown 1927; Cabezón 2017: 277ff.; Dhammadinnā 2015; Dhammadinnā 2015–16; Dhammadinnā 2018; Doniger 1999: 260ff.; Doniger O'Flaherty 1980: 299ff.; Esposito 2013; Finnegan 2009: 133–140; Gethin (in preparation); Goldman 1993; Gyatso 2003: 102f.,110f.; Ohnuma 2000: 124ff.; Paul 1985: 166ff.; Perera 1993: 161ff.; Schuster 1981: 24–69; Young 2004: 191–210.
[3]. Anderson 2016: 232; a more detailed discussion is found in Gethin (in preparation).

Theravāda tradition this seems to remain the only cause.[4] In other schools[5] such as, for instance, that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, sex-change could be deliberately caused by a person for whatever purpose (see below, II 6). But probably in these cases too a karmic reason stands behind it. Nevertheless, this needs further investigation. In Mahāyāna texts the deliberate change of sex is effected by female Bodhisattvas, who have reached a high spiritual level by their magic abilities.

In the present contribution I will look at sex-change in the texts of the Theravāda tradition, trying to examine the regulations and their position more closely. Each layer of texts puts before us aspects of sex-change not dealt with in the previous layers. Such new aspects appear for the last time in the third *Vinaya* subcommentary, the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* (12th/13th c. CE). The younger sub- and sub-sub-commentaries to *Vinaya* and *Vinaya* condensations (*Khuddasikkhā*, *Vinayavinicchaya*, *Pālimuttaka*) either comment on this topic very briefly or reuse information contained in the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Vinaya* commentary that contains the most details about sex-change. In addition to the analyses of the information given in various legal texts, therefore, the relevant section from the *Samantapāsādikā* has been added in an Appendix to the present article in Pāli and English translation.[6]

As the Theravāda and the Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions form two different ends of a monastic legal development, I assemble information on sex-change from the Mūla-sarvāstivāda tradition as far as it is dealt with in secondary literature in a sort of preview at the end of my article.

Sex-change in the Theravāda tradition has been taken up already by P. V. Bapat who in 1957 gave a concise, but comprehensive sketch of the relevant regulations in the Theravāda tradition, summarizing and paraphrasing the findings in the commentary and subcommentaries, and referring to sex-change in other Buddhist traditions and in Indian narrative literature. The last two and a half pages of his short paper are devoted to the question whether "all these stories about the change of sex" are "merely fanciful, or" whether they "have any basis which can be explained" (Bapat 1957: 213). Bapat mentions several medical cases.[7] More recently sex-change was dealt with from a modern perspective by Scherer (2006: 65–76), who looks among others at the passages from the *Theravāda-vinaya* as providing "an empowering opportunity for a Modern Buddhist inclusive anthropology and spiritual 'metagenderism'" (Scherer: 2006: 65); and by Anderson (2017) who considered the

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[4.]   At least in the Abhidhamma and legal literature. See also in a wider frame Young 2004: 203ff.

[5.]   Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, Mahīśāsakas and Mahāsāṃghikas. For their *Vinayas* see Clarke 2015. Since these schools were located in different areas of India and beyond, their law codes were exposed to a variety of culturally different influences. In addition, they were redactionally closed at varying times. It is to be assumed that all the *Vinayas* contain regulations regarding sex-change. But to date no general investigation of this topic has been carried out.

[6.]   Part of this passage has been translated in Anderson (2017), and the complete section in Anderson 2016: 237–240. Her translation is flawed by a missing knowledge of the legal terminology and the commentarial style, and is partly unintelligible. Anderson (2016: 241), with respect to the English translation of the parallel in the Chinese counterpart of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha*, states "the Chinese translation of this passage is clearer than the Pāli above, but no less detailed." This characterization does not do justice to the Pāli text which is clearer and more detailed, at least, than the English translation of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha*, but, unfortunately, not in Anderson's translation. Therefore, it doesn't seem superfluous to attach text and translation to the present contribution.

[7.]   Finnegan 2009: 134, n. 235, notes that in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* such cases seem not to be understood as hypothetical, and that in the modern tradition at least one case of spontaneous sex-change from man to woman has been reported to her.

respective passages from the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the related commentary, i.e. the *Samantapāsādikā*, in search for "the implication" … "for contemporary understandings of sex-change, transgender, and sexuality as a whole in today's cultures".

I. Sex-change in the Theravāda tradition

1. The background

As stated above, narrations of sex-change were present in the Indian cultural environment before Buddhism originated. Therefore, it is conspicuous that no references to sex-change are found in the canonical scriptures of the Theravāda except for four passages in the monastic law code (*Vinayapiṭaka*), where they are in the youngest layers (see below, I 3.1). Thus it seems that sex-change came into play in the Theravāda tradition only at a relatively late date, when the discourses, and large parts of the monastic law code, had taken shape already. That the first traces are in the monastic law code, is certainly not fortuitous. If such sex transformations are understood as possible outcomes in a culture, it cannot be excluded that they also happen to occur within the Buddhist monastic community, and if so, the legal experts had to know such a case's legal implications and how to handle it, even if only theoretically.

The Buddhist community of monastics is separated into two legal entities, the male and female communities, that is the monks' (*bhikkhusaṅgha*) and the nuns' community (*bhikkhunīsaṅgha*). Ordinations (*upasampadā*) as a monk (*bhikkhu*) or a nun (*bhikkhunī*) are separate legal procedures which differ from each other in several points:

- obstacles to an ordination are partly different for male and female persons;[8]
- ordination as a nun requires the pre-ordination stage as a *sikkhamānā* for two years (Pāc 63 N);
- whereas a male person is ordained at age twenty at the earliest, married women (*gihigatā*)[9] may be ordained at age twelve already (Pāc 65–67 N);
- whereas a male person is ordained by a community of monks only, female candidates are ordained by a community of nuns first, and subsequently by a community of monks, or, in case of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, by an ordination procedure in which a community of monks and a community of nuns are involved;[10]
- whereas a monk can leave the order, and later be reordained, a nun must not formally leave the order, and, if she leaves the order informally, must not ever be reordained.[11]

Given these differences with respect to ordination it is obvious that legal experts had to know whether or not a monk or a nun who underwent sex-change remained a monastic, that is, a nun or a monk. This is answered in the affirmative, and implies that both ordinations are of

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[8.] This holds true for all Buddhist schools.

[9.] Kieffer-Pülz 2005: 225ff.; von Hinüber 2008: 11ff., assumes that the word *gihigatā* defined as "*purisantaragatā* 'one who has gone to another man' designates a non-virgin, a woman that has had intercourse with a man", and comprises married women, widows, but also courtesans. He further understands the twelve years as the time the *gihigatā* spent already as married women, widows, etc., limiting this understanding, however, to the earliest layer of the *Vinaya*, that is the *Pātimokkha* rules and the old commentary (Hinüber 2008: 13), and conceding that in the layer of the introductory stories the twelve years have been understood as the age of the candidate already (Hinüber 2008: 14).

[10.] This refers to the historically developed final forms of ordination, and does not say anything about the special forms of ordination that occurred earlier among monks as well as nuns, such as, for instance, the ordination of Mahā Kassapa or the Sākiya women. See, for instance, Kieffer-Pülz 2010: 218, n. 4.

[11.] For the Theravāda see Kieffer-Pülz 2015–16 with a brief overview on other schools; for an opposing view concerning the Theravāda see Paṇḍita 2017; for the Dharmaguptaka Heirman 2016–17.

equal rank, despite the differences in their procedures. It thus is important to see whether any peculiarities are connected with such a change.

2. How does sex-change function

Sex-change is described in only a single passage of the Theravāda canon. There it is simply stated that the sexual characteristic[12] of the other sex manifested itself in a monk or a nun while asleep. Waking up the monastic realized the change of his/her bodily shape. The former monk now had a female body, the former nun that of a male (Vin III 35,12–24, see below, I 3.1). Thus a spontaneous transformation into the other sex occurred during sleep without any visible reason behind it. The context given does not contain any clue either.

In the commentarial layer of the Theravāda scriptures the process of sex-change is described. According to the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅganī*, an Abhidhamma text, in the case of the beings of the first aeons the male or female faculty (*indriya*) developed during their lifetime. Later it arose at the moment of rebirth dependent on the *kamma* accumulated in previous lives (As 322,17–20). Only one such *indriya* exists at a time in a person,[13] as is clear from the canonical *Yamaka*, again an Abhidhamma work.[14] But this *indriya* can change within one and the same lifetime as is proved by the two *Vinaya* passages dealt with here (below, I 3.1). The *indriya* effects the development of the sexual characteristics (*liṅga*) of a person; a female faculty (*itthindriya*) leads to a female sexual characteristic (*itthiliṅga*), a male faculty (*purisindriya*) to a male sexual characteristic (*purisaliṅga*).[15] In the case of a transformation from male to female thus the male faculty (*purisindriya*) disappears, and as a consequence the male form (*purisasanthāna*) or sexual characteristic (*liṅga*) vanishes, then the female faculty (*itthindriya*) arises and effects the female form (*itthisanthāna*). The same principle vice versa applies in the case of a female to male transformation.[16] This is also described in some detail in the oldest of the *Vinaya* sub-commentaries, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (ca. 10th c. CE),[17] and in the second *Vinaya*

[12.] *itthiliṅgaṃ*, is here translated as "female sexual characteristic". *Liṅga* includes the entire bodily appearance of a person, if we follow the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅganī*. As 321,5–8: *tattha "liṅgan" ti saṇṭhānaṃ. itthiyā hi hatthapāda-gīvā-urādīnaṃ saṇṭhānaṃ na purisassa viya hoti. itthīnañ hi heṭṭhimakāyo visado hoti, uparimakāyo avisado. hatthapādā khuddakā, mukhaṃ khuddakaṃ.* "In this case 'liṅgaṃ' means shape. For the shape of a woman's hands, feet, neck, and chest, etc., is not like that of a man's; a woman's lower body is prominent, her upper body not so; a woman's hands and feet are small, her face is small." Based on the translation by Gethin (in preparation). The commentary proceeds with explanations of further differences in marks, work, etc., for the female as well as the male sex (also translated by Gethin).

[13.] Even hermaphrodites (*ubhatovyañjanaka*) have only one faculty. The way sex-changes in the hermaphrodites is described in detail in As 322,30ff., As (transl.) 491.

[14.] Yam Be III 117: *yassa itthindriyaṃ uppajjati tassa purisindriyaṃ uppajjatī ti? no. yassa vā pana purisindriyaṃ uppajjati tassa itthindriyaṃ uppajjatī ti? no.* "'For whom there arises a female faculty, does for him arise the male faculty?' 'No.' 'But, alternatively, for whom there arises the male faculty, does for him arise the female faculty? No.'"

[15.] See the detailed description in As 321,3ff As (transl.) 488ff.

[16.] For a more comprehensive description, see Gethin (in preparation).

[17.] Vjb 112,27–113,7: **itthiliṅgaṃ pātubhūtan** ti (Vin III 35,12) *itthisanthānaṃ pātubhūtaṃ, tañ ca kho purisindriyassa antaradhānena itthindriyassa pātubhāvena. evaṃ purisindriyapātubhāve pi. etena yathā brahmānaṃ purisindriyaṃ n' uppajjati, kevalaṃ purisasanthānam eva uppajjati, yathā ca kassaci paṇḍakassa vināpi purisindriyena purisasanṭhānaṃ uppajjati, na tathā tesan ti dassitaṃ hoti. taṃ pana itthindriyaṃ, purisindriyaṃ vā antaradhāyantaṃ marantānaṃ viya paṭilomakkamena sattarasamacittakkhaṇato paṭṭhāya antaradhāyati. paccuppanne indriye niruddhe itaraṃ visabhāgindriyaṃ pātubhavati. yasmā mahāniddaṃ okkantass' eva kir' assa visabhāgindriyaṃ pātubhavati, tasmā **rattibhāge niddaṃ okkantassā** ti* (Sp I 273,23f.) *vuttaṃ.* "**The female sexual characteristic became manifest**, means: the female form became manifest; and

subcommentary, the *Sāratthadīpanī* (12th c. CE).[18] As the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (ca. 10th c. CE) states, sex-change takes place in deep sleep (*mahānidda*) only (see n. 17). No other commentary makes any statement in this respect, and as we will see (below, II 6), this is different in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.

Like the Brahmins the Buddhists, at least those from the 4th/5th c. CE onwards,[19] considered the male sex superior, the female inferior. This explains why transformation from female to male was considered desirable, whereas the female to male transformation was less desirable.[20] The disappearance of each of the two sexes is thought to be caused by non-virtuous (*akusala*) *kamma* and the manifestation by virtuous (*kusala*) *kamma*. According to *Samantapāsādikā* and *Atthasālinī*, the following are the relations (Sp I 274,20–24 = As 322,25–29; see below, III Appendix § 8). The lines put in italics and underlined are not contained in the original text.[21]

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this due to the manifestation of the female faculty because of the disappearance of the male faculty. So also in the case of the manifestation of the male faculty. As for the Brahma [gods], the male faculty does not arise, only the male form arises, and as for any 'eunuch' (*paṇḍaka*) the male form arises even without a male faculty; not is it like that for them (i.e. men and women). [That] is shown by this [statement]. But the female faculty or male faculty when it disappears, disappears from the seventeenth thought moment onwards in reverse order as for those who die. When the present faculty has vanished, the other different faculty manifests itself. Because, as is well known, the different faculty manifests itself in him only for one who has entered upon deep sleep, therefore it is said [in the *Samantapāsādikā*] **in the night when he has entered upon sleep**."

18. Sp-ṭ II 101,6–18: ***purisasaṇṭhānaṃ antarahitaṃ itthisaṇṭhānaṃ uppannan*** ti (Sp I 273,24f) *phalassa vināsuppādadassanena kāraṇassapi vināsuppādā vuttā ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. purisindriye hi naṭṭhe purisasaṇṭhānaṃ antaradhāyati, itthindriye samuppanne itthisaṇṭhānaṃ pātubhavati. tathā hi "'yassa itthindriyaṃ uppajjati tassa purisindriyaṃ uppajjatī' ti 'no'; 'yassa vā pana purisindriyaṃ uppajjati tassa itthindriyaṃ uppajjatī' ti 'no'" ti Yamakapakaraṇe vuttattā indriyadvayassa ekasmiṃ santāne sahapavattiyā asambhavato. yasmiṃ khaṇe itthindriyaṃ pātubhavati, tato pubbe sattarasamacittato paṭṭhāya purisindriyaṃ n' uppajjati. tato pubbe uppannesu ca purisindriyesu sahajarūpehi saddhiṃ kamena niruddhesu tasmiṃ santāne itthindriyaṃ uppajjati. tato purisasaṇṭhānākārena pavattesu kammajarūpesu sesarūpesu ca kañci kālaṃ pavattitvā niruddhesu itthisaṇṭhānākārena ca catujarūpasantatiyā pavattāya purisasaṇṭhānaṃ antarahitaṃ, itthisaṇṭhānaṃ pātu-bhūtan ti vuccati. itthiyā purisaliṅgapātubhāve pi ayam eva nayo veditabbo.* "**The male form disappeared, the female form arose**, means: it should be shown that by seeing the destruction or formation of a fruit, the destruction or formation also of [its] cause is stated. For when the male faculty is destroyed the male form disappears; when the female faculty arises, the female form is becoming manifest. For thus [it is explained:] because there is no coexistence of two faculties in one [consciousness] stream, on account of the fact that it is said in the *Yamaka* treatise: «[if someone asks] 'For whom there arises a female faculty, does for him arise the male faculty?' 'No.' 'But, alternatively, for whom there arises the male faculty, does for him arise the female faculty? No.'» Previous to the moment, in which the female faculty (*itthindriya*) becomes manifest, from the seventeenth mind [moment] onwards the male faculty (*purisindriya*) does not arise. And previous to that (i.e. to the not arising), when the arisen male faculties are destroyed by lust together with the co-nascent forms, there arises the female faculty (*itthindriya*) in the [consciousness] stream. Then when the *kamma*-nascent forms, manifesting [themselves] through the appearance of the male form (*purisasaṇṭhāna*), and the remaining forms are destroyed, having been changed at some time, and the male form disappears, when the continuity of forms nascent from four [causes] manifests itself through the appearance of the female form (*itthisaṇṭhāna*), [then] it is said that the female form has become manifest. Exactly this method is to be known also with respect to the manifestation of the male sexual characteristic in a woman."

19. The canonical and para-canonical texts do not contain a judgmental statement. The first reference of this type stems from the *Samantapāsādikā* and – probably quoted from it, since it is marked by *iti* [As 322,29] – from the *Atthasālinī*. In the *Samantapāsādikā,* this paragraph begins with the characterization of this section as one independent from the canonical text (*pālimutto okkantikavinicchayo*, Sp I 274,18, see below, III. Appendix § 8), that is, from the *Vinaya*.

20. According to Appleton 2010: 97, the early sources see rebirth as a woman "as bad because of the suffering inherent in a woman's life, rather than because of the idea that women are less capable of spiritual development."

21. This passage is also translated and dealt with by Gethin (in preparation). A slightly different version is

sex-change	means for sex-change
male sex is established	by strong virtuous *kamma* (*balava-kusalakamma*)
male sex diappears	by strong non-virtuous *kamma* (*balava-akusalakamma*)
male becomes female	*? by [relatively]*[22] *weak virtuous* kamma
female sex is established	by [*relatively*] weak virtuous *kamma* (*dubbala-kusalakamma*)
female sex disappears	by [*relatively*] weak non-virtuous *kamma* (*dubbala-akusalakamma*)
female becomes male	*? strong virtuous* kamma

Following this explanation sex-change can only occur if the original sex disappears as a consequence of the destruction of the respective male or female faculty on account of non-virtuous *kamma*. Hence sex-change always is linked to some spiritual failure. But what makes the individual then develop the opposite sex? For a male person who has lost his male sex by strong non-virtuous *kamma*, weak virtuous *kamma* would be needed for the transformation into a female if we follow the explanation of *Atthasālinī* and *Samantapāsādikā*. Otherwise why shouldn't he develop into a sexless person (*napuṃsaka*) or an "eunuch" (*paṇḍaka*)[23]?

In the case of a female the disappearance of the female sex is caused by weak non-virtuous *kamma*. If we follow the explanation of *Samantapāsādikā* and *Atthasālinī* we would expect strong virtuous *kamma* to be needed to transform her into a man. But this is not elaborated in these two texts or elsewhere in the Pāli scriptures.

In his commentary to the *Aggaññasutta* in the *Dīghanikāya* Buddhaghosa states that one normally is born with the same sex in the next existence, but that men change sex and become women because of sexual misconduct[24] – a statement confirmed by *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* commentaries[25] – whereas women can change into male if they "continuously increase the things which cause malehood" (*anupubbena purisattapaccaye dhamme pūretvā*).[26] What exactly these *dhammas* are, is not stated. Dhammapāla in his subcommen-

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found in the Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā*: "Out of these two sexes, the male sex is superior, the female sex is inferior. Why? A man who has committed many offences loses his male sex and gets instead the female sex. A woman who does many good deeds is changed into a person of male sex." (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 211).

[22.] In the light of the fact that birth as a human, whether male or female, already requires strong virtuous *kamma*.

[23.] Concerning the *paṇḍaka*, see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: III [Z 292] with n. 31; Cabezón 2017: 407ff.; 430f.

[24.] In the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* in the context of the story of Soreyya, it is stated that men who are adulterers fall into hell for hundreds of thousands of years after death, and when reborn as humans are then reborn as women (Dhp-a III 327,$_{4ff}$). Though this story would have been a good occasion to speak of sex-change in one life here, this is not done.

[25.] Sp I 274,$_{18–24}$ = As 322,$_{24–29}$.

[26.] This is the explanation for the development of the other sex from the commentary to the *Aggaññasutta* in the *Dīghanikāya* (Sv III 869,$_{15–21}$): **itthiyā cā** ti (DN III 88,$_{24}$) *yā pubbe manussakāle itthī, tassa itthiliṅgaṃ pātubhavati, pubbe purisassa purisaliṅgaṃ. mātugāmo nāma hi purisattabhāvaṃ labhanto anupubbena purisattapaccaye dhamme pūretvā labhati. puriso itthattabhāvaṃ labhanto kāmamicchācāraṃ nissāya labhati. tadā pana pakatiyā mātugāmassa itthiliṅgaṃ, purisassa purisaliṅgaṃ pātur ahosi.* "**And in the female**, means: For that one who in a previous time as a human being [has been] a female, the female sexual characteristic becomes manifest, [for] the male, [who] in a previous [time as a human being has been] a male, the male sexual characteristic [becomes manifest]. For, a woman (*mātugāmo*) obtaining the status of malehood, obtains [it] having successively increased the things (*dhammas*) that are the condition of malehood. A male obtaining the

tary to the *Dīghanikāya* mentions three elements: first, to ponder about the disadvantages of womanhood such as not being even one's own master, always being dependent on someone else, being a menstruating woman, bearing children, etc.; second, to ponder things which are impossible in the life as a woman, such as to reach the lustre of a wheel-advancer (*cakkavatti*), of Sakka, Māra, and Brahma, and to reach the enlightenment of a Paccekabuddha, or a Sammāsambuddha; thirdly, to ponder all the things which can be achieved in a man's live.[27] In a nutshell we could say for a woman it is the carrying out of actions that produce merit with the aspiration to not become a woman again, but to become a man.[28]

A concrete example of sex-change is handed down in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, namely the story of the married layman Soreyya who at the sight of the golden complexion of the Elder Mahākaccāyana develops the wish that either the Elder Mahākaccāyana become his wife or that his wife's complexion would become like that of the Elder. At the very moment of having thought this (*cintitamatte yeva*) he loses his male sexual characteristic (*purisaliṅga*), and the female sexual characteristic manifests itself (Dhp III 325,21–26,2). After another marriage in which he, now she, gave birth to two children, the male-turned-female reverts to her original sex by apologizing for her thought, and becomes Soreyya again.[29] Unlike in the theoretical explanations where adultery is mentioned as an example of strong non-virtuous *kamma* that leads to the loss of the male sex, here obviously the mere longing for the Elder Kaccāyana or the wish that his wife had such a complexion as this Elder has, was sufficient as a non-virtuous *kamma* to lead to the transformation from male to female. The reversion to Soreyya's original sex is linked to the exhaustion of the non-virtuous *kamma* which caused the sex-change, namely Soreyya's excuse vis-à-vis Kaccāyana, and the latter's acceptance of it. This implies that several sex-changes can take place in a single lifetime as seen in the case of Soreyya. In none of the texts of the Theravāda tradition is there evidence that only a restricted number of sex-changes are permissible for monastics. This is different in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition as we will see below (II 3).

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status of femalehood, obtains [it] based on sexual misconduct. But then usually the female sexual characteristic becomes manifest for a female, the male sexual characteristic for a male."

Young (2004: 203) quotes from the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā*, a "man who does not restrain his thoughts and unites with the wives of others, or who finds delight in illicit parts of the body, will be reborn as a woman", and a "woman who is of good morals and little passion, who abhors her femaleness and constantly aspires to masculinity will be reborn as a man."

[27] Sv-pṭ III 58,9–23: **purisattapaccaye** *ti* (Sv III 869,17) *"attano pi anissaratā, sabbakālaṃ parāyattavuttitā, rajassalatā* (Bᵉ add *vañcatā*), *gabbhadhāraṇaṃ, paṭhamāya pakatiyā nihīnapakatitā, sūravīratābhāvo, 'ambakā* (Bᵉ *appakā*) *jano* (Bᵉ *janā*)' *ti 'hīḷetabbatā' ti evam ādi ādīnava-paccavekkhaṇa-pubbakam pi itthibhāvaṃ* (Bᵉ *itthibhāve*) *'alaṃ itthibhāvena, na hi itthibhāve ṭhatvā Cakkavattisiriṃ, na Sakka-Māra-Brahmasiriyo paccanubhavituṃ, na paccekabodhiṃ, na sammāsambodhiṃ adhigantuṃ sakkā' ti evaṃ itthibhāvavirajjanaṃ, 'yathāvutta-ādīnavavirahato uttamapakatibhāvato sammataṃ* (Bᵉ *sampadam*) *idaṃ purisattaṃ nāma seṭṭhaṃ uttamaṃ, ettha ṭhatvā sakkā etā sampattiyo sampāpuṇitun ti evaṃ purisattabhāve sambhāvanāpubbakaṃ patthanāṭhapanaṃ, 'tattha ninnapoṇapabbhāracittatā' ti evam ādike purisabhāvassa paccayabhūte* **dhamme. pūretvā** (Sv III 869,18) *vaḍḍhetvā.*

[28] In the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,* it is stated in the context of the Soreyya story that women "by bestowing alms and performing other works of merit, by putting away desire to continue in existence longer as women, by forming the resolution, 'May this work of merit of ours avail to procure for us rebirth as men,' obtain rebirth as men after death. Likewise wives who conduct themselves properly towards their husbands obtain rebirth as men." (Dhp-a transl. II 25). Although this does not refer to sex-change in the same life, the methods mentioned resemble those listed in Sv-pṭ (see n. 27).

[29] See also Cabezón 2017: 275f.; Gethin (in preparation).

3. Sex-changes in Theravāda legal literature
3.1 The sex-change cases in the *Theravāda-vinaya*

In the *Theravāda-vinaya* the sex-change rules are dealt with in the *Suttavibhaṅga*. This portion of the *Theravāda-vinaya* consists of various layers, the oldest of which is the *Pātimokkha*, the list of rules to be observed by monks and nuns. To these rules are added (1) narratives telling the setting of the rules, the so-called introductory stories, (2) word commentaries, explaining each word of the Pātimokkha rules, (3) casuistries mentioning the offences committed when transgressing the rule, and (4) non-offence clauses, giving the cases in which a transgression does not lead to an offence.[30] In case of the first nine rules of the *bhikkhu*s' *Suttavibhaṅga*[31] an additional section, called *Vinītavatthu*, comprising various legal cases is found appended to the respective rules. They represent the youngest textual layer of the *Suttavibhaṅga*.[32] Other schools have similar case collections, but instead of being appended to the respective *Pātimokkha* rules in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, they are collected in separate texts, called *Vinīta* or *Vinītaka*, which are in turn inserted in other parts of the respective *Vinaya*s. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, for instance, the *Vinītaka* is transmitted within the *Uttaragrantha*.[33]

It is in the *Vinītavatthu* section to the first *Pārājika* rule, which prohibits sexual intercourse for monks and nuns, that we find the passages dealing with sex-change. The *Vinītavatthu* sections are no systematic collections, but seem to be compilations of whatever lists were at hand at the time of the redactional closing of the *Vinaya*.[34] The two passages dealing with sex-change actually do not fit in the *Pārājika* rule itself. Moreover, they also do not coincide with the other cases listed in the *Vinītavatthu* of *Pārājika* 1 which deal with sexual intercourse under a variety of circumstances (incest, rape, etc.).[35] From the point of view of

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[30.] For an overview of the structure, see von Hinüber 1996: § 22.

[31.] The four *Pārājika*s and five *Saṅghādisesa* rules.

[32.] Kieffer-Pülz 2011: 4.

[33.] For details, see Clarke 2016: 61.

[34.] This at least is the impression one gets from the *Vinītavatthu* section of the second *Pārājika* (Kieffer-Pülz 2011: 9–12). The others still need investigation.

[35.] (1) The first case concerns a monk's intercourse with a female monkey (Vin III 34,$_{9-13}$ = 1.10.1). This is a repetition of the second version of Pār 1 (Vin III 22,$_{33f.}$). It therefore most probably stems from a list compiled before this second version of the *Pātimokkha* rule had been formulated. (2) The second case concerns a monk's intercourse without having left the Saṅgha in advance (Vin III 34,$_{14-20}$ = 1.10.2). This repeats the third and final version of Pār 1 (Vin III 23,$_{33-36}$). Thus it probably stems from a list compiled before this third version of the rule came into being. (3) Some cases eliminate the legal uncertainty as to whether or not the change of the outward appearance of a monk documents his having left the *saṅgha*. Even if a monk is dressed like a householder, goes naked like a Jain monk, or wears garments made of grass, bark, etc., he continues to be a monk, and commits a *Pārājika* offence when he has sexual intercourse (Vin III 34,$_{21-32}$ = 1.10.3). (4) A monks' amorous touching a girl leads to her death; this is declared to come under the *Saṅghādisesa* rules (Vin III 34,$_{33-37}$ = 1.10.4). (5) A nun is raped by a brahmin youth; she is declared to be without offence, since she was not willing (Vin III 35,$_{1-11}$ = 1.10.5). (6) Then follow two cases that do not have to do with intercourse, namely change of sex from male to female, and female to male (Vin III 35,$_{12-24}$ = 1.10.6). (7) The next cases tackle incest as a *Pārājika* offence (Vin III 35,$_{25-32}$ = 1.10.7). These regulations were probably necessary because a number of *Pātimokkha* rules exempt a specific behaviour if relatives are involved. (8) Further cases tackle sex with oneself (Vin III 35,$_{33-38}$ = 1.10.8), (9) necrophilia (Vin III 36,$_{1-8}$ = 1.10.9), (10) intercourse with dolls (Vin III 36,$_{9-14}$ = 1.10.10), (11) oral sex (Vin III 36,$_{15-20}$ = 1.10.11), (12) intercourse with only one party being active (Vin III 36,$_{21-36}$ = 1.10.12), (13) again necrophilia (Vin III 36,$_{37}$–37,$_{19}$), and (14) intercourse with non-human females and eunuchs (Vin III 37,$_{20-23}$ = 1.10.14). (15) Finally a case shows that a monk's capacity to feel pleasure is irrelevant for the question of his offence (Vin III 37,$_{24-29}$ = 1.10.15). Further cases show monks having intercourse without intending to have it, monks forced to have sexual intercourse by a third party, monks emitting semen during dreamed intercourse, or having oral intercourse with a deer.

content the sex-change paragraphs are, actually, the only ones which do not have to do with sexual intercourse or any behaviour connected to it. They, therefore, seem to be misplaced in the context of *Pārājika* 1 for monks. Although sex-change is mentioned here and there in the various *Vinaya*s, interestingly none of the other Buddhist schools has a paragraph on sex-change in their *Vinītaka*s.[36] Thus it is evident that the sex-change rules in the *Vinītavatthu* of the first *Pārājika* for monks in the *Theravāda-vinaya* were inserted later, and did not belong to a common stock of the various Buddhist schools.

Whether it is because of the misplacement of the cases in the *Vinītavatthu* section of the first *Pārājika* or because I. B. Horner could not imagine such a topic to have been regulated in the Buddhist law code, her translation of these passages veils the content to such an extent that Janet Gyatso (2003: 111, n. 64) could make the statement that "it [i.e. sex-change] does not seem to be present in the early layers of the Pali Vinaya." Although Gyatso is right that sex-change is not to be found in the early layers, her "early layers" probably comprise the entire *Theravāda-vinaya*, since she does not differentiate various layers of this text and, furthermore, does not mention the relevant passages at all. The two passages[37] run as follows:

> Now at one time the female sexual characteristic manifested itself in a certain monk. They told this matter to the lord. He said: "Monks, I allow that very preceptor, that very ordination, those very years as a monk, to go (i.e. to continue) with the nuns. Regarding offences of the monks shared with the nuns [I allow that one] to get rid of them in the presence of the nuns. Regarding offences of the monks unshared by the nuns, there is no offence [for the nun]."
>
> Now at one time the male sexual characteristic manifested itself in a certain nun. They told this matter to the lord. He said: "Monks, I allow that very preceptor, that very ordination, those very years as a nun, to go (i.e. to continue) with the monks. Regarding offences of the nuns shared with the monks [I allow that one] to get rid of them in the presence of the monks. Regarding offences of the nuns unshared by the monks, there is no offence [for the monk]."[38]

These passages show that

(1) sex-change from male to female and female to male among monastics is described as a spontaneous transformation during sleep without apparent reason;

(2) a monk not only transforms into a female, but into a nun, and a nun into a monk. This

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[36]. See Clarke 2016: 103 (13b).

[37]. Vin III 35,₁₂₋₂₄: *tena kho pana samayena aññatarassa bhikkhuno itthiliṅgaṃ pātubhūtaṃ hoti. Bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. "anujānāmi, bhikkhave, taṃ yeva upajjhaṃ tam eva upasampadaṃ tāni yeva vassāni bhikkhunīhi saṅgamituṃ* [v.l. *saṅkamituṃ*]. *yā āpattiyo bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīhi sādhāraṇā tā āpattiyo bhikkhunīnaṃ santike vuṭṭhātuṃ. yā āpattiyo bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīhi asādhāraṇā tāhi āpattīhi anāpattī" ti.*
tena kho pana samayena aññatarissā bhikkhuniyā purisaliṅgaṃ pātubhūtaṃ hoti. Bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. "anujānāmi, bhikkhave, taṃ yeva upajjhaṃ tam eva upasampadaṃ tāni yeva vassāni bhikkhūhi saṅgamituṃ [v.l. *saṅkamituṃ*]. *yā āpattiyo bhikkhunīnaṃ bhikkhūhi sādhāraṇā tā āpattiyo bhikkhūnaṃ santike vuṭṭhātuṃ. yā āpattiyo bhikkhunīnaṃ bhikkhūhi asādhāraṇā tāhi āpattīhi anāpattī" ti.*

[38]. Translation Horner (BD I 54): "Now at one time the sign of a woman appeared to a monk. They told this matter to the lord. He said: 'Monks, I allow a teacher to meet with the nuns during the rains, as for the upasampadā ordination, so as in the presence of nuns to turn the nuns away from those offences which they have in common with monks: but in those offences of monks which are offences not in common with nuns, there is no offence (for the nuns).'

Now at that time the sign of a male appeared to a nun. They told this matter to the lord. He said: 'Monks, I allow a teacher to meet with the monks during the rains, as for the upasampadā ordination, so as in the presence of monks to turn the monks away from those offences which they have in common with nuns, but in those offences of nuns which are offences not in common with monks, there is no offence (for the monks).'"

Already Bapat (1957: 209, n.1) hinted at the fact that Horner's translation misses the point. New translations of this paragraph are also provided by Scherer (2006: 66) and Anderson (2017: 2).

implies that the ordinations of monks and nuns, despite their being carried out in different manners, were considered of equal rank;

(3) three things accompany the sex-changed person to the world of the other sex, (a) the preceptor (*upajjhā*, *upajjhāya*), (b) the ordination (*upasampadā*) and (c) the years (*vassa*).

(a) The preceptor is one of two teachers – the other is the *ācariya/ācarinī* – which a monk or nun, respectively, has from ordination onwards. The preceptor is the more important of the two, since he (or she) is the one who is responsible for the organization and performance of the ordination procedure.[39] In stating that the preceptor goes with the monk-turned-nun or nun-turned-monk to the world of the other sex means that a monk-turned-nun keeps her male preceptor, a nun-turned-monk his female preceptor.[40]

(b) Stating that the ordination goes with the monk-turned-nun, etc., makes clear that the ordination a person had received when a male or a female is not null and void because of the sex-change, but persists.

(c) The third element mentioned are the years since ordination. This makes plain that the years a male has spent as a monk are not lost, but count for his new life as a nun, where they determine her rank in the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha*'s hierarchy which directly depends on the age of ordination.

(4) Finally we learn something about the handling of offences. If a monk had committed an offence, but transformed into a nun before he could atone for that offence, then the monk-turned-nun still is an offender. If the rule he broke is one shared by monks and nuns, then she now can atone for it in the presence of the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha*. But if it was a rule exclusive to monks then by transforming into a nun the former monk has been freed from that offence. The same is valid vice versa.

The only other passage in the *Theravāda-vinaya* dealing with sex-change is in the youngest part of the entire *Vinaya*, the *Parivāra* which was attached to this monastic code probably some time after the first century BC or CE.[41] In a list of offences the *Parivāra* mentions offences which one commits or gets rid of by sex-change.[42] This passage takes up part of the two regulations in the first *Pārājika*, but does not give any additional information.

The next text to mention sex-change from a chronological point of view is the *Milinda-pañha*. As is well known this text does not completely tally with the interpretation of the Theravāda tradition, and is considered a pastiche and, at least partly, an import from North-West India.[43] In an enumeration of things which appear in this world it is stated that a female sexual characteristic manifesting itself in a male is seen, and a male sexual characteristic manifesting itself in a female (Mil 267,13f.). This certainly takes up the two cases from Pār 1 M.[44]

[39.] Kieffer-Pülz 1992: A 10.3.

[40.] The text does not touch on the position of the second teacher, i.e. the *ācariya* (pace Bapat 1957: 209). That nuns may in fact have had male *upajjhāyas* is epigraphically documented, see Nakanishi/von Hinüber 2014: 33.

[41.] Norman 1983: 26, first c. BC; von Hinüber 1996: § 42 based on the probable date of the last *thera* in the line of prominent *Vinaya* teachers dates it to the first c. CE.

[42.] Vin V 125,29–34: *aparehi pi catūh' ākārehi āpattiṃ āpajjati saṃghamajjhe gaṇamajjhe puggalassa santike liṅgapātubhāvena. ... aparehi pi catūh' ākārehi āpattiyā vuṭṭhāti saṃghamajjhe gaṇamajjhe puggalassa santike liṅgapātubhāvena.* "And by four further means does one fall into an offence: in the midst of an Order, in the midst of a group, in the presence of an individual, through the manifestation of a sexual characteristic ... And by four further means does one rise from an offence: in the midst of an Order, in the midst of a group, in the presence of an individual, through the manifestation of a sexual characteristic" (based on Horner, BD VI 198).

[43.] Von Hinüber 1996: § 173.

[44.] Discussed by Anderson 2016: 235f., who hints at the fact that the cases in the *Milindapañha* are formulated

3.2 Sex-change in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā* called *Samantapāsādikā*

Most information can be gained from the fourth-/fifth-century *Vinaya* commentary, called *Samantapāsādikā*. In the commentary to the *Parivāra* passage, it names the offences one falls into by the manifestation of a sexual characteristic of the other sex, namely the offences that arise from a joint sleeping place (*sahaseyya*). This refers to Pāc 6 M and Pāc 102 N which prohibit one to share a joint sleeping place with a person of the opposite sex. The second, and much longer portion of the *Parivāra* commentary refers to the offences one is exonerated from on account of sex-change. These are the 46 rules exclusive to monks if one transforms from monk to nun, and the 130 rules exclusive to nuns if one transforms from nun to monk. In this context the male sex is characterized as foremost (*paṭhama*), because it arose first and is the better sex, the female is characterized as low (*pacchima*), because it arose later or is lower.[45]

Much more information is contained in the commentary to the first *Pārājika* concerning the case of an actually occurring sex-change. Text and translation are found in the Appendix to the present article (below, part III). In the following I will summarise this portion of the *Samantapāsādikā*.[46] The paragraph numbers added refer to the text and translation in the Appendix. The commentary begins with the explanations of the words quoted from the root text (III. Appendix §§ 1–7), confirming the statements made in the *Vinaya*. Scherer (2006: 68) referring to the transfer of "preceptor, ordination and prestige(!)" to the community of the other sex states that according to the *Samantapāsādikā* this only refers to "the case of already established status", and that "if sex-change occurred before ordination, the person in question should not be ordained etc." The first part of this statement is self-explanatory, since someone not ordained also does not yet have a preceptor or an ordination which could be transferred to another community. The second part – that a person who changed sex should not be ordained – has no basis in the *Samantapāsādikā*.[47]

The commentary further confirms the statement of the *Vinaya* that if a monastic has transgressed rules exclusive to his sex, he is freed from them as soon as his sex changes. Only offences shared by both sexes have to be addressed in the *saṅgha* of the other sex. Even if a monastic changes sex twice – monk > nun > monk – his offences extinguished by the first

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for male and female individuals in general, not for monastics.

[45]. Sp VII 1330,12–30: ***liṅgapātubhāvenā*** *ti* (Vin V 125,31.34) *sayitass' eva bhikkhussa vā bhikkhuniyā vā liṅgaparivatte jāte sahagāraseyyāpatti hoti. idam eva taṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ. ubhinnam pi pana asādhāraṇāpatti liṅgapātubhāvena vuṭṭhāti. sahapaṭilābhacatukke yassa bhikkhuno liṅgaṃ parivattati, so saha liṅgapaṭilābhena paṭhamaṃ uppannavasena seṭṭhabhāvena ca purimaṃ purisaliṅgaṃ jahati, pacchime itthiliṅge patiṭṭhāti, purisakuttapurisākārādivasena pavattā kāyavacīviññattiyo paṭippassambhanti, bhikkhū ti vā puriso ti vā evaṃ pavattā paññattiyo nirujjhanti, yāni bhikkhunīhi asādhāraṇāni chacattālīsa sikkhāpadāni tehi anāpatti yeva hoti. dutiyacatukke pana yassā bhikkhuniyā liṅgaṃ parivattati, sā pacchāsamuppattiyā vā hīnabhāvena vā pacchiman ti saṅkhyaṃ gataṃ itthiliṅgaṃ jahati, vuttappakārena puriman ti saṅkhyaṃ gate purisaliṅge patiṭṭhāti. vuttaviparītā viññattiyo paṭippassambhanti, bhikkhunī ti vā itthī ti vā evaṃ pavattā paññattiyo pi nirujjhanti, yāni bhikkhūhi asādhāraṇāni sataṃ tiṃsañ ca sikkhāpadāni, tehi anāpatti yeva hoti.

[46]. Sp I 273,23–277,28. In the Chinese counterpart to the *Samantapāsādikā*, in Saṅghabhadra's *Shan-chien-P'i-P'o-sha,* the translation of the relevant portion is found on pp. 211–214 of the English translation by Bapat & Hirakawa 1970. There are several smaller deviations, which probably go back to the translators of the English version; less probably they were caused by Saṅghabhadra.

[47]. Possibly here there is a confusion with regard to monks and nuns who undergo sex-change, and *paṇḍaka*s who periodically change their sex like the *pakkhapaṇḍaka* (for the latter see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: III [Z 292]).

sex-change do no reappear after his second sex-change[48] (III. Appendix § 7). This largely confirms what is stated in the *Parivāra* commentary.

Subsequent to the commentary on the root text, the commentator proceeds with an explanation "that is independent from the root-text, but fits in from the point of content". This introduces the much longer portion of the commentary which begins with the characterization of the male sex as superior, and the female as inferior (III. Appendix § 8). It is followed by naming the offence committed by the two monks who wake up as monk and nun (III. Appendix § 9). Thereafter the commentator describes how to proceed in an actual case of sex-change. The first aim is to change this situation. Therefore, the monk-turned-nun has to immediately inform the other monk about the sex-change, even at night. The other monk shall try to console the monk-turned-nun. This clearly shows that such a sex-change is deemed a shock for the affected person.[49] The monk then shall ask the monk-turned-nun whether she knows other nuns to whom he might bring her. If that is not the case, then the monk shall bring the monk-turned-nun to nuns known by himself. In order to minimize their committing further offences, the monk shall not accompany the monk-turned-nun alone to a nunnery,[50] but rather together with four or five other monks. Furthermore, they shall take with them a light (*jotika*) and a mendicant's staff with rattles (*khakkhara*),[51] and announce their target location in advance. All these elements are intended to illuminate the scenery so that everybody is able to see that nothing wrong is going on there (III. Appendix §§ 10–11).

If the nunnery lies in a settlement different from that in whose vicinity the monks stayed, this group is forced to pass through larger areas outside of settlements. Since the monk-turned-nun is the only nun in the group she normally would commit several offences falling under the third *Saṅghādisesa* rule for nuns, namely to travel to another village without a second nun, to cross a river without a second nun, to stay over night without a second nun, and to fall back behind the group of nuns.[52] These rules are suspended for this special case (III. Appendix § 12).

The text then describes the meeting in the nunnery: the nuns in the nunnery gone to by them shall be asked whether they know the monk who now is a monk-turned-nun. If they answer in the affirmative, they shall be informed that he underwent sex-change, and now needs their help. If the nuns are friendly, the monk-turned-nun is not allowed to go elsewhere. If, for any reason, she decides to go elsewhere, the suspension of the third *Saṅghadisesa* expires, which means that she now would commit offences by violating the various sub-rules of the third *Saṅghādisesa* for nuns (III. Appendix § 13). But if the nuns in the nunnery are conscientious and unfriendly, or unconscientious and friendly, the suspension of the rule remains valid, and the group with the monk-turned-nun can go elsewhere (III. Appendix §§

[48.] Cabezón 2017: 275, n. 703: "Strangely if the individual then reverts back to being a man, he is exempt from many offenses, like the intentional emission of semen (masturbation)." Here Cabezón takes up the statement in the *Shan-chien P'i-P'o-sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 211), which again is a translation of Sp (III. Appendix § 7). Actually this is not strange, because the intentional emission of semen is an offence exclusive to monks. By transforming into a nun this offence thus ceases to exist, because no such rule exists for them. Once ceased, this offence cannot be revived again by the fact that the nun again changes sex and reverts to a monk.

[49.] Whether this is a general experience or whether it has to do with the downgrading (monk > nun) is unclear. The reverse case (nun > monk) is not described in the commentary.

[50.] This would be a transgression of Pāc 27 M.

[51.] For a study of the *kattaradaṇḍa*, *kattarayaṭṭhi*, and the *khakkharaka*, see von Hinüber 1992: 47ff.; 68ff.

[52.] *Saṅghādisesa* 3 for nuns, see Vin IV 227,$_{19}$–230,$_{25}$.

14–15). Framed as an opinion of some people, the commentary informs us that, even if the nuns are conscientious and friendly, but unrelated, and relatives of the monk-turned-nun live close by, the monk-turned-nun may also go to them (III. Appendix § 16). Whether this is only the opinion of this minority or was wider disseminated remains unclear. But it illustrates that for this group it was an important criterion whether the nuns to which the monk-turned-nun went were relatives or not. Given that sex-change from male to female is connected with the accumulation of non-virtuous *kamma*, such a monk-turned-nun may also be viewed with suspicion by other nuns. In case of relatives one can expect larger empathy in such a situation.[53]

The *Samantapāsādikā* further states that all circumstances which referred to the monk-turned-nun when he was a monk are the same now in the nuns' community. Thus, if the monk still lived in dependence (*nissaya*) of a teacher, the monk-turned-nun has to live in dependence of a teacher in the nunnery too (III. Appendix § 17). If the monk had studied the *Mātikā*, that is the *Pātimokkha*, and the *Vinaya*, they need not be learned again now (III. Appendix § 18). Those who were ordained in the monk's presence are well ordained, but need to search for another teacher; likewise those who lived in dependence on him or as his novice (III. Appendix §§ 19–21).

Formal acceptance (*paṭiggahana*) of requisites for daily life such as robe, bowl, medicine, etc., expires, and so does the formal taking possession (*adhiṭṭhāna*) of objects used by monastics. Thus, things have to be formally accepted anew and also formally taken possession of again (III. Appendix §§ 22–26). Excepted from this is the property of another monk formally accepted by the sex-changed monastic before the sex-change. This formal acceptance does not expire (III. Appendix § 27). The same holds true for shared property which remains undistributed (III. Appendix § 28). If it is distributed the formal acceptance of the sex-changed person expires (III. Appendix § 29). In this context a stanza from the *Parivāra* (III. Appendix § 30) is quoted. Finally, the circumstances which lead to the expiring of the formal acceptance (*paṭiggahaṇa*) are enumerated (III. Appendix § 31).

Regarding personal property of the monk – even real estate – it remains the property of the monk-turned-nun. If such real estate is in a place where the monk-turned-nun cannot access it any longer, as for instance in a monks' monastery, the monk-turned-nun can decide whether to give it to someone else, and to whom (III. Appendix §§ 33–34). Possibly it could also be exchanged for other real estate (?).[54]

Positions and responsibilities in the Buddhist community expire. Since with his sex-change the monk-turned-nun is no longer a member of the monks' community, she also loses former positions held such as that of a distributor of robes. The same is valid concerning reservations of lodgings for the rains retreat. If the sex-change occurs before the second rains retreat begins, then the monk-turned-nun can reserve a place in a nunnery for this second rains retreat. But if the sex-change occurs when the second rains retreat has already begun, then the monk-turned-nun has no chance to spend the regular rains retreat in the manner prescribed in the *Vinaya*. Since the giving of robes in the last month of the rains is linked to having spent the rains in a rains residence, a nun who does not spend the rains properly has

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[53.] Family ties played an important role also for Buddhist monastic communities as has been shown by Clarke 2014.

[54.] Such exchanges of real estate are dealt with in some length in Sp VI 1238,2f. But this section deals with property of the Saṅgha.

no claim to receive a share of the requisites. Since the monk-turned-nun has to stay in some nunnery the community in that nunnery can offer her part of the donations if it wants (III. Appendix §§ 35–37).

Further, it is regulated how to proceed in the case that a monk or nun had committed a *Saṅghādisesa* offence. This is discussed at some length, because the penalty in the case of *Saṅghādisesa* rules differs for monks and nuns. Monks have to spend a probationary period (*parivāsa*) lasting as long as the offence was concealed, and a *mānatta* period of six days, whereas for nuns there exists only a fortnight-long *mānatta* period. The essence of these many paragraphs is that if the penance is completed before the sex-change, it is fulfilled, and the re-admission can start in the *saṅgha* of the other sex. But if the sex-change takes place while the penance is going on, the penance starts anew in the *saṅgha* of the other sex following the conditions for this other sex (III. Appendix §§ 38–50).

3.3 Sex-change in the *Vinaya* Subcommentaries
3.3.1 Sex-change of a nun ordained from one side (*ekato-upasampannā*)

Both the *Vinaya* and *Samantapāsādikā* discuss sex-change of fully ordained monastics, that is of monks and nuns who then are nuns and monks, respectively. As illustration of a procedure (*kamma*) which is disturbed (*kuppa*) and irreversible (*ṭhānāraha*) the oldest of the *Vinaya* subcommentaries, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (ca. 10th c. CE), which is affiliated with South India and Lanka,[55] states that in the case of a sex-change of a nun who is ordained from one side only (*ekato-upasampannā*), she does not become a monk, but a novice. This is based on the fact that ordination as a nun in the Theravāda and most other Buddhist traditions is two-tiered. The female is first ordained in the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha*, after which procedure she is called one "who is ordained from one side" (*ekato-upasampannā*). Only with the subsequent ordination in the *bhikkhusaṅgha* is she a full-fledged nun. Since the first legal step – the ordination in the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha* – does not exist for monks, a nun ordained from one side only who transforms into a male, cannot be a monk.[56] Though this is nothing new from the point of view of content, the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* obviously considered it necessary to make this explicit. One reason could have been that a nun who was ordained as a monk, and thereafter underwent sex-change, strictly speaking also was a nun ordained from one side only, namely from the *bhikkhusaṅgha*. Nevertheless she counts as a nun. This at least is what

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[55.] See Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 70ff., 107–114.

[56.] Vjb 95,10–18: *dutiyaṃ pariyāyena bhikkhunisaṅghato ekatoupasampannāya liṅgaparivatte sati labbhati. tassa hi puggalassa pubbe sikkhamānakāle laddhaṃ ñatticatuttha-upasampadā-kammaṃ kiñcāpi akuppañ c' eva ṭhānārahañ ca, purisaliṅge pana pātubhūte* **anujānāmi, bhikkhave, taṃ yeva upajjhaṃ tam eva upasampadan ti** *(Vin III 35,13f., 20f.) ettha apariyāpannattā tassa puggalassa kevalaṃ sāmaṇerabhāvāpattito kammaṃ dāni kuppaṃ jātan ti vuccati. liṅgaparivattena cīvarassa adhiṭṭhānavijahanaṃ viya tassa puggalassa bhikkhunisaṅghena katāya upasampadāya vijahanaṃ hotī ti veditabbaṃ, aññathā so puggalo upasampanno bhikkhū ti āpajjati.* "The second [procedure (*kamma*)] (i.e. a procedure irreversible, but not legitimate) is obtained in turn if sex-change occurs in a [female] ordained from one side, from the nuns' community. For, although previously at the time of [being] a trainee a *ñatticatuttha*-ordination-procedure was obtained [by her] that was legitimate and irreversible, but because – when the male sexual characteristic appears – this male individual (i.e. the nun ordained from one side only, who has turned male) has only reached the status of a novice, since this male individual is not included herein [i.e. in the following statement] "**I allow, monks, just that preceptor, just that ordination**" (Vin III 35,14.20f.), [therefore], the procedure now is called one that has become illegitimate. It is to be understood that as through sex-change [there is] abandonment of the formal taking possession of a robe, [so there is] abandonment of the ordination performed by the nuns's community for this individual. Otherwise it would follow that this ordained individual is a monk."

a statement in the South Indian *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* (12th/13th c. CE) renders likely.[57]

3.3.2 Reordination of a nun who changed sex after committing a *Pārājika* offence

All three *Vinaya* subcommentaries, *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, *Sāratthadīpanī* (12th c. CE; Lankan affiliation) and *Vimativinodanīṭīkā*, agree that a monk or a nun who undergoes sex-change after he/she has committed a *Pārājika* offence cannot be reordained in the community of the other sex. In the Theravāda tradition, breaking of the *Pārājika* rules leads to irreversible exclusion from the Buddhist community.[58] But there exist four *Pārājika* rules exclusive to nuns. Following the *Vinaya* and the *Samantapāsādikā* a nun who transforms into a monk should be freed from that offence, because the respective rule does not exist for monks. So there could, theoretically, be the possibility that with the sex-change the person was freed from such an offence. Here, however, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* states that such a nun-turned-male only receives the status of a novice.[59] As a reason it is said that by committing a *Pārājika*

[57.] Vmv I 154,$_{22-24}$: *evarūpā parivattaliṅgā bhikkhuniyo atthato ekato upasampannāpi ubhatosaṅghe upasampannāsu yeva saṅgayhanti bhikkhūpasampadāya bhikkhunīupasampadato pi ukkaṭṭhattā*. "Such nuns with changed sexual characteristics (i.e. which had been ordained as males by monks), [who] according to the matter [are] also ones ordained from one side (namely from the *bhikkhusaṅgha*), are included among those [nuns] indeed who had been ordained in both communities, on account of the fact that the monks' ordination is higher than the nuns' ordination."

This statement of the Vmv makes clear that the nuns who are nuns by sex-change, and thus have received only ordination from one side, namely from the *bhikkhusaṅgha*, are considered equal to the nuns who had undergone the two-tiered ordination for nuns, obviously in contrast to the nuns who were only ordained from one side in the nuns' community.

[58.] For a different practice in the other Buddhist schools, namely the *śikṣādattaka* status, see Clarke 2000, and 2009. Anālayo 2016 has taken a critical stance vis-à-vis Clarke's explications. He states "The institution of the *śikṣādattaka* is in this respect comparable to the option of becoming a novice, mentioned in the Pāli commentary, by confessing that one has lost one's status as a fully ordained monk" (Anālayo 2017: 29). In the Theravāda tradition, a monk who commits a *Pārājika* offence is automatically excluded from the order. The question is whether he is only excluded from the status of a monk, or also from the status of a novice. In the earlier case his years as a novice would still count and would guarantee him a place at the upper end of the hierarchy among the *sāmaṇera*s, whereas in the latter case he would newly receive the *pabbajjā* and then be at the lower end of the novices' hierarchy. Vin III 23,$_{26-29}$ only says that one who had sex without previously leaving the order, may not be ordained again (*na upasampādetabbo*). The commentary states that one who again received the *upasampadā* would be disrespectful with respect to the *sāsana* (which is the reason why he should not receive the *upasampadā* again) whereas one who remains in the stage of a *sāmaṇera* will be respectful (*sāmaṇerabhūmiyaṃ pana ṭhito sagāravo ca bhavissati*, Sp I 230,$_{9}$). This statement does not illuminate whether the respective person receives the novice ordination anew or simply remains being ordained as a novice after having committed a *Pārājika* offence. It only shows that the stage of a novice is allowed for a *Pārājiko* (Sp-ṭ II 44,$_{17-19}$; Vmv I 120,$_{10-12}$). Anālayo's (2017: 29) reference to the possibility of withdrawing from the monk's status by wishing to become a novice (i.e. deliberate downgrading from monk to novice) – which is completely independent of the *Pārājika* offences – does not fit in here. The *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā,* in another context (below, n. 59) says that someone who committed a *Pārājika* offence does not obtain the *upasampadā*, but obtains the *pabbajjā*. This implies that with his *Pārājika* offence he has lost any ecclesiastical status. Thus in the Theravāda tradition the *Pārājiko* would be newly initiated as a novice and – unlike a *śikṣādattaka* who is hierarchically placed between monks and novices (Clarke 2000: 163) – would be at the lowest end of the hierarchy of the novices. Thus he cannot be equated with the *śikṣādattaka* from this point of view. Further information provided by Clarke shows that the *śikṣādattaka* lives according to the *Pātimokkha* rules, and is to be dealt with according to the procedures prescribed for monks of good standing if he transgresses, for example, a *saṃghāvaśeṣa* offence. The *śikṣādattaka*-stage, therefore, definitely is more than "a more institutionalized version of the basic option of remaining in robes at a level below that of a fully ordained monk" (Anālayo 2017: 30). It rather reminds one of a Theravāda *bhikkhu* who has to live under probation (*parivāsa*) because he has concealed a *Saṅghādisesa* offence. For further details concerning the *śikṣādattaka* status, also with respect to his spiritual possibilities, see Greene 2017: 369–408.

[59.] Vjb 114,$_{25-29}$: *sace bhikkhunī asādhāraṇaṃ pārājikāpattiṃ āpajjitvā purisaliṅgaṃ paṭilabhati, bhikkhūsu*

offence exclusive to nuns, the monastic loses her status as a nun, or more precise, as a monastic for ever. Being transformed into a man thereafter, a female transforms into a male – not a nun into a monk – and then cannot be ordained as a monk, but as a novice only. The other two commentaries do not specify the type of *Pārājika* committed by the nun – which actually also is not necessary if one follows the just given argumentation. But the *Sāratthadīpanī* gives an *abhidhamma* reason for the prohibition of reordination in such a case. Its author explains that the female-turned-male has the same [consciousness] stream (*santāna*) as he had, when still a nun. Thus, there actually is only one *santāna*.[60] The explanation of the *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* goes in the same direction when its author explains that in one and the same individual a *Pārājika* offence does not disappear.[61] This makes the female-turned-male unfit for ordination as a monk, even if the *Pārājika* he had committed as a nun was exclusive to nuns. It seems that the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition here goes another way (see below, II 5).

3.3.3 Reordination of a nun who changed sex subsequently to leaving the order

A further topic discussed in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* and the *Sāratthadīpanī* is the question whether or not a nun who left the order informally and then transformed into a male can be ordained again. According to the *Vinaya* nuns cannot formally leave the order (Vin II 279,28–30). Following the *Samantapāsādikā*, a nun who leaves the order informally by dressing in white clothes may not be reordained (Sp VI 1295,25–28). Thus based on canon and *aṭṭhakathā* commentary a nun can neither formally nor informally leave the order, and if she withdraws informally, she cannot be reordained. This attitude is shared by the entire Theravāda tradition, and leaves nuns with no possibility to reordain after having left the order.[62]

The subcommentaries discuss what happens if a nun leaves the order informally, and thereafter undergoes sex-change. A minority quoted in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* states that the male person may receive full ordination, if as a nun she has left the Buddhist community.[63]

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upasampadaṃ na labhati, pabbajjaṃ labhati. … vibbhantāya bhikkhuniyā purisaliṅge pātubhūte bhikkhūsu upasampadaṃ na labhati, pārājikaṃ. "If a nun, having committed an offence entailing defeat that is not shared [with the monks], obtains the male sexual characteristic, s/he does not obtain ordination among the monks, she obtains novice ordination. … If the male sexual characteristic manifests itself in a nun who has informally left the order, the [female-turned-male] does not obtain ordination, [but] the [state of being] defeated."

A nun who has informally left the order is equated with one who has committed a *Pārājika* offence (Kieffer-Pülz 2015–16: 21). This is the basis for the final statement of the Vjb.

[60] Sp-ṭ II 106,7–10: *"pārājikaṃ āpannassa liṅgaparivatte sati santānassa ekattā na puna so upasampadaṃ labhati, tathā vibbhantāpi bhikkhunī liṅgaparivatte sati puna upasampadaṃ na labhatī" ti vadanti.* "'If a sex-change occurs of one who has committed an offence entailing defeat, [then] he does not obtain ordination again, because of the oneness of the [consciousness] stream [of the person as a male and as a female]. Similarly also a nun who has informally left the order does not obtain again ordination after a sex-change occurred.' [This people] say." The source of this quotation is unknown.

[61] Vmv I 159,15–18: *pārājikaṃ āpannānaṃ itthipurisānaṃ liṅge parivatte pi pārājikattassa ekasmiṃ attabhāve avijahanato puna upasampadā na dātabbā ti gahetabbaṃ.* "It is to be accepted, that even if in the case of women and men who have committed [an offence entailing] defeat a sex-change occurs, ordination must not be given again [to them], because the existence of an offence entailing defeat does not cease in one and the same living being."

[62] For references, see n. 11.

[63] Vjb 95,24–27: *"bhikkhunī pana gihiliṅgaṃ sādiyantikālena purisaliṅgapātubhāve sati bhikkhūsu upasampadaṃ labbhatī ti sādhakaṃ kāraṇaṃ na dissati. 'sikkhaṃ paccakkhāya uppabbajitā ce, labhatī' ti eke, taṃ panāyuttaṃ bhikkhuniyā sikkhāpaccakkhanābhāvato ti amhākaṃ khantī" ti ācariyo.* "'But no effecting

This opinion – shared by the Mūlasarvāstivādin (II 4) – is refuted by an *ācariya*, who most probably was a Lankan *ācaryia* of the tenth century CE,[64] with the reasoning that there is no possibility for nuns to leave the community formally. In the *Sāratthadīpanī* this cause is also mentioned with the source indicated by *vadanti* ("people say", see n. 60).

3.3.4 Possibilities of reordination after sex-change depending on the biological age

The *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* discusses in detail the possibilities of the reordination of a nun and a monk under the condition of various sex-changes. Suppose a nun transforms into a monk (first sex-change), who then leaves the community formally – which is an accepted practice for monks. After his withdrawal from the community another sex-change occurs to him (second sex-change), so that he is a woman again. As a woman he wants to be ordained again as a nun. This is allowed, because monks may formally leave the community, and the withdrawal from the community occurred when he was a male.

The discussion further takes into consideration the question of the age, and thus throws some light on the question which has been discussed controversially at some length, namely whether the allowance to ordain a woman of twelve years who is a *gihigatā*,[65] refers to her biological age or to the years she was already married or no longer a virgin, etc. As is well known this is an exemption from the regular rules which allow ordination for men and for unmarried girls (*kumārī*), at the age of twenty, at the earliest. The *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* now describes the case of a nun of twelve years who undergoes sex-change (first sex-change). She then is a monk of twelve years, despite the fact that men regularly cannot become monks with less than twenty years of age. That the commentator speaks of the biological age becomes, however, evident from the subsequent examples. For, it is described that this twelve-year-old monk formally leaves the community, to come back some time later with the wish to be reordained. He is denied ordination with the argument that he has not yet reached the minimum age for ordination as a monk. The case is further elaborated. The boy again undergoes sex-change (second sex-change), and again is a twelve year old female. Since this female formerly was already a nun, she must have been a *gihigatā*, because only *gihigatā*s are allowed to be ordained at age twelve. The text tells us that she may be ordained as a nun.[66]

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reason can be seen, that in the time period in which she enjoys the outward mark of a householder a nun obtains ordination among the monks when the male sexual characteristic has manifested itself [in her]. «If she has left the order, having given up the training, she obtains [ordination]», some [people say]. This, however, is incorrect, because for a nun the giving up of the training (i.e. the formal withdrawal from the community) does not exist. [This is] our conviction,' the teacher says."

[64]. Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 133ff. (*no takko ti ācariyo*).

[65]. See above, n. 9.

[66]. Vjb 115,[1–8] (ad Sp 277,[17] ad Vin III 35,[25–32] [Pār 1.10.7 M]: *bhikkhuniyā liṅgaparivatte sati bhikkhu hoti. so ce sikkhaṃ paccakkhāya vibbhamitvā itthiliṅgaṃ paṭilabheyya, bhikkhunīsu upasampadaṃ paṭilabhati ubhayattha pubbe pārājikabhāvaṃ appattattā. yā pana bhikkhunī paripuṇṇadvādasavassā purisaliṅgaṃ paṭi-labheyya, upasampanno bhikkhu eva. puna sikkhaṃ paccakkhāya āgato na upasampādetabbo aparipuṇṇavīsati-vassattā. puna liṅgaparivatte sati bhikkhunīsu upasampadaṃ labhati. evaṃ ce katadvādasasaṅgahassa dārakassa liṅgaparivatte sati gihigatā itthī hoti, paripuṇṇadvādasavassā upasampādetabbā kira.* "If there is sex-change of a nun, she becomes a monk. If he, having given up the training (that is, having formally left the order), [or] having informally left [the order] obtains the female sexual characteristic, [the male-turned-female] obtains ordination among the nuns, because of the fact that in both (i.e. the *bhikkhu-* and the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha*) he/she has not previously reached the status of being defeated. But if a nun of a full twelve years obtains the male sexual characteristic, [the nun-turned-monk] is ordained, a monk indeed. If, having given up the training (i.e. having left the order), he comes back again, he is not to be ordained, because [he] is not a full twenty years of age. If again a sex-change occurs, [the male-turned-female] receives ordination among the nuns. If in that

From this theoretical discussion it becomes clear that the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* in tenth century Lanka and/or South India understood the *Vinaya* rule regarding the allowance to ordain a twelve-year-old girl as a rule referring to the biological age of the girl.

3.3.5 Handling of the case of a suspended monk after sex-change

The *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* further discusses a matter in connection with the committing of offences, and the procedures to be taken thereafter. If a monk has been suspended (*ukkhitta*) for not seeing an offence exclusive to monks by the *bhikkhusaṅgha*, and thereafter transforms into a nun (first sex-change) no measure has to be taken. This is completely in agreement with what we see in the *Vinaya*, and the *Samantapāsādikā* (III. Appendix § 7). But if the monk-turned-nun then again reverts to his former sex (second sex-change), this monk is again a suspended monk, and has to be restituted (*osāreti*) to again be a regular member of the *bhikkhusaṅgha*. Thus he has to undergo the procedure of restitution (*osāraṇa*) which is obligatory after a suspension. For that purpose he is to be asked whether he sees his former offence. If he responds in the affirmative, he may be restituted. But unlike in the regular procedure the monks are not allowed to ask this monk to confess his offence, because he is freed from it already through the sex-change (Vjb 444,$_{1ff.,24-27}$; see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: III [Z 302]).

3.3.6 Miscellaneous

All three commentaries mention sex-change here and there in the context of various rules. But the oldest of them contains by far the most references. Sometimes they make explicit whether or not the formal taking possession (*adhiṭṭhāna*) of objects expires and has to be renewed,[67] or whether the formal acceptance ceases.[68] In the context of Niss 4 M which prescribes a *Nissaggiya* offence for a monk who has an old robe washed or dyed, etc., by a nun not related, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* states that if the bhikkhu changes his sex, the offence arises by virtue of one ordained from one side (i.e. from the *bhikkhusaṅgha*) as in the case of the Sākīya women who also had been ordained by the *bhikkhusaṅgha* (Vjb 238,17f.). In connection with Niss 21 M ruling that an extra bowl is to be kept ten days at most, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* states that in case of sex-change a *Nissaggiya* offence arises for a monk who transgresses ten days, but for a nun already when she transgresses one night (Vjb 268,1f.). The latter is based on Niss 1 N which forbids nuns to hoard bowls. But sex-change is also mentioned in still more theoretical contexts. So it is, for instance, discussed whether a monk ordained by the *ehi bhikkhu* or the *tisaraṇagamana* ordination, when he underwent sex-change, and became a nun may be called a nun ordained by an *ehi bhikkhunī* or *tisaraṇa-gamana* ordination. This is refuted by some (*eke*), but the author of the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* states that it should be accepted after having been considered (Vjb 352,$_{10-13}$).

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way a sex-change occurs in a boy who is included among those who have completed twelve years, he becomes a 'woman that has gone to a householder' (*gihigatā*), [that is] a married woman (*itthi*), who has fulfilled twelve years of age, she may, as is well known, be ordained."

[67]. For instance, the expiring of the formal taking possession of a robe (*cīvara*) serves as a comparison for the expiring of the ordination of a woman in the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha* (Vjb 95,$_{16-18}$);

[68]. For instance, Vjb 577,$_{21f.}$; Sp-ṭ III 491,$_{23-25}$.

4. Conclusions

In sum the topic of sex-change is introduced in the Theravāda canon relatively late, when most of the canon was already redactionally closed. It is only mentioned four times, and this in the youngest layers of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, namely the *Vinītavatthu* to *Pārājika* 1 for monks, where it does not fit in very well, and the *Parivāra*. It is not mentioned in the corresponding sections of other schools' *Vinaya*s, that is in the *Vinītaka*s. This makes it likely that it did not belong to a common stock of the texts of the various Buddhist schools. It probably was the presence of sex-change stories in the cultural setting in which Buddhism originated that led to its introduction into the Buddhist writings, and thereby in the monastic law code, because the legal consequences of sex-change had to be tackled by Buddhist legal specialists, in order to cover all possible cases.

The detailed discussion of sex-change in the *Samantapāsādikā* shows that the commentator tried to cover all possible legal aspects of sex-change in the frame of monastic law. He also gave an explanation of how sex-change worked which he explicitly classifies as independent from the canonical text. Only in this analysis is the male-to-female transformation qualified as inferior to the female-to-male transformation.

The subcommentaries then discuss a handful of cases not covered by the previous texts, as the question whether nuns who left the order and subsequently underwent sex-change could be ordained in the *bhikkhusaṅgha*, or whether nuns who committed a *Pārājika* offence and underwent sex-change thereafter, could be ordained again. Some of the topics discussed are also touched at in the writings of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, which we are briefly going to look at now.

II. Sex-change in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition

1. Sex-change rules for the transformation from male-to-female and vice versa

As stated above the possibility of sex-change transmitted in the *Vinītavatthu* section of the first *Pārājika* rule in the Pāli *Vinaya* is not found in the *Vinīta* sections of other schools' *Vinaya*s, which in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* forms the second section of the *Uttaragrantha*. Nevertheless, sex-change appears in any thinkable situation (Finnegan 2009: 134f.).[69]

> "Moreover, the vinaya imagines sex-change happening at any moment. This becomes clear from a long series of questions put to Buddha by Upāli, … Literally several dozen situations in which sex-change could take place are explored over the course of the first 200 pages of the Uttaragrantha section of the MSV [*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, addition PKP],[70] and several others are sprinkled elsewhere in the same section of the MSV. Upāli … asks how to handle a situation were a bhikṣu changes sex and becomes a bhikṣuṇī in the midst of stealing, while touching a woman, and in the midst of engaging in a long list of other possible forbidden acts. It is also imagined that the sex-change could take place during sexual intercourse. And what if bhikṣu changes sex during the rains retreat, when boundaries are set and shifting of residence is prohibited?"

In the Theravāda tradition, as we have seen, the *Vinaya* does not tackle sex-change in connection with any of the rules, except for the two regulations dealt with above. The

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[69.] See also Cabezón 2017: 275, n. 703
[70.] Which corresponds to the *Upāliparipṛcchā*, see Clarke 2015: 77.

Samantapāsādikā discusses the effects of sex-change for various aspects of the monastic's life, but does not describe cases. In the subcommentaries, we have instances where the effects of sex-change are discussed in commenting on one or another rule, but here too this is more theoretical.

A regulation parallel to the one in the *Theravāda-vinaya*, discussing a monk's transformation into a female and vice versa is given in the *Kṣudrakavastu*. Finnegan translates the example of female-to-male transformation as follows:

> "Venerable Upāli asked the Lord, 'Venerable, if a bhikṣuṇī changes sex, what should be done with regard to her?'
> And the Lord replied, 'Upāli, place that one at the same age among the bhikṣus. Moreover, that becomes full ordination and bhikṣu-hood.'"[71]

As in the Pāli tradition, a monk transforms into a nun and a nun into a monk. No further activities are required after such transformations. As Finnegan (2009: 133) puts it:

> "A monastic whose sex changes simply shifts to the appropriate order, male or female, with no loss of seniority and no fuss. For all the gaps between men and women as they are gendered in this text, and for all the nuanced differences in their rules and status and treatment, these rulings assume that literally all that distinguishes a bhikṣuṇī from her male counterpart are her genitals."

In the Pāli *Vinaya* it was in addition stated with respect to the rules shared by both sexes that the sex-changed monastic can atone for transgressions in the Saṅgha of the other sex, whereas with respect to rules unique to one sex only he/she becomes freed from offences through sex-change. A similar statement is contained in the *Kathāvastu*[72] of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.[73]

2. Sex-change during ordination

Sex-change may also occur at the moment of ordination as a monk or nun. Such a case (male-to-female) is dealt with in the *Nidāna* in the *Uttaragrantha*.

> "The Venerable Upāli asked the Buddha, the Blessed One, 'Reverend, if at the time of ordination [a male candidate] changes sex, is he deemed to have been ordained or deemed to not have been ordained?'
> The Blessed One said, 'Upāli, though indeed ordained, [he] must be sent (or admitted) among the nuns.'"[74]

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[71]. Derge Da 160a5–7 (Finnegan 2009: 133f. n. 255): *dge slong ma las mtshan gyur na / de la ji lta bur bgyi zhes zhus pa dang / bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa / u pā li de ni lo du lon pa de bzhin du dge slong gi nang du zhog shig / de yang bsnyen par rdzogs shing dhe slong pha'i dngos por 'gyur ro.*

[72]. Clarke 2015: 79. The *Kathāvastu* is a portion of the *Uttaragrantha* (sTog, 'Dul ba NA 291b6–320b3). For parallel texts, see Clarke (in preparation): 89.

[73]. Clarke (in preparation): 32 and n. 71 with the following references: sTog, 'Dul ba NA 312a5–7; T. 1441 (xxiii) 568a4–7; T. 1435 (xxiii) 377a4–8. See also p. 42, n. 159 (with a reference to the discussion on gender transformation as a way of attaining absolution from offences in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra,* and to further literature).

[74]. *Nidāna* in *Uttaragrantha, 'Dul ba gzhung dam pa,* Kangyur S ('dul ba) *na,* 101a3–4: *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la | tshe dang ldan pa u pa li zhus pa | btsun pa bsnyen par rdzogs pa'i tshe mtshan 'phos na | de bsnyen par rdzogs pa zhes bgyi'am | bsnyen par ma rdzogs pa zhes bgyi |bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pal | u pa li bsnyen par ni rdzogs mod kyi | dge slong ma'i nang du ni thong zhig ||* Text and translation, Clarke 2010: 233f.; see also Kishino 2013: § 1.1.1.

We also find this topic tackled in Guṇaprabha's autocommentary on *Vinayasūtra* 618, where it is stated:

> "If the mark of sex (*vyañjanaṃ*) of [a male candidate] searching for ordination (*upasampadā*) changes, is he to be called one that has been ordained, [or] is he to be called one that has not been ordained. One says: 'He is to be called one that has not been ordained (masculine gender),[75] for the ordination of a nun [has been carried out] by monks, the being a nun is to be strived after,' [this is] the text here."[76]

This statement at first sight looks as if it contradicts the earlier passage from the *Nidāna*, because it is stated that such a person is not ordained (*anupasampanno*). But the point is, that here the masculine gender is used (*upasampanno*), and the one ordained, since she is a nun now, is not called *upasampanno*, but *upasampannā*. If taken that way the text tallies with the statement in the *Nidāna*, and also with the Theravāda tradition.

3. Multiple sex-changes

In the same context as the regulation in the *Kṣudrakavastu* it is stated that sex-change may occur a second time, which implies that the monk-turned-nun and the nun-turned-monk both revert to their original sex.[77] According to Finnegan, a double sex-change is no problem, but "a third sex-change becomes a problem".[78] She does not give a reason or a source for this statement. But the information could be drawn from Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* (ca. 5th c. CE) and his auto-commentary. There it is stated (Sūtra 616–17) that the restraint – or "vow", as it is understood in the Tibetan tradition (*saṃvara*, Tib. *sdom pa*)[79] – persists over two sex-changes, but not over a third one.

> (616) **Not in case of a third change of the sexual characteristic**, not is [there] the field for restraint (vow), [this is] the attachment. Whose sexual characteristic changes three [times], for him restraint (vow) is not valid, [that is] the meaning.
> (617) **Not [is there] a ceasing in the first and second [instance].** Not is there a ceasing of the restraint (vow) in the first or second change of the sexual characteristic, [this is] the meaning."[80]

According to this, if one is already ordained before a sex-change occurs, the third sex-change has the effect that one can no longer be a monastic. Gyatso (2003: 111)[81] states that "it is only at three sex-changes that one must forfeit one's entitlement to the monastic status altogether", giving the impression that the person concerned had to actively undertake something to forfeit its status. Whether this really is the case or whether the person ceases to be considered

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75. This statement at first sight looks as if such a person is not ordained, but the point is that here the masculine gender is used (*upasampanno*), and the one ordained, since s/he is a nun now, is not called *upasampanno*, but *upasampannā*.
76. Bapat & Gokhale 1982: 54,5–8 [*sūtra* 618]: *upasaṃpadāpekṣiṇo vyaṃjanaṃ parivartate, upasaṃpanno vaktavyo 'nupasaṃpanno vaktavyaḥ || āha: anupasaṃpanno vaktavyaḥ || bhikṣubhyo hi bhikṣuṇyā upasaṃpadā bhikṣuṇībhāvaḥ paryeṣitavyaḥ" iti atra granthaḥ.
77. Derge Da 160a7–b6 (Finnegan 2009, 134, n. 256).
78. Finnegan 2009: 134.
79. Cabezón 2017: 132; see the investigation of the meaning of *sdom pa* by Kishino 2015: 2.
80. Bapat & Gokhale 1982: 54,1–4: (616) ***na tṛtīyasyāṃ parivṛttau vyaṃjanasya*** || *saṃvarasya na kṣetratvam ity anubandhaḥ* || *yasya trir-vyaṃjanaṃ parivartate, na tasya saṃvaro rohatīty arthaḥ* || (617) ***na prathamadvayoḥ dhvastir*** *iti* || *na prathamadvitīyayoḥ vyaṃjanaparivṛtyoḥ dhvaṃsaḥ saṃvarasyety arthaḥ* |
81. Mentioned by Doniger 1999: 297; Scherer 2006: 68; Anderson 2016: 242, without further discussion.

a monastic automatically is unclear. As a reason for this prescription Gyatso refers to the Tibetan commentator mTsho-sna-ba Shes-rab bZang-po (ca. 13th c. CE) who stated that "after three sex-changes one lacks any reliable identity as either a male or a female, and so cannot take ordination in either order."[82] This statement does not say anything about how the end as a monastic becomes visible. Rather it concentrates on another aspect, namely, that after the third sex-change a renewed ordination is not possible. Thus, a person after the third sex-change would be barred from ordination. That this restriction is passed on to the present day is evident, as shown by Cabezón, from a contemporary *Vinaya* commentary, the *'Dul ba'i sdom tshig*, which contains a list of people to be denied ordination, because they have obstacles to the emergence of vows, among them individuals who changed sexes three or more times.[83] Gyatso also gives the impression that the three-time sex-change is an obstacle for ordination, but she does so based on the *Vinayasūtra*.[84] Whether this accepted limitation was there from the beginning needs investigation. In the list of obstacles for ordination given by Härtel (1956: 80f.) based on Central Asian fragments at least this case is not mentioned. The restriction as to numbers of sex-changes permissible for monastics does not exist in the Theravāda tradition, at least as far as the texts written in Pāli are concerned, although in most cases only two sex-changes are described.

4. Reordination of a nun who changed sex subsequently to leaving the order

Another question dealt with in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* is whether or not a nun who gave up the discipline, that is, left the order, and then changed sex, is eligible for ordination as a monk. As could be seen in the context of the Theravāda rules, only one minority was of the opinion that these former nuns could be ordained as monks (see above, I 3.3.3). But this stance was rejected by the entire Theravāda commentarial tradition. This is different in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. In the *Kathāvastu* it is stated that a nun who has renounced her training, i.e. who disrobed, cannot reordain. A way around this is that she changes sex and reordains in the male Saṅgha.[85] This is taken over also in later times as can be seen from a statement by Dharmamitra, a pupil of Guṇaprabha,[86] in his *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*.[87]

5. Reordination of a nun who changed sex after committing a *Pārājika* offence

In the *Kathāvastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* it is ruled that a nun who has committed one of the four *Pārājika* offences exlusive to nuns, thereafter may reordain as a male if she changed sex.[88] Different from the Theravāda tradition where this is refuted (see above I 3.3.2), this seems to be the general attitude of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.[89]

[82.] *'Dul tik nyi ma'i 'od zer legs bshad lung gi rgya mtsho* (Beijing: Khrun-go'i Bod-kyis Shes-rig dPe-skrun-khang, 1993; reprint, 1998), p. 214.
[83.] Cabezón 2017: 380f.
[84.] Gyatso (2003: 111, n. 64) states that "three-time change occurs in a list of what prevents ordination in *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* tradition in *Vinaya-Sūtra*, sūtra 617". (617 should certainly be 616.)
[85.] sTog, 'Dul ba NA 316b4–317a1; T. 1441 (xxiii) 569a16–19; T. 1435 (xxiii) 377c15–18; all references according to Clarke (in preparation) n. 87.
[86.] Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 102, n. 326.
[87.] Dharmamitra, *Vinayasūtraṭīkā*, D Tengyur, 'u, 87a–b." (Cabezón 2017: 275, n. 703).
[88.] sTog, 'Dul ba NA 317a1ff., T. 1441 (xxiii) 569a20ff.; all references according to Clarke (in preparation) n. 91, and p. 49.
[89.] As stated by Clarke he did not find a parallel for this in the *Kathāvastu* version of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*.

6. Possible causes for sex-change

The *Nidāna* contains a case where Upāli asks the Buddha in how many ways a Buddhist monastic boundary (*sīmā*) is dissolved. The Buddha gives five ways for the dissolution of a *sīmā*. The third is if "the entire community changes [their] sex." (Clarke 2010: 234, n. 27; Kishino 2013: § 1.4.1). In Yi jing's translation this runs as "the assembly changes their sex at the same time."[90] Though it remains unclear how and why sex-change should lead to the dissolution of a monastic boundary, at least if it were one determined in a legal procedure,[91] what is interesting in our context is that if that method ever was applied, one has to assume that all members of the community are considered to cause the change of their sexes deliberately[92] and, possibly, simultaneously. Thus, unlike the Theravāda sources which mention sex-change during sleep (*Vinaya*, *Samantapāsādikā*) or during deep sleep only (*Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, see above, n. 17), here all monks would be assembled, awake, come to the decision to change their sex, and would finally change their sexes, eventually even simultaneously. In how far here *karma* would be the agent of sex-change needs investigation.

Another case reported from a 16th c. CE *Vinayasūtra* commentary by Mi-bskyod rDo-rje, relates the case of a nun "who is walking alone down a path and suddenly transforms into a male."[93] Thus here the person also is awake.

There is a great discrepancy between such cases and those mentioned in the Theravāda tradition where no such cases of sex-change in a waking state are described to my knowledge.

In the textual passages looked at so far, the cause for sex-change either is not mentioned at all, or it is described as a deliberate decision as in the present case. Further causes coming up in this tradition are the act of truth (*satyakriyā*), namely in the story of Rūpavatī in the *Divyāvadāna* (473f.),[94] and *karma*, in the case of the Bodhisattva's male-to-female transformation because of having called monks "women", dealt with in the present volume by Dhammadinnā Bhikkhunī.[95]

7. Male-to-female transformation calamitous, female-to-male transformation a boon?

With respect to the large number of examples of sex-change given in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* Finnegan (2009: 136) states:

> "It bears stressing here – particularly in light of the oft-quoted comments from Pāli commentaries presenting female-to-male transformations as boons and male-to-female transformations as calamitous for the former male – that the MSV [*Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*] itself in these passages does not distinguish in any significant way between female-to-male and male-to-female transformation".[96]

Actually in the – compared to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* – admittedly few cases of sex-change in the Theravāda tradition, there also is no difference made between the female-to-

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male and male-to-female transformations. The description as good or bad come only up in connection with the explanation of the arising of the sex-changes in the *Atthasālinī* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, and this section is explicitly designated as one independent of the canonical text (see aboveI 2). Thus, the fact that in the description of the various cases in the Mūlasarvāstivāda texts this factor does not play any role,[97] does not say anything about the way in which these two different sex-changes are valued from an *abhidhamma* point of view in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. It may be that Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda are not that different in this respect.

8. Conclusions

The few examples from the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition dealt with here make plain that in some cases the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition perfectly matches the Theravāda tradition, whereas in others it does not. To the former belongs (1) the fact that sex-change does not invalidate the status of a monastic, but that a monk becomes a nun, and vice versa; and (2) that a monastic is freed from offences exclusive to one sex by transformation into the other sex, whereas for offences shared by both sexes he has to atone in the presence of the Saṅgha of the other sex.

To the matters which are ruled differently in both traditions belong (1) the possibility that nuns who change sex after having left the order can be ordained in the male *Saṅgha* according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (II 4), a possibility accepted by a refuted minority only, but denied by the majority of the Theravāda tradition (I 3.3.3); (2) the possibiliy that nuns who have committed a *Pārājika* offence exclusive to nuns, and thereafter changed sex may be ordained in the monks' community according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (II 5), a possibility denied by the Theravāda tradition (I 3.3.2); (3) the explicit restriction of permissible sex-changes for a monastic to up to two times in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (II 3), which has no counterpart in the Theravāda texts, although in the descriptions not more than two sex changes are described explicitly.

In light of these conformities and discrepancies a systematic investigation of sex-change in the Mūlasarvāstivādin texts, and the legal writings of the other schools' *Vinaya*s, would be highly desirable and certainly rewarding.

[97.] Anālayo 2014: 112–114.

III. Appendix: Sp I 273,₂₃–277,₂₈

§	Text	Translation
1	*cuddasame vatthumhi **itthiliṅgaṃ pātubhūtan** ti rattibhāge niddaṃ okkantassa purisa-saṇṭhānaṃ massudāṭhikādi sabbaṃ antara-hitaṃ itthisaṇṭhānaṃ uppannaṃ.*	In the fourteenth case **the female sexual characteristic manifested itself**, means: in the night when he was asleep [his] male form such as beard, whisker[s] disappeared completely, [and] the female form appeared.
2	***tam eva upajjhaṃ tam eva upasampadan** ti pubbe gahita-upajjhāyam eva pubbe kata-upasampadam eva anujānāmi. puna upajjhā na gahetabbā upasampadā na kātabbā ti attho.*	**Just that preceptor**, **just that full ordination**, means: I allow exactly that preceptor previously taken, exactly that ordination previously performed. The meaning is: A preceptor needs not be taken again, a full ordination needs not be carried through again.
3	***tāni yeva vassānī** ti bhikkhu-upasampadato pabhuti yāva vassagaṇanā, taṃ yeva vassa-gaṇanaṃ anujānāmi. na ito paṭṭhāya vas-sagaṇanā kātabbā ti attho.*	**Just those years**, means: beginning from the full ordination as a monk up to the counting of the years, exactly that counting of the years I allow. The meaning is: The counting of the years need not be carried through from this point (i.e. the sex-change) onwards.
4	***bhikkhunīhi saṅgamitun** ti bhikkhunīhi sad-dhiṃ saṅgamituṃ saṅgantuṃ samaṅgī bhavituṃ anujānāmī ti attho. idaṃ vuttaṃ hoti: appatirūpaṃ dāni 'ssā bhikkhūnaṃ majjhe vasituṃ, bhikkhunupassayaṃ gantvā bhikkhunīhi saddhiṃ vasatū ti.*	**To go with the nuns**, means: I allow to go (=) to go (alternative form) together (=) to be provided with the nuns. The [following] is said [by this]: It is unsuitable for her (i.e. the monk-turned-nun) to now dwell among the monks, having gone to a nunnery, she shall live together with the nuns.
5	***yā āpattiyo bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīhi sādhāraṇā** ti yā desanāgāminiyo vā vuṭṭhāna-gāminiyo vā āpattiyo bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīhi saddhiṃ sādhāraṇā.*	**Which offences of the monks are shared with the nuns**, means: which offences of the monks that require confession[98] or require removal[99] are shared with the nuns.
6	***tā āpattiyo bhikkhunīnaṃ santike vuṭṭhātun** ti tā sabbāpi bhikkhunīhi kātabbaṃ vinayaka-mmaṃ katvā bhikkhunīnaṃ santike vuṭṭhātuṃ anujānāmīti attho.*	**To remove those offences in the presence of the nuns**, the meaning is: having carried through a legal procedure to be carried through by nuns, I allow to remove all these [offences] in the presence of the nuns.
7	***tāhi āpattīhi anāpattī** ti yā pana bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīhi asādhāraṇā sukkavissaṭṭhi-ādikā āpattiyo, tāhi anāpatti. liṅgaparivattanena tā āpattiyo vuṭṭhitā va honti. puna pakatiliṅge uppanne pi tāhi āpattīhi tassa anāpatti yevā ti ayaṃ tāv' ettha pāḷivinicchayo.*	**There is no offence according to these offences**, means: But which offences of the monks are not shared with the nuns, such as emission of semen, according to these [offences] there is no offence. Because of the change of the sexual characteristic these offences are indeed removed. Even if the original sexual characteristic appears again there is indeed no offence for him according to these offences. This firstly is the regulation according to the text (= *Vinaya*).[100]

[98.] All offences except the first two categories (*Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa*).

[99.] I.e. *Saṅghādisesa* offences.

[100.] This and the following sentence clearly differentiate between the explanation of what is found in the

§	Text	Translation
8	*ayaṃ pana pāḷimutto okkantikavinicchayo: imesu tāva*[101] *dvīsu liṅgesu purisaliṅgaṃ uttamaṃ, itthiliṅgaṃ hīnaṃ tasmā purisaliṅgaṃ balava-akusalena antaradhāyati. itthiliṅgaṃ dubbalakusalena patiṭṭhāti. itthiliṅgaṃ pana antaradhāyantaṃ dubbala-akusalena antaradhāyati. purisaliṅgaṃ balavakusalena patiṭṭhāti. evaṃ ubhayam pi akusalena antaradhāyati, kusalena paṭilabbhati.*	But the [following] is the regulation independent from the text (*Vinaya*) [but] fitting in with [it]: From among these two sexual characteristics, firstly, the male sexual characteristic is superior, the female sexual characteristic is inferior. Therefore, the male sexual characteristic disappears because of strongly non-virtuous [*kamma*],[102] the female sexual characteristic is established because of weak virtuous [*kamma*]. But the disappearing female sexual characteristic disappears because of weak non-virtuous [*kamma*]. The male sexual characteristic is established because of strong virtuous [*kamma*]. Thus the two disappear because of non-virtuous [*kamma*, and] appear because of virtuous [*kamma*].
9	*tattha sace dvinnaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ ekato sajjhāyaṃ vā dhammasākacchaṃ vā katvā ekāgāre nipajjitvā niddaṃ okkantānaṃ ekassa itthiliṅgaṃ pātubhavati, ubhinnam pi sahaseyyāpatti hoti.*	If the female sexual characteristic establishes itself in one of two monks who, having studied or recited the *dhamma* together, having laid down in one house, are fallen asleep, then it is an offence of a joint sleeping place (Pāc 6 M, Pāc 102 N) for them both.
10	*so ce paṭibujjhitvā attano taṃ vippakāraṃ disvā dukkhī dummano rattibhāge yeva itarassa āroceyya, tena samassāsetabbo: "hotu, mā cintayittha. vaṭṭass' ev' eso doso. Sammāsambuddhena dvāraṃ dinnaṃ, bhikkhu vā hotu bhikkhunī vā, anāvaṭo dhammo avārito saggamaggo» ti samassāsetvā ca evaṃ vattabbaṃ: "tumhehi bhikkhunupassayaṃ gantuṃ vaṭṭati. atthi vo kāci sandiṭṭhā bhikkhuniyo» ti. sac' assa honti "tādisā bhikkhuniyo atthī" ti, no ce honti "natthī" ti vatvā so bhikkhu vattabbo: "mama saṅgahaṃ karotha idāni maṃ paṭhamaṃ bhikkhunupassayaṃ nethā" ti.*	If, having woken up, having seen his own transformation, he is miserable, depressed, he should announce [it] to the other [monk] that very night-time. He should [then] be consoled by the [other monk, through saying]: "Well, don't think about it, the fault of the round [of transmigration] indeed is this.[103] The fully Awakened One has given an opening,[104] whether monk or nun the Doctrine is not precluded, the path to heaven is not obstructed." And having consoled [him, he] should say [the following]: "It is suitable that you go to a nunnery. Are there any nuns which are friends of yours?"[105] If there are [friends] of hers, having said "There are such nuns", if there are none, having said "[There] are none", [the monk-turned-nun] should say to the monk: "Help me, lead me now, first of all, to a nunnery."

Vinaya, and what is not. The meaning of this sentences is blurred in the English translation of the Chinese counterpart of the *Samantapāsādikā* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 211).

[101.] As reads *pana*.

[102.] The *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* says that it disappears because of many offences (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 211 and n. 10).

[103.] That means, it is not your fault; for a similar statement, see Dhp-a III 36,15f, Dhp-a transl. II 285f.

[104.] Literally "has given a door, or a way".

[105.] In the English translation of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212) this is translated as if the monk-turned-nun speaks to the other monk, though it is exactly the other way round. Consequently also the subsequent conversation is wrongly attributed to two persons.

§	Text	Translation
11	*tena bhikkhunā taṃ gahetvā tassā vā san-diṭṭhānaṃ attano vā sandiṭṭhānaṃ bhik-khunīnaṃ santikaṃ gantabbaṃ. gacchantena ca na ekakena gantabbaṃ. catūhi pañcahi bhikkhūhi saddhiṃ jotikañ ca kattaradaṇḍañ ca gahetvā saṃvidahanaṃ parimocetvā "ma-yaṃ asukaṃ nāma ṭhānaṃ gacchāmā" ti gantabbaṃ*	[Then] that monk, together with her, should go to the nuns who are either her friends[106] or his friends. And while going he should not go alone. Together with four of five monks, and with a torch and a mendicant's staff, he should go, having released the information, "We will go to such and such a place."
12	*sace bahigāme dūre vihāro hoti, antarāmagge gāmantara-nadīpāra-rattivippavāsa-gaṇa-ohīyanāpattīhi anāpatti.*	If the *vihāra*[107] is far off outside the village, on the way no offence according to the offences of entering another village, [going] to the other side of a river, being separated [from the Saṅgha] over night, being behind the group (all Sgh 3 N) [occurs].
13	*bhikkhunupassayaṃ gantvā tā bhikkhuniyo vattabbā: "asukaṃ nāma bhikkhuṃ jānāthā" ti? "āma, ayyā" ti. "tassa itthiliṅgaṃ pātu-bhūtaṃ, saṅgahaṃ dāni 'ssa karothā" ti. tā ce "sādhu, ayyā, idāni mayam pi sajjhāyissāma, dhammaṃ sossāma, gacchatha tumhe" ti vatvā saṅgahaṃ karonti, ārādhikā ca honti saṅgāhikā lajjiniyo, tā kopetvā aññattha na gantabbaṃ. gacchati ce, gāmantara-nadī-pāra-rattivippavāsa-gaṇaohīyanāpattīhi na muccati.*	Having gone to the nunnery, the nuns [there] should be spoken to [as follows], "Do you know such and such a monk?" [If they respond] "Yes, Venerables", [they should be told] "The female sexual characteristic manifested itself on him, could you now kindly receive him?" If having said, "Alright yes, Venerables; [but] now we all are going to study, going to listen to the Doctrine, you should go",[108] these [nuns] receive [her] kindly, are satisfying, friendly, and conscientious; having disturbed them, [the monk-turned-nun] should not go elsewhere. If she goes [elsewhere], she is not freed from the offences of entering another village, [going] to the other side of a river, being separated [from the Saṅgha] over night, being behind the group (all Sgh 3 N).[109]
14	*sace pana lajjiniyo honti, na saṅgāhikāyo aññattha gantuṃ labbhati.*	If [the nuns] are, however, conscientious, [but] not friendly, it is allowable to go elsewhere.
15	*sace pi alajjiniyo honti, saṅgahaṃ pana ka-ronti tāpi pariccajitvā aññattha gantuṃ labbhati.*	Even if they are unconscientious, but receive [her] kindly, it is allowable to go elsewhere, having left even them.
16	*sace lajjiniyo ca saṅgāhikā ca, ñātikā na honti, āsannagāme pana aññā ñātikāyo honti paṭijagganikā, tāsam pi santikaṃ gantuṃ vaṭṭatī ti vadanti.*	"If they are conscientious as well as friendly, [and] they are not relatives, but in a nearby village there are other [nuns who are] relatives, who are taking care [of her], it is suitable to go into the presence also of them," [people] say.[110]

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[106]. This possibility is omitted in the English translation of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212).

[107]. *vihāra* here referring to the nunnery to which they are heading.

[108]. Whereas in the Pāli version this reads as if the nuns had been disturbed by the monk and the monk-turned-nun, and are now going to proceed with what they did before, in the English translation of the Chinese version it is stated that they proceed with this activity including the monk-turned-nun (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212).

[109]. The information about the offences that would occur in such a case are not in the Chinese version (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212). Instead there is something about the monk-turned-nun being told she should follow the wishes of the *bhikkhunīsaṅgha*.

[110]. It is not entirely clear how far this quotation reaches back. I have marked only the final sentence for now.

§	Text	Translation
17	*gantvā sace bhikkhubhāve pi nissaya-paṭipanno, patirūpāya bhikkhuniyā santike nissayo gahetabbo.*	Having gone [to a nunnery], if even when he was a monk he was in dependence, dependence should be taken [by her] in the presence of a suitable nun.[111]
18	*Mātikā vā Vinayo vā uggahito suggahito, puna uggaṇhanakāraṇaṃ natthi.*	If the *Mātikā*[112] or the *Vinaya* had been learnt [by him], they are well learnt; there is no reason for a renewed learning [by the monk-turned-nun].[113]
19	*sace bhikkhubhāve parisāvacaro, tassa santike yeva upasampannā sūpasampannā, aññassa santike nissayo gahetabbo.*	If when he was a monk [he was] one who frequented assemblies, [those] ordained indeed in his presence, are well ordained. In the presence of someone else [they] have to take dependence.
20	*pubbe taṃ nissāya vasantehi pi aññassa santike yeva nissayo gahetabbo.*	Even those who previously lived in dependence on him, have to take dependence indeed in the presence of someone else.
21	*paripuṇṇavassasāmaṇerenāpi aññassa santike yeva upajjhā gahetabbā.*	Even a novice who has completed his years (i.e. is old enough to become a monk) has to take preceptorship indeed in the presence of someone else.
22	*yaṃ panassa bhikkhubhāve adhiṭṭhitaṃ ticīvarañ ca patto ca, taṃ adhiṭṭhānaṃ vijahati, puna adhiṭṭhātabbaṃ.*	But what has been formally taken possession of by him when he was a monk, the three robes and the alms bowl, that loses the [status of having been] formally taken possession of, it has to be again formally taken possession of.
23	*saṅkaccikā ca udakasāṭikā ca gahetabbā.*	The breast-ribbon and the bathing-cloth are to be accepted.[114]
24	*yaṃ atirekacīvaraṃ vā atirekapatto vā vinayakammaṃ katvā ṭhapito hoti, taṃ sabbam pi vinayakammaṃ vijahati, puna kātabbaṃ.*	Which additional cloth or additional alms bowl has been stored by having carried out a legal procedure, that entire legal procedure expires, it has to be carried out again.[115]
25	*paṭiggahita-tela-madhu-phāṇitādīni pi paṭiggahaṇaṃ vijahanti.*	Even the formally accepted [medicines] oil, honey, sugar syrup, etc., lose the [status of the] formal acceptance.

This passage is not contained in the English version of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212).

[111] This paragraph seems to be missing in the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212). Instead something different is stated, the meaning of which is not entirely clear. Possibly the present paragraph has been misunderstood either by the Chinese or the English translators.

[112] *Mātikā* is the *Pātimokkha*. As a monk he certainly learnt the *Bhikkhupātimokkha*, but possibly also the *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha*, since monks had to be able to advise the nuns. Since here the *Vinaya* is mentioned too, the monk evidently learnt all regulations for monks and for nuns. Therefore, there is no need for her to learn it anew.

[113] This and the following paragraphs (17–20) seem to miss in the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212).

[114] Both items of clothing are originally for nuns only, thus the monk-turned-nun does not have them. In the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* it is stated that the five robes are to be taken formal possession of, breast-ribbon and bathing-cloth are not mentioned separately (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 212 and n. 12).

[115] Unlike monks, nuns are not allowed to have an additional bowl (Niss 1 N).

§	Text	Translation
26	*sace paṭiggahaṇato sattame divase liṅgaṃ parivattati, puna paṭiggahetvā sattāhaṃ vaṭṭati.*	If the sexual characteristic changes on the seventh day [after] the acceptance [of the medicines],[116] it is suitable [to store them] for seven days, having formally accepted [them] again.
27	*yaṃ pana bhikkhukāle aññassa bhikkhuno santakaṃ paṭiggahitaṃ, taṃ paṭiggahaṇaṃ na vijahati.*	But whichever property of another monk has been formally accepted in [his] time as a monk, that does not lose the [status of] formal acceptance.
28	*yaṃ ubhinnaṃ sādhāraṇaṃ avibhajitvā ṭhapitaṃ, taṃ pakatatto rakkhati.*	What, shared by both, is stored without having been distributed, that [the bhikkhu] in good standing protects.[117]
29	*yaṃ pana vibhattaṃ etass' eva santakaṃ, taṃ paṭiggahaṇaṃ vijahati.*	But whichever property of just this one has been distributed, that loses the [status of] formal acceptance.
30	*vuttam pi c' etaṃ Parivāre:* *telaṃ[118] madhuṃ phāṇitañ cāpi sappiṃ* *sāmaṃ gahetvāna nikkhipeyya,* *avītivatte sattāhe* *sati paccaye paribhuñjantassa āpatti.* *pañhā mesā kusalehi cintitā ti (Vin V 217₁₄₋₁₇).*	For the [following] has been said too in the *Parivāra* Having accepted oil, honey, sugar syrup, as well as ghee oneself, [if] one should deposit [them]; when seven days not having elapsed, if there is a reason,[119] it is an offence for him eating [them]. These questions were thought out by those of skill.[120]
31	*idañ hi liṅgaparivattanaṃ sandhāya vuttaṃ. paṭiggahaṇaṃ nāma liṅgaparivattanena, kālaṃkiriyāya, sikkhāpaccakkhānena, hīnā-yāvattanena, anupasampannassa dānena, anapekkhavissajjanena, acchinditvā gāhena (Bᵉ gahaṇena) ca vijahati.*	For this is said with respect to the change of the sexual characteristic.[121] Formal acceptance indeed expires through changing the sexual characteristic, through death, through formally giving up the training (i.e. withdrawal from the community), through turning to a lower way of life, through giving to an unordained [one], through bestowing because one is indifferent, and through taking having been robbed.

[116.] Formally accepted medicines are allowed for seven days (Niss 23 M). In this special case it is allowed to again formally accept the medicine, and to again store them for seven days.

[117.] I.e. the one with whom he shares the object, and who still is a regular monk. Thus the fact that the object is shared with a monk of good standing protects it, as long as it has not yet been distributed. In the English translation of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* the parallels to the paragraphs 27–29 are undifferentiated (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 213).

[118.] om. in Sp Bᵉ.

[119.] Niss 23 M rules that ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, sugar syrup may be formally accepted by a bhikkhu, and stored up to seven days within which they may be eaten.

[120.] These verses in the *Parivāra* belong to the *Sedanamocanagāthā*, riddle-like verses, which at first sight always are in contradiction to some well known rule (see BD VI, xxxif.). This statement in the *Parivāra* thus contradicts Niss 23 M. The *Samantapāsādikā* declares that the *Parivāra* statement refers to sex-change (see § 31). In the light of the explanations as to the validity of the formal acceptance (*paṭiggahana*) in the case of sex-change this can only mean that the one who eats and commits an offence is a sex-changed person. *Sāratthadīpanī* and *Vimativinodanīṭīkā* (n. 111) also hint at the fact that the formal acceptance expires when sex-change takes place, and that therefore the sex-changed person would have to again formally accept these stored medicines, otherwise eating them is a *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya* offence, even if there is a reason.

[121.] Sp-ṭ Bᵉ II 103₃₀–104₂; Cᵉ 477₂₃₋₂₆: **sāmaṃ gahetvāna nikkhipeyyā** ti paṭiggahetvā sayaṃ nikkhipeyya. **paribhuñjantassa āpattī** ti liṅgaparivatte sati paṭiggahaṇavijahanato puna appaṭiggahetvā (Bᵉ wrongly *paṭiggahetvā*) paribhuñjantassa āpatti. "**Having accepted [them] oneself, [if] one should deposit [them],**

§	Text	Translation
32	*tasmā sace pi harītakakhaṇḍam pi paṭigga-hetvā ṭhapitam atthi, sabbam assa paṭig-gahaṇaṃ vijahati.*	Therefore, even if even a piece of yellow my-robalan is deposited, having been formally accepted, each of his formal acceptance[s] expires (or for all his acceptance expires).
33	*bhikkhuvihāre pana yaṃ kiñci 'ssā santakaṃ paṭiggahetvā vā appaṭiggahetvā vā ṭhapitaṃ, sabbassa sā va issarā, āharāpetvā gahetab-baṃ.*	But whatever property of hers is deposited in a monks' monastery, whether formally accepted or not formally accepted, over all that only she is the chief, having asked [for it], it is to be taken.
34	*yaṃ pan' ettha thāvaraṃ tassā santakaṃ senāsanaṃ vā uparopakā vā, te yass' icchati tassa dātabbā.*	But whatever immovable thing here is her property, be it a lodging or a young sapling, they are to be given to whomever [she] wishes [to give them].[122]
35	*terasasu sammutīsu yā bhikkhukāle laddhā sammuti, sabbā sā paṭippassambhati.*	Whichever agreement among the thirteen [types of] agreement[123] has been obtained [by him] in [his] time as a monk, each of them ceases.[124]
36	*purimikāya senāsanaggāho paṭippassam-bhati.*	The allocation of lodgings for the earlier rains [retreat] ceases.
37	*sace pacchimikāya senāsane gahite liṅgaṃ parivattati, bhikkhunisaṅgho cassā uppannaṃ lābhaṃ dātukāmo hoti, apaloketvā dātabbo.*	If the sexual characteristic changes when lodging has been taken for the later rains [re-treat], and the nuns' community is willing to give her [a share of] the obtainment that has come up, [then] it is to be given having ap-proved it.
38	*"sace bhikkhunīhi sādhāraṇāya paṭicchan-nāya āpattiyā parivasantassa liṅgaṃ pari-vattati, pakkhamānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	"If the sexual characteristic of one changes while he is [still] living under probation because of a concealed offence shared with the nuns, [then] indeed the fortnight-long *mānatta* period is to be given [to the monk-turned-nun].[125]

means: having formally accepted [them, if] one should deposit [them] by oneself. **There is an offence in eating** [**them**], means: there is an offence for him eating [them], having not again formally accepted [them], because of the expiring of the formal acceptance when a sex-change occurs."

Vmv I 156,11–13: **sāmaṃ gahetvāna nikkhipeyyā** ti sahatthena paṭiggahetvāna nikkhipeyya. **paribhuñjantassa āpattī** ti liṅgaparivatte jāte puna appaṭiggahetvā paribhuñjantassa āpatti. "**Having accepted** [**them**] **oneself,** [**if**] **one should deposit** [**them**], means: having formally accepted [them] with one's own hand, [if] one should deposit [them]. **There is an offence in eating** [**them**], means: there is an offence for him eating them, having not again formally accepted [them] when sex-change occurs."

[122.] This differs in the English translation of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 213), where the *bhikkhusaṅgha* decides to whom to give the former monk's property.

[123.] The number of thirteen refers to the offices as mentioned in a list in the *Vinaya* itself : (1) *bhattu-desaka* (Vin V 204,20–28), and (2) *senāsana-paññāpaka*, (3) *bhaṇḍā-gārika*, (4) *cīvara-paṭiggāhaka*, (5) *cīvara-bhājaka*, (6) *yāgu-bhājaka*, (7) *phala-bhājaka*, (8) *khajja-bhājaka*, (9) *appamattaka-vissajjaka*, (10) *sāṭi-yagāhāpaka*, (11) *patta-gāhāpaka*, (12) *ārāmika-pesaka*, (13) *sāmaṇera-pesaka* (Vin V 204,29–34). See also Sp III 578,28 ; VI 1163,16.

[124.] This and the following paragraphs (35–37) are missing in the English translation of the *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* (Bapat & Hirakawa 1970: 213).

[125.] Since for nuns there does not exist a probationary period (*parivāsa*), and since instead of the six days *mānatta* period usual for monks, they have a fortnight-long *mānatta* period.

§	Text	Translation
39	*sace mānattaṃ carantassa parivattati, puna pakkhamānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	If [the sexual characteristic] of one changes while he is [still] spending the *mānatta* period, [then] indeed the fortnight-long *mānatta* [period] is to be given again (i.e. to the monk-turned-nun).[126]
40	*sace ciṇṇamānattassa parivattati, bhikkhunīhi abbhānakammaṃ kātabbaṃ.*	If [the sexual characteristic] of one changes who has spent the *mānatta* [period], the procedure of re-admission is to be carried through by the nuns.[127]
41	*sace akusalavipāke parikkhīṇe pakkha-mānattakāle punadeva liṅgaṃ parivattati, chārattaṃ mānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	If [the sexual characteristic] changes just again during the time of the fortnight-long *mānatta* when the non-virtuous consequence [of *kamma*] is exhausted, indeed a *mānatta* [period] of six nights is to be given.[128]
42	*sace ciṇṇe pakkhamānatte parivattati, bhik-khūhi abbhānakammaṃ kātabban" ti.*[129]	If [the sexual characteristic] changes when the fortnight-long *mānatta* [period] has been spent, the procedure of re-admission is to be carried through by the monks."[130]
43	*anantare bhikkhuniyā liṅgaparivattanavat-thumhi idha vuttanayen' eva sabbo vinicchayo veditabbo. ayaṃ pana viseso:*	In the immediately following case of sex-change of a nun (i.e. Vin III 35,18–24) the entire regulation is to be understood indeed according to the method stated here. But the [following] is the difference:
44	*"sace pi bhikkhunikāle āpannā sañcarittā-patti paṭicchannā hoti, parivāsadānaṃ natthi, chārattaṃ mānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	"Even if at the time as a nun an offence of acting as a go-between has been committed [and] concealed [by her, and she then changes sex], there is no giving of a probationary period, only a *mānatta* [period] of six nights is to be given [to the nun-turned-monk].[131]

[126.] This means that the days of the *mānatta* period spent as a bhikkhu do not count, and as a nun the monk-turned-nun has to spend the entire fortnight-long *mānatta* period prescribed for nuns.

[127.] In that case the penance has been completed while still a monk, and so the re-admission can start immediately in the nuns' community.

[128.] In this case the monk-turned-nun while spending the fortnight-long *mānatta* period for nuns changes sex again, and thus has to spend the six-day-long *mānatta* period for monks.

[129.] The *ti* at the end of this sentence indicates that this passage has been borrowed from some older source. The begin of this borrowing is uncertain, but must at least lay four sentences earlier, where the subject of all subsequent sentences is mentioned.

[130.] Under the same circumstances, that is when a new sex-change occurred in the monk-turned-nun, the penance has been completed while a nun, and the re-admission then starts in the monks' community.

[131.] In that case the offence has been committed and concealed while being a nun. Since for nuns there does not exist a *parivāsa* penance, the nun, if transformed into a monk, also does not have to undergo the *parivāsa*, but only the *mānatta* penance. The latter, however, according to the length prescribed for monks, that is for six, not for fourteen days. The sex-change is not explicitly mentioned in this case, but has to be assumed according to the context.

§	Text	Translation
45	*sace pakkhamānattaṃ carantiyā liṅgaṃ pari-vattati, na tenattho, chārattaṃ mānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	If the sexual characteristic of [that nun] changes while she [still] spends the fortnight-long *mānatta* [period[132]], there is no use of it, indeed a *mānatta* [period] of six nights is to be given [to the nun-turned-monk].
46	*sace ciṇṇamānattāya parivattati, puna mānattaṃ adatvā bhikkhūhi abbhetabbo.*	If [the sexual characteristic] changes when the *mānatta* period has been spent [by her], the nun-turned-monk] is to be re-admitted by the monks without the *mānatta* [period] having been given again [to him].[133]
47	*atha bhikkhūhi mānatte adinne puna liṅgaṃ parivattati, bhikkhunīhi pakkhamānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	Or, if [the sexual characteristic] changes again while the *mānatta* [penance] has not [yet] been given by the monks, only a fortnight-long *mānatta* [period] is to be given by the nuns.[134]
48	*atha chārattaṃ mānattaṃ carantassa puna parivattati, pakkhamānattam eva dātabbaṃ.*	Or, if [the sexual characteristic] changes again while [the nun-turned-monk still] spends the six-nights *mānatta* [period], indeed the fortnight-long *mānatta* [period] is to be given [to the nun-turned-monk-turned-nun].
49	*ciṇṇamānattassa pana liṅgaparivatte jāte bhikkhunīhi abbhānakammaṃ kātabbaṃ.*	But if the change of the sexual characteristic occurs when [the nun-turned-monk] has spent the *mānatta* [period], the procedure of re-admission is to be carried through by the nuns.
50	*puna parivatte ca liṅge bhikkhunibhāve ṭhitāyapi yā āpattiyo pubbe paṭippassaddhā, tā suppaṭippassaddhā evā" ti.*[135]	And if the sexual characteristic changes again (i.e. from female to male), which offences of her had previously ceased even when she was in the status of a nun, they are well ceased."[136]

[132.] Here the same conditions as before are valid, she has committed a *Saṅghādisesa* offence, and has concealed it.

[133.] Since the *mānatta* penance had been completed while she was a nun, it has not to be repeated in her life as a monk.

[134.] That is if the nun transformed into a monk, and again back into a nun, and the *mānatta* penance had not yet been given in the first two stages, it is to be spent in the third stage.

[135.] As in § 42, this text portion ends in *iti*, and it cannot be excluded that it is taken over from some older source.

[136.] It is to be assumed that the section from §§ 44–50 also stems from one source.

Acknowledgment

Abbreviations

As   *Atthasālinī. Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammasaṅganī*, ed. Edward Müller. London revised ed.: Pali Text Society, 1979 [Original 1897].

As (transl.)   Bhikkhu Nyānaponika [transl.], *Darlegung der Bedeutung (Atthasālinī)*, ediert Sven Bretfeld and Rainer Knopf, Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2005.

BD   I. B. Horner [transl.], *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, 6 Vols. London 1938–1966 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25).

B[e]   Burmese edition (Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti edition).

Dhp-a   *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, 5 vols., ed. H. C. Norman. London: Pali Text Society, 1906–1914.

Dhp-a transl.   *Buddhist Legends*. Translated from the original Pali text of the Dhammapada Commentary by Eugene Watson Burlingame, 3 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1921 (Harvard Oriental Series, Volumes 28–30).

Derge   The Sde-dge Mtshal-par Bka'-'gyur: a facsimile edition of the 18th century redaction of Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas prepared under the direction of H.H. the 16th Rgyal-dbaṅ Karma-pa. 103 vols. Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976–1979.

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M   Monks (used together with the abbreviations for th *Pātimokkha* rules).

Mil   *Milindapañha*, ed. V. Trenckner. London: Pali Text Society, 1986.

N   Nuns (used together with the abbreviations for th *Pātimokkha* rules)

Niss   *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya* rules in the *Pātimokkha*

Pāc   *Pācittiya* rules in the *Pātimokkha*

Pār   *Pārājika* rules in the *Pātimokkha*

Sgh   *Saṅghādisesa* rules in the *Pātimokkha*

Sp   *Samantapāsādikā, Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, 7 vols., ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai (and K. Mizuno in vols. 5 and 7). London: Pali Text Society, 1924–1947.

Sp-ṭ   Sāriputta [from Poḷonnaruva], *Sāratthadīpanī*, 3 vols. Rankun: Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti, 1960.

sTog   The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur. 109 vols. Leh, Ladakh: C. Namgyal Tarusergar, 1975–1980.

Sv   [Buddhaghosa, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*] *The Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya*, 3 vols., ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J. Estlin Carpenter, W. Stede. London: Pali Text Society, 1968–1971.

Sv-pṭ   [Dhammapāla, *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā*] *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, 3 vols., ed. Lily de Silva. London: Pali Text Society, 1970.

T   *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924–1935.

Vin   *Vinaya Piṭaka*, 5 Vols., ed. Hermann Oldenberg. London 1879–1883.

Vjb   Vajirabuddhittherena katā *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*. Rankun: Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti, 1960.

Vmv   Coḷiya Kassapa, *Vimativinodanīṭīkā*, 2 vols. Rankun: Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti, 1960.

Yam   *Yamaka*.

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Karma here and now in a Mūlasarvāstivāda *avadāna*:
How the Bodhisattva changed sex and was born as a female 500 times*

DHAMMADINNĀ

This article presents an *avadāna* excerpt found in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*. The tale reports a monk's change of sex to female, followed by five hundred successive births as a woman, all of which happened as the karmic result of having addressed his fellow monks as women. The *avadāna* identifies this monk, who is introduced as a reciter of the Tripiṭaka, with the Bodhisattva in a past life. The story of the past serves to explain why the Buddha's advice was disregarded by the quarrelling monks of Kauśāmbī, who were involved in a dispute over a minor issue of monastic discipline. The present study locates this unsourced *avadāna* in its broader textual context, suggesting the possibility of its placement in a no longer extant Mūlasarvāstivāda *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*. It then explores the question of a 'gendered evaluation' of karmic retribution, as well as the significance of a change of sex to female (and eventually back to male). This change reportedly took place when the Bodhisattva was already on the path to Buddhahood and had generated the *bodhicitta*, his resolve to reach full awakening.

The *avadāna* quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (Up 4069)

Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* is a sourcebook for the canonical quotations in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. The text is extant in a Tibetan translation included in the Tanjur, stemming from a tradition of Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliation.

The *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* contains altogether five quotations of or references to *avadāna*s.[1] The quotation under study in the present article (numbered Up 4069)[2] expands on the story, briefly mentioned in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*'s chapter on the elucidation of karma, of a monk who suffers a sex change for having insulted his fellow *saṅgha* members. The monk had made himself guilty of *saṅghastrīvādasamudācāra*, that is, the behaviour of calling other monks women, which he had done out of anger. The episode serves as an example of the workings of presently effective karma or karma to be experienced here and now (*dṛṣṭadharmavedanīyakarma*). The relevant discussion in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* reads:

> [Question:] Then, what kind of action should be understood as to be experienced here and now?

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1.   For an overview of this work and its significance for the study of the early Buddhist discourses, including a survey of previous literature, see Dhammadinnā 2012 and the introduction in Honjō 2014 (in Japanese). For a brief summary of the other *avadāna*-related quotations and a translation and study of one of these see Dhammadinnā 2016b.

2.   According to the convention adopted in Honjō 1984, the abbreviation Up stands for *Upāyikā* – as in *Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-ṭīkā* – and the number 4069 for canonical quotation no. 69 in the fourth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*.

[Answer:] An action [that brings] a fruit here and now by virtue of the distinctive nature of its field and its proclivity.

An action [of the type whose fruit is] to be experienced here and now occurs either by virtue of the distinctive nature of its field – for example, it is just as what has been heard about a transformation of [sexual] attributes due to the behaviour of calling those in the [monks'] community women[3] – or else by virtue of the distinctive nature of its proclivity – just as, for example, there is [the obtaining of] virility for a eunuch from desiring to free bulls from castration (lit. 'emasculation').[4]

In the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* Yaśomitra elaborates on *saṅghastrīvādasamudācāra* by reporting that a monk, just defeated in a legal procedure, had insulted the *saṅgha* saying: "You are all women" (*striyo yūyam*). Thus for this monk the presently effective karma had led to the disappearance of the male (sexual) characteristic and the manifestation of the female (sexual) characteristic, this being, more specifically, a case of presently effective karma by virtue of the distinctive quality of the karmic field represented by the Buddhist *saṅgha*, which had been the target of his insult. That is, the high 'karmic ranking' of the Buddhist monastic community was the determining factor for the immediate ripening of the bad karma.[5]

Śamathadeva provides additional details on the incident of the monk's *saṅghastrīvāda-samudācāra* by presenting the event as a past life remembered by the Buddha, who relates this *avadāna* to his monks. Here I translate his citation from the *bhāṣya*, followed by the narrative.

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3. The Sanskrit text does not explicitly indicate that a monk is responsible for the behaviour in question, a detail evident in the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *dge slong zhig gis* in D 4090, *mngon pa*, *ku*, 195a$_7$ and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *gu*, 226b$_3$, and in the two Chinese versions, 有一比丘 in T 1559 at T XXIX 238c$_6$ and 聞有苾芻 in T 1558 at T XXIX 82b$_{16}$. This statement is also taken up in two Abhidharma commentaries by Saṅghabhadra, T 1562 at T XXIX 571c$_{9–10}$ and T 1563 at T XXIX 876b$_{25–26}$. The string *thab mo brgal ba* in the Tibetan counterpart to *saṅghastrīvādasamudācāra*, *dge 'dun la bud med do zhes thab mo brgal ba* in D 4090, *mngon pa*, *ku*, 195a$_7$ and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *gu*, 226b$_3$, is lexically unclear; cf. also Hirakawa 1978: III 28. It could contain an old verbal form not otherwise attested in lexicography or else a scribal oversight for a form similar to *'thab mo 'gyed pa* 'to quarrel', in which case the Tibetan version would read "Just as, for example, when the sexual characteristics of a monk changed because during a quarrel [he called] those in the community [of monks] women", *dper na dge slong gzhig gis dge 'dun la bud med do zhes >thab mo 'gyed pa< las mtshan gyur to zhes grags pa lta bu'o*.

4. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on *Abhidharmakośa* IV.56, Pradhan 1967: 232,$_{5–9}$: *atha dṛṣṭadharmavedanīyaṃ kar-ma kīdṛśaṃ veditavyam? dṛṣṭadharmaphalaṃ karma kṣetrāśayaviśeṣataḥ. dṛṣṭadharmavedanīyaṃ karma kṣetraviśeṣād vā bhavati. yathā saṅghastrīvādasamudācārād vyañjanaparivṛttiḥ śrūyate. āśayaviśeṣād vā: yathā śaṇḍhasya gavām apuṃstvapratimokṣaṇāt puṃbhāvaḥ*; Tibetan translation in D 4090, *mngon pa*, *ku*, 195a$_6$_b$_1$ and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *gu*, 226b$_{1–3}$; Chinese translations in T 1559 (Paramārtha) at T XXIX 238c$_{4–9}$ and T 1558 (玄奘) at T XXIX 82b$_{12–20}$ (translated in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1924]: III 121). See also the commentarial explanation in Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Wogihara 1971b: 394,$_{9–16}$.

5. Wogihara 1971b: 394,$_{9–12}$: *saṅghastrīvādasamudācārād iti: bhikṣuṇā kila kenacid vyavahāraparājitena saṅghaḥ striyo yūyam iti samudācaritaḥ tasya dṛṣṭa eva dharme puruṣavyañjanam antarhitaṃ strīvyañjanaṃ ca prādurbhūtam iti. tad idaṃ kṣetraviśeṣād dṛṣṭadharmavedanīyaṃ bhavati*; see D 4092, *mgon po*, *ngu*, 46b$_{2–4}$ and P 5593, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *chu*, 52a$_{3–5}$. Alongside its ethical and karmic consequences, insulting speech, (*ūnamanuṣyavāda*) constitutes also an offence against the monastic code, rule *pāyantika* no. 2 in the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*s for monks.

Translation of Up 4069[6]

"Just as, for instance, when addressing the community of monks as 'women'."[7]

On the occasion when the words of the Fortunate One were dismissed by the monks of Kauśāmbī for three times, [other] monks enquired of the Buddha, the Fortunate One, the one who eliminates all doubts: "Because of what kind of action performed by the Tathāgata, due to the ripening of what action, has the Fortunate One's wholesome speech, beneficial speech, counsel fit to be accepted, been rejected for three times by the monks of Kauśāmbī?".

The Fortunate One explained: "Monks, [the result of the accumulation of deeds is to be received by the Tathāgata himself, the conditions have ripened – persisting almost like a flood – and surely have to be experienced. Who else would experience the deeds that were earlier performed and accumulated? Monks, the deeds that are performed and accumulated do not ripen in the exterior earth element, water element, fire element and wind element. On the contrary, the deeds that are performed and accumulated, be they good or bad, ripen in the aggregates, the elements and the sense bases that are appropriated.

Not even in hundreds of millions of aeons

Do deeds dwindle away.

When their accumulation has been reached and the time has come,]

Their fruit matures for embodied beings.[8]

Monks, in the bygone past, a Tathāgata, an arhat, a Rightly Fully Awakened One, accomplished in knowledge and conduct, a Well Gone One, a knower of the world, an unsurpassed leader of those to be disciplined, a teacher of gods and humans, a Buddha, a Fortunate One, a Rightly Fully Awakened One by the name of Ajita had appeared in the world.

At that time I was engaged in the practice of a bodhisattva, being the son of a wealthy man. When the intention for unsurpassed awakening arose, I went forth. Having

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[6.] For full references to the Tibetan text see the collation given as an appendix to this article; cf. also Honjō 1984: 64–65. For a Japanese translation see Honjō 2014: II 583–584.

[7.] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* Pradhan 1967: 232,$_{7-8}$ on *Abhidharmakośa* IV.56: *yathā saṅghastrīvādasamudā-cārād vyañjanaparivṛttiḥ śrūyate*; see D 4090, *mngon pa, ku*, 195a$_7$ and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, gu*, 226b$_3$; T 1559 at T XXIX 238c$_{6-7}$ and T 1558 at T XXIX 82b$_{16-18}$ (translation in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1924]: III 121).

[8.] The text of Up 4069 reads: *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa dge slong dag de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyis te sngon gzhan gyis byas shing bsags pa dag gzhan su* (G: *sum*) *zhig gis nyams su myong bar 'gyur ba zhes bya ba nas lus can rnams la 'bras bur smin zhes bya ba'i bar du'o*. As signaled by the formula "from … up to …" (*nas ... bar du*), this is an abbreviated version of a module common in Mūlasarvāstivāda narratives (the module does not occur elsewhere in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*). The integration supplied in the translation within square brackets is based on an occurrence of the same module for instance in the *Avadānaśataka* XVI, Speyer 1902–1906: I 91,$_{5-12}$ (= D 343, *mdo sde, am*, 48b$_{1-4}$ and P 1012, *mdo sna tshogs, mdo, u*, 50b$_5$–51a$_1$), which appears to be the nearest Mūlasarvāstivāda parallel to Up 4069 in terms of closeness of wording; see also *Divyā-vadāna* II, Cowell and Neil 1886: 54,$_{1-10}$. For an exhaustive list of the occurrence of the formula see Hiraoka 2002: 167–168. There are several parallel fixed formulas in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the *Avadānaśataka*, pointing to proximity of transmission within the Mūlasarvāstivāda textual tradition; see also the next passage in the *avadāna* quotation which continues to parallel the *Avadānaśataka*. In fact, one of the *avadāna* quotations in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, Up 2055, is cited and referenced directly from the *Avadānaśataka* (XCVIII); for more details see Dhammadinnā 2016b, and for a survey of the literature and discussion on the Mūlasarvāstivāda affiliation of the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Avadānaśataka*(s), see Dhammadinnā 2015: 491 with note 22. Other occurrences of the module are, e.g., in the *Kṣudraka-vastu* of the Mūlasar-vāstivāda *Vinaya*, D 6, *'dul ba, tha*, 113b$_5$–114a$_1$ and P 1035, *'dul ba, de*, 109a$_{2-6}$ (translated in Dhammadinnā 2016a: 28; the module is abbreviated and marked accordingly in the Chinese parallel, T 1451 at T XXIV 249a$_{25-27}$, translated in Dhammadinnā 2016a: 32), and in the *Saṅghabheda-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Gnoli 1978: II 1,$_{11}$–2,$_4$ (= D 1, *'dul ba, nga*, 109b$_7$–110a$_4$ and P 1030, *'dul ba, ce*, 105a$_{2-6}$).

gone forth, I became versed in the Tripiṭaka.[9] Afterwards, there occurred a litigation in the community of monks. I caused the litigation to increase more and more.[10] Eventually, I was expelled by a monk reciter of the *sūtra*s,[11] and the litigation was settled. I addressed the community of monks [saying:] 'Is this not women's way of settling a quarrel?'. On account of that deed of abusive speech my male faculty vanished and the female faculty appeared.

For five hundred births I continued to be born as a woman until femaleness was reversed through the power of the Rightly Fully Awakened One Ratnaśikhin and I regained maleness.[12]

At that time, on that occasion, when I was the son of a wealthy man and practicing as a bodhisattva, in spite of having become versed in the Tripiṭaka, I spoke abusively to the monastic community. On account of that deed, [now] the monks of Kauśāmbī dismissed my words for three times."

The same is versified in a story in the *Bahubuddha-avadāna* of the *Kṣudraka*:

"Afterwards [in the dispensation] of the Buddha Ajita
I became versed in the Tripiṭaka.
When [there was] a litigation in the community of monks
I called the [male] monastic community women.
By performing a deed of abusive speech,
I got into the condition of being a woman.
And, once again, by virtue of a faithful mind,
[Later] I changed back into the male state."

A Mūlasarvāstivāda *Kṣudraka*: tracing the source of the *avadāna*

At the conclusion of the quoted excerpt, Śamathadeva states that the same subject is found in verse in a story located in the *sangs rgyas mang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa*, a *Bahubuddha-avadāna* (?) of the *Kṣudraka* (*phran tshegs*).[13] The term *rtogs pa brjod pa*, which I have rendered above as 'story', literally means the 'presentation' or 'account' of '(spiritual) realisations', that is, an account of the heroic actions of its protagonist(s); normally it denotes an *avadāna* but it may also refer to a *jātaka*.[14] This reference could be to a passage located in a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* or *Kṣudraka-āgama* transmitted by Mūlasarvāstivāda reciters or else in the *Kṣudraka* section of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in the recension to which Śamathadeva had access. Both options would be in theory possible in view of the natural placement of such an *avadāna* within a *Vinaya* narrative or in a *Kṣudraka* scriptural collection that would be open

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[9.] *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1411 in Sakaki 1916: 109 and no. 1415 in Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 75 has *tripiṭakaṃ* for *sde snod gsum*, thus *sde snod gsum pa* should represent *traipiṭaka*.

[10.] Honjō 2014: I 584 renders this passage as かれのために、その靜論がますます拡大した, "By him, the litigation increased more and more", i.e., "a litigation that greatly increased because of me", understanding *des* as a demonstrative pronoun referring to "him" (かれのために), in the sense of the Buddha who is relating his own past-life story. I render *des* in *des rtsod pa de cher 'phel bar byas so* in the first person for better readability; in fact the Sanskrit text itself might have used the pronoun *tena* 'by him' as if the Buddha is referring to himself once upon a time, when he was "that monk".

[11.] *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 5141 in Sakaki 1916: 339 and no. 5138 in Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 249 gives *sūtradhara* for *mdo (sde) 'dzin pa*.

[12.] The text (all editions) has the instrumental/ergative mark *gyis* after the name of the Samyaksambuddha Ratnaśikhin, *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rin chen gtsug tor can gyis*.

[13.] On Tibetan titles representing *bahu°* or *°bahu* (*mang po*) in *bahudhātuka* or *dhātubahutaka* (including occurrences of *khams mang po pa'i mdo* in Up 1032, 2017, 3099 and 6039), cf. Skilling 1994: 772 and 774 and Anālayo 2011: II 645 notes 47–48.

[14.] *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1273 in Sakaki 1916: 97 and no. 1278 in Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 68 gives *avadānam* for *rtogs pa brjod pa'i sde*.

to the inclusion of *avadāna*-type material. Considering Śamathadeva's concern with providing canonical sources, it is to be expected that – unless otherwise indicated – the *avadāna* should be located somewhere in a Tripiṭaka rather than a narrative collection not included in it. (Here I use the term 'canonical' as a shorthand for texts included in the Tripiṭaka collection Śamathadeva relied upon. In this I follow along the lines of the Buddhist tradition's own recognition of Tripiṭaka(s) as 'the canon' of the Buddha's Word recited and collected at the First Saṅgīti.)

The *avadāna* recorded by Śamathadeva explains the Buddha's present inability to settle the quarrel that had broken out among the monks of Kauśāmbī, who ignored the Buddha's admonition. Other known versions of the story of the Kauśāmbī quarrel are obvious options in an attempt to locate a possible parallel to the *avadāna* excerpt in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, yet a comparable narrative is not found in any of them. Nevertheless, the story of the quarrel does involve, in some of its versions, another tale of a past life of the Buddha. Several *Vinaya* and discourse versions report how a crown prince forgave the cruel killing of his father by another king who had conquered their kingdom.[15] This is the story of Prince 'Long Life' or 'Long Lived' (Dīghāyu or Dīghāvu in Pali, corresponding to Sanskrit Dīrghāyus). In most versions of the account of the Kauśāmbī quarrel this functions as a parable to instil an attitude of patience.[16] In the Pali *Jātaka* collection and in a Chinese *jātaka* compilation it takes the form of a past life of the Buddha.[17] These two versions, however, disagree on whom they identify with the Bodhisattva.[18]

Regardless of such variations, the presence of this *jātaka* in connection with the Kauśāmbī quarrel testifies to a tendency to associate past-life narratives to this event, which is similarly evident in the *avadāna* transmitted in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*. The case of the tale of Prince Long Life in some versions of the account of the Kauśāmbī quarrel illustrates a pattern where a parable meant for homiletic purposes becomes a past-life story of the Buddha. It remains open to question whether the same might explain the incident of addressing the community of monks as women cited by Śamathadeva as an *avadāna* connected to the Kauśāmbī quarrel.

Besides, the topic of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*'s *avadāna* can be related to the theme of the Buddha's past bad karma and its effects to be felt in his last life, a theme especially prominent in literature of the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism, particularly evident within, but not limited to, the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.[19] Nevertheless, incidents involving

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[15.] The tale is studied in detail by Anālayo 2010: 65–67, who suggests that it was probably not a *jātaka* from the outset.

[16.] MĀ 72 at T I 535b$_{14}$, EĀ 24.8 at T II 629a$_1$, T 212 at T IV 694c$_{18}$, Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* in T 1428 at T XXII 882b$_6$, Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* in T 1421 at T XXII 160a$_5$, Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin I 349,$_5$ (here and in the next footnote the references are to the conclusion of the tale, taken from Anālayo 2010: 65–67).

[17.] Jā 371 at Jā III 213,$_5$ (translated in Francis and Neil 1897: III 39–140), Jā 428 at Jā III 490,$_{10}$ (translated in Francis and Neil 1897: III 289–291) and T 152 at T III 6a$_{14}$ (cf. also T 161 at T III 387b$_{21}$) (the references are to the translation of the entire tales).

[18.] Cf. Dhammadinnā 2015–2016: 35.

[19.] To remain on topic of the Bodhisattva's bad karma, there would arise a (scholastic) question as to whether, in the present occasion, the Bodhisattva was speaking falsely, since he knew very well the monks were not women, and was at the very least trying to defame them. According to the Pali *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, Jā 431 at Jā III 499,$_{5-8}$: *bodhisattassa hi ekaccesu ṭhānesu pāṇātipāto pi adinnādānam pi kāmesumicchācāro pi surāmera-yamajjapānam pi hoti* (E^e: *hosi*, but *hoti* recorded as a variant reading, p. 499 note 13) *yeva, atthabhedaka-visaṃvādanaṃ purakkhatvā, musāvādo nāma na hoti*, "the Bodhisattva on certain occasions may kill, steal, engage in sexual misconduct and drink intoxicants; but he cannot, preferring to hurt the welfare [of others] by lying, speak falsely" (translation with modifications after Ānandajoti 2012: 7; cf. also Francis and Neil 1897: III 296).

an insult by addressing fellow monks as women leading to a change of sex are, as far as I know, unattested outside the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda textual context. This includes not only Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* with its *bhāṣya* and the commentaries depending on them, including Yaśomitra's *Spuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the two Abhidharma commentaries by Saṅghabhadra available in Chinese translation mentioned above, but also a wealth of other sources that I take into account in the following pages.

Now the *avadāna* quotation simply shows that the bad karma of the Bodhisattva was reversed in the course of the aeon when he was pursuing the bodhisattva under the Buddha Ratnaśikhin. The last verse of the stanza quoted by Śamathadeva at the end of the *avadāna* excerpt speaks of a mind imbued with confidence (presumably in the Buddha Ratnaśikhin), which in my translation above I rendered with 'faithful mind' (*sems rab dad pa yis*). This is what effected the regaining of maleness, thus marking the final purification of the unwholesome karma in question in the presence of the former Buddha Ratnaśikhin or through his medium.

This reference appears to be to the tale of a meeting of the Bodhisattva, who at that time appears as a woman, with a former Buddha, reported in a number of texts:[20] a discourse in the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*,[21] a story included the 'Collection on the Six Perfections' (六度集經),[22] and one of the chapters in the so-called 'Scripture on the Wise and the Fool', preserved in Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian translation.[23] In another parallel version, the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection transmitted in Burma,[24] the woman does not get to meet the Buddha in person but the story unfolds via the agency of a monk who functions as an intermediary. The woman is a princess in all versions except the 'Collection on the Six Perfections', where she is a destitute widow.

The Buddha of the past is named Ratnaśikhin in the 'Scripture on the Wise and the Fool'[25] and Porāṇa Dīpaṅkara in the *Padīpadāna-jātaka*,[26] whereas he is not mentioned by name in the 'Collection on the Six Perfections'. In the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse the name of the Buddha is represented with the pair of characters 寶藏, the first of which is a standard Chinese rendering of *ratna-* 'jewel', and the second corresponds with the senses 'storage', 'container' etc. of Sanskrit *garbha-*, thus appearing to be a literal translation of Ratnagarbha.[27] A Buddha by this name is often listed alongside Dīpaṅkara to form a lineage of nine

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[20]. For translations and a study of the various versions in addition to Anālayo 2015 and Dhammadinnā 2015 (with references to previous literature), see Konczak 2012 [2014]: 63–66 (§ 2.6.3), a contribution I was not aware of when I wrote my article published as Dhammadinnā 2015.

[21]. EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a$_{26}$–39a$_7$ (translated in Anālayo 2015: 106–113).

[22]. Story no. 73 in T 152 at T III 38c$_4$–39a$_7$ (translated in Chavannes 1910: I 263–266 and Shyu 2008: 180–183).

[23]. Story no. 20 in T 202 at T IV 370c$_{22}$–371c$_{25}$; story no. 37 in D 341, *mdo sde*, *a*, 265b$_5$–268b$_1$ and P 1008, *mdo sna tshogs*, *hu*, 270a$_6$–273a$_3$ (edited by Schmidt 1843: I 261,$_3$–266,$_7$ and Moritaka 1970: 487, and translated into German by Schmidt 1843: II 327–333 and Japanese by Moritaka 1970: 480–489); for the Mongolian version see the translation by Frye 1981: 196–199 and Dhammadinnā 2015: 492–493 note 24 (all references are to the entire tale).

[24]. Jaini 1981: 396,$_1$–402,$_3$.

[25]. T 202 at T IV 371b$_{23}$: 寶髻; D 341, *mdo sde*, *a*, 267b$_2$ and P 1008, *mdo sna tshogs*, *hu*, 272a$_4$: *rin chen gtsug*; Frye 1981: 197: "Jewel Tuft" (in all cases given as the name of the new-born prince who then became the Buddha). I would like to take the opportunity to correct an oversight in Dhammadinnā 2015/2016: 487, where I erroneously indicated that the "princess named Munī … receives a prediction to Buddhahood by the former Buddha Dīpaṅkara". The Buddha who gives the prediction is obviously Ratnaśikhin, while the monk who offered the lamps featured in the tale is a past life of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara.

[26]. Jaini 1981: 397,$_4$.

[27]. EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a$_{28ult}$: 寶藏如來 and 757b$_{8ult}$: 寶藏佛.

(rather than the more common seven) Buddhas. In the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, for example, a bodhisattva named Samudrareṇu, who is to become the Buddha Śākyamuni in the future, makes a vow in front of the Buddha Ratnagarbha related to the duration of his *saddharma* after his Parinirvāṇa as a future Samyaksambuddha.[28] In fact the same pair of characters appears alongside Dīpaṅkara and the seven former Buddhas also in another discourse in the same *Ekottarika-āgama*, a collection known for the complex vicissitudes of its translation and its somewhat idiosyncratic renderings of Indic proper names.[29] This discourse includes several Mahāyāna elements and signs of later development, in fact it may contain material that is not original to the Indic *Ekottarika-āgama* collection on which the translation was ostensibly based.[30] Thus in principle the name 寶藏 in the *Ekottarika-āgama* story of the Buddha's past life as a princess could be either an idiosyncratic rendering pointing to Ratnaśikhin, as attested in the other versions,[31] or else represent Ratnagarbha,[32] whose presence in cosmological schemas was already common at the time of the Indic transmission as well as Chinese translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[33]

Whereas in the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse, the 'Collection on the Six Perfections', the Chinese version of the 'Scripture on the Wise and the Fool' and the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* the woman receives a prediction that in future she will be given a prediction to Buddhahood, in the Tibetan and Mongolian 'Scripture on the Wise and the Fool' she receives an actual prediction to Buddhahood, as the future Buddha Śākyamuni.

The motif of sex change appears in the Chinese version of the 'Scripture on the Wise and the Fool', where the woman protagonist is transformed into a male as soon as she receives a prediction from the former Buddha. The motif also recurs in the 'Collection on the Six Perfections', where she changes to male after having been supernaturally rescued from her attempted suicide by the Buddha, who then gives the 'predicted prediction'[34] to Buddhahood to the woman who has now become a man. However, in the Tibetan and Mongolian 'Scripture on the Wise and the Fool' the woman does not undergo a change of sex. As a result, here a female receives the prediction to realise Buddhahood in the future.

In passing, the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* remarks that the woman's birth as female was the result of a previously performed unwholesome deed.[35] This karmic reading could simply voice a negative appraisal of female birth on the part of the compilers of the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* that is evident throughout this version of the story, and it is difficult to determine if it should be considered an indirect reference to a specific past life of the woman as a man who committed the unwholesome deed in question, that is, the past life as the monk who insulted

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[28] Sanskrit in Yamada 1968: II 262,$_{9-11}$; Tibetan in D 112, *mdo sde, cha*, and P 780, *mdo sna tshogs, cu*, 269a$_{6-7}$; Chinese in T 158 at T III 270a$_{3-4}$ (an anonymous translation from the Jin 晉 period, AD 350–431) and T 157 at T III 211b$_{26-27}$ (Dharmakṣema, translated AD 414–421); see Nattier 1991: 84–85 and 49 with note 59 for a discussion and translation of this passage.

[29] EĀ 26.9 at T II 641a$_{18}$, already noted by Yamada 1968: I 143 note 2.

[30] The *Cunda-sutta*, SN 47.13 at SN V 161,$_{18}$, a discourse that is to an extent a parallel, or, more accurately, the Pali counterpart of a textual antecedent on which the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse seemingly expands, does not have a corresponding part.

[31] So Anālayo 2015: 106 note 39 with reference to the present occurrence, following an indication in Akanuma 1929: 543 (though not referred to the name of a Buddha). On Ratnaśikhin's position see also, e.g., de La Vallée Poussin 1909: 739, Kloetzli 1983: 85, Chanwit Tudkeao 2012 and Tournier 2018.

[32] Yamada 1968: I 142–143 opts for Ratnagarbha with reference to the present occurrence.

[33] The text presently included in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, based on a text orally recited by Dharmanandin, is "for the most part … the translation done by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念) in 384 C.E."; see Anālayo 2016b: 1 with references to earlier studies.

[34] In the words of Derris 2008: 36.

[35] Jaini 1981: 398,$_{10}$; cf. also Anālayo 2015: 114 note 57.

the monastic community as told in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*.[36]

The details in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* version (name of the former Buddha encountered by the woman, called Ratnaśikhin; change of sex under the former Buddha) do not allow to pinpoint a single close parallel among the versions mentioned so far. This seems to an extent natural with narrative materials being subject to variation, fluidity in transmission and cross-contamination. Nevertheless, it can be safely concluded that the *Abhidharma-kośopāyikā-ṭīkā* implicitly cross-references to this story of the Buddha's past life as a woman who receives a prediction to Buddhahood under the former Buddha Ratnaśikhin and who thereby undergoes a change of sex upon receiving the prediction to Buddhahood.

Now according to the storyline of the *avadāna* quotation in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, the Buddha-to-be's transformation into woman and his five hundred successive female births take place after the commencement of the path of a bodhisattva, in that they occur after the arising of the thought of awakening, the *bodhicitta*, at the time when a Buddha by the name of Ajita had appeared in the world. The situation is reversed when the Bodhisattva changes back to male in the aeon he was practicing during the dispensation of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin. This marks the end of the fruition of the negative karma committed by insulting the monks and at the same time brings the Bodhisattva one step closer to the gaining of his final birth and attainment of Buddhahood.

This turning point is also echoed by the great Prajñāpāramitā commentary generally known as **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (大智度論), which in its periodisation of the career of Buddhas into specific time blocks states that, at the time of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin, Śākyamuni became freed from rebirth as a female:[37]

> For the Buddha Śākyamuni, the first innumerable aeon goes from the former Buddha Śākyamuni to the Buddha Ratnaśikhin. From that time on, the Bodhisattva was freed from all female births.

With permanent liberation from female birth the first period in a three-aeon long spiritual career came to its conclusion. A similar timeline is echoed by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[38]

The events recounted in the *avadāna* quotation need to be positioned within the Buddhological map presupposed by the tradition underlying the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, bearing in mind that the existence of Buddhological debates even within the Sarvāstivāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda scholastic traditions, let alone in comparison with those of other textual communities, advises against expecting unfailing consistency between models presupposed by stories and scholastic maps. In fact, rigorous uniformity is not to be sought when placing the voices of narratives in conversation with those of scholastic texts.

That being said, according to the map sketched in the Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, after the present Buddha Śākyamuni had made his initial resolution at the feet of the former Buddha by the same name, he then went on to render service and pay respect to

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[36.] The Pali *jātaka* seemingly shares with the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*'s *avadāna* another narrative detail, yet deployed in a different way. The monk who in the *Padīpadāna-jātaka* version receives a prediction to Buddhahood is praised as being highly accomplished, having memorised the Three Piṭakas among other achievements. This echoes the qualification of transmitter of the Three Piṭakas of the monk in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*. However the fact that a monk is a reciter of the Three Piṭakas is such a standard trope that it can hardly be used to draw any conclusion, thus the presence of this shared but variedly applied element could be just coincidental.

[37.] T 1509 at T XXV 87a$_{12-13}$: 釋迦文佛，從過去釋迦文佛到剌那尸棄佛，為初阿僧祇；是中菩薩永離女人身 (in the Yuan 元, Ming 明, and Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 editions collated in the CBETA the name of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin appears as 到罽那尸棄, with 剌 for 罽); translated in Lamotte 1949: I 248.

[38.] Wogihara 1971a: 94$_{4-7}$: *bodhisattvaḥ prathamasyaiva kalpāsaṃkhyeyasyātyayāt strībhāvaṃ vijahāti bodhi-maṇḍaniṣadanam upādāya na punar jātu strī bhavati.*

seventy-five thousand Buddhas for the duration of an incalculable aeon, which culminated with the arising in the world of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin. The Śākyamuni-to-be continued to render his service and pay respect to seventy-six thousand Buddhas for the duration of another incalculable aeon, which ended with the appearance of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. Again, the Bodhisattva continued to render service and pay respect to seventy-seven thousand Buddhas for one more incalculable aeon, at the end of which the Buddha Vipaśyin arose in the world.[39] The account in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is somewhat different. The names of the Buddhas to whom the Bodhisattva renders service are different, although the basic scheme of three aeons is the same as that in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and other sources.[40]

A more significant hint for tracing the *avadāna* quotation within a Mūlasarvāstivāda canonical transmission comes from verses in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* that correspond with the stanzas quoted by Śamathadeva.[41] The lines are part of a series of stanzas spoken to Ānanda in which the Buddha gives an exposition of when, in which way, and under how many Buddhas he had rendered service in former lives. Here the bad deed of calling monks women is the only case of past bad conduct, whereas all the other lines praise the good deeds of the Bodhisattva. In this genealogy of Buddhas, the Chinese version has Ratnaśikhin, but the Tibetan *Indradhvaja or *Indradhvajamuni,[42] and the former Buddha under whose dispensation the Bodhisattva had become learned in the Three Piṭakas is named Aparājita ([*sangs rgyas*] *gzhan gyis mi thul ba*) in the Tibetan version and Ajita (無勝

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[39] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on *Abhidharmakośa* IV.110b-d (underlined), Pradhan 1967: 266,12–267,1: *yāvat sarvasattvānāṃ karmādhipatyena trisāhasramahāsāhasrako loko 'bhinivartata ity apare. buddhā eva ca tatparimāṇajñā ity apare. atha bodhisattvabhūto bhagavān kiyato buddhān paryupāsayām āsa. prathame kalpāsaṃkhyeye pañcasaptatisahasrāṇi dvitīye ṣaṭsaptatiṃ tṛtīye saptasaptatim … asaṃkhyeyatrayāntyajāḥ vipaśyīdīpakṛdratnaśikhī. ratnaśikhini samyaksaṃbuddhe prathamo 'saṃkhyeyaḥ samāptaḥ. dīpaṅkare bhagavati dvitīyaḥ. vipaśyini tathāgate tṛtīyaḥ. sarveṣāṃ tu teṣām. śākyamuniḥ purā. śākyamunir nāma samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ pūrvaṃ babhūva. yatra bhagavatā bodhisattvabhūtenādyaṃ praṇidhānaṃ kṛtam evaṃprakāra evāhaṃ buddho bhaveyam iti*; T 1559 at T XXIX 249b22–c5 and T 1558 at T XXIX 95a14–b3 (translated in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1924]: III 227–228; D 4090, *mngon pa*, *ku*, 220a5ult and P 5590, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *gu*, 257a5ult). Cf. also, e.g., the *Vibhāṣā* treatise, T 1545 at T XXVII 892c9ult, Saṅghabhadra's Abhidharma commentary in T 1562 at T XXIX 591a24–b11 and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* referred to above, T 1509 at T XXV 87a4ult (translated in Lamotte 1949: I 248–249). Wangchuk 2007: 100–102 observes that "if the Buddha-to-be had indeed accumulated all the prerequisites necessary for becoming a *buddha* during these three immeasurable aeons, he must have, according to the *Abhidharmakośa*, become a *buddha* sometime shortly thereafter. But since he is said to have become a buddha only much later, this would imply that there was an idle period of time during which he did not exert himself towards his awakening". He further indicates that such an implication obviously posed a scholastic problem to the tradition, with different positions taken by different schools and exegetical perspectives.

[40] D 1, *'dul ba*, *kha*, 275b1–4 and P 1030, *'dul ba*, *ge*, 254b6–8. The discrepancy has already been noted by Wangchuk 2007: 101, who observes that the presentation in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is identified by Daśa-balaśrīmitra as being that of the Sāṃmitīya school. On the Sāṃmitīyas see now Skilling 2016.

[41] D 1, *'dul ba*, *kha*, 276a4–5 and P 1030, *'dul ba*, *ge*, 255a8–b2: *sangs rgyas gzhan gyis mi thul ba'i || nga sngon sde snod gsum pa las || dge slong dge 'dun rtsod pa la || dge 'dun la ni bud med smras || tshig gi nyes byas byung bas na || mod la bud med nyid du gyur || slar yang sems dad byas pas ni || skyes pa nyid ni thob par gyur || sngon gyi skye ba gzhan dag tu || nga ni rgyal po'i sras gyur tshe || gcen po rin cen gtsug tor la || mar me'i sbyin pas mchod byas shing* (translated in Yao 2013: 445–446); T 1448 at T XXIV 73c22–27: 無勝佛世時，我曾作三藏；共大眾相競，惡罵僧為女。由斯口惡業，變我身為女；却迴心淨已，還變為丈夫．乃往過去世，曾為王子時；寶髻佛兄弟，我以燈明施. The text is missing in the Gilgit manuscript and in the newly identified Sanskrit manuscript of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*. I am indebted to Yao Fumi 八尾 史 for kindly bringing this occurrence as well as the Tocharian manuscript in Ogihara 2016 to my attention.

[42] D 1, *'dul ba*, *kha*, 275b3 and P 1030, *'dul ba*, *ge*, 254b7: *dbang po'i rgyal mtshan thub pa* for *Indradhvaja (as reconstructed in Yao 2013: 444 note 5) or *Indradhvajamuni (Wangchuk 2007: 101), and T 1448 at T XXIV 73c27: 寶髻.

[佛]) in Chinese, similar to *mi pham ma* for Ajita used in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*,[43] with the two names obviously referring to the same Buddha.[44]

Two distinct past Samyaksambuddhas by the name of Aparājita(dhvaja) and Ajita are known, if merely by name, from the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda *Vinaya*, where they appear side by side in the context of the *Bahubuddhaka-sūtra* (II) listing of which particular Buddha in turn predicted which Buddha, a listing that parallels the just mentioned Buddhological genealogy in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*. The lineage of Buddhas is announced to Ānanda by the present Buddha Śākyamuni, with the Buddha Aparājita being proclaimed by the Buddha Dhvajamaparājita.[45] In the *Bahubuddhaka-sūtra* (I[B]) of the same *Mahāvastu*, the Buddha recounts to Maudgalyāyana that in the past he had rendered homage to the Buddha Dhvajamaparājita together with his community of disciples for an entire aeon.[46] The Buddha Aparājitadhvaja also appears in the prologue to the *Mahāvastu*, the *Nidānanamaskāra*, where the life at the time of the Buddha Aparājitadhvaja covers the first period of the Bodhisattva's planting the seeds of goodness (*avaropitakuśalamūla*) corresponding to the first cluster of deeds (*cārya*s) of his epochal career.[47] Immediately after Aparājitadhvaja follows the former Śākyamuni, under whom the Bodhisattva's first formulation of the aspiration to Buddhahood takes place according to this tradition.[48]

From the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda back to the Mūlasarvāstivāda textual world, the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* mentions the Bodhisattva's lamp offering to the Buddha Ratnaśikhin (a motif also found in the narrative counterparts mentioned above), but does not, however, explicitly connect it to the story of sex change. Moreover, the Bodhisattva as the donor to Ratnaśikhin appears here as the son, not the daughter, of a king. A direct parallel to the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* stanza that speaks of a king's daughter's (rather than of a king's son) offering to the Buddha Ratnaśikhin as the conclusion of the first aeon of the Bodhisattva's epochal career is encapsulated in a Sanskrit verse written above a mural painting in cave temple no. 9 in Bäzäklik, a settlement in the Greater Sarvāstivāda Tocharian-speaking region of Turfan.[49] In

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[43.] D 1, *'dul ba, kha*, 276a$_4$ and P 1030, *'dul ba, ge*, 255a$_8$; T 1448 at T XXIV 73c$_{22}$.

[44.] Besides, normally *ajita* features as an epithet of the future Buddha Maitreya; for occurrences of the name Ajita see Anālayo 2010: 113 and Anālayo 2014b: 21–22. For an inscriptional witness Poonacha 2011: 43 (plate CXXVIID) and Nakanishi and von Hinüber 2014: 79. *Aparājita* also appears as a Buddha epithet, see, e.g., the *Mahāvastu* in Senart 1890: II 264,$_{14}$, II 267,$_{20}$ etc.

[45.] Senart 1897: III 230,$_{10–11}$: *dhvajamaparājita ānanda tathāgato aparājitaṃ tathāgataṃ vyākārṣīt. aparājito ānanda tathāgato supratāpaṃ tathāgataṃ vyākārṣīt* (translated in Jones 1956: III 224); see Tournier 2017: 105, 180 (tableau 2.5), 132–133 and 181; cf. also Edgerton 1953: II 44, s.v. Aparājita. On the imperfect but well attested identity between Aparājitadhvaja and Dhvajamaparājita see Tournier 2017: 181 with note 201. I refer to the *Bahubuddhaka-sūtra*s of the *Mahāvastu* on the basis of Tournier 2017: 127–143.

[46.] Senart 1882: I 60,$_{10}$–61,$_2$ (new edition in Tournier 2017: 445–446; translated in Jones 1949: III 50 and Tournier 2017: 491).

[47.] Senart 1882: I 1,$_{4–6}$: *namo aparājitadhvajāya tathāgatāyārhate samyaksaṃbuddhāya. yasyāntike 'nenaiva bhagavatā śākyamuninā prathamaṃ kuśalamūlāni avaropitāni rājñā cakravartibhūtena adau prakṛticaryāyāṃ pravartamānena* (new edition in Tournier 2017: 46; translated in Jones 1949: I 1 and Tournier 2017: 475). See the discussion in Tournier 2017: 191–192, 194, 203–204, 205 (tableau 2.7), 233, 274 note 73 and 207 note 275.

[48.] Tournier 2017: 233.

[49.] Grünwedel 1924: II 81: *rājña sutāham abhūvan pūrvam anyāsu jātiṣu | bhr(āta)raṃ Ratnaśikhi saṃdipa-taila upasthitaḥ prathamāsaṃkhyeyāvasāna*, first published by von Le Coq 1913: plate 25. Lüders 1913: 876 note 2 reads *sutāha* as standing for *sutoham*, with *suto* 'son' instead of *sutā* 'daughter', which finds support in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*'s *rgyal po'i sras* in D 1, *'dul ba, kha*, 276a$_{4–5}$ and 王子時 in T 1448 at T XXIV 73c$_{26–27}$, and also corrects Ratnaśikhin *saṃdipataila* to Ratnaśikhin *sadīpataila*. I hesitate to emend the text to *suto*, all the more so in view of the comparatively numerous variations that characterise the transmission of the different versions of this and similar stories; on the significance of such variations see Dhammadinnā 2015 and 2015/2016. The original reading is also preserved by Murakami 1984: 6 ("Long long ago, in another birth, I was a princess, Offered oil of a lamp to my brother Ratnaśikhin"), 169 and 175, Pinault 1993-1994: 194 ("Moi, je

addition, a Tocharian manuscript fragment corresponding to the passage in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* verses includes two elements that are absent in the latter but present in the *Abhidharma-kośopāyikā-ṭīkā*'s prose: the Bodhisattva's birth as a woman for five hundred lives and the recovery of male sex through the Buddha Ratnaśikhin.[50]

Interestingly, the set of stanzas in the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* concludes with the footer "the 'Chapter on Many Buddhas' is completed" (*sangs rgyas mang po'i skabs rdzogs so*).[51] This clearly echoes the indication provided by Śamathadeva after the prose excerpt from the *avadāna* by way of sourcing the subsequent stanzas: "The same is versified in a story in the '*Avadāna* of Many Buddhas' (*sangs rgyas mang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa*; **Bahubuddha-avadāna* ?) of the *Kṣudraka*". That is, Śamathadeva was aware of and quoting from at least two sources: an unnamed prose source (an *avadāna* transmitted within the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* corpus ?) and a **Bahubuddha-avadāna* (?) of the *Kṣudraka* in verse. The nature of the relationship between the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*'s 'Chapter on Many Buddhas' and the '*Avadāna* of Many Buddhas' in the *Kṣudraka* cannot be established. However, as seen above, the existence of both prose and verse references to the story is firmly attested in a range of texts circulating within Mūlasarvāstivāda communities.

In conclusion, the textual network that emerges from the juxtaposition of the sources surveyed in the foregoing pages reflects a diversity of environments where the story cited in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and the Buddhological model it presupposes were known. Such network puts the framing of the tale as an *avadāna* into a broader textual horizon. In fact, the circulation of the tale of the past life of the Buddha as a woman and her change of sex within the Sarvāstivāda or, more precisely, Mūlasarvāstivāda world, have long been noted, respectively, by Lüders (1913) and Huber (1914: 9–14).[52]

*Avadāna*s are basically multi-life stories of the Bodhisattva's path, belonging to the genre of 'literatures of the path', whose production and circulation increased exponentially in the course of the Middle Period of Buddhism in India.[53] A keen interest in such literature of the path is a key feature of the *Kṣudraka* (or *Khuddaka*) collections, which include discourses of the Buddha on his past deeds, the previous births of the Bodhisattva as well as various forms of praise of the Buddha.[54] Tradition itself was aware of this feature of the *Kṣudraka*: Śākyamuni's course as a Bodhisattva across the three incalculable aeons prior to the achievement of supreme awakening is expressly mentioned as the focus of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* in the Chinese commentary on the *Ekottarika-āgama* (增一阿含經疏, T 1507) and its literary antecedent, the 'Narrative of the Compilation of the Three *Piṭaka*s and of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*' (撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T 2026), an account of the First Saṅgīti relating the

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fus une fille de roi, antérieurement dans d'autres naissances, j'ai honoré mon frère Ratnaśikhin avec une lampe à huile") and Konczak 2012 [2014]: 246 ("Früher, in anderen Geburten, war ich eine Königstochter, Ich verehrte meinen Bruder Ratnaśikhin mit Lampenöl"), whereas Grünwedel 1924: II 81 ("Früher, in anderen Geburten, war ich der Sohn eines Königs. Ich verehrte meinen Bruder Ratnaśikhin mit einer Öllampe") and Chanwit Tud-keao 2012: 53 follow Lüders 1913: 876 ("Früher in anderen Geburten war ich der Sohn eines Königs. Ich verehrte meinen Bruder Ratnaśikhin mit einer Öllampe").

50. Fragment B400a₁–b₃ in Ogihara 2016: 216.

51. D 1, *'dul ba*, *kha*, 279b₄ and P 1030, *'dul ba*, *ge*, 258b₄; T 1448 at T XXIV 76a₁: 已上諸佛名. On the **Bahu-buddhādhikāra* of the *Bhaiṣajya-vastu* see also Tournier 2017: 133–134.

52. See also the English summary in Murakami 1984: 4–8.

53. See Dhammadinnā 2015/2016: 36 with note 7.

54. On the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* and the *Khuddaka-nikāya* in general see Lamotte 1956 and 1957; on the character of the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* see also Palumbo 2013: 105, 108, 110 with note 29, 114, 214, 215 with note 70 and 221–226. On the *Kṣudraka* in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* see Honjō 2014: I 32–33; a reference to an "**Arthavarga-sūtra* of the *Kṣudraka*" (or perhaps an *Arthavargīya* section) in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* was already noted by Sakurabe 1956: 160 note 4.

recitation on that occasion of the Tripiṭaka and of a *Kṣudraka-piṭaka*.[55] In other words, the possibility that the *Kṣudraka* mentioned by Śamathadeva is to be understood as a canonical collection (*piṭaka* or *āgama*) rather than a scriptural division of a Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* is an attractive one, but far from proven.

To remain instead within the world of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, I now briefly look at the theme of change of sex – central to the *avadāna* storyline – in that context.

The Vinaya context

In a Vinaya context, discussions of change of sex have a part to play in relation to the legal and ritual acts of the *saṅgha*, that is, the ordination ritual and protocols related to admission into the monastic community and the observance of its monastic rules. Instances of spontaneous sexual metamorphosis are on record not only in Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya literature but also, for example, in the Theravāda commentarial tradition.[56] Petra Kieffer-Pülz's (2018) contribution to this volume studies sex change in Buddhist legal literature, thus I refer the reader to her article for a more technical discussion.

Suffice it to say, for my present purpose, that the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* does not appear to attach any negative moral judgement to the phenomenon of change of sex,[57] which is not dealt with from a karmic perspective in the sense of being described in terms of the result of good or bad deeds. A similar pattern is observable in the Theravāda *Vinaya*, which dispenses with a gendered evaluation when presenting the loss of the female characteristic and its replacement with a male characteristic, without crediting the former to bad and the latter to good karma, whereas a different position characterises the Theravāda commentarial and narrative traditions.[58]

The topic of sex change becomes especially prominent in the context of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda Indo-Tibetan monastic traditions. In general, such discussions of change of sex occur at the interface, as it were, between Vinaya and Abhidharma on account of the relationship established in Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda Vaibhāṣika metaphysics

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[55.] Discussed in Palumbo 2013: 227–229 and 318 note 4. The section detailing the recitation of the Three Piṭakas and the *Kṣudraka-piṭaka* and outlining the contents of the collections is found in T 2026 at T 3a₇–4a₉, translated in Przyluski 1926: 103–110. On T 2026 in general see Palumbo 2013: 108–124.

[56.] E.g., the commentary on the Theravāda *Vinaya*, Sp I 273,₂₃₋₂₈ on Vin III 35,₁₂₋₂₄ (*pārājika* 1), the *Nidāna* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* 1.1.1 in Kishino 2013: 103 (translated in Kishino 2013: 319) or the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya-sūtra* 618–619 by Guṇaprabha located in the *Pṛcchāgata* division of the section commenting on the *Pravrajyā-vastu*, Bapat and Gokhale 1982: xli and 54,₄₋₁₁, which takes up the case of sex change occurring during the performance of an ordination; for further discussion and references see, e.g., Bapat 1957 and Gyatso 2003: 110–111. Cf. also, in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, Up 4070 in D 4094, *mngon pa, ju*, 233a₅₋₇ and P 5595, *mngon pa, tu*, 266b₁₋₄, citing *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* Pradhan 1967: 232,₈ on *Abhidharmakośa* IV.56: *yathā ṣaṇḍhasya gavām apuṃstvapratimokṣaṇāt pumbhāvaḥ*; D 4090, *mngon pa, ku*, 195a₇–195b₁ and P 5590, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, gu*, 226b₃₋₄: *bsam pa'i khyad par las ni dper na nyud a rum zhig gis glang zhig rlig pa dbyud ba las thar bar byas pas skyes pa nyid du gyur pa lta bu'o*; T 1559 at T XXIX 238c₈₋₉: 如傳說。有一黃門。由解脫牛黃門事故。現身即轉根成男 and T 1558 at T XXIX 82b₁₈₋₂₀: 聞有黃門救脫諸牛黃門事故。彼於現世轉作丈夫。此等傳聞事亦非一. Japanese translation of Up 4070 in Honjō 2014: I 585.

[57.] According to Finnegan 2009: 136 the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* "does not distinguish in any significant way between female-to-male and male-to-female transformations. Were it the case that the *MSV* [Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*] imagined that sex change from male to female was associated with 'extraordinarily negative conduct' whereas female-to-male transformation could only result from acts of great beneficence, then it would be unthinkable that an ordained woman could become a man while breaking every manner of monastic rule … but this is precisely what this section of the *MSV* [the *Uttaragrantha*] envisions, again and again and again. John Powers' [2009: 137] comment of 'Indian Buddhist literature' that 'when men change to women it is commonly portrayed as a tragedy for them and as a result of extraordinarily negative conduct' … is most emphatically not the case in this instance of Indian Buddhist literature".

[58.] See Anālayo 2014a: 111–114 and Kieffer-Pülz 2018: I 2, II 7.

between the notion of the subtle material form known as 'un-manifest' or 'non-informative' materiality (*avijñaptirūpa*) and the taking on and commitment to the monastic rule, notably the *prātimokṣa*.

The undertaking of the *prātimokṣa* is classified as related to one out of three kinds of *avijñāptirūpa*.[59] Such a special type of *avijñaptirūpa* comes into being when an individual first accepts the monastic discipline and it lasts in the mental continuum until the person either gives it up, passes away or, according to some sources, undergoes a spontaneous change of sex. It confers what is conceived of as serial karmic continuity, called *anubandha* or *pravāha*, to monastic precepts in the mind of the monk or the nun. Here Greene (2016: 114–116) has made the important point that "[a]lthough scholars have often understood it as a device for explaining karmic continuity, *aviijñapti-karma* (and hence *aviijñapti-rūpa*) was not posited by Sarvāstivāda sources as a general solution to the problem of karma (other theories, notably the theory of the existence of dharmas in the three times, fulfilled that role). Rather, the original motivation for *aviijñapti-karma*, and the most important area where it was discussed in later sources, was as an explanation of the power of *saṃvara*, moral or disciplinary restraint. … Given its early use as an explanation for the ontology of certain kinds of non-doing, it is not surprising that *aviijñapti-karma* was eventually invoked in the context of *śīla*, the precepts. Indeed the precepts, both monastic and lay, are precisely an elaboration of the parts of the eightfold path connected to outward behaviour-right speech, action, and livelihood (mental action by itself is never a violation of the precepts). Within later Sarvāstivāda thought, it was as an explanation of the ontology of *śīla* (discussed under the category of *saṃvara*, 'restraint') that *aviijñapti-karma*, and hence *aviijñapti-rūpa*, would become most important".

For instance, the *Pañcaskandhabhāṣya* lists among the reasons for giving up the various kinds of discipline based on the monastic rule (*prātimokṣasaṃvara*) the occurrence of the male or female organ, since then the *prātimokṣa* of the other sex would become the one to be followed.[60] However, according to the position taken in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, a change in the sexual characteristic (*liṅga*)[61] simply leads to the modification of the gender in that a monk (*bhikṣu*) becomes a nun (*bhikṣuṇī*) or vice versa a nun becomes a monk, but it is not the case that a person, by changing his or her sex, abandons the former discipline and acquires a new one. The change of sex is therefore not seen as amounting to the loss of the respective *prātimokṣa* or, by implication, of the *avijñaptirūpa* that accompanies it. In this respect, the *prātimokṣa* of both orders, male and female, are considered identical.[62]

Now the legal act of consenting to the establishment of the ordination candidate in the holy life, the *brahmacaryopasthānasaṃvṛti*, is according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* a necessary step in the ordination procedure. Here the term *saṃvṛti* 'allowance; agreement; consent', was customarily translated into Tibetan by the term *sdom pa*, which also carries the sense of 'vow'.[63] It seems to me that this new notion of a 'vow' marks a shift from a legal and ritual understanding of ordination acts to a metaphysical level of understanding, which is the

[59.] See, e.g., Gokhale 1938, Yamada 1962, Dowling 1976, Dhammajoti 2007: 44, Greene 2016 and Stuart 2017; on the *avijñaptirūpa* in relation to the *prātimokṣa* 'vow' see especially Kramer 2013: 94, Newhall 2014 and Greene 2016 (with references to previous literature).
[60.] Cf. Kramer 2013: 94 and Tsedroen and Anālayo 2013: 761 note 66.
[61.] This is explained as the attribute (*vyañjana*) that distinguishes men and women.
[62.] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on *Abhidharmakośa* IV.14c, Pradhan 1967: 206,1–7; D 4090, *mngon pa*, *ku*, 176b3 and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*, *gu*, 203a5; T 1559 at T XXIX 229c29–230a7 and T 1558 at T XXIX 72b29–c9 (translated in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1924]: III 44–45).
[63.] On *saṃvṛti* in *Vinaya* context see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 366–371, Hu-von Hinüber 1994: 198–199, Mrozik 2007: 146 note 74, Kieffer-Pülz 2010: 218 note 4, Kishino 2015 and Yao 2015: 220 with note 11.

way monastic ordination is generally conceptualised in the living Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition to this day. A 'precept vow' is conferred and upheld in lieu of a simpler notion of admittance into and belonging to a voluntary community on the basis of a personal and communal agreement to abide by a set of rules. It remains open to question whether the cardinal importance of a set of vows received through an initiation (*samaya*) in the Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna textual and religious traditions contributed to this development. Be that as it may, the notion of *avijñaptirūpa* and *avijñaptikarma* in relation to the *prātimokṣasaṃvara* and hence the karmic consequences of breaking vows appear to stretch beyond the legal or procedural aspects of *Vinaya* jurisprudence into the territory of metaphysics. This might well be the reason why the philosophical and legal consequences of a change of sex became indeed an object of much debate in the Indo-Tibetan scholastic tradition, a debate that falls outside my present topic.

All the same, the story of a monk's change of sex – be it originally transmitted in a canonical *avadāna* collection or as an *avadāna* in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* – could have been put to use in the context of monastic education to exemplify the case of a spontaneous change of sex.

Whereas the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and its related commentaries simply mention the sex change episode as illustrations of the scholastic notion of presently effective karmic retribution, the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* stands out for framing the incident as an *avadāna*, a framing that results in the Bodhisattva undergoing a change of sex to female *after* he had embarked on his multi-life journey to Buddhahood. In what follows I draw attention to the significance of the sex change element in relation to 'gendered' karma and soteriology, firstly focusing on the motif of the (unwelcome) change of sex to female and then, by way of conclusion, on what this motif implies in relation to the path of the Bodhisattva.

The (unwelcome) change of sex to female as an illustration of presently effective karma: a gendered evaluation?

Far from being a Buddhist innovation, the motif of sex change is widespread in Indian and worldwide folklore. Evidence ranges from metamorphoses during a specific lifetime to the taking on of a different sex upon being reborn, with instances featured in mythological and homiletic contexts.[64] Nearly a century ago Brown (1927) proposed a basic threefold catego-risation of change of sex in Indian literature that, from the viewpoint of the person who undergoes such a change, can be classified into:

(a) unexpected and unwelcome (for example, a man becomes a woman in consequence of a curse or an impious thought or from bathing in an enchanted pool);

(b) unexpected and welcome (for example, by chance a *yakṣa* is found who is willing to exchange sex with a woman, or else a pool is accidentally discovered that converts a female into a male);

(c) expected and welcome (for example, by deliberate propitiation a *yakṣa* is made willing to exchange sex with a woman, or else a magical pill is used or an act of asseveration of truth is performed to obtain a change of sex).[65]

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[64] See, e.g., Penzer 1927: VII 222–223 and the repertory in Thompson and Balys 1958: 97–111 (esp. no. D10); cf. also the remarks in Dimitrov 2004: 13 and Dhammadinnā 2015: 503–504. Brown 1927 and, more recently, Esposito 2013 are the two most important general studies of sex change in Indian literature I am aware of.

[65] A fourth type (d), a change both expected and unwelcome, is theoretically possible and there seems to be at least one such occurrence detected by Brown 1927 in his survey but, generally speaking, changes of sex attested in literature never tend to be both expected and unwelcome for in that case they would be avoided by the pro-tagonists of the stories.

The case of the monk's change into a female in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and other texts seen above would fit within the first category (unexpected and unwelcome). In this connection, "it is interesting to note the acceptance by the literature without argument that a change from woman to man is always desirable while the reverse is always undesirable" in Indian literature.[66] A change of sex to male is considered as advantageous and progressive in numerous traditional folktales worldwide. This is natural as, in patriarchal societies, becoming a man obviously signals an upgrade in socio-economic position and prestige. Indian Buddhist discourse also reflects the same idea that a change from a female to a male body is indeed desirable, whereas the opposite is typically seen as negative (with specific exceptions to the rule).[67]

The key doctrinal interest in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* context where sex change is given as an illustration lies in the mechanics of presently effective karmic retribution. The technical term *dṛṣṭadharmavedanīya* (cf. also its Pali equivalent *diṭṭhadhammavedanīya*) qualifies an action or a fruit to be felt or experienced (*vedanīya*) by having as a basic principle (*dharma*, Pali *dhamma*) the fact that it is 'seen' (*dṛṣṭa*, Pali *diṭṭha*); the reference to seeing conveys a sense of "immediacy".[68]

A concept to a degree related to presently effective karmic retribution is that of the five *ānantaryakarma*s, grave moral lapses with immediate retribution.[69] These derive their name from the idea that their effect – rebirth in hell – makes itself felt immediately at the breakup of the body at the end of the present lifetime, without any possibility of one or more intermediate births prior to the ripening of the evil karma as existence in hell. For instance, to cause a split within the *saṅgha* is one of the actions included in this fivefold list. The *saṅgha* epitomises the specific or distinctive nature or quality of the field (*kṣetraviśeṣa*) with respect to which the karma is performed, as discussed in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* passage excerpted above. Thus to harbour ill will and speak offensively towards the *saṅgha* of a Buddha is chosen as a paradigmatic example for presently effective karmic repercussion.

Although to revile one's co-monastics is of course not necessarily schismatic in intention, the attitude behind such reviling could pave the way to splits in the community and therein to one of the five heinous crimes. It is educationally apt that the story in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* should describe a monk's inability to restrain himself during a conflict with other monks, a pattern that recurs with the Kauśāmbī dispute. The verbally insinuating monk was a learned reciter of the Tripiṭaka, but nevertheless he was expelled by a monk reciter of the *sūtra*s so as to settle the litigation. In other words, the conceit of being

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[66]. In the words of Brown 1927: 6.

[67]. Transformations may also result in neither male nor female sex, cf. Esposito 2013: 503 note 1.

[68]. On *diṭṭhadhammavedanīya* in relation to karma in the context of Pali texts see von Hinüber 1971 (esp. 242–243 for a survey of relevant occurrences in the Pali discourses), with a critical response in Anālayo 2011: II 779–780 note 118 and further discussion in Gethin 2015; for a presentation from a traditional Theravāda perspective see Pa Auk 2012: 152–163. In the case of Theravāda scholasticism, *diṭṭhadhammavedanīya* is explained in the light of the theory of mental impulses (*javana*s) typical of the Pali Abhidhamma. It is defined as the unwholesome or wholesome volition of the first in the series of seven impulsions (*javanacetanā*) of the cognitive process (*cittavīthi*); cf., e.g., Vism-mṭ 685 at 235,29–236,2: *tesu ekajavanavīthiyaṃ sattasu cittesu kusalā vā akusalā vā paṭhamajavanacetanā diṭṭhadhammavedanīyakammaṃ nāma. taṃ imasmiññ eva attabhāve vipākaṃ deti*. This places it on a depth of mental impulse comparable to the exceptional mental proclivity (*āśrayaviśeṣa*) discussed in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* that constitutes one of the two factors for *dṛṣṭadharmavedanīya* in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda schema. Needless to say, the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda and Theravāda Abhidharmic schemas construct the notions of *dṛṣṭadharmavedanīya* and *diṭṭhadharmavedanīya* on the basis of their respective scholastic categories.

[69]. On these five crimes see, e.g., Silk 2007.

learned (but unwise) can lead to dogmatism,[70] which is in turn a precursor to quarrels and disputes in the community.[71] This is so grave a matter that even the Buddha himself is still receiving the effects of such an attitude.

An additional karmic thread is perhaps worthy of note: given that the matter of contention at Kauśāmbī were minor aspects of the Vinaya, the detail in the *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* that the insulting monk had been defeated in a legal procedure is particularly relevant. If read in conjunction with the *avadāna* in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, it connects the past-life of the Buddha as a monk angered in relation to points of Vinaya directly to the Kauśāmbī dispute. Yet another parallelism that comes to mind is that in both litigations the Buddha's voice is not heard. In the past, when he was a monk, he was expelled; in the present case, when he is the actual legislator of the Vinaya, his monks just ignore him. Also, the somewhat arrogant speech of calling others women returns by way of *contrappasso* when one of the Kauśāmbī monk tells him to rather leave the business of the dispute to them. In a discourse version of the Kauśāmbī litigation in the *Madhyama-āgama* (a collection transmitted within a Sarvāstivāda context)[72] some of the monks who have just heard what the Buddha had tried to say – inviting them to exercise restraint, be patient and join in harmony – tell him, the master of the Dharma, to stop talking, and argue that since those of the opposite faction are telling them what to do they are likewise entitled to tell them what to do.[73] In a parallel in the *Majjhima-nikāya* it is just one monk who up to three times says to the Buddha, that he should rather live at ease devoted to a pleasant abiding here and now, for they are the ones who will be responsible for the quarrelling and dispute.[74] A parallel passage in the *Kosambaka-kkhandhaka* of the Theravāda *Vinaya*'s *Mahāvagga* qualifies this monk as an *adhammavādī*, one who does not speak in conformity with the Dhamma.[75] A version in the *Kośāmbaka-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* also features multiple monks who address the Buddha together, as in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[76] In a third discourse parallel found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* the group of monks similarly tell the Buddha not to concern himself with the matter at hand.[77] In the first case, when the Buddha was a monk, he is seemingly asserting his position to the point that the other monks ejected him, at which he somewhat self-righteously reacts by comparing them to women. In the second case, the scenario is quite the

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[70] Dogmatism is reckoned as the fourth bodily knot (*kāyagrantha*) in a fourfold listing in the *Saṅgīti-paryāya*, an early canonical Abhidharma text of the Sarvāstivādins, T 1536 at T XXVI 399c$_{23}$: 實執取身繫 (cf. the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* reconstructed in Stache-Rosen 1968: 118); see also the *Jñānaprasthāna*, T 1544 at T XXVI 929b$_{18}$, and the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 248c$_8$.

[71] Somaratne 2012 gives a reading of conflict management in the *Sāmagāma-sutta* (MN 104) in the light of their applicability as conflict resolution methods in contemporary society.

[72] Anālayo 2017b.

[73] MĀ 72 at T I 535b$_{19-21}$: 於是，諸比丘聞佛所說，有作是言：「世尊法主今且住也，彼導說我，我那得不導說彼。」. For a comparative study of all the parallel versions of this episode see Anālayo 2011: II 731–734; cf. also Anālayo 2011: I 204.

[74] MN 128 at MN III 153,$_{11-15}$: *evaṃ vutte aññataro bhikkhu bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: āgametu, bhante, bhagavā dhammassāmi, appossukko, bhante, bhagavā diṭṭhadhammasukhavihāraṃ anuyutto viharatu; mayam etena bhaṇḍanena kalahena viggahena vivādena paññāyissāmā ti.*

[75] Vin I 341,$_{31-32}$: *aññataro adhammavādī bhikkhu.*

[76] Dutt 1984: III.2 186,$_{1-3}$: *evam ukte kośāmbakā bhikṣavo bhagavantam idam avocan: dharmasvāmī bhagavān dharmasvāmī sugataḥ ete 'smākaṃ vakṣyanti duruktāni durbhāṣitāni, vayam eṣāṃ kimarthaṃ marṣayāma iti*; D 1, 'dul ba, ga, 129a$_{6-7}$ and P 1030, 'dul ba, nge, 124b$_{3-5}$: *de skad ces bka' stsal pa dang kau śām bī'i dge slong gis bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to: bcom ldan 'das ni chos kyi rje lags, bde bar gshegs pa ni chos kyi rje lags na. 'di rnams bdag cag la tshig ngan pa dang mi snyan pa mchi na bdag cag gis de rnams la ci'i slad du bzod bar bgyi lags*; T 1421 at T XXII 160a$_{8-9}$: 諸比丘復白佛言：「世尊！願安隱住！佛雖法主，我自知之。」.

[77] EĀ 24.8 at T II 626b$_{29}$–c$_1$: 諸比丘對曰：「此是我等事，世尊勿足慮此事。」.

opposite. In spite of the Buddha being the law-maker, no heed is paid to him. Instead of asserting his own absolute right to settle the dispute or issuing a new rule to silence the monks, he goes away and leaves the quarrelsome *saṅgha* behind.

Returning to the motif of change of sex to a female as a form of immediate fruition of bad karma, this is also found in the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu*, the 'Story of the Elder Soreyya' in the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, the Pali commentary on the canonical stanzas of the *Dhamma-pada* collection transmitted by the Theravāda tradition.[78] The main topic of the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu* is the story of a double change of sex from male to female and back to male in the same lifetime. This happened to a layman who had had thoughts of passion towards an eminent monk disciple of the Buddha, the venerable Mahākaccāyana. In the story, the merchant Soreyya, seeing the elder Mahākaccāyana's golden-hued skin, had the impure wish that the elder become his wife or that the skin of his wife's body become as attractive as that of the elder's body. The merchant instantly becomes a woman, now known by the name of Soreyyā. Eventually, Soreyyā regrets having had such lustful feelings and, through the kind offices of a former friend to whom she discloses her previous identity, obtains a chance to beg the elder's pardon, which the monk readily grants. As soon as the elder utters his words of pardon, Soreyyā is transformed back into Soreyya. As is only natural with narrative genre, the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu* does not contain any explicit scholastic statement to the effect that the sex change is to be understood as an instance of presently effective karmic retribution, yet this notion appears to be presupposed by the turn of events. This time the action in question is of a merely mental rather than verbal type as in the case of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*'s *avadāna*. In the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu* the karmic field that receives the action is also outstanding in that it is constituted by an individual who is not only a member of the Buddha's monastic community but who is also one of the Buddha's eminent disciples, and presumably assumed by the text to be already an arhat at that time, thus at the highest position in the *saṅgha* of the noble ones.

As mentioned above, a central purpose of *avadāna*s/*apadāna*s is didactic: "to explore, within a particular Buddhist framework, the doctrine that good actions based on good intentions bring about good results and bad actions based on bad intentions bring about bad results".[79] A normative exposition on karma such as is found in the fourth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* – even if it comes with many technicalities – remains, in essence, an exposition of moral philosophy. It thus has practical relevance to the making of moral choices and thereby it serves an educational purpose. In fact, as noted by Esposito (2013: 506), stories about change of sex in Jain and Buddhist texts have less of the humorous element often found in such stories in early Indian literature and have more prominently a didactic motivation.

Now literary and iconographic *karmavibhaṅga*s, 'classifications' and therein 'elucidations' of karma, flourished copiously throughout the Buddhist world. The reward of a particular intentional action manifesting in the form of a result either closely similar (positive analogy) or diametrically opposite (negative analogy) is analysed and exemplified in detail in the exposition on karmic relationships in various versions of the discourse on *karma-vibhaṅga*, an early Buddhist text that stands out for having an exceptionally high number of parallels preserved in a variety of languages. The popularity of this text must be due to its

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[78.] *Soreyyatthera-vatthu*, Dhp-a I 325,11–332,22 on Dhp 43, translated in Burlingame 1929: II 23–28. The motif of change of sex in this story has already been commented upon by Brown 1927: 21, Bapat 1957: 212, Esposito 2013: 514–515, Ohnuma 2007: 98–99, Ohnuma 2012: 17–18 and Anālayo 2014a: 109–110. I discuss this story and argue against its 'gendered' reading proposed by Ohnuma in a separate publication in preparation.
[79.] Cutler 1994: 2.

function in the service of Buddhist homiletics.[80]

The illustration of the workings of karma by means of a change of sex is informed by the same *karmavibhaṅga* logic. Thus, for example, the Buddha explains that when a man or a woman is given to injuring beings, if after death they come back to the human state, they suffer from poor health. This is because of having undertaken such injuring actions. If not reborn in the human plane of existence, they are bound to reappear in a state of deprivation. Conversely, those who abstain from injuring beings, if they come back to the human state are healthy. If not reborn in the human world, they reappear in a heavenly realm.[81]

Notably, rebirth as a woman is conspicuously absent in all the parallel versions of the discourse on *karmavibhaṅga*. This gives "the impression that sex was considered only incidental to the question of rebirth at the time when the different versions of this discourse came into existence and reached their present form".[82]

Thus, although the story of change of sex and its underlying mechanics of retribution is consistent with the principle of karmic reward that is laid down in the *karmavibhaṅga* chart of karmic relationships, it is notable that, at least from the perspective of the discourse on *karmavibhaṅga*, sex at birth is not selected as a significant token of negative or positive reward. Other conditions such as poverty, obscurity, sickness etc. are recognised as inherently unfortunate and thus an 'objective' result of negative karma – of course open to future change and improvement, which is after all what these texts try to facilitate. This is not the case with female birth.

Yet, on reading the *avadāna*, the question suggests itself: is a gendered evaluation of karma implicitly or explicitly suggested? Is there a clearly 'gendered' perceptive component to the way the unwholesome mental state finds its verbal outlet? Does the bad karma rewarded through an obviously unwanted change to female and an ensuing cycle of female births assume an intrinsic negative evaluation of female birth as such?

The change of sex does not in my opinion really require a 'karmic evaluation' of gender in and of itself in order to effectively advocate a principle of karmic retribution. The main point at stake are the dynamics of retribution and the connection between the main 'ingredient' of the insult and its repercussions on the offender. The teaching seems to be on the 'how' of the type of karma in operation (presently effective retribution), illustrated by the 'what' (sex change): the change of sex is a case in point to illustrate a direct relationship between a certain verbal behaviour – a resentful remark – and its reward.

At the same time, for the illustration to work and the story to fulfil its moral task, the text must rely on certain assumptions shared by its audience. In other words, the story needs to make sense to the audience's cognitive suppositions to work.[83] In the present case, firstly,

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[80.] Cf. Anālayo 2014a: 115 and 2017a: 111; a listing of the parallels and a comparative study is given in Anālayo 2011: II 767–775.

[81.] See MĀ 170 at T I 705a$_{16-29}$ (parallel to the Pali *Cūḷakammavibhāṅga-sutta*, MN 135 at MN III 204$_{,3-17}$) and the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 50$_{,5}$–52$_{,4}$ and 2007: 97$_{,15}$–98$_{,8}$ (= Lévi 1932: 37$_{,5-17}$), Tibetan translation in Lévi 1932: 185$_{,7-24}$, Khotanese in Maggi 1995: 65$_{,17}$–67$_{,7}$ (partially preserved); other parallels to this section are listed in Anālayo 2011: II 771 note 80.

[82.] Anālayo 2014a: 114–115; Anālayo 2014a: 116 further reasons that within such a scheme, "rebirth as a female in ancient Indian society would probably find its place under becoming 'uninfluential.' That is, one of the possible results of being envious now is that one will be reborn in a situation where one has to suffer discrimination. From this viewpoint, then, it would indeed be bad *karma* to be reborn as a woman if this takes place in a society where women are discriminated against. In other words, the *karma* of being reborn as a woman does not appear to be singled out as in itself negative. Female birth is only the result of bad *karma* if one is reborn in a patriarchal society—like ancient India—where women are discriminated against, and thus one finds oneself in an inferior position by dint of one's birth as a female".

[83.] See also my remarks with reference to the trope of women belonging only in the kitchen as a meaningful

given that from an Indian viewpoint the possibility of sex change is taken for granted, as a 'fact', the episode of sexual transformation will quite probably be perceived by its intended audience as factual. Secondly, the idea of referring to the behaviour of a group of men (monks here) as being similar to that of women must be able to serve the purpose of conveying the desired message. The monk in question appears to consider the group of fellow monastics who had excluded him on account of their lack of courage to actually confront him, as similar to women. Thus a gendered evaluation is implied at least to the extent that an unwholesome action is associated with a change of sex to female[84] and the monk's outburst implies a perception of women's behaviour as lacking courage. Such a notion could express perceived biological differences or else have its root in the environment, in culture, in social upbringing or in one's education – a process called 'gendered socialisation' in feminist studies. The text seems to implicitly adhere to an understanding of behavioural differences on the basis of 'biology', yet an awareness of a substantial difference between biological sex and culturally understood gender does not seem to be present.[85]

To summarise, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and its commentaries portray the way of acting of the monk who calls the others women (*saṅghastrīvādasamudācāra*) as a specific act of (bad) karma involving a resentful mind and an act of offensive speech. The offensive utterance is coloured by a (sociocultural) judgement that is informed by a gendered cliché. Due to the fact that it is directed at the *saṅgha*, an exceptional karmic field, it meets with immediate maturation. Although it does rely on stereotyping, the text does not seem to assume an essentialised notion of womanhood, to be characterised in intrinsic terms. The very fact that sex change into and out of femaleness can occur is the opposite of any 'essential' immutability.

The Bodhisattva's five hundred female births

In Indian Buddhist thought, being subject to *saṃsāra* implies the going through many forms of existence and thus taking births of different sex, for "there are no men who were not women formerly or women who were not men",[86] since sex at birth is not given as immutable

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imagery to the audience of Middle-Period literature in Dhammadinnā 2015–2016: 57–62. Silk 2014: 176 note 68 refers to the story of change of sex in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and *vyākhyā* when commenting on the doctrinal background of the probable intended (monastic) audience of an episode of sexual transformation in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.

[84.] Cf. also the observation in Anālayo 2014a: 114: "the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* does reflect a gendered evaluation, as it associates the transformation of a monk into a female with an unwholesome deed, notably the unwholesome deed of calling the [male] Saṅgha [members] females".

[85.] Here I concur with Appleton 2012: 170 note 21. A passage in the *Atthasālinī*, the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* of the Theravāda Abhidhamma, shows an awareness of games socially considered gender-specific in that it differentiates, for example, between girls' games vis-à-vis boys' toys and games, in the context of a descriptive treatment of what characterises females versus males, see As 641–642 at As 321,₃–323,₁₂ (translated in Pe Maung Tin 1976 [1921]: II 419–421). The presentation concludes with a declaration of the inferiority of the female faculty and its moral stamina, and it could be seen as an example of a biology-based understanding of behavioural differences.

[86.] This is a commentator's gloss in the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu* mentioned above, Dhp-a 327,₃–₄: *purisā hi itthiyo, itthiyo vā purisā abhūtapubbā nāma natthi*. The same gloss brings attention to the circumstance that "even the elder Ānanda, who had fulfilled his perfections, for hundreds of thousands of aeons and was a noble disciple" was born as a woman in several past lives, as a result of a bad deed committed as a man, in his case, indulgence in philandering, Dhp-a 327,₇–₈: *ānandatthero pi hi kappasatasahassaṃ pūritapāramī ariyasāvako*. On this and other passages on Ānanda's female births documenting cases in Buddhist discourse of sex inconsistency across different lifetimes cf. also Brown 1927: 23. These female births of Ānanda are also retold in a vernacular adaption of the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu* included in the Sinhala *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*, a compilation based on the Pali *Dhammapada* commentary that was recorded in Sri Lanka by the thirteenth-century monk Dharmasena; for an

throughout the cycle of rebirth but is subject to change. Thus the motif of sex change within the same lifetime "shows that one's sex was not seen as something immutably fixed, but rather as something fluid, depending on conditions and circumstances".[87]

At the same time, overall sex consistency across lifetimes (and in each lifetime) seems to be presupposed by most of the texts of the Indian religious traditions.[88] As a generalisation, there appears to be consistency in this respect unless a specific event disrupts it. For instance, in the literature on the bodhisattva path, the soteriological turning point consisting in the attainment of a prediction for Buddhahood has the power of effecting an irreversible change of sex to male. This is because, at least from a certain layer of textual development onwards, the dogmatics of the bodhisattva path necessitate that a confirmed bodhisattva must be male: this requires maleness at birth in the present lifetime or is to be signaled by a change of sex to male.[89]

According to Appleton's (2012: 171) preliminary results of her comparative studies of Buddhist and Jain birth stories, "it is striking that changes in gender between births are considerably more common in Jain sources than in Buddhist ones. In many cases, the change of gender is not directly linked to an action, but rather appears simply as part of a chaotic series of births. … However, not all Jain stories portray changing gender as simply a part of the generally unpredictable and unstable process of rebirth. Apart from the many stories that show other changes – in species, realm of rebirth, and relationships – whilst portraying gender as stable, there are several in which a specific type of action is said to result in a man being reborn as a woman … clearly [indicating] that female birth results from certain negative karma … However, in the wider context of Jain narrative, in which changing from male to female and animal and human and back again is an accepted fact of life, I would argue that stories of sex-change … hold less weight than their Buddhist equivalents". She further reasons that the soteriological irrelevance of gender to the attainment of liberation is an ideal shared by Buddhist and Jain sources, yet it appears to be demonstrated in a different way by the Jains, namely "through the apparently causeless and unpredictable changes that affect a variety of characters … Ironically, the gentle continuity of gender in Buddhist rebirth

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English rendering of this version see Obeyesekere 2001: 213–218. Ānanda's *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, a medieval Theravāda treatise addressed to the laity composed in Sri Lanka and dated from the beginning of the thirteenth century (Kieffer-Pülz 2015: 632), also gives a citation of the story in the *Soreyyatthera-vatthu*, and an account of the multi-life story of Ānanda's philandering due to his association with bad friends and facing varied disgraces as a result of his unlawful lust; see Saddhatissa 1965: 217,[12–16] (§ 115) = Dhp-a I 327,[3–7]. Yet another female birth of Ānanda, which he similarly obtained as a result of philandering, is recorded in the *samodhāna* – the connecting literary module that identifies characters in a *jātaka* or *avadāna* tale with characters in the present – of the *Mahānāradakassapa-jātaka*, a tale also known as *Nārada-jātaka*; see Jā 544 at Jā VI 255,[9]. Ānanda is identified with Rucā, the king's daughter in this tale. Appleton 2014: 14–15 suggests the possibility that this identification betrays a mockery of Ānanda in his pro-women sympathy; on fault-finding tendencies with respect to the figure of Ānanda apparent in the records of the First Saṅgīti see Anālayo 2016a: 172–174.

[87] Anālayo 2014a: 116, who adds that it would have been "demeritorious to change from male to female when this happens in a society where females find themselves in a disadvantageous position because of their sex".

[88] Filippi 1996: 132 note 9 remarks that "[a]ccording to Indian beliefs, death – which in the large majority of cases conditions one's rebirth in another species – does not facilitate sex changes. Usually a soul is reborn maintaining the same gender". Doniger 2000: 298 notes that the general dearth of gender transformations in Hindu stories of rebirth stands "in strong contrast to the frequent changes of species that take place in reincarnation in texts like *The Laws of Manu*". On the consistency in sex across lives in the *Apadāna* collection see Appleton 2011: 43–44 and 2014: 62 and Anālayo 2015: 103, and in Theravāda *Khuddaka-nikāya* texts in general Appleton 2012: 170–171.

[89] It is possible that maleness was not always considered, or not universally considered, a requisite of a predicted bodhisattva whereby a change of sex into male would be mandatory; see Dhammadinnā 2015: 484–485 and 520–522.

stories allows for the interpretation that sex-change, when it happens, is a dramatic event, and, therefore, that female birth is dramatically worse than male birth", with far-reaching consequences in later Buddhist gender soteriology.

In connection to this, Anālayo (2017a: 129–131) has pointed to the result of the requirements of narrative consistency and cohesion when tales from the ancient Indian narrative repertoire were incorporated in the multi-life biography of the Bodhisattva.[90] The journeys through a very large number and diversity of births that exhibit all kinds of variations, comprising even episodes involving animal existences, would be strung together as a single path by sex consistency. This would supply a token of continuity, a narrative stabiliser. In particular, Anālayo suggests that when incorporating various tales with male protagonists from the ancient Indian narrative repertoire, the maleness of the protagonists of these stories would have naturally served as a stable characteristic. In the process of identifying one of the protagonists of the various tales as a former existence of the Buddha, a male figure would be the most obvious candidate. This then becomes a normative script for future generations of aspirant bodhisattvas who strive for Buddhahood as well as for the hagiography of the deeds of past Buddhas due to the tendency of texts to apply events in the life of the present Buddha to all previous Buddhas in the lineage.

As a rule, Wangchuk (2007: 101) explains, "the generation of initial resolve is no guarantee of a successful *bodhisattva* career. There is always the chance that a *bodhisattva* will suffer a relapse. Thus depending on the *bodhisattva*'s faculties (*indriya*), the irreversibility is said to be as follows: a *bodhisattva* of the first calibre is irreversible from the moment the initial resolution is made; a *bodhisattva* of medium calibre, from the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*) onwards, and a *bodhisattva* of lesser calibre only from the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) onwards".[91] Naturally the Bodhisattva would rank as of the first calibre, thus coursing irreversibly from the moment he made his initial resolution to become a Buddha.[92] From the perspective of Śamathadeva (and his source) the Bodhisattva's change to female, after having made his resolve to Buddhahood, does not pose any Buddhological problem, nor does it hamper the unfolding of his bodhisattva career. The change of sex and the following cycle of female births is regarded as acceptable, with no indication of a major 'relapse' of the Bodhisattva on his path – other than having committed an unwholesome and censurable action that is eventually remedied.

The tradition of the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* adumbrates the first phase in the Mūla-sarvāstivāda depiction of the epochal career of the Bodhisattva that begins with the first *cittotpāda* as he encounters the former Buddha Śākyamuni and ends with his last birth as a female in the lifetime of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin. Some versions of the stories that detail such an important occasion, such as the *avadāna* in question, negotiate the requirement of maleness by introducing a change of sex back to male at this very juncture, upon receiving the formal prediction to Buddhahood, whereas others postpone it to the immediately successive birth.

The Bodhisattva's femaleness in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (and elsewhere), assumed at the time of the former Buddha Ajita after the initial resolution to Buddhahood is made, and left behind at the time of the former Buddha Ratnaśikhin, seems to be presented

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[90.] See also Anālayo 2015: 96–100.

[91.] On the other hand, females who made aspirations to be chief disciples etc. saw no need to aspire to maleness also, as noted by Ānandajoti 2015: 7: "none of the women involved aspire to become men, as it was not seen as necessary – or even useful – to change gender while aspiring to … positions of great rank".

[92.] This is indicated by Dharmamitra; see Wangchuk 2007: 102 with note 59.

somewhat fluidly and neutrally once it is read against the Buddhological map that it presupposes.

Here it would appear that being born as or changing to female – while a Bodhisattva is in mid-career – is possible. But elsewhere – in other Middle-Period narratives transmitted across different traditions, and in the mainstream fully-fledged bodhisattva literature of the Mahāyāna – this is not thought of as possible. The Pali narrative tradition, for example, does not record any sexual transformation of the Bodhisatta, and the Pali commentarial tradition represented by the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the commentary to the *Apadāna* does not allow sex change in its enumeration of eighteen different states of existence in which bodhisattvas who have received the final prediction are not to be reborn.[93] Interestingly, in this context no mention is explicitly made of female birth as such, although the *Apadāna* commentary lists the non-obtaining of female birth among the gains of bodhisattvahood elsewhere, in a passage glossing the gain of the male sexual characteristic (*liṅgasampatti*). The passage expands on a stanza found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and it appears, identical in wording, in several other Pali commentaries.[94] Besides, the impossibility of obtaining the state of existence "of one whose sex changes" (*nāssa liṅgaṃ parivattati*) does not seem to necessarily refer to change from male to female, which is not directly suggested by the other items that are enumerated. At least theoretically, this leaves the possibility open that this list does not concern itself with female birth at all.

According to a position recorded in non-canonical Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma works, it is not possible for a male who has attained the noble path (*āryamārga*) to be reborn as a female. Now the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* states that the four stages of penetrating insight (*nirvedha-bhāgīya*s) can be attained by both women and men.[95] The fourth is a single moment of insight and the highest state possible for an ordinary worldling that marks the last stage in the preparatory path (*prayogamārga*) of both *śrāvaka*s and *bodhisattva*s and is immediately followed by a direct vision of the four noble truths in sixteen aspects, which corresponds to the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*). Although according to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* this stage of insight is attainable both as a woman or a man, from that point onward a male practitioner will no longer be reborn as a female.[96]

The *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* explicitly states that, once the *darśanamārga* has been attained, one cannot be reborn as a woman: "the female condition does not manifest again for one who has seen the [four noble] truths".[97] The *Mahāvibhāṣā* explains that the development

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[93]. Pj (I) I 49,33–50,5 and Ap-a 141,15–19: *evaṃ samiddhābhinīhāro ca bodhisatto imāni aṭṭhārasa abhabbaṭṭhānāni na upeti ... nāssa liṅgaṃ parivattati.*

[94]. Ap-a 49,2–11: *āgacchanto ca ye te katābhinīhārānaṃ bodhisattānaṃ ānisaṃsā saṃvaṇṇitā ... itthibhāvaṃ na gacchanti*; cf., e.g., Bᵉ (CS) 71 [Eᵉ not given], Bv-a 271,13–22. The *Dīgha-nikāya* sub-commentary in turn links these benefits to the listing of the eighteen forms of existence into which a bodhisattva will not be born, thus seemingly instituting a correlation between the two listings, see Sv-pṭ I 129,23–30: *ko ānisaṃso ti? ye te katābhinīhārānaṃ bodhisattānaṃ ... aṭṭhārasa abhabbaṭṭhānānupagamanappakārā ānisaṃsā saṃvaṇṇitā.* For a traditional Theravāda perspective on these lists see Mingun Sayādaw 1992: I.2 126–129.

[95]. The heat or glow of wisdom, the summit, the acceptance and the highest worldly state, *ūṣmagata, mūrdhan, kṣānti* and *laukika-* or *agradharma* respectively.

[96]. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on *Abhidharmakośa* VI.21a–b (underlined), Pradhan 1967: 346,16–347,2: *sarvāṇy api tv etāni catvāri kāmāśrayāṇi. trīṇi manuṣyeṣv evotpadyante triṣu dvīpeṣu. utpāditapūrvāṇāṃ tu deveṣu saṃmukhībhāvaḥ. caturthaṃ deveṣv api. trīṇi strīpuruṣā ubhayāśrayāṇi labhante. agradharmān dvayāśrayān labhate 'ṅganā. agradharmās tu stry eva dvayāśrayān labhate. puruṣaḥ puruṣāśrayān eva strītvasyāpratisaṃkhyānirodhalābhāt*; Chinese in T 1559 at XXIX 272b3–9 and T 1558 at T XXIX 120b4–9 (translated in de La Vallée Poussin 1980 [1924]: IV 170–171); Tibetan in D 4090, *mngon pa, khu,* 14b4–6 and P 5591, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, nyu,* 17a4–6. On the specifications made for a female practitioner see footnote 97 below.

[97]. Wogihara 1971: 358,20–23: *yo hy agradharmān utpādayati so 'vaśyam anaṃtaram darśanamārgam utpāda-*

that ensues after the fourth *nirvedhabhāgīya* requires being born with a male body, because the female body is inferior.[98] Elsewhere the *Mahāvibhāṣā* clarifies that the noble path cannot be developed in dependence on the inferior female body.[99] Thus a male *śrāvaka* who has entered the *darśanamārga* will no longer take a female rebirth by dint of having attained the fourth *nirvedabhāgīya*. This parallels the condition of a bodhisattva who, with the achievement of the first *bhūmi*, leaves behind the possibility of further rebirths as a woman.[100]

The proposal that with the attainment of the first level of awakening female birth is left behind is alien to early Buddhist soteriology; it is in fact not listed among the states of existence that become impossible upon attaining the first level of awakening.[101] Thus this tenet appears to be the result of a specific scholastic development in the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma traditions, which departs from the earlier idea of the irrelevance of gender to the spiritual progress of a noble disciple.

What to make of such a perception from the viewpoint of karmic relationships and gender? In general, a position common across the Indian Abhidharma traditions views the female body as relatively inferior compared to the male body.[102] This does not imply, however, that all female bodies are the fruition of inferior karma when compared with all male bodies. A female body is (overall) seen as the result of comparatively minor bad karma or else comparatively inferior-grade good karma (given that human birth is of course the result of very good karma in general). Such an assessment of femaleness versus maleness

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yen na ca dṛṣṭasatyasya punaḥ strītvaprādurbhāva iti siddhāṃtaḥ. The passage in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* has already been noted by Harvey 2000: 371, who states that "the Sarvāstivāda school taught that a woman who attained the 'path of seeing', i.e., stream-entry, would no longer be reborn as a female (*AKB.* [*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*] iv.21a–b)" (the reference to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is a misprint, "iv.21a–b" should read "vi.21a–b"). Although the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* text is not fully explicit, Harvey's suggestion is in line with the understanding of the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, only a man who has attained the path of seeing (while being a man) is seen as not subject to female birth, but both bodies, *āśraya*, are possible for a woman who has attained the *agradharma* and thereby the path of seeing (while being a woman), *agradharmās tu stry eva dvacyāśrayān labhate*. That is, a woman who attains the path of seeing may be reborn as a man or a woman; a man who attains the path of seeing may be reborn only as a man.

[98]. T 1545 at T XXVII 33c$_{17}$–34a$_5$; cf. also T 1821 at T XLI 348a15$_{ult}$ and T 1822 at T XLI 738a$_{18}$.

[99]. T 1545 at T XXVII 130c$_{7–11}$: 復次聖道亦依男身亦依女身。此中依女身聖道與依女身聖道為因。亦與依男身聖道為因。依男身聖道唯與依男身聖道為因。非依女身聖道以彼劣故; cf. also T 1545 at T XXVII 130c$_{12–13}$: 男女二身勝劣定故. For other examples of similar negative gendered-soteriology see also Dhammadinnā 2016a: 47 note 32.

[100]. See, for example, the indication in the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda tradition according to which those who are in all the *bhūmi*s (leading to Buddhahood) are males, see Senart 1882: I 103,$_{11}$: *sarvāsu daśabhūmiṣu puruṣa bhavanti*. On the final *nirvedhabhāgīya* in the practice of Mahāyāna Yogācāra see, e.g., Funayama 2011.

[101]. A noble disciple has done away with the animal realm, the domain of ghosts, the plane of misery, the bad destinations and the place of ruin, e.g., SN 55.29 at SN V 389,$_{16–22}$ with its parallel SĀ 845 at T II 215c$_{25–29}$. In the case of the Theravāda tradition, where we are in the fortunate position of being able to access a fairly complete assembly of texts ranging from the four *Nikāya*s to later exegesis, the idea that a female cannot be reborn female after the first level of awakening has been attained would conflict with the evidence of a number of commentarial tales: the once-returner Uttarā Nandamātā (Vv-a 69,$_{31}$) and the female stream-entrants Rohiṇī (Anuruddha's sister) (Dhp-a III 298,$_{13ult}$), who are reborn in Tāvatiṃsa; the stream-entrant Sunandā (the garland-maker's daughter), who is reborn as a female attendant to Sakka (Vv-a 170,$_{7–9}$); the female stream-entrant Sirimā (sister of Jīvaka), reborn in Nimmānarati (Vv-a 79,$_{25ult}$); the female stream-entrant Visākha Migaramātā, reborn in Nimmānarati as the wife of the *deva* king Sunimmita (Vv-a 192,$_{3–7}$); the female once-returner Sumanā (the youngest daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika), reborn in Tusita (Dhp-a I 153,$_{4–5}$). In these examples it is clear that the subsequent rebirth involves being a woman. In fact, as far as I know, there does not seem to be any explicit discussion in the Theravāda Abhidharma on the issue of female stream-entrants being reborn as women.

[102]. As in the *Atthasālinī* passage referenced in note 85 above. On maleness and femaleness in the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda Abhidharma traditions see Gethin in preparation.

involves a relative component (femaleness is inferior relatively speaking). To inhabit a female body is arguably, at least on average, an unfortunate and lower condition in early and medieval India, which accounts for considering it, generally speaking, less desirable. Thus, from a socio-cultural perspective, a stream-entrant (or a once-returner) born as a female would stand comparatively higher chances of being subject to a state of external deprivation and other difficulties.

In conclusion, returning to the Bodhisattva's femaleness in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (and elsewhere), assumed at the time of the former Buddha Ajita after the initial resolution to Buddhahood is made (to be left behind at the time of the former Buddha Ratnaśikhin), here it appears that being born as or changing to female for a Bodhisattva in mid-career is possible. But elsewhere – in other Middle-Period narratives transmitted across different traditions and in the mainstream fully-fledged bodhisattva literature of the Mahāyāna – this is not envisaged as being possible.

The Bodhisattva's femaleness in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* and related sources seems to be presented somewhat fluidly and neutrally once it is read against the Buddhological map that it presupposes. It is no more and no less than one of the well signposted steps in the epochal career that unfolds of its own accord, something of an incidental state of existence as the path proceeds closer to the prediction to Buddhahood and, finally, the present Buddha Śākyamuni's final birth.

Appendix: Text of Up 4069

References: C, *mngon pa, ju* 232b₂–233a₅; D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 232b₃–233a₅; G 3598, *mzod 'grel, tu* 348a₁–349a₁; N, *mngon pa, tu* 256b₂–257a₆; P 5595, *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 265b₅–266b₁; Si-T 3323, *mngon pa, ju* 567₁₁–569₂ (with apparatus in vol. 161 p. 737).

The scribal peculiarities of the Golden manuscript Tanjur (e.g., *nyamasu* for *nyams su, zhabasu* for *zhabs su* etc.) are not indicated.

ji ltar dge slong gi dge 'dun la bud med ces ⌈brjod pa zhes⌉ⁱ bya ba la | gang gi tshe bcom ldan 'das kyi gsung ⌈kau śām bī⌉ pa'i ⌈dge⌉ⁱⁱ slong rnams ⌈kyis⌉ⁱⁱⁱ lan gsum gyi bar du phyir ⌈bzlog⌉ⁱᵛ pa dang | de'i tshe dge slong rnams kyis the tshom thams cad gcod par mdzad pa sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la zhus pa | de bzhin gshegs pas phrin las ci zhig mdzad nas las de'i rnam par smin ⌈pas⌉ᵛ bcom ldan 'das kyis dge ba'i gsung | phan pa'i gsung | gzung bar ⌈'os⌉ᵛⁱ pa'i tshig dag kyang kau śām bī pa'i dge slong rnams kyis lan gsum gyi bar du phyir bzlog | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal ⌈pa⌉ᵛⁱⁱ | dge slong dag de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyis te | sngon gzhan gyis byas shing bsags pa dag gzhan ⌈su⌉ᵛⁱⁱⁱ zhig gis nyams su myong ⌈bar⌉ⁱˣ 'gyur ⌈ba⌉ˣ zhes bya ba nas | lus can rnams la 'bras bur smin ⌈||⌉ˣⁱ zhes bya ba'i bar du'o || dge slong dag sngon byung ba 'das pa'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 ⌈|⌉ˣⁱⁱ 'jig rten mkhyen pa ⌈|⌉ˣⁱⁱⁱ bla na med pa ⌈|⌉ˣⁱᵛ skyes bu 'dul zhing kha lo sgyur ba | lha dang mi rnams kyi ston pa sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌈ma⌉ˣᵛ pham pa zhes bya ba 'jig rten du byung ste | de'i tshe na nga byang chub sems dpa'i ⌈spyad pa⌉ˣᵛⁱ spyod de phyug po'i bur gyur te | bla na med pa'i byang chub tu sems bskyed cing rab tu byung ngo || rab tu byung nas sde snod gsum par gyur to || de nas dge slong gi dge 'dun la rtsod pa byung ⌈ste⌉ˣᵛⁱⁱ | des rtsod pa de cher 'phel bar byas so ||ji tsam na dge slong mdo ⌈sde⌉ˣᵛⁱⁱⁱ 'dzin pa zhig gis de bton nas rtsod pa de zhi bar byas pa dang | ⌈des bud⌉ˣⁱˣ med rnams kyi rtsod pa zhi bar byas sam zhes dge slong gi dge 'dun la bud med ces ⌈smras so⌉ˣˣ || ngag gi nyes par ⌈spyad⌉ˣˣⁱ pa des de'i skyes pa'i dbang po nub cing bud med kyi dbang po byung bar gyur cing skye ba lnga brgyar bud med du skyes shing yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rin chen gtsug tor can gyis de'i bud med kyi dngos po bzlog cing skyes pa'i dngos po thob par ⌈byas so⌉ˣˣⁱⁱ || nga nyid de'i tshe de'i dus na phyug po'i bur gyur cing byang chub sems dpa'i spyad pa spyod pa na

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i.   G omits: brjod pa zhes. CDNP add: brjod pa zhes.
ii.   C reads: dgi. G reads: dge'.
iii. G reads: kyi.
iv.   CD read: bzlog. GNP read: zlog.
v.   G reads: pa.
vi.   G reads: 'ongs.
vii. P reads: ba.
viii. G reads: sum.
ix.   P reads: par.
x.   P reads: pa.
xi.   GNP omit: ||. CD read: |.
xii. G omits: |.
xiii. GNP omit: |.
xiv. GNP omit: |.
xv.   G omits: ma.
xvi. C reads: spyod pa.
xvii. D reads: sta.
xviii. CDGP read: sde. N reads: de.
xix. D reads: nges bung.
xx.   D reads: smras se.
xxi. C reads: spyod.
xxii. G reads: byaso.

sde snod ⌈⌉xxiii gsum par gyur kyang ngas dge 'dun la ngag ⌈gi⌉xxiv nyes par spyod pa ⌈smras⌉xxv pas las de'i rgyus kau ⌈śām bī⌉xxvi pa'i dge slong rnams kyis lan gsum gyi bar du ⌈nga'i⌉xxvii tshig phyir bzlog go | 'di nyid phran tshegs las sangs rgyas mang po'i rtogs pa brjod par ⌈tshigs⌉xxviii ⌈⌉xxix su bcad par byas te | de nas sangs rgyas mi pham pa'i || sngon byung sde snod gsum par gyur ⌈||⌉xxx dge slong dge 'dun rtsod pa na ⌈||⌉xxxi dge 'dun ⌈bud⌉xxxii med ces brjod pa'i || ⌈ngag⌉xxxiii gi nyes par spyad byas pas || bud med nyid du nye bar song || slar yang sems rab ⌈dad⌉xxxiv pa yis || skyes pa'i dngos po nyid du gyur ⌈||⌉xxxv zhes gsungs so ⌈||⌉xxxvi

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xxiii. G adds: gnad.

xxiv. CD read: gi. GNP read: gis.

xxv. C reads: smros.

xxvi. G reads: śām bi.

xxvii. G omits: nga'i.

xxviii. G reads: tshags.

xxix. G adds: las sangs rgyas mang pa'i rtags ba brjad par tshig.

xxx. G reads: |.

xxxi. N reads: |.

xxxii. G reads: bung.

xxxiii. G reads: dag.

xxxiv. GP read: dang.

xxxv. GNP omit: ||. C reads: |.

xxxvi. N reads: |.

Abbreviations

Ap-a	*Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*
As	*Atthasālinī*
B^e	Burmese edition (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tripiṭaka 4.0, Vipassana Research Institute)
Bv-a	*Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*
C	Cone edition
CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
CS	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tripiṭaka 4.0, Vipassana Research Institute
D	Derge edition (Tōhoku)
Dhp	*Dhammapada*
Dhp-a	*Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*
EĀ	*Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125)
E^e	European edition (Pali Text Society)
G	Golden Tanjur edition
Jā	*Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā* or *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*
MĀ	*Madhyama-āgama* (T 26)
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
N	Narthang edition
P	Peking edition (Ōtani)
Pj	*Paramatthajotikā* (I) (*Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*)
SĀ	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99)
Si-T	dPe bsdur ma ('Sichuan') Tanjur edition
SN	*Saṃyutta-nikāya*
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā*
Sv-pṭ	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā* (*Dīghanikāyāṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā*)
T	Taishō edition (CBETA, 2014)
ult	ulterior, following
Up	*Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā* (*Upāyikā*)
Vv-a	*Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka*
Vism-mṭ	*Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā* (ed. Marammaratthe Buddhasāsana Society, 2008)

Note

When quoting text editions I have adjusted the sandhi, punctuation, capitalisation etc. and simplified some of the text-critical conventions for the sake of consistency and ease of reference.

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Editio princeps versus an old palm-leaf manuscript Sa:
Verses in the Mahāvastu revisited[*]

Katarzyna MARCINIAK

The *Mahāvastu* (hereafter abbr. Mv), a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text ascribed to the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, was critically edited by Émile Senart in 1882-1897 in three volumes on the basis of six late manuscripts dating back to 1800 C.E. onwards.

The present article offers some observations on selected verses of the *Mahāvastu*, whose metres and understanding can be restored or considerably improved on the basis of better readings found in an old palm-leaf manuscript from Nepal (hereafter abbr. Sa), dating back to the 12-13th centuries,[1] and in the oldest extant paper manuscript (hereafter abbr. Na) dating back to 1657, written by a famous scribe named Jayamuni Vajrācārya[2], both of which were discovered in Nepal only in the 1970s, therefore they were not used by Senart in his *editio princeps*.

The examples given below illustrate "emendations" made by Senart during his attempts to correct the metre and improve the readings in the manuscripts he consulted, which not infrequently prove to be unjustified and too far-fetched, and should be reconsidered on the basis of better readings found in the above-mentioned two older manuscripts of the text.

In the third volume of his edition, from which the examples discussed in the present article are taken, Senart consulted the following three manuscripts: ms. B (dated 1800 C.E.), ms. C (undated, late) and ms. M (undated, but later than ms. B)[3],[4] which all derive from the oldest paper ms. Na, which in turn is none other than a copy of the palm-leaf ms. Sa[5] with substantial redactional changes.

The verses examined in the present article illustrate the following situations:

1. Readings in ms. Sa were altered in ms. Na. The new readings were copied in all the later mss., including mss. B and M which Senart consulted.

2. Senart sometimes rejected readings in the later manuscripts and introduced his own readings.

3. There are cases where readings in the later mss. are corrupt and Senart proposed implausible emendations which can be improved on the basis of better readings found in the two older manuscripts Sa and Na.

1. *Yaśodasya vastu*

Senart 3.405

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhanti nyagrodho va subhūmiyaṃ |*
>
> ◡ ◡ − − − ◡ − − ◡   − − − ◡ ◡ − ◡ −
>
> *anupanthako viya drumo na alpapuṇyo viruhyati ‖*
>
> ◡ ◡ − ◡ − ◡ − ◡ −   ◡ − − − − ◡ − ◡ ◡

Jones's translation of Mv (3.403; hereafter abbr. J.):

> "The meritorious man grows like a banyan-tree;
>
> but the man of little merit becomes stunted like a tree planted in the roadway".

A new edition of the Mv, hereafter abbr. Mv (KM)[6], reads as follows:

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vadhanti[7] nyagrodho va[8] subhūmiyaṃ jāto |*
>
> ◡ ◡ − | − ◡ ◡ | − − | − − | − <◡> ◡ | ◡ − ◡ | − − | −
>
> *anupanthake[9] viya drumā[10] na alpapuṇyā viruhyanti ‖*
>
> ◡ ◡ − | ◡ − ◡ | ◡ ◡ − | ◡ − ◡ | − − | ◡ | − − | ◡

> "The meritorious [men] prosper like a banyan-tree which grows in good soil;
>
> men of little merit do not grow out, like trees [growing] along the road".[11]

The metre of the above verse is *Āryā* (*Pathyā*, with a caesura after the 3rd *gaṇa*; additionally, *pāda* b is *Āryā Capalā*, with amphibrachs ◡−◡ in the 2nd and the 4th *gaṇa*s)[12]. *Pāda* a has 30 *mātrā*s, *pāda* b 27 *mātrā*s.

Senart seems to have misunderstood the metre since he omitted the word *jāto*, against the reading in all the mss., after which the first line has 16 syllables and becomes *Śloka* (*pāda*s a, b and d are *Pathyā*; *pāda* c is *na-Vipulā*). Even though this verse is preserved in exactly the same form in two other chapters in the Mv, Senart twice emended the text, once by omitting the word *jāto* as shown above, another time by misplacing this word in the verse:

Senart 2.423

> *kṛtapuṇyo hi vardhati nyagrodho iva subhūmiyā |*
>
> ◡ ◡ − − − ◡ − ◡ −   − − − ◡ ◡ − ◡ −
>
> *jāto (')nupanthake va drumo so (')lpapuṇyaḥ viruhyati ‖*
>
> − − − ◡ − ◡ − − ◡ −   − ◡ − − ◡ − ◡ ◡

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhaṃti[13] nyagrodhā iva subhūmiyā jātā[14] |*

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6. Mv (KM) = a new edition of the *Mahāvastu*, based on the sole palm-leaf ms. Sa and the oldest extant paper ms. Na, currently under preparation by Seishi Karashima and Katarzyna Marciniak at The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.

7. So reads Sa; m.c. for *vardhaṃti*, with the shortening of a nasalised vowel; Na Senart read *vardhanti* (unmetr.).

8. Read *iva* (m.c.).

9. Sa Na Se *anupanthako*; see BHSD s.v. *anupanthake*; PTSD s.v. *anupanthe* "adv.; along the road".

10. Read *dumā* (m.c.).

11. Unless otherwise indicated translations are my own.

12. On the *Āryā* and its variations, cf. Warder 1967: 143-145; Sadd: 1164; Alsdorf 1968: 9-12.

13. Sa Na *vardhati*, sing. for pl.; read *vadhaṃti* (m.c.).

14. Sa Na *jāto*.

⏑ ⏑ − | − ⏑ ⏑ | − − | − − | − ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ − ⏑ | − − | −

anupanthake[15] *viya drumo*[16] *na alpapuṇyā viruhyaṃti*[17] ‖

⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | − − | ⏑ | − − | ⏑

In *pāda* d Senart changed *na viruhyaṃti* to *so viruhyati*, against the reading in all the mss., which Jones (2.376) translated "but the unrighteous becomes stunted". The correct reading is undoubtedly *na viruhyaṃti*, where *vi√ruh* means "grow out; shoot forth", which is the reading in the same verses found in two other chapters in the Mv. Moreover, by moving the word *jāto* from the end of the first line, where it belongs, to the beginning of the second line Senart made the verse unmetrical. The reading in the mss. should be kept; the metre is regular *Āryā*, not *Śloka*. Interestingly, in the same verse in another chapter in the Mv Senart kept the word *jāto* in the right place:

Senart 3.184

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhanti nyagrodhā viya subhūmiyaṃ jātā* |
> *anupanthake viya drumā alpapuṇyā vihīnā* ‖ *tti*

⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ − | − ⏑ | − − | ⏑ | − − | ⏑

J. 3.180

> "The righteous grow like the banyan tree in fertile soil,
> but the unrighteous wither like trees growing in the roadway".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhanti nyagrodhā viya subhūmiyaṃ jātā* |
> *anupanthake viya drumā na alpapuṇyā viruhyanti* (← mss. *vihīranti*) ‖

⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | − − | ⏑ | − − | ⏑

This verse, however, is a little more problematic than the two discussed earlier. At the end of the second line all the mss. read *vihīranti*, which was understood by Senart as s.e. for *vihīnā tti*. Further he deleted the word *na* in order that the verse makes sense. Senart apparently did not realise that by deleting the word *na pāda* b becomes unmetrical, namely the fourth *gaṇa* becomes trochee − ⏑ instead of amphibrach ⏑ − ⏑. I assume that *vihīranti* in the mss. is s.e. for *viruhyanti*, which, as shown above, is the reading found in the same verses in two other chapters in the Mv.[18]

Thus, one and the same verse was interpreted by Senart in three different ways:

mss.: *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhanti nyagrodho viya subhūmiyaṃ jāto* |
> *anupanthake viya drumā na alpapuṇyā viruhyanti* ‖

Senart 2.423

> *kṛtapuṇyo hi vardhati nyagrodho iva subhūmiyā* |
> *jāto nupanthake va drumo so lpapuṇyaḥ viruhyati* ‖

Senart 3.184

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhanti nyagrodhā viya subhūmiyaṃ jātā* |
> *anupanthake viya drumā alpapuṇyā vihīnā tti* ‖

Senart 3.405

> *kṛtapuṇyā hi vardhanti nyagrodho va subhūmiyaṃ* |

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15. Two short syllables *a-nu-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.).
16. Read *dumo* (m.c.).
17. Sa Na *viruhyati*, sg. for pl., unmetr.
18. Senart, however, was of a different opinion, writing: (Mv 3. 522) "J'ai peine à croire que la lecture primitive n'ait pas été: *anupanthako viya drumo alpapuṇyo viru(lu)jyati*."

anupanthako viya drumo na alpapuṇyo viruhyati ‖

2. *ŚāriputraMaudgalyāyanapramukhānāṃ paṃcānāṃ bhikṣuśatānāṃ rākṣasīdvīpa-kṣiptānāṃ jātakaṃ*

Senart 3.60

> *arthena mahyaṃ kāriyaṃ kiṃ bhoti vyaṃjanaṃ bahu* |
>
> − − − ‿ − − ‿ − ‿ − − − − ‿ − − ‿
>
> *arthaguruko hy arthavijño arthenārthaṃ cikīrṣati* ‖
>
> − ‿ ‿ ‿ − − ‿ − − − − − − ‿ − ‿ ‿

J. 3.62

> "I am concerned with the sense, what matters the letter? For he who teaches the sense knows the sense, and seeks to do good thereby".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *arthena mahyaṃ[19] kariyaṃ kiṃ hoti[20] vyaṃjanaṃ subahukaṃ pi* |
>
> − − | ‿ − ‿ | ‿ ‿ − | − − | − − | ‿ − ‿ | ‿ ‿ − | ‿
>
> *arthaguruko hi arthavijñe[21] arthenârthaṃ cikīrṣati* ‖[22]
>
> − ‿ ‿ | ‿ − ‿ | − ‿ | − − | − − − − ‿ − ‿ ‿
>
> "I am concerned with the sense, what matters the letter?
>
> He who attaches importance to the sense knows the sense (or: is wise), and [only]
>
> by [pointing to the] sense [he] wants to make sense".

In the mss. *pāda* a has 30 *mātrā*s, *pāda* b 27 *mātrā*s, which points towards *Āryā*. *Pāda* a is a regular *Āryā Pathyā*, with a caesura after the 3rd *gaṇa*, while *pāda* b is a mixture of *Āryā Vipulā* (*arthaguruko hi arthavijñe*), and *Śloka* (*arthenârthaṃ cikīrṣati*). The only metrical difficulty we face is the 3rd *gaṇa* in the second half which is trochee − ‿ , instead of dactyl − ‿ ‿ or spondee − −. The metre can be improved by reading *vijñe* for *arthavijñe*: "he who attaches importance to the sense is wise" for "he who attaches importance to the sense knows the sense".

Senart wrongly wrote the whole verse as *Śloka*. In *pāda* b he emended *subahukaṃ pi* to *bahu*, against the reading in the mss., after which he got 16 syllables in the first line and made the metre *Śloka*. However, as a result, we face some metrical problems, i.e., *pāda* a does not scan and there is one redundant syllable in *pāda* c; moreover, the 2nd and the 3rd syllables in *pāda* c are both short, which as a rule is not permissible in *Śloka*. Senart's emendation is untenable and it goes against the reading preserved in all the extant mss. of the text.

Edgerton 1953: 29 recognised that the meter is *Āryā*, not *Śloka*, and corrected Senart, but then he emended the verse to:

> *arthena mahya kāriya kiṃ bhoti vyañjanakaṃ subahukaṃ pi* |
>
> − − | ‿ − ‿ | − ‿ ‿ | − − | ‿ − ‿ | ‿ − ‿ | ‿ ‿ − | ‿
>
> *arthaguruko pi vijño arthenârthaṃ pi cikīrṣati* ‖
>
> − ‿ ‿ | ‿ − ‿ | − − | − − | − − | ‿ | ‿ − ‿ | ‿

Edgerton's suggestions, namely reading *vyañjanakaṃ* for *vyañjanaṃ*, *vijño* for *arthavijño*, *pi*

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19. Read *mahya* (m.c.).
20. Sa *hāti* (s.e.); Na Se *bhoti*.
21. For the nom. sg. masc. *-e*, see BHSG § 8.25; Abhis III § 6.3; Karashima 2002: § 9.2.
22. Cf. Vin 1.40 *appaṃ vā bahuṃ vā bhāsassu, atthaṃ yeva me brūhi, atthen' eva me attho, kiṃ kāhasi vyañjanaṃ bahun ti.*

for *hi* and adding one more *pi* in *pāda* b, are partially untenable. The 5th *gaṇa* in *pāda* a and the 7th *gaṇa* in *pāda* b become amphibrachs, which is impermissible in *Āryā*.[23] In fact, as stated above, the metre can be understood as mixture of *Āryā* and *Śloka*, in which the part *arthenârthaṃ cikīrṣati* is *Śloka*.[24] Alternatively, *pāda* d can become regular *Āryā* if we add one syllable at the end of the line[25]:

> *arthenârthaṃ cikīrṣati <..>*
> ‒ ‒ | ‒ ‒ | ◡ | ‒ ◡ ◡ | <◡̮>

3. *Kuśa-jātakaṃ*

Senart 3.18

> *rājaputro śūro vīro*   *yuddhasmiṃ apratipudgalo* |
> ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒   ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒
>
> *kuśo 'yam ārūḍhaprajño*   *idaṃ vacanam abravīt* ‖
> ◡ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒   ◡ ‒ ◡ ◡ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒

J. 3.18

> "Then Kuśa, the son of a king, heroic, invincible in combat, this Kuśa who was
> noble and wise, spoke these words".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *rājaputro .. .. śūro*   *.. .. yuddhasmi puṅgavo* |
> ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ <◡̮ ◡̮> ‒ ‒   <◡̮ ◡̮> ‒ ‒ ‒ ◡ ‒ ◡ ‒
>
> *Kuśo sarūḍha[26] saprajño*   *idaṃ vacanam abravīt* ‖
> ◡ ‒ ◡ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‒   ◡ ‒ ◡ ◡ ◡ ‒ ◡ ‒

> "Kuśa, the son of a king, … , valiant, …, the bull in the battle,
> bold, wise, spoke these words".

The metre is *Śloka*; Senart's reading is not supported by the manuscripts, moreover it does not suit the metre. In *pāda* a, in which two syllables are lacking, Senart supplied the word *vīro*, but in this way the metre does not fit any *Vipulā* pattern. The metre indicates that the missing word should be placed between *°putro* and *śūro*, whereby we get either *Pathyā* or *Vipulā*, depending on the distribution of long and short syllables in the lacking word.

    In Senart's edition *pāda* b has 9 syllables; the metre could be improved by reading *yuddhasmiṃ (')pratipudgalo*, but the emendation is unnecessary. The reading of ms. Sa not only provides the right meaning, "the bull (= hero) in the battle", but it is also perfectly metrical. There are two syllables missing at the beginning of *pāda* b. One may supply e.g., *<vīro> yuddhasmi puṅgavo*, keeping the word proposed by Senart, but placing it at the beginning of *pāda* b instead of the final position in *pāda* a.

    In *pāda* c Senart's conjectures are implausible. The readings in Sa are metrically correct

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[23.] Edgerton 1953: 29 "My text is a perfect āryā except that the 5th foot in the first line and the 7th in the second are amphibrachs", and Alsdorf's comment on that (1968: 307): "Eine 'perfekte' Āryā, bei der 'nur' der 5. Gaṇa der 1. und der 7. der 2. Zeile Amphibrachys sind, wäre etwa einem völlig unversehrten Menschen zu vergleichen, dem 'nur' ein Arm und ein Bein fehlen. Mit ◡ ◡ ‒ ◡ ‒ kann eine Āryā unter keinen Umständen schließen".

[24.] Other examples of *Āryā* with *Śloka pāda*s are e.g., Th 587, 590-594. For their interpretation, see EV I: 242.

[25.] Cf. Alsdorf 1968: 307-308 "Eine korrekter d-pāda ergäbe sich, wenn man, was auch der Sinn nahelegt, das *pi* striche und nach *cikīrṣati* noch eine (anceps-)Silbe zufügte; aber auch hier weiß ich keine überzeugende Ergänzung vorzuschlagen".

[26.] Probably s.e. for *saṃrūḍha* "bold" or *sa-rūḍhi* ("possessing fame")?

(*Śloka Pathyā*) as well as providing the right sense: "Kuśa, bold, endowed with understanding (*saprajño*)".

A few lines below in the same chapter a similar verse is found:

Senart 3.20

> *tato ca so rājaputro yuddhasmi kovido kuśo* |
> *saṃrūḍhaprajñāno asti samādāpya iti sthitā* ||

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *tato ca so rājaputro .. .. yuddhasmi kovido* |
> *Kuśo sarūḍha prajñāno*[27] *asiṃ ādāya utthito*[28] ||

Pāda a is *ra-Vipulā*. In *pāda* b two syllables are missing. Senart wrongly moved the word *kuśo* from the beginning of *pāda* c to the end of *pāda* b, as a result *pāda* c became unmetrical. In order to improve the metre Senart added the word *asti* against the reading in all the manuscripts. However, such emendations are unnecessary and untenable. The metre and sense are better with reading e.g. <*vīro / śūro*> *yuddhasmi kovido*, then *pāda*s c and d are regular *Śloka pāda*s (*Pathyā*). *Pāda* c *kuśo sarūḍha prajñāno* is almost the same as *pāda* c in the verse examined above: *kuśo sarūḍha saprajño*.

4. *UpāliGaṃgapālānāṃ jātakaṃ*

Senart 3.196

> *āyuṃ ca varṇaṃ ca manuṣyaloke*
> – – ᴗ – – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ – –
> *prahīyate manujānāṃ sugātrī* |
> ᴗ – ᴗ – – ᴗ ᴗ – – ᴗ – –
> *tenaiva varṇena dhanaṃ pi arjyaṃ*
> – – ᴗ – – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ – –
> *parihīyase jīrṇatarāsi adya* ||
> ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ | – – ᴗ | ᴗ – ᴗ | – –

J. 3.192

> "In this world of men the beautiful woman is doomed to lose her age and her beauty.
> You should profit by your beauty, for already you are fading, already you are getting older".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *āyuñ ca varṇaṃ ca manuṣyaloke*
> – – ᴗ – – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ – –
> *nihīyate*[29] *manujānaṃ sugātrī*[30] |
> ᴗ – ᴗ – – ᴗ ᴗ – – ᴗ – –
> *tenâiva*[31] *varṇena dhanaṃ pi tuhya*[32]
> – – ᴗ – – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ – ᴗ

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27. Sa Na *sarūpa°*.
28. Sa Na *āsi ādāya itthito.*
29. Sa Na *na hīyate* (s.e.).
30. The mss. *sugāḍhī.*
31. Sa Na *tenanâiva* (ditt.).
32. The mss. *uhya* (s.e.).

parihīyase[33] *jīrṇatarâsi adya* ‖

˘ ˘ − ˘ − − − ˘ ˘ − ˘ ˘ − ˘

"Youth and beauty of people, o beautiful lady, fade in the world of men.
Along with your beauty your wealth decreases as well; [because] you are older today".

An almost identical verse in Jā, no. 458 (*Udaya-jātaka*), IV 108 reads as follows:

āyuñ ca vaṇṇañ ca manussaloke
nihiyyati manujānaṃ sugatte |
ten' eva vaṇṇena dhanam pi tuyhaṃ
nihiyyati jiṇṇatarāsi ajja ‖[34]

The metre is *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī*. In *pāda* c the mss. read *uhya*, which Senart emended to *arjyaṃ* "to be obtained", but this is in fact s.e. for *tuhya*, which agrees with *tuyhaṃ* in Jā. In the light of the reading in Jā, I emend *parihīyase* to *parihīyate*, which not only agrees with the reading in Jā, but also provides better sense; in fact, semantically the word *parihīyate* belongs to *pāda* d: *tenayva varṇena dhanaṃ pi tuhya parihīyate* "along with your beauty your wealth decreases"; rather than to *pāda* c, as J. 3.192 interpreted: *parihīyase jīrṇatarâsi adya* "you are fading, already you are getting older".

Pāda b is metrically difficult:

nihīyate manujānāṃ sugātrī

˘ − ˘ − ˘ − − − − ˘ − −

The metre can be improved by reading *mānuṣāṇaṃ* (m.c. for gen. pl. *mānuṣāṇaṃ*) instead of *manujānāṃ*. Alternatively, see Sadd: 1152 (8.3.1,02), where Smith provided other verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* which follow the pattern ˘ − ˘ − ˘ ˘ − − ˘ − −.

5. *UruvilvākāśyapaNadīkāśyapaGayākāśyapānāṃ jātakaṃ*

Senart 3.430

mayā vinīte na santi doṣā atrāniyato kāśyapa na vidyate |

˘ − ˘ | − − | ˘ − ˘ | − − | − − | ˘ ˘ − | − ˘ ˘ | ˘ − ˘ | −

nabhaṃ pateya pṛthivī phaleya ca na buddhadānto saviṣo caret ‖

˘ − ˘ | − ˘ ˘ | ˘ − ˘ | − ˘ ˘ | ˘ − ˘ | − − | ˘ | ˘ − ˘ | −

J. 3.431

"There is no malice in one trained by me; among such, O Kāśyapa, there is none that is unrestrained. Though the heavens fall or the earth be cleaved in two, a man who has been tamed by the Buddha will fare immune from poison".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

mayā vinītasya na santi[35] *doṣā*

˘ − ˘ − − ˘ ˘ − ˘ − −

atyantato Kāśyapa vidyate |

− − − ˘ − − ˘ ˘ − ˘ −

nabhaṃ pateyā pṛthivī phaleyā

˘ − ˘ − ˘ − ˘ ˘ − − −

[33.] In *pāda* d two short syllables *pa-ri-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.).
[34.] Dutoit 4.126 "Die Jugend und die Schönheit, schöne Frau, nimmt bei den Menschen immer ab auf Erden; und um der Schönheit willen wird dein Geld auch weniger, denn älter bist du heute".
[35.] Corr. Na; Sa *ṣanti*.

na buddhadāntā saviṣā carensuḥ ‖

  ᴗ – ᴗ – – – ᴗ – ᴗ – –

"The one trained by me possesses no hatred; O Kāśyapa, … (?);
even if the heaven would fall, and the earth would split,
those who have been tamed by the Buddha, would not walk around with poison[36]
(= with anger)".

Having made some emendations (*vinītasya* to *vinīte*; *pateyā* to *pateya*; *phaleyā* to *phaleya*; *na buddhadāntā saviṣā carensuḥ* to *na buddhadānto saviṣo caret*), Senart wrote this verse as *Āryā*, with amphibrachs in *gaṇa*s 1, 3 and 7 in *pāda* a, and in all the odd *gaṇa*s in *pāda* b. This verse is listed as *Āryā* in Smith 1949-1950: 22. We can only assume that Smith took this verse for *Gurvinī*, a subtype of *Āryā*, in which amphibrachs occur in the odd *gaṇa*s, which as a rule is impermissible in other types of *Āryā*, but the author himself provided no further information regarding any metrical difficulties of this verse. Taking into account the fact that *Gurvinī* is a rather rare type of *Āryā*, and I have not noted this metre in any other places in the Mv, Senart's conjecture can hardly be accepted. Moreover, on detailed examination of the readings in the mss. it turns out that the metre is not *Āryā*, but *Upajāti*. Importantly, no emendations need to be introduced in the reading of the mss. in order to suit this metre. The only metrically problematic part of this verse is *pāda* b *atyantato Kāśyapa vidyate*. If the word *atyantato* is understood as "absolutely, completely", then the particle *na* must be added in this *pāda* in order to obtain the right sense: "it does not exist at all (or: he does not possess [hatred] at all)". Unfortunately, adding the particle *na* right before the word *vidyate* goes against the metre. I am unable to propose a tenable emendation which would improve the metre in *pāda* d without changing the reading in the manuscripts.

6. *Saptarātrāhaṃ*

Senart 3.278

  śīlaskandhena acchidrā ye ca bhikṣū pratiṣṭhitā |
  teṣāṃ śrutvā idaṃ sūtraṃ mahāharṣaṃ janeṣyati ‖
  bhadrakakṣāntisaurabhyasaṃpannā[37] *adīnamānasā* |
  arthikā buddhajñānena teṣāṃ tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati ‖

J. 3.278

"And the monks who stand flawless in morality will beget a fine rapture when they hear this sūtra. There will be joy for those who are endowed with good forbearance and a gentle disposition, who are high-minded and desirous for knowledge of the Buddha".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

  śīlaskandhena[38] *acchidrā ye bhikṣu .. pratiṣṭhitā* |[39]

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[36] *Saviṣa*, lit. "with poison", but in the meaning of *sadoṣa* "with anger, hatred"; in fact, the sense of *na buddhadāntā saviṣā carensuḥ* is the same as that expressed in the first line with the words *mayā vinītasya na santi doṣā*.

[37] Senart read *saurabhya*, but the correct reading is *sauratya*; Pā *soracca*; cf. BHSD s.v. *sauratya*; see also Wogihara 1908: 44.

[38] Sa Na *nīla°* (s.e.).

[39] One syllable is lacking in *pāda* b; Senart adds *ca*, but cf. Sa 226r2 *ye bhikṣu supratiṣṭhitāḥ*.

teṣāṃ śrutvā idaṃ sūtraṃ harṣaṃ[40] *bheṣyati*[41] *bhadrakaṃ* ‖
kṣāntisauratyasampannā adīna .. .. mānasā[42] |[43]
arthikā buddhajñānena teṣāṃ tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati ‖

"Having heard this *sutra*, those monks who are flawless in morality [and] <firmly> established, they will beget auspicious joy.

[Those, who are] endowed with patience and gentleness, [who possess] fearless <body> and mind, [and] are desirous for wisdom of the Buddha, will be satisfied".

The same verse occurs in another place in Mv:

Senart 2.353-354

śīlaskandhe ca acchidre ye bhikṣū supratiṣṭhitāḥ |
te śruṇitvā idaṃ sūtraṃ harṣaṃ kāhinti bhadrakaṃ ‖
kṣāntisaurabhyasaṃpannā alīnakāyamānasāḥ |
arthikā buddhajñānena teṣāṃ tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati ‖

Mv (KM)

śīlaskandhena acchidra ye bhikṣu[44] *supratiṣṭhitāḥ* |
te śruṇitvā idaṃ sūtraṃ harṣaṃ kāhinti bhadrakaṃ ‖
kṣāntisauratyasaṃpannā alīnakāyamānasāḥ |
arthikā buddhajñānena teṣāṃ tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati ‖

The above examples demonstrate how some emendations introduced in the oldest paper ms. Na led Senart to wrong conjectures in an attempt to correct the metre. The metre in the above verses is *Śloka*. In Mv 3.278 Senart wrote *teṣāṃ śrutvā idaṃ sūtraṃ mahāharṣaṃ janeṣyati* ‖ *bhadrakakṣāntisaurabhyasaṃpannā adīnamānasā*, moving the word *bhadraka°* from *pāda* d in the first line to *pāda* a in the second line, which resulted in the verse becoming unmetrical. However, it is not Senart who is to be held responsible for this wrong emendation, since both mss. which he consulted have *janeṣyati* for *bheṣyati*. The correct reading in *pāda* d, i.e., *harṣaṃ bheṣyati bhadrakaṃ*, is kept only in the oldest palm-leaf ms. Sa, while in the oldest paper ms. Na it was emended to *mahāharṣaṃ janeṣyati*, and as a result, *pāda* d became hypermetrical. Since all the later mss. derive from ms. Na, therefore they all follow the reading introduced in this manuscript. Consequently, Senart moved *bhadraka°* to the next line, but then the caesura falls in the middle of a compound, while *pāda* b has one redundant syllable. This attempt to improve the metre was complicated by the fact that two syllables are missing in *pāda* b: *adīna .. .. mānasā*, but they can be supplied on the basis of the parallel verse which has: *alīnakāyamānasāḥ*.

7. *Saptarātrāhaṃ*

Senart 3.278

yehi te purimā buddhā satkṛtā dvipadottamā |
te idaṃ sūtraṃ śrutvāna teṣān tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati ‖
harṣitā yehi te satvā annapānena tarpitā |

[40.] Na Se *mahāharṣaṃ*.
[41.] Sa *neṣyati* (s.e.); Na Se *janeṣyati*.
[42.] Sa *°manasānasā* (ditt.; corr. Na).
[43.] Two syllables are missing in *pāda* b, probably *°kāya°*; cf. Sa 226r1.
[44.] For the nom. pl. masc. -*u*, cf. BHSG § 12.61; Abhis III § 11.9.

> *te pīdaṃ sūtraṃ śrutvāna buddhe kāhinti gauravaṃ* ||

J. 3.266

> "There will be joy for those who have honoured previous Buddhas, Best of bipeds, when they hear this sūtra. Those who gladdened and refreshed men with food and drink will also do reverence to the Buddha when they hear this sūtra".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *yehi te purimā buddhā satkṛtā dvipadottamā*[45] |
> *te idaṃ sūtraṃ*[46] *śrutvāna tuṣṭā bhaviṣyaṃti*[47] *harṣitā* ||
> *yehi te kṛpaṇā satvā annapānena tarpitā* |
> *te pi (')daṃ*[48] *sūtraṃ*[49] *śrutvāna Buddhe kāhinti gauravaṃ* ||

> "Having heard this *sūtra*, those, who honoured the previous *buddha*s, the best among bipeds, will be pleased and joyful.
> Having heard this *sūtra*, those, who satisfied needy beings with food and drink, they also will revere the Buddha".

The metre is *Śloka*. Senart emended *tuṣṭā bhaviṣyaṃti harṣitā* in *pāda* d in the mss. to *teṣān tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati*. Further, he moved the word *harṣitā* from *pāda* d of the first verse to *pāda* a of the next verse. As a result, in *pāda* a of the second verse the original reading *kṛpaṇā satvā* "needy beings" was changed to *harṣitā satvā* "gladdened beings". Senart might have been misled by the fact that *pāda* b has 9 syllables and is unmetrical. However, the metre can be easily improved by reading semi-MIndic *bheṣyaṃti* for Skt *bhaviṣyaṃti*. This reading is confirmed by a similar verse found in another place in Mv, i.e.:

Senart 2.354

> *yehi purimakā buddhā satkṛtā dvijasattamā* |
> *idaṃ ca sūtraṃ śrutvāna tuṣṭā bheṣyanti maharṣiṇaḥ* ||
> *yehi te kṛpaṇā satvā annapānena tarpitāḥ* |
> *te idaṃ sūtraṃ śrutvāna buddhe kāhinti gauravaṃ* ||

Mv (KM)

> *yehi purimakā buddhā satkṛtā dvijasattamā* |
> *idaṃ ca sūtraṃ śrutvāna tuṣṭā bheṣyaṃti*[50] *harṣitāḥ*[51] ||
> *yehi te kṛpanā satvā annapānena tarpitāḥ* |
> *te idaṃ sūtraṃ śrutvāna Buddhe kāhinti gauravaṃ* ||

In this case, Senart read correctly *te kṛpanā satvā* in *pāda* a of the second verse, but his reading in *pāda* b of the first verse, *tuṣṭā bheṣyanti maharṣiṇaḥ*, differs from that in Mv 3.278, *teṣān tuṣṭir bhaviṣyati*. The manuscripts here read *tuṣṭā bheṣyaṃti maharṣitāḥ*, which Senart regarded as s.e. for *maharṣiṇaḥ*. I assume that the reading in the mss. *maharṣitāḥ* is rather s.e. for *harṣitāḥ*, which agrees with the reading in Sa 369r2, as we have seen above.

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45. Sa *dvidottamā* (lip.).
46. Read *sūtra* (m.c.).
47. Read *bheṣyaṃti* (m.c.).
48. Na Se *pîdaṃ*.
49. Read *sūtra* (m.c.).
50. Sa Na *tuṣṭo bheṣyati*, sing. for pl.
51. Sa Na *maharṣitāḥ* (s.e.).

8. *Padumāvatīye parikalpaḥ*

Senart 3.156

> *gatir mṛgāṇāṃ plavanaṃ ākāśaṃ pakṣiṇāṃ gatiḥ |*
>
> *dharmo gatir dvijātīnāṃ nirvāṇaṃ mahatī gati ||*
>
> J. 3.151 "The way of the wild beast is the wood; of the birds the air.
>
> Dharma is the way of the twice-born; nirvāṇa is the way supreme".

Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *gatir mṛgāṇāṃ pravaṇaṃ*[52] *ākāśaṃ pakṣiṇāṃ gati |*
>
> *dharmo gati vibhāgīnāṃ nirvāṇam arhatāṃ gati ||*
>
> "The sphere of animals is the wood; the sphere of birds is the air.
>
> Dharma is the sphere of buddhist scholars, *nirvāṇa* is the destination of *arhat*s".

The metre is *Śloka*. *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā*; the others are regular *Pathyā pāda*s. Even though this verse is found in a few other texts, as well as in one more place within the Mv, Senart changed the text, reading *dvijātīnāṃ* for *vibhāgīnāṃ* and *mahatī* for *arhatāṃ*. The correctness of the reading in ms. Sa is confirmed by the following Pali and Sanskrit parallel verses:

Vin V 149.55

> *gati migānaṃ pavanaṃ ākāso pakkhinaṃ gati |*
>
> *vibhavo gati dhammānaṃ nibbānaṃ arahato gati*[53] *||*

Uv 26.10

> *gatir mṛgāṇām pravaṇam ākāśam pakṣiṇām gatiḥ |*
>
> *dharmo gatir vibhāgīnām nirvāṇam tv arhatām gatiḥ ||*

MSV(fs) 258r9f

> *gatir mṛgānāṃ pravanam*[54] *ākāśaṃ pakṣiṇāṃ gatiḥ |*
>
> *gatir vibhāginām*[55] *dharmo nirvāṇam gatir arhatām ||*

Interestingly, in the same verse in the second volume Senart read correctly without introducing any emendations:

Senart 2.212

> *gati mṛgānāṃ* (Sa 181v2 *mṛgānāṃ*) *pavanaṃ* (Sa 181v2 *pravanaṃ*) *ākāśaṃ |*
>
> *pakṣiṇāṃ gatiḥ dharmo gatir vibhāgīyānāṃ nirvāṇam arhatāṃ gatir ||*

Here the mss. read *vibhāgīyānāṃ*, which is metrically not as good as *vibhāgīnāṃ*, since it leaves us with one redundant syllable in *pāda* c. It is not clear why in Mv 2.212 Senart kept *vibhāgīyānāṃ*, while in Mv 3.156 he rejected the reading *vibhāgīnāṃ*, and replaced it with *dvijātīnāṃ*.[56]

[52.] Na Se *plavanaṃ*.

[53.] Cf. Horner 1997: 243 "A forest is the bourn of deer, the sky is the bourn of birds, non-being is the bourn of mental states, nibbāna the bourn of an arahant".

[54.] MSV(D) 2.83.5f reads wrongly *pavanam*.

[55.] MSV(D) 2.83.5f reads wrongly *virāgiṇām*.

[56.] See BHSD s.v. *vibhāgīya* "(app. to Pali *vibhāga* plus *-īya*), one who is an expert in scholastic classification"; SWTF offers a similar definition of *vibhāgin* as "Experte im Klassifizieren (vgl. BHSD s.v. *vibhāgīya*)"; J. 3.203, n. 2 added "Senart suggests that there is a connection between the name and that of the Vibhangas, or treatises on the Pāṭimokkha rules of the *Vinaya*, i.e. that the Vibhāgīyas were especially devoted to or versed in these rules. But Miss I. B. Horner's suggestion (communicated to the translator) looks more feasible, namely that the Vibhāgīyas were connected with the Vibhajjavādins. She refers to *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 95, *vibhajjavādinā munindena desitattā vibhajjavādo ti ca vuccati*".

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Symbols and abbreviations used in footnotes:

Abhis = *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, herausgegeben, mit der chinesischen Parallelversion verglichen, übersetzt und kommentiert von Seishi Karashima, unter Mitwirkung von Oskar von Hinüber, Tokyo 2012: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIII), 3 vols.

B = manuscript B of the *Mahāvastu*

BHSD = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press.

BHSG = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press.

ditt. = dittography

C = manuscript C of the *Mahāvastu*

DN = *The Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, 3 vols., London 1890–1911: PTS.

DN(tr) = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, part I–III, 1977 London: PTS ([1]1899, 1910, 1921; SBB vol. II–IV).

EV I = *The Elders' Verses I, Theragāthā*, translated with an introduction and notes by K.R. Norman, London 1969: PTS.

Geiger = *A Pāli Grammar* by Wilhelm Geiger, translated into English by Batakrishna Ghosh, revised and edited by K. R. Norman, Oxford 1994: The Pali Text Society.

hapl. = haplology

J. = *The Mahāvastu*, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit, 3 vols., London [1]1949–1956; [2]1973–1978, [3]1987, The Pali Text Society (Sacred Books of the Buddhists; v. 16, 18, 19).

Jā = Jātaka, together with Jātakatthavaṇṇanā (ed. Fausbøll 1877–96).

lip. = lipography

MC = Middle Chinese reconstruction of the *Qieyun* 切韻 system

M = manuscript M of the *Mahāvastu*

m.c. = *metri causa*

met. = metathesis

Mv = *Mahāvastu*

Mv (KM) = a new edition of the *Mahāvastu*, currently under preparation by Katarzyna Marciniak and Seishi Karashima.

MW = Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899: The Clarendon Press.

MSV(D) = *The Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. 3, pts. 1–4, Srinagar 1942, 1943, 1950; Delhi; [2]1984: Sri Satguru Publications.

MSV(fs) = *Vinaya Texts*, ed. Shayne Clarke, New Delhi and Tokyo 2014: The National Archives of India and the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India: Facsimile Edition. vol. 1).

Na = the oldest extant paper manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*; completed in 1657 by an eminent scribe named Jayamuni Vajrācārya. The original is kept at the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Pā = Pāli

Pischel = *A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi 1999. First Edition: *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg 1900.

Pkt = Prakrit

PTSD = Thomas William Rhys Davids & William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1921–25.

Sa = the sole palm-leaf manuscript Sa of the *Mahāvastu*; on paleographic grounds dated to ca. 12th c.; the original is lost; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Sadd. = *Saddanīti. La Grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa*. Texte établi par Helmer Smith, I (1928), II (1929), III (1930), IV (1949) Tables, V 1 (1954), V 2 (1966) Vocabulaire, Lund: (*Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*, XII 1~5); repr.: 3 vols., Oxford 2001: The Pali Text Society.

s.e. = scribal error

Se = *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire, par É. Senart, Paris 1882-1897: Imprimerie nationale (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série, 3 Vols.).

Skt = Sanskrit

SWTF = *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, ed. H. Bechert, K. Röhrborn, J.-U. Hartmann, Göttingen 1973ff.

Th = *Theragāthā*, in: *Thera- and Therī-Gāthā*, ed. H. Oldenberg and R. Pischel, rev. K. R. Norman, L. Alsdorf, London, 2nd ed., 1966: PTS.

unmetr. = unmetrical

Uv = *Udānavarga*, hrsg. von Franz Bernhard, Göttingen 1965-1990: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 10), 2 vols.

Vin = *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, 5 vols., London 1879~1883: The Pali Text Society.

w.r. = wrong reading

The adventures of five hundred merchants
as recounted in two versions in the *Mahāvastu**

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The present article shows two versions of the story *Pañca vāṇija-śatā*, one metrical and the other one in prose, found in the *Mahāvastu*[1] (hereafter abbr. Mv). The story gives an account of the adventures of five hundred merchants trapped on the island of *rākṣasī*s after their ship had been wrecked in the ocean by a *makara*. In the end the merchants are rescued by a wonder-horse (= bodhisattva), who safely takes them back to their homeland.[2]

The text below is a new edition of this chapter, hereafter abbr. Mv (KM), prepared by the author on the basis of the sole extant palm-leaf manuscript Sa (ca. 12th-13th c.; hereafter abbr. Sa) and the oldest extant paper manuscript Na (1657 A.D.; hereafter abbr. Na), from which all the later manuscripts of the Mv derive.[3] Variant readings and references to Senart's *editio princeps* of the Mv are given in footnotes.

We find a story about five hundred merchants lured by *yakkhinī*s in a city called Sirīsavatthu (located on Sri Lanka) also in Jātaka II 127-130 (no. 196, *Valāhassajātaka*[4]).[5] Here the shipwrecked merchants are saved by a steed named Valāha (bodhisattva).[6] In this relatively short account we find two verses which partially correspond to two final verses in the metrical version of the story preserved in the Mv:

Mv (KM)[7] reads as follows:

ye nâiva śraddadhiṣyanti vacanaṃ dharmarājino |

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[1] Se 3.67-90; Sa 290v-298r.

[2] In the Mv there is also another story giving an account of the adventures of five hundred merchants, i.e. *Dharmalabdha-jātaka*, in which some elements are similar to those found in *Pañca vāṇija-śatā*, but there are major differences between the two accounts. First and foremost, *Dharmalabdha-jātaka* does not end with the rescue of the merchants, but adds a second part which gives an account of the further adventures of the chief merchant named Dharmalabdha. In fact, this additional part corresponds to the events described in another Pali *jātaka*, i.e., *Telapattajātaka*. Moreover, the motif of a horse (= bodhisattva) saving the shipwrecked merchants from the island is not found in the chapter *Dharmalabdha-jātaka*. Therefore, although the two stories pertain to the same popular legend, the differences are major.

[3] Both manuscripts Sa and Na were discovered by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in Nepal only in the 1970s, therefore they were not used by Senart in his *editio princeps* (1882-1897). In this chapter Senart consulted two mss.: ms. B (dated 1800 C.E.) and ms. M (undated, but later than B).

[4] See Dutoit II 149-153.

[5] See Lienhard 2000: 219-225; Lienhard 2003: 505-509. See also Anālayo 2012: 80.

[6] Jā II 129: *tasmiṃ pana kāle Bodhisatto valāhassayoniyaṃ nibbatti, sabbaseto kākasīso muñjakeso iddhimā vehāsaṃgamo ahosi.*

[7] A new edition of the *Mahāvastu*, currently under preparation by Seishi Karashima and Katarzyna Marciniak at The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University.

vyasanaṃ te nigaṃsyanti rākṣasīhi va vāṇijā ‖

"Those who will not believe in the words of the king of dharma,

They will go to destruction, like the merchants [destroyed] by the *rākṣasi*s".

Jā II 130.6:

ye na kāhanti ovādaṃ narā Buddhena desitaṃ ।

vyasanan te gamissanti rakkhasīhi va vāṇijā ‖

Mv (KM):

ye ca puna śraddadhiṣyanti vacanaṃ dharmarājino ।

svastinā ..[8] *gamiṣyanti vālāhenêva vāṇijā* ‖

"But those who will believe in the words of the king of dharma

They will go safely, like the merchants [saved] by Vālāha".

Jā II 130.8:

ye ca kāhanti ovādaṃ narā Buddhena desitaṃ ।

sotthiṃ pāraṃ gamissanti vālāhenêva vāṇijā ‖

Similarly, there is a story of five hundred merchants devoured by *rākṣāsī*s included in *Divyāvadāna* (no. 36, *Mākandikāvadāna*). Other versions are found in *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (*Siṃhalasārthavāhoddhāraṇa*) and in *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*; further, we find a version of this story in the Chinese *Mūlasarvastivāda-Vinaya* and in T. 3, no. 190. A Jaina version of this *jātaka* (*Māgandiyajñāta*), examined in Lienhard 2003, also exists.

In the versions of the story found in Divy, Kv and GKv the leader of the merchants is called Siṃhala, while in the Mv as well as in Jā his name is not mentioned. In the Mv he is always referred to only as *sārthavāha*, in Jā as *jeṭṭhavāṇija*. The name of the horse which rescues the merchants and takes them back to their home is Keśin in the prose account in the Mv, while in the verses it is called Vālāha / Valāha, the same as in the versions of the story in Jā, Divy and Kv. A mythical horse named Keśin occurs, as far as I know, only in this chapter in the Mv and in one Chinese version in T. 3, no. 190, where we read:

"At that time, the Buddha said to the monks: "I remember that, in the past, there was a king of horses named Keśī (雞尸). Its appearance was elegant; its body was white and pure, just like white snow, like white silver, like the pure full moon, like a flower of jasmine (*kunda*, 君陀); its head was of purple colour; it galloped swiftly like the wind; its voice [sounded] like a wonderful drum"."[9]

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[8] One syllable is missing; we should read <*te*>; cf. with the reading in the verse preceding: *vyasanan te gamissanti.*

[9] 爾時, 佛告, 諸比丘言: "我念往昔有一馬王, 名雞尸, 形貌端正, 身體白淨, 猶如珂雪, 又若白銀, 如淨滿月, 如君陀花, 其頭紺色, 走疾如風, 聲如妙鼓."

The description of the horse in this Chinese version is very similar to that in the metrical version of the story in Mv: *Vālāho turago śīghro muñjakeśo hayottamo*

anupūrva surucitāṃgo viśuddhakāyo sugandho dhotavālo

balavāṃ javen(') upeto vātayavasamo anilayāyi

kākaśiro padmanetro Vālāhakulābhinirvṛtto

Himavantaśikharasadṛśa meghasvanita va dundubhininādo.

"Vālāha, the swift Muñja-haired horse, the best of horses,

With glossy limbs, pure body, fragrant, with a bright-hair tail;

Strong, endowed with speed equal to the speed of the wind, galloping through the air;

Its head is raven-black, its eyes are lotus-blue, coming from the race of Vālāhaka;

After comparison of the content of the stories preserved in Jā, Mv, Divy and Kv, one can put forward a hypothesis that originally the legend about the adventures of the five hundred merchants comprised only the following main elements:

- The shipwrecked merchants are lured by *rākṣasī*s (or *yakkhinī*s in Pā) disguised as beautiful women;
- The chief merchant (later called Siṃhala, but in Mv and Jā no name is given) finds out the truth and reveals it to the other merchants;
- A wonder-horse (named Valāha / Vālāha or Keśin) rescues the merchants from the island and takes them back home.

In three of the earlier mentioned versions, i.e., in Mv, Jā and Divy, the narrative ends with the rescue of the merchants from the island; while the others (Kv, GKv) add a second part which gives an account of the further adventures of the chief merchant. In fact, this supplementary part corresponds to the events recounted in another story, i.e., in Pali *Telapattajātaka* (no. 96) and in *Dharmalabdha-jātaka* in Mv (Se 3.286-3.299).

The *Pañca vāṇija-śatā* preserved in Mv contains details which are not found in the above-mentioned Pali and Sanskrit versions of the legend, i.e., a detailed description of the merchants' desparate attempts to save their lives after the ship had been wrecked by a *makara*; a long list of various plants, trees and flowers growing on the island of *rākṣasī*s[10]; a vivid description of *rākṣasī*s regaling the merchants with drinks and savoury foods, etc.

The juxtaposition below of the two versions of the story shows the extent to which the content of the account in prose corresponds to the metrical one, as well as highlighting the differences as far as the language is concerned. The structure in which a story related in verse is repeated in more elaborate prose is common in Mv. There are numerous chapters which follow this specific pattern.[11]

The comparison of the two versions of *Pañca vāṇija-śatā* in Mv shows that their relationship is very close. We can be fairly certain that the verses were composed first, while the prose part is an elaboration of the verses, whose language is easier and more comprehensible to a reader. The content of the two accounts is nearly identical, i.e. all the main events described in verses are also found in the prose version. Naturally, some descriptions in prose are much longer and more detailed, but interestingly, there are also parts of the story where the verses provide much more elaborate description than the prose, i.e., a long description of nature on the island is much more concise in prose and it does not contain the names of various trees and plants listed in the metrical version.

As far as the language in both versions of the story is concerned, not surprisingly, the verses contain more MIndic and BHS forms than the prose, e.g., prose (abbr. p.) *yūyam* / verses (abbr. v.) *yuṣme*; p. *āgacchatha* / v. *etha*; p. *gamiṣyāmi* / v. *gaṃsāmi*; p. *gṛhitvā* / v. *grahetvāna* etc. Some examples illustrating how the same content is expressed in prose and in verses using different words and phrases are listed below:

It resembles the summit of Himalaya; its roar sounds like a cloud or a kettle-drum".

[10] In one of the Chinese version of the story in T. 3, no. 190 we find a very similar list of various plants and trees growing on the island.

[11] See Marciniak 2017.

p. *na mahāsamudro mṛtakuṇapena sārdhaṃ saṃvasati* / v. *na hi mṛtakuṇapena lavaṇajaladharo vasati rātriṃ*;

p. *devadevā namasyanti yo yahiṃ deve abhiprasanno* / v. *devā ca namasyanti yo yādṛśam asti adhimukto*;

p. *keci dṛtim ādāya kecit phalakhaṃ keci alābuśreṇiyaṃ kecit parasparasya jīvitād vyaparopetvā taṃ kuṇapaṃ ālambanti* / v. *keci alābuśreṇiyo apare puna simbalimayāṃ phalakāṃ (')pare dṛtiṃ grahetvā tūlasya ca raṃhiyo apare aparo paraṃ vadhitvā ālambati jīvitārthāye*;

p. *marṣatha muhūrtaṃ yāva śokaṃ vinodemaḥ* / v. *īṣikṣaṇaṃ pratīkṣatha yāva śokaṃ vinodema*;

p. *yas teṣāṃ pañcānāṃ vāṇijakaśatānāṃ sārthavāho paṇḍito saprajñājātiko* / v. *yo teṣāṃ sārthavāho sapraṇṇo sakuśalo sabuddhiko*;

p. *taṃ hayarājaṃ śaraṇaṃ prapadyatha so yuṣmākam ito rākṣasīdvīpāto samudrasya pāraṃ prāpayiṣyati* / v. *taṃ ve upetha śaraṇaṃ so neṣyati svastinā pāraṃ.*

p. *te dāni sarve vāṇijakaśatā tāhi strīhi śayitāhi tatra pratigupte pradeśe sarveṇa samāgatā* / v. *tasya divasasya (')tyayena sahaśāyinībhiḥ tadā osuptābhiḥ agamensu taṃ pradeśaṃ pratiguptaṃ vāṇijā sarve*;

p. *tato sānaṃ hayarājena imaṃ rākṣasadvīpam anuprāptena etam ādīnavaṃ ācikṣiṣyāmi* / v. *tato sānaṃ ākhyāmi paścā samprāpte hayasāhvaye.*

Pañca vāṇija-śatā

Prose, Mv (KM)[12] (Se 3.67-3.77; Sa 290v-294v)	Verses, Mv (KM) (Se 3.77-3.90; Sa 294v-297v)
bhikṣū bhagavantam āhansuḥ "paśya bhagavaṃ kathaṃ bhagavatā āyuṣmantaŚāriputraMaudgalyāyanapramukhānāṃ[13] pañca bhikṣuśatā Saṃjayiparivrājaka-dṛṣṭigateṣu[14] vinivartayitvā, anavarāgrāto jātījarāmaraṇasaṃsāragahanakāntārāto tāritā". bhagavān āha "na bhikṣavo etarahiṃ yeva[15] mama ete ŚāriputraMaudgalyāyanapramukhā pañca bhikṣuśatā Saṃjayisya[16] parivrājakasya	saṃvegaṃ janayitvāna udvejetvāna mānasaṃ	śṛṇotha ekāgramanā suprasannena cetasā ||[203] dharmārthayuktaṃ śrāddhānāṃ romaharṣasaṃjananaṃ[204]	pūrvacaritaṃ[205] bhagavato śṛṇotha cittaṃ prasādetvā ||[206]

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[12] In the new edition the italic character indicates an emended reading, differing from the base text, namely the sole extant palm-leaf manuscript Sa.

[13] Na *āyuṣmatāṃ*; Se *āyuṣmatśāriputra°*. For the stem *-nta* in composition, cf. BHSG § 18.5.

[14] Sa Na *°gate avinivart°* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *su* and *a* are sometimes confused); Se em. *saṃjayiparivrājakasya dāruṇeṣu dṛṣṭigateṣu vinivartayitvā.*

[15] Na Se *eva.*

[16] Sa Na *saṃjayiṣya.*

dāruṇeṣu dṛṣṭīgateṣu vinivartayitvā, anavarāgrāto jātījarāmaraṇasaṃsāragahanakāntārato tāritā. anyadâpi ete mayā *d*āruṇato[17] rākṣasīdvīpāto rākṣasīnāṃ hastagat*a*[18] vinivartayitvā, kṣemena mahāsamudrāto uttārayitvā Jambūdvīpe pratiṣṭhāpitā". bhikṣū āhaṃsu "anyadâpi bhagavāṃ[19]?" bhagavān āha "anyadâpi bhikṣavo".	atha tasmiṃ kāle tasmiṃ samaye (')śvarājā babhūvâhaṃ karuṇalābhī[207] ǀ tāresi vāṇijagaṇāṃ rākṣasīdvīpāl lavaṇatoyāt ǁ[208]
bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo atītam adhvānaṃ Jambūdvīpāto pañca vāṇijaśatāni samudranāvāye mahāsamudram[20] avagāḍhā dhanasya arthāye[21]. teṣāṃ taṃ yānapātraṃ samudramadhyāgataṃ[22] makareṇa matsyajātena bhinnaṃ.	tena kho[209] pana samayena samudram upajāto[210] vāṇijānāṃ gaṇ*a*[211] ǀ ūrmitaraṅgamalinaṃ[212] bahuratanavantaṃ dhanārthāya ǁ[213] atha makaramatsyena bhidyate yānapātraṃ lavaṇatoyena[214] ǀ [215]abhilavaṇavegatūrṇo[216] garuḍo va[217] pakṣavātena ǁ[218] tasmiṃ vikīryamāṇe ravanti ārtasvarāṃ[219] udadhimadhye ǀ
te dāni tena yānapātreṇa vipannena devadevā[23] namasyanti, yo yahiṃ deve abhiprasanno. kecic Chivan namasyanti, kecid Vaiśramaṇaṃ[24], keci[25] Skandhaṃ, kecid Varuṇaṃ, kecid Yamaṃ, kecit Kuveraṃ kecic, Chakraṃ, kecid Brahmaṃ, kecid daśa Diśāṃ namasyanti "yathā ito	devā[220] ca namasyanti yo yādṛśam as*t*i[221] adhimukt*o*[222] ǁ[223] keci Chivaṃ kecid Vaiśravaṇaṃ Skandaṃ Varuṇaṃ Yamaṃ Kuverañ ca ǀ apare Sahasranayanaṃ Virūḍhakaṃ[224] ca Diśāṃ ca (')pare ǁ[225]

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[203] The metre is *Śloka*; *pāda* c is *bha-Vipulā*.

[204] Se *°harṣaṇasaṃjanaṃ*.

[205] Se *pūrvaṃ caritaṃ* (unmetr.).

[206] *Pāda* a fits Śloka (*ma-Vipulā*); *pāda* b is *Āryā*, but it can become *Śloka* if we read *romaharṣaṇasaṃjanaṃ* for *romaharṣasaṃjananaṃ*; the second line is regular *Āryā Pathyā*.

[17] Sa *tāru°* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[18] Corr. Se; Sa *°gāto*; Na *°gatāto*.

[19] Na Se *bhagavan*; for the voc. sg. masc. -*āṃ*, cf. BHSG § 18.81; Abhis III § 15.4.

[20] Se *mahantaṃ sa°*.

[21] Se *arthaṃ*.

[22] Se *°madhye gataṃ*.

[23] Na Se °*devāṃ*; for the acc. pl. masc. -*ā*, cf. BHSG § 8.92; Abhis III § 6.33.

[24] Na Se *Vaiśravaṇaṃ*; AMg *Vesamaṇa*; see BHSD s.v. *vaiśramaṇa* "(regular Pkt form; not in Pali); = *Vaiśravaṇa* (Kubera): Gv 494.24 (as god of wealth)"; see also Bollée 2002: 294; Leumann 1882 s.v. *vesamaṇa*; Jacobi 1886 s.v. *vesamaṇa*.

[25] Se *kecit*.

mahāsamudrāto jīvantā uttarema".	
te dāni tena yānapā*tr*eṇa[26] vipannena nānāprakārāṇi plavāni ādāya samudramadhyaṃ patitā.	teṣāṃ câparārthāya[226] upakaraṇāni abhūnsuḥ yāni *pātra*smiṃ[227] | te tāni grahetvāna lavaṇajaladharaṃ samavagāḍhā |[228]
keci[27] dṛtim[28] ādāya, kecit phalakhaṃ[29], keci[30] alābuśreṇiyaṃ, kecit parasparasya jīvitād vyaparopetvā taṃ kuṇapaṃ ālambanti	keci[229] alābuśreṇiyo apare puna simbalimayāṃ[230] phal*a*kāṃ[231] | (')pare[232] dṛtiṃ[233] grahetvā tūlasya ca raṃhiyo[234] apare |[235] aparo[236] paraṃ va*dhi*tvā[237] ālambati jīvitārthāye |[238]
"na mahāsamudro mṛtakuṇapena sārdhaṃ samvasati, atha khalu taṃ mṛtakuṇapaṃ[31] kṣipram eva sthalaṃ vā dvīpaṃ vā kṣipati.	na hi mṛtakuṇapena <*saha*>[239] lavaṇajaladharo vasati rātriṃ |[240]

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[207] Se *atha tasmiṃ kāle aśvarājā babhūva ahaṃ karuṇalābhī.*

[208] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetrical; in *pāda* b read *rākṣasidīpāl* for *rākṣasīdvīpāl* (m.c.).

[209] Se *khu*.

[210] Se *upayāto*; for *ya → ja* in ms. Sa see Marciniak 2014: 165; cf. also BHSG § 2.34.

[211] Sa Na *gaṇāṃ*; Se *vāṇijakagaṇo*.

[212] Sa Na *harmiᵒ* (s.e.); Se *ūrmītaraṅgamālaṃ*; J. III 81 "surrounded by the tossing waves"; and n. 3. "*māla* is taken as the compositional form of *mālā* 'wreath'"; but cf. MW s.v. *taraṅgamālin* "wave-garlander; = the sea".

[213] The meter is *Āryā*; *pāda* a is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading: *tena khu pana samayenā samudram upajātŏ vāṇijāna gaṇa* (m.c.) (− ⏑ ⏑ \| ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ \| − − \| ⏑ − ⏑ \| ⏑ ⏑ − \| ⏑ − ⏑ \| − ⏑ ⏑ \| ⏑); in *pāda* b we should read *ᵒratanavanta* and *ūrmīᵒ* for *ūrmiᵒ* (m.c.).

[214] Instr. for loc. (see BHSG § 7.30); or s.e. for *lavaṇatoye*? Se *bhijje taṃ yānapātraṃ lavaṇatoye*.

[215] The words underlined are the words that are not clear to me. I leave them unchanged in the form they are found in the old palm-leaf ms. Sa.

[216] ? Se *abhidravati vegaᵒ* (≠ mss.); since this part does not have a parallel in prose, we can assume it was already corrupted at the time when the prose version was written.

[217] Se *ca*.

[218] *Pāda* a is unmetr.; in *pāda* b read *iva* for *va* (m.c.).

[219] Se *ᵒsvarā*.

[220] Se *devāṃ*; for the acc. pl. masc. *-ā,* cf. BHSG § 8.92; Abhis III §6.32.

[221] Sa Na *asmi*; corr. Se.

[222] Sa Na *ᵒmuktā* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[223] The meter is *Āryā*, but in *pāda* b the 3rd *gaṇa* is unmetrical (− ⏑); read *namasyantī* (m.c.).

[224] Sa Na *viruḍhakaṃ* (s.e.; unmetr.).

[225] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is too long; Se omits *Varuṇa*; in *pāda* b the metre can be improved by reading: *apare sahasranayanaṃ virūḍhakaṃ ca apare diśāṃ ca (')pare.*

[26] Sa *patreṇa*; corr. Na.

[27] Se *kecid*.

[28] Se *ghaṭim* (≠ mss.); cf. MW s.v. *dṛti* "a leather bag for holding water and other fluids, a skin of leather". See also Bhattacharya 2008: 317: "an inflated *dṛti* can be used for keeping onself floating in water".

[29] Se *phalakaṃ*; cf. AMg. *phalaha*; Skt *phalaka* "a big plank". See also BHSD s.v. *phalaha* "*phalaha*, also written *phalakha, phalaka*"; but the form used in the verses is Skt *phalaka*.

[30] Se *kecid*.

[31] Se *kuṇapaṃ* (≠ mss.).

tato vayaṃ pi etena kuṇapeṇa sārdhaṃ dvīpaṃ vā sthalam vā uttariṣyāmaḥ[32]".	
te dāni vāṇijakā tatra mahāsamudr*e*[33] plavaṃtā vātena rākṣasīdvīpaṃ kṣiptā. *te tahiṃ rākṣasīdvīpe*[34] nānāprakārāṇi nānādrumasahasrāṇi paśyanti.	te tahiṃ pariplavaṃ*tā*[241] vāhati[242] yayāṃ[243] rātrīṃ jaladha*re*[244] lavaṇatoye ǀ atha sandassensu[245] tīre tīraru*h*āṃ[246] pādapapravarāṃ ǁ[247]
yathāyathā ca vātena taṃ tīram allīpiyanti, tato tato pramadāśatāni paśyanti, mānāpikāni darśanīyāni nānāraṃgaraktavasanāni sālaṃkārabhūṣitāni āmuktamaṇikuṇḍ*al*āni[35] vicarantyo. kācin navavadhūkārā[36], kācid evaprasūtikākārā, kāci dviprasūtikārā[37], kācin madhyamastrī-ākārā[38], bahūni rākṣasīśatāni mānuṣīrūpāṇy abhinirmiṇitvā,	yathayatham[248] upenti tīra[249] atha paśyanti śatāni pramadānāṃ ǀ divy*a*vadhūs*a*dṛśānāṃ[250] raktāmbaravastravasanānāṃ ǁ[251] kāci tatra kanyās*a*dṛ*śā*[252] aparā puna navavadhū va śobhanaṃ bhavati[253] ǀ[254] ……………………………… ǁ (?) varamālyadāmaśirajā Jāṃbūnadajvalitakuṇḍalamukhīyo[255] ǀ haripiṅgalasadṛśanayan*ā*[256] śobhenti[257] saripati*t*īra[258] ǁ[259]

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[226] Se *ca parā°* .

[227] Sa Na *yāni te tasmiṃ* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[228] In *pāda* a read *ca (')parārthaye* and *abhūnsu* for *abhūnsuḥ* (m.c.); the metre in *pāda* b can be improved by reading e.g., *te vā* (= *eva*, m.c.) *tāni grahetvā lavaṇa°*.

[229] Se *kecid*.

[230] Se *siṃbalī°*; cf. Pā *siṃbali* "the silk-cotton tree Bombax heptaphyllum".

[231] Corr. Se; Sa Na *phalākāṃ*.

[232] Se *apare.*

[233] Se *vṛtiṃ* (≠ mss.). cf. MW *dṛti* "a leather bag for holding water and other fluids, a skin of leather". See also Bhattacharya 2008: 317: "an inflated *dṛti* can be used for keeping onself floating in water".

[234] "(cotton) rope"; Se *rāśiyo*; *raṃhi* < Pā *raṃsi* < Skt *raśmi* (cf. Pischel § 312; von Hinüber 2001: § 309).

[235] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *kecid alābuseṇiyŏ* (– – ǀ ᴗ – ᴗ ǀ – ᴗ ᴗ), and *siṃbalī°* for *siṃbali°* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *apare* for *(')pare* (m.c.).

[236] The mss. lack *aparo* (hapl.); supplied by Senart.

[237] Corr. Se; Sa Na *bandhitvā* (w.r.; unmetr.).

[238] Se em. *aparo paraṃ vadhitvā ālaṃbati jīvitasya arthena* (≠ mss.).

[239] The mss. lack *saha* (unmetr.); this word was rightly supplied by Senart; cf. with the reading in the prose version: *na kila sāgaro mṛtakuṇapena* sārdhaṃ *saṃvasati*.

[240] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *jīvitasya arthāye* for *jīvitārthāye* (m.c.).

[32] Cf. Vin 2.237: *mahāsamuddo na matena kuṇapena saṃvasati, yaṃ hoti mahāsamudde mataṃ kuṇapaṃ taṃ khippaṃ ñeva tīraṃ vāheti thalaṃ ussādeti.*

[33] Corr. Na; Sa *°samudra*.

[34] Sa Na *rākṣasīdvīpaṃ kṣiptā te tahiṃ rākṣasīdvīpaṃ kṣiptā te tahiṃ rākṣasīdvīpe* (ditt.); corr. Se.

[35] Sa Na *°kuṇḍāni* (lip.); corr. Se.

[36] Se *°vadhukākārā*.

[37] "who has given birth twice"; Se omits *kāci dviprasūtikārā* (≠ mss.).

[38] Se *madhyamastrīkākārā*.

samudraṃ otaritvā eka-m-eko vāṇijako gṛhīto	*tā*[260] ca-m-avagāhya salile[261]
"svāgatam āryaputrāṇāṃ āryaputrā. asmākam apatikānā*ṃ*[39] patikā bhaviṣyatha, anāthānāṃ nāthā bhaviṣyatha, abandhūnāṃ bandhū bhaviṣyatha. asmākaṃ pi svāmikā mahāsamudre vipannayānapātrā sarve anayāto vyasanam āpannāḥ.	sakaruṇamadhurāṃ gir*āṃ*[262] udīrensu ǀ "yathāryaputra[263] capalaṃ bhavathā nāthā anāthānāṃ ǁ[264] asmākaṃ apatikānāṃ abāndhavānāṃ vane vasant*ī*nā*ṃ*[265] ǀ
dhruvam asmākaṃ jaladharo prasanno, yena yūyaṃ iyaṃ d*ṿī*pam[40] ānītā". tehi[41] te vā*ṇij*ā[42] āṃśehi ārūpitā, samudrāto uttāritā, sthale pratiṣṭhāpayitvā, teṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ samāśvāsayanti "mā āryaputrā utkaṇṭhatha[43], mā paritapyatha.	dhruvaṃ jaladharo prasanno yena vo tīram ānītā" ǁ[266] aṃsesu[267] tāṃ grahetvā parasparaṃ uddharensu salilāto ǀ āśvāsenti ca bahuśo "ārya viṣādaṃ na kartavyaṃ ǁ[268] as*m*ehi[269] sa*h*a[270] pramadāhi āryaputra[271] vasatha mā viṣādaṃ[272] ǀ priyaṃ vā bā*ṃ*dhavaṃ[273] vā tyajitvā mitrāṃ pitaraṃ ca putrāṇi ca ǁ[274]
mahāratanadvīpa[44] āryaputrā anuprāptāḥ, bahuratanam anantaratanaṃ bahu-	

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[241] Sa Na *pariplavaṃ*; corr. Se.

[242] Se *pariplavantā tāṃ rātriṃ…*; cf. MW s.v. √*vah* "(intrans.) to be carried, to swim"; here *vāhati* for *vāhaṃti* (m.c.).

[243] ? So read all the mss.; Se *tāṃ*.

[244] Em. Se; Sa Na *ᵒdhareṇa*.

[245] Se *saṃdarśensu*; Pā *ᵒdasseti*.

[246] Sa *ᵒrukāṃ* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[247] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is too long; in *pāda* b read *ᵒdasensu* for *ᵒdassensu* (m.c.).

[248] Se *yathāyatham* (unmetr.).

[249] Se *tīraṃ*.

[250] Corr. Se; Sa Na *divyāvadhūsādṛśānāṃ* (unmetr.).

[251] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *tīraṃ* for *tīra* and *paśyantī* for *paśyanti* (m.c.; alternatively, we can read *paśyanti <ca>*).

[252] Sa Na *kanyāsatādṛśāṃ* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[253] Se *kācit kanyāsadṛśā aparā puna navavadhū va śobhanti*.

[254] This is probably *pāda* a of *Āryā* (partially unmetr.), which means that either this verse consists of two *pāda*s a and one *pāda* b, or *pāda* b of the first verse is missing.

[255] Se *jāṃbuᵒ*.

[256] Sa Na *ᵒnayano*; corr. Se.

[257] Se *śobhanti* (unmetr.).

[258] "They beautify (*śobhenti*) the shore of the ocean (*sarit-pati*)"; Sa Na *ᵒdhīra* (s.e.); Se *saripatitīre*.

[259] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *jāṃbuᵒ* for *jāṃbūᵒ* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *ᵒsādṛśaᵒ* for *ᵒsadṛśaᵒ* (m.c.).

[39] Corr. Na; Sa *ᵒkānā*.

[40] Sa Na *dvitīpam* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[41] Instr. pl. masc. used for instr. pl. fem.; confusion of gender; Se *tāhi*.

[42] Sa *vājikā* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[43] Sa Na *mā āryaputrā mā utkaṇṭhatha*; corr. Se.

annapānaṃ bahupuṣpaphalaṃ bahugandhamālyavilepanaṃ bahuvastraṃ bahu-astaraṇaprāvaraṇaṃ.	
iha āryaputr*ā*[45] asmābhiḥ krīḍantā ramantā pravicārayantā, madhuñ ca āsavaṃ[46] ca pibantā, ādīna*va*parā[47] *s*ukhāni[48] anubhavatha". te dāni vāṇijā āhaṃsuḥ "marṣatha muhūrtaṃ yāva śokaṃ vinodemaḥ".	asmehi dāni puruṣā abhiramatha ..[275] Na*ndane va*[276] marusaṃghāḥ | madhu āsavaṃ pibantā dvīpavarasukhāni anubhotha || te aśrupūrṇanayanā tāṃ pramadām avoca[277] sāgaroghe | "*ī*ṣikṣaṇaṃ[278] pratīkṣatha yāva[279] śokaṃ vinode*ma*[280]" ||[281]
te dāni sarve pañca vāṇijakaśatā tāsāṃ strīṇāṃ mūlāto ekānta*ṃ*[49] pratyukrantā[50], ekāntaṃ pratyukramitvā[51] rodensuḥ śocensuḥ paridevensu "hā amba[52], hā tāta, hā putra, hā bhrātā, hā bhaginī,	te gatvā nâtidūraṃ samāgatā vāṇijā samāśvastā | rodati[282] ca krandanti ca duḥkhitā viya viprayogeṇa ||[283] "hā ambā hā tātā hā putrā hā svadeś*a*[284] suramaṇīyā[285] |

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[44] Na Se °*dvīpaṃ*; for the acc. sg. masc. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.32; Abhis III § 6.12.

[260] Corr. Se; Sa Na *tāṃ*.

[261] Se *salilaṃ*.

[262] Sa Na *girī* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[263] Se *yathāryaputrā* (unmetr.); for the voc. pl. masc. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.87; Abhis III § 6.29.

[264] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* b we should read *yatha āryaputra* for *yathâryaputra* (m.c.).

[265] Sa Na *vasantinā*; corr. Se.

[266] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *asmākam* for *asmākaṃ* (m.c.); *pāda* b is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *dhruva jaladharo prasanno yena <ca> vo tīram ānītā* (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ \| ⏑ – ⏑ \| – – \| – ⏑ <⏑> \| – – \| ⏑ – – \| –).

[267] Na *aṃsensu*; Se *aṃsehi*.

[268] The metre is *Āryā*; *pāda* a is *Āryā Capalā* with amphibrachs in *gaṇa*s 2, 4 and 6.

[269] Sa Na *asyehi* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *sya* and *sma* are similar); corr. Se.

[270] Sa Na *sapta* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[271] Se *āryaputrā*; for the voc. pl. masc. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.87; Abhis III § 6.29.

[272] Se *mā viṣīdetha*; on the construction with *mā* with no verb form, cf. BHSG § 42.11; Abhis § 47.8.41A1~2: *mā cīvaraṃ mā kaṇṭakaśākhā*; Merv 23v3: *mā garbhaṃ śayyāmatiśayyām*.

[273] Sa *bādhavaṃ* (s.e.); Na *bāndhavaṃ*; Se *priyabāndhavaṃ*.

[274] This verse is unmetrical.

[45] Corr. Na; Sa °*putro* (s.e.).

[46] Se *madhuvāsavaṃ*.

[47] "beyond (any) distress"; Sa Na *ādīnaparā* (lip.); Se *ādīnavaparāṅmukhā*.

[48] Sa Na *mukhāni* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *su* and *mu* are similar in Sa).

[49] Sa Na *ekānta*.

[50] Se °*utkrāntā*; cf. SWTF s.v. *u-kram*; BHSG § 3.54 *ukrami*.

[51] Se °*utkramitvā*; cf. SWTF s.v. *u-kram*; BHSG § 3.54 *ukrami*.

[52] Na Se *ambe*. For the voc. sing. fem. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 9.15.

[275] One short syllable needs to be added here, e.g., *ca*.

[276] Sa *nadevena* (s.e.; a sort of met.); Na *naṃdevane*; Se em. *nandanavane*, but it is unmetrical; cf. with the reading in Sa 296r1: *abhiramatha nandane va marusaṃghā*.

[277] Se *avacu*.

hā citraJaṃbūdvīpikāho udyānavarāho"	hā Jaṃbūdvīpakāho udyānavarāho ramyāho ||²⁸⁶ sukhitā khu ye kadāci samāgatā jñātibāndhavajanena | ekaṃ rajanim asitvā²⁸⁷ śarīranāśaṃ kariṣyanti ||²⁸⁸ kiṃ śakya nirālamba²⁸⁹ madhye samudralavaṇatoyasya²⁹⁰ | karmaṃ manasīkarentā aśocamānehi vastavyaṃ?" ||²⁹¹
roditvā śocitvā paridevitvā parasparasya samāśvāsetvā⁵³ svakasvakāni strīmūlagatā⁵⁴. tābhi⁵⁵ strībhiḥ sārdhaṃ⁵⁶ mahāraheṇa	roditvā ca kranditvā āśvāsetvā ca anya-m-anyasya | agamāsi²⁹² yena tāsāṃ niveśanāni ramyāni²⁹³ ||²⁹⁴
mārgeṇa haritaśādvalitena apagatatṛṇakaṇṭakakhāṇukena⁵⁷ apagataśarkarakaṭhalyena nīrajena samena avisamena mahāvanaṣaṇḍam anuprāptā⁵⁸ sarvapuṣpaphalopetaṃ⁵⁹. sarvodakāni sarvakālikāni tatra vanaṣaṇḍe⁶⁰ puṣpāṇi nānāprakārāṇi surabhīṇi sugandhāni sarvodukāni⁶¹ sarvakālikāni, tatra vanaṣaṇḍe⁶² nānāprakārāṇi	haritatṛṇasaṃprarūḍhaṃ²⁹⁵ apagatapāṣāṇaśarkarakaṭhallaṃ²⁹⁶ | arajaṃ samaṃ aviṣamaṃ ākramya mahiṃ upenti ca vanaṃ²⁹⁷ ||²⁹⁸

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²⁷⁸ "a little"; Se *īṣatkṣaṇaṃ*; Pkt *īsi*; Skt *īṣat*; see BHSD s.v. *īṣi*.

²⁷⁹ Se *yāvat*.

²⁸⁰ Sa Na *vinodeva.* The alternation between -*m*- and -*v*- is not rare in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, cf. Pischel §§ 251, 261; Brough 1962: § 36; BHSG § 2.3; Karashima 1994: 25f.; von Hinüber 2001: §§ 208~210.

²⁸¹ The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *avaca* or *avacu* for *avoca*; and *sāgaroghasmi(ṃ)* for *sāgaroghe* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *yāvat* for *yāva* (m.c.).

²⁸² M.c.; Se *rodanti* (unmetr.).

²⁸³ In *pāda* a read *gatvă*; in *pāda* b read *duḥkhită* (m.c.).

²⁸⁴ Corr. Se; Sa Na *svadeśaṃ*.

²⁸⁵ Se *ramaṇīyā*.

⁵³ Sa Na *samāsetvā*; corr. Se.

⁵⁴ Lit. "they went to (the side of) the women, each to his own one"; Se *strīyo allīnā* (≠ mss.).

⁵⁵ Se *tabhiḥ*.

⁵⁶ Sa *sārdha*; corr. Na.

⁵⁷ Se °*khaṇḍakena*. Cf. PTSD s.v. *khāṇu* "stump (as a worthless and impeding element)". Cf. Sa 61r2; 120r4 *apagatatṛṇakhāṇupatra°* (Se °*khāṇḍa°*).

⁵⁸ Corr. Se; Sa Na °*prāpto*.

⁵⁹ Sa Na °*petā* (s.e.); corr. Se.

⁶⁰ Se *vanakhaṇḍe*.

⁶¹ Se *sarvotukāni*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *sarvotuka* "or °*duka*, adj. (semi-MIndic for Skt. *sarvartuka*; = Pali *sabbotuka*, AMg. *savvouya*, *savvottuya*) of all seasons".

patracūrṇagandharasopetāni kṣudramadhusadṛśāni,	nāgadrumaṃ[299] aśokaṃ atimuktakaṃ caṃpak*a*priyaṃguśālāni[300] | tilakavakulāṃ kuravakāṃ[301] punnāgatālīsavanagahanāni[302] ||[303]
	karīra c*â*tra[304] kusumitā kuraṃṭakā[305] *ca*[306] bandhujīvakalatā[307] ca | navamālikā *kovida*rā[308] pāṭalakare*ṇ*ukāv*ā*lā[309] varṣ*i*ka[310] ||
	dhā*n*ukāri[311] navamālik*a*mallikāni[312] priyaṃgu vā |

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[62] Se *vanakhaṇḍe*.

[286] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *ramaṇīyā* for *suramaṇīyā* (m.c.); *pāda* b is unmetrical; the metre can be improved by reading *hā jaṃbudīpakāho* (− − | ⌣ − ⌣ | − −) for *jaṃbūdvīpakāho*, and *°varāhŏ* for *°varāho* (m.c.).

[287] M.c. for *āsitvā*? Se *ekāṃ rajanīṃ vasitvā* (unmetr.); cf. with the reading found later in this chapter: *ekarajani vasitvā śarīranāśaṃ kariṣyatîti*. If we regard *asitvā* as s.e. for *vasitvā*, then we should read *ekaṃ rajani vasitvā* (m.c.).

[288] In *pāda* a read *kadācit* for *kadāci* (m.c.).

[289] Se *nirālambe*.

[290] Se *samudrasya lavaṇa°*.

[291] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetr.; in *pāda* b read *karma* for *karmaṃ* (m.c.).

[292] Se *agamāsu*. For the 3. pl. aor. *agamāsi*, cf. BHSG § 32.17.

[293] Se *ramaṇīyāni*.

[294] In *pāda* a the word *ca* is metrically redundant; in *pāda* b read *ramaṇīyāni* for *ramyāni* (m.c.).

[295] Se *hariṇa°*.

[296] Corr. Se; Sa Na *°pāśāṇa°*.

[297] Sa Na *va canaṃ* (met.); Se lacks *ca*.

[298] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* b the word *ca* is metrically redundant.

[299] = *nāgavṛkṣa* "the iron-wood tree"?; Se *nānādrumaṃ*.

[300] Sa Na *campakā°*; Se *aśokātimuktacampakapriyaṃguśālāni*.

[301] Se *kulavakāṃ*; see PTSD s.v. *kuravaka*.

[302] Se *°tālīsagahanāni* (≠ mss.).

[303] The meter is *Āryā*, but both *pāda*s are partially unmetrical. In *pāda* a we should read *atimuktaka* for *atimuktakaṃ* and *priyaguśālā* for *priyaṃguśālāni* (m.c.), then we obtain regular *Āryā*: *nāgadrumaṃ aśokaṃ atimuktaka caṃpakapriyaguśālā*: − − | ⌣ − ⌣ | − − | ⌣ ⌣ − | ⌣ ⌣ − | ⌣ − ⌣ | ⌣ ⌣ − | −; in *pāda* b only *gaṇa*s 1-3 fit the metre.

[304] Sa *râtra* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[305] Se *kulattha*; cf. MW s.v. *kuraṇṭaka* "yellow amaranth; the plant Marsilea quadrifolia".

[306] Sa Na *ra* (s.e.); Se omits *ca*.

[307] Se *karamarda jīvakalatā* (≠ mss.); cf. PTSD s.v. *bandujīvaka* "the plant Pentapetes phoenicea".

[308] Sa Na *nidurā*? (s.e.; *ko* probably dropped out by a sort of hapl., after the preceding *kā*); Se em. *navamālikā mṛdulatā* (≠ mss.); if *kovidarā* is the correct reading, then we should read *navamālikă kovidarā* (m.c.; ⌣ ⌣ − | ⌣ ⌣ − | ⌣ ⌣ −).

[309] Sa Na *°relukāvalā* (the *akṣara*s *ṇa* and *la* are similar in Sa); Se *pāṭalakakareṇukāvārā*.

[310] Sa Na Se *varṣaka*; *varṣika* "Agallohum" (MW).

[311] Sa Na *dhātukāri* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *nu* and *tu* are similar in Sa); Se *varṣakadhātu kārī* (w.r.); cf. BHSD s.v. *dhanuṣkārika* "a kind of flowering tree"; Pā *dhānukārika*.

[312] Sa Na *°mālikā°*.

| | kupyakavārṣikamallikamadagandhikagulmā suvicitrā ||[313]

sālehi[314] ca tālehi[315] ca alaṃkṛta*m*[316] campakehi ca upeta*m*[317] |
raktehi pītakehi ca saṃprajvalitaṃ aśokehi ||

āmrakarṇikārakuravakatilakavakulaśobhita suramaṇīyaṃ |
abhyadhikaṃ svaśarīraiḥ *vana*ṃ[318] varaṃ śobhenti suyāmā ||[319]

puṣpā ca nāgavṛkṣa[320]bhavya[321] - pālevatapiyālakapitthâ[322] |
âmrātaka[323]sapta*pa*rṇamucilindavanān*i*[324] ..[325] śubhāni ||[326]

campakadrumāntaphullā sahakāravanāni saṃkusumitāni |
nānādrumā kusumitā madhukaribhramareṣu parigītā ||[327]

vilvāranālikelā[328] mocā panasā ca tālakharjurā[329] | |

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[313] The metre is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetr.; in *pāda* b read °*gulmă* (m.c.).

[314] Se *sārehi*.

[315] Se *tārehi*.

[316] Sa Na *alaṃkṛtā*; (w.r.; it is *vanaṃ ... alaṃkṛtaṃ*); corr. Se.

[317] Sa Na *upetat*; corr. Se.

[318] Em. Se; Sa Na *kara*?

[319] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read °*kanikāra*° for °*karṇikāra*° (Pā *kanikāra*) and °*śobhitaṃ* for °*śobhita* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *śobhĕti* for *śobhenti* (m.c.).

[320] Se °*vṛkṣā*.

[321] Se °*bhavyā*.

[322] Se em. °*pippala*°; cf. Sa 192v2 *bhavyāni ca pālevatāni kṣīrakāni tindukāni piyālāni* (Se *pippalāni*); 263r2 *jāmbūni ca piyālāni ca kapitthāni ca* (Se *pippalāni*); J. III 84 "the holy fig tree", but cf. Das 1988: 89 "*piyāla*, = *priyāla*-, der Nußbaum Buchanania latifolia Roxb."; cf. also CDIAL s.v. *piyāla*.

[323] Se *mrotaka* (≠ mss.); cf. MW s.v. *āmrātaka* "Spondias mangifera tree".

[324] Sa Na *saptavarṇamucilindavanānā* (s.e.); see MW s.v. *saptaparṇa* "7-leaved flower of *Alstonia Scholaris*"; Se *sasaptaparṇā mucilindavanāni*.

[325] One short syllable needs to be added here (m.c.), e.g. *ca*.

[326] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read °*vṛkṣā bhavyā* for °*vṛkṣa bhavya*; in *pāda* b the 3rd *gaṇa* is an amphibrach, which is as a rule impermissible in *Āryā*.

[327] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read °*dumā*° for °*drumā*°; in *pāda* b we should read °*bhamareṣu* (Pā) for °*bhramareṣu* (m.c.).

[328] Na °*nāḷikera*; Se °*nārikerā*; see PTSD s.v. *nāḷikera* [Sk. *nārikera, nārikela, nalikera, nālikela*: dialect, of uncertain etym.] the coconut tree".

[329] Se °*kharjūrā*; MW s.v. *kharjura* "a kind of date".

	jaṃbīrā ca mātuluṃgā na kaṃci kāle[330] na dṛśyanti ‖[331]
	akkhoḍā[332] ca tamālā ca cocā[333] kiṃśukā ca mṛddhīkā[334] ǀ bhavyā ca dāḍimā ca na kañci kālaṃ na dṛśyanti ‖[335]
	keci[336] bhukta*ku*sumitāgrā[337] apare *pu*na[338] pakva*saṃ*citā[339] vā parā[340] ǀ apare kalāpa*śākh*ā[341] ..[342] kaṃci kālaṃ na dṛśyanti ‖[343]
	etāni ca anyāni ca[344] puṣpāṇi phalitā[345] pādapavareṣu ǀ sarvodukakālikāni[346] na kiṃci kālaṃ na dṛśyanti ‖[347]
vāpīyo ca puṣki*ri*ṇīyo[63] ca sukhasalilāni haṃsakāraṇḍavarutāni	puṣkiriṇīyo[348] vanavare sukhasa*lilā*[349] haṃsasārasābhirutā ǀ

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[63] Sa Na *puṣkiṇīyo* (lip.); Se *puṣkariṇīyo*.

[330] Se *kālaṃ*.

[331] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read °*kharjūrā* (m.c.; MW s.v. *kharjūra* "the wild date tree"); in *pāda* b read *jaṃbīra mātuluṃga* (the word *ca* is metrically redundant).

[332] Sa Na *akkhāḍā*; Se *akṣoḍā*; on *kh* / *ṣ*, cf. Pischel § 265; Handurukande 1967: xiii; Weber 1872: 84-85.

[333] Se *mocā*. See PTSD s.v. *coca* "[Both derivation & meaning uncertain. The word is certainly not Aryan. See the note at Vinaya Texts II.132] the cocoa-nut or banana, or cinnamon J V.420 (°*vana*); °*pāna* a sweet drink of banana or cocoa-nut milk Vin I. 246".

[334] Se *mṛddhīkā ca* (unmetr.).

[335] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *cā cocā* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *kañcit* for *kañci* (m.c.).

[336] Se *kecid*.

[337] Sa Na *bhuktasumitāgrā* (lip.). Se *bhugnakusumāgrā*. Cf. CDIAL: 2055 "**udbhukta*- [*bhujati* "bends"]".

[338] Sa Na *ṣuna* (s.e.); Se *punar*.

[339] "The other [trees had] piled / accumulated ripe fruit"; Sa Na *macitā*; Se em. *pakvā mlāpitā*; or should we read *pakvamuṃcitā*?

[340] Se em. *pakvā mlāpitā pare* (≠ mss.).

[341] Sa Na °*māthā* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *śa* and *ma* are similar in Sa); corr. Se.

[342] One short syllable is lacking in the mss.; read with Se *na* "at no time there were not seen" (= "they were seen all the time").

[343] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetr.; the word *parā* is superfluous and metrically redundant; the metre could be improved by reading: *kecit bhuktakusumitāgrā apare puna <ca> pakvasaṃcitā vā* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *kaṃcit* for *kaṃci* (m.c.).

[344] Se omits *ca* (unmetr.).

[345] Se *phullitā*.

[346] "of all seasons"; Se *sarvotuka*°; cf. BHSD 596 "*sarvotuka*, or °*duka*; semi-MIndic for Skt. *sarvartuka*"; cf. Sa 291v1 *sarvodukāni sarvakālikāni*.

[347] The meter is *Āryā*, *pāda* a is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *etāni ca anyāni ca puṣpā* (for *puṣpāṇi*) *phalitā <ca> pādapavareṣu*, then we get regular *Āryā*: – – ǀ ◡ ◡ – ǀ – ◡ ◡ ǀ – – ǀ ◡ ◡ – ǀ <◡> – ◡ ǀ ◡ ◡ – ǀ ◡; in *pāda* b the 3rd *gaṇa* is amphibrach, which is as a rule impermissible in *Āryā*.

utpalapadmakumudapuṇḍarīka-saṃcchannāni.	padmotpalasaṃcchannā anye ca cakṣuramaṇīyehi[350] ‖[351] atha kovidārapatrakopaśobhitā[352] nīlakañcukamanojña[353] ǀ salile samuddhṛtā[354] ..[355] nāśenti cirāgataṃ śokaṃ ‖[356] tāhi ca vanarājīhi[357] padmasarā kusumitā upaśobhenti ǀ adhikatarā[358] nāśayanti śokāṃ yānasya ca vināśaṃ ‖[359]
tato vanāto nirgamya tāsāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ bhavanāni addaśensuḥ udvīkṣyāni maheśākhyāni śvetāni pāṇḍarāṇi tuṣārasannibhāni	nirgamya vanavarāto atha paśyanti tuṣārasadṛśāni ǀ bhavanāni[360] rākṣasīnāṃ Masakkasāravat[361] asurāṇāṃ[362] ‖[363] ghaṭṭaparimaṣṭaka[364] saṃto[365] Marubhavane Vāsavasya[366] ..[367] bhavanaṃ ǀ bhavanāni rākṣasīnāṃ nabhaṃ grasentāni[368] tiṣṭhanti ‖[369]
niryūhasiṃhapañjaragavākṣatārācandra-suvicitrāṇi[64], rākṣasīnagaraṃ ca Vaiśramaṇabhavanasannibhaṃ[65] paśyanti. te dāni vāṇijakā tāhi rākṣasīhi dvīpaṃ praveśitā svakasvakāni bhavanāni divyavimānasannibhāni. te dāni vāṇijakā teṣu rākṣasībhavaneṣu paśyanti paryaṅkāni[66] suprajñaptāni ṣoḍaśagoṇikāstaraṇāni[67] avadātapaṭapratyāstaraṇāni ubhayatolohitabimbohanāni suvarṇamayāni rūpyamayāni dantamayāni aśokavanikādeśaramaṇīyāni	niryūhasiṃhapañjaragavākṣatārārdhacandrasuvicitrā[370] ǀ adhikataraṃ taṃ puravaraṃ[371] ālokyati rākṣasīnagaraṃ ‖[372]

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[348] Se *puṣkariṇīyo*.

[349] Sa Na °*salinolā* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[64] Corr. Se; Sa Na *niyūha*° (s.e.); cf. Sa 295v4 *niryūhasiṃhapañjaragavākṣa*°.

[65] Na Se *vaiśravaṇa*°.

[66] Sa *payaṃkāni* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[67] Sa Na *śoḍaśa*°; Se *lomaśa*° (≠ mss.); cf. Sa 149r1 *ṣoḍaśagoṇikāstṛtāṃ*.

sarvapuṣpaphalopetāni vyāyāmaśālāni suramaṇīyāni annapānabhojanavidhānāni supraṇītāni. teṣā*ṃ*[68] dāni ratanāmayeṣu bhadrapīṭheṣu niṣīdāpayitvā kalpakehi keśaśmaśrūṇi kāritāni, vyāyāmaśāleṣu ca vyāyāmakārāpitāni, snānaśāleṣu ca snāpayitvā, dhota*ṃ*ātrāṇi[69] gātrāṇi poñchayitvā[70], lohitacandanakālānusārehi viliptāni kṛtvā, mahārahāṇi ca pari*dh*āpayitvā[71], varamālyadāmehi câlaṃkṛtāni, mahārahāṇi ca bhaktopadhānāni upanāmitāni, pratyagrāṇi[72]	atha tatra praviṣṭānāṃ mahati mahā-āsane niṣaṇṇā*nāṃ*[373] । snāna[374] upanāmenti kalpikanakhakeśaś*ma*śrūṇāṃ[375] ॥[376] snānātasamānānāṃ[377] alaṃkṛtānāṃ varadāmadhāriṇāṃ । bhojanam upanāmenti anekarasavyañjanam

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[350] "covered with Padma and Utpala lotuses delightful to the eyes"; Se °*ramaṇīyā* (unmetr.).

[351] In *pāda* a read *puṣkiriṇīyŏ* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *anyĕ* for *anye*.

[352] "adorned with petals of *kovidāra* flowers"; Sa Na °*pathaka*°; Se em. *keci kālapaṭakopaśobhitā* (≠ mss.).

[353] Se °*manojñā*.

[354] Se *salilasmiṃ samudvṛttā* (≠ mss.).

[355] One long syllable should be added here, e.g. *vā* (= *eva*) (m.c.).

[356] In *pāda* a we should read °*patropaśobhitā* for °*patrakopaśobhitā* (m.c.).

[357] Se °*rājībhiḥ*.

[358] Se *adhikatarāṃ*.

[359] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read °*rājībhiḥ* for °*rājīhi* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *nāśentī* for *nāśayanti* (m.c.).

[360] Sa *tāvatāni* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *ta*, *na* and *bha* are similar in Sa); corr. Na.

[361] Sa Na *sasarkka*° (s.e.); Se em. *sāpsarabhavanā*; see BHSD s.v. *masakkasāra* "(= Pali id.), n. of the abode of the Trāyastriṃśa gods"; DPPN s.v. *masakkasāra* "a name given to Tāvatiṃsa, the abode of Vāsava (Sakka)". Vv-a 1276 describes Masakkasāra as follows: *Masakkasāraṃ viya Vāsavassā ti Masakkasāran ti ca Tāvatiṃsabhavanaṃ vuccati, sabbaṃ vā devabhavanaṃ; idha pana Sakkabhavanaṃ veditabbaṃ. ten' āha Masakkasāraṃ viya Vāsavassā ti*; Masefield 2007: 522 translates this passage in the following way: "That was like Vāsava's Masakkasāra (*Masakkasāraṃ viya Vāsavassa*): now the realm of the Thirty-three is called 'Masakkasāra', or alternatively all that is the realm of the (various) devas (is so-called), but here the realm of Sakka is to be understood. For this reason they said 'that was like Vāsava's Masakkasāra'."

[362] Se *sāpsarabhavanā yatha surāṇāṃ* (≠ mss.).

[363] In *pāda* a read *paśyantī* for *paśyanti*; in *pāda* b we should read *Masakkasāra iva* for *Masakkasāravat* (m.c.).

[364] Se °*parimṛṣṭaka*; cf. Abhis §23.8.21B6 *ghaṣṭa-maṣṭa*~ "glättet und poliert; < Skt. **ghṛṣṭa-mṛṣṭa*"; see BHSD s.v. *ghaṭṭa* "(or *ghaṭṭaya*;, MIndic for *ghaṭṭaka*), prob. *polishing-stone*".

[365] Se *anto*.

[366] Sa *vāsvasya* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[367] One long syllable is missing here; read with Se *vā* (= *iva*); on *vā* for *iva*, cf. Bollée 2002: 142: SWTF s.v. *vā*; Oberlies 2001: 28.

[368] "They stood (as if) swallowing the sky"; Se *nabhāgrasaṃsthāni* (≠ mss.).

[369] In *pāda* a read °*parimaṣṭa* for °*parimaṣṭaka* (m.c.).

[370] Sa °*suvicitritā*; corr. Na; Se °*suvicitraṃ*.

[371] Se °*varam* (unmetr.).

[372] In *pāda* b read *adhikatara* for *adhikataraṃ* (m.c.).

[68] Sa *teṣā* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[69] "just washed"; Sa Na °*pātrāni* (s.e.); Se *dhautamṛṣṭāni* (≠ mss.).

[70] Se *prāñjayitvā*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *poñchate* "(= *puñchati*, q.v.; semi-MIndic from Skt. *proñch*-) wipes off, cleans".

[71] Sa Na *parivāp*° (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *dha* and *va* are similar in Sa); Se *parivārayitvā*; Pā *paridhāpayati*; but it would be better to read *mahārahāṇi <vastrāṇi> paridhāpayitvā* "having clothed (them) in fine garments"; cf. Sa 279r6, Se 3.36: *mahārahāṇi ca kāśikavastrāṇi paridhāpito*.

[72] Sa Na *pratyaprāṇi* (s.e.); corr. Se.

ca praṇītāni khādanīyabhojanīyāni[73] upanāmitāni, nānāprakārāṇi ca vyañjanaprakārāṇi upanāmitāni, khaṇḍāgrāṇi lavaṇāgrāṇi madhurāgrāṇi tiktāgrāṇi kaṭukāgrāṇi kāṣāyāṇi nānāprakārāṇi mānsaprakārāṇi upanāmitāni, tadyathā varāhamānsāni matsyamānsāni mahiṣamānsāni[74] tittiramānsāni vaṭṭakamānsāni[75] lābakamānsāni kapiṃjalamānsāni eṇeyamānsāni. vividheṣu ca sānaṃ nṛtyagītavādyaprakāreṣu abhiramāpenti, mṛdaṅgavādyeṣu āliṅgavādyeṣu sindhavavādyeṣu paṇavavādyeṣu ekādaśikāvādyeṣu vīṇāvādyeṣu nakulakavādyeṣu sughoṣavādyeṣu ca bhāṭakavādyeṣu[76] veṇukavādyeṣu, aparā praṇavensuḥ[77], aparā tu madhuraṃ pragāyensuḥ. yadā jānensuḥ tā rākṣasīyo "samviśvastā[78] ime vāṇijakā asmābhir" iti, tato sānan[79] samvṛddhāni ratanakośāni sampradarśensuḥ, āryaputrāṇām ca (')yaṃ vā[80] praṇītaṃ ca sāraṃ, madhuraṃ ca āsanaṃ ca pāpensu[81] "abhiramantu[82] āryaputrāḥ iha ratanadvīpe Nandanagatā vā Maruputrā api, pramattehi	upetaṃ ‖[378] varāhamatsya[379] māhiṣa[380]-ajapaśava sakukkuṭamayūra[381] ǀ tittiravartakalābaka[382] kapiṃjalasārasā[383] ca prabhūtā ‖[384] yā tatra prajānanti mṛdaṅgam āliṅgasaindhavāṃ[385] paṇavāṃ ǀ ekādaśā[386] ca vīṇāṃ ca veḷu[387] vallakituṇakāṃ[388] ca[389] ‖[390] vallakitūlān nakulakāṃ parivādinīṃ gomukhīṃ apare velum[391] ǀ apare (')tra[392] praṇavanti[393] madhuraṃ ca pragāyanty apare ‖[394] viśvastā[395] ca[396] jñātvā côdyānavarāṇi[397] sampradarśenti ǀ ratanāṃ[398] ca suprabhūtāṃ śeyyāsanabhojanavidhānañ[399] ca ‖[400] "etaṃ ca vo vayaṃ ..[401] ca abhiramatha Nandane va Marusaṃghā ǀ

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[373] Sa Na *niṣaṇṇā* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[374] Se *snānaṃ.*

[375] Se *kalpita°*; Sa *°śvaśrūṇāṃ*; corr. Na.

[376] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *paviṣṭānāṃ* (m.c.); *pāda* b is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *snānaṃ upanāmentī* (m.c.).

[377] S.e. for *sināta*? *snāta* > MIndic *sināta*; *sināta-samānānāṃ* − (wrongly backformed) *snānāta-samānānāṃ*; "having been bathed" (see BHSD, s.v. *samāna*). √*snā* > Pā *sinā-*, Pkt *siṇā-*; Se *snānasamādānānāṃ.*

[73] Se *°bhojanāni.*

[74] Se is lacking *mahiṣamānsāni.*

[75] Se *vartaka°*; Pā *vaṭṭaka* "quail".

[76] A name of an unknown musical instrument? Se *bhāṇḍaka°.*

[77] "The others played on *praṇava* drums"?; Se *praṇensuḥ*; the reading in the parallel passage in verse is the same *apare (')tra praṇavanti*, but a more suitable reading would be *pranṛtyanti*, which occurs often before the word *pragāyanti* in similar descriptions found in other texts.

[78] Sa Na *°viśvasto*; corr. Se.

[79] Sa *mānan* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *sa* and *ma* are similar in Sa); corr. Na.

[80] Se *ca.*

[81] 3. pl. aor. from caus. of *pāpuṇāti* "lead, bring to"; Na *prāpeṇsuḥ*; Se *prajñāpensuḥ.*

[82] Sa Na *abhiramanta*; corr. Se.

pi āryaputrehi nagarasya dakṣiṇena mārgeṇa na gantavyaṃ".	atisupramattakehi[402] dakṣiṇamārgaṃ na gantavyaṃ" ‖[403]
atha khalu bhikṣavo yas teṣāṃ pañcānāṃ vāṇijakaśatānāṃ sārthavāho paṇḍito saprajñājātiko. tasya etad abhūṣi "kiṃ nu khalu imā strīyo asmākaṃ nagarasya dakṣiṇāto mārgāto vārenti? yaṃ nūnâhaṃ jāneyaṃ nagarasya dakṣiṇena kiṃ câtra kathaṃ vā?" ti.	yo[404] teṣāṃ sārthavāho saprañño[405] sakuśalo sabuddhiko[406] ‖ eko raho viṣaṇṇo[407] "kiṃ nu khu panthāto vārenti? ‖[408] yaṃ nūnâhaṃ suptāye sahaśāyinīye[409] asiṃ grahetvā[410] ‖ nagarasya dakṣiṇena taṃ panthalikam upanaye[411]" ‖[412]
atha khalu bhikṣavaḥ sārthavāho tā[83] striyaḥ śayitā[84] vā mattapramattā naṃ[85] viditvāna, asipaṭṭam ādāya nagarāto nirgamya taṃ	so tāya[413] prasuptāya[414] sahaśāyinīye[415] asiṃ grahetvā[416] ‖ nagarasya dakṣiṇena taṃ panthalikaṃ

[378] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetrical.

[379] Se *matsyā*.

[380] Se *mahiṣā*.

[381] Se em. *ajeḍakaśāvakakukkuṭamayūrā* (≠ mss.).

[382] Corr. Se; Sa Na *tittaraᵒ* (s.e.); MW s.v. *tittira* "partridge".

[383] Se *ᵒsārasa*.

[384] The meter is *Āryā*; *pāda* a is unmetr.; probably the first *gaṇa* in *pāda* a is missing, because *varāhaᵒ* seems to be the second *gaṇa*; the metre in *pāda* a can be improved by reading: <...> *varāhamatsyā mahiṣa-ajapaśava sakukkuṭamayūra*: <⏑̽ ⏑̽> | ⏑ – ⏑ | – – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑; in *pāda* b the 5th *gaṇa* is amphibrach; read *ᵒsārasā* for *ᵒsārasā* (m.c.).

[385] Sa Na *ālaṅgaᵒ*; corr. Se.

[386] Sa Na *ekādaśa*; Se *ekādaśīṃ*. Cf. BHSD 154 *ekādaśā* "a kind of musical instrument".

[387] Sa Na *vīṇāṃ ve vāṭa* (s.e.); Se *vādenti* (≠ mss.). Cf. Se 1.227: *kācit veṇuṃ kācit vīṇāṃ kācit vallakīṃ kācit sughoṣakīṃ*; 2.159: *kācid vīṇām upaguhya kācid veṇu kācin nakulaṃ kācit sughoṣaṃ*; 3.165: *kācid vīṇāṃ pravāditā kācit sughoṣakaṃ kācit mṛdaṃgaṃ kācid veṇuṃ*. For Skt *veṇu* / Pā *veḷu*, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 207; for *ṇ* / *ḷ*, cf. also Pischel §§ 226, 243; my conjecture is far from certain because the word *velu* occurs also in the next verse.

[388] Sa Na *ᵒvallahiᵒ*; Se *ᵒvallakiguṇakāṃ*; cf. BHSD 255 *tuṇa* "some musical instrument, a kind of drum"; MW s.v. *vallakī* "kind of flute".

[389] Se *vīṇāṃ vādenti vallakiguṇakāṃ ca*.

[390] The meter is *Āryā*.

[391] Se *veṇuṃ*. Cf. BHSD 509 *velu* "flute".

[392] Se *ca*.

[393] Sa Na *praṇamanti*; Se *pravādayanti* (≠ mss.); "the others played on *praṇava* drums"?; but a more suitable reading would be *pranṛtyanti*, which occurs often before the word *pragāyanti* in similar descriptions found in other texts.

[394] Unmetrical.

[395] Sa Na *viśvastāṃ*.

[396] Sa Na *ca na* (s.e.) *jñātvā*; Se *ca tāṃ jñātvā* (unmetr.).

[397] Sa Na *cā* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[398] Se *ratnāṃ*.

[399] Se *śayyāᵒ*; see BHSD s.v. *śeyyā*; PTSD s.v. *seyyā*.

[400] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* b the second *ca* is metrically redundant.

[401] One long or two short syllables need to be added here in order to improve the metre.

[83] Sa Na *tāṃ* (s.e.); Se is lacking *tā*.

[84] Sa Na *śayito* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[85] Se *vā*.

dakṣiṇaṃ mārgam anugacche.	upagamāsi ‖[417]
yathā yathā ca gacchati atha[86] paśyati ākāśaṃ[87] śaraṇaṃ ca pratibhayaṃ,	yatha yatha upeti panthaṃ atha śṛṇoti[418] dūrato va-r-ukrośaṃ[419] ǀ
bahūnāṃ ca puruṣāṇāṃ ravantānāṃ śabdaṃ śṛṇoti. so dāni teṣāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ ravantānāṃ[88] taṃ śabdam anusaranto	ravaṇaṃ[420] sahapratibhayaṃ bahūnāṃ śabdo manuṣyāṇāṃ ‖[421]
paśyati ayomayaṃ nagaraṃ tāmraprākāraparikṣiptaṃ.	…………………………… ǀ (?) so śabdam anusaranto atha paśyati[422] nagaraṃ tāmramayaṃ ‖[423]
so dāni tasya nagarasya dvāraṃ mārganto samantena pradakṣiṇīkaroti, na ca taṃ dvāraṃ paśyati, bahūnāṃ ca puruṣāṇāṃ ravantāṇāṃ śabdaṃ śṛṇoti.	saṃprāpto[424] samantato mārgati dvāraṃ na[425] ca kaṃci paśyati ǀ niṣkramantaṃ śṛṇoti ca śabdaṃ bahūnāṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ ‖[426]
"hā ambê!" ti krandanti, "hā tātā!" ti krandanti, "putrā![89]" ti krandanti[90], "svādeśê" ti krandanti[91], "Jaṃbūdvīpakāho udyānavarāho!" ti krandanti.	"hā amba[427] hā tāta[428] hā putra[429] hā svadeśa ramaṇīya ǀ Jaṃbūdvīpakāho udyānavarāho .. .. ‖[430] sukhitā khu ye .. .. ..[431] samāgatā jñātibāndhavajanena ǀ ekarajani[432] vasitvā śarīranāśaṃ[433] kariṣyatî" ti[434] ‖[435] "kiṃ śakya[436] nirālamba[437] madhya[438] samudrasya lavaṇatoyasya ǀ karma manasīkarontā śarīranāśaṃ[439] kariṣyāmaḥ?" ‖[440]

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[402] Sa *abhi°* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *bha* and *ta* are similar); Na *api supramatta°*; Se *api tu pramatta°*.

[403] In *pāda* b we should read *°mattakebhiḥ* for *°mattakehi* (m.c.).

[404] Sa Na *ye* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[405] < *saprajña*; Sa *sapuṇṇya* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *pu* and *pra* are similar in Sa); Na Se *saprajño*. Cf. Pā *paṇṇati* < *prajñapti*; cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 251.

[406] Se *°buddhīko*.

[407] Se *niṣaṇṇo*; BSkt *viṣaṇṇa* "to falter, to be dejected, displeased".

[408] The meter is Āryā; in *pāda* a read *sabuddhīko* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *panthātŏ* (m.c.).

[409] Se *sahasopinīye*. Cf. BHSD s.v. *sahaśāyinī* "bedfellow"; Pā *sahaseyya*.

[410] Se *gṛhītvāna*.

[411] Se *upanayehaṃ* (m.c.).

[412] In *pāda* a we should read *grahetvāna* for *grahetvā* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *dakṣiṇenā* for *dakṣiṇena*, *panthalikaṃ* for *panthalikam* (m.c.); read *upanayeya(ṃ)* or with Se *upanayehaṃ* for *upanaye* (m.c.).

[413] Se *tāye* (unmetr.); loc. abs.; for the obl. sg. fem. *tāya*, cf. BHSG § 21.13.

[414] Sa Na *prasuptāha*; Se *prasuptāye*; for the loc. sg. fem. *-āya*, cf. BHSG § 9.58.

[415] Se *sahasopinīye*.

[416] Se *gṛhītvāna*.

[86] Se *tathā*.

[87] Se *ākāśe*.

[88] Se omits *ravantānāṃ*.

[89] Sa Na *putro* (s.e.).

[90] Se *hā putrêti kraṇḍanti hā bhrātêti krandanti*.

[91] Se *hā svasêti krandanti*.

so taṃ śabdaṃ śruṇanto tan nagaraṃ paryāgacchanto,	so dāni pralapitāni śruṇamāno sakuśalo[441] *su*prajño[442] sabuddhiko[443] |
nagarasyôttare pārśve prākārasya anuś*li*ṣṭaṃ[92] uccaṃ śirīṣavṛkṣaṃ paśyati.	nagarasya uttareṇa ucca[444] ālokaye śirīṣaṃ |[445]
so dāni śirīṣavṛkṣam abhiruhitvā nagare puruṣaśatāni paśyati	abhiruhya taṃ śirīṣaṃ paśyati nagare śatāni manujānāṃ |
māsopavāsikānāṃ[93]	māsopavāsikānāṃ
dīrghakeśanakhaśmaśrūṇāṃ	virū*ḍha*nakhakeśaśmaśrūṇāṃ[446] |[447]
pottīkhaṇḍavasa*na*nānāṃ[94]	dhamanīsantatagātrāṇāṃ[448]
vātātapadagdhatvacamānsānāṃ kṛṣṇānāṃ malinānāṃ malinakeśānā*ṃ*[95]	vātātapadagdhatvacamāṃsānāṃ | p*o*ttīkhaṇḍakavasanānāṃ[449] tṛṣṇārttānāṃ
kṣu*t*pipāsasamarpitānāṃ[96].	malinehi keśehi[450] |[451]

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[417] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *pasuptāye* for *prasuptāya* and *grahetvāna* for *grahetvā* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *dakṣiṇenā* (m.c.);

[418] Read with Se *śṛṇvati* (m.c.).

[419] Se *va utkrośaṃ*; for the *saṃdhi*-consonant -*r*-, cf. BHSG § 4.61; von Hinüber 2001: § 271.

[420] Sa Na *sravaṇaṃ* (s.e.); probably *ukrośaṃm ravanaṃ* was miswritten as *ukrośaṃsravanaṃ* (the *akṣara*s *mra* and *sra* are similar).

[421] Se omits this line (≠ mss.). The meter indicates that this is *pāda* b of *Āryā*; read *bahunāṃ* (m.c.); if so, then this verse would consist of one *pāda* a and two *pāda*s b (?); or, more likely, *pāda* a of the next verse is missing.

[422] Se *saṃpaśyati* (≠ mss.; unmetr.).

[423] The metre is *Āryā*; read *nagara* for *nagaraṃ* (m.c.).

[424] Se *saṃprāpto ca*.

[425] Sa *ta* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *na* and *ta* are similar); corr. Na.

[426] This verse is unmetrical.

[427] Se *ambe*; for the voc. sg. fem. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 9.15.

[428] Se *tātā*.

[429] Se *putrā*; for the voc. pl. masc. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.87; Abhis III § 6.29.

[430] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *ambā*; *tātā*; *putrā* (m.c.); *pāda* b is incomplete; Se prints a *lacuna* here; the missing part is probably *ca ramyāho* (˘ \| − − \| −); cf. with the reading found earlier in this chapter: *hā Jaṃbūdvīpakāho udyānavarāho ramyāho*.

[431] The missing word is probably *kadācit*; cf. with the reading found earlier in this chapter: *sukhitā khu ye kadācit samāgatā jñātibāndhavajanena*.

[432] Se º*rajanīṃ*.

[433] Sa Na º*vāśaṃ* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[434] Se *kariṣyanti*.

[435] The metre is *Āryā*; *pāda* a is *Āryā Capalā,* with amphibrachs in all the even *gaṇa*s; in *pāda* b we should read º*rajaniṃ* for º*rajani* and *kariṣyati ti* for *kariṣyatîti* (m.c.).

[436] Sa Na *śaktu* (s.e.); Se *śakyaṃ* (unmetr.); cf. with the reading found earlier in this chapter: *kiṃ śakya nirālamba madhye samudralavaṇatoyasya*.

[437] Se *nirālaṃbe*.

[438] M.c. for *madhye*; Se *madhye* (unmetr.).

[439] Sa Na *śarīraṃ nāśaṃ*.

[440] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *nirālambā* for *nirālamba* (m.c.); *pāda* b is *Āryā Capalā*.

[92] "cling to, adhere"; Sa Na *anuśriṣṭa*; Se *anuśliṣṭaṃ*, but this form seems to be recorded only here (see BHSD s.v. *anuśliṣṭa*).

[93] "Those who have been fasting for a month"; Se *sopavāsikānāṃ*; cf. MW s.v. *māsa* "*masôpavāsin*, one who fasts for a month"; cf. Schmidt 1928 s.v. *māsopavāsin* "einen Monat hindurch fastend";

[94] "Clothes (made from) ragged pieces of cloth"; Sa Na º*vasānāṃ* (s.e.); Se *pūti*º. Cf. Oberlies 1993: 120 s.v. *pottī*- "cloth".

[95] Sa º*keśānā*; corr. Na.

[96] Sa Na *kṣuta*º; corr. Se.

nakharīhi[97] pānīyārthe[98] bhūmi[99] khananti pṛthivīto utkṛṣyanti, daurbalyena puna[100] dharaṇyāṃ patanti.	kecit pānīyārthe …[452] bhūmiṃ nakhehi vilikhanti | uttheṣyanti[453] patanti patitā mahīyaṃ viceṣṭanti[454] || aparāṇi karaṅkāni ..[455] vikṣiptāni diśo .. .. vikīrṇāni |[456] paśyitva so drumagato rūḍha[457] niṣaṇṇo paramabhīto[458] ||
te dāni tasya śirīṣasya śākhāpatrapalāśaṃ śabdaṃ śrutvā sarve aṃjaliṃ[101] kṛtvā utthitā	tasya ca[459] śirīṣasya patrāṇi[460] javena ca valitāṃ[461] viditvāna | paśyitva drumavaraṃ prañjalīkarentā[462] ...[463] sarve ||[464]
"ko āryaputra[102] devo vā nāgo vā kinnaro vā gandharvo vā yakṣo vā kumbhāṇḍo vā,	"ko tvâryaputro[465] devo vā nāgo garuḍo guhyako suvarṇo[466]? | atha vā sahasranayano virūḍhako anyo vā yakṣo? ||[467]
tava mo[103] śaraṇaṃ gatāḥ. ito sambandhanāto duḥkhitāni mocehi, yathā māṃ[104] puna[105] svadeśavāso bhaveya, mitrajñātisamāgamo ca bhaveya". atha khalu bhikṣavaḥ sa sārthavāho[106] śirīṣagato aśrupūrṇanayano tāṃ vāṇijakānṃ etad uvāca "nâhaṃ devo na yakṣo na	mocehi mo suduḥkhitāṃ bhavatu te karuṇāṃ[468] narṣabha[469] | imeṣāṃ puna[470] bhavatu deśaṃ vāsapriyabandhuviprahīṇānāṃ"[471] ||[472] so aśrupūrṇanayano[473] pratibhaṇati ..[474] vāṇijo[475] śirīṣagato | "nâham āryaputra devo nāgo garuḍo guhyako

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[441] Se omits *sakuśalo*.

[442] Sa *aprajño* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *su* and *a* are similar in Sa); corr. Na; alternatively, one may read *saprajño* "endowed with understanding" (MW).

[443] Se *subuddhiko* (≠ mss.); see PTSD s.v. *buddhika* "sabuddhika, possessing wisdom".

[444] Se *uccaṃ*; for the acc. sg. masc. *-a*, cf. BHSG § 8.32; Abhis III § 6.12.

[445] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetr.; the metre could be improved by omitting the word *sabuddhiko* and reading *supañño ca* instead; in *pāda* b read *uttareṇā* for *uttareṇa*, *uccaṃ* for *ucca* and *ālokayĕ* (m.c.).

[446] Sa Na *virūha* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *ḍha* and *ha* are similar); corr. Se.

[447] The metre is *Āryā*; *pāda* b is *Āryā Capalā* with amphibrachs ◡ – ◡ in *gaṇa*s 2 and 4.

[448] Se °*gātrā*.

[449] "Clothes (made from) ragged pieces of cloth"; Sa Na *pauttī*°; Se *pūti*°. Cf. Oberlies 1993: 120 *pottī*- "cloth".

[450] Se *pūtikakhaṇḍavasanānāṃ tṛṣṇārttā malinakeśānāṃ* (unmetr.).

[451] This verse is unmetrical.

[97] Se *nakhalīhi* (≠ mss.); see BHSD s.v. *nakharī*.

[98] Se *pānīyārthaṃ*.

[99] Se *bhūmiṃ*. For the acc. sg. fem. *-i*, cf. BHSG § 10.50; Abhis III § 8.4.

[100] Na Se *punar*.

[101] Sa *aṃkaliṃ* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[102] Se °*putro*.

[103] Na Se *te vayaṃ*°; for the 1. nom. pl. *mo*, cf. BHSG § 20.63; Pischel § 415.

[104] Se *maṃ*; 1. gen. pl. *māṃ*, not in BHSG.

[105] Na Se *punaḥ*.

[106] Sa *mārtha*° (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *ma* and *sa* are similar); corr. Na.

kinnaro na gandharvo na Śakro na Brahmā na Virūḍhako mahārājā[107].	suvarṇo vā ǀ na câhaṃ sahasranayano Virūḍhako nâiva (')haṃ yakṣo vā ǁ[476]
vayam pi Jambūdvīpāto dhanārthāya yānapātreṇa samudram avagāḍhā vipannayānapātrāḥ. etāhi strī*hi*[108] uddhṛtā pañca vāṇijakaśatāni.	vayam ārya dhanārthāya ogāḍhā salilapatiṃ ǀ bhinnayānā sma saṃjātā te sma istrīhi uddhṛtāḥ ǁ[477]
tato asmābhiḥ sārdhaṃ krīḍanti ramanti pravicārenti.	
	tā maṃ *samyak prativartanti*[478] śuśrūṣā putra mātaro va ǀ
api sānaṃ vayaṃ apriyaṃ karoma, *tā*[109] câsmākaṃ vipriyaṃ nêcchanti".	api sānam apriye priyāmi mānuṣīyo[479] (')cchāmi na mo icchanti vipriyaṃ"[480] ǁ[481]

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[452] Lacuna; either before the word *bhūmiṃ* (*gaṇa* 4) or right after it (*gaṇa* 5).

[453] Se *utthehiṣyanti* (unmetr.); on the future used in the sense of a conditional, see BHSG §§ 31.38-31.40.

[454] Sa Na Se *viveṣṭanti* (the *akṣara*s v- and c- are very similar in Sa); see BHSD s.v. *viveṣṭati*.

[455] One short syllable needs to be supplied here, e.g. *va / ca* (m.c.).

[456] So read all the mss. and Se; but this *pāda* is too short; the metre can be improved by reading *diśodiśaṃ* for *diśo* (hapl.); cf. with the reading found earlier in this chapter: *aparāṇi karaṃkaśatāni vikṣiptāni diśodiśaṃ vikīrṇāni*.

[457] Sa Na *rūḍhaṃ*; Se *rūḍho* (unmetr.); for the nom. sg. masc. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.22; Abhis III § 6.1.

[458] Sa Na *varamahīto* (s.e.); Se *va samāhito*.

[459] Se omits *ca*.

[460] Confusion of gender *patrāṇi …valitāṃ*; Se *patrā*.

[461] Se *avalambitāṃ*.

[462] Se wrote a lacuna here: *prāṃjalikā . . . . . sarve*; on the form *karenta*, cf. Pischel § 509.

[463] Two ˘ − or three ˘ ˘ ˘ syllables need to be supplied here in order to improve the metre: − − ǀ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ǀ − − ǀ ˘ − ˘ ǀ <˘> ǀ <≃> − ǀ −.

[464] The meter is *Āryā*, but *pāda* a is unmetrical; in *pāda* b read *duma°* for *druma°* (m.c.).

[465] Na Se *ko tvaṃ āryaputra* (unmetr.); for the 2. nom. sg. *tva*, cf. BHSG § 20.8.

[466] Se *suvarṇo vā*.

[467] *Pāda* a is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *°putrŏ*, *garuḍŏ* and *guhyakŏ* (m.c.); *pāda* b is *Āryā Capalā*; read *anyŏ* (m.c.).

[468] Sa Na *karuṇaṃ*; Se *kāruṇyaṃ*; see PTSD s.v. *karuṇā*.

[469] Na Se *nararṣabha*. The form *narṣabha* occurs in Sa no fewer than nine times, always in verses. Cf. PTSD s.v. *nisabha* [Sk. *nṛ* + *ṛṣabha*] "bull among men", i. e. prince, leader."

[470] Na Se *punar*.

[471] "(Let those who are) deprived of (their) house and beloved relatives (be restored to their land)"; Se em. *imeṣāṃ punar bhavantu svadeśapriyabandhu prāṇīnāṃ*; J. III 87: "let these men who are still alive be restored to their land and their fond relations".

[472] This verse is unmetrical.

[473] Sa *°pūrṇo nayano*; corr. Na.

[474] One short syllable needs to be added here in order to improve the metre, e.g. *ca*.

[475] Corr. Se; Sa Na *pratibhaṇati prativāṇijo* (s.e.).

[107] Na Se *°rājo*.

[108] Sa *strī* (lip.); corr. Na.

[109] Corr. Se; Sa Na *na* (the *akṣara*s na and ta are very similar).

[476] *Pāda* a is unmetr.; in *pāda* b read *na ahaṃ* for *na câhaṃ* (m.c.); the word *(')haṃ* is metrically redundant and should be omitted.

[477] The metre is *Śloka*, but *pāda* b is unmetr.; cf. with the reading found a few lines below: *vayaṃ pi Jambūdvīpāto ogāḍhā salilaṃ prati*.

te dāni abhyantaravāṇijakā āhaṃsuḥ	śrutvā bhaya*ṃ*karīṃ[482] vācāṃ idam āhaṃsu vāṇijā ǀ
"vayaṃ pi māriṣa Jaṃbūdvīpāto dhanārthāya yānapātreṇa samudram avagāḍhā. asmākaṃ pi sāgaramadhyagatānāṃ[110] yānapātraṃ vipannaṃ.	"vayaṃ pi Jambudvīpāto ogāḍhā salilaṃ prati[483] ǁ[484]
	bhinnayānā sma saṃjātā te *sma pi* tāhi[485] uddhṛtā ǀ
	tā maṃ samyak prativartensu yathā yuṣmākaṃ māriṣa ǁ[486]
tato me[111] etāhi[112] uddhṛtā pañca vāṇijakaśatāni,	vāṇijānāṃ śatā pañca ye sma etāhi uddhṛtā ǀ
asmākaṃ pi sārdhaṃ etābhiḥ strībhiḥ[113] krīḍanti ramanti pravicār*enti*[114], yathā etarahi yuṣmābhiḥ sārdhaṃ. yadā yuṣmākaṃ yānapātro vipanno, vātena ca yena rākṣasīdvīpaṃ tena kṣiptā[115], tato etāhi rākṣasīhi yūyaṃ dṛṣṭvā asmākaṃ pañcānāṃ	
vāṇijakaśatānāṃ āḍḍātiyā vāṇijakaśatā khāyitā[116]. ye py asmākaṃ mūlāto dāraka[117] jātā, te pi sānaṃ khāyitā. vayañ ca āḍḍātiya[118] vāṇijaśatā iha tāmranagare prakṣiptā.	tato aḍḍhātika[487] eṣā[488] avaśeṣā tu khāyitā ǁ ye pi maṃ putrakā āsi bālakā mañjubhāṇino ǀ te pi khāyitā etāhi rasagṛddhāhi māriṣa ǁ[489]
na etā māriṣa mānuṣikā, rākṣasīyo etāyo".	na ete[490] māriṣa mānuṣīyo rākṣasīyo bhayānikā ǀ asipaṭṭadharâhṛdayā rākṣasīyo[491] mānuṣīrūpā[492]" ǁ[493]
so dāni sārthavāho śirīṣagato teṣām	

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[478] Corr. Se; Sa Na *samyakprativartaṃ pratinivartanti*; cf. with the reading two verses below: *tā maṃ samyak prativartensu*; the meaning of *prativart-* is not clear; perhaps < *pari√vṛt-* "to act, behave"?

[479] Se *śuśrūṣūn putrān va mātaro*.

[480] Se *yaṃ priyaṃ mo mānuṣīyo na tā icchanti vipriyaṃ*.

[481] The reading of the mss. is corrupt here; it can be tentatively translated in the following way: "They treat me properly, as mothers treat obedient sons. I request (from) the women a favour, even if this is unfavourable for them. They do not wish any misfortune for us" (?); the part *na mo icchanti vipriyaṃ* fits *Śloka*, but I am unable to propose a tenable reading in the other *pāda*s of this verse which would make sense as well as being close to the reading in the mss.

[110] Se *sāgaramadhye*.

[111] Se *maṃ*; for the 1. nom. pl. *me*, cf. BHSG § 20.63.

[112] Se *etāhi strīhi*.

[113] Se omits *etābhiḥ strībhiḥ*.

[114] Sa *°cāritaṃ* (s.e.); Na Se *°cārayanti*.

[115] "When you were thrown onto this island by the wind"; Se *kṣipto*.

[116] Se *ākhāyitā*.

[117] Se *dārakā*. For the nom. pl. masc. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.79; Abhis III § 6.25.

[118] Se *°tiyā*.

abhyantarimakānāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ tāmranagaraprakṣiptānāṃ taṃ vacanaṃ śrutvā bhīto trasto saṃvigno, añjaliṃ kṛtvā pṛcchati	tato bhūyasyā mātrāya saṃvigno āsi vāṇijo ǀ so tāṃ pṛcchiya[494] medhāvī rākṣasīdvīpāto niḥsāraṃ[495] ‖[496]
"ācikṣatha kiṃ upāyaṃ, yathā[119] ca tāsāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ mūlāto svastinā mucyeya[120]?"	"hanta māriṣa-m-ākhyātha[497] kathaṃ mokṣo bhaviṣyati? ǀ jīvitāntakarā ghorā kathaṃ gacchema svastinā?" ‖ te ca tasya samākhyensu hitaiṣī[498] anukampakā ǀ yathā dṛṣṭaṃ śrutaṃ câiva rākṣasīdvīpāto niḥsāraṃ[499] ‖[500]
te dāni āhaṃsuḥ "Kārtikapūrṇamāsyāṃ Keśī[121] nāmâśvarājā Uttarakurudvīpāto	"Kārtike kaumudī pūrṇa[501] pūrṇamāsyāṃ[502] āgamiṣyati[503] ǀ[504] Vālāho turago śīghro muñjakeśo hayottamo ‖ anupūrva[505] surucitāṃgo viśuddhakāyo

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[482] Sa Na *bhayakarīṃ*; Se *bhayaṃkariṃ*.

[483] So reads Sa; Na Se *salilapatiṃ* (unmetr.).

[484] The meter is *Śloka*; in *pāda* c read *ºdīpāto* (m.c.).

[485] Sa *te āthipa tāhi*; Na *te āṣi etāhi*; Se *istrīhi*; cf. with the reading two verse above: *te sma istrīhi uddhṛtāḥ*; and with the reading in the next verse: *ye sma etāhi uddhṛtā*.

[486] The meter is *Śloka*, but *pāda* c is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *pravartensu* ("behave towards, deal with") for *prativartensu*; in *pāda* d read *yuṣmāka* (m.c.).

[487] Se *aḍḍhātiyā*; *aḍḍhātika*, a hyper-Sanskritism for Pā = BHS *aḍḍha-tiya~* ("two and a half"); cf. Karashima 2008: 76

[488] Se *ettha*.

[489] The metre is *Śloka*; in *pāda* c read *khāyită* (m.c.).

[490] Na *nâite*; Se *nâtā*.

[491] Se *rākṣasiyo*; for the nom. pl. fem. *-īyo*, cf. BHSG § 10.172; Abhis III § 9.17; cf. Pkt *-īo* (see Pischel §§ 377, 380; von Hinüber 2001: § 341; Oberlies 2001: 163).

[492] Na *mānuṣaº*.

[493] *Pāda* a is unmetrical; the part *rākṣasīyo bhayānikā* is *Śloka*; *pāda* b is *Āryā*; in *pāda* b read *rākṣasiyo* for *rākṣasīyo* (m.c.).

[119] Se *yathâhaṃ*.

[120] Sa *muṣyeya* (s.e.); Na Se *muṃcyeya*; cf. BHSG: 225 opt. *mucyeyā*.

[121] Sa Na *keśo* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[494] Se *pṛcchīya*.

[495] Se *ºsaraṃ*.

[496] The metre is Śloka; in *pāda* a read *bhūyasyă* (m.c.); *pāda* d is unmetrical, but the metre can be improved by reading *rākṣasīdvīpaniḥsaraṃ* for *rākṣasīdvīpāto niḥsāraṃ*.

[497] Na Se *māriṣa ākhyº*; for the *saṃdhi*-consonant *-m-*, cf. BHSG § 4.59; von Hinüber 2001: § 272; in ms. Sa, see Marciniak 2014: 163-164.

[498] Se *hiteṣī*.

[499] Se *ºsaraṃ*.

[500] *Pāda* d is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *rākṣasīdvīpaniḥsaraṃ* for *rākṣasīdvīpāto niḥsāraṃ*.

[501] Nom. abs. "when there is a day of full moon in (the month of) Kārtika"; for the nom. abs., cf. BHSG § 7.13; Abhis III: § 5.1; Oguibénine 1996: 179-180.

[502] Na *kaumudīpūrṇamāsyāṃ*.

[503] Se em. *kārtike māse kaumudīpūrṇamāsyāṃ āgamiṣyati*, but it is against the metre.

[504] In *pāda* d read *pūrṇamāsyâgamiṣyati* (m.c.); for *-ā- < -āṃ ā-*, cf. Abhis III § 2.14.

	sugandho dhotavālo[506] |
	balavāṃ javen(') upeto vātayavasamo[507]
	anilayāyi[508] ||[509]
	kākaśiro padmanetro Vālāhakulābhinirvṛtto[510]
	|
	Himavantaśikharasadṛśa[511] meghasunita[512] va
	dundubhininādo ||[513]
ākṛṣṭoptaṃ śāliṃ akaṇaṃ atuṣaṃ surabhitaṇḍulaphalaṃ paribhuñjitvā imaṃ rākṣasīdvīpam āgacchati.	so bhuktvā atuṣam akaṇaṃ ..[514] svakerūhaṃ tadulaphalaṃ[515] śāliṃ |
	……………………………… || (?)
	sthito sāgarasya tīre rākṣasīnagarasya[516] uttare bhāge |[517]
so ihâgatvā trīṇi vārāṃ mānuṣikāya vācāya śabdaṃ karoti	unnāmita-uttamāṃgo bhāṣati vācāṃ[518] turagarājā ||
"ko iha mahāsamudrasya pāraṃ gantum icchati?	"ko ..[519] gansati pāraṃ samudrasya lavaṇatoyasya? |[520]
ahaṃ svastinā uttārayiṣyāmi".	kaṃ svastinā nayāmi kasya mama ridhyatu vacanaṃ[521]?" |[522]
taṃ hayarājaṃ śaraṇaṃ prapadyatha. so yuṣmākam ito rākṣasīdvīpāto samudrasya pāraṃ prāpayiṣyati.	taṃ ve[523] upetha śaraṇaṃ so neṣyati svastinā pāraṃ" ||
teṣāṃ[122] pañcānāṃ vāṇijakaśatānāṃ, yo vā tasya hayarājasya bāleṣv avalaṃbiṣyati, anyatarānyatare vā aṃgajāte, teṣāṃ pi ca puruṣāṇāṃ parasparasya anulaggiṣyanti[123], mahākārapṛṣṭhismiṃ tasya anulaggiṣyanti[124], śatam vā sahasram vā-m-anupūrveṇa[125] Jambūdvīpaṃ prāpayiṣyati[126]. eṣo ca upāyo ito rākṣasīdvīpāto svastinā Jambūdvīpaṃ gamanāya. nâsti anyo".	
so dāni sārthavāho teṣām avaruddhānāṃ vāṇijānām[127] āha	
"āgacchatha yūyam api sarve Jambūdvīpaṃ gamiṣyāmaḥ.	"etha[524] māriṣa yuṣme pi upetha hayasāhvayaṃ |

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[505] M.c.; Se *anupūrvaṃ* (unmetr.).
[122] Sa Na *te puruṣāḥ* (s.e.); corr. Se.
[123] "They shall cling onto one another"; Se em. *avalaṃbiṣyati* (≠ mss.).
[124] Se *anulagniṣyati*; for the *gn→gg* in ms. Sa, cf. Marciniak 2014: 165.
[125] Na Se *vā anu°*; for the *saṃdhi*-consonant *-m-*, cf. BHSG § 4.59; von Hinüber 2001: § 272; in ms. Sa, see Marciniak 2014: 163-164.
[126] Corr. Se; Sa Na *°nti*.
[127] Se *vāṇijakānām*.

etaṃ tāva[128] nagaraprākāraṃ laṃghayatha,	āyasaṃ nagaraṃ tāmraṃ laṃg*h*etha[525] rākṣasīpuraṃ |
heṣṭhato vā khanatha”.	atha khana*tha*[526] heṣṭhā*to*[527] tato gaṃsatha svastinā” |[528]
te teṣāṃ[129] āhansuḥ “na tvaṃ jānasi[130] kīdṛśo vā rākṣasīnagarâto[131] *na*[132] vayaṃ śakṣyāmaḥ laṃghayituṃ.	“hanta mārṣa na jānāsi laṃghayanto[529] pi vardhati |
	āsīyati khanant*o pi*[530] dṛḍhan tāmramayaṃ puraṃ ||
	nâsti mokṣo ito (’)smākaṃ karmabaddhāna māriṣa |
	svayaṃkṛtehi karmehi Jaṃbūdvīpāto[531] karṣit*ā*[532] ||[533]
	svaci*tta*Yamadūtehi[534] prakṣipt*ā*[535] Yamaśāsana[536] |
tumhe puna[133] yadi icchatha palāyatha, evaṃ vo mokṣo bhaviṣyati. atha dāni	

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[506] Se *dhutabālo*.

[507] Se °*javasamo*; on the *ja↔ya* in Sa, cf. Marciniak 2014: 165.

[508] Sa Na °*yāmi* (s.e.); Se °*yāyī*.

[509] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *sugandhŏ* (m.c.).

[510] Sa Na *vālāhakulānibhinirvṛtto* (s.e.; a sort of ditt. of -*bhi*-; the *akṣara*s *bhi* and *ni* are similar); Se °*kulena abhi*°.

[511] Se °*sadṛśo*.

[512] Sa Na °*sunitam*; Se *meghasvanitaduṃdubhi*°; for the *va > u*, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 134.

[513] In *pāda* a read *kākaśirŏ* and *vālāha*° for *vālāha*° (m.c.); *pāda* b is unmetrical.

[514] One short syllable needs to be added after the word *akaṇaṃ* in order to improve the metre, e.g. *ca*.

[515] M.c.: Na *taṃdula*°; Se *taṇḍula*° (unmetr.).

[516] Se *rākṣasi*°.

[517] In *pāda* a read *bhuktvă* for *bhuktvā* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *sthitŏ* and *rākṣasi* for *rākṣasī* (m.c.); the metre indicates that this rather is *pāda* a of *Āryā* (the 6th *gaṇa* is amphibrach): ⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | − − | − ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ − | ⏑ − ⏑ | − − | −. If so, then either this verse consists of two *pāda*s a and one *pāda* b; or *pāda* b of the previous verse had dropped out. The missing *pāda* probably contains the part corresponding to what is expressed in the parallel passage in prose with the words: *imaṃ rākṣasīdvīpam āgacchati*.

[518] Se *vācāṃ imāṃ* (≠ mss.).

[519] One long or two short syllables need to be supplied here in order to improve the metre; read with Se *vo* or *iha* (cf. with the parallel passage in prose).

[520] This *pāda* is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *mahāsamudrasya* for *samudrasya*: − <⏓> | − ⏑ ⏑ | − − | <⏑ −> ⏑ | − − | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | − − | ⏑. Cf. with the reading in the prose version of the story: *ko iha mahāsamudrasya pāraṃ gantum icchati*.

[521] Se *kasya mama ṛdhyatu vacanaṃ nāma* (≠ mss.).

[522] This *pāda* is unmetr.; it occurs in this chaper many times, always in exactly the same form. It seems that three *mātrā*s are missing at the end of this line; Se supplies *nāma*, which improves the metre, but it is not supported by the readings in the mss.

[523] Se *vo*; cf. Pā *ve*, Skt *vai*.

[524] Sa Na *eṣa* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *ṣa* and *tha* are similar in Sa); corr. Se.

[128] Se *tāvat*.

[129] Se *tāṃ*.

[130] Se *jānāsi*.

[131] Se °*nāgaraṃ nâto vayaṃ*. For the -*ā* < -*aṃ a*-, cf. BHSG § 4.36; Abhis III § 2.12; Geiger § 71.2a.

[132] Sa Na *ti* (w.r.).

tāmranagare prakṣipyatha, nâsti vo mokṣo. gacchatha yūyaṃ kṣemeṇa svakaṃ deśaṃ. asuke[134] ca nagare	yuṣme khu dāni gacchetha apramādena svagṛhaṃ[537] ||[538]
asmākaṃ pitujñātayo, teṣāṃ asmākaṃ vacanena pṛcchetha[135] vaktavyaṃ "detha dānāni, karotha puṇyāni api khaṇḍakapālena kulekuleṣu[136] bhikṣentā Jambūdvīpe vasatha,	jñātayo va[539] mo vadetha "detha dānāni māriṣa |
mā ca puna[137] samudraṃ otariṣyatha, yatrêmāny edṛśāni duḥkhāni.	mā[540] ca vo cittam utpadyeya[541] samudram avagāhituṃ ||[542] api khaṇḍakapālena bhikṣiyāna[543] kulāt kulaṃ | svajanena sahavāso na tv ih(') etādṛśaṃ[544] duḥkhaṃ ||[545] yācitena[546] ghaṭitvā[547] vacanaṃ preṣaṇāni ca | svajanena sahavāso na tu[548] etādṛśaṃ duḥkhaṃ"[549] ||[550]
parasya vā preṣyakarmaṃ kṛtvā jīvikāṃ kalpeṣyatha, mā ca samudram avataraṇāya cittaṃ karotha, yathā[138] yatra imāni evarūpāṇi duḥkhāni".”	
so dāni āha “māriṣa ātmanā[139] gamiṣyāmi, purā me rākṣasī[140] śayitā[141] vibudhyeta, mā me jāneyā iha āgamanaṃ”.	“hanta māriṣa gaṃsāmi suptā yāvan na vibudhyati[551] | purā[552] me dhūrtā jānāti pauruṣeyā[553]

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[133] Se *punaḥ*.

[525] Sa Na *laṃgetha*; corr. Se.

[526] Corr. Se; Sa Na *khana* (lip.).

[527] Sa Na *heṣṭhā* (s.e.; probably *heṣṭhā* is hapl. of *heṣṭhāta*, caused by the following word *tato*); corr. Se.

[528] The metre is *Śloka*; in *pāda* d we should read *sotthinā* for *svastinā* (m.c.).

[529] So read all the mss.; nom. abs.(?) “when one mounts upon it, it grows”; for the nom. abs., cf. BHSG § 7.13; Abhis III: § 5.1; Oguibénine 1996: 179-180; Se *laṃghayante*.

[530] Sa Na *khanantīyo* (s.e.); Se *khanante pi*.

[531] Se °*dvīpāpakarṣitā*.

[532] Sa Na *karṣito*; corr. Se.

[533] In *pāda* d read °*dvīpātŏ* (m.c.).

[534] Sa *svacinta*°; corr. Na.

[535] “(We were) thrown (under the rule of Yama)”; Sa Na *prakṣipto*; Se *preṣitā* (≠ mss.).

[536] Na Se °*śāsanaṃ*.

[134] Na Se *amuke*. See PTSD s.v. *asuka*; cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 388; Abhis § 5.6.6B3.

[135] Se *pṛcchitvā*.

[136] Corr. Na; Sa *kulaikuleṣu*.

[137] Se *punaḥ*.

[138] Se omits *yathā*.

[139] The mss. read *āmavo* or *ātmavo* here; corr. Se.

[140] Sa Na *rākṣasa*.

	ihâgatā"[554] ||[555]
so dāni sārthavāho tato ca śirīṣāto otarati, ime ca abhyantaramakehi[142] vāṇijakehi "khāditā vayaṃ rākṣasīhi avidhā (')vi*dhā*![143]" ti vikruṣṭaṃ "i*dam*[144] asmākaṃ paścimaṃ jñātīnāṃ darśanam" iti.	tasya ca oruhaṃtasya vikruṣṭā "avidhā (')vidhā" | svadeśaṃ manasīkṛtvā punaḥ śalyena vīkrito[556] ||
so dāni sārthavāho tato śirīṣāto otaritvā yathâgatena mārgeṇa gatvā, tatra rākṣasīye śayane śayito.	so r*kṣ*ato[557] oruhitvāna gatvā mārgaṃ yathāgataṃ | saha*śā*yinīye[558] āsanasmi[559] śayanti[560] abhisaṃviśe[561] ||[562]
so tatra śayanagato cintayati "katham eteṣāṃ vāṇi*ja*kānāṃ[145] etat kāryaṃ sambodheyaṃ, yathā me svayaṃ dṛṣṭo ca śruto ca? na ca ime rākṣasī budhyensu, eṣo ca tujyo kāryo.	*so*[563] ca tatra vicinteti "kathaṃ bodheya vāṇijāṃ | etam arthaṃ yathābhūtaṃ na ca jānensuḥ[564] dhūrtayo[565] ||[566] na ca guhyaṃ praśaṃsanti prakāśīyantaṃ paṇḍitā |
yadi eteṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ idānīṃ yeva[146] asaṃprāptena hayarājena etaṃ kāryam ācikṣiṣyāmi, tato eteṣāṃ pañcānāṃ vāṇijakaśatānāṃ anyatarānyataro vāṇijako	

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[141] Sa *mayitā* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *śa* and *ma* are similar in Sa); corr. Na.

[537] Se *svaṃ gṛhaṃ*.

[538] In *pāda* d read *svaṃ gṛhaṃ* for *svagṛhaṃ* (m.c.).

[539] Se *ca*.

[540] Sa *mo* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[541] Se *utpadye*.

[542] In *pāda* a read *vā* (= *eva*; m.c.; the metre is *ra-Vipulā*); in *pāda* c we should read *utpadye* for *utpadyeya* (m.c.).

[543] Se *bhikṣayato* (≠ mss.); for the gerund in *-iyāna*, cf. BHSG § 35.45; Abhis III § 29.9.

[544] Se *na tu etādṛśaṃ*.

[545] In *pāda* c read °*janenā* (m.c.; *sa-Vipulā*); in *pāda* d read *dukhaṃ* for *duḥkhaṃ* (m.c.).

[546] Se *yācitaṃ*.

[547] Sa Na *ghartitvā*; Se *ghaṭentasya*; cf. Abhis III s.v. *ghartta-* "Eine Verschreibung für *ghaṭ(ṭ)itavya* ("man soll sich bemühen")".

[548] Sa *tvaṃ* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[549] "As long as one lives with one's own family, having to exert oneself (to execute) a command and commission, when being asked to do so, is better than this misery".

[550] In *pāda* a we should read *ghaṭitvāna* for *ghaṭitvā* (m.c.); in *pāda* c read °*janenā* (m.c.; *sa-Vipulā*); in *pāda* d read *dukhaṃ* for *duḥkhaṃ* (m.c.).

[551] Na Se *budhyati*.

[552] Sa *pu*++ (blurred); Na *yuga* (w.r.; the *akṣara*s *pa* and *ya* are almost indistinguishable from one another in Sa); Se *yogaṃ*.

[553] Sa Na *pauruṣāyā* (s.e.); Se *pauruṣeyaṃ*; see BHSD s.v. *pauruṣeya*.

[142] Se *abhyantarimakehi*.

[143] Sa °*vitā* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[144] Sa *ivam* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[145] Sa *vāṇikānāṃ* (lip.); corr. Na.

[146] Na Se *eva*.

matto vā pramatto vā rākṣasīnām ācakṣeya[147]. tato anutapyanīyaṃ bhave[148],	mattā pramattā āpensu[567] kathanam[568] anutāpikaṃ[569] ‖[570]
	tailasya viya bindu vikāśati[571] guhyaṃ prakāśitaṃ[572] ǀ
sarve ca anayāto vyasanam āpādiyema. tatra paṇḍitā praśansanti	
"yasya kasyaci guhyaṃ samākhyātaṃ[149], durlabhā te satpuruṣā, ye śaknonti guhyaṃ dhārayituṃ".	taṃ mantaṃ[573] guhyam .. .. ‖[574]
	arthānarthaniyaṃtāro[575] durlabhā santi te narā ǀ
yaṃ[150] nūnâhaṃ svayam eva etaṃ guhyaṃ dhārayeyaṃ, yāva[151] Kaumudī cāturmāsī.	yaṃ[576] nūnâhaṃ svayaṃ guhyaṃ dhāreyaṃ yāva Kaumudiṃ[577] ‖
tato sānaṃ hayarājena imaṃ rākṣasadvīpam anuprāptena etam ādīnavam ācikṣiṣyāmi".	tato .. sānaṃ ākhyāmi[578] paścā saṃprāpte hayasāhvaye" ǀ
so dāni taṃ guhyaṃ svakaṃ hṛdayena dhārayati, na kasyaci ācikṣati yāva[152] Kaumudī cāturmāsī.	
Kaumudī ca upasthitā, hayarājā rākṣasīdvīpam anuprāpto. tato sārthavāhena teṣāṃ pañcānāṃ vāṇijakaśatānām ārocitaṃ	tasmiṃ ..[579] samaye prāpte jātamāse upasthite ‖[580]
"mā adya pramādaṃ karotha	sahāyāṃ[581] vāṇijā āha "pramādo va na kāryo[582] ǀ
strīṣu vā annapāne vā[153] gītavādye[154] vā. asti kiṃci[155] arthamātro yo bhavantehi	strīṣu bhojanapāneṣu[583] arthamātro bhaviṣyati" ‖[584]

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[554] Cf. with the parallel passage in prose: *purā me rākṣasī śayitā vibudhyeta mā me jāneyā iha āgamanaṃ.*

[555] *Pāda* b is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *budhyati* for *vibudhyati* (m.c.); in *pāda* c read *dhūrtă* for *dhūrtā* (m.c.).

[556] < (m.c.) *vikṝto (vi-√kṝ "split, cut to pieces"); Se *vedhitā* (≠ mss.).

[557] The word *ṛkṣa* is probably a hyperform of Skt *rukṣa* (> Pā *rukkha*), "having descended from the tree"; Sa Na *rthato* (s.e.); Se *sārthako* (≠ mss.); but I am not certain whether my conjecture is correct.

[558] Sa Na *sahasāpinīye* (the *akṣara*s *śa* / *sa*, and *ya* / *pa* are almost indistinguishable from one another in Sa); Se *sahasopinī-āsanasmiṃ.*

[559] Se *sahasopinī-āsanasmiṃ.*

[560] Se *śayanto.*

[561] Lit. "He entered (and saw that the other merchants) were sleeping in the beds of their female bed-fellows".

[562] *Pāda* c is unmetrical.

[563] Sa Na *ṣo* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[564] Se *jānensu.*

[565] M.c. for nom. pl. fem. *dhūrtāyo*; Se em. *dhūrtakā.*

[566] In *pāda* c read *jānensu* for *jānensuḥ* (m.c.).

[147] Se *ācikṣeyā.* For the 3. sg. opt. *-eya*, cf. BHSG § 29.28; Abhis III § 22.5.

[148] Se *bhavet.* For the 3. sg. opt. *-e*, cf. BHSG § 29.12; Abhis III § 22.1.

[149] Corr. Se; Sa °*tuṃ*; Na °*ntaṃ.*

[150] Sa *ya*; corr. Na.

[151] Se *yāvat.*

[152] Se *yāvat.*

[153] Sa Na *nā* (s.e.); Se *annapānena.*

[154] Se °*vādyena.*

mama sakāśāto śrotavyo. asuko[156] pradeśo pratigupto, tatra sarve samāgacchatha tāhi strīhi śayitāhi".	
te dāni sarve vāṇijakaśatā tāhi strīhi śayitāhi tatra pratigupte pradeśe sarveṇa samāgatā. samāgacchitvā	tasya divasasya (')tyayena sahaśāyinībhiḥ[585] tadā osuptābhiḥ ǀ agamensu[586] taṃ pradeśaṃ pratiguptaṃ vāṇijā sarve ǁ[587]
taṃ sārthavāhaṃ pṛcchaṃti[157] "jalpatha sārthavāha yaṃ te kiṃci[158] dṛṣṭaṃ vā śrutaṃ vā". sārthavāho teṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ vartamāniṃ sarvam ācikṣati	te ca tatra samāgamya .. ... pṛcchanti vāṇijā ǀ[588] "bhaṇatu āryo etam arthaṃ yathābhūtaṃ yathā dṛṣṭaṃ śrutaṃ ca te" ǁ[589] so ca teṣāṃ samākhyāsi hitaiṣī[590] anukampako ǀ yathā dṛṣṭaṃ śrutañ câiva rākṣasīdvīpāto niḥsāraṃ[591] ǁ[592]
"etaṃ mama evaṃ cittam utpanna[159], kisya ete[160] striyo asmākaṃ nagarasya dakṣiṇapanthāto nivārenti. tato kautūhalena sahaśāyinīye[161] śayitāe[162] asipaṭṭaṃ[163]	

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[155] Se *kiñcid*.

[567] < Skt √*r* (caus.) "drunk and careless, they deliver / give the talking (= information) that is (later) regretted"?; Se *lapensuḥ* (≠ mss.).

[568] Sa Na *katham*; Se *kathā*.

[569] Se *kathā ca anutāpikā*.

[570] In *pāda* b read *prakāśīyanta* (m.c.); *pāda* c is *ma-Vipulā*.

[571] Sa Na *vikaśati*.

[572] Se *tailasya viya bindu vikaśati prakāśitaṃ*.

[573] Na Se *mantraṃ*.

[574] This verse is unmetrical; in the first line the metre could be improved by reading: *tailasyâiva bindu guhyaṃ vikaśâti prakāśitaṃ*; the second line is incomplete.

[575] Sa Na °*niyatāro*; corr. Se.

[576] Sa *ya*; corr. Na.

[577] Se °*kaumudi*.

[578] Sa °*si* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *si* and *mi* are simiar in Sa); corr. Na.

[579] One syllable is missing in the mss.; read with Se *ca*.

[580] In *pāda* a the metre can be improved by reading *tato <ca> sānam ākhyāmi*; *pāda* b is too long.

[581] Se *sahāyā*.

[582] Se *kāriyo*.

[583] Sa Na °*pāne* (lip.); corr. Se.

[584] In *pāda* b we should read with Se *kāriyo* for *kāryo* (m.c.).

[156] Se *amuko*.

[157] Sa Na *pṛcchati*, sing. for pl.; corr. Se.

[158] Se *kiṃcid*.

[159] Na Se *utpannaṃ*. For the nom. acc. sg. neut. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.32; Abhis III § 6.8.

[160] So read all the mss.; masc. for fem., common in Sa; Se always em. *etā*.

[161] Sa Na *mahatosipinidhīye* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *ma* and *sa*, and *pi* and *yi* are similar in Sa); Se *mahatā sahasopinīye*.

[162] Se *śayitāye*; for the obl. fem. ending -*āe*, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 334; in ms. Sa, see Marciniak 2014: 162.

[163] Se *asipatraṃ*; *asipaṭṭa / aśipaṭṭa* probably means "sword, knife"; cf. Weber *Indische Studien* XVI (1885), p. 315, § 4, no. 229. *khaḍgaṃ*, no. 230. *asipaṭṭa*, no. 231. *karavālam*; cf. Se 2.165: bodhisattvena *asipaṭṭena cūḍā chinnā*.

gṛhya nagarasya dakṣiṇena paṃthena gato. tatra me tāmramayaṃ nagaraṃ dṛṣṭaṃ advāraṃ, na câsya dvāraṃ paśyāmi, bahujanasya ca krandanaśabdaṃ śṛṇomi. so (')haṃ taṃ nagaraṃ anupradakṣiṇīkaronto, tasya nagarasya uttare pārśve uccaṃ śirīṣam adrākṣīt. so (')haṃ taṃ śirīṣaṃ abhiruhitvā tato śirīṣāto[164] taṃ nagaraṃ avalokemi. tatra ca me bahūni vāṇijakaśatāni uparuddhāni dṛṣṭāni, śuṣkāṇi dhamanīsantatavātātapa-dagdhatvacamānsānikṛṣṇāni malinakeśāni, pānīyārthaṃ nakharīhi[165] bhūmiṃ khananti kṣutpipāsasamarpitāni. aparāṇi karaṃkaśatāni[166] vikṣiptāni diśodiśaṃ[167] vikīrṇāni. tatra ca asukāto[168] nagarāto, asukāto ca nagarāto[169] asuko ca asuko[170] ca vāṇijo, tathā asukāto pi nagarāto[171] te ca[172] vāṇijā". sārthavāhena agreṇa[173] teṣāṃ vāṇijakānām ācikṣitaṃ[174] "ye tatra jīvanti rākṣasīhi khāditāvaśeṣā. apare pi aḍḍātiyamātrāṇi vāṇijakaśatāni ye etāhi rākṣasīhi khāditā.	
tato ete[175] na mānuṣikā, sarvāḥ etā rākṣasīyo.	atha vāṇijā bhaṇanti ..[593] tāṃ sarvāṃ[594] rākṣasīgaṇam etaṃ[595] |[596]

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[585] Se *sahasopinībhiḥ*; see BHSD s.v. *sahaśāyinī*; PTSD s.v. *saha¹* "-*seyyā*, sharing the same couch, living together".

[586] Se *agamensuḥ* (unmetr.).

[587] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *divasātyayena*; in *pāda* b we should read *tadâvasuptabhiḥ* (m.c.).

[588] In *pāda* b two syllables are missing; Se prints a lacuna.

[589] This line is too long; the part *etam arthaṃ yathābhūtaṃ yathā dṛṣṭaṃ śrutaṃ ca te* is Śloka, but the part *bhaṇatu āryo*, though semantically necessary, is metrically redundant.

[590] Se *hiteṣī*.

[591] Se *niḥsaraṃ*.

[592] *Pāda* d is unmetr., the metre can be improved by reading *rākṣasīdvīpaniḥsaraṃ* for *rākṣasīdvīpāto niḥsāraṃ*.

[164] Na Se are lacking *tato śirīṣāto*.

[165] Se *nakhalīhi*.

[166] Se *kaṃkālaśatāni*; MW s.v. *karaṅka* "skull, head".

[167] Sa Na *diśodiśa*; Se *daśadiśo*.

[168] Se *amukāto*; see PTSD s.v. *asuka*.

[169] Se *amukāto amukāto nagarāto*.

[170] Se *amuko ca amuko*.

[171] Se omits *asukāto pi nagarāto*.

[172] Sa Na *na* (s.e.).

[173] Sa Na *sarvenāmāgreṇa?*; Se *te ca vāṇijā sarve va āgatā*.

[174] Sa Na *°tā*; Se *°to*.

[175] So read all the mss.; masc. for fem.; common in Sa; Se always em. *etā*.

	asipaṭṭa….hṛdayā[597]………………… ‖[598]
yadi vayaṃ yatnaṃ na karoma svadeśagamanāya, evaṃ yeva[176] sarve anayāto vyasanam āpadyiṣyāma etena rākṣasīgaṇena. yadi icchatha rākṣasīnāṃ hastāto mokṣaṃ kṣemena ca Jambūdvīpaṃ gamanāya Keśī aśvarājā Uttarakuruddhīpāto, akṛṣṭoptaṃ śāliṃ caritvā[177] akaṇaṃ atuṣaṃ surabhitaṇḍulaphalaṃ, Kārtikapaurṇamāsyāṃ iha rākṣasīdvīpam āgacchati.	
imasya rākṣasīdvīpasya uttareṇa pārśveṇa samudratīre sthihitvā	……... rākṣasīnagarasya uttare[599] bhāge ‖[600] sthito sāgarasya tīre bhāṣati vācāṃ turagarājā[601] ‖
"ko pāragāmî?" ti ghoṣeti[178].	"ko gaṃsati vo pāraṃ samudrasya lavaṇatoyasya? ‖ kaṃ svastinā nayāmi[602] kasya mama ridhyatu vacanaṃ?" ‖
tato tatra hayarājasya samīpaṃ gacchāmaḥ, so (')smākaṃ kṣemena svadeśaṃ prāpayiṣyati".	taṃ vayam upemi[603] śaraṇaṃ so neṣyati svastinā pāraṃ" ‖[604]
te dāni sarve[179] pañca vāṇijakaśatā sārthavāhena sārdhaṃ rākṣasīnagarasya uttaraṃ pārśvaṃ gatā.	tasya te vacanaṃ śrutvā sārthavāhasya vāṇijā ‖ samagrā sahitā sarve agamā[605] uttarāṃ diśaṃ ‖[606]
tehi so Keśi[180] aśvarājā samudratīre tiṣṭhanto dṛṣṭvā[181],	te gamya nâtidūraṃ paśyanti ..[607] vāṇijā turagarājāṃ[608] ‖

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[593] One short syllable needs to be supplied here in order to improve the metre.

[594] Sa Na *tāṃ sarvaṃ*; Se *tā sarvā*.

[595] "They called all of them a group of *rākṣasī*s".

[596] This is *pāda* a of *Āryā*.

[176] Na Se *eva*.

[177] Se *bhuṃjitvā* (≠ mss.); see MW s.v. √*car* "eat, consume (with acc.), graze".

[178] Sa *gheṣeti* (s.e.); corr. Na.

[179] Se omits *sarve*.

[180] Sa Na *kehi*; corr. Se.

[181] Se *dṛṣṭo*.

[597] Sa Na *ᵒhṛdayo*; Se *ᵒhṛdayaṃ*.

[598] Lacuna; probably we should read the same as the verse found earlier in this chapter: *asipaṭṭadharâhṛdayā rākṣasīyo mānuṣīrūpā*, which fits *pāda* b of *Āryā* (˘ ˘ − | ˘ ˘ − | ˘ ˘ − | − ˘ ˘ | − − | ˘ | − − | −); read *rākṣasiyo* for *rākṣasīyo* (m.c.).

[599] Se *rākṣasinagarottare bhāge*.

[600] This is probably *pāda* a of *Āryā* (… −˘˘ | ˘˘− | ˘−˘ | −− | −), not *pāda* b as Senart wrote; cf. with the parallel reading found further in this chapter: *sthito sāgarasya tīre rākṣasīnagarasya uttare bhāge ‖ unnāmita-uttamāṃgo bhāṣati vācāṃ turagarājā*.

[601] Se em. *vācāṃ imāṃ turagarājā* (≠ mss.), and wrote it as *pāda* a.

[602] Sa *nasāmi* (s.e.); corr. Na.

	sthitaṃ *sāgarasya tīre*[609] rākṣasīnagarasya[610] uttare[611] bhāge ‖[612]
grīvam unnāmetvā	unnāmita-uttamāṃgo bhāṣati vācāṃ turagarājā ‖
"ko pāragāmî?" ti ghoṣanto.	"ko gaṃsati vo pāraṃ samudrasya lavaṇatoyasya?" ‖ kaṃ svastinā nayāmi kasya mama ridhyatu vacanam?" ‖[613]
te dāni sarve pañca vāṇijakaśatā kṛtāñjalipuṭā taṃ Keśim aśvarājam upasaṃkrāntā "mahākāruṇika tava śaraṇāgatā sma vayaṃ, pāragāmiṃ gato[182] asmākaṃ tārehi".	tasya te vacanaṃ śrutvā *ha*yarājasya[614] vāṇijā ‖ aṃjaliṃ pragrahetvāna idaṃ vacanam abravīt ‖ "śaraṇaṃ te prapadyāma sarvaṃ loke hitāvaha ‖ asmākaṃ nehi .. pāraṃ asmākaṃ ridhyatu vacanaṃ" ‖[615]
so dāni aśvarājā teṣāṃ vāṇijakānāṃ samanuśāsati "yaṃ velaṃ ahaṃ te ito rākṣasīdvīpāto *yuṣ*mākaṃ[183] gṛhītvā trikkhuttaṃ[184] hiṣītvā khagapathena kramiṣyaṃ[185]. tato rākṣasīyo ye yuṣmākaṃ bhavati dārakā vā dārikā vā, tāni ādāya āgamiṣyanti. bahūni karuṇakaruṇāni ca pralapiṣyanti "mā āryaputra[186] paravacanenâsmākaṃ parityajatha. mā ca imāni dārakadārikāni parityajatha[187]. mā ca imaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ ratanadvīpaṃ bahuratanam anantaraṃ parityajatha". tato yuṣmābhiḥ teṣāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ vacanaṃ nâbhiśraddadhitavyaṃ.	*teṣāṃ* ca[616] turagarājā[617] .. .. ‖ .. .. ‖ "idānīṃ .. .. ‖ .. .. ‖[618] dārakāṃ[619] ..[620] grahetvāna .. .. ‖ karuṇaṃ[621] pra*lapi*ṣyanti[622] .. .. ‖ .. .. ‖[623] taṃ[624] vo manasi kartavyaṃ .. .." ‖

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[603] Sing. for pl.; cf. BHSG §§ 25.4, 25.10; Se *upema*.

[604] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *mahāsamudrasya* for *samudrasya* (m.c.).

[605] Se *agamu*. For the 3. pl. aor. *agamā*, cf. BHSG § 32.112.

[606] The metre is *Śloka*.

[607] One short syllable needs to be supplied here in order to make *Āryā*; read e.g., *ca / va*; Se *paśyanti taṃ vāṇijā* (unmetr.).

[608] Na Se °*rājaṃ*; acc. sg. *rājāṃ*, not in BHSG, but we come across it a few times in Sa, e.g. 268r4; 268v3 *rājāṃ Kuśaṃ*.

[182] Sa Na *gatā* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[183] Sa Na *asmākaṃ* (w.r.); corr. Se.

[184] "thrice"; Se *triṣkṛtyaṃ*; see BHSD s.v. *kṛtvā1*; cf. Sa 411v2: *trikkhutto garjjitvā purastimāyāṃ diśāyāṃm antarahāyati*; cf. Jā II 129: *janapadaṃ gantukāmā atthi, janapadaṃ gantukāmā atthîti tikkhattuṃ karuṇāya paribhāvitaṃ mānusivācaṃ bhāsati*.

[185] Se *prakramiṣyaṃ*.

[186] Se °*putrā*; for the voc. pl. -*a*, cf. BHSG § 8.87; Abhis III § 6.27.

[187] Se omits *mā ca imāni dārakadārikāni parityajatha* (≠ mss.).

yo ca teṣāṃ vacanaṃ abhiśraddadhiṣyati, sāpekṣo bhaviṣyati "eṣā me bhāryā, eṣo me putro, eṣo[188] me dhītā" ti, bhūyo rākṣasīnāṃ vaśam āgatā bhaviṣyanti, mama pṛṣṭhato dharaṇyāṃ prapatiṣyanti. ye ca[189] teṣāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ vacanaṃ nâbhiśraddadhiṣyanti "na me bhāryā, na me eṣo putro, na me eṣā dhītā" ti, ye ca nirapekṣā bhaviṣyanti, te bālam apiśliṣṭā me svastinā Jaṃbūdvīpaṃ gamiṣyanti".	yadi yuṣmākam evam asyā[625] "mamêṣa[626] bhāryā mam(') eṣa putro vo ǀ mama .. ..[627] dhītaro vo" avaśāvaśam eṣyatha ..[628] bhūyo ǁ[629] atha yuṣmākam evam asyā[630] "na m(') eṣa bhāryā na m(') eṣa putra[631] vo ǀ na m*a*m(')[632] eṣa dhītar*o* vo[633]" tato taṃ gaṃsyatha[634] svastinā pāraṃ" ǁ[635] evaṃ samanuśāsitvā vāṇijānāṃ hayottamo ǀ anukampayā kāruṇiko idaṃ vacanam abravīt ǁ[636]

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[609] Sa Na *rājasya dhītaro*, but this reading is inexplicable here and does not make sense; corr. Se; cf. with the reading found earlier in this chapter: *sthito sāgarasya tīre rākṣasīnagarasya uttare bhāge ǀ unnāmita-uttamāṃgo bhāṣati vācāṃ turagarājā*.

[610] Se *rākṣasi°*.

[611] Se em. *rākṣasinagarottare*.

[612] This is probably *pāda* a of *Āryā*, not *pāda* b as Senart wrote; ◡◡− ǀ ◡−◡ ǀ −− ǀ −◡◡ ǀ ◡◡− ǀ ◡−◡ ǀ −−ǀ −; read *sthita* for *sthitaṃ* (m.c.) and *rākṣasi°* for *rākṣasī°* (m.c.).

[613] In *pāda* a we should read *mahāsamudrasya* for *samudrasya* (m.c.); *pāda* b is unmetrical.

[614] Sa *yarājasya* (lip.); corr. Na.

[615] Unmetr.; the metre could be improved by reading *asmākaṃ nehi <ca / va> pāraṃ* (sa-Vipulā) *(')smākaṃ vacana ridhyatu* (?).

[616] The mss. *nāma ca* (?); Se em. *āha ca* (≠ mss.).

[617] Se *turaṃga°*.

[618] This part is very corrupt; at least two verses might have dropped out.

[619] Se em. *bālāgraṃ*.

[620] If this is indeed *pāda* a of *Śloka*, one syllable needs to be supplied here.

[621] Se *tūrṇaṃ*.

[622] "They (= *rākṣasī*s) will be lamenting pitifully"; the mss. *prapalāyiṣyanti* (met.); Sa Na *prapalāyiṣyanti* (s.e.); Se em. *tūrṇaṃ prapalāyiṣyaṃ*, J. III 91: "I shall be flying away at great speed"; cf. with the reading in prose: *bahūni karuṇakaruṇāni ca pralapiṣyanti*.

[623] Lacuna; the missing part are the words spoken by the lamenting *rākṣasī*s, similar to the following ones in the prose version of the story: *mā āryaputra paravacanenâsmākaṃ parityajatha. mā ca imāni dārakadārikāni parityajatha. mā ca imaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ ratanadvīpaṃ bahuratanam anantaraṃ parityajatha*.

[624] Se *etaṃ*.

[188] Masc. for fem.; Se *eṣā*.

[189] Sa Na *na* (s.e.); corr. Se.

[625] Se *asyāt*.

[626] Se *mamâiṣa*.

[627] Two syllables − ◡ need to be supplied here in order to make *Āryā*; Se *mamâiṣa dhītaro* (unmetr.).

[628] One short syllable needs to be supplied here in order to improve the metre, e.g. *va*.

[629] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a the word *evaṃ* is metrically redundant; read *yuṣmākaṃ āsyā* (m.c.).

[630] Se *asyāt*; for the 3. sg. opt. *asyā*, cf. BHSG §§ 29.40, 29.41.

[631] Se *na mamâiṣa bhāryā na mamâiṣa putro vā* (unmetr.).

[632] Sa *mām*; corr. Na.

[633] Se *vā*.

[634] Se *gaṃsatha*.

[635] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a the word *evaṃ* is metrically redundant; we should read *yuṣmākaṃ āsyā* and *putro* for *putra* (m.c.); in *pāda* b the word *tato* is metrically redundant; Se omits it.

[636] The metre is *Śloka*; in *pāda* c two short syllables *a-nu-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.).

<table>
<tr><td>

evaṃ bhikṣavaḥ sa Keśī aśvarājā teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ vāṇijakaśatānāṃ samanuśāsitvā ṭṛkkhutt*o*[190] hīṣitvā sarvaṃ vāṇijakagaṇaṃ[191] ādāya khagapathena k*r*ānto[192]. tā rākṣasīyo tasya Keśisya aśvarājasya hīṣaṇaśabdaṃ śrutvā svakasvakāni dārakadārikāni ādāya āgatā "mā āryaputrā paravacanena asmākaṃ parityajatha. mā ca svakāni putradhītāni parityajatha[193]. mā ca imaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ ratanadvīpaṃ bahuratanaṃ anantaratanaṃ

</td><td>

"ehi māriṣa bhadraṃ vo vāṇijā bhadram astu vo |
ahaṃ vôttārayiṣyāmi dāruṇād bhayabhairavāt ||
so vāṇijāṃ grahetvā prakrānto medinīyaṃ khagapathena |
ākāśe nirālambe marupakṣavihaṅgavāyupathe ||[637]
devagaṇā dānavagaṇā bhujaṅgamā[638] yakṣarākṣasā bhavane |
vastrāṇi bhrāmayensu[639] "sādhu sādhu mahāsatva ||[640]
niḥsaṃśayaṃ bhaviṣyasi śāstā nacireṇa lokapradyoto |
tāreṣyasi ..[641] jagad idaṃ jarāmaraṇasāgarāt pāraṃ" ||[642]
yeṣāṃ ca *tatra*[643] āsi "mam(') eṣa[644] bhāryā mam(') eṣa putro vā |
mam(') eṣa[645] dhītaro[646] vā" te hayapṛṣṭhād bhrāntāḥ mahim aninditāḥ[647] ||[648]
yeṣāñ ca tatra āsi "na m(') eṣā bhāryā na m(') eṣa[649] putro vā |
na m(') eṣa[650] dhītaro vā" ..[651] svastinā pāram uttīrṇā ||[652]
.. .. |
evam eva iha .. ... Jambūdvīpe samāgatā ||[653]

</td></tr>
</table>

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[190] "thrice"; Sa *ṭṛkkhuttā* (s.e.); Na *ṭṛṣkhutto*? (blurred); Se *triṣkṛtvo*. Cf. Abhis III 279 *trikkhatto*; Pā *tikhattuṃ*; AMg *ti-khutto*; see also Pischel § 451.
[191] Se *vāṇijagaṇaṃ*.
[192] Sa *kānto*; Na *prakānto*; Se *prakrānto*.
[193] Se omits *mā ca svakāni putradhītāni parityajatha*.

parityajatha".	
ye khalu bhi*kṣa*vas[194] teṣāṃ vaṇijānāṃ rākṣasīnāṃ mūle sāpekṣa abhūnsuḥ, te dāni pṛṣṭhato mahiṃ patitā.	ye nâiva śraddadhiṣyanti vacanaṃ dharmarājino | vyasanaṃ te nigaṃsyanti rākṣasīhi va vāṇijā |[654]
ye nirapekṣā abhūnsuḥ, te svastinā rākṣasīdvīpāto Jambūdvīpam anuprāptā.	ye ca puna[655] śraddadhiṣyanti vacanaṃ dharmarājino | svastinā ..[656] gamiṣyanti Vālāhenêva[657] vāṇijā |[658]
syāt khalu puna[195] bhikṣavaḥ yuṣmākam evam asyād anyaḥ sa tena kālena tena samayena Keśī aśvarājā abhūṣi. nâitad evaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ. tat kasya hetoḥ? ahaṃ sa bhikṣavaḥ tena kālena tena samayena Keśī aśvarājā abhūṣi. syāt khalu puna[196] bhikṣavo yuṣmākam evam asyād[197] anyaḥ sa tena kālena tena samayena pañca vāṇijakaśatā abhūṣi. na khalv etad evaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ. tat kasya heto[198]? ete te bhikṣavas tena kālena tena samayena ŚāriputraMaudgalyāyana-pramukhāni pañca bhikṣuśatāni[199] tena kālena tena samayena	[659]pūrvenivāsaṃ bhagavāṃ pūrvejātim anusmaran | jātakam idam ākhyāsi śāstā bhikṣūṇa santike[660] |[661] te .. skandhāḥ te dhātavaḥ <tāni āyatanāni ca>[662] |[663] ātmanam adhikṛtya bhagavāṃ etam[664] arthan[665] vyākare |[666] anavarāgrasmi[667] saṃsāre yatra me uṣitaṃ purā |[668] Vālāho (')haṃ .. ..[669] āsī muñjakeśo hayottamo | vāṇijānāṃ śatā paṃca āsi Saṃjayino[670] tadā ||

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[637] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *medinīṃ* for *medinīyaṃ* (m.c.); ina *pāda* b read *ākāśě* (m.c.).

[638] Se em. *bhujagagaṇā* (unmetr.). Cf. MW s.v. *bhujaṃgama* "a serpent-demon".

[639] Se *bhrāmayensuḥ*.

[640] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *devagaṇǎ*; in *pāda* b we should read °*ensuḥ* for °*ensu* (m.c.).

[641] One short syllable needs to be supplied here in order to make *Āryā*, e.g. *ca*.

[642] The metre is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a we should read *lokapajjoto* for °*pradyoto* (m.c.).

[643] Sa Na *na hya* (s.e.); Se *evam* (unmetr.); cf. with the reading in the next verse: *yeṣāñ ca tatra āsi*.

[644] Se *mamâiṣa*.

[645] Se omits these two words (≠ mss.).

[646] Se *dhītā*.

[647] "faultless"; so read all the mss.; Se em. *mahiṃ abhito nuditāḥ* (≠ mss.); cf. with the parallel reading in prose: *te dāni pṛṣṭhato mahiṃ patitā*.

[648] The meter is *Āryā*; in *pāda* a read *āsī* for *āsi* (m.s.); *pāda* b is unmetr.; the metre could be improved by reading *mama eṣa dhītaro vā te hayapṛṣṭhād mahiṃ patitāḥ*, but such emendation, though semantically correct, is too far-fetched and goes against the reading in the mss.

[649] Na Se *mamâiṣa* (unmetr.).

[650] Na Se *mamâiṣa*.

[651] One short syllable needs to be supplied in order to make *Āryā*.

[652] In *pāda* a we should read *āsī* for *āsi* (m.c.); in *pāda* b read *na mam(') eṣa* and *sotthinā* for *svastinā* (m.c.).

[653] The metre is *Śloka*; *pāda*s a and b are missing, while *pāda* c is incomplete.

[194] Sa *bhivas* (lip.); corr. Na.

[195] Na Se *punar*.

[196] Na *punar*; Se *punaḥ*.

[197] Sa *asyasyād* (ditt.).

[198] Na Se *hetoḥ*.

[199] Se is lacking *śāriputramaudgalyāyanapramukhāni pañca bhikṣuśatāni tena kālena tena samayena*.

pañca vāṇijakaśatā abhūṣi[200]. tadâpi ete mayā dāruṇāto rākṣasīdīpāto[201] uddharitvā kṣemena mahāsamudraṃ tārayitvā Jambūdvīpe pratiṣṭhāpitā. etarahiṃ pi ete mayā dāruṇeṣu dṛṣṭīgateṣu vivartayitvā[202] anavarāgrāto jātījarāmaraṇasansāragahanakāntārāto tāritā.	evam idam aparimita bahuduḥkha uccanīcacaritam idaṃ purāṇaṃ ǀ vigatajvaro vigatabhayo aśoko svajātakaṃ bhāṣati bhikṣusaṃghamadhye ǁ[671]

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[654] Cf. Jā II 130: *ye na kāhanti ovādaṃ narā Buddhena desitaṃ ǀ vyasanan te gamissanti rakkhasīhi va vāṇijā.*

[655] Se *ye tu punaḥ.*

[656] One syllable is missing in Sa; Na Se *te*; alternatively, we may read *svasti pāraṃ gamiṣyanti* (cf. Jā II 130 *sotthiṃ pāraṃ gamissanti*).

[657] Se *°ena iva* (unmetr.).

[658] In *pāda* a the word *ca* is metrically redundant; in *pāda* d the metre can be improved by reading *vālāhena va vāṇijā*; *pāda* b corresponds to that in Jā II 130: *ye ca kāhanti ovādaṃ narā Buddhena desitaṃ ǀ sotthiṃ pāraṃ gamissanti vālāhenêva vāṇijā.*

[659] The following *samodhāna*-verses are found also in Sa 141r, 174r, 189r, 276r, 375r.

[660] Se *bhikṣūṇam antike.*

[661] *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā.*

[662] In the mss. the words *tāni āyatanāni ca* are missing; Senart supplied them; cf. with the parallel verses found in Sa 141r, 174r, 189r, 276r, 375r.

[663] One syllable is missing in *pāda* a; read *te ca skandhāḥ* or with Se *te ca dhātavaḥ.*

[664] Sa Na *etaṃ bhagavāṃ etam*; corr. Se.

[665] Sa Na *arthan tu.*

[666] This line is unmetr.; the metre can be improved by reading *ātmanaṃ ca adhikṛtya etam arthaṃ viyākare*; in *pāda* d the word *bhagavāṃ* is metrically redundant.

[667] Se *anavarāgrasmiṃ* (unmetr.); for the loc. sg. masc. -*asmi*, cf. BHSG § 8.63; Abhis III § 6.22; in ms. Sa, see Marciniak 2014: 177.

[668] In *pāda* a two short syllables *a-na-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.).

[669] Two syllables are missing, preferably ⏑ − (*Śloka Pathyā*); read with Se *tadā.*

[670] Sa Na *saṃjayinā*; corr. Se.

[200] Sa *abhūṃṣi*; corr. Na.

[201] Se *°dvīpāto.*

[202] Se *nivartayitvā.*

[671] The meter is *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī*; in *pāda* a we should read *evaṃ idaṃ aparimitaṃ* (m.c.), and assume contraction of two short syllables *a-pa-* into one long syllable; *pāda* b is unmetr.; perhaps we should read *uccaṃ ca nīcaṃ caritaṃ purāṇaṃ*, cf. Chopra 1966: 151-152 *ucc[āva]caṃ caritam [idaṃ] purāṇaṃ*; *pāda* c is also unmetr.; in *pāda* d read *bhikṣusaṃghe* for *bhikṣusaṃghamadhye* (m.c.).

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Symbols and abbreviations used in footnotes

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one

≠ mss. = Senart's readings that do not agree with the readings of the manauscripts that he consulted (Mss. A, B, C, L, M, N).

Abhis = *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, herausgegeben, mit der chinesischen Parallelversion verglichen, übersetzt und kommentiert von Seishi Karashima, unter Mitwirkung von Oskar von Hinüber, Tokyo 2012: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIII), 3 vols.

BHSD = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press.

BHSG = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press.

CDIAL = Ralph Lilley Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1973 (1st ed. 1966); Indexes compiled by D. R. Turner, London 1969; Phonetic Analysis, R. L. and D. R. Turner, London 1971; Addenda and Corrigenda, J. C. Wright, London 1985: Oxford University Press.

ditt. = dittography

DPPN = *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, by G.P. Malalasekera, 2 vols., London [1]1937-1938; London [2]1960: The Pali Text Society.

Divy = *The Divyâvadâna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. Edward Byles Cowell and Robert Alexander Neil, Cambridge 1886: The University Press.

Geiger = *A Pāli Grammar* by Wilhelm Geiger, translated into English by Batakrishna Ghosh, revised and edited by K. R. Norman, Oxford 1994: The Pali Text Society.

hapl. = haplology

J. = *The Mahāvastu*, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit, 3 vols., London [1]1949-1956; [2]1973-1978, [3]1987, The Pali Text Society (Sacred Books of the Buddhists; v. 16, 18, 19).

Jā = Jātaka, together with Jātakatthavaṇṇanā (ed. Fausbøll 1877–96).

Kv = *Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra: A bi-lingual critical edition for the first time from Sanskrit-Tibetan manuscripts with an introduction*, edited by Buddhadev Bhattacharya, New Delhi 2016: Kaveri Books.

lip. = lipography

m.c. = metri causa

met. = metathesis

Mv (KM) = A new edition of the *Mahāvastu*, currently under preparation by Seishi Karashima and Katarzyna Marciniak at The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University.

MW = Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899: The Clarendon Press.

Na = the oldest extant paper manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*; completed in 1657 by an eminent scribe named Jayamuni Vajrācārya. The original is kept at the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Pā = Pāli

Pischel = *A Grammar of the Prākrit Languages*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi 1999. First Edition: *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg 1900.

Pkt = Prakrit

PTSD = Thomas William Rhys Davids & William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1921~25.

s.e. = scribal error

Sa = the sole palm-leaf manuscript Sa of the *Mahāvastu*; on paleographic grounds dated to ca. 12th-13th c.; the original is lost; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Se = *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire, par É. Senart, Paris 1882-1897: Imprimerie nationale (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série).

Skt = Sanskrit

unmetr. = unmetrical

Vin = *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, 5 vols., London 1879~1883: The Pali Text Society.

Vv-a = *Paramatthadīpanī III: Dhammapāla's Commentary on the Vimānavatthu*, the Burmese edition, with other editions collated by Peter Jackson; index prepared by Yumi Ousaka: 2016 Bristol: Pali Text Society; revised ed. of *Dhammapāla's Paramattha-Dīpanī, Part IV: Being the Commentary on the Vimāna-vatthu*, ed. E. Hardy, London 1901: Pali Text Society.

w.r. = wrong reading

The Questions of Nālaka / Nālada
in the *Mahāvastu*, *Suttanipāta* and the *Fobenxingji jing*[*]

Seishi Karashima and Katarzyna Marciniak

Prologue

The *Mahāvastu* (hereafter "Mv") is one of only three large texts of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin school surviving in the original Sanskrit. It is part of its legal texts (*Vinaya*) and is built around the biography of the Buddha. In it, the life of the Buddha is described in detail in a particular language called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. We can compare stories in this text with parallels in the literature of other schools transmitted in other languages, such as Pāli and Sanskrit, as well as a Chinese translation of the Buddha's biography, named the *Fobenxingji jing* 佛本行集經, T. 3, no. 190, translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 in 591 C.E.

The *editio princeps* of Mv was prepared between 1882-1897 by Émile Senart on the basis of six late manuscripts of the text, of which the oldest one is dated from 1800 C.E. (Ms. B). The edition, which was made in the 19th century, based on the 19th century manuscripts (!), has become the basis for all research on the text, its content and composition, as well as the language, which it represents.

It was in the 1960s and '70s that the situation dramatically changed. Thanks to the activities of the *Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*, much older and more valuable manuscripts of Mv than those, which had been used by Senart in his edition, were discovered in Nepal, photographed and subsequently catalogued by the *Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project*. Amongst them, the following two manuscripts are the most important, namely:

(1) The sole extant palm-leaf manuscript, consisting of 427 folios, dating back to the 12th~13th century, on palaeographical evidence; the original is lost; its microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (abbr. **Sa**)

(2) The oldest extant paper manuscript, consisting of 238 folios, completed in 1657 C.E. by an eminent scribe named Jayamuni Vajrācārya. The original is kept at the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu; its microfilms are available at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin and the National Archives of Nepal (abbr. **Na**)

The facsimile edition of the manuscript Sa was published by Akira Yuyama (*The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*, 2 vols.) in 2001. The oldest paper manuscript of Mv, namely Ms. Na, is of special significance. Its scribe, Jayamuni Vajrācārya, working from the above-mentioned palm-leaf Ms. Sa or its copy, sanskritised many of the Middle Indic forms of Ms. Sa, made emendations, additions and deletions and thus, changed the features of the language and the content of the text substantially – one of the most illustrative instances of his changes is the title of the text, namely *Mahāvastu* in Ms. Sa was altered into *Mahāvastu-avadāna* in Ms. Na. All the later paper manuscripts of Mv are based directly or indirectly on Ms. Na, which, in turn, is none other than a copy of the old palm-leaf ms. Sa.

A new edition of the *Mahāvastu* is currently being prepared by the present authors on the basis of the above-mentioned two old manuscripts. Preliminary research conducted on the extant manuscripts of the text has proven that the two oldest manuscripts Sa and Na constitute the most important and valuable material for the preparation of a new edition of Mv, e.g. Ms. Sa contains far more Middle Indic forms, such as *yeva* (Skt. *eva*), *viya* (Skt. *iva*), *khāyitaka* (Skt. *khādita-ka*) etc. than later manuscripts of the text.

While we were reading the chapter of "The Questions of Nālaka" in Mv, we found that the Sanskrit text agrees very well with its parallel in the above-mentioned *Fobenxingji jing* — the name of the monk is Nālada (那羅陀) instead of Nālaka[1] —, and realised that the comparison of the verses in Mv with those in the *Suttanipāta* and in the Chinese translation helped us to understand properly the difficult verses in this chapter. However, there are some verses, where Mv and the Chinese translation differ. The school affiliation of the *Fobenxingji jing* remains unclear despite the fact that many studies have been devoted to this problem. Probably, this text is rather an amalgam of the Buddha's biographies of several schools, such as the Dharmaguptakas, Kāśyapīyas, Mahāsāṃghikas, Sarvāstivādins, Mahīśāsakas — these names are referred to at the end of the text ——[2], and it was presumably compiled in China. Despite the complexity of its origin, this voluminous Chinese translation (300! pages in the *Taisho Tripiṭaka*) is extremely important for the study of Mv. Though Samuel Beal published an English translation of the *Fobenxingji jing* in 1875, it is rather an excerpt of the text and therefore, it is desideratum to translate the whole text into English, comparing it with Mv.

In this article, the following texts and translations are juxtaposed:
(1) the reading of the new edition of the *Mahāvastu* (**Mv(KM)**), based on manuscript Sa (403v1-404r3), followed by an English translation

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[1] For the confusion among *Nālaka*, *Nālada* and *Nārada*, cf. BHSD, s.vv.

[2] Somebody asked: "What is the name of this scripture?" (The Buddha) answered: "Mahāsāṃghikas call it the "Great Matter" (*Mahāvastu*); Sarvāstivādins call this scripture the "Great Decoration" (**Mahālaṃkāra*); Kāśyapīyas call this the "Cause of the Birth of the Buddha" (**Buddhotpāda-nidāna*); Dharmaguptakas call it·the "Original Deeds of Śākyamuni Buddha" (**Śākyamunibuddhapūrvacaryā*); Mahīśāsakas call it the "Root of the *Vinayapiṭaka*" (**Vinayapiṭakamūla*). T. 3, no. 190, 932a16~21. 或問曰："當何名此經？" 答曰："摩訶僧祇師名爲'大事'；薩婆多師名此經爲'大莊嚴'；迦葉維師名爲'佛生因緣'。曇無德師名爲'釋迦牟尼佛本行'。彌(←尼)沙塞師名爲'毘尼藏根本'。".

(2) the reading of Senart's edition (**Se**), vol. 3, pp. 386-389

(3) the parallel verses in the *Suttanipāta* 699-723 (**Sn**)

(4) K.R. Norman's English translation of the *Suttanipāta* (**Sn(tr.N)**)

(5) the parallels in the *Fobenxingji jing* (**Fbx**; T. 3, 830a19-c16) followed by an English translation

In the new edition, abbr. Mv(KM), under preparation by the present authors, the italicised characters indicate that they are emended readings, differing from the base text, namely the sole extant palm-leaf manuscript Sa.

Mv(KM) Nālako Kātyāyano bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā bhagavantam etad uvāca

"purohito mahya pitā Toṇehārasya rājino |

utpādeṣu vin*i*yukto[3] nakṣatreṣu gatiṅgato[4] ||[5]

taṃ me pitā avacesi[6] arthakāmânukampako |

"buddho khu putra utpanno gaccha pācīna[7] pravraja" ||

so (')haṃ bhagavān[8] anuprāpto "sādhu ..[9] pravrajāhi[10] māṃ" |

vaiśāradyehi saṃpanno[11] vācāṃ bhāṣe tathāgato ||

Kātyāyanaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ ..[12] "ehi bhikṣū" ti ālape |

sā ..[13] etasya pravrajyā abhū va upasaṃpadā" ||

Having bowed his head at the Lord's feet, Nālaka Kātyāyana said to the Lord as follows:

"My father is King Toṇehāra's domestic priest. He is versed in interpreting omens and adept in astrology.

My father, who is compassionate and desires the welfare of others, told me: 'A *buddha* has now appeared in the world. Go east and take up monastic life!'

Therefore, O Lord, I came here. Please ordain me." The Tathāgata, who was endowed with confidence, spoke the (following) words.

He said to Brahmin Kātyāyana: "Come, O monk!" This was his initiation and ordination.

Se *Nālako Kātyāyano bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā bhagavantam etad uvāca ||*

purohito mahyaṃ pitā Toṇehārasya rājino |

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[3] The mss. *vineyukto*; Se em. *vidyāyukto* (≠ mss.; unmetr.).

[4] Se *gatiṃ°*.

[5] *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā*; *pāda* c is *sa-Vipulā* (read *utpādeṣū*, m.c.).

[6] Se *avacāsi*; for the aor. in *-esi*, cf. BHSG §§ 32.63-32.67.

[7] So read the mss.; Se *prācīna*; Pā *pācīna*.

[8] Se *bhagavaṃ*; for the voc. sg. *bhagavān*, cf. BHSG § 18.81; Abhis III § 15.4; two short syllables *bha-ga-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.).

[9] One syllable is lacking in *pāda* b; Se supplies *tvaṃ*.

[10] Se *pravrājehi* (unmetrical).

[11] Se *saṃpannāṃ*.

[12] One syllable is lacking at the end of this *pāda*; Se adds *ca*, which makes it *ra-Vipulā*; alternatively, we can read *kātyāyanaṃ <ca> brāhmaṇaṃ* and obtain a regular *Pathyā*.

[13] One syllable is lacking here; Se supplies *hi* at the end of *pāda* c, but the metre is better by adding a syllable (e.g. *va*) after the word *sā*.

utpādeṣu vidyāyukto nikṣatreṣu gatiṃgato ||
tan me pitā avacāsi arthakāmānukampako |
buddho khu putra utpanno gaccha prācīna pravraja ||
so (')haṃ bhagavan anuprāpto sādhu tvaṃ pravrājehi māṃ |
vaiśāradyehi saṃpannāṃ vācāṃ bhāṣe tathāgato ||
Kātyāyanaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ ca ehi bhikṣūti ālape |
sā etasya pravrajyā hi abhū ca upasaṃpadā ||

Sn -

Fbx   830a19f.　那羅陀比丘於晨朝時從房而出，往詣佛所。到佛所已，頂禮佛足，却坐一面。坐一面已，時那羅陀即便以偈問佛義言：

Early one morning, the monk Nālada came out from his cell and paid a visit to the Buddha. Having come to the Buddha, he bowed his head at the Buddha's feet and withdrew to one side to sit down. Scarcely had he sat down on one side when Nālada asked the Buddha in verse about the meaning (of the Teaching):

Mv(KM) āyuṣmāṃ Kātyāyano *āha*[14]

        Venerable Kātyāyana said:

Se   āyuṣmāṃ Kātyāyano āha

Sn -

Fbx -

verse 1

Mv(KM) "anyāsi[15] etaṃ vacanaṃ Asitasya yathātathā[16] |

        tvaṃ[17] tu Gautama pṛcchāmi sarvadharmāṇa pāragaḥ[18] ||[19]

        "I have understood this utterance of Asita as it is. Now I ask you, O Gotama, who have gone to the far shore of all phenomena.

Se   *"ajñāsi etaṃ vacanaṃ asitasya yathātathaṃ |*
        tvāṃ tu gautama pṛcchāmi sarvadharmāṇa pāraga ||

Sn 699 *"aññātam etaṃ vacanaṃ Asitassa yathātathaṃ*
        taṃ taṃ Gotama pucchāma (v.l. -āmi) sabbadhammāna pāraguṃ

Sn(tr.N) "This utterance of Asita is known to be true. I ask you this, Gotama, who have gone to the far shore of all phenomena.

Fbx   "我今方驗昔私陀　諦了如語莫不實
        今復得聞世尊教　渡(*v.l.* 度)到諸法彼岸邊 (vs. 1)

        "Now, I am finally convinced what (A)sita (said) in the past, (and) clearly understand that his utterance was right and nothing but the truth.

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[14] The mss. lack the word *āha*; Se supplies this word.

[15] So read all the mss.; Se em. *ajñāsi*; on *jñ > ññ > ny*, cf. Roth 2000: 10, 93 (*jñātvā / ñatvā / nyāccā*); see also BHSD s.v. *anyāsi* "(representing Pāli *aññāsi*? quasi-MIndic for semi-MIndic *ajñasi*, which Senart reads by em., or *āj°*;), aor. of *jñā-*, knew"; cf. also BHSD s.v. *anyātaka*; BHSG § 2.15.

[16] Se *yathātathaṃ*.

[17] Se *tvāṃ*; for the 1. acc. sg. *tvaṃ*, cf. BHSG § 20.15; Marciniak 2014: 172.

[18] Se *pāraga*.

[19] *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā*.

Now, (if) I can listen to the Lord's teaching, (I can) go across to the other side of all phenomena.

verse 2

Mv(KM) anāgāraṃ[20] upetasya *bh*ikṣājīvaṃ[21] cikīrṣito |

muni pratyāh*a*ra[22] dharmaṃ mauneyaṃ uttamaṃ padaṃ" ||[23]

To (me), who have entered the homeless life and long for the life of mendicancy, tell (me), O Sage, the teaching (concerning) sage-hood (which is) the supreme state."

Se *anagāraṃ upetasya bhikṣājīvaṃ cikīrṣato |*

muni pravyāhara dharmaṃ mauneyaṃ uttamaṃ padaṃ ||

Sn 700 *anagāriy' upetassa bhikkhācariyaṃ jigiṃsato (v.l. jigīsato)[24]*

muni pabrūhi me puṭṭho moneyyaṃ uttamaṃ padaṃ

Sn(tr.N) I have come to houselessness, longing for the alms-round. Tell me, sage, when asked, the supreme state, sage-hood."

Fbx 既已捨家能出家　復持乞食存活命

行於此行得何報？　我今諮問佛世尊" (vs. 2)

Having already abandoned home, I could leave home (to become a monk), and also live by begging for alms.

What retribution will one obtain by practising this practice? Now, I ask the Buddha, the Lord."

Mv(KM) bhagavān āha

Sn -

Fbx 爾時，世尊即還以偈報彼長老那羅陀言：

Then, the Lord replied immediately to the elder monk, Nālada, in verse:

verse 3

Mv(KM) "mauneyañ ca *pṛ*cchasi Nāla", ti bhagavān[25], "duṣkaraṃ[26] durabhisaṃbhuṇaṃ[27] |[28]

hanta te taṃ ca vakṣyāmi saṃsta*ṃbh*as*v*a[29] dṛḍho bhava ||

"You ask about sage-hood, O Nāla!", said the Lord, "(which is) hard to practise, hard to attain. Come, and I shall tell you about it. Be steadfast and firm.

Se *mauneyaṃ ca pṛcchasi nāla duḥkaraṃ durabhisaṃbhuṇaṃ |*

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[20] Se *anagāraṃ*; cf. Abhis III, s.v. *an-agāra*~ "(Skt, SWTF, Pā), *an-āgāra*~ (BHS[Mvu]; SWTF, Pā)".

[21] Mss. *śikṣā°*; Se em. *bhikṣā°*; cf. Sn. 700 *bhikkhācariyaṃ*.

[22] Sa Na *pratyāhāra*; Se *pravyāhara*.

[23] *Pāda* c is *sa-Vipulā*.

[24] The forms *jigiṃsato/jigīsato* ("desiring to win" < OIA. *jigīṣati*; cf. Oberlies 2001: 22) here are probably corruptions of MI *cikissato, *cikīsato or *cikiṃsato (< OIA. *cikīrsato*). Cf. BHSD, s.v. *niścikīrṣā*.

[25] All the mss. read *pṛcchasi kin ti bhagavān Nāla*…; Se omits the underlined words; cf. Sn 701 *moneyyan te upaññissan ti bhagavā dukkaraṃ*. The words *ti bhagavān* "so said the Blessed One" are hypermetric and, probably, are reciter's remark. Cf. Sn(tr.N), p. 154 (*ad* 18–29).

[26] Se *duḥkaraṃ*.

[27] Two short syllables *du-ra-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.).

[28] There is one redundant syllable in *pāda* a; if we read without *ca, pāda* a becomes *sa-Vipulā*.

[29] Corr. Se; the mss. *saṃstavasya*.

hanta te taṃ ca vakṣyāmi saṃstambhasva dṛḍho bhava ||

Sn 701 *"moneyyan te upaññissan" ti bhagavā "dukkaraṃ durabhisambhavaṃ*

handa te naṃ pavakkhāmi, santhambhassu daḷho bhava

Sn(tr.N) "I shall explain sage-hood to you", said the Blessed One, "(which is) hard to perform, hard to endure. Come now, I shall tell you about it. Stand fast; be firm.

Āyār *dujjāyaṃ dupparakkantaṃ bhavai aviyattassa bhikkhuṇo* ||24.2||

saṃbāhā bahave bhujjo duraikkamā ajāṇao apāsao. ||24.5||

Fbx 汝問行行果報者　此事無常難驗知

我今爲汝分別宣　宜發精進令牢固 (vs. 3)

"You ask about the retribution from practising the practice. This matter is transient (無常) (and) difficult to ascertain. Now, I shall tell you. You should generate exertion and be steadfast.

verse 4

Mv(KM) samānabhāgaṃ kuryāsi *grā*me[30] ākruṣṭavanditaṃ[31] |

manopradosaṃ[32] rakṣesi kṣānte[33] cânumato bhava ||[34]

One should practise equanimity, (both) being reviled or revered in the village.

You should ward off fault(s) of the mind. One should be patient and agreeable.

Se *samānabhāgaṃ kuryāsi grāme ākruṣṭavanditaṃ |*

manopradoṣaṃ rakṣesi kṣānto cânumato bhava ||

Sn 702 *samānabhāvaṃ kubbetha gāme akkuṭṭhavanditaṃ*

manopadosaṃ rakkheyya santo anuṇṇato care

Sn(tr.N) One should practise equanimity, (for) there is praise and abuse in a village.

One should ward off fault(s) of the mind. One should wander calmed, not haughty.

Āyār *vayasā vi ege buiyā kuppanti māṇavā* ||24.3||

unnaya-māṇe ya nare mahayā moheṇa mujjhai — ||24.4||

eyaṃ te mā hou eyaṃ kusalassa daṃsaṇaṃ ||24.6||

tad-diṭṭhīe tam-muttīe tappurakkāre tas-sannī tan-nivesaṇe ||24.7||||24.8||

Fbx 凡有行者入聚落　讚歎毀辱平等心

其有亂意處須防　當取寂定無上果[35] (vs. 4)

Whenever a practitioner enters a village, he (should) harbour an impartial mind (whether) being praised or reviled. When there is something which disturbs the mind, one should ward it off; (and) attain the unsurpassed fruition of tranquil concentration.

verse 5

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[30] Corr. Se; the mss. *tīme* (?).

[31] Corr. Se; the mss. °*vindeti*.

[32] Na Se °*doṣaṃ*.

[33] Se *kṣānto*; for the nom. sing. masc. -*e*, cf. BHSG § 8.25; Abhis III § 6.3; Karashima 2002: § 9.2. Cf. Sn *santo* = Fbx 寂定 "tranquil concentration".

[34] *Pāda* a is *ma-Vipulā*.

[35] 無上果 "the unsurpassed fruition". This translation seems to have resulted from confounding *anumato* (Mv) with Skt. *anuttamo* ("unsurpassed").

Mv(KM) uccāvacā niścaranti d*āve*[36] agniśikh*ā*[37] viya[38] |

      nārī munipralobhāye[39] tāva te[40] *mā*[41] pralobhaye[42] ||[43]

      Various things occur, like flames of a fire in a forest. Women tend to seduce sages, but may they not seduce you.

Se   *uccāvacā niścaranti dāve agniśikhā iva |*

      nārī munipralobhāye tāva taṃ mā pralobhaye ||

Sn 703 *uccāvacā niccharanti dāye aggisikhūpamā*

      nariyo muniṃ palobhenti, tā su taṃ mā palobhayuṃ

Sn(tr.N) Various sorts of things emerge, like the flames of a fire in a forest. Women seduce a sage; may they not seduce you.

Fbx   行人常觀叫喚響　猶如猛火熾炎然

      見於婦人端正容　應須捨離勿生染 (vs. 5)

      A practitioner constantly observes the sounds of shouting[44], like a fierce fire, which blazes intensely. On seeing an elegant appearance of a woman, one should leave her and not give rise to attachment.

verse 6

Mv(KM) virato maithuno dharmo[45] hitvā kām*e*[46] paropa*re*[47] |

      aviruddho asaṃruddho ye satvā trasasthāvarāḥ ||

      Abstaining from sexual intercourse, having abandoned different kinds of sensual pleasures, (he is) neither obstructed nor hindered (by) mobile or immovable sentient beings.

Se   *virato maithunā dharmā hitvā kāmaṃ parovaraṃ |*

      aviruddho asaṃruddho ye satvā trasasthāvarāḥ ||

Sn 704 *virato methunā dhammā hitvā kāme parovare*

      aviruddho asāratto pāṇesu tasathāvare

Sn(tr.N) Abstaining from sexual intercourse, having abandoned different kinds of sensual pleasures, (he is) not opposed (and) not attached to living creatures, both moving and still.

Fbx   以不染於諸欲法　彼此各無相染因

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[36] Corr. Se; the mss. *devāṃ* (s.e.); cf. Sn 703 *dāye*.

[37] Corr. Se; the mss. °*śikhāṃ*.

[38] Sa *iya*; Na *iyaṃ*; Se *iva*.

[39] Dative sg. expressing "tend to"; Or *muni pralobhāye* (m.c.) < *pralobhaye*; cf. Sn *palobhenti*.

[40] So read the mss.; Se *taṃ*.

[41] Corr. Se; Sa Na *māṃ*.

[42] Se *pralobheya*; for the *mā* + opt., cf. BHSG § 42.

[43] *Pāda* a is *ra-Vipulā*.

[44] 叫喚響：There seems to have been a confusion between *uccāvacā* ("high and low, various") and **ucca-vaca(s)* ("loud speech").

[45] Se *maithunā dharmā*, which agrees with the reading in Sn 704; for the acc. sing. masc. -*o*, cf. BHSG § 8.36; Abhis III § 6.13.

[46] Sa Na *kāma*; Se *kāmaṃ*.

[47] Sa Na *paroparet* (s.e.); Se *parovaraṃ*; cf. PTSD s.v. *parovara* "sometimes through substitution of *apa* for *ava* also *paropara*"; cf. Sn 704 *hitvā <u>kāme parovare</u>*.

無染即無闘競縁　世間所有衆類輩 (vs. 6)

Not attaching to matters related with (sexual) desires, being free from causes of defilement both here and there[48], free from both conditions of defilement and conflicts (with) all sorts of people in the world.

verse 7

Mv(KM) *y*athâtman*o*[49] tathânyeṣāṃ .. ..[50] tathâtmano |

   ātmānam upamāṃ kṛtvā nâiva hiṃse na ghātaye ||

   "As mine (is), so (are) others'; as (are) others', so (is) mine." Comparing himself (with others), he should not kill or cause to kill.

Se   *yathātmano tathānyeṣāṃ yathānyeṣāṃ tathātmano |*

   ātmānaṃ upamāṃ kṛtvā naiva hiṃse na ghātaye ||

Sn 705 *yathā ahaṃ tathā ete, yathā ete tathā ahaṃ*

   attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye

Sn(tr.N) "As I (am), so (are) these; as (are) these, so (am) I". Comparing himself (with others), he should not kill or cause to kill.

Fbx   我身彼身無有異　我命彼命等共同

   如是審諦思惟觀　瞋(*v.l.* 嗔)時勿殺勿相害 (vs. 7)

   There is no difference between my body and the bodies of others. My life and the lives of others are the same and equal." Regarding clearly, considering and observing thus, one should not kill nor harm, when one becomes angry (*v.l.* "reproaches").

verse 8

Mv(KM) hitvā-m-iha .. .. anicchâsya .. .. |

   .. .. aniccho bhoti ni*r*vṛto[51] ||

Se   *hitvām iha alpicchāṃ pi aniccho bhohi nirvṛto |*

Sn 707 *ūnūdaro mitāhāro appicch' assa alolupo*

   sa ve icchāya nicchāto aniccho hoti nibbuto

Sn(tr.N) He should have an empty stomach, taking food in moderation, with little desire, without covetousness. He indeed, having no hunger arising from desire, being without desire, becomes quenched.

Fbx -

Fbx 830b10f. 若入聚落乞飯食　莫觀諸事散亂心

   諸貪染處若捨捐　以無著故當解脱 **(vs. 9)**

   When one enters a village to beg for food, one should not look around at things and distract one's mind. If one abandons what one lusts for and attaches oneself to, one will become liberated because of being free from attachments.

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[48] 彼此：Cf. Mv *paropare* (*para* + *upara*; lit. "the higher and the lower"; "various") > Sn *parovare*.

[49] Corr. Se; Sa Na *athātmanā*.

[50] Four syllables are lacking at the beginning of *pāda* b; read with Se *yathānyeṣāṃ*.

[51] Sa Na *nivṛto*; cf. Sn 707 *nibbuto*; on the confusion between *nirvṛta* / *nivṛta*, cf. PTSD s.v. *nibbuta*; BHSD s.v. *nirvṛta*.

verse 9

Mv(KM) tyaja icchāñ ca lobhañ ca yatra saktā pṛthagjanāḥ |

      paṇḍito parivarjeyā[52] so tare narakaṃ imaṃ ||

      Abandon desire and greed to which ordinary people are addicted. The wise man will avoid (them) and cross over this hell.

Se   *tyaja icchāṃ ca lobhaṃ ca yatra saktā pṛthagjanāḥ* |

      paṇḍito pratipajjeya so tare narakaṃ imaṃ ||

Sn 706 *hitvā icchañ ca lobhañ ca, yattha satto puthujjano*

      cakkhumā paṭipajjeyya[53] *tareyya narakaṃ imaṃ*

Sn(tr.N) Having abandoned desire and lust, to which the ordinary individual is attached, one with vision should set out (on the path). He should cross over this hell".

Fbx   應捨貪等我慢事　一切凡夫染著身

      諸有眼者能離怨　如食毒藥平等死 **(vs. 8)**

      You should abandon lust and the like and self-conceit to which all ordinary people are addicted. Those who have eyes[54], can avoid adversaries. Whether one takes poison or medicine, one (may) die equally[55].

verse 10

Mv(KM) tato rātriṃ nivasito[56] grāmaṃ piṇḍāya otare |

      āhvayaṃ nâbhinaṃdeyā[57] abhihāraṃ ca grāmato[58] ||

      Then, having spent the night, one should enter the village for alms-begging. He should not rejoice at an invitation or offering from the village.

Se   tato *rātrivivāsāto grāmaṃ piṇḍāya otare* |

      āhvayaṃ nābhinandeya abhihāraṃ ca grāmato ||

Sn 710 *tato ratyā vivasane gāmantam abhihāraye*

      avhānaṃ nâbhinandeyya abhihārañ ca gāmato

Sn(tr.N) Then at the end of the night, he should betake himself to a village. He should not rejoice at an invitation or a present from the village.

Fbx   (若入聚落乞飯食　莫觀諸事散亂心

      諸貪染處若捨捐　以無著故當解脱) (see verse 8) (vs. 9)

      夜獨坐時莫念請　遠離聚落亦勿思

      但至天曉欲乞時　正念正思入聚落 **(vs. 10)**

      When sitting alone at night, one should not think about invitations. Distancing oneself from a village, one should not think of it. Only when dawn breaks and one is going to beg (for alms), should one enter a village, while contemplating properly, thinking correctly.

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[52] "avoid, shun, disregard"; Se *pratipajjeya* (≠ mss.); cf. Fbx 能離怨 ("can avoid adversaries"); Sn *paṭipajjeyya* (probably a corruption of *parivajjeyya*).

[53] The form *paṭipajjeyya* is probably a corruption of *parivajjeyya*. "One should avoid (desire and lust)".

[54] 諸有眼者：= Sn *cakkhumā*; ≠ Mv *paṇḍito*.

[55] 如食毒藥平等死：The meaning of the sentence is unclear.

[56] "Then, having spent the night …"; Se *rātrivivāsāto*.

[57] Se °*nandeya*.

[58] Read *gāmato* (m.c.).

verse 11

Mv(KM) na munī[59] grāmam āsādya kuleṣu sahas*ā*[60] *c*are[61] |

 gh*ā*ses*a*ṇo[62] cchinna*h*āso[63] na vācā prāpnu*vāṃ*[64] bhaṇe ||

Having come to a village, a sage should not go around the houses in a hurry. Searching for food, one (should) avoid laughing and should not utter any word which comes into one's head.

Se *na muni grāmam āsādya kuleṣu sahasā care* |

ghāseṣī na cchinnakatho na vācā prepsutāṃ bhaṇe ||[65]

Sn 711 *na munī gāmam āgamma kulesu sahasā care*

ghāsesanaṃ chinnakatho, na vācam payutaṃ bhaṇe

Sn(tr.N) Having come to a village, a sage should not pursue his search for food inconsiderately among the families. Cutting off all conversation, he should not utter a word with an ulterior motive.

Fbx 到聚落中默然住　次第歷家乞食行

遊於聚落莫忽嗤　向他語言勿䍥獷 (vs. 11)

Having come to a village, one (should) stay in silence. One (should) beg for food, by going from one family to another. Wandering in a village, one should not laugh unawares. One should not talk to other people in a rude way.

verse 12

Mv(KM) sa pātrapāṇī vicareyā grāme amūko[66] *mū*kasaṃmato[67] |[68]

tan .. dāna *na*[69] nindiyā[70] dātār*aṃ* nâvaj*ā*nyeyaṃ[71] ||

Wandering about with bowl in hand, not dumb, (but) one (should) pretend to be dumb. One should not criticise a gift whatever it is, nor should one despise the giver.

Se *sa pātrapāṇī vicareyā amūgo mūgasaṃmato* |

taṃ taṃ dānaṃ na niṃdeyā dātāraṃ nāvajāniyā ||[72]

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[59] Se *muni*.

[60] Corr. Se; the mss. *sahasaṃ*.

[61] Sa *vare* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *ca* and *va* are very similar); Na *varo*.

[62] The mss. *ghosesiṇo* (s.e.); Se em. *ghāsesī na* (w.r.; we already have *na* at the beginning of *pāda* d).

[63] The mss. °*ghāso* (s.e.); Se em. *ghāsesī na chinnakatho*; cf. Fbx 莫忽嗤 "one should not laugh unawares"; PrMoSū(Ma-L) 30.26. *uccagghikāyaṃ* ("with a loud laugh") *antaragṛham upasaṃkramiṣyāmîti śikṣā karaṇiyā*.

[64] Mss. *prāpnuvatāṃ*; Se *prepsutāṃ* (≠ mss.); see Senart's comment in Se III 518; cf. also J. 3.380, n. 7.

[65] J. 3.386 "When he has descended on a village the sage will not rush about in a hurry from house to house. Chary of words as he begs for food, he does not make a speech when he has obtained it."

[66] Se *amūgo*.

[67] Sa Na *asukasaṃmato* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *su* and *mu* are similar); Se *mūgasaṃmato*.

[68] In *pāda* a two short syllables *vi-ca-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.; the metre is *mā-Vipulā*); the word *grāme* is metrically superfluous; Se omits it.

[69] The mss. lack *na*.

[70] Se *taṃ taṃ dānaṃ na niṃdeyā*; in the mss. two syllables are lacking in this *pāda*; read either *alpaṃ dānaṃ* (= Sn 713) or *taṃ taṃ dānaṃ* (em. Se); for the opt. in -*iyā*, cf. BHSG § 29.34.

[71] Sa Na *bhavatyayaṃ* (s.e.); Se *dātāraṃ nāvajāniyā*, which agrees with the reading in Sn 713.

[72] J. 3.386 "he will wander alone with his bowl in his hand, not dumb, though he seem to be so. He will not scorn a gift whatever it is, nor slight the giver."

Sn 713 *sa pattapāṇī vicaranto amūgo mūgasammato*
   appaṃ dānaṃ na hīḷeyya, dātāraṃ nāvajāniya

Sn(tr.N) Wandering about with bowl in hand, not dumb (but) thought to be dumb, he should not despise a small gift, (and) he should not disparage the giver.

Fbx 手執鉢盂行乞食　雖有才辯但默然
設得少食心莫嫌　有(*v.l.* 布)施飯人勿毀罵 (vs. 12)
When going around for alms-begging with a bowl in hand, one (should) be silent though possessing eloquence. On receiving a small amount of food, one should not become displeased. One, who gives food, should not be disparaged.

verse 13

Mv(KM) adāsi iti "te sādh*u*[73]" na da*tto*[74] "bhadram astu te" |
   ubhayen(') eva[75] *s*adṛśo[76] rukṣatvaṃ[77] vinivartaye ||[78]
   If (somebody) gives, (one should say:) 'It is good for you!'; if not given, (one should say:) 'Good fortune be yours'. Being the same in both (cases), one should avoid harsh feelings.

Se *adāsi iti te sādhu nādāsi bhadram astu te |*
   ubhayenaiva sadṛśo rukṣatvaṃ vinivartaye ||[79]

Sn 712 *alatthaṃ yad, idaṃ sādhu, nālatthaṃ kusalām iti*
   ubhayen' eva so tādī rukkhaṃ va upanivattati

Sn(tr.N) "Since I received (something), that is well; I did not receive (anything), (that too) is good." Being the same on account of both (occurences), he goes back to the very (same) tree.

Fbx 所得之處最爲善　若不得處莫生瞋
於二(*v.l.* 仁)邊生平等心　至於樹下隨意食 (vs. 13)
When one receives something, that is the best. When one does not receive, one should not become angry. In both cases, one (should) have an impartial mind; one (should) go under a tree (and) eat as one likes.

verse 14

Mv(KM) so piṇḍacāraṃ[80] cariya[81] vanantaṃ abhirakṣaye |

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[73] Sa Na *sādha* (s.e.).

[74] Sa Na *na dako*; Se em. *nâdāsi* (≠ mss.).

[75] Se *ubhayenaiva*.

[76] Sa Na *adṛśo*.

[77] "roughness, harshness (of speech); cf. MW s.v. *rūkṣatva* "roughness, unkindness"; *rūkṣavāc* "rough speech"; *rūkṣavādin* "speaking roughly"; "he should give up rough speech"; cf. the reading in Sn 712 *rukkhaṃ va upanivattati*, Sn(tr.N): "he goes back to the very same tree", but the next verse still deals with the instructions regarding going on almsround, therefore speaking of returning to one's home at the foot of the tree, is out of place." The reading in the Mv is better here.

[78] *Pāda* c is *na-Vipulā*.

[79] J. 3.386 "He will say to him, "you have given; good was it of you. You have not given; good fortune be yours." In both cases he will keep the same frame of mind and avoid all harsh feelings."

[80] Sa *pi piṇḍa°* (ditt.; unmetr.).

[81] Se *caritvā*.

ūnodaro *mi*tā .. ..[82] so alpeccho[83] syā*d a*lolupa[84] ||[85]

Having finished one's alms-round, one should retreat to the forest. Having an empty stomach, (and taking food) in moderation, one should have little desire and be without covetousness.

Se *so piṇḍacāraṃ caritvā navāntaṃ abhirakṣaye |*

ūnodaro mitāhāro alpeccho syād alolupaḥ ||[86]

Sn 708 (1ˢᵗ line) *sa piṇḍacāraṃ caritvā vanantam abhihāraye*

Sn 707 (1ˢᵗ line) *ūnūdaro mitāhāro appicch' assa alolupo*

Sn(tr.N) When he has been on alms-round, he should betake himself to a grove. ....

He should have an empty stomach, taking food in moderation, with little desire, without covetousness.

Fbx 830b20. 食訖已後還林內 (vs. 14a) 住於樹下結跏趺 (vs. 14b)

Having eaten, one should go back to the forest, (stay under a tree and sit cross-legged.→ **verse 15**)

verse 15

Mv(KM) so vṛkṣamūlopagato āsanopagato muni |

dhyāpeti[87] akutobhayo[88] ātmānaṃ nâtitoṣaye ||[89]

Having come to the foot of a tree (and) come to his seat, the sage (should) meditate without fear, and should not delight in himself too much.

Se *so vṛkṣamūlopagato āsanopagato muni |*

dhyāpayati ato bhavyaṃ ātmānaṃ nātitoṣaye ||[90]

Sn 708cd *upaṭṭhito rukkhamūlasmiṃ āsanūpagato muni*

Sn(tr.N) Standing at the foot of a tree, (or) come to a seat, he is a sage.

Sn 709 *sa jhānapasuto dhīro vanante ramito siyā*

jhāyetha rukkhamūlasmiṃ attānam abhitosayaṃ

Sn(tr.N) Intent on meditation, firm, he should be delighted in the grove. He should meditate at the foot of a tree, delighting himself.

Fbx 830b20f. 住於樹下結跏趺　在於鋪上如仙人　身心及口皆毅(*v.l.* 斂)攝 (vs. 14bcd)

(Having eaten, one should go back to the forest,) stay under a tree and sit cross-legged. Staying on a bed, like a sage, one (should) restrain the body, mind and the mouth.

830b22. 恐怖皆捨勵心意　餘事莫想唯念林 (vs. 15ab)

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[82] Sa Na *pitā* (s.e.); two syllables − ⏑ are lacking at the end of this *pāda*; Se corr. *mitāhāro*, which agrees with Sn 707 *mitāhāro*.

[83] Read *so (')lpeccho* (m.c.); Se omits *so*.

[84] Se corr. *alolupaḥ*; Sa Na *syālpalolupa* (s.e.).

[85] *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā*.

[86] J. 3.387 "When the sage has finished his alms-round, he should keep to the edge of the forest. Though his stomach be empty he should eat sparingly, have little desire and be not greedy."

[87] Se *dhyāpayati*.

[88] So read all the mss.; Se *ato bhayaṃ*; cf. MW, s.v. *akutobhaya* ("having no fear from any quarter").

[89] *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā*.

[90] J. 3.387 "And when the sage has come to the foot of the tree and sat down on his seat, he then meditates on what is to be, and should not enjoy himself too much."

One (should) discard fear and invigorate their mind, and should not think about other matters but think only of the forest.

verse 16

Mv(KM) yasy(') atra[91] saritā nâsti cchinnaśro*ta*sya[92] bhikṣava[93] |

kṛtyākṛtyaprahīṇasya paridāghena-m-acyutaḥ[94] ||

For whom there is no flow (of desire), for the monk who has cut off the stream, (and) has acquitted himself of what is to be done and what is not to be done, there is a state, unshakable by ardent desire."

Se *yasyātra saritā nāsti cchinnaśrotasya bhikṣavaḥ |*

kṛtyākṛtyaprahīṇasya paridāgho na vijjati ||[95]

Sn 715 *yassa ca visatā n' atthi chinnasotassa bhikkhuno*

kiccākiccappahīnassa pariḷāho na vijjati

Sn(tr.N) In whom there is no craving, in the bhikkhu who has cut across the stream, (and) has given up what is to be done and what is not to be done, no fever is found.

Fbx 是名比丘出家法　作不作事悉離身

若能平等觸處安　聖人行行應如是 (vs. 20)

This is called the rules of the homeless life of a monk. One has acquitted oneself of both what is to be done and what is not to be done. If one is able to be impartial, one will be peaceful everywhere. The sage should practise in this manner.

verse 17

Mv(KM) evaṃ layanam ākhyātaṃ saṃbuddhena prajānatā |

eko va abhiramiṣy*asi*[96] evaṃ gamiṣy*asi*[97] daśa diśā[98] ||[99]

The (all-)knowing Buddha described living in seclusion (*layana*) in this manner. "Being solitary, you will be delighted, and go (?; *gamiṣyasi*) in the ten directions.

Se *evaṃ layanam ākhyātaṃ saṃbuddhena prajānatā |*

eko va abhiramiṣyasi evaṃ gamiṣyasi diśo daśa ||

Sn 718c *ekattaṃ monam akkhātaṃ*

Sn(tr.N) The state of being alone is called sage-hood. ".

Sn 718d *eko ve (← ce) abhiramissasi (← °issati)*

Sn(trs.N) Solitary, you will certainly be delighted

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[91] Se *yasyātra*.

[92] Sa Na °*śrotra* (s.e.; or wrong back-formation from MIndic *sota*).

[93] Se *bhikṣavaḥ*. Probably *bhikṣava* is a gen. sg.; cf. Sn 715 *bhikkhuno*; cf. also Bollée 1997: 59.

[94] All the mss. thus; Se em. *paridāgho na vijjati*, following the reading in Sn 715.

[95] J. 3.387 "For him in whom there is no flow of desire, for the monk who has cut off the stream and who has acquitted himself of all duties and tasks, there is no torment of desire."

[96] Corr. Se; Sa Na *abhirasmiṣyāmi*. It should be read *(')bhi*° instead, m.c.; alternatively, two short syllables *a-bhi-* are contracted into one long syllable (m.c.)

[97] Corr. Se; Sa Na *gamiṣyāmi*.

[98] Se *diśo daśa*.

[99] By comparing this verse with Sn 718, 719, one may read: *eko va (')bhiramiṣyasi <eko> evaṃ gamiṣyasi*, which corresponds partially to the second line in Sn 718 *ekattaṃ monam akkhātaṃ eko ce abhiramissati*, while *daśa diśā* is what remains of the part, corresponding to Sn 719 *atha bhāsihi dasa disā*.

Sn 719a *atha bhāhisi* (← °*sihi*) *dasa disā*

Sn(tr.N) And you will shine forth in the ten directions.

Fbx　當知業如車輪轉　對一人説聖法時
一人思惟即證知　調伏諸根獨處坐 (vs. 21)

One should know that *karman* turns round like a wheel of a cart. When (the Buddha) preaches the sacred Dharma to a solitary person, the solitary person contemplates it and immediately realises it, subdues (the faculties of) the sense organs, (and) sits in a solitary place.

Fbx　調伏諸根心成就　於後名聞遍十方 (vs. 22ab)

(By) subduing (the faculties of) the sense organs, his mind becomes accomplished. After that, his fame is heard everywhere in the ten directions.

verse 18

Mv(KM) vo[100] *mauneyaṃ upeṣyasi kṣuradhāropamo bhava |*

jihvāya tālum āsādya tādṛśaṃ[101] *saṃyato bhava ||*

You should be (sharp) as a razor's edge. Having pressed your tongue against your palate, you should be restrained in this manner. (Thus), you, indeed, will attain sage-hood.

Se　*evaṃ mauneyaṃ upeṣyasi kṣuradhāropamo bhava |*

jihvāya tālum āsādya tādṛśo saṃyato bhava ||

Sn 716 *moneyyan te upaññissan" ti bhagavā*[102] *"khuradhārūpamo bhave*

jivhāya tāluṃ āhacca udare saññato siyā

Sn(tr.N) I shall explain sage-hood to you", said the Blessed One, "(The sage) should be (sharp) as a razor's edge. Having pressed his tongue against his palate, he should be restrained in respect of his belly.

Fbx　在於樹下當喜歡(←善觀)[103]　以舌拄腭漸出息 (vs. 15cd)

One should enjoy oneself by staying under a tree, sustain his palate with his tongue, (and) gradually exhale.

Fbx vss. 16~18 (830b24~29) have no parallels in either the *Mahāvastu* or the *Suttanipāta*.

自餘[104]諸根悉調伏　心意不得著諸緣
境界悉遣心莫存　穢濁之處並須捨 (vs. 16)

(By) subduing all the other (faculties of the) sense organs, the mind cannot attach itself to any object (of the senses; *ālambana*). (When) all perceptual objects are removed, the mind cannot exist. (Therefore,) one should leave all filthy places.

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[100] Se *evaṃ*. The word *vo*, which corresponds to *te* ("you") in Sn 716, may be a nominative or vocative plural form of the pronoun 2. person (cf. Oberlies 2001: 183f.) or a particle, equivalent to *ve* < OIA. *vai*; cf. Sn(tr.N) 279 (*ad* Sn 560), Norman CP I 48f., VIII 54, Lüders Beob, § 23, Oberlies 2001: 69 (f). However, it is awkward that a particle comes at the beginning of a sentence.

[101] Se *tādṛśo*. Cf. Sn 716. *udare*.

[102] The words *ti bhagavān* "so said the Blessed One" are hypermetric and, probably, are reciter's remark.

[103] Except for the Koryŏ Edition = Taisho Edition, both of which read 善觀 ("observes well"), the others read 喜歡.

[104] The word *ziyu* 自餘 means "other"; cf. ZXYL 605f.; Li Weiqi 2004: 424.

清淨眞心行梵行　善語(*v.l.* 言)處所精勤求
博聞多智須禀承　[105]其有寂靜離欲者 (vs. 17)

With a pure and true mind, (one should) carry out *brahma*-practices. One (should) apply oneself diligently in the sphere of noble utterances (i.e. the Buddha's teaching). One should receive with respect (the teachings of monks) of wide learning and great wisdom.

If there is somebody who is tranquil and free from desires,

若如是人應親近　至於彼邊心信從
信已恭敬如世尊　勿説他家[106]是非事 (vs. 18)

one should become close with such a person, go to him and follow him with faith. Having taken faith in him, one should revere him as the Lord. Do not discuss the rights or wrongs of other people.

verse 19

Mv(KM) nirāmagandho asito vṛkṣamūlaparāyaṇo |

ekāsanasya śikṣesi[107] śramaṇopasanasya ca ||[108]

(You will) be without moral impurity[109], unattached, resorting to the foot of a tree; you train yourself in (the practice of) solitude and in the ascetic's service.

Se *nirāmagandho asito vṛkṣamūlaparāyaṇo |*

ekāsanasya śikṣāsi śramaṇopāsanasya ca ||

Sn 717cd *nirāmagandho asito brahmacariyaparāyano*

Sn(tr.N) He should be without taints, not dependent, having holy living as his aim.

Sn 718ab *ekāsanassa sikkhetha samaṇopāsanassa ca*

Sn(tr.N) He should train himself in (the practice of) solitude and in the ascetic's service.

Fbx　此行唯在空閑林　或坐山間及樹下 (vs. 22cd)

This practice is (possible) only by staying in a solitary forest or by sitting in mountains or under a tree, (see verse 23)

verse 20

Mv(KM) śrutvā rijurahaṃ[110] dhyāna[111] dhyāyināṃ kāmatyāgināṃ[112] |

tato *hiri*[113] ca śr*a*ddhāṃ[114] ca bhūyo śikṣiya[115] māma*k*a[116] ||

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[105] The following four lines, namely 其有寂靜離欲者(vs. 17d)　若如是人應親近　至於彼邊心信從　信已恭敬如世尊 (vs. 18abc), seem to make up one verse.

[106] The word *tajia* 他家 means "other people". Cf. ZXYL 272.

[107] Se *śikṣāsi*.

[108] *Pāda* a is *bha-Vipulā*.

[109] For a figurative sense of *āmagandha* (literally "smell of raw flesh, stench; foul-smelling substance") to refer to the morally impure defilements (kleśa), see Seyfort Ruegg 1980: 240.

[110] *rijurahaṃ*, i.e. *ṛju + arahaṃ*; cf., however, Franke, Kl.Schr. I, 647 *ṛjur ahaṃ*.

[111] Se *dhyānaṃ*; for the acc. sg. neutr. *-a*, cf. BHSG § 8.32; Abhis III § 6.8.

[112] Se *kāmacāgināṃ*.

[113] Sa Na *rirhi* (s.e.); Se *hiriṃ*.

[114] Corr. Se; Sa Na *śuddhāṃ* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *śu* and *śra* are similar).

[115] Se *śikṣeya*; for the opt. in *-iya*, cf. BHSG § 29.34.

[116] Sa Na *māmata*; Se *māmako*, which agrees with the reading in Sn 719; cf. PTSD s.v. *māmaka*; for the nom. sg.

Having heard of the upright and praiseworthy meditation of those who meditate and have abandoned sensual pleasures, my disciple should train himself in modesty and faith.

Se   *śrutvā ṛjurahaṃ dhyānaṃ dhyāyināṃ kāmacāgināṃ |*

tato hiriṃ ca śraddhāṃ ca bhūyo śikṣeya māmako ||

Sn 719bcde *sutvā dhīrānaṃ nigghosaṃ jhāyīnaṃ kāmacāginaṃ*

tato hiriñ ca saddhañ ca bhiyyo kubbetha māmako

Sn(tr.N) Having heard the fame of the wise, of the meditators, of those who have given up sensual pleasures, then my disciple should develop modesty and faith all the more.

Fbx   莫毀他人自讚歎　語言不得大高聲

猶如猛火遠處聞　如是思惟斷諸惑 (vs. 19)

Do not denigrate others and praise yourself. One should not speak in a high and loud voice. (An affliction is) like a ferocious fire of which one hears from afar. Considering it in this manner, one (should) eliminate afflictions.

verse 21

Mv(KM) na pāraṃ dviguṇāyati nâpi câi*ka*guṇa<ṃ> yat*aṃ*[117] |

uccāvacā pratipadā śrāmaṇyena prakāśitā ||[118, 119]

One does not go to the far shore twice-repeatedly; nor is it reached (simply) by a single way. (Therefore), the (two) courses of practice, (namely) high and low, are taught concerning (?) the state of an ascetic.

Se   *na pāraṃ dviguṇāyati nāpi caivaṃ guṇāyati |*

uccāvacā pratipadā śrāmaṇyena prakāśitā ||[120]

Sn 714 *uccāvacā hi paṭipadā samaṇena pakāsitā*

na pāraṃ diguṇaṃ yanti na idaṃ ekaguṇaṃ mutaṃ

Sn(tr.N) For high and low are the paths proclaimed by the ascetic. They do not go to the far shore twice; this is not experienced once.

Sn(tr.B) High and low is the practice taught by the Ascetic. They do not go in two ways to the far shore; [yet] it is not experienced in a single way.

Fbx   -?

verse 22

Mv(KM) taṃ nadīṣu vijānāti <r>andheṣu[121] pra*d*areṣu[122] ca |

    sannādaya*ṃ*ti[123] kunadyo[124] *śāṃ*ta-m[125]-eva mahodadhi ||

      One understands this from streams (which flow) in clefts and crevices. (Namely) small rivers make loud noises, (while) the great ocean is quiet.

Se   *taṃ nadīṣu vijānāti randhreṣu pradareṣu ca |*

       sannādayati khu ogho śāntaiva mahodadhiḥ ||

Sn 720 *tan nadīhi vijānātha sobbhesu padaresu ca*

       saṇantā yanti kussobbhā, tuṇhī yāti mahodadhi

Sn(tr.N) Know this by the streams (which flow) in clefts and crevices. (Rivers in) small channels move noisily; the great oceans move in silence.

Fbx   或在河岸池泉側　如是處所坐思惟

      闕少智慧恒睡眠　滿足寂定常覺悟 (vs. 23)

    (from verse 19) or by staying on the bank of a river or on the side of a pond or a fountain. One (should) sit in such places and contemplate. Those who lack wisdom constantly sleep, (while) those who have attained tranquil concentration, are always awake.

verse 23

Mv(KM) yaṃ ūnakaṃ taṃ sa*n*ati[126] yaṃ pūraṃ śāntam eva taṃ |

    ūnakumbhopamo bālo hrada pūro va paṇḍito ||[127]

      What is not full makes a noise; what is full is indeed quiet. The fool is like an unfilled pot; the wise is like a full pond.

Se   *yaṃ ūnakaṃ taṃ svanati yaṃ pūraṃ śāntam eva taṃ |*

       ūnakumbhopamo bālo hradapūro va paṇḍitaḥ ||

Sn 721 *yad ūnakaṃ taṃ saṇati yaṃ pūraṃ santam eva taṃ*

       aḍḍhakumbhūpamo bālo rahado pūro va paṇḍito

Sn(tr.N) What is not full makes a noise. What is full is indeed silent. A fool is like a half-filled pot; a wise man is like a full pool.

Fbx   如泉如池如大海　寂定之者亦復然

    愚癡人如半瓶泔[128]　智慧者猶滿池水 (vs. 24)

    One, who has (attained) tranquil concentration, is like a fountain, like a pond, like the ocean. The fool is like a half-filled pot; the wise is like a full pond.

verse 24

Mv(KM) yo munī bahu bhāṣati upetaṃ arthasaṃhitaṃ |

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[121] Se *randhreṣu*.

[122] So em. Se; this is also the reading in Sn 720 *padaresu*; Sa Na *pracareṣu* (s.e.).

[123] The mss. and Se *sannādayati*.

[124] "small rivers"; Se em. *khu ogho* (≠ mss.).

[125] Sa Na *śata* (s.e.); Se *śānta eva*.

[126] Sa Na *satati* (s.e.; the *akṣara*s *na* and *ta* are similar) < OIA. *svanati*; Se *svanati*; see PTSD s.v. *saṇati*.

[127] *Pāda* a is bha-Vipulā.

[128] 泔 (gān, hàn), which usually means "slop from rinsing rice" (gān), probably means "full" (hàn) here.

nirvāṇaṃ[129] sākṣātkuryāya jānanto bahu bhāṣati ||

When a sage speaks a great deal, it is endowed (with benefit) and furnished with meaning. Having realised *nirvāṇa*, he, knowing(ly), speaks a lot.

Se *yo munī bahu bhāṣati upetaṃ arthasaṃhitaṃ |*

nirvāṇaṃ sākṣātkuryāya jānanto bahu bhāṣati ||

Sn 722 *yaṃ samaṇo bahu bhāsati upetaṃ atthasaṃhitaṃ*

jānaṃ so dhammaṃ deseti, jānaṃ so bahu bhāsati

Sn(tr.N) When an ascetic speaks much (which is) possessed of and endowed with meaning, he, knowing(ly), teaches the doctrine, he, knowing(ly), speaks much.

Fbx 智人雖復多言語　言語雖多不失時

或有才辯語言多　復有少言而審諦 (vs. 25)

Though a wise man speaks a great deal, talks a lot, he does not miss the appropriate time. Some possess eloquence and talk a lot, while some speak only a little but know very clearly.

verse 25

Mv(KM) yo ca dhīro mitabhāṇi[130] *jānaṃ na*[131] bahu bhāṣati |

sa munī maunam arhati[132] sa munī maunam adhyagāt" ti ||[133]

However, one, who is wise and moderate in speech, knowing, does not speak much, is a sage who deserves sage-hood, is a sage who has attained sage-hood."

Se *yo ca dhīro mitabhāṇī jānanto na bahu bhāṣati |*

sa munī maunam arhati sa munī maunam adhyagāt ti ||

Sn 723 *yo ca jānaṃ yatatto jānaṃ na bahu bhāsati*

sa munī monam arahati sa munī monam ajjhagā

Sn(tr.N) But he who, knowing(ly), is self-restrained, (and) knowing(ly), does not speak much, that sage deserves sage-hood; that sage has gained sage-hood."

Fbx 如是少言亦名智　是則名爲仙聖人

是名眞實中道行　是名寂靜得解脱" (vs. 26)

Thus, one, who speaks only a little, is regarded as wise; he is called a saint-*cum*-sage. This is the so-called true middle path; this is namely how one attains liberation through tranquillity."

Mv(KM) Nālakapraśnā samāptā[134]

The Questions of *Nālaka* end

Sn Nālakasuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ

The *Nālaka-sutta* ends

Fbx -

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[129] Read *nirvāṇa* (m.c.; *ma-Vipulā*).

[130] Se °*bhāṇī*.

[131] All the manuscripts read *taṃ*, which is probably s.e. for *(jā)naṃ*; Se *jānanto* (≠ mss.); cf. Sn 723 *jānaṃ*.

[132] Sa *sa munī maunam arhati sa munī maunam arhati* (dittography).

[133] The metre in *pāda* a is *sa-Vipulā*.

[134] Se *nālakapraśnaṃ samāptaṃ*.

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corr. = correction made or proposed; corrects

em. = emendation made or proposed; emends

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m.c. = *metri causa*

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OIA = Old Indo-Aryan

PrMoSū(Ma-L) = *Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādimahāsāṅghika School*, ed. Nathmal Tatia, Patna 1976 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, 16).

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s.e. = scribal error

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ZXYL = *Zhonggu Xuci Yufa Lishi* 中古虛詞語法例釋, Dong Zhiqiao 董志翹 and Cai Jinghao 蔡鏡浩, Changchun 長春 1994: Jilin Jiaoyu Chubanshe 吉林教育出版社.

( )   restored *akṣara*(s)

[ ]   damaged *akṣara*(s)

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

..   one *akṣara* is lacking in the manuscript(s)

~   stem of a word, e.g. *dharma*~

-         absence of word(s); absence of parallel(s)

°   except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one, e.g. *ratnāmayā* (*v.l.* °*ān*).

*   a hypothetical form which is not attested anywhere, e.g. *snāru

<   α < β: the form α comes from β, e.g. Pā. *ratana* < OIA *ratna*

←   α ← β: the Sanskrit form (*or* Chinese character) β should be changed to α

Gleanings from the *Mahāvastu**

Katarzyna MARCINIAK

1. *vācana(ka)* / *yācana(ka)*

In a new edition Mv (KM)[1] we find the following passage:

> *tasya dāni Upakasya māṇavakasya Gaṅgākule māṣaṃ* (Senart 3.184 *māṣa*) *aparasya puruṣasya sakāśāto vācanakaṃ labdhaṃ* ("Then the young Brahmin Upaka obtained a coin as a *vācanaka* from a man on the banks of the river Ganges"[2]).

All the manuscripts read *vācanaka*; Senart emended it to *yācanaka* (J. III 180 "…Upaka has begged and obtained a penny..").

Edgerton rejected the reading *vācanaka*, and accepted Senart's emendation; BHSD s.v. *yācanaka* "alms, the result of begging: Mv iii.184.17 (prose) *māṣa aparasya puruṣasya sakāśato yācanakaṃ* (mss. *vācᵒ*, but em. certain) *labdhaṃ*".

PTSD defines *vācanaka* as follows: "At J III. 238 *vācanaka* is used by itself (two brahmins receiving it). It refers to the treating of *brāhmaṇas* (br. teachers) on special occasions. It is not quite sure how we have to interpret *vācanaka*. Prof. Dutoit "Brahmanen-backwerk" (i. e. special cakes for br.); BR give *vācanaka* in meaning of "sweetmeat"."

The word *yācanaka*, whose meaning in Skt is limited to "beggar, asker" (see MW and PW s.v. *yācanaka*), can also be used in the sense of "alms", cf. Śikṣ 145.2 *yācanaka-guruko* "desirous of *yācanaka* (i.e. alms)"; Avś 32 *yācanakahetor* "in order to obtain alms".

Thus, Senart's emendation seems reasonable and it is gramatically correct, however, in fact, it is unnecessary, because *yācanaka* and *vācanaka* are virtually the same. The former is a Sanskrit form, while the latter is a vernacular one. However, *vācanaka* means not only a "sweetmeat, cake" etc.; but also a donation, or an offering in a more general sense, also including certain types of food given to *brāhmaṇa*s on special occasions. This is confirmed by the following occurence in the mss. of the *Mahāvastu*. When there was a *Kaumudī* festival held in the city, Upaka received a single coin (*māṣa*) as a *vācanaka*. Here *vācanaka* does not mean "cake / sweatmeat", but a donation in the form of a coin.

The form *vācanaka* is found also in the following sentences:

Jā III 238.15-16:

> *tattha ekasmiṃ kule "brāhmaṇe bhojetvā vācanakaṃ dassāmā" 'ti pāyāsaṃ pacitvā āsanāni paññattāni honti* ("There, a family thought "having fed the brahmins, we shall give [them] offerings (*vācanaka*)", and having cooked rice porridge, [they] prepared seats"[3]);

Jā III 238.22:

> *te tattha bhuñjitvā vācanakaṃ gahetvā maṅgalaṃ vatvā nikkhamma rājuyyānaṃ agamaṃsu* ("They ate there, took the offering (*vācanaka*), said the blessings, went out and headed toward the king's garden")[4];

Jā III 171.22:

> *"tāta, ahaṃ na gacchāmi, tvaṃ ime pañcasate māṇave gahetvā tattha gantvā vācanakāni paṭicchitvā amhākaṃ dinnakoṭṭhāsaṃ āharā" 'ti pesesi* ("[A brahmin has sent his son] saying: "O my dear, I myself will not go. You take these five hundred young brahmins and go there. Receive the offerings and bring the share that is given to us"."[5]);

Jā IV 391.15:

> *ath' ekadivasaṃ eko gāmavāsī "brāhmaṇavācanakaṃ karissāmī" ti ācariyaṃ nimantesi* ("Then one day a villager invited the teacher saying: "I shall make offerings to brahmins"[6]").

Dhp-a II 84.16:

> *ath' ekadivasaṃ ekasmiṃ brāhmaṇavācanake thullasāṭakena saddhiṃ pāyāsapātiṃ labhitvā...* ("One day, during an offering to brahmins, together with a coarse cloth[7] he received a bowl of boiled rice…").[8]

Thus, the meaning of the word *vācanaka* is not limited to "food, cake, sweatmeat" offered to brahmins as donations, but comprises also some other kinds of offerings that might be given to them on special occassions; in fact, its meaning may be more general. In the above examples from Jā one can understand *vācanaka* either as "food" or in a broader sense "offering", but in the reading in Mv it is *māṣa* "a coin" which is *vācanaka* "donation, offering" given to the young Brahmin Upaka, therefore, *vācanaka* cannot mean "food, cake" here.

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[3] Cf. Jā(tr): "In one of the houses in the city the people of the house had cooked rice-porridge and prepared seats to feed brahmins and give them portions"; Dutoit III 261-262: "Dort hatten in einem Hause die Leute gedacht: "Wir wollen Brāhmanen Nahrung spenden und ihnen Backwerk geben"."

[4] Cf. Jā(tr): "They ate and took their portions, and then with a blessing left and went to the king's garden"; Dutoit III 262: "Nachdem sie dort gespeist und ihr Backwerk empfangen hatten, dankten sie in schönen Worten, gingen aus der Stadt hinaus und begaben sich nach dem königlichen Parke".

[5] Cf. Jā(tr): "My dear son, I am not going, but you are to go there with these five hundred disciples, and receive the cakes, and bring the portion that falls to my share"; Dutoit III 188: "Mein Sohn, ich gehe nicht hin. Gehe du mit diesen fünfhundert jungen Brāhmanen dorthin, nimm die Brāhmanengaben in Empfang und bringe uns den Teil, der für uns bestimmt ist".

[6] Jā(tr): "One day a villager invited the teacher, intending to offer food to the brahmins"; Dutoit IV 475: "Eines Tages lud ein Dorfbewohner den Lehrer ein, indem er melden ließ, er werde Brāhmanenbackwerk machen".

[7] *Thullasāṭaka*; cf. PTSD s.v. *thūla*; Dhp-a(tr) 150 has "a small piece of cloth".

[8] Cf. Dhp-a(tr) 150: "One day, at a certain Brahman recitation, he received a bowl of rice-porridge and a small piece of cloth, which he took home with him…".

2. A passage in the *Mahāgovinda-sūtra*

In the chapter *Mahāgovinda-sūtra* in Mv we find an interesting, yet difficult and partially corrupt passage. At first we shall see the readings in the new edition of the Mv:

Mv (KM)

> *atha khalu bhavanto Mahāgovindo catvāri vārṣikāṃ māsāṃ pratisaṃlīnaṃ karuṇaṃ dhyānaṃ dhyāye. atha khalu bhavanto Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo caturṇāṃ vārṣikāṇāṃ māsānām atyayena tadaho <u>poṣadhe pañcadaśyāṃ</u>[9] paurṇamāsyāṃ śīrṣasnāto āhatavastraśucivastranivasto[10], antarā ca vedī[11] antarā ca agniṃ <u>ṣvaktaśarīro</u>[12] <u>pathakṣiptāyāṃ</u> atrânulepanāyāṃ anantarahitāyāṃ agniṃ prajvāletvā, <u>śrutvānāṃ gṛhya</u> niṣīde uttarāmukho.*

Senart changed the readings in the mss. considerably:

> *atha khalu bhavanto mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo caturṇāṃ vārṣikānāṃ māsānām atyayena tadaho <u>poṣadheyaṃ caturdaśyāṃ</u> paurṇamāsyāṃ śīrṣasnāto āhatavastraśucivastranivasto antarā ca vediṃ antarā cāgniṃ <u>snātaśarīro</u> <u>paṭṭaśilāyāṃ</u> ājyānulepanāyāṃ anantarahitāyāṃ agniṃ prajvāletvā <u>śrāddhānāṃ gṛhe</u> niṣīde uttarāmukho* (Senart 3.210).

Jones translated this passage as follows:

> "And when the four rainy seasons were over, on the fast-day, on the fourteenth of the month Pauṣa, he washed his head and put on white and clean garments. His body bathed, he lit a fire on the flag-stone which was close by between the altar and the sacred fire and which was smeared with melted butter. He then sat down in 'the house of the faithful' with his face to the north" (J. III 206).

Senart's conjectures are implausible and differ considerably from the readings in the manuscripts. His emendations *pathakṣiptāyāṃ* to *paṭṭaśilāyāṃ*, and *poṣadhe pañcadaśyāṃ* to *poṣadheyaṃ caturdaśyāṃ* are unnecessary. It is not entirely clear how one should understand *anantarahita*, but it is probably used in the meaning "freshly put; just placed". The problematic words are *ṣvaktaśarīro* and *śrutvānāṃ gṛhya*, which Senart emended to *snātaśarīro* and *śraddhānāṃ gṛhe*, respectively. The word *ṣvakta°* can be understood as the past participle (Skt *svakta*) of √*svañj* ("to embrace, encircle") or perhaps as <*pari*>*ṣvakta* from *pari*√*ṣvañj*. The word (<*pari*>)*ṣvaktaśarīro* would mean something like "(whose) body is 'embraced'; i.e., bent down, curled in". The word *śrutvānāṃ* is inexplicable. Senart emended it to *śrāddhānāṃ* (*gṛhe*) (cf. J. III 206: "the house of the faithful"), which does not make any sense here. It is probably a corruption of a word meaning *kuśa* grass, such as *kuśatṛṇa*, which agrees with the reading in one of the Chinese translations of this *sūtra* (T.1, no. 8).

The parallel passage in the Chinese translation in question reads as follows:

> "At that time, the *purohita* Brahmin (Mahāgovinda), having obtained permission from the king, went to a quiet place, concentrated his mind and meditated. During

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[9.] Se *poṣadheyaṃ caturdaśyāṃ*.
[10.] Corr. Se; Sa Na *āhatavaśuci°* (lip.).
[11.] Sa Na *devī* (met.); Se *vediṃ*; for the acc. sg. fem. *-ī*, cf. BHSG § 10.55; Abhis III § 9.4.
[12.] Sa Na *°śarīraṃ*.

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the four months of summer he practiced meditative contemplation of compassion (*karuṇā*). After the four months of summer had passed, when a *Poṣadha* was observed on the 15th of the bright lunar fortnight, he then, at that place, following the *dharma* of brahmins, at first spread fresh cow-dung on the ground and then made a four-cornered (lit. 'in four directions', 四方) platform for fire (火壇). In the middle of that platform he made a fire altar (火爐). Then, the purohita Brahmin (Mahāgovinda) bathed his body, put on new clean clothes, and from the north he went up, reached the south border of the platform, [and] threw *kuśa-grass* (lit. 'auspicious grass', 吉祥草), [which] covered entirely the platform. [Then] he sat down facing north. [Murmuring] '*ru-va' dhāraṇī* (?, 執宰嚕嚩), he performed a fire sacrifice and worshipped the god Brahmā"[13].[14]

The parallel passage in the Pali version in DN 2.239 is much shorter:

atha kho bho Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo puratthimena nagarassa navaṃ santhāgāraṃ kārāpetvā vassike cattāro māse paṭisallīyi karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyi, nâssuda koci upasaṃkami aññatra ekena bhattābhihārena.

"Then the Brahmin Mahāgovinda, having built a new lodge in the east [part] of the city, withdrew [there] during the four months of the rainy season, practicing meditation of compassion; and no one approached him except to bring him food".

Neither the Chinese nor the Pali version of the *sūtra* can help us solve the problems of the difficult readings in the Mv. As mentioned above, the word *śrutvānāṃ* is probably a corruption of a word meaning *kuśa*-grass, such as *kuśatṛṇa* (Pā *kusatiṇa*), which occurs many times in various texts, e.g.,

Jm 154: *kuśatṛṇamātrāstīrṇāyāṃ hi pṛthivyāṃ...* "on the ground covered with (lit. 'strewn with') *kuśa*-grass".

If so, then we can tentatively translate the above passage in the following way:

"Having washed his head, he put on new and clean garments[15], bent down (lit. "embraced his body", *ṣvaktaśarīro*) in a [narrow] space between the altar and the fire, set fire to the butter, which was just placed (*anantara-hita*) on the path there (*pathakṣipta*) there, and having taken *kuśa*-grass, he sat down facing north".

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[13]. 爾時，輔相婆羅門得王許已，詣寂靜處，諦心專注。於夏四月中修悲禪觀。過夏四月已，當苾芻布薩白月十五日。即於彼處，依婆羅門法，以新瞿摩夷先塗其地，然作四方火壇。其壇中心復作火爐。時輔相婆羅門沐浴其身，著新淨衣。從北而上，至壇南界，擲吉祥草，遍覆壇地，面北而坐。執宰嚕嚩，施作火事，以祀梵天。

[14]. Cf. Hahlweg 1954: 98: "Als nun der Minister, der Brahmane, die Erlaubnis vom König erhalten hatte, begab er sich an einen einsamen, reinen Ort, prüfte sein Herz und übte Aufmerksamkeit. Während der 4 Sommermonate meditierte er über das Mitleid. Als die 4 Sommermonate vergangen waren, bestreute er gemäß dem Brāhmaṇadharma am 15. Bhikṣu-Poṣadha-Tage, an einem Vollmondtage zuerst den Boden mit frischem Kuhdung, denn errichtete er einen viereckigen Feueraltar. In der Mitte des Altars brachte er die Feuerstelle an. Nachdem der Minister, der Brahmane, seinen Körper gebadet hatte, legte er reine Kleidung an und bestreute den ganzen Altar vom Norden bis zum Süden mit Kusa-Gras und bedeckte (damit) den Boden des altars. Dann setzte er sich, das Gesicht nach Norden gewandt, nieder. Durch Dhāraṇis wie ru(rau), va(ba), durch Mildtätigkeit und Feueropfer verehrte er den Gott Brahmā."

[15]. Pā *ahata-vattha* "new (lit. not beaten, not yet washed) cloth" (PTSD); cf. BhiVin(Ma-L): *syāt yuvā puruṣo maṇḍanajātīyo śīrṣasnāto āhatavastranivastro*; *tahiṃ dāni aparo brāhmaṇo śīrṣasnāto āhatavastranivastro tāya rathyāya atikramati.*

3. A verse in *Mahāgovinda-sūtra*

In the chapter *Mahāgovinda-sūtra* we find another interesting passage, describing the division of the country into seven kingdoms.

Senart 3.208-209 wrote as follows:

> *imā bhavanto mahāpṛthivī saptarājyavistīrṇā.*
> *dakṣiṇena saṃkṣiptā śakaṭamukhasaṃsthitaṃ |*
> *aṇḍamadhyamaṃ reṇusya rājñaḥ āsi ataḥ puraṃ ǁ*
> *kaliṃgānāṃ ca asmakānāṃ yo . . . . |*
> *māhiṣmatī ca . . . . . sauvīrāṇāṃ ca rorukaṃ ǁ*
> *mithilāṃ ca videhānāṃ . . . aṃgeṣu māpaye |*
> *vārāṇasīṃ ca kāśiṣu etaṃ govindamāpitaṃ ǁ*

J. III 204 translated this verse as follows:

> "To the south it was in seven parts each shaped like a waggon's mouth . The very centre belonged to King Reṇu. Then came Dantapura of the Kalingas, and Potana of the Asmakas, Māhiṣmati of the Avantis, and Roruka of the Sovīras; Mithilā of the Videhas, Campā of the Angas, did he map out, and Benares of the Kāśis. All this was mapped out by Govinda."

The new edition Mv (KM) reads as follows:

> *imāṃ bhavanto mahāpṛthivī saptadhā rājena*[16] *…*[17]*. <uttareṇa>*[18] *vistīrṇā*[19]
> *dakṣiṇena*[20] *saṃkṣiptā sakaṭamukhasaṃsthitā. anumadhyanaṃ*[21] *Reṇusya rājñaḥ*
> *<janapado>*[22] *āsi.*
> *Dantapuraṃ*[23] *Kaliṃgānāṃ Asmakānāṃ ..*[24] *Potanaṃ |*
> *Māhiṣmati c(') Avantīnāṃ*[25] *Sauvīrāṇāṃ ca Rorukaṃ ǁ*
> *Mithilā ca Videhānāñ*[26] *Campā Aṅgeṣu māpaye |*
> *Vārāṇasī ca Kāśiṣu etaṃ Govindamāpitaṃ ǁ*

> "This great earth <was divided> into seven [parts]. <In the north> it was wide, in the south narrow, like the front of a cart.[27] The middle part was <the country> of

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[16]. Na *sapta rājena*.

[17]. There is a lacuna in the text here; cf. DN 2.235: *imāṃ bhavanto mahāpṛthivī samaṃ suvibhaktaṃ vibhajatū" ti. "sādhu bho" ti khalu Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo Reṇusya rājñaḥ pratiśrutvā imaṃ mahāpṛthivīṃ vibhaji. uttareṇa….*

[18]. The mss. lack *uttareṇa*; I supply this word on the basis of the reading in DN: *uttareṇa āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ.*

[19]. Sa Na *vistīrṇaṃ*.

[20]. Sa *dakṣiṇadakṣiṇena* (ditt.); corr. Na.

[21]. "located in the centre"; Sa Na *aṇu°*; see BHSD *anumajjhima*; cf. DN 2.235: *tatra sudaṃ majjhe reṇussa rañño janapada hoti.*

[22]. This word is missing in the mss., but cf. DN 2.235: *tatra sudaṃ majjhe reṇussa rañño janapada hoti.* However, if we regard *anumadhyama* as a noun "the part / place in the middle", then no word needs to be added.

[23]. Sa Na *antaḥpuraṃ* (s.e.) *ca* (unmetr.).

[24]. One short syllable is missing in the mss., e.g., *ca*.

[25]. Sa Na *c(') avarttināṃ* (s.e.).

[26]. Sa Na *vaidehāñ* (hapl.).

[27]. Cf. Walshe 1987: 306: "so broad in the north and so narrow like the front of a cart in the south"; see PTSD s.v. *sakaṭa-mukha* "the front or opening of the waggon, used as adj. "facing the waggon or the cart" (?) at D II.234, of the earth -- that is, India as then known -- and at D II.235 (comp. Mahāvastu III.208), of six kingdoms

king Reṇu,[28]

Dantapura of the Kalingas and Potana of the Asmakas,

And Māhiṣmati of the Avantis, and Roruka of the Sauviras,

Then he disposed (or: mapped out) Mithila of the Videhas, Campā of the Aṅgas,

Then Vārāṇasī of the Kāśis – this was disposed by Govinda".

A parallel description is found in DN 2. 235:

imaṃ mahāpaṭhaviṃ uttareṇa āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhaji, sabbāni sakaṭamukhāni aṭṭhapesi. tatra sudaṃ majjhe Reṇussa rañño janapado hoti.

Dantapuraṃ Kaliṅgānaṃ Assakānañ ca Potanaṃ,

Māhissatī Avantīnaṃ Sovirānañ ca Rorukaṃ.

Mithilā ca Vaidehānaṃ Campā Aṅgesu māpitā,

Bārāṇasī ca Kāsīnaṃ ete Govindamāpitā.

The metre is *Śloka*. The part before the list of the countries Senart wrote as verse, but in DN and in both Chinese versions it is in prose. In *pāda* c the mss. read *antaḥpuraṃ*, s.e. for *Dantapura*, which Senart misunderstood and wrote as *ataḥ puraṃ* in *pāda* b. As a result, he was forced to put three lacunas further in the verses. In the second verse he wrote a lacuna in *asmakānāṃ yo…*, where the mss. he consulted, i.e., mss. B and M, read *yotanaṃ* and *yottanaṃ*, respectively. Undoubtedly, *yotana* is s.e. for *potana*, the *akṣara*s *p-* and *y-* are very similar. Potana is the name of the capital of the Asmakas.[29] In the next line Senart added another lacuna *māhiṣmatī ca …*, where the mss. have *ca varttinaṃ* for the correct *avantīnāṃ*. It is quite certain that *ca varttinaṃ* in the mss. is rather *c(') avarttinaṃ*, where -*tt*- is s.e. for -*nt*-, which later attracted a superscript *r*, resulting in the reading -*rtt*-. In the last verse Senart wrote a lacuna in *pāda* b: *...aṃgeṣu māpaye*, where, according to his critical apparatus, the mss. read *ca yā aṃge°*, but it certainly should be read as *ca<ṃ>pā aṃge°*, where *yā* is miswritten for *pā*, while the *anusvāra* has dropped out; Campā is the name of a town in Aṅga[30].[31]

    There are two Chinese translations of this passage found in T.1, no. 8[32] and T.1, no. 1.[33] The following table, prepared by Prof. Seishi Karashima, shows the names of the countries and their capitals in Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan sources[34]:

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in Northern India".”

[28.] Or "the middle part [of the country] belonged to king Reṇu"; then no word needs to be supplied.

[29.] In his commentary, Senart wrote (Se 3.492): "Je suppose que *ca* est un débris du nom tombé de la ville du Kaliṅga, de même que potanaṃ une déformation du nom de celle des Asmakas". Though Senart was wrong in his supposition regarding *ca*, however, he was on the right track expecting the name of the city to be Potana.

[30.] Senart's readings were improved on the basis of the Pali parallel in Lüders 1940: 646.

[31.] Senart was right in his note in Mv 3.492: "*Roruka* ne l'est à ma connaissance que par *Div.Avad.*, p. 344 et suiv. La I.1 de la p. 209 se compléterait par l'addition de *Campāṃ*".

[32.] T. 1, no. 8 (大堅固婆羅門緣起經), 所有迦陵誐國。梂多布囉城。摩濕摩迦國。襃怛(←悒)那城。晩帝那國。摩呬沙摩城。蘇尾囉國。勞嚕迦城。彌體羅國。尾提呬城。摩伽陀國。瞻波大城。波羅奈國。迦尸大城。

[33.] T. 1, no. 1, (長阿含經・典尊經) 檀特、伽陵城　阿婆、布和城 阿槃、大天城　鴦伽、瞻婆城數、彌薩羅城　西陀、路樓城 婆羅、伽尸城　盡汝典尊造.

[34.] Cf. Akanuma 1931: 545; Karashima 1994: 170-173; BhV(tr.J) 440f.

Mv	DN 2.235	*Chang Ahan jing, Dianzun jing* 長阿含經・典尊經 (*Mahāgovindasūtra* in the *Dīrgha-Āgama*), T. 1, no. 1, 33a22-25	*Bhaiṣajya-vastu* (Tib[D], no. 1, kha 273a)	*Dajiangu Poluomen Yuanqi jing* 大堅固婆羅門縁起經 (*Mahāgovinda-brāhmaṇa-nidāna-sūtra*)
1. Kaliṅga Dantapura	1. Kaliṅga Dantapura	1檀特 (*Dandak(a)) 伽陵 (Kāliṅg(a))	1. Ka ling ka mChe ba'i khyim (Dantapura)	1.迦陵誐 (Kāliṅga) 檒多布囉 (*Datapura)
2. Asmaka Potana	2. Assaka Potana	2 阿婆 (*A(ś)va) 布和 (*Pova- [< *Poya < Pota-])	2. rDo mangs (Aśmaka) sKem byed (Potana)	2.摩濕摩迦 (m Aśmaka) 襃悒(←惺)那 (Potana)
3. Avanti Māhiṣmatī	3. Avanti Māhissatī	3阿槃 (Avan-) 大天 ("Great Heaven")	3. Srung byed (Avanti) Ma he ldan (Mahiṣmatī)	3.晚帝那 (*(A)vantina) 摩呬沙摩 (*Māhiṣma)
4. Sauvīra Roruka	4. Sovīra Roruka	4西陀 ?(MC. siei dâ) 路樓 (Roru-)	4. sTang zil can (Sauvīra) Ma rungs pa (Roruka?; Raudraka?)	4. 蘇尾囉 (Sauvira) 勞嚕迦 (Roruka)
5. Videha Mithilā	5. Videha Mithilā	5 數 (*v.l.* 藪) ("Number" [*v.l.* "Marsh"]) 彌薩羅 (*Misalā [< *Midhalā < Mithilā])	5. Lus 'phags (Videha) Mi thi la (Mithilā)	5. 彌體羅 (Mithilā) 尾提呬 (*Videhi)
6. Aṅga Campā	6. Aṅga Campā	6鴦伽 (Aṅga) 瞻婆 (*Cambā)	6. Ang ga (Aṅga) Tsam pa (Campā)	6. 摩伽陀 (Maghada) 瞻波 (Campā)
7. Kāśi Vārāṇasī	7. Kāsi Bārāṇasī	7 婆羅 (Vārā-) 伽尸 (Kāśi)	7. Bā rā ṇa sī (Bārāṇasī) Ka shi (Kaśi)	7.波羅奈 (Vārāṇa-) 迦尸 (Kāśi)

4. *apanītapāṇi*

In the oldest palm-leaf ms. Sa of the Mv we come across the word *apanītapāṇi*, which was emended by the scribe of ms. Na to *apanītapātro*, on several occasions. This form became the reading in all the later mss. of the text[35]. Therefore, the reading in Sa 313v6, 363r3, 367v3, 416v2 *atha khalu bhagavāṃ bhuktāvi dhotapātro apanītapāṇi*… was changed in Na to *apanītapātro*.[36] Since in Skt *apanīta* means "taken away, removed", therefore the compound *apanītapāṇi* "with the hands put away" made no sense to the scribe of Na who emended it to *dhotapāṇi apanītapātro* "with the hands rinsed, and the bowl put away".

[35.] All the later mss. of the Mv derive from the oldest paper ms. Na, which is none other than a copy of the oldest palm-leaf ms. Sa; for more information see Marciniak 2017.
[36.] Interestingly, in another place in the text Na and Senart keep the form *apanītapāṇi* (cf. Senart 3.426).

In fact, here *apanīta-pāṇi* means "with hands rinsed, washed". The word *apanīta* in this compound is probably an incorrect back-formation from *onīta* (< *avanīta*) or a corruption of *avanīta*; cf. DP s.v. *onīyati, onīta* ("put into water, washed"); Skt *ava√nī* ("to lead or bring down into [water]", MW). One can compare this reading with the common Pā *onītapāṇi* "with rinsed hands"; and *onītapattapāṇi* "with hands and bowl rinsed". Therefore, the reading *dhotapātro apanītapāṇi* "with the bowl washed, (and) the hands rinsed" in ms. Sa need not be emended.

5. *doṣacitta, prasādacitta*

In the chapter *Mahāgovinda-sūtra* we find the following passage:

Mv (KM)

> *ye khalu punaḥ Pañcaśikha striyo vā puruṣā*[37] *vā Mahāgovinde brāhmaṇe ... cittāni* (Senart 3.223 reads *paruṣacittāni*) *śravakeṣu câsya te*[38] *kāyasya bhedāt paraṃ maraṇād apāyadurgativinipātaṃ narakeṣûpapadyanti. ye khalu puna*[39] *Pañcaṣikha striyo vā puruṣā*[40] *vā Mahāgovinde brāhmaṇe ... cittāni śrāvakehi câsya te kāyasya bhedāt paraṃ maraṇāt sugatiṃ svargaṃ kāyaṃ deveṣûpapadyanti.*

For the first lacuna Senart wrote *paruṣa-(cittāni)*, which is his own conjecture; mss. B and M, consulted by Senart in this chapter, read *karuṣacittāni*, which is apparently a scribal error for *kaluṣaᵒ*. Then this wrong form *karuṣaᵒ* was 'corrected' by Senart to *paruṣaᵒ* in order that the sentence makes sense. The word *kaluṣa* "impure, foul" does not occur in the old palm-leaf ms. Sa, but it was added much later by Jayamuni, the scribe of the paper ms. Na (fol. 197r8 ब्राक्त्लोंज्ञिल्मनि ; the word added in the upper margin: कर्ल्ष८). In the next sentence Senart did not propose any reading but left a lacuna.

This passage has no parallel in the Pali version and in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama*, but we find its parallel in the Chinese translation of the *Mahāgovinda-sūtra* by Shihu (~1230 C.E.), T. 1, no. 8, 213c4f., where we read *guoshixinzhe* 過失心者 (= *doṣa-citta*) for the first lacuna and *jingxinxinzhe* 淨信心者 (= *prasāda-citta*) in place of the second lacuna:

> "O Pañcaśikha, at that time, whether among men or women or co-practitioners (同梵行者), if there was one who had aroused the thought of fault (過失心者; *doṣa-citta*; < *dveṣa-citta* "the thought of hatred") towards the *śrāvaka* Mahāgovinda, after death they fell into hell. Then, whether among men or women or co-practitioners, if there was one who had aroused the thought of pure faith (*prasāda-citta*, 淨信心者) towards the *śrāvaka* Mahāgovinda, after death they obtained rebirth in heaven".[41]

[37.] Sa Na *puruṣo*, corr. Se.
[38.] Sa *ta* (s.e.; corr. Na).
[39.] Se *punaḥ*.
[40.] Sa Na *puruṣo*, corr. Se.
[41.] T0008_.01.0213c04 五髻。彼時會中若男若女。及同梵行者。或於大堅固聲聞起過失心者。身壞命終。墮地獄中。彼時會中若男若女。及同梵行者。於大堅固聲聞起淨信者。身壞命終。得生天界。
Cf. Hahlweg 1954: "Pañcaśikha, die Männer und Frauen, die in der damaligen Versammlung mit

In the light of the Chinese parallel we may assume that the lacunas in question should read *doṣa*(*cittāni*) (or *dveṣa-*) and *prasāda*(*cittāni*), respectively.

6. *Rohiṇī*

In the chapter *Pitā-putra-samāgama* we find a problematic verse. At first we shall see the reading in Senart's *editio princeps* (Senart 3.93):

> *na cātiśītaṃ na ca ati-uṣṇaṃ*
> *ṛtusukhaṃ adhvani te bhaveya |*
> *paśyantu te Koliyā Śakiyā ca*
> <u>*mukhaṃ Rohiṇīm iva tārakāṇi*</u> ||

Jones (J. III 96) translated this verse as follows:

> "It is not too cold nor too hot; but it will be seasonably pleasant for thee on thy
> way. Let the Koliyans and the Śākyans behold thy face <u>as stars behold Rohiṇī</u>".

However, the readings in the manuscripts differ from Senart's edition. In the new edition the verse in question reads as follows:

Mv (KM)

> *nâtyātiśītaṃ nâtyāti-uṣṇaṃ*
> *ritusukhaṃ adhvānīyaṃ taṃ bhavantaṃ |*
> *paśyaṃtu[42] te Koliyā Śākiyā ca*
> <u>*.. .. mukhaṃ Rohiṇiṃ va tārakaṃ*</u> ||

Pāda d, which lacks two syllables, is problematic. In order to solve this problem, we shall compare the verse with its parallels in Pali and Chinese. At first, a parallel verse in *Theragāthā* 529 reads as follows:

> *n' evātisītaṃ na panātiuṇhaṃ*
> *sukhā utu addhaniyā bhadante |*
> *passantu taṃ sākiyā koḷiyā ca*
> <u>*pacchāmukhaṃ rohiṇiyaṃ tārantaṃ*</u> ||[43]

A parallel passage is found in the Chinese translation in the *Fobenxingji jing* 佛本行集經 (*Collection of Stories of the Buddha's Deeds in Past Lives*), T. 3, no. 190, 890c18f.:

> "At this time, it is neither hot nor cold.
> It is suitable (堪稱) for the Lord to take pleasure on the way.
> People of *Śākya*s (釋), millions (*koṭi*, 億) in number, are looking up (at him) in
> expectation and waiting (瞻仰待),
> like the Net constellation[44] (畢宿) goes around (迴) looking for (lit. 'hoping for,

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(Mahāgovinda) einen Brahma-Wandel führten und gegen Mahāgovinda, den Śrāvaka, sündhafte Gedanken hegten, fielen nach dem Zerfall des Körpers, nach dem Tode in Höllen herab. Die Männer und Frauen, die in der damaligen Versammlung mit Mahāgovinda einen Brahma-Wandel führten und gegen Mahāgovinda, den Śrāvaka, Gedanken voll reinen Glaubens hegten, erlangten nach dem Zerfall des Körpers, nach dem Tode, eine Wiedergeburt in der Himmelswelt".

42. Sa Na *paśyatu*.
43. EV I 61: "It is not too cold, nor again too hot; the season is pleasant, fit for a journey, lord. Let the Sākiyas and Koḷiyas see you facing west, crossing the River Rohiṇī".
44. One of the twenty-eight mansions of the Chinese constellations; Taurus.

wishing'; 冀) the moon".[45]

The metre is *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī*, but *pāda* b is unmetrical. In *pāda* a we should read *na atyāti-uṣṇaṃ* for *nâtyāti-uṣṇaṃ* (m.c.); while in *pāda* c *Kolīyă* for *Kolīyā* (m.c.). In *pāda* a Senart emended *nâtyātiśītaṃ* to *na câtiśītaṃ*, which was unnecessary; cf. Abhis 2.10.3A4 *nâtyātiśītaṃ na câtyāti-uṣṇaṃ* "weder viel zu kalt noch viel zu heiß". In *pāda* b Senart changed *adhvānīyaṃ* to *adhvani*, which was also unnecessary; see BHSD s.v. *adhvānīya* and PTSD s.v. *addhaniya* "fit for a travel". Then *ritusukhaṃ adhvānīyaṃ* means "a season that is pleasant and fit for a travel".

The metre requires that two syllables ⏑ − be added at the beginning of *pāda* d. Senart did not write a lacuna, but in order to improve the metre he changed *va* to *iva*, and *tārakaṃ* to *tārakāṇi*, which Jones (J. III 96) translated "as stars behold Rohiṇī". However, the comparison of this verse with its parallel in Th 529 proves that Senart's conjecture is wrong. The word *tāraka* in the mss. does not mean "star", but "(intending) to cross"[46]. The missing word is probably *paścā(ṅ)ᵒ = pacchāᵒ* in Th 529. These two syllables *paścāᵒ* might have been dropped out after the preceding ᵒ*yā ca* (the *akṣara*s *ya* थ and *pa* थ are almost indistinguishable from one another) by a sort of haplography. Therefore, *pāda* d in Mv should read *paścāmukhaṃ Rohiṇiṃ vā tārakaṃ*,[47] which means "facing west, crossing the river Rohiṇī".[48] Rohiṇī is the name of a small river (see DPPN s.v. *Rohiṇī*) which flew through the land of those two clans of Śākyas and Kolīyās, from north to south, therefore the Buddha who had left Rājagṛha and was heading for Kapilavastu, was crossing the river Rohiṇī facing West.[49]

The differences between the readings of *pāda* d in Mv, Th and the Chinese translation of this passage most probably originate from the fact that Rohiṇī is also a name of the ninth *nakṣatra,* and in this meaning it is used much more often than as the name of the river. The scribe(s) or translator(s) either confused these two meanings or they were unaware that there was a river named Rohiṇī in that region. Th 529 probably preserves more original reading than the others. In the mss. of Mv, as a result of a scribal error, *paścā(ṅ)* had dropped out, but the original reading is still preserved. However, Senart apparently misunderstood the word *tāraka* ("intending to cross") as meaning "star", and emended it implausibly to *tārakāṇi*. The same misunderstanding probably brought about the mistranslation in the Chinese version: *bixiu* 畢宿 ("*Net*-constellation") shows that the translator wrongly took the word Rohiṇī to be the name of a *nakṣatra*.

Therefore, the verse in question may be translated in the following way:

"It is not too cold, nor too hot;

the season is pleasant [and] fit for a travel.

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[45]   此時非熱亦非寒 堪稱世尊受樂道 億數釋種瞻仰待 猶如畢宿冀月迴

[46]   For the usage of the suffix *-aka* in BHS, see BHSG § 22.2 "the suffix *-aka* is used with rather specialized verbal force, referring both to the future (= "intending to; for the purpose of") and to the past when such forms are hardly more than periphrases for preterite verbs".

[47]   The metre is better with reading *paścāmukhaṃ Rohiṇiyaṃ va tārakaṃ* (*Indravaṃśa,* − − ⏑ − − ⏑ ⏑ − ⏑ − ⏑ −).

[48]   Cf. EV I 61: "Let the Sākiyas and Koḷiyas see you facing west, crossing the River Rohiṇī".

[49]   Cf. Th(tr): 249, n. 3.

Let the *Koliya*s and the *Śākiya*s see you, the venerable one,

with your face [turned] <to the West>, crossing the river Rohiṇī".

7. *anubuddhiṃ*

In the chapter *Dharmaladbha-jātaka* we find the following verse:

Mv (KM)

> *śokasya mūlaṃ palikhanya*[50] *sarvaṃ*[51]
>
> *sarvaṃ*[52] *prahāya bhavalobhajalpaṃ* |
>
> *arthasya*[53] *prāptiṃ*[54] *hṛdayasya śāntiṃ*
>
> *dhyānānuyukto sukham ānubuddhiṃ*[55] ||
>
> "Having dug out the whole root of grief, having abandoned all desire (*jalpa*) and longing for life (*bhavalobha*); devoted to meditation, I have discovered happiness,
>
> the attainment of [my] goal, the peace of [my] heart".[56]

Senart 3.284 reads as follows:

> *śokasya mūlaṃ parikhanya sarvaṃ*
>
> *sarvaṃ prahāya bhavalobham āpsye* |
>
> *arthasya prāptiṃ hṛdayasya śāntiṃ*
>
> *dhyānānuyukto sukhasārabuddhiḥ* ||

This verse (the metre is *Upajāti*) corresponds to *pāda*s a and c in two verses found in *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*:

SN 1.123.6:

> *sokassa mūlaṃ palikhāya sabbaṃ*
>
> *anāgu jhāyāmi asocamāno,*
>
> *chetvāna sabbaṃ bhavalobhajappaṃ*
>
> *anāsavo jhāyāmi pamattabandhu.*[57]

SN 1.126.14:

> *atthassa pattiṃ hadayassa santiṃ*
>
> *jetvāna senaṃ piyasātarūpaṃ*
>
> *ekāhaṃ jhāyaṃ sukham anubodhiṃ* (← *anubodhaṃ*)[58]
>
> *tasmā janena na karomi sakkhiṃ*
>
> *sakkhī na sampajjati kenaci me.*[59]

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50. Sa Na *palikhanīyāṃ*.
51. Sa Na *na sarve* (s.e.).
52. Sa Na *sarvāṃ*.
53. Sa Na °*syā*.
54. Read *pattiṃ* (m.c.).
55. Sa Na *ānabuddhiḥ* (s.e.).
56. Cf. J. III 272: "Nay, the whole root of grief have I dug out; all greed for life have I abandoned, and I shall win the goal of my endeavour, the peace of my heart".
57. SN(tr): 215: "Having dug up entirely the root of sorrow, Guiltless, I meditate free fom sorrow. Having cut off all greedy urge for existence, I meditate taintless, O kinsman of the negligent".
58. Cf. DP, I 127a, s.v. *anubujjhati*; SN(S) reads *anvabodhiṃ* instead.
59. SN(tr): 218: "Having conquered the army of the pleasant and agreeable, Meditating alone, I discovered bliss, The attainment of the goal, the peace of the heart. Therefore I don't make friends with people, Nor will I

In *pāda* b Senart implausibly emended the reading *bhavalobhajalpaṃ* in all the mss. to *bhavalobham āpsye*. The reading in the mss. is correct, which is confirmed by its Pali parallel *bhavalobhajappaṃ* in the verse in SN 1.123. Most interesting is the form *ānubuddhiṃ*, which disappeared in Senart's edition due to his unjustified emendation to *sukhasārabuddhiḥ* (≠ mss.). The form *ānubuddhiṃ*, which is m.c. for *anu°*, is 1. sg. aor., as in SN 1.126 *anubodhiṃ* (← *anubodhaṃ*); SN(S) 276.11 *anvabodhiṃ*, or in AN 5.48 *eko 'haṃ jhāyī sukham anubodhiṃ* (one ms. reads *ānu°*). This rare aorist was probably misunderstood and copied as *°buddhiḥ* instead of *°buddhiṃ*. Thus, *sukham anubuddhiṃ* means "I have understood (true) happiness". The form *anubuddhi* in LV 299.12 may be understood a 3 sg. aor. as well: *adyâvabodhum amṛtaṃ anubuddhi śāstā* "today the Teacher has awakened to realise immortality". Cf. also 1. sg. aor. *anubujjhiṃ* in Pā, e.g., Mp V 21.7: *sukhaṃ anubujjhiṃ sacchikāsiṃ* "I have understood (and) experienced happiness".

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Symbols and abbreviations used in footnotes:

Abhis = *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, herausgegeben, mit der chinesischen Parallelversion verglichen, übersetzt und kommentiert von Seishi Karashima, unter Mitwirkung von Oskar von Hinüber, Tokyo 2012: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIII), 3 vols.

AN = *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, ed. R. Morris/E. Hardy, 5 vols., London 1885–1900: PTS; vol. 6 (Indexes, by M. Hunt, C.A.F. Rhys Davids) London, 1910: PTS.

Avś = *Avadānaçataka: A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hīnayāna*, ed. J. S. Speyer; St.-Pétersbourg: Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1902~1909 (Bibliotheca Buddhica 3), 2 vols.; reprint: Tokyo, Meicho-Fukyū-kai, 1977.

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form any intimate ties".

B = manuscript B of the *Mahāvastu*

BHSD = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press.

BHSG = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press.

BhiVin(Ma-L) = *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, ed. Gustav Roth, Patna 1970 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 12).

BhV(tr.J) = Fumi Yao 八尾史, *Konponsetsuissai'uburitsu Yakuji* 根本説一切有部律薬事 [A Japanese translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*], Tokyo 2013, Rengō Shuppan 連合出版.

ditt. = dittography

C = manuscript C of the *Mahāvastu*

DN = *The Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, 3 vols., London 1890-1911: PTS.

DN(tr) = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, part I-III, 1977 London: PTS (¹1899, 1910, 1921; SBB vol. II-IV).

Dhp-a = *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. H. C. Norman, London 1906~14; repr.: London 1970: PTS.

Dhp-a(tr) = *Buddhist Legends: Translated from the original Pali text of the Dhammapada Commentary* by Eugene Watson Burlingame, Harvard University Press 1921, 3 vols (Harvard Oriental Series 28~30); repr.: 1969 London: The Pali Text Society.

DPPN = *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, by G.P. Malalasekera, 2 vols., London ¹1937-1938; London ²1960: The Pali Text Society.

Fbx = *Fobenxingji jing* 佛本行集經, T. 3, no. 190, translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 in 591 C.E.

hapl. = haplology

J. = *The Mahāvastu*, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit, 3 vols., London ¹1949-1956; ²1973-1978, ³1987, The Pali Text Society (Sacred Books of the Buddhists; v. 16, 18, 19).

Jā = Jātaka, together with Jātakatthavaṇṇanā (ed. Fausbøll 1877–96).

Jā(tr) = *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, tr. from the Pāli by various hands; under the editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell, Cambridge 1895-1907: The Cambridge University Press, 6 vols.; London ²1957: The Pali Text Society.

Jm = *The Jātaka-mālā, or, Bodhisattvāvadāna-mālā by Ārya-çūra*, ed. Hendrik Kern, Cambridge, Mass. 1891: Harvard University Press (Harvard Oriental Series 1).

lip. = lipography

LV = *Lalitavistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha*, ed. S. Lefmann, 2 vols., Halle 1902~1908: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses; repr.: Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.

MC = Middle Chinese reconstruction of the *Qieyun* 切韻 system

M = manuscript M of the *Mahāvastu*

m.c. = *metri causa*

met. = metathesis

Mp = *Manorathapūraṇī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, ed. Max Walleser and Hermann Kopp, 5 vols., London 1924-1956: PTS.

Mv = *Mahāvastu*

Mv (KM) = a new edition of the *Mahāvastu*, based on manuscripts Sa and Na, under preparation by Katarzyna Marciniak and Seishi Karashima at IRIAB.

MW = Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899: The Clarendon Press.

Na = the oldest extant paper manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*; completed in 1657 by an eminent scribe named Jayamuni Vajrācārya. The original is kept at the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

Pā = Pali

Pkt = Prakrit

PTSD = Thomas William Rhys Davids & William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1921~25.

PW = Otto Böhtlingk, Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 7 vols., St. Petersburg 1855~1875.

Sa = the sole palm-leaf manuscript Sa of the *Mahāvastu*; on paleographic grounds dated to ca. 12th c.; the original is lost; the microfilms are available at the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

s.e. = scribal error

Se = *Le Mahāvastu*, texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire, par É. Senart, Paris 1882-1897: Imprimerie nationale (Collection d'ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série, 3 Vols.).

Śikṣ = *Çikṣāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, Compiled by Çāntideva*, edited by Cecil Bendall, St. Petersbourg 1902: Académie Impériale des Sciences; Reprint Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-kai (Bibliotheca Buddhica 1).

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Skt = Sanskrit

SN = *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, ed. L. Feer, 5 vols., London 1884~1898: PTS.

SN(S) = *The Saṃyuttanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka*, vol. I: *The Sagāthavagga*: A Critical Apparatus by G. A. Somaratne, Oxford 1998: PTS.

SN(tr) = *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Saṃyutta Nikāya*, by Bhikkhu Bodhi, Boston 2000: Wisdom Publications (Teachings of the Buddha).

Tib(D) = Derge (sDe dge) Canon; facsimile reproductions: (1) *Bstan 'gyur sde dge'i par ma: Commentaries on the Buddha's Word by Indian Masters* (CD-Rom), New York: The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC); (2) *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*: Taipei Edition, ed. A. W. Barber, Taipei 1991: SMC Publishing.

unmetr. = unmetrical

Vin = *Vinayapiṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, 5 vols., London 1879~1883: The Pali Text Society.

w.r. = wrong reading

Ajita and Maitreya:
More evidence of the early Mahāyāna scriptures' origins from the Mahāsāṃghikas and a clue as to the school-affiliation of the Kanaganahalli-*stūpa*[*]

Seishi KARASHIMA

Prologue

[1]The Chinese transliteration *Mile* 彌勒 (EH. mjiei[mjiei:] lǝk), used in Lokakṣema (fl. ca 170~190 C.E.)'s translations onwards, ending with the velar /k/, differs from BHS. *Maitreya*, Pā. *Metteya*, while agreeing with the Bactrian spelling Μετραγο Βουδο (*Metrago Boudo*) on the bronze coins of the Kushan king, Kaniṣka I, dating back to the second century C.E. I have assumed that while the Bactrian form *Μετραγα (*Metraga*) was sanskritised to BHS. *Maitraka* on the one hand, it was Gāndhārīsed to *Metreya*, *Metrea* on the other. From these Gāndhārī forms, BHS. *Maitreya*, Pā. *Metteya* were coined, though it is unlikely that they were the original forms.

As I pointed out some twenty years ago[2], there is a description of *Metteya* receiving the prediction of Buddhahood from the Buddha in the *Cakkavatti-Sīhananda-suttanta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* (No. 26, III 75f.) and in the Chinese translation of the same text, namely the *Zhuanlunshengwang xiuxing jing* 轉輪聖王修行經 of the *Dīrghāgāma* of the *Dharmaguptaka* school (T. 1, no. 1, 41c29f.), while their parallel text, namely the *Zhuanlunshengwang jing* 轉輪聖王經 in the Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, which belongs most probably to the Sarvāstivādins, (T. 1, no. 26, 520b~525a) lacks this description, which is apparently truer to the original. Throughout the Pāli *Nikāya*s, the name *Metteya* occurs only once and therefore, it is unlikely that faith in *Metteya* / *Maitreya* existed in early Buddhism. I assume that such faith, which occurred first in northwest India, was interpolated into this particular scripture long after the formation of the canon[3]. The original meaning of Μετραγα or *Metreya* is unknown, while its relationship with the Vedic *Mitra* and Avestan *Mithra* has not been clarified as of yet. It is possible that a god or hero, who had been worshipped in the Gandhāra region was at some point introduced into Buddhism.

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[1] Cf. Karashima 2013: 177f.
[2] *Gendaigoyaku: Agon-Kyōten, Jō-agonkyō* 現代語訳『阿含経典・長阿含経』[An Annotated Japanese Translation of the Chinese Version of the *Dīrghāgāma*], vol. 2, Tokyo 1997: Hirakawa Shuppan, 310~311, n. 121. Cf. also Anālayo 2014.
[3] Cf. Anālayo 2010: 95f.

It is well known that Maitreya (Pā. Metteya) is also called Ajita in some texts.[4] While investigating the relationship of the two names, I came to the conclusion that the different interpretations of the names reflect the opinions of the various Buddhist schools.

(1) Theravādins: Ajita ≠ Metteya

As is well known, in the Pāli literature of the Theravāda school, such as the *Suttanipāta*, vss. 814~823, 1006~1042, *Theragāthā* vs. 20, Ajita and (Tissa)-Metteya, both had formerly been brahmins and were two different disciples of the Buddha.[5] In the Pāli canon, they are not related to the future Buddha Metteya or the future King Saṅkha whom we shall discuss below.

(2) Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādin)s: Ajita = Maitreya

In the *Mahāvastu*, a *Vinaya* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, they are considered as identical persons.

(a) Mv I 51.6f. *eṣa Ajito bodhisatvo <vyākṛto>[6] mamâtyayena buddho loke bhaviṣyatîti Ajito nāmena Maitreyo gotreṇa*

"This Bodhisatva Ajita is predicted (by me) that after I pass away, he will become a *buddha* in the world, named Ajita with a family name Maitreya."

(b) Mv III 246.13. *Ajito* ([= Sa] ← *Ajite*) *brāhmaṇakule ...* (246.16) *pṛthivīmaṇḍe Maitreyo bhaviṣyati anāgate ||*

"Ajita of a brahmin family ... will become Maitreya in the world in the future"

In a different context in the same *Mahāvastu*, however, Ajita occurs side-by-side with Maitreya as two different future Buddhas.[7]

(3) Sāṃmitīyas: Ajita = Maitreya

In a treatise of the Sāṃmitīya (= Sāṃmatīya) school, preserved only in Chinese, namely the *Sanmidi bu lun* 三彌底部論 (**Sāṃmitīya-nikāya-śāstra*; T. 32, no. 1649), we find the following description:

(c) 466c7~10. 云何未來説 …… 如佛語彌勒：“阿逸多！汝後成佛時，名曰慈氏。” 是名未來説。

"What is a statement concerning the future? ... For example, the Buddha said to Maitreya: 'O Ajita, when you become a *buddha* in the future, your name will be "Mercy by Family Name" (*Cishi* 慈氏; Maitreya).' These are statements concerning

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[4] Cf. Akanuma, s.v. *Ajita*; Lamotte 1976: 775~788 = 1988: 699~710; Anālayo 2014: 20~23 (with rich further references). I have also learnt a great deal from Prof. Akira Miyaji's handout, entitled "Miroku shinkō no seiritsukatei — Bunken to bijutsu kara" 弥勒信仰の成立過程──文献と美術から──[Process of the formation of the belief in Maitreya: From texts and art], distributed at the third meeting of a JSPS KAKENHI Grant project named "Researches on Central Asian Art", 17/Dec./2017).

[5] Cf. DPPN, s.vv.; Akanuma, s.vv.

[6] The sole extant palm-leaf manuscript (Sa) of the *Mahāvastu*, dating back to the 12th century, has this word, which was deleted by an eminent scribe named Jayamuni Vajrācārya in 1657 C.E., when he copied the older manuscript and consequently all the later manuscripts, as well as Senart's edition, do not have this word.

[7] Mv III 330.7~9. *aham asmi Siddhārtho* ([= Sa] ← *Sarvasiddhārtho* [≠ mss.]) *vyāmaprabho, Ajito dvādaśayojanaprabho, Siddhārtho viṃśadyojanaprabho, Maitreyo dvādaśayojanaprabho, Maitreyaśo aṣṭādaśayojanaprabho.*

the future."

It is clear that in this treatise, Ajita is his first name, because it is used in the vocative form, while Maitreya is his family name, denoting the same person.

Another text, namely the *Karmavibhaṅga*, which is assumed to belong also to the same school[8], has the following passages:

(d) *yathôktaṃ bhagavatā Vārāṇasyāṃ Pūrvāparāntake sūtre Ajitasya bodhisatvasya samuttejanaṃ kṛtam. "mahāte* (MKV *mahate*) *khalu te Ajita autsukyāya cittaṃ damaya 'ti (←damayati)[9] yad idaṃ saṃghaparihāp<aṇ>āya. vakṣyate hi.*

Maitreyas Tuṣitasurālayādhivāsī prāptavyā divi bhuvi cêha yena pūjā |
sa śrīmān daśabalatām avāpya śīghraṃ   lokānāṃ bhavatu śaśîva nityapūjyaḥ" //
(KV 56.9~16; cf. MKV 39.13~40.7)

"As it is related in the *Pūrvāparāntaka-sūtra*[10], the Lord encouraged Bodhisatva Ajita in Varanasi, saying: "O Ajita, subdue your mind towards a great ambition, namely towards the abandonment of the Community. It is, therefore, said:

Maitreya, who dwells in the palace of Tuṣita Heaven, who deserves worshipping in the heaven as well as here (on Earth). Having attained the state of the "possessor of the ten powers" (i.e. *buddha*) immediately, this fortunate one will be constantly worshipped by the whole world like the moon."

Here, it should be noted that Ajita is called "Bodhisatva Ajita" (as in the above-quoted passage [a] from the *Mahāvastu*) and he was encouraged by the Buddha by the prediction of Maitreya's dwelling in Tuṣita Heaven and becoming a *buddha*. It is, therefore, clear that this description in the *Karmavibhaṅga* is in line with the above-quoted passage from the *Sanmidi bu lun*, namely "Bodhisatva Ajita becomes Buddha Maitreya".

(4) Sarvāstivādins: Ajita ≠ Maitreya

The Sarvāstivādins criticised the idea of identifying Ajita and Maitreya. In the Chinese translation of Saṅghabhadra's *Abhidharmanyāyānusāraśāstra*, an orthodox treatise of this school, namely the *Apidamo Shunzhenglilun* 阿毘達磨順正理論 (T. 29, no. 1562), translated by Xuanzang in 653~4 C.E., we find the following passages:

(e) 330a25~28. 所言諸部阿毘達磨義宗異故，非佛説者。經亦應爾。諸部經中，現見文義有差別故。由經有別，宗義不同。…… (330b2~6) 雖有衆經諸部同誦，然其名句互有差別。謂有經説：“汝阿氏多！於當來世成等正覺。” “非黑非白。非黑非白異熟業”等。無量名句諸部不同。是故不應由義宗異阿毘達磨便非佛説。阿毘達磨定是佛説。

"Some say that the doctrines of the Abhidharma (texts) differ from one another among the various schools, therefore, they are not what the Buddha preached. The same applies to the *sūtra*s. Texts and meanings in the *sūtra*s of the various schools clearly differ from one another. As the *sūtra*s differ, so do the doctrines. ... There are many *sūtra*s which are commonly recited in the various schools though the words

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[8] Cf. Kudo 2004: ix, where he refers to the works of Takayoshi Namikawa and Kiyoshi Okano.
[9] Both Lévi and Kudo wrongly take these words as *damayati*, which results in their misinterpretation of the whole part (MKV 116, Kudo 2005: 22).
[10] = *Pūrvāntāparānta-sūtra*; see n. 12.

and phrases differ among them. For example, a *sūtra* of a certain (school) relates: 'You, O Ajita, will become one who has attained equal and perfect enlightenment (*samyaksam-buddha*) in the future.' 'Neither white (i.e. good) nor black (i.e. evil) (karma); Neither white (i.e. good) nor black (i.e. evil) ripening karma.' *etc*. Infinite numbers of words and phrases differ from one another among the *sūtra*s of (different) schools. Therefore, one cannot (say) that the Abhidharma (texts) are not what the Buddha preached, (just) based on the fact that doctrines differ from one another. The Abhidharma (texts) are, of course, what the Buddha preached."

Saṅghabhadra quotes a *sūtra* of another school which relates: "Ajita will become a *buddha*", which agrees with the above-quoted passages (a), (b) and (c).

The Chinese translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* (T. 1, no. 26), whose Indic original was recited by Saṅgharakṣa, a monk from Kashmir, and then translated into Chinese by another Kashmiri monk by the name of Gautama Saṅghadeva between 397~398 C.E., belongs most probably to the Sarvāstivādins.[11] In a scripture, named the *Shuoben jing* 説本經 (*Pūrvāparānta-sūtra* or *Pūrvāntāparānta-sūtra*)[12], no. 66 of this *Āgama*,[13] the Buddha's disciples, Ajita and Maitreya, appear as different persons as they do in the Pāli literature of the Theravādins. The Buddha predicted that Ajita would become King Śaṅkha, while Maitreya would become Buddha Maitreya, which is different from the Pāli literature[14].

(f) 509c29~510a4. 爾時，尊者阿夷哆在衆中坐。於是，尊者阿夷哆即從坐起，偏袒著衣，叉手向佛，白曰：“世尊！我於未來久遠，人壽八萬歲時，可得作王，號名曰螺，爲轉輪王......”，510a18~22. 於是，世尊訶尊者阿夷哆曰：“汝愚癡人，應更一死，而求再終。所以者何？謂汝作是念：‘世尊。我於未來久遠，人壽八萬歲時，可得作王，號名曰螺，爲轉輪王......’” 510b7~9. 世尊告曰：“阿夷哆！汝於未來久遠，人壽八萬歲時，當得作王，號名曰螺，爲轉輪王......” 510b24f. 佛告諸比丘：“未來久遠，人壽八萬歲時，當有佛名彌勒如來、無所著、等正覺......” 510c10~13. 爾時，尊者彌勒在彼衆中。於是，尊者彌勒即從坐起，偏袒著衣，叉手向佛，白曰：“世尊！我於未來久遠，人壽八萬歲時，可得成佛，名彌勒如來、無所著、等正覺......” 510c27f. 於是，世尊歎彌勒曰：“善哉，善哉。彌勒！汝發心極妙 ......” 511a13~15. 佛復告曰：“彌勒！汝於未來久遠，人壽八萬歲時，當得作佛，名彌勒如來、無所著、等正覺 ......”

"At that time, the venerable Ajita was sitting in the assembly. Then, the venerable

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[11] Cf. Anālayo 2017.

[12] Cf. MKV 39f., n. 6; Honjō 2014: 918. In this *sūtra*, as the past lives of Aniruddha (= Anuruddha) and the future lives of Ajita and Maitreya are related, it is called the *Pūrvāntāparānta-sūtra* ("The Scripture of the Past and Future"). *Pūrvāparānta-sūtra*, attested in the *Karmavibhaṅga*, as we have seen above, is probably an abbreviated or corrupted form.

[13] There is another archaic Chinese translation, named the *Gulaishishi jing* 古來世時經 ("The Scripture of the Past and Future"; T. 1, no. 44) by an anonymous translator, probably in the third or fourth century, judging from its vocabulary and style. In this translation, the name of the monk, who wished to become a king, is not given. He is called only "a venerable monk" (賢者比丘) (830b1). Except for this, the other details (830b1~25) agree well with the *Shuoben jing* in the *Madhyama-āgama*.

[14] In the Pāli *Cakkavattisīhanādasuttanta*, a future king, named Saṃkha (= Śaṅkha) and the future *buddha*, Metteyya (= Maitreya) are referred to (DN III 75f.) — the sole occurrence of Buddha Metteyya in the whole of the Pāli canonical scriptures. However, there is no reference to Ajita nor to Śākyamuni's disciple Metteyya.

Ajita stood up from his seat, put his upper robe over his shoulder, and, folding his hands towards the Lord, said: 'In the distant future, when people's life-span will be eighty thousand years, I should like to become a king, named "Conch" (Śaṅkha), a wheel-turning king ..." Thereupon, the Lord chided the venerable Ajita: 'You are stupid! You should (wish) for a one-time death (before entering *parinirvāṇa*), but you are (now) wishing for a two-time death (before entering *parinirvāṇa*). Why? Because you thought: 'O Lord, in the distant future, when people's life-span will be eighty thousand years, I should like to become a king, named "Conch" (Śaṅkha), a wheel-turning king ...'" The Lord said: "O Ajita, in the distant future, when people's life-span will be eighty thousand years, you will become a king, named "Conch" (Śaṅkha), a wheel-turning king ..."

The Buddha said to the monks: "In very distant future, when people's life-span will be eighty thousand years, there will be a *buddha*, named Maitreya, unattached (*arahant*), equally and perfectly enlightened (*samyaksambuddha*) ..."

At that time, the venerable Maitreya was sitting in the assembly. Then, the venerable Maitreya stood up from his seat, put his upper robe over his shoulder, and, folding his hands towards the Lord, said: 'In the distant future, when people's life-span will be eighty thousand years, I should like to become a *buddha*, named Maitreya, unattached, equally and perfectly enlightened ..." Thereupon, the Lord praised Maitreya: "O Maitreya! Excellent, excellent! Your resolution is wonderful ..." The Buddha said further: "O Maitreya, in the distant future, when people's life-span will be eighty thousand years, you will become a *buddha*, named Maitreya, unattached, equally and perfectly enlightened ..."

These passages concerning Ajita and Maitreya are often quoted in the treatises of the Sarvāstivādins. For example, in Xuanzang's Chinese translation, namely the *Apidamo Dapiposhalun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (T. 27, no. 1545), of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* — a gigantic compilation of the doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda school, composed probably in the 2nd century C.E., we find a portion, starting with the phrase "As it is related (as follows): 'O Maitreya, you will become a *buddha*.'" (如説:"慈氏!汝於來世，當得作佛"; 893c1), which connects the above-mentioned predictions with Ajita and Maitreya as becoming King Śaṅkha and Buddha Maitreya, respectively (893c17~894a11)[15]. Also, in a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* by Vasubandhu (ca. 350~430 or 400~480 C.E.), namely the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā nāma Ṭīkā* by Śamathadeva (5th century), preserved only in Tibetan translation, we find a long citation from the above-quoted *Pūrvāntāparānta-sūtra*, describing the Buddha's prediction to Maitreya.[16]

The phrase "O Maitreya, you will become a *buddha*!", based on the above-quoted *Pūrvāntāparānta-sūtra*, is repeatedly cited in other orthodox treatises of the Abhidharma

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[15] 衆中阿氏多苾芻即從座起恭敬合掌而白佛言："世尊！願我於未來世，當得作彼餉佉輪王。……" 爾時，世尊呵叱彼曰："癡人云何不欲一死而求再死，願於來世作餉佉輪王。乃至廣説。" 然阿氏多！如汝所願，汝於來世，定得作彼餉佉輪王。……" 復告大衆未來人壽八萬歳時，有佛出世，名曰慈氏如來、應、正等覺、……" 時佛説是語已，衆中慈氏菩薩即從座起，恭敬合掌，而白佛言："世尊！願我於未來世，當得作彼慈氏如來應正等覺。……"
[16] See Honjō 2014: 918~921.

philosophy of the same school: for example, the *Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra* alias *Jñānaprasthāna* by Kātyāyanīputra (fl. 1st c. B.C.E.?), preserved in two Chinese translations, namely the *Apitan Bajiandu lun* 阿毘曇八犍度論 (*Aṣṭaskandha-śāstra*; T. 26, no. 1543), translated by Saṅghadeva from Kashmir and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in 383 C.E., and the *Apidamo Fazhi lun* 阿毘達磨發智論 (*Jñānaprasthāna*; T. 26, no. 1544), translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 between 657~660 C.E.

(g) No. 1543, 899c10~12. 又世尊言：“汝彌勒未來久遠，名彌勒恒薩阿竭・阿羅訶・三耶三佛。” 此是何智？答曰：“因智、道智。”(≒ 898c17f.; No. 1544, 1018a14~17[17])

"Also, the Buddha said: 'You, O Maitreya, will become a *tasa-agat(a)* (i.e. *tathā-āgata*), *arahā*, *samya(k)saṃbuddha* named Maitreya in the very distant future.' On what (kind of) knowledge is this (prediction based)? The answer: '(It is based on) the knowledge of the cause and the knowledge of the path.'"

The phrase "O Maitreya, you will become a *buddha*!" in question, is quoted also in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* by Vasubandhu (ca. 350~430 or 400~480 C.E.), an auto-commentary on his *Abhidharmakośa*, a summary of the tenets of the Sarvāstivāda school.

(h) Abhidh-k-bh 471.11f. *idaṃ tarhi kasmād vyākaroti "bhaviṣyasi tvaṃ Maitreyânāgate 'dhvani tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ" iti* [18]

"Then, why does (the Buddha) predict: 'O Maitreya, you will become a *tathāgata*, *arhat*, *samyaksaṃbuddha* in the future.'?"

Thus, it is clear that, according to the tradition and doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda school, Ajita, who would become King Śaṅkha in the future, and Maitreya, who would become Buddha Maitreya in the future, are different persons. Also, from the text (e), we can see that they were critical of other schools' identification of Ajita and Maitreya.

In this connection, I should like to point out that the stories about Ajita and Maitreya in Chapter 57, entitled Bāvarī[19], in the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (*Sūtra* of the Wise and the Fool) , translated by Huijue 慧覺 *et al.* by 445 C.E., (T. 4, no. 202, 432b~436c), and the Tocharian *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* (Ji 1998, 1998a) agree very well with the above-quoted *Pūrvāntāparānta-sūtra* (f). It is quite probable that they were both influenced by the transmission of the Sarvāstivāda school.

In conclusion, according to the Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins, Ajita and Maitreya are different persons, though, according to the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Sāṃmitīyas, Maitreya, whose first name is Ajita, will become the Buddha Maitreya.

(5) Kanaganahalli

On the site of a big ancient Buddhist *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli in Karnataka, India, a

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[17] 如説：“慈氏！汝於來世，當得作佛，名慈氏，如來・應・正等覺。” 此何智？答：“因智、道智。” These passages are cited in a commentary of this text, namely the *Apidamo Dapiposhalun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論: T. 27, no. 1545, 894b27~29.

[18] T. 29, no. 1558, 156b17. 若爾，何緣佛記：“慈氏！汝於來世當得作佛。”？; T. 29, no. 1559, 307c15f. 此事云何記？佛言：“彌底履也。今汝於未來當成如來、阿羅訶、三藐三佛陀。”

[19] An English translation is found in Ji 1998: 7~13 = 1998a 7~13.

very great number of reliefs, sculptures and inscriptions, dating probably from the 1st century B.C.E to the 3rd century C.E., are preserved. Amongst them, there are sitting statues of the past six *buddha*s, Buddha Śākyamuni and the future *buddha*, under each of which, there is an inscription. Under the statue of the future *buddha*, it states as follows:

 (i) *sidha bhagavā bodhisato Ayito anāgato budho upāsakena Vākāḍ(h)icāna[ṃ]*

  Visāghena saputakena kārito savalokasa hitasughā ca

   "Success! The Lord Bodhisatva Ayita (Ajita), the future Buddha, was ordered to be made by the lay practitioner (*upāsaka*) Visāgha (Viśākha) from the Vākāḍhica family with his son(s) for the well-being and happiness of the whole world."[20]

This inscription, saying that Ajita will become the future *buddha*, indicates clearly that the *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli cannot have belonged to either the Theravādins or the Sarvāstivādins, while it might have belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas, Sāṃmitīyas or another school. I assume that this *stūpa* might have belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas or its sub-group. Apart from identifying Ajita and Maitreya, the fact that the scenes on the narrative reliefs in the *stūpa* agree very well with the *Lalitavistara*, which was composed probably in ca. 150 C.E. in Gandhāra by a monk of the Mahāsāṃghikas[21], as well as its two Chinese translations (T. 3, nos. 186 and 187), also indicates the Kanaganahalli *stūpa*'s affiliation with this school.[22]

 Also, it is very significant that the future *buddha* is not named Maitreya. This fact also reinforces my idea that faith in *Metteya / Maitreya* did not exist in early Buddhism and that such faith occurred first in Northwest India and was later transmitted to other areas in India.

 We must, however, make clear which of the notions of the future *buddha* Ajita and Maitreya is earlier. To determine this, we need further investigation.

(6) The *Anāgatavaṃsa*

 There is a short post-canonical Pāli text, consisting of 142 verses, named the *Anāgatavaṃsa* ("The Story of the Future")[23], traditionally assumed to have been composed by Kassapa from Coḷa around 1200 C.E.[24], which describes the future Buddha Metteyya. In this text, Ajita and Metteya are portrayed as being identical, just as they are with the Mahāsāṃghikas and Sāṃmitīyas.

 In verses 1~3, Sāriputta went to the Buddha and asked about the next *buddha* after him. The Buddha replied from verse 4 onwards. In verses 4 and 5, the Buddha said:

 (j) *anappakaṃ puñña-rāsiṃ Ajitassa mahā-yasaṃ*

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[20] Nakanishi/von Hinüber 2014: 79.
[21] Cf. Okano 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990; de Jong 1998: 252f.; cf. also LV(H) 82~116.
[22] Mihoko Hiraoka "カナガナハッリ仏塔の仏伝図〜アーヤカ柱基台の作例について〜" [Reliefs of the Buddha's biographies at the Buddhist *stūpa* at Kanaganahalli — On the works on the bases of the *āyaka* pillars], Appendix, a table of descriptions of "Offering of Food by Two Merchants" of various sources. (a hand-out distributed at the third meeting of a JSPS KAKENHI Grant project named "Researches on Central Asian Art", 24/Dec./2015). I should like to thank Dr. Hiraoka for permitting me to refer to her unpublished paper. According to Dr. Hiraoka, this paper will be published before long in *Nanto Bukkyō* 南都仏教, vol. 100.
[23] An new edition and an English translation are found in Norman 2006 = CP VIII 224~260. Another English translation is found in Collins 1998: 361~373. In this article, I quote from Norman's English translation.
[24] The *Gandhavaṃsa*, written by Nandapañña in Myanmar possibly in the 17th century, ascribes the *Mohavicchedanī*, *Vimaticchedanī*, *Buddhavaṃsa* as well as the *Anāgatavaṃsa* to Kassapa (1160~1230 C.E.) (G-v 60.32~61.2), who lived in the Nāgānana-vihāra (*v.l.* Nāgajjuna-v°, i.e. Nāgārjuna-v°) in the Coḷa country (Moh 359, vs. 47, 52; cf. von Hinüber 1996: § 200).

na sakkā sabbaso vattuṃ vitthāren' eva kassa-ci;

eka-desena vakkhāmi, Sāriputta, suṇohi me (4)

imasmiṃ Bhaddake kappe ajāte vassa-koṭiye

Metteyyo nāma nāmena sambuddho dvipad' uttamo (5)

"It is not possible for anyone to describe completely at length Ajita's great accumulation of merit which is not small, which is of great fame. I will tell [you about] it in part. Listen to me, O Sāriputta. (4)

In this auspicious world cycle, in the future, in a crore of years, there will be an Awakened One named Metteyya, the best of two-footed beings" (5)

From verse 6 onwards, the biography and the world of Buddha Metteya are fully described. In verses 10, 14 , 30, 72, 96, King Saṅkha (= Śaṅkha) is referred to but never related with Ajita. The verses 43 and 47 tell us that Ajita and Metteya are identical.

(k) *Ajito nāma nāmena Metteyyo dvipad'-uttamo*

anubyañjana-sampanno dvattiṃsa-vara-lakkhaṇo (43)

nāriyo sabb'-aṅga-sampannā sabb'-ābharaṇa-bhūsitā

mahā-majjhimakā cūḷā Ajitassa paricārikā (47)

"One named Ajita [will be born] as Metteyya, the best of two-footed beings, with the thirty-two excellent marks and the minor characteristics." (43)

"Ajita's female attendants will be women, perfect in all their limbs, adorned with [all kinds of] ornaments, small, medium, and large."(47)

Thus, in this text, the identification of Ajita and Metteya is evident, which agrees with the Mahāsāṃghikas and Sāṃmitīyas.

As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the Mahāsāṃghikas composed the early Mahāyāna scriptures, in other words, Mahāyāna Buddhism originated in this school (Karashima 2015). There was also a group of Theravādins, who adopted Mahāyāna Buddhism. Xuanzang's *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (646 C.E.) states: "In Sri Lanka, there are several hundred monasteries with twenty thousand monks, following the Dharma of the *Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda (dasheng shangzuobu* 大乗上座部). 200 years after the introduction of Buddhism there, two schools were formed. One is the Mahāvihāravāsin school, which rejects Mahāyāna, practising only Hīnayāna. The other one is the Abhayagirivāsin school, which studies both teachings and proclaims the *Tripiṭakas*."[25] The expression *Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda most probably designated the Abhayagirivāsins, a sub-school of Theravāda in Sri Lanka, which introduced unorthodox doctrines, presumed to be Mahāyāna Buddhism, from the mainland during the reign of King Vohārikatissa (214~236 C.E.) but was denounced because of this by the orthodox Mahāvihāravāsins.

I assume that the *Anāgatavaṃsa*, whose identification of both Ajita and Metteya agrees with that of the Mahāsāṃghikas, had been composed by this school and later translated into Pāli, or was composed by an Abhayagirivāsin, influenced by the Mahāsāṃghikas' notion of Ajita and Maitreya.

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[25] T. 51, no. 2087, 934a14~18.

(7) Mahāyāna scriptures
(7.1) The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

I have demonstrated elsewhere that the Mahāsāṃghikas composed the early Mahāyāna scriptures (Karashima 2015). In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, which is one such early Mahāyāna scripture, there is one instance where Maitreya is called "Ajita"[26]:

AS(V) 177.25~27 = AS(R) 359.5~8 = AS(W) 734.14~18. *atha khalv āyuṣmān Śāriputro*
   Maitreyaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat: "ayam āyuṣman Maitreya
   Subhūtiḥ sthavira evam āha: 'ayaṃ Maitreyo bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ. eṣa enam
   arthaṃ visarjayiṣyatî'ti. visarjaya āyuṣmann Ajita enam arthaṃ"

   "Thereupon, the venerable Śāriputra said to Bodhisatva-Mahāsattva Maitreya as follows: 'O Venerable Maitreya, the elder Subhūti said thus: "Here is Bodhisatva-Mahāsattva Maitreya. He will solve this matter." Solve, O Venerable Ajita, this matter!'"

(7.2) The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*

In another early Mahāyāna scripture, namely the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* or Lotus Sutra, Maitreya and Ajita[27] are also identical and Bodhisatva Maitreya is addressed by the first name "Ajita". In the first chapter of the Lotus Sutra, the Buddha had entered into a state of deep meditation and emitted a light from the tuft of white hair between his eyebrows, illuminating eighteen thousand worlds in the east. Having seen this marvel, Maitreya asked Mañjuśrī about it. Thereupon, the latter explained to Maitreya the reason for this miracle. In this conversation, Mañjuśrī addressed Maitreya repeatedly as "Ajita" (KN 18.4~22.14).

The Buddha also addressed Maitreya as "Ajita" more than forty times (KN 308.1~309.10, 327.3, 332.6~333.7, 337.3~340.7, 345.7~350.13). For example:

KN 308.1f. *atha khalu bhagavān Maitreyaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam āmantrayate*
   sma: "sādhu sādhv Ajita udāram etad Ajita sthānaṃ yat tvaṃ mām
   paripṛcchasi. ..."[28]

   "Thereupon, the Lord said to Bodhisatva-Mahāsattva Maitreya: 'Excellent, excellent, O Ajita. What you, O Ajita, asked me is an important matter.'"

KN 345.7f. *atha khalu bhagavān Maitreyaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat:*
   "yaḥ kaścid Ajita kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā ..."[29]

   "Thereupon, the Lord said to Bodhisatva-Mahāsattva Maitreya: 'O Ajita, a certain man of a good family or a woman of a good family ...'"

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[26] In all the Chinese translations, there is no parallel to "Ajita", while the Tibetan translation has it; T. 8, no. 224 (by Lokaṣema), 457c5; T. 8, no. 225 (by Zhi Qian 支謙), 496c21; T. 8, no. 226 (by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念), 530c3; T. 8, no. 227, 567c16 (by Kumārajīva); T. 7, no. 220, 905c19 (by Xuanzang 玄奘); T. 7, no. 220, 832b13 (by Xuanzang); T. 8, no. 228, 647a29f.; Tib(Pk) no. 734, *Shes phyin*, mi 212a2 = Tib(D), no. 12, *Shes phyin*, ka 197a2. *tshe dang ldan pa MA PHAM PA.* The Chinese translators might have omitted this word.

[27] These names occur only in the later strata of this scripture, namely Chapters 1, 14, 16 and 17. Cf. Karashima 2015a: 164, n. 4 (3).

[28] The Chinese translations by Dharmarakṣa (T. 9, no. 263) in 286 C.E. and by Kumārajīva (T. 9, no. 262) in 406 C.E. agree with the Sanskrit version: No. 263, 112a2~4. 爾時，佛告彌勒大士："善哉，阿逸 (Ajita)！仁者所問極大微妙，優奧難量。"; No. 262, 41a14f. 爾時，釋迦牟尼佛告彌勒菩薩："善哉，善哉，阿逸多 (Ajita)！乃能問佛如是大事。"

[29] Dharmarakṣa's translation has no parallel to Ajita: No. 263, 118a6f. 於是，世尊告彌勒日："如來滅度後……"; Kumārajīva's translation has a parallel to Ajita: No. 262, 46b-3f. 爾時，佛告彌勒菩薩・摩訶薩: "阿逸多(Ajita)！如來滅後……"

Moreover, there is a case, where Bodhisatva Maitreya is replaced with Bodhisatva Ajita:

KN 347.13. *evam ukte Maitreyo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bhagavantam etad avocat ...* 348.4f. *evam ukte bhagavān Ajitaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat ...*[30]

"When it was said so, Bodhisatva-Mahāsattva Maitreya said to the Lord as follows: '...'

When it was said so, the Lord said to Bodhisatva-Mahāsattva Ajita as follows: '...' "

Thus, it is evident that the composer of the newer strata of the Lotus Sutra considered that Ajita and Maitreya were identical.

(7.3) The *Samādhirājasūtra*

Also, in another early Mahāyāna scripture, the *Samādhirājasūtra*, we find one case, where Bodhisatva Maitreya is addressed by his first name "Ajita"[31]:

Samādh(D) I 201.2~202.2 = Samādh(V) 95.1~18. *atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyāṃ velāyāṃ Maitreyaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam ābhiḥ sārūpyābhir gāthābhiḥ praty-abhāṣata: ...*

"sa paścime kāli mahābhayānake tvam eva sākṣī Ajitā mamâtra |

sthihitva śuddhe sada brahmacarye vaistārikaṃ eṣa samādhi kāhite" || 4 ||

"Thereupon, at that time, the Lord addressed Bodhisatva-Mahāsatva Maitreya with the following suitable stanzas:

"... Later at the fearful time, you, O Ajita, will become the witness of my (prediction) concerning him (i.e. Prince Candraprabha). Keeping pure *brahmacaryā* constantly, he will spread meditation widely in the world."

(7.4) The *Sarvavaitulyasaṃgraha-sūtra*

This *sūtra*, meaning "The Scripture which is a Compendium of all the *Vaitulya*", is also one of the early Mahāyāna scriptures (cf. Karashima 2015: 120f.). In this scripture, preserved in two Chinese and one Tibetan translations as well as Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia, we find many cases, where Bodhisatva Maitreya is addressed by the first name "Ajita". For example:

The *Jizhufangdengxue jing* 濟諸方等學經 by Dharmarakṣa at the beginning of the 4th century, T. 9, no. 274, 375a2f. 爾時，世尊告於彌勒菩薩・大士：“阿逸！仁識知之。正覺不久當取滅度。……”[32]

"At that time, the Lord said to Bodhisatva-"Great Being" Maitreya: 'O Ajita, you (should) know that the perfectly enlightened one will reach extinction before long. ...' "

The Tibetan translation agrees with this reading:

Tib(D), no. 227, *mDo sde*, dza 178a3. *de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po BYAMS PA la bka' stsal pa / "MI PHAM PA! de bzhin gshegs pa ring*

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[30] Dharmarakṣa's translation agrees with the Sanskrit version: No. 263, 118b1~3: 彌勒答曰……佛告阿逸 (Ajita), while Kumārajīva changed Ajita to Maitreya: No. 263, 46c20: 彌勒白佛言……佛告彌勒.

[31] In the Chinese translation of this scripture by Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 557 C.E., Ajita is changed to *Mile* 彌勒 (Maitreya): T. 15, no. 639, 567b4~13. 爾時，世尊即於是時，以其偈頌答彌勒菩薩・摩訶薩曰：“……彼人末代可怖時 惟是彌勒所證知 一切時中住梵行 能廣分別是三昧".

[32] ≒ *Dasheng Fangguang Zongchi jing* 大乘方廣總持經 (*Sarvavaipulyasaṃgraha-mahāyānasūtra*) by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E., T. 9, no. 275, 379b14f. 佛告彌勒菩薩・摩訶薩言：“阿逸多！如來不久當入涅槃。……”

por mi thogs par yongs su mya ngan las 'da' bar 'gyur gyis ... "

Another example:

T. 9, no. 274, 375a16: 爾時，世尊告彌勒菩薩：“阿逸！當知。……”[33]

"At that time, the Lord said to Bodhisatva <u>Maitreya</u>: 'O <u>Ajita</u>, you should know ...' "

Tib(D), no. 227, dza 178b3. *de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa'*
chen po B<small>YAMS</small> P<small>A</small> la bka' stsal pa / "M<small>I</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small>! ...."

In his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (abbr. Śikṣ), Śāntideva (fl. 685~763) quotes this scripture, where we find another instance of the identification of Bodhisatva Maitreya and Ajita.[34]

Śikṣ 97.6~12. *"yo 'py ayaṃ <u>Maitreya</u>! ... tat kiṃ manyase <u>'jita</u>! ..." <u>Maitreyâha</u> "no hîdaṃ*
bhagavan!" bhagavān āha "yāni mayā <u>Maitreya</u>! bodhisatvacaryāṃ caratā ..."
<u>Maitreyâha</u>: "no hîdaṃ bhagavan!" bhagavān āha: "tvaṃ tāvad <u>Ajita</u>! ..."[35]

"'As regards (the full knowledge), <u>O Maitreya</u>, ... What do you think, <u>O Ajita</u>? ...'
<u>Maitreya</u> said: 'It is not so, O Lord!' The Lord said: 'While, <u>O Maitreya</u>, I was
practising Bodhisatva-practice ...' <u>Maitreya</u> said: 'It is not so, O Lord!' The Lord
said: 'You now, <u>O Ajita</u>, ...'"

Thus, it is evident that Maitreya and Ajita[36] are identical in this *sūtra* as well.

(7.5) The *Kuśalamūlasaṃparigraha-sūtra*

The *Kuśalamūlasaṃparigraha-sūtra* is preserved in a Chinese (T. 16, no. 657 by
Kumārajīva in 406 C.E.) and Tibetan translations (Tib[Pk], no. 769; Tib[D], no. 101). In the
Chinese translation, we find many cases, where Bodhisatva Maitreya is addressed by the
name "Ajita":

139a23f. 佛以此華與<u>彌勒</u>(Maitreya)，言：“<u>阿逸多</u>(Ajita)！汝持此華 ...”

"The Buddha gave these flowers to <u>Maitreya</u> and said: 'O <u>Ajita</u>, you (should) take
these flowers ...'"

139c9f. 佛…告<u>彌勒</u>曰：“…阿逸多！…”

"The Buddha said to <u>Maitreya</u>: 'O <u>Ajita</u> ...'"

140a-1f. 爾時，佛告<u>彌勒</u>菩薩言：“阿逸多！何等名爲眞菩薩心？…”

"At that time, the Buddha said to Bodhisatva <u>Maitreya</u>: 'O <u>Ajita</u>, what is the true
mind of a *bodhisatva*? ...'"

However, in the Tibetan translation, Maitreya is replaced entirely with the name
"Ajita" (M<small>A</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small>):

Tib(D), no. 101, nga 48a4. *de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis byang chub sems dpa' <u>M<small>A</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small></u>*
la: "<u>M<small>A</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small></u>! khyod kyis ... "

"Then, the Lord (said) to Bodhisatva <u>Ajita</u>: 'O <u>Ajita</u>, you ...'"

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[33] ≒ T. 9, no. 275, 379b27. 爾時，佛告彌勒菩薩・摩訶薩言：“阿逸多！……”

[34] These passages are quoted also in the *Bhāvanākrama* by Kamalaśīla (ca. 740~795); Bhk(I) 196.

[35] T. 9, no. 274, 377a2~10. "是故阿逸！……於阿逸意所趣云何？ ... " 彌勒答曰: "不也。世尊！" "所爲至
誠眞實行乎？爲不行是得佛道耶？" 彌勒報曰: "不也。世尊！" 佛語: "阿逸！仁本宿世……"; T. 9, no.
275, 381a26~b7. "阿逸多！菩薩如是 ... 何以故？阿逸多！ ... " 彌勒白佛言: "世尊！誠如 ... " 佛告阿逸多:
"我 ..." ... "如是，世尊！" 佛告阿逸多: "如汝所説。 ...”; Tib(D), no. 227, dza 183a3~6 "... *M<small>I</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small>! ... M<small>I</small>*
<small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small> 'di ji snyam du sems ...?" gsol pa: "bcom ldan 'das! de ni ma lags so." bka' stsal pa: "M<small>I</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small>!
ngas pha rol tu phyin pa drug dang ldan pa'i mdo gang dag bstan pa de dag ci ...?" gsol pa "bcom ldan 'das!
byang chub thob par 'gyur ba lags so" bka' stsal pa: "M<small>I</small> <small>PHAM</small> <small>PA</small>! khyod kyis ..."

[36] In a Sanskrit fragment of this *sūtra* probably from Khādalik, dating to the 5th~6th centuries C.E., now
preserved in the British Library, we find the vocative *Ajita*; see BLSF II.1. 400, Or.15010/43 *recto* 6.

49b1f. *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* MA PHAM PA *la bka' stsal pa: "*MA PHAM PA*! ... "*

"(The Buddha) said to Bodhisatva-Mahāsatva <u>Ajita</u>: 'O Ajita, ...'"

51b1. "MA PHAM PA*! sems bskyed pa de yang gang zhe na*?"

"What is, <u>O Ajita</u>, the generation of aspiration?"

It is not clear which of the Chinese and Tibetan translations has retained more of the original form.

(7.6) The *Amitābhavyūha* alias the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*

As I have demonstrated elsewhere (Karashima 2013a), the title of this *sūtra*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, which appears only in the Sanskrit manuscripts, was added later as a subtitle, and it originally had the title of *Amitābhavyūha*, *Amitābhasya vyūha* or the like, and the Chinese translations could have also been entitled as such. Transliterations found in the oldest Chinese translation of this scripture, namely the *Da Amituo jing* (大阿彌陀經; T. 12, no. 362), which was most probably translated by Zhiloujiachen 支婁迦讖 or Lokakṣema (fl. ca 170~190 C.E.), shows that its underlying text had been transmitted in Gāndhārī[37] and therefore, we may assume that this scripture dates back to around the beginning of the first century. The second oldest Chinese translation of the same scripture, namely the *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (T. 12, no. 361) by Zhi Qian (fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.), is none other than a "modified version" of the *Da Amituo jing.* These two Chinese translations retain the archaic features of the *sūtra*. The third Chinese translation, namely the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (T. 12, no. 360), which is most likely the work of Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (359~429 C.E.) and Baoyun 寶雲 and hence dating from 421 C.E., is, content-wise, close to the above two older translations. The later Chinese translations, namely the *Wuliangshourulai hui* 無量壽如來會 (T. 11, no. 310.5), translated between 706~713 C.E. by Bodhiruci (fl. 693~713) and the *Dasheng wuliangshou zhuangyan jing* 大乘無量壽莊嚴經 (T. 12, no. 363), translated in 991 C.E. by Faxian 法賢 or Dharmabhadra, the Tibetan translation (Tib[Pk], no. 783; Tib[D], no. 115) and the Sanskrit version show changes in many respects.

Interestingly enough, the Buddha's interlocutors change from Ānanda to Ajita in the last quarter of this text. In the part, beginning with the phrase "The Lord told Bodhisatva-Mahāsatva Ajita" (Sukh[F] 67, 6f.) until the end of the *sūtra*, the Buddha talked to Ajita. On the other hand, the name of Maitreya is referred to only once in the whole text at its beginning on the list of participants of the gathering.

Where the Sanskrit version reads Ajita, the earliest two Chinese translations have the corresponding transliteration *Ayi* 阿逸 (*Ajit(a)*), while, in the third (No. 360) and fifth (No. 363) Chinese translations, Ajita is rendered totally as *Mile* 彌勒 (Maitreya) and *Cishi* 慈氏 (Maitreya), respectively. In the fourth one (No. 310.5), *Mile* 彌勒 (Maitreya) is used in the descriptive parts, while the transliteration *Ayiduo* 阿逸多 (*Ajita*) is retained in the dialogue as an appellation. These confusions demonstrate the fact that Maitreya and Ajita were regarded as one person.

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[37] Cf. Karashima 2013a: 124.

(8) Conclusion: The Mahāsāṃghikas and the Mahāyāna scriptures

We have already seen above (§§ 1~4) that, according to the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins, Ajita and Maitreya are different persons, while, according to the Mahāsāṃghikas and Sāṃmitīyas, they are one and the same person. On the other hand, I have demonstrated elsewhere that the Mahāsāṃghikas composed the *vaitulya* scriptures, which were relabelled as Mahāyāna-scriptures (Karashima 2015). The Sāṃmitīyas originated from the Vātsīputrīyas who are ridiculed in one such *vaitulya*-Mahāyāna scripture, thus: "Like children (*putra*), they will all say that self (*ātman* or *pudgala*) exists but will not say anything about the feature of emptiness. Therefore, they will be called the Vātsīputrīyas."[38] In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and the *Samādhirājasūtra*, the notion of *pudgala* is criticised explicitly. Therefore, it is impossible to imagine that the Sāṃmitīyas composed the early Mahāyāna scriptures. Although we still do not know how the other Buddhist schools, such as Dharmaguptakas, Mahīśāsakas *etc.*, regarded Ajita and Maitreya, we may take their above-examined identification in both Mahāsāṃghika literature and Mahāyāna scriptures as reliable evidence of the origins of early Mahāyāna scriptures from the Mahāsāṃghikas.

In this connection, I must point out that there are also many Mahāyāna scriptures, where Bodhisatva Maitreya is called "Maitreya", such as in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*[39], *Lalitavistara*[40] and in many parts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā etc.* However, it does not necessarily mean these texts were related to the Sarvāstivādins.

[41]The notion and worship of contemporaneous *buddha*s of other worlds, such as Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Bhaiṣajyaguru were possible in the tenets of the Mahāsāṃghikas, while they were irreconcilable with those of the Sarvāstivādins. On the other hand, the notions of the next Buddha, namely Maitreya, and also those, becoming future *buddha*s, though not simultaneously but one after another (such as the one thousand *buddha*s in the "Blessed Aeon" [*Bhadrakalpa*]), do not contradict the Sarvāstivāda doctrines. I assume, then, that the worship of Buddha Maitreya and the wish to meet him, were popular particularly amongst the followers of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism, because the worship of Amitābha etc. in other Buddha worlds was unacceptable in its tenets. Needless to say, the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhists could and did worship both the future and contemporaneous *buddha*s. This may explain why Maitreya was so popular in the literature and arts of the Northern Silk Road as well as in the Yogācāra school, which was none other than the result of the amalgamation of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma and Mahāyāna thought, which was founded by Vasubandhu and his elder brother Asaṅga, who is said to have received teachings from Bodhisatva Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven —— hence, some works of the Yogācāra school are ascribed to a mythical

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[38] Karashima 2015: 139.

[39] Vkn § 3.49. *tatra bhagavān Maitreyaṃ bodhisatvam āmantrayate sma: "gaccha tvaṃ MaitreyaVimalakīrter Licchaver glānaparipṛcchakaḥ.";* § 12.16 *tatra bhagavān Maitreyaṃ bodhisatvam āmantrayate sma: "imāṃ te 'haṃ Maitreya ..."*

[40] LV 422.7~11. *atha khalu Maitreyo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bhagavantam etad avocat ... bhagavān āha: "gambhīraṃ Maitreya! dharmacakraṃ ..."* This text is assumed to have been composed probably in ca. 150 C.E. in Gandhāra by a monk of the Mahāsāṃghika school and its title shifted from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyāna*. Cf. Karashima 2015: 123.

[41] Cf. Karashima 2015: 145f.

author named Maitreya. In this connection, it is also noteworthy that Faxian (法顯 337~422 C.E.), who reached Mathurā in 404 C.E., reports, in his travelogue that there, "Mahāyanists made offerings to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Mañjuśrī, Avalokitaśvara *etc.*" (T. 51, no. 2085, 859b27f. 摩訶衍人則供養般若波羅蜜、文殊師利、觀世音等). Thus, Maitreya is not listed as an object of worship for Mahāyanists. In comparison to the Sarvāstivādins, both the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhists might have been unenthusiastic towards Buddha Maitreya.

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Vkn = *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa: A Sanskrit Edition Based upon the Manuscript Newly Found at the Potala Palace*, Tokyo 2006: The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University.

vs = verse

< > = omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the MS.

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one, e.g. *ratnāmayā* (*v.l.* °*ān*).

* = a hypothetical form which is not attested anywhere, e.g. *snāru

≒ = α ≒ β: β is almost the same as α

← = α ← β: the Sanskrit form (*or* Chinese character) β should be changed to α

On *buddha* / Buddha: In this article, "*buddha*" applies to any unspecified one, while "Buddha" indicates a particular individual (e.g. the Buddha Śākyamuni)

The relationship between
Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhism
indicated in the colophon of the Chinese translation of
the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas[*]

Seishi KARASHIMA

(1) The origin of the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas[1]

In the report on his journey to India, Faxian (法顯 337~422 C.E.) describes how he saw the manuscript of the *Vinaya* in Pātaliputra and copied it:

> [2]From that realm of Vārāṇasī, he went east back to Pāṭaliputra. Faxian originally sought the *Vinaya* (texts), but, in the countries of North India, they had been transmitted orally from master to master and (therefore), there was no text to be copied. That is why he went so far, until he came to Central India (Madhyadeśa), where he obtained a *Vinaya* text in a Mahāyāna *saṅghārāma* (i.e. monastery). That was the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas, which the whole Community had followed, from the beginning (of its history), when the Buddha was still alive in the world. Its original text was handed down in the Jetavana Monastery. The other eighteen schools have their own traditions, which are essentially the same and do not differ from one another. There are, however, minor differences, some of which resulted from adopting and rejecting (themes in the *Vinaya*). However, this (i.e. the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas) is the most detailed and complete. He also acquired an excerpt of a *Vinaya*, comprising of (a number of characters corresponding to) about seven thousand (*Śloka-*) verses (i.e. 32 characters × 7,000 = 224,000 characters); this is the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāsti-(vādins), which monks in China are following. (This text) has been handed down also from master to master orally, (and) never written down in letters. Furthermore, he obtained the *Saṃyukta-abhidharma-hṛdaya*(*śāstra*) (雜阿毘曇心), comprising about six thousand verses (i.e. 32 characters × 6,000 = 192,000

[1] Cf. BhiVin(Ma-L), pp. If.

[2] T. 51, no. 2085, 864b16~29. 從彼波羅㮈國東行還到巴連弗邑。法顯本求戒律。而北天竺諸國皆師師口傳無本可寫。是以遠涉乃至中天竺。於此摩訶衍僧伽藍得一部律。是摩訶僧祇衆律。佛在世時最初大衆所行也。於祇洹精舍傳其本。自餘十八部各有師資。大歸不異。然小小不同。或用開塞。但此最是廣說備悉者。復得一部抄律可七千偈。是薩婆多衆律。即此秦地衆僧所行者也。亦皆師師口相傳授，不書之於文字。復於此衆中得《雜阿毘曇心》可六千偈。又得一部經二千五百偈。又得一卷《方等般泥洹經》可五千偈。又得摩訶僧祇阿毘曇。故法顯住此三年，學梵書、梵語，寫律。

characters) in the same community (in the Mahāyāna monastery); he acquired one scripture, comprising two thousand five hundred verses (i.e. 32 characters × 2,500 = 80,000 characters) too; he acquired also the *Vaitulya-Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (i.e. the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), comprising about five thousand verses (i.e. 32 characters × 5,000 = 160,000 characters); he obtained the *Abhidharma*(*piṭaka*?) of the Mahāsāṃghikas as well. Hence, Faxian remained there for three years (and) learnt the *Brahma* script, the *Brahma* language and copied the *Vinaya* (texts).

Faxian reached Pāṭaliputra in 405 C.E. and remained there for three years. After returning to China, he, together with a native-born North Indian, namely Buddhabhadra (359~429 C.E.), translated the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas into Chinese. In the colophon to this translation (T. 22, no. 1425, 548a29~b25), he writes as follows[3]:

Once an evil king reigned in Central India for a short period of time. The *śramaṇa*s fled in all directions in order to escape from him, and the monks, who (had mastered) the "three baskets" (*Tripiṭaka*), scattered. When the poor evil (king) died, a good king came to the throne. He requested the *śramaṇa*s to return to the land and he worshipped them.

At that time, in the city of Pāṭaliputra, there lived five hundred monks and they wanted to make a judgement (*duanshi* 斷事; *viniścaya*), but there were neither *Vinaya* experts (i.e. *Vinayadhara*), *Vinaya*-texts nor transmitted precedents. Therefore, they sent somebody to the Jetavana Monastery, where he copied a *Vinaya* text, which has survived until today. Faxian (i.e. I) copied this *Brahma* (i.e. Sanskrit) text (梵本)[4] in the Devarāja Monastery (*Tianwang jingshe* 天王精舍), south of the *stūpa* of King Aśoka in the city of Pāṭaliputra in the land of Magadha.

Having returned to Yangzhou (楊州) (in China), I started translating it (into Chinese) in the 11th month of the 12th year of the (era) of Yixi (義熙) of the Jin (Dynasty) in the year *bingchen* (of the sixty-year cycle, i.e. 416 C.E.) in the Douchang Monastery (闘場寺)[5] and completed the whole (translation) by the end of the 2nd month of the 14th year (i.e. 418 C.E.). Together with a Chan master (*chanshi* 禪師) (namely, Buddhabhadra), I translated the *Brahma* (i.e. Sanskrit) text into Chinese. I write these explicitly (*gu* 故).[6]

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[3] Cf. BhiVin(Ma-L), p. II.

[4] Some editions read *hu* 胡 instead of *fan* 梵. This change can be found everywhere in Buddhist texts. Some scholars have suggested implausibly that *fan* 梵 means *Brāhmī* script, while *hu* 胡 means *Kharoṣṭhī* script. *Hu* 胡 means "people or things from Northern and Western countries (as seen from China), including India." In the Tang Period, *hu* 胡 designated almost exclusively Sogdian. In Chinese Buddhist texts, *fan* 梵 seems to mean "Sanskrit" or "traditional Indian", while *hu* 胡 means generally "Indian" (also "Central Asian"). Consequently, *fanyu* 梵語 and *huyu* 胡語 mean "Sanskrit" and "Indian language", respectively; and *fanben* 梵本 and *huben* 胡本 mean "Sanskrit text" and "Indian text", respectively. Thus, there is a small but not a significant difference between these two expressions.

[5] *Douchang si* 闘場寺 is identical to the famous monastery *Daochang si* 道場寺; see Deeg 2005: 26. This colophon is quoted in Sengyou (僧祐 445~518 C.E.)'s *Chusanzangji Ji* (出三藏記集 [Collection of Records on the Translations of the *Tripiṭaka*]; T. 55, no. 2145, 510~518 C.E.), where the name of *Daochang si* 道場寺 (21a9) is found instead of *Douchang si* 闘場寺.

[6] 摩訶僧祇律私記: 中天竺昔時，暫有惡王御世。諸沙門避之四奔。三藏比丘星離。惡王既死，更有善王。還請諸沙門還國，供養。時巴連弗邑有五百僧，欲斷事，而無律師，又無律文，無所承案。即遣人到祇洹精舍。寫得律本于今傳賞。法顯於摩竭提國巴連弗邑阿育王塔南天王精舍寫得梵(*v.l.* 胡)本。還楊州，以晉(*v.l.* -)義熙十二年歲在丙辰十一(*v.l.* 十)月，於闘場寺出之。至十四年二月末都訖。共禪師譯

The colophon in question, which further describes the tradition of the Buddha's teaching and the emergence of different schools[7], was, in my opinion, indeed written by Faxian, himself. In particular, the expression *gujizhi* 故記之("I write these explicitly") confirms the authenticity. This colophon, which is also quoted in Sengyou (僧祐 445~518 C.E.)'s *Chusanzangji Ji* (出三藏記集 [Collection of Records on the Translations of the *Tripiṭaka*]; T. 55, no. 2145, 510~518 C.E.) in a modified form (20c25~21a10), is very important for the study of the history of Buddhism, especially the relationship between the school of the Mahāsāṃghikas and so-called Mahāyāna Buddhism. The information, which indicates that the original manuscript of this *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas was actually handed down in the Jetavana Monastery, is also confirmed by Faxian's following note at the end of the fourth chapter of the commentaries on the *pācattika* rules in his translation of this *Vinaya* text. There, the summary (*uddāna*) ends with the sentence: "The last one is (the commentary on the 40th *pācattika*, namely) eating in a group (*gaṇabhojana*)".[8] Nevertheless, there is no commentary on this *pācattika* rule in the Chinese translation. Instead, a note written in small characters is inserted: "The Sanskrit text in the Jetavana Monastery was eaten

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梵(*v.l.* 胡)本(*v.l.* -)爲秦焉。故記之。

[7] T. 22, no. 1425, 548b9~25. 佛泥洹後，大迦葉集律藏，爲大師宗，具持八萬法藏。大迦葉滅[*v.l.* 滅度]後，次尊者阿難亦具持八萬法藏，次尊者末田地亦具持八萬法藏，次尊者舍那婆斯亦具持八萬法藏，次尊者優波崛(*v.l.* 掘)多，世尊記無相佛，如降魔因緣中説，而不([= *v.l.*]←亦)能具持八萬法藏。於是遂有五部名生。初曇摩崛(*v.l.* 掘)多別爲一部。次彌沙塞別爲一部。次迦葉維復爲一部。次薩婆多——"薩婆多"者，晉言"説一切有"。所以名一切有者，自上諸部義宗各異，薩婆多者言："過去、未來、現在、中陰各自有性。"，故名一切有。於是，五部並立，紛然競起。各以自義爲是。時阿育王言："我今何以測其是非？" 於是，問僧佛法斷事云何？皆言："法應從多。" 王言："若爾者，當行籌，知何衆多。" 於是，行籌。取本衆籌者甚多。以衆多故，故名摩訶僧祇。摩訶僧祇者，大衆名(*v.l.* -)也。(After the Buddha's [entering *pari-*]*nirvāṇa*, Mahākāśyapa gathered together the collection of monastic rules and became the great master, holding the whole collection of the eight thousand teachings. After Mahākāśyapa's death, as his successor, Venerable Ānanda, as well, held the whole collection of the eight thousand teachings; as his successor, Venerable Madhyāntika, as well, held the whole collection of the eight thousand teachings; as his successor, Venerable Śāṇavāsin, as well, held the whole collection of the eight thousand teachings; his successor, Venerable Upagupta, whom the Lord had predicted to become a *buddha* but without the [thirty-two] marks [characteristic of a *buddha*] — as related in the story concerning the defeat of Māra, however, could not hold the whole collection of the eight thousand teachings. Thereupon, the names of the five groups [*nikāya*s] came to exist. Firstly, the Dharmaguptakas became one group; then, the Mahīśāsakas became one group; then, the Kāśyapīyas became one group; then, the Sarvāsti[vādin]s — "Sarvāsti" meaning "maintaining that all [things] exist". The reason why it was named "all [things] exist" is as follows: the doctrines of the above-mentioned groups differed from one another, [and] the Sarvāsti[vādin]s maintained that each of the past, future, present [*dharma*s] and intermediate existences [*antarābhava*] had its own definitive nature [*svabhāva*]. Therefore, it was named "[maintaining that] all [things] exist". Thereupon, the five groups co-existed, disputing one another, [and] each believed its own doctrine as being right. At that time, King Aśoka thought: "How can I judge which one is right or wrong?" Thereupon, he asked the Community how a judgement should be made, according to the Buddha's rule. All said: "According to the law, [we] should follow the majority [rule]." The king said: "If so, [voting by] distributing tickets should be carried out to know which [group] is in the majority." Thereupon, tickets were distributed. Those, who took the tickets of the group in question, were great in number. Because of its being extremely many, [the group] was named "Mahāsāṃghika". "Mahāsāṃghika" means "a great multitude".).
Concerning the lineage of the great masters, down to Upagupta, cf. Strong 1992: 57ff.

[8] T. 22, no. 1425, 362b23. 別衆食在後. In the *Vinaya* texts of other schools, there is an explanation to this rule, such as Vin IV 71~75.

by insects (or small animals). (Therefore,) the rule concerning eating in a group is missing."[9] This statement must have come from Faxian, himself.

Concerning this Mahāyāna monastery and the followers of Mahāyāna in Pāṭaliputra, Faxian reports in his travelogue as follows:

A brahmin, namely *Lâ tâ si bwâ mi* (羅汰私婆迷; *...svāmī*?), who is a Mahāyāna follower, lives in this city. He is very astute, very learned, and there is nothing he does not understand, and he lives in purity. The king worships him as his teacher. When (the king) goes to (him) to offer greetings, (the king) dares not sit next to him. If the king touches his hand out of affection and reverence, the brahmin immediately washes it. He is about fifty years old or more and people in the whole country revere him. Thanks to this singular person's propagation of the Buddha's teachings, heretics have no chance of humiliating the Buddhist Community.

On one side of the *stūpa* of King Aśoka, the Mahāyāna *saṅghārāma* (摩訶衍僧 伽藍; "Mahāyāna Monastery") was built, which is very magnificent. (Nearby?) there is a Hīnayāna monastery, where, in total, there are six to seven hundred monks, whose conduct is refined and elegant. *Śramaṇa*s of eminent virtue and scholars from the four directions, who seek the doctrines (of the Buddha's teachings), visit this monastery.

The master of the (above-mentioned) brahmin, who is named after Mañjuśrī and is venerated by all *śramaṇa*s of eminent virtue and monks of the Mahāyāna in this country, also lives in this *saṅghārāma* (i.e. monastery).

Amongst all the countries in Central India (*Madhyadeśa*), this (capital) city of the country is the greatest. The people are very rich and compete with one another in charity and justice. Every year, on the 8th day of the second month, there is a procession with (Buddha) images. (People) make four-wheeled floats (mounted) with five-storied (decorations), made from braided bamboo ... Each looks like a *stūpa* ... On all four sides (of the platforms of the floats), niches are made. In each (niche), there is a seated Buddha (statue), which is flanked by (two) *bodhisatva*s. There are around twenty of these floats. ... The (above-mentioned) brahmin comes and invites the Buddha (i.e. the Buddha images). (The floats) with the Buddha (images) enter the city one after another. Once they enter the city, they remain there for two nights. Throughout the night, people worship them by burning lamps, dancing and music.[10]

It is very significant that Faxian copied the manuscript of the Mahāsāṃghikas' *Vinaya* in a Mahāyāna monastery namely the Devarāja Monastery where Mahāyāna monks were living. As we have seen above, this *Vinaya* manuscript had been brought from the Jetavana Monastery to Pāṭaliputra not to be preserved in the library there, but in order to make

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[9] T. 22, no. 1425, 362b24. 祇洹精舍中梵(*v.l.* 胡)本蟲噉，脱無此別衆食戒.

[10] T. 51, no. 2085, 862b2~21. 有一大乘婆羅門子名羅汰私<婆>迷，住此城裏。爽悟多智，事無不達。以清 淨自居。國王宗敬師事，若往問訊，不敢並坐。王設以愛敬心執手，執手已，婆羅門輒自灌洗。年可五 十餘，擧國瞻仰。賴此一人弘宣佛法，外道不能得加陵衆僧。於阿育王塔邊造摩訶衍僧伽藍，甚嚴麗。 亦有小乘寺，都合六七百僧衆，威儀庠序可觀，四方高德沙門及學問人，欲求義理皆詣此寺。婆羅門子 師亦名文殊師利，國內大德沙門、諸大乘比丘皆宗仰焉，亦住此僧伽藍。凡諸中國，唯此國城邑為大。 民人富盛，競行仁義。年年常以建卯月八日行像。作四輪車縛竹作五層。… 其狀如塔。…… 四邊作 龕，皆有坐佛菩薩立侍。可有二十車。… 婆羅門子來請佛。佛次第入城。入城内再宿。通夜然燈伎樂 供養。

judgements for the Community. From all these facts, we may conclude that the Mahāyāna monks in the Devarāja Monastery in Pāṭaliputra belonged to the Mahāsāṃghika school as well, and that this monastery was a Mahāsāṃghika-cum-Mahāyāna monastery. Presumably, other Mahāyāna monks in this kingdom, who worshipped master Mañjuśrī of that monastery, were also Mahāsāṃghikas. In the passage quoted above, Faxian referred to a Hīnayāna monastery in contrast to this Mahāyāna(-cum-Mahāsāṃghika) *saṅghārāma*. The former must have belonged to a school other than that of the Mahāsāṃghikas. In his travelogue, Faxian writes that, in Pāṭaliputra, there was also an orally-transmitted text of a *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivadins, comprising (a number of characters corresponding to) about seven thousand (*śloka-*) verses (i.e. the length of which corresponds to about seven-eighths of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*). He was somehow able to acquire its written version or more probably, he wrote down this orally-transmitted text in that very Hīnayāna monastery. It is evident that this monastery belonged to the Sarvāstivadins.

(2) The Mahāsāṃghikas and the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism

The Devarāja Monastery in Pāṭaliputra is also mentioned in the colophon to Faxian's translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. As Faxian writes in his travelogue, he had obtained a manuscript of this *sūtra* in Pāṭaliputra as well. Unfortunately, the original colophon is lost. However, it is quoted in Sengyou's *Chusanzangji Ji* 出三藏記集 (Collection of Records on the Translations of the *Tripiṭaka*), as mentioned above, though it is likely that the quotation is the result of Sengyou's revision as in the case of the above-cited colophon to the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas. The quoted colophon reads as follows:

[11]No. 18: Report on the (*Mahā*)*Parinirvāṇa*-(*sūtra*), (consisting) of six scrolls, quoted from the colophon to the scripture

When, in the Devarāja Monastery (*Tianwang jingshe* 天王精舍), south of the *stūpa* of King Aśoka in the city of Pāṭaliputra in the land of Magadha, an *upāsaka* (lay follower), (named) *Gja-lâ-sien* (伽羅先) met the Chinese monk, Shi Faxian (i.e. me), who had travelled from afar to this country in search of the Dharma, he was deeply moved and, thereupon, copied this "Great *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the secret treasure of the Tathāgata" for (me). He wished that this scripture be spread to China and that all living beings attain one and the same Dharma-body of the Tathāgata.

On the first (day) of the 10th month of the 13th year of the (era of) Yixi 義熙 (i.e. 417 C.E.), (we) began to translate this *Vaitulya-Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in the Daochang Monastery (道場寺), founded by the Minister for Construction (*sikong*司空), (namely) Xie Shi 謝石 (327~388 C.E.) and completed the revision (of the text) on the second day of the first month of the 14th year (of the era of Yixi). (On that day,) Chan master Buddhabhadra (359~429/430 C.E.) took the Indian text in his hands and Baoyun 寶雲 (376~449/450 C.E.) translated (the text recited by Buddhabhadra). At that time, two hundred and fifty people were sitting (there).

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[11] T. 55, no. 2145, 60b2~11.「六卷泥洹記」第十八　出經後記：摩竭提國，巴連弗邑，阿育王塔，天王精舍，優婆塞伽羅先見晉土道人釋法顯遠遊此土，爲求法故，深感其人。即爲寫此《大般泥洹經如來祕藏》，願令此經流布晉土，一切衆生悉成平等如來法身。義熙十三年十月一日，於謝司空石所立道場寺，出此《方等大般泥洹經》。至十四年正月二(*v.l.* 一)日挍定盡訖。禪師佛大跋陀手執胡(*v.l.* 梵)本，寶雲傳譯。于時，坐有二百五十人。

This colophon is very important for the research of the origin and transmission of this Mahāyāna scripture. It is particularly interesting and significant that a lay devotee of the Mahāsāṃghika-cum-Mahāyāna monastery, namely the Devarāja Monastery, copied the manuscript of this scripture for Faxian. Although the colophon says nothing about where the manuscript had been preserved, the fact that not a monk but rather a lay follower copied this scripture, whose content was radical and critical of the authorities of the Community[12], shows that the manuscript had been kept not in the monastery but in a lay follower's private collection. This assumption is supported by another travelogue by Zhimeng 智猛(~454 C.E.). According to his biography, this Chinese monk departed Chang'an 長安 in 404 C.E., visited Kashmir, Magadha, Kapilavastu and even South India, and took the way back to China in 424 C.E. Around 433 C.E., he reached Dunhuang and in the same year, in Liangzhou 涼州, he translated the same Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* into Chinese. He wrote a travelogue, called *Youxing Waiguo zhuan* 遊行外國傳 [A Report on Travels in Foreign Countries], which is now lost, but must have been very well known, because it is mentioned even in the literature catalogue of the official history of the Sui Dynasty, namely the *Suishu Jingjizhi* 隋書經籍志 (636 C.E.). Although, unfortunately, Zhimeng's translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, consisting of 20 scrolls, is lost, the part of his travelogue, in which the manuscript of the text is mentioned, is quoted in Sengyou's *Chusanzangji Ji* 出三藏記集 (510~518 C.E.) as follows:

> [13]No. 19: Report on the (*Mahā*)*Parinirvāṇa*-(*sūtra*), (consisting) of twenty scrolls, quoted from Zhimeng (智猛; ~454 C.E.)'s "A Report on Travels in Foreign Countries" (*You Waiguo Zhuan* 遊外國傳)
>
> Zhimeng's biography says: In the land of Vaiśālī, the *Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna* are studied separately. From the city of Dili 帝利 (?), (Zhimeng) arrived in the city of Pāṭaliputra. There lived a brahmin who had numerous relatives. He was by nature very astute, devoted to the *Mahāyāna* and, having read (*Mahāyāna*?) texts extensively, was completely versed in everything. In his house, there was a silver *stūpa*, which was 8 *chi* 尺 long, 8 *chi* wide and 3 *zhang* 丈 high (i.e. approximately 2.6 × 2.6 × 10 m). In the niches on its four sides, there were silver statues, which were about 3 *chi* 尺 high (i.e. about 1 m). He owned many (manuscripts) of *Mahāyāna sūtra*s and worshipped them in various ways. The brahmin asked Zhimeng where he came from. He replied that he came from China. (The brahmin) asked whether *Mahāyāna* was being studied in China or not. (Zhimeng) replied: "Only the *Mahāyāna* is studied there." (The brahmin) was amazed and said in deepest admiration: "Wonderful! Doesn't it mean that *bodhisatva*s have gone there to teach (the people)?" Zhimeng then obtained an Indian manuscript of the (*Mahā*)*Parinirvāṇa*-(*sūtra*) in his house. Having returned (to China), he translated (this *sūtra*) in 20 scrolls in Liangzhou 涼州.

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[12] Cf. Karashima 2007, esp. 76f.

[13] T. 55, no. 2145, 60b12~22. 「二十卷泥洹記」 第十九　出智猛《遊外國傳》　《智猛傳》云: 毘耶離國有大小乘學不同。帝利城次華氏邑。有婆羅門，氏族甚多。其稟性敏悟，歸心大乘，博攬衆典，無不通達。家有銀塔，縱廣八尺，高三丈，四龕銀像高三尺餘。多有大乘經，種種供養。婆羅門問猛言：“從何來？” 答言：“秦地來。” 又問：“秦地有大乘學不？” 即答：“皆大乘學。” 其乃驚愕，雅歎云：“希有。將非菩薩往化耶？” 智猛即就其家得泥洹胡(*v.l.* 梵)本，還於涼州出得二十卷。

The above-quoted report concerning Pāṭaliputra by Faxian and Zhimeng's travelogue were amalgamated in Zhimeng's biography.[14] According to this biography, Faxian had received his manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in the house of the same brahmin as Zhimeng received another copy of the same scripture; and Zhimeng acquired a manuscript of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas as well. This information does not appear very credible. However, if one considers that Zhimeng visited Pāṭaliputra only about ten years after Faxian, it is not impossible that the lay follower, who had given Faxian the manuscript, was the same brahmin, from whom Zhimeng obtained another manuscript, or one of his relatives.

The Devarāja Monastery in Pāṭaliputra is mentioned as well in a *Vinaya* text of the Mahāsāṃghikas, namely the *Shelifu wen jing* 舍利弗問經 (*Śāriputra-paripṛcchā*; T. 24, no. 1465). In this text, the Buddha said to Śāriputra as follows:

> A certain son of a noble man, named *Puṇyatara, who had accumulated good deeds from his previous lives and had been reborn into a brahmin family, wished to leave his home and practise the supreme (Buddha-)Path. He followed Mahāmaudgalyāyaṇa and asked him for ordination (as a monk) at the Devarāja Monastery (*Tianwang jingshe* 天王精舍) in Pāṭaliputra.[15]

Funayama[16] had studied this text thoroughly and concluded that this *Vinaya* text is not a genuine translation from an Indian original, but rather a fabrication created in China, definitely after Faxian's translation of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas, as the name of "Devarāja Monastery" was borrowed from the colophon of Faxian's translation of the *Vinaya* cited above. Funayama also doubts its authenticity as a *Vinaya* text of the Mahāsāṃghikas from the fact that the Bodhisatva Mañjuśrī is mentioned at the end of the text and the expression *zhufo* 諸佛 ("many [simultaneously living] *buddha*s") occurs also in the same text, both of which are elements characteristic of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

However, this conventional and stereotypical way of asserting a sharp distinction between the Hīnayāna-school(s) and the Mahāyāna, does not correspond with reality. What the above-cited reports and the colophons indicate is, rather, a symbiosis of the Mahāsāṃghikas and the followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism (at least) in Pāṭaliputra. This symbiosis is illustrated clearly in the case of the aforementioned Master Mañjuśrī, who dwelt in the Devarāja Monastery, whose monks were Mahāsāṃghikas, and was revered by all the Mahāyāna monks in the country. At the same time, a lay follower of the same monastery copied a manuscript of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* just for Faxian. Such symbiosis may have easily led to a close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhism, as reflected in the above-mentioned *Śāriputra-paripṛcchā*[17].

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[14] T. 55, no. 2145, 113c6, 9; T. 50, no. 2059, 343c2. This biography is quoted in the later catalogues of the Buddhist Canon: T. 55, no. 2154. 521c27f., 522a2f.; T. 55, no. 2157, 818c7f., 10f.

[15] T. 24, no. 1465, 902b4~7: 佛言："有長者子，名日分若多羅，宿有善根，生婆羅門家，樂欲捨家，修無上道。隨大目犍連，於巴連弗邑天王精舍，求受具戒。

[16] Funayama 2007: 97f.

[17] The close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Mahāyāna in Pāṭaliputra is demonstrated also by the following description in Xuanchang (玄暢; 416~484 C.E.)'s biography of Harivarman (ca. 250~350 C.E.), the author of the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* (or *Tattvasiddhi*; *Chengshilun* 成實論; T. 32, no. 1646): "At that time, monks of the Mahāsāṃghikas, who were dwelling in Pāṭaliputra, all followed the Mahāyāna, considering it to be the basis of the five schools (五部; *pañca nikāyāḥ*)" from a quotation in Sengyou's *Chusanzangji Ji* 出三藏記集

Such a symbiosis existed probably not only in Pāṭaliputra but also in other places, as the Schøyen Collection illustrates, which contains many fragments of Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit and Gāndhārī, including various Mahāyāna texts such as the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, side-by-side with many fragments of the *Vinaya* of the *Mahāsāṃghika-*(*Lokottaravādin*)s[18]. These fragments come from Bamiyan, where, according to Xuanzang's travelogue, there were dozens of monasteries, in which several thousand monks of the (Mahāsāṃghika-)Lokottaravādins were living.[19]

After ordination, a monk had to and still has to follow the monastic rules of one of the *Vinaya*s of the Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, Mahīśasakas, Mahāsāṃghikas, Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, Dharmaguptakas, Kāśyapīyas *etc.* and to participate in a recitation of the *Prātimokṣa*, held on each full and new moon day (*uposatha, poṣadha, posaṭha*). Therefore, there was, in principle, no Mahāyāna "monk" in the monastic legal sense. However, one, who was ordained in any of the schools and followed its *Vinaya*, was allowed, theoretically, to read Mahāyāna scriptures and follow their teachings as long as the monk followed his *Vinaya* and participated in the activities of the Community. The composers of these Mahāyāna scriptures must, therefore, as long as they were Buddhist monks, have been ordained in one of the *Vinaya* traditions and participated in the *Prātimokṣa*-recitation. Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, *Samādhirāja-sūtra etc.*, obviously criticise the theories of the Pudgalavādins and Sarvāstivādins[20]. Therefore, the composers of these scriptures could not have been members of those schools. In my recent article (Karashima 2015), I have assumed that these sutras were composed by Mahāsāṃghika monks. Faxian reported that the highly revered Mahāyāna Master Mañjuśrī lived in a Mahāsāṃghika monastery, which means that the master followed the tradition of the Mahāsāṃghikas and participated in the recitation of the *Prātimokṣa* of that school. Presumably, there were monasteries of the Mahāsāṃghika school, where Mahāsāṃghika-cum-Mahāyāna monks lived, who strove not for the ideal of traditional Arhatship but for the Buddha's wisdom (*buddha-jñāna*). Supposedly, there were also monasteries of this school, where Mahāyāna followers, both monks and laymen, were present. This could be the reason why the Devarāja Monastery of this school was called *Mahāyāna-saṅghārāma* as well.

(3) Devarāja = Chandragupta II ?

The word *tianwang* 天王 ("heavenly king") in *Tianwang jingshe* 天王精舍 can only be a translation of Sanskrit *devarāja*. This word, meaning "king of the gods", is commonly found in Indian literature. In the early Hindu pantheon, this title was attributed to Indra, but in

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(T. 55, no. 2145, 79a12f. 時有僧祇部僧，住巴連弗邑，並遵奉大乘。云是五部之本。).

[18] These fragments have been edited and published in part in BMSC I~IV. Moreover, an incomplete manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-(Lokottaravādin)s was discovered in Bamiyan (cf. Karashima 2008, 2013).

[19] T. 51, no. 2087, 873b4f. 梵衍那國 …… 伽藍數十所，僧徒數千人，宗學小乘説出世部。

[20] I am now preparing an article on this topic; cf. Karashima 2015.

relatively later South Indian inscriptions, it was attributed to Śiva or Viṣṇu[21]. However, *devarāja*, meaning "a god-like king" — regarding a king as a living god on Earth, occurs at least in two Sanskrit inscriptions[22].

A copper inscription, unearthed in Northern Afghanistan (Bactria) and dating back to the end of the fifth century, now preserved in the Schøyen Collection, Norway, gives a list of donors for the building of a *stūpa*. Among them, a list of the kings of the White Huns (i.e. Alchon Huns and Hephthalites), namely Khiṅgila, Toramāṇa, Javūkha *etc.*, is found. King Toramāṇa is called *devarāja* in this inscription[23].

The name or the title *devarāja* also appears in an inscription on a stone railing, inscribed in 412/413 C.E. in Sanchi: *mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candraguptasya Devarāja iti priyanām* /// ("The great king of kings, glorious Chandragupta is called '*devarāja*' as a term of endearment [?]"). As the inscription is damaged after "*priyanām*", it is not certain whether or not *devarāja* is truly an epithet of Chandragupta (or the name of one of his ministers).[24]

When Faxian was in Pāṭaliputra (406~409 C.E.), Chandragupta II (r. 376~415[25]) reigned over Central India. Faxian describes Pāṭaliputra as "the greatest in the countries of Central India". Although it was not the capital of the entire Gupta Empire[26], it was probably the capital of the country of Magadha, one of the subordinate dominions of the Gupta Empire.

Xuanzang visited Pāṭaliputra in 630 C.E., about two hundred years after Faxian and Zhimeng, and in his travelogue, he wrote in great detail about the Aśoka *stūpa* and the monasteries in its neighbourhood. However, the Devarāja Monastery or something like that is not mentioned.[27] Probably, that monastery had fallen into ruins during those two hundred years.

The above-mentioned inscription in Sanchi was written in 412/413 C.E. Therefore, the Devarāja Monastery, namely "a monastery of the god-like king", which was "very magnificent" (*shen yanli* 甚嚴麗) according to Faxian's description, had been donated perhaps by Chandragupta II, himself, (or his minister, Devarāja?), but later it became

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[21] Cf. Iwamoto 1986.

[22] Cf. Abhis III 574f.; Enomoto 2013.

[23] See Melzer 2006: 274.

[24] Cf. IBInsc I 729, l. 8f.; Fleet 1888: The Gupta Inscriptions, p. 33, n. 6; Bhandarkar 1981: 252, n. 1. Gupta (1992: 17, 189, 297) assumes that *Devarāja* is another name for Chandragupta II, who was called *Deva* and *Deva Gupta* as well. The name *Devarāja* is found also in verse 647 of the *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*. Gupta (1992: 122, 124, 353) assumes that this is an alias of *Budha Gupta* (r. 476?~487 C.E.); cf. also Enomoto 2013: 10, n. 3.

[25] Cf. Willis 2005.

[26] The original assumption that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the entire Gupta Empire is now doubted; see Goyal 2005: 246f. The quotations from the travel accounts of Faxian and Xuanzang, which Goyal uses as evidence for the insignificance of Pāṭaliputra, however, are problematic. As quoted above, Faxian describes the city as follows: "Amongst all the countries in Central India (*Madhyadeśa*), this (capital) city of the country is the greatest. The people are very rich and compete with one another in charity and justice." Also, the procession of the (Buddha) images in the city, about which Faxian describes, and the 10-metre-high silver *stūpa* in the house of the brahmin, on which Zhimeng reports, both indicate the considerable wealth of the inhabitants there. Goyal quotes from Watter's translation of Xuanzang's report as follows: "This city had long been a wilderness save for a walled town near the Gaṅgā with about 1,000 inhabitants." However, Xuanzang's travelogue reads "over 1,000 families" (千餘家; i.e. perhaps up to 10,000 inhabitants; T. 50, no. 2053, 236a18) instead of "1,000 inhabitants".

[27] T. 51, no. 2087, 911b14f.

dilapidated as the result of the collapse of the Gupta Empire (550 ? C.E.).

Therefore, it is not surprising at all that the above-mentioned *Shelifu wen jing* 舍利弗 問經 (***Śāriputra-paripṛcchā*) mentions the Devarāja Monastery (*Tianwang jingshe* 天王精 舍), which had indeed existed at one time. The fact that this historical name is referred to in the scripture, indicates the place and time of its composition, but this does not mean that the scripture was forged in China as Funayama maintains.[28]

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[28] Cf. Karashima 2016: 216~236.

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How the Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon
First Aspired to Awakening:
The *pūrva-praṇidhāna*s of Buddhas 751–994

Peter SKILLING and SAERJI

This is Part IV of a translation of the *pūrva-praṇidhāna*s of the future Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon, comprising Nos. 751–994.[1]

The Sugata Guṇarāśi,[2] when he was a wandering ascetic[3]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a spotted antelope hide
To the Tathāgata Melody of the Gods (*Lha yi dbyangs*).[4] [751]

The Sugata Prasanna, when he was a king's daughter[5]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a gold chain[6]
To the Tathāgata Sunflower (*Me tog nyi ma*). [752]

The Sugata Dharmadhvaja, when he was a beggar[7]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a cloth shawl of only four inches[8]
To the Tathāgata Firm-Footed (*Legs gnas zhabs*). [753]

The Sugata Jñānaruta, when he was a merchant's son[9]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he made an offering of toothsticks[10]
To the Tathāgata Banner (*Tog*). [754]

The Tathāgata Gagana, when he was a wood-gatherer[11]

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1. For the first, second and third part see *ARIRIAB* Vol. XVII (March 2014), 245–291; Vol. XIX (March 2016), 149–192; Vol. XX (March 2017), 167–204.
2. *yon tan phung po*: guṇaskandha or guṇarāśi. See [211] (guṇaskandha = Weller 212). Same name for past Buddhas at [386], [494].
3. *kun rgyu*: parivrājaka, Mvy 3522. Above [223].
4. Same name at [765].
5. *rgyal po'i bu mo*, also at [593], [803].
6. *gser gyi phreng ba*: See above [324].
7. *slong ba*: also see [603], [621], [829], [994].
8. *gos kyi ras ma sor bzhi tsam*: see above [121].
9. *tshong dpon gyi bu*: this expression occurs many times, see above [26].
10. *tshems shing*: see above [10].
11. *shing thun*: see above [96], also at [730], [762], [813], [916].

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a jujube fruit[12]
To the Sugata Bright Sumanā Flower (*Sna ma'i me tog gsal*). [755]

The Sugata Yajñasvara, when he was a dependent (?)[13]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a preparation of oil mixed with beans[14]
To the Tathāgata Blaze of Power (*Stobs kyi 'od*). [756]

The Sugata Jñānavihāsasvara, when he was a matted-hair ascetic (*jaṭila*)[15]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a place to perform austerities
To the Sugata Quest for Good Qualities (*Yon tan bzhed*). [757]

The Sugata Guṇatejoraśmi, when he was a tailor[16]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he sewed *cīvara* and *saṃghāṭi* robes
For the Tathāgata Flower of the Dharma (*Chos kyi me tog*)[17]. [758]

The Sugata Ṛṣīndra, when he was giving alms[18]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a needle case[19]
To the Tathāgata Beautiful Radiance (*Gzi brjid mdzes pa*). [759]

The Sugata Matimant, when he was a chief of herdsmen[20]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an alms bowl brimming with milk[21]
To the Tathāgata Luminous Moon (*Zla ba snang mdzad*). [760]

The Sugata Pratibhānagaṇa, when he was a prince[22]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a *campaka* grove
To the Tathāgata Radiance of Peace (*Zhi ba'i 'od*).[23] [761]

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12. *rgya shug dag gi 'bras bu*: cp. [734] *rgya shug 'bras bu'i phye ma*.
13. *rten bcas*: see above [443]. The term is not clear to us. *rten* means 'dependent (on), etc. Cf. Mvy 1301 *brten pa yod pa = sapratiśaraṇa*. FA IV 1673 has 'watchman'.
14. *bal sran*: see above [542], cp. [113] *mon sran gre'u 'bru*.
15. *ral pa can*: also occurs at [951], cp. [467] *bcings pa med pa po ral pa can*, [561] *ral pa can sbyin sreg mkhan*.
16. *bzang mkhan*: see BGD 2511; Roerich 8: 188, also occurs at [906].
17. The same name also occurs at [697], [714].
18. *bsod snyoms*: see above [121]. FA IV 1673 'when he was a mendicant'.
19. *khab ral*: *sūcīgṛhaka*, Mvy 8972.Term known from the *Prātimokṣa*, in which to accept a needle case (*sūcigṛhaka*) made of ivory or other valuable material from a householder who is not a close relative is a minor offence (*prāyaścittika*): ETED 282.
20. *phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*: see [505], [638], [649], [954], [960].
21. *lhung bzed 'o mas bkang*, also at [86], [423], [749] (*snod dag 'o mas bkang*).
22. *rgyal bu*: this expression occurs many times, see [106], [144], [170], [184], [191], [271], [275], [349], [362], [396], [422], [450], [472], [545], [573], [624], [626], [633], [677], [683], [770], [929], [938].
23. The same name also occurs at [730], [861].

The Sugata Suyajña, when he was a wood-gatherer[24]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered wood apple trees[25]
To the Sugata Universally Supreme Good Quality (*Kun du yon tan mchog*). [762]

The Tathāgata Candrānana, when he was a butter merchant[26]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered clarified butter[27]
To the Tathāgata Radiant Victory (*Gzi brjid rnam rgyal*). [763]

The Sugata Sudarśana, when he was a baker[28]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a cake[29]
To the Tathāgata Worshipped by the Gods (*Lhas mchod*).[30] [764]

The Tathāgata Viraja,[31] when he was a barber[32]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a razor[33]
To the Tathāgata Melody of the Gods (*Lha yi dbyangs*).[34] [765]

The Sugata Guṇasañcaya, when he was a bath attendant[35]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he built and offered a bathhouse[36]
To the Sugata Unerring Effort (*'Khrul pa med par sbyor ba*). [766]

The Sugata Ketumant, when he was a landowner[37]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When, for the three months of the rains' retreat, he offered meals with a hundred flavours

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[24]. *shing thun*: see above [96], also at [730], [755], [813], [916].
[25]. *bil ba*: MW 732 Aegle Marmelos, the wood-apple tree (commonly called Bel).
[26]. *mar 'tshong*: also see at [571], [574], [798], [936].
[27]. *zhun mar*: see above [418].
[28]. *da nur mkhan*, see above [119], we cannot trace this word. FA 1673, no. 775 has 'cook'. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* (D 3, *ca*, 145a7–8) has *mer ji lta bde bzhin du 'di lhar rtsom pa 'dis 'di dus byed par gyur cig snyam pas grong khyer sreg pa 'am | grong sreg pa 'am | yul sreg pa 'am | rgyal thabs sam | da nur du 'jud dam | tha na de'i khar mgal pa tsam 'jud par byed cing | de yang rtsom pa des dus byed na dge slong pham par 'gyur ro*. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* commentary (D 4114, *ca*, 63a4) has *da nur zhes bya ba ni bsreg pa'i gnas so*. According to the context, *da nur* should be a kind of stove. Does it correspond to Sanskrit *dṛḍaka*? Cf. BGD 1235 *da bur, sreg gnas sam tsha sreg gi gnas*.
[29]. *bag chos*: cf. above [57] (*bag chos mkhan*). *khādyaka*, Negi 9: 3701 (*Vinayasūtra*, Mvy).
[30]. For the past Buddha's name, see [791].
[31]. Weller 772 and FA 1675, no. 776 have *Vimala*, cf. Khotanese *Virajau* (Bailey 1951: 86, no. 748).
[32]. *'dreg mkhan*, also at [185], [522], [526], [863].
[33]. *spu gri = kṣura*, Negi 8: 3365, cp. Mvy 4939 *spu gri'i so = ksuradhāra*, BHSD 200 *kṣuraka*.
[34]. Same name at [751].
[35]. *khrus pa*, also at [42], [97], [117], [236], [366], [464], [972].
[36]. *khrus khang*, see above [32], also at [816].
[37]. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [784], [827], [851], [875], [882], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].

To the Tathāgata Great Effort (*Brtson 'grus chen po*) and his assembly numbering a crore (*koṭī*). [767][38]

The Sugata Pratibhānarāṣṭra, when he was a poor man[39]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered lampwick[40]
To the Tathāgata Captivating Voice (*Yid 'ong dbyangs*).[41] [768]

The Sugata Ratnapradatta, when he was an adulterer[42]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When one day he turned his mind to the holy life (*brahmacaryā*)
Under the Tathāgata Universal Melody (*Kun tu dbyangs can*). [769]

The Sugata Priyacandra, when he was a prince[43]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered ginger flowers[44]
Over the Tathāgata Purified Aspiration (*Smon lam sbyangs pa*). [770]

The Sugata Anunnata, when he was a cook[45]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered ghee[46]
To the Tathāgata Desired by the Gods (*Lha 'dod*). [771]

The Sugata Siṃhabala, when he was a brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a mango fruit (*āmraphala*)[47]
To the Tathāgata Power of Wisdom (*Shes rab stobs*). [772]

The Sugata Vaśavartirāja, when he was a landowner's son[48]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered leaves of the *guḍūcī* vine[49]
Over the Sugata All Seeing (*Kun du gzigs*). [773]

The Sugata Amṛtaprasanna, when he was an expert in agates[50]

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38. This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
39. *dbul po*, also occurs at [465], [523], [722], [727], [853], [919], [957], [984].
40. *mar me'i snying po*, see above [640], also occurs at [957].
41. The same name occurs at [116].
42. *byi bo byed pa*: *paradārābhigamana* (*Vinayavastu*), *paradārasevī* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*), *pāradārika* (*Vinayavastu*): Negi 9: 3824. Cf. MW pp. 586c, 620a.
43. *rgyal bu*: see above [761].
44. *sge'u gsher*: *ārdraka*, Negi 2: 832, Mvy 5694. See below [966].
45. *bca' ba*: see above [175] (*bca' ba mkhan bu*), also occurs at [442] (*bca' ba mkhan bu*), [508], [746], [782], [878].
46. *mar khur*, see above [239], also at [574], [606], [778], [798], [946].
47. *a mra'i 'bras bu*, also at [221], [857].
48. *khyim bdag gi bu*: for *khyim bdag*: see above [11]. *Khyim bdag gi bu* also occurs at [27], [29], [130], [174], [778], [896], [947].
49. *sle tres* = *guḍūcī*, *latāviśeṣaḥ*, Negi 16: 7310. FA 1677, no. 784 'ivy leaves'.
50. FA 1677, no. 785 'acrobat', ETED 1148 *mchong*, 'agate'. The idea of acrobat is found in the forms from the

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered golden cloth
To the Tathāgata Worshipped by Brahma (*Tshangs pas mchod*).[51] [774]

The Sugata Samadhyāyin, when he was caretaker of an orchard[52]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered flowers
To the Tathāgata Flower of Sages (*Thub pa'i me tog*). [775]

The Sugata Akṣobhya, when he was a merchant's son[53]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a bejeweled book
To the Tathāgata Sky Intellect (*Nam mkha'i blo*). [776]

The Sugata Praśāntamala, when he was the son of a rich man[54]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered bracelets
To the Tathāgata Overcoming the Waves (*Rlabs 'joms*).[55] [777]

The Sugata Deśāmūḍha, when he was a landowner's son[56]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered ghee[57]
To the Sugata Accomplished Wisdom (*Shes rab rdzogs pa*). [778]

The Sugata Laḍita, when he was caretaker of a sugarcane field
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered sugarcane
To the Tathāgata Disrupting Thorns (*Tsher ma dkrugs pa*). [779]

The Tathāgata Suvaktra, when he was a merchant[58]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered red pearls
Over the Tathāgata Subduer of Enemies (*Dgra 'dul*).[59] [780]

The Sugata Sthitavegajñāna, when he was a potter[60]

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verb *mchong ba*, to jump, leap, etc.

[51]. The same name occurs at [549].

[52]. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].

[53]. *tshong dpon bu*: see above [754].

[54]. *phyug po yi bu*, also occurs at [419], [491].

[55]. FA IV 1677 Conquering Billows.

[56]. *khyim bdag gi bu*: for *khyim bdag*: see above [11]. *Khyim bdag gi bu* also occurs at [27], [29], [130], [174], [773], [896], [947].

[57]. *mar khur*, see above [239], also at [574], [606], [771], [798], [946].

[58]. *tshong pa*, also occurs at [7], [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].

[59]. For a past Buddha's name, see [259].

[60]. *rdza mkhan*, see above [76]. Also at [154], [256], [272], [372], [432], [460], [485], [510], [575], [635],

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a jar full of water
To the Tathāgata Joyful Arhat (*Dgra bcom dgyes pa*). [781]

The Sugata Kathendra, when he was a cook[61]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered food
To the Tathāgata Abode of Excellent Moral Conduct (*Tshul khrims mchog gnas*). [782]

The Sugata Mahātejas, when he was a physician[62]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a myrobalan fruit[63]
To the Tathāgata Impartial to All Sides (*Phyogs mnyam dgongs pa*). [783]

The Sugata Gambhīramati, when he was a landowner[64]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered three pearls
To the Tathāgata Fearless Intent (*Dgongs pa bsnyengs med*). [784]

The Sugata Amṛta, when he was another's servant[65]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he planted a palisade of trees for the meditation walkway[66]
Of the Tathāgata Bright Energy (*Brtson 'grus gsal ba*). [785]

The Sugata Dharmabala, when he was a garden worker[67]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a bamboo grove
To the Tathāgata Immense Brightness (*Gsal ba rgya chen*). [786]

The Tathāgata Pūjya, when he was an old man
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a drink made from herbal grass
To the Tathāgata Intelligent Listerner (*Gsan pa'i blo ldan*). [787]

The Sugata Puṣpaprabha, when he was a guide[68]

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[739], [860].

61. *bca' ba*: see above [175] (*bca' ba mkhan bu*), also occurs at [442] (*bca' ba mkhan bu*), [508], [746], [771], [878].

62. *sman pa*, also see [4], [53] (*rgyal po'i sman pa*), [102], [140], [239], [257], [282], [292], [300], [383], [384], [424], [455], [535], [569], [630], [659], [734], [783], [946], [949].

63. *skyu ru ra yi 'bras bu*, see above [53], also occurs at [66], [384], [463], [615], [702].

64. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [827], [851], [875], [882], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].

65. *gzhan gyi khol po*, see above [120], also at [123].

66. *rig byed* normally stands for *veda*, but here the Indic term should be *vedika*, a fence, palisade, enclosure, or more probably °-*vedi*, °-*vedī*. *Caṅkamaṇa-vedika* occurs in Pali *Cullavagga* (Vin II p. 120.5–7): *tena kho samayena bhikkhū caṅkame caṅkamantā paripatanti. bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. 'anujānāmi bhikkhave caṅkamaṇavedikan' ti.*

67. *tshal gyi las byed*, see above [67], also at [110], [221], [371], [377], [511], [674].

68. *lam ston*, see above [91], also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [839], [857], [864], [871], [874].

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he pointed out the path
To the Tathāgata Unobstructed Intent (*Sgrib med dgongs pa*). [788]

The Sugata Trailokyapūjya, when he was a gold dealer[69]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a measure of gold[70]
To the Tathāgata Fearless Light (*Bsnyengs med 'od zer*). [789]

The Sugata Rāhusūryagarbha, when he was a flour merchant[71]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a *kārṣapana*'s worth of flour
To the Tathāgata Immortal Melody (*Bdud rtsi'i dbyangs can*). [790]

The Tathāgata Marutpūjita,[72] when he was a great brahman craftsman[73]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he spread golden cloth in the courtyards
For the Tathāgata Wonderful Teaching (*Legs par gsungs pa*). [791]

The Sugata Mokṣadhvaja, when he was an expert in cotton textiles
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered raw cotton[74]
Over the Sugata Foremost Master (*Mkhas pa mchog*). [792]

The Sugata Amṛtaprabha, when he was a brahman versed in the Vedas[75]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered *sudarśana* flowers
Over the Tathāgata King of Good Qualities (*Yon tan rgyal po*). [793]

The Tathāgata Vajra, when he was destitute[76]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered half a bean[77]
To the Tathāgata Hidden Faculties (*Dbang po sbas pa*). [794]

The Tathāgata Dṛḍha, when he was a garland maker[78]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered *saptaparṇi* flowers

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69. *gser rtog*, see above [30], also at [227], [588], [868], [932].
70. *srang*, see above [280], [571].
71. *phye 'tshong*, also at [238].
72. For a future Buddha's name, see [764].
73. *rtsal chen bram ze*, see above [64], also at [708].
74. *ras bal* = *karpāsa*, Negi 14: 6343.
75. *gtsang sbra can* = *śrotriya*, Negi 11: 4680–81, Mvy 418 *bram ze gtsang sbra can*. A *śrotriya* is a brahman versed in the Vedas.
76. *mi bkren*: see above [137], also at [577], [702], [709], [714], [842], [852].
77. *rgya sran*: *kulattha*, Negi 2: 757, Mvy 5652.
78. *phreng rgyud*, see above [2], also at [36], [59], [95], [116], [206], [260], [321], [328], [393], [428], [468], [540], [628], [745], [835], [862], [895], [934], [941], [950], [992].

Over the Tathāgata Trance of Liberation (*Thar pa'i bsam gtan*). [795]

The Sugata Ratnaskandha, when he was a traveller[79]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he acted as a midnight watchman[80]
For the Sugata Great Brilliance (*Snang ldan chen po*) when he was travelling. [796][81]

The Sugata Laḍitakrama, when he was an astrologer's son[82]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *campaka* flowers
To the Tathāgata Sandalwood Fragrance (*Tsan dan spos*). [797]

The Sugata Bhānumant,[83] when he was a butter merchant[84]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a drink of ghee[85]
To the Tathāgata Lucid Sight (*Gzigs pa gsal*). [798]

The Sugata Śuddhaprabha, when he was a monk[86]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he swept the meditation walkway clean and spread out a seat
For the Sugata Exalted Causeway (*Mngon 'phags stegs*).[87] [799]

The Tathāgata Prabhābala, when he was a merchant[88]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered bright lights
To the Tathāgata Beautiful to Behold (*Blta na sdug*). [800]

The Sugata Guṇacūḍa, when he was a merchant[89]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered sandalwood and fruits
To the Tathāgata Boundless Intellect (*Dpag med blo*). [801]

The Sugata Anupamaśrī, when he was a washerman[90]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When in the hot season he offered water

[79.]   *'dron po = 'gron po*, cf. above [131], also occurs at [411], [741], [975].
[80.]   *mel tshe = bya ra ba, paricara, paridhistha*: Negi 10: 4503. MW 593 *paricara*, 'a patrol or body-guard';
MW 596 *paridhistha*, 'a guard posted in a circle'.
[81.]   This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
[82.]   *rtsis pa*: see above [296], also at [597].
[83.]   Weller 807 *Bhānumant*. Khotanese has *Bhānugau* (Bailey 1951: 87, no. 781).
[84.]   *mar 'tshong*: also see at [571], [574], [763], [936].
[85.]   *mar khu*, see above [239], also at [574], [606], [771], [778], [946].
[86.]   *dge slong*, also at [87] (*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*), [819], [867], [904], [922], [976].
[87.]   *mngon 'phags stegs*: FA 1683, no. 811 'Bridge of Manifest Saintliness'.
[88.]   *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [816], [834], [861], [952], [965], [980].
[89.]   *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[90.]   *btso blag mkhan*, see above [197], also occurs at [303], [601], [826].

To the Sugata Brillinace of a Thousand Suns (*Nyi ma stong ldan gzi brjid*). [802]

The Sugata Siṃhagati, when he was king's daughter[91]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he spread out a Dharma seat (*dharmāsana*)
For the Tathāgata Burden Laid Down (*Khur bor*). [803]

The Sugata Udgata, when he was caretaker of an orchard[92]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered handfuls of mustard seeds
Over the Tathāgata Brightly Renowend (*Gsal bar grags*). [804]

The Sugata Puṣpadatta, when he was caretaker of an orchard[93]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *eraṇḍa* fruits
To the Tathāgata Renowned in (All) Directions (*Phyogs su rnam grags*). [805]

The Tathāgata Muktaprabha, when he was a merchant[94]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered handfuls of pearls
Over the Tathāgata King of Mastery (*Dbang sgyur rgyal po*). [806]

The Tathāgata Padma, when he was a farmer[95]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an alms bowl filled with his fresh crops[96]
To the Tathāgata Boundless Intellect (*Mtha' yas blo*). [807]

The Sugata Jñānapriya, when he was a merchant[97]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered lumps of cane sugar
To the Tathāgata Broad Radiance (*'Od zer yangs pa*). [808]

The Sugata Laḍitavyūha, when he was caretaker of an orchard[98]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered handfuls of *saugandhin* flowers
Over the Tathāgata Bright Array (*Bkod pa gsal*). [809]

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91. *rgyal po'i bu mo*, also at [593], [752].
92. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].
93. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].
94. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
95. *zhing pa*, see above [18], also at [66], [497], [542], [617], [825], [911].
96. *lo thog sar pa*: lo thog = sasyam, *śasyan* Negi 15: 6750–51. MW 531 *navasasya*, 'the first fruits of the year's harvest'.
97. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
98. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].

The Sugata Amohavihārin, when he was a brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he gazed without blinking[99]
At the Tathāgata Wonderful Eyes (*Spyan mchog*). [810]

The Tathāgata Avraṇa, when he was a shoemaker[100]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pair of shoes
To the Tathāgata Comportment Conducive to Liberation (*Thar pa'i brtul zhugs*). [811]

The Sugata Ketudhvaja, when he was a village boy[101]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a garland of *vārṣikī* flowers[102]
To the Sugata Pleasant to Behold (*Yid 'ong gzigs*). [812]

The Sugata Sukhacittin, when he was a wood-gatherer[103]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered red lily flowers (*utpala*)
To the Tathāgata Dazzling Light (*'Od 'bar*). [813]

The Sugata Vimoharāja, when he was a cakravartin king[104]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered jeweled garments[105]
To the Tathāgata Great Melody (*Dbyangs chen*). [814]

The Sugata Vidhijña, when he was a chief minister[106]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered his body as a bridge over a ditch[107]
For the Sugata Glorious Mass of Light (*'Od phung gzi brjid chen po*). [815]

The Sugata Śuddhasāgara, when he was a merchant[108]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he built and offered a bathhouse[109]
To the Tathāgata Banner Radiance (*Tog gi 'od*). [816]

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[99] *mig mi 'dzums pa = animiṣa*: Negi 10: 4409, Mvy 6656, see above [274].
[100] *lham mkhan*, see above [20], also at [88], [480], [940].
[101] *grong rdal gyi khye'u*: cp. above [112] (*grong rdal byis pa*). Also at [558].
[102] *me tog bar shi*, also occurs at [135] (*bar sha'i me tog*), [216] (*me tog bar shig*), [247] (*bar shi me tog*), [739] (*me tog bar shi ka*).
[103] *shing thun*: see above [96], also at [730], [755], [762], [916].
[104] *'khor sgyur = 'khor los sgyur ba yi rgyal po*, also see [5], [21], [31], [37] (*stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba*), [46], [62], [188], [199], [233], [234], [330], [339], [387], [401], [488], [513], [514], [584], [715], [837], [978].
[105] *na bza' rin po che dag*, see above [46], also at [339].
[106] *blon che*: see above [51] (*blon mchog*), also at [136] (*blon mchog*), [410] (*'khor sgyur blon mchog*), [444] (*blon chen*), [608], [678] (*blon po chen po*), [845] (*'khor los sgyur ba yi blon po*).
[107] FA 1687, no. 826 has 'offered his body as a bridge over a ditch'. This imitates the Dīpaṃkara story.
[108] *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [800], [834], [861], [952], [965], [980].
[109] *khrus khang*, see above [32], also at [766].

The Sugata Ratnadhara, when he was an astrologer[110]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pair of shoes
To the Tathāgata Homage from the Arhats (*Dgra bcom mchod gnas*). [817]

The Sugata Anavanata, when he was caretaker of an orchard[111]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered grape wine[112]
To the Sugata Mass of Glorious Good Qualities (*Yon tan gzi brjid phung po*). [818]

The Sugata Jagattoṣaṇa, when he was a monk[113]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a quarter measure of incense
To the Tathāgata Clear Features. (*Mtshan gsal*). [819]

The Sugata Mayūraruta, when he was an astrologer[114]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered pleasure groves
To the Tathāgata Great Stream of Light (*'Od 'phro chen po*). [820]

The Sugata Adīna, when he was a hunter[115]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered puree[116]
To the Tathāgata Bright Arhat (*Dgra bcom gsal*). [821]

The Sugata Bhavatṛṣṇāmalaprahīṇa, when he was caretaker of an orchard[117]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered *śiṃśapā* flowers[118]
Over the Tathāgata Well Grounded Intent (*Dgongs pa legs gnas*). [822]

The Sugata Cāritratīrtha, when he was a merchant[119]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered bits of lentils and boiled rice[120]

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110. *rtsis pa*: see above [296].
111. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].
112. *rgun chang*: *mṛdvīkā*, Mvy 5718. D F S read *rgun chab*, we follow L.
113. *dge slong*, see above [799].
114. *rtsis pa*: see above [296].
115. *rngon pa*: see above [129], also at [274], [538], [901].
116. *skyo ma*: *tarpaṇa*, Negi 1: 246, Mvy 5753. ETED 215 'paste made of mixed flour and water'. BHSD 250 'a particular kind of food, *dough, paste, meal*(?)'. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* commentary has *skyo ma dag ces bya ba ni skyo ma'i btung ba dag go* (D 4114, *ca*, 12b6); *skyo ma zhes bya ba ni skom gyi nang du phyes btab pa'o* (102a5).
117. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].
118. *shing sha pa* = *śiṃśapā*, Negi 15: 6844.
119. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
120. *sran chung dang ni 'bras chan gzegs ma*: *sran chung*: *masūra, vrīhiviśeṣaḥ*, Negi 16: 7238, Mvy 5649. MW 794 *masūra* = *masura*, 'a sort of lentil or pulse'. *'bras chan*: see above [311]. *gzegs ma*: *lava, tanu, kaṇā*,

To the Tathāgata Fine Bridge (*Stegs ni bzang po*). [823]

The Sugata Bahudevaghuṣṭa, when he was an attendant[121]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a stone throne
To the Sugata Source of Knowledge (*Ye shes 'byung gnas*). [824]

The Sugata Ratnakrama,[122] when he was a farmer[123]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he filled his hands with wheat and sprinkled it
Over the Tathāgata Most Precious of All (*Kun tu rin chen*). [825]

The Sugata Padmahastin, when he was a washerman[124]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he washed the robes
Of the Tathāgata Cluster of Suns (*Nyi ma'i phung po*). [826]

The Tathāgata Śrī, when he was a landowner[125]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a seat
To the Tathāgata Teacher's Bridge (*Ston pa'i stegs*). [827]

The Sugata Jitaśatru, when he was a brahman's wife
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered milk mixed with honey
To the Sugata Victorious Over Anger (*Khro 'joms*)
When he on his way to the heart of Awakening.[126] [828]

The Sugata Saṃrddhayaśas, when he was a beggar[127]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *udumbara* fruits
To the Tathāgata Lion Body (*Seng ge'i sku*). [829]

The Sugata Surāṣṭra, when he was a garland-maker's daughter[128]
First aspired to achieve awakening

Negi 12: 5514, Mvy 5740 *gzegs ma = kaṇā*.

[121.] *rim gro pa*, see above [341], also at [533].

[122.] We read *rin chen stabs* (F S) against D *rin chen stobs*. Cf. Weller 834 *Ratnakrama*, Khotanese *Ratnakrramau* (Bailey 1951: 87, no. 808). FA 1689, no. 836 *Ratnabala*.

[123.] *zhing pa*, see above [18], also at [66], [497], [542], [617], [825], [911].

[124.] *btso blag mkhan*, see above [197], also occurs at [303], [601], [802].

[125.] *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [851], [875], [882], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].

[126.] We take *khro 'joms* as the Buddha's name. To present something to a Buddha just prior to awakening is a source of great merit, and the future Buddha *Jitaśatru* as the wife of a brahman offered him milk mixed with honey before his Awakening when he was on his way to the *bodhimaṇḍa*. FA 1691, no. 839 takes *khro 'joms byang chub snying por gshegs tshe* as the Buddha's name, to make 'Heart of Awakening Victorious Over Anger when he was travelling', but this seems less likely.

[127.] *slong ba*: also see [603], [621], [753], [994].

[128.] *phreng rgyud bu mo*, also at [703], [855].

When he offered a fruit of the *jambu* tree
To the Tathāgata Light of the Renowned Friend (*Bshes gnyen grags pa'i 'od*). [830][129]

The Sugata Kusumaprabha, when he was a herdsman[130]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an alms bowl filled with buttermilk[131]
To the Tathāgata Pure Roar (*Nga ro rnam dag*). [831]

The Sugata Siṃhasvara, when he was a brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered verses of praise (*stotra*)
To the Tathāgata Questing for the Good (*Bzang po bzhed*). [832]

The Sugata Candrodgata, when he was a merchant[132]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a silver alms bowl[133]
To the Tathāgata Master of Serenity (*Rab zhi bdag po*). [833]

The Sugata Damajyeṣṭha,[134] when he was a merchant[135]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he had his monastic residence anointed with red sandalwood paste
For the Tathāgata Brilliance of Taming (*Dul ba'i gzi brjid*). [834]

The Tathāgata Acala, when he was a garland maker[136]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a canopy of flowers[137]
To the Tathāgata Well Worshipped Brilliance (*Gzi brjid legs mchod*). [835]

The Sugata Upakāragati, when he was a merchant[138]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered silver flowers[139]
Over the Tathāgata Light of the World (*'Jig rten 'od*). [836]

The Sugata Puṇyapradīparāja, when he was a cakravartin king[140]
First aspired to achieve awakening

[129.] This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
[130.] *phyugs rdzi*, see above [15], also at [43], [85], [418], [495], [570], [712], [831].
[131.] *dar ba* = *da ra*, *ghola*, *mathita*, Negi 6: 2160, both refer to Mvy 5687, 5688, which under the item 5681 *sho mar dang zas skom gyi ming*. MW 777 *mathita*, 'buttermilk churned without water'.
[132.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[133.] *dngul las byas pa'i lhung bzed*, also at [474],
[134.] Weller 843 has *Damajyeṣṭha* and *Jinajyeṣṭha*. Khotanese has *bhamautamau* (Bailey 1951: 87, no. 817). *Damajyeṣṭha* seems to agree with Tibetan *'joms pa'i mchog*.
[135.] *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [800], [816], [861], [952], [965], [980].
[136.] *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].
[137.] *me tog bla re*, see above [95], also at [116] (*me tog las byas bla re*), [835].
[138.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[139.] *dngul las byas pa'i me tog*, see above [71] (*dngul gyi me tog*), also at [663].
[140.] *'khor sgyur* = *'khor los sgyur ba yi rgyal po*, also see [5], [21], [31], [37] (*stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba*), [46], [62], [188], [199], [233], [234], [330], [339], [387], [401], [488], [513], [514], [584], [715], [814], [978].

When he invited the Tathāgata Caitya for the Whole World (*'Jig rten dag gi mchod rten*)
To the midday meal for seven thousand years.[141] [837][142]

The Sugata Svaracodaka, when he was a caravan leader[143]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he had a monastic residence made of red sandalwood
For the Tathāgata Pure Conduct (*Spyod pa dag pa*). [838]

The Sugata Gautama, when he was a guide[144]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he invited the Tathāgata
Excellent Bridge of Glory (*Stegs bzang gzi brjid*) to the midday meal. [839]

The Sugata Ojobala, when he was a young brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he swept the thoroughfares clean
For the Tathāgata Superb Eyes (*Spyan mchog*). [840]

The Sugata Sthitabuddhirūpa, when he was a cartwright[145]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a chariot[146]
To the Sugata Great Strength (*Mthu rtsal chen po*).[147] [841]

The Sugata Sucandra,[148] when he was destitute[149]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a single lamp
To the Tathāgata Ambrosial Form (*Bdud rtsi'i gzugs*).[150] [842]

The Tathāgata Bodhyaṅgapuṣpa, when he was a fruit merchant
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered three mangoes (*āmra*)
To the Sugata Master of Wisdom (*Shes rab mnga' ba*). [843][151]

The Sugata Siddhi, when he was the son of an aromatics dealer[152]

[141.] *gdugs tshod*: see above [5].
[142.] This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
[143.] *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [897], [918], [930], [977], [987], [988].
[144.] *lam ston*, see above [91], also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [788], [857], [864], [871], [874].
[145.] *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16], also at [94], [177], [240], [288], [312], [459], [494], [567], [568], [642], [671], [869], [884], [898], [948].
[146.] *shing rta dag ni dbul ba byas*: also at [240], [567].
[147.] *mthu rtsal chen po*, same name for past Buddhas at [313], [342] (*mthu rtsal can*), [579], [585], [597], [741], [847] (*mthu rtsal che*).
[148.] Same name at [922], for a past Buddha's name, see [563].
[149.] *mi bkren*: see above [137], also at [577], [702], [709], [714], [794], [852].
[150.] Same name at [864].
[151.] This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
[152.] *spos 'tshong bu*, see above [14], also at [74], [143], [159], [360], [375], [549] (*spos 'tshong khye'u*), [611]

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *campaka* flowers[153]
To the Tathāgata Bridge of Good Qualities (*Yon tan stegs*). [844]

The Sugata Praśasta,[154] when he was a cakravartin's minister
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a meditation walkway made from *vaidūrya*
To the Sugata Radiance of Meru (*Lhun po'i 'od*). [845]

The Tathāgata Balatejojñāna, when he was caretaker of an orchard[155]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pomegranate[156]
To the Sugata Serene Intellect (*Zhi ba yi blo gros*). [846]

The Sugata Kuśalapradīpa, when he was a merchant[157]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an ivory bedstead[158]
To the Tathāgata Great Strength (*Mthu rtsal che*).[159] [847]

The Sugata Dṛḍhavikrama, when he was a brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered mango juice
To the Tathāgata Steadfast Vows (*Dam bcas brtan pa*). [848]

The Tathāgata Devaruta, when he was a merchant[160]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *palāśika* flowers[161]
To the Tathāgata Aim Accomplished (*Don grub*).[162] [849]

The Tathāgata Praśānta, when he was a cloth merchant[163]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered garments
To the Tathāgata Delighting in Benefit (*Phan par dgyes*). [850]

(*spos 'tshong khye'u*).
[153.] *tsam pa ka yi me tog*, see above [25], also at [157] (*tsam pa'i me tog phreng ba*), [276], [628] (*tsam pa ka yi phreng ba*), [797].
[154.] Cf. Weller 852, Khotanese *Praśastau* (Bailey 1951: 87, no. 827). FA 1695, no. 856 has *Praśanta*.
[155.] *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [944], [945], [966], [969], [993].
[156.] *se'u 'bru*, see above [156], also at [214] (*se 'bru*), [573], [846], [944] (*se'u 'bru'i bcud khu*).
[157.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[158.] *ba so*: see above [662].
[159.] *mthu rtsal che* = *mthu rtsal chen po*, same name for past Buddhas at [313], [342] (*mthu rtsal can*), [579], [585], [597], [741], [841].
[160.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[161.] *pa la shi ka* looks like a Sanskrit loan-word, but we can not it's Sanskrit form. Should *palāśa* = leaf. *palāśika* = small leaves? Or is it *vālākṣī*? MW 946 'a species of plant'.
[162.] *don grub*: most probably = *Siddhārtha*.
[163.] *gos 'tshong*, see above [33], also at [75], [173], [207], [342], [361] (*gos 'tshong khye'u*), [414], [501], [504], [955].

The Sugata Sūryānana, when he was a landowner[164]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he presented a pond[165]
To the Tathāgata Worshipped by the Gods (*Lha yis mchod*). [851]

The Sugata Mokṣavrata, when he was destitute[166]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *priyaṅgu* as alms[167]
To the Tathāgata Impetus of Relinquishment (*Spong ba'i shugs*). [852]

The Sugata Śīlaprabha, when he was a poor man[168]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered vegetable juice
To the Tathāgata Jewels Abandoned (*Rin chen gtong*). [853]

The Sugata Vratasthita, when he was a landowner's daughter
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a wreath of lily flowers (*utpala*)[169]
To the Sugata Impetus of Knowledge (*Ye shes shugs*). [854]

The Sugata Arajas, when he was a garland-maker's daughter[170]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered one hundred lotus leaves
To the Tathāgata Bridge (*Zam pa*). [855]

The Sugata Sārodgata, when he was a merchant[171]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he covered the Tathāgata Fine Liberation (*Thar pa bzang po*)
With a bolt of cotton cloth. [856]

The Tathāgata Añjana, when he was a guide[172]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a mango (*āmra*)[173]
To the Tathāgata Overcoming the Assembly (*Tshogs ni rnam gnon*). [857]

[164.] *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [875], [882], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].
[165.] *rdzing bu*: see above [428], also at [644], [677].
[166.] *mi bkren*: see above [137], also at [577], [702], [709], [714], [794], [842].
[167.] *pri yang ku*: *priyaṅgu*, Mvy 6172. MW 711 gives several definitions of *priyaṅgu* – panic seed, Panicum Italicum; … long pepper; a medicinal plant and perfume; a partic. creeper; Italian millet …. It is hard to say what is meant here in the context of giving alms (*bsod snyoms*, *piṇḍapāta*).
[168.] *dbul po*, also occurs at [465], [523], [722], [727], [768], [919], [957], [984].
[169.] *lda ldi*: see above [331].
[170.] *phreng rgyud bu mo*, also at [703], [830].
[171.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[172.] *lam ston*, see above [91], also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [788], [839], [864], [871], [874].
[173.] *a mra'i 'bras bu*, also at [221], [772].

The Tathāgata Vardhana, when he was a king[174]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a golden parasol with a handle made of *vaiḍūrya*
To the Tathāgata Glorious Appearance (*Gzi brjid snang ba*). [858]

The Sugata Gandhābha, when he was a merchant's son[175]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered ointment[176]
To the Tathāgata Power of Love (*Byams pa'i stobs*). [859]

The Sugata Velāmaprabha, when he was a potter[177]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a clay alms-bowl (*mṛnmaya*)[178]
To the Tathāgata Glory of the Moon (*Zla ba'i dpal*). [860]

The Sugata Smṛtīndra, when he was a merchant[179]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he laid a bridge across the path
For the Tathāgata Radiance of Serenity (*Zhi ba'i 'od*).[180] [861]

The Tathāgata Bhadravaktra,[181] when he was a garland maker[182]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a *kumuda* flower
To the Tathāgata Beautiful Eyes (*Spyan ni sdug*). [862]

The Sugata Asaṅgadhvaja, when he was a barber[183]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he trimmed the fingernails
Of the Tathāgata Lunar Melody (*Zla ldan dbyangs*). [863]

The Sugata Varabodhigati, when he was a guide[184]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he gave directions[185]

[174.] *rgyal po*, also at [247], [369], [391] (*gling gcig rgyal po*), [402] (*mtha' 'khob rgyal po*), [446], [482], [586] (*'dzam gling rgyal po*), [641], [673], [873].
[175.] *tshong dpon bu*: see above [754].
[176.] *byug pa*, see above [498].
[177.] *rdza mkhan*, see above [76], also at [154], [256], [272], [372], [432], [460], [485], [510], [575], [635], [739], [781].
[178.] *kham pa*: *mṛd* Negi 1: 324, *kham pa'i snod*, *mṛd-bhājana* (Abhidharmakośa).
[179.] *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [800], [816], [834], [952], [965], [980].
[180.] The same name also occurs at [730], [761].
[181.] Weller 870 gives *Madhu(ra)vaktra*, *Bhadravaktra*, *Madhupātra*. Khotanese has here *Masuravattrau* (Bailey 1951: 88, no. 845). FA 1699, no. 872A *Bhadravaktra*.
[182.] *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].
[183.] *'dreg mkhan*, also at [185], [522], [526], [765].
[184.] *lam ston*, see above [91], also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [788], [839], [857], [871], [874].
[185.] *lam dag mtshon pa byas*, also at [103], [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*), [874] (*lam srang dag ni mtshon pa byas*).

In front of the Tathāgata Immortal Form (*Bdud rtsi'i gzugs*).[186] [864]

The Sugata Caraṇaprasanna, when he was a merchant's son[187]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he tossed a pearl necklace[188]
To the Tathāgata Dharma Intellect (*Chos kyi blo gros*). [865]

The Sugata Ratnapriya, when he was a sweeper[189]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he played the flute to worship
The Sugata Grand Moon (*Zla ba chen po*). [866]

The Sugata Dharmeśvara, when he was a monk[190]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he inclined his mind to grasp the teachings properly
Under the Tathāgata Unobstructed Melody (*Thogs med dbyangs*). [867]

The Sugata Viśvadeva, when he was a gold dealer[191]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered handfuls of gold
Over the Tathāgata Flower of the Gods (*Lha yi me tog*).[192] [868]

The Sugata Mahāmitra, when he was a cartwright[193]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he made and offered a palatial building (*prasāda*)
For the Sugata Who Sees Impartially (*Snyoms par gzigs*). [869]

The Sugata Sumitra, when he was a merchant[194]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered pots filled with water[195]
To the Tathāgata Grand Moon (*Zla ba chen po*). [870]

The Sugata Praśāntagāmin, when he was a guide[196]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered roots
To the Tathāgata In Quest of Merit (*Bsod nams bzhed*). [871]

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186. Same name at [842].
187. *tshong dpon bu*: see above [754].
188. *mu tig do shal* = *muktāhāra*, Negi 10: 4442.
189. *phyag dar pa*, also at [200], [346] (*phyag dar pa'i bu*), [448], [469], [695], [748].
190. *dge slong*, see above [799].
191. *gser rtog*, see above [30], also at [227], [588], [789], [932].
192. Same name at [504], [684], [881]. For a past Buddha's name, see [105].
193. *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16], also at [94], [177], [240], [288], [312], [459], [494], [567], [568], [642], [671], [841], [884], [898], [948].
194. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
195. *snod dag chu yis bkang*, also at [154], [550] (*chu yis bkang ba'i snod dag*), [709].
196. *lam ston*, see above [91], also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [788], [839], [857], [864], [874].

The Sugata Amṛtādhipa, when he was porter of fruits
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an alms bowl full of mangoes
To the Tathāgata Ten Heaps (*Phung po bcu pa*). [872][197]

The Sugata Meruprabha, when he was a king[198]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he covered the city with a canopy
For the Tathāgata Diverse Light (*Sna tshogs 'od*). [873]

The Sugata Āryastuta, when he was a guide[199]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he gave directions[200]
To the Tathāgata Gift of the Nāgas (*Klu yis byin pa*).[201] [874]

The Tathāgata Jyotiṣmant, when he was a landowner[202]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered golden lotus flowers
To the Tathāgata Cloud Melody (*Sprin gyi dbyangs*). [875]

The Sugata Dīptatejas, when he was a grass-collector[203]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a seat made of grass
To the Tathāgata Prowess of Good Qualities (*Yon tan mthu rtsal*). [876]

The Sugata Avabhāsadarśin, when he was a young astrologer[204]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a net of jewels
To the Tathāgata Mind of Good Qualities (*Yon tan sems*). [877]

The Sugata Sucīrṇavipāka, when he was a cook[205]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an almsbowl full of freshly cooked food
To the Sugata Cloud Melody (*Sprin gyi dbyangs*). [878]

[197.] This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
[198.] *rgyal po*, also at [247], [369], [391] (*gling gcig rgyal po*), [402] (*mtha' 'khob rgyal po*), [446], [482], [586] (*'dzam gling rgyal po*), [641], [673], [858].
[199.] *lam ston*, see above [91], also at [103], [268], [291], [333], [343], [653], [788], [839], [857], [864], [871].
[200.] *lam srang dag ni mtshon pa byas*, also at [103] (*lam dag mtshon pa byas*), [268], [538], [653], [788] (*lam dag nye bar mtshon pa byas*), [864] (*lam dag mtshon pa byas*).
[201.] *klu yis byin pa*, most probably *Nāgadatta*.
[202.] *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [882], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].
[203.] *rtswa thun*, see above [536], also at [566], [733].
[204.] *rtsis pa'i khye'u*: see above [296], also at [479], [543], [559], [706].
[205.] *bca' ba*: see above [175] (*bca' ba mkhan bu*), also occurs at [442] (*bca' ba mkhan bu*), [508], [746], [771], [782].

The Sugata Supriya, when he was a hero[206]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a victory banner
To the Tathāgata Radiant Melody (*Gsal ba'i dbyangs*). [879]

The Sugata Vigataśoka, when he was an astrologer[207]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered earrings fashioned from flowers
To the Tathāgata Unhappy Realms Abandoned (*Ngan song spong ba*). [880]

The Sugata Ratnaprabhāsa, when he was an attendant of monk
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a lamp
To the Tathāgata Flower of the Gods (*Lha yi me tog*).[208] [881]

The Tathāgata Cāritraka, when he was a landowner[209]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he took the five precepts
From the Tathāgata Beautiful Eyes (*Spyan mdzes ldan pa*). [882]

The Sugata Puṇyabala,[210] when he was a landowner[211]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a mattress filled with cotton[212]
To the Tathāgata Great Lamp (*Sgron ma chen po*). [883]

The Sugata Guṇasāgara, when he was a cartwright[213]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he anointed the residence
Of the Sugata Grand Comportment (*Brtul zhugs chen po*) with fragrant oil. [884]

The Sugata Caitraka, when he was a attendant[214]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he served[215]

[206.] *dpa' bo*, see above [68], also at [192], [334], [619].
[207.] *rtsis pa*: see above [296].
[208.] *lha yi me tog*, see above [868].
[209.] *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [875], [883], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].
[210.] Weller 891 gives *Puṇyakrama = bsod nams stabs*; FA IV 1705, no. 893 gives *Puṇyabala*. The difference is between *stobs = bala* and *stabs = krama*; we follow FA.
[211.] *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [875], [882], [914], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].
[212.] *mal stan shing bal: mal stan, śayyā*, Negi 10: 4266. Mvy 5858 *mal cha'am mal stan = śayanāsana. shing bal, tūla, tūlikā*, Negi 15: 6839, cp. *shing bal gyi stan bting ba = tūlikā-goṇikāstaṇa*, Negi 15: 6840.
[213.] *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16], also at [94], [177], [240], [288], [312], [459], [494], [567], [568], [642], [671], [841], [869], [898], [948].
[214.] *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 zhig snang ma ltom zhig mchis pa la*. Cf. above [96] *bu yug langs tshe snang ma bltam*.
[215.] FA 1705, no. 895 has 'when he was a snang-ma-pa and offered to be born as a snang-ma'.

The Tathāgata Firm Vision (*Gzigs pa brtan*). [885]

The Sugata Mānajaha,[216] when he was a consort of the king[217]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a wreath of flowers
To the Tathāgata Intoxication Left Behind (*Myos pa spong*). [886]

The Sugata Mārakṣayaṃkara, when he was a soldier[218]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pair of shoes
To the Tathāgata Flower of Good Features (*Mtshan gyi me tog*). [887]

The Sugata Vāsanottīrṇagati, when he was a merchant[219]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a canopy fashioned from garlands
To the Sugata Inconceivable Light (*Bsam gyis mi khyab 'od*). [888]

The Sugata Abhedyabuddhi, when he was shepherd
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a garland of *śīrṣa* flowers
To the Tathāgata All Pervading Light (*Kun tu 'od*). [889]

The Tathāgata Udadhi, when he was a secretary (?)[220]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he sang songs
In front of the Tathāgata Moonlight (*Zla ba'i 'od*). [890]

The Tathāgata Śodhita, when he was a city governor[221]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered golden flowers
Over the Tathāgata Enchanting Moon (*Yid 'ong zla ba*). [891]

The Sugata Gaṇimuktirāja,[222] when he was a merchant[223]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a ladle[224]
To the Tathāgata Beautiful Melody (*Mdzes pa'i dbyangs*). [892]

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216. F L S *ngan spong*: D *nga spong*, we follow D. FA 1704, no. 896 has *nga spong* = *Mānajaha*. Cp. Weller 894 *Mānajaha*.
217. *rgyal po'i btsun mo*, also at [180], [314], [592], [613].
218. *dmag mi*, also at [629].
219. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
220. *drang po*: FA 1707, no. 900 'when he was a direct and straightforward man' does not seem meaningful. Is it perhaps to be read as *drung pa*, which can mean a kind attendant or person who stands by the master. We do not know the Sanskrit term.
221. *grong dpon*: see above [111], also at [145], [306], [335], [636], [681].
222. D F L S *tshogs can grong rgyal*: we follow P *tshogs can grol rgyal*.
223. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
224. *kha gzar*: *kalācikā*, Negi 1: 315, Mvy 8958.

The Sugata Priyābha, when he was an connoisseur of lotuses[225]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a *karaṇḍaka*[226]
To the Tathāgata Supreme Intellect (*Blo gros mchog*). [893]

The Sugata Bodhidhvaja, when he was a chaplain
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a cloth cover for Dharma [manuscripts][227]
To the Tathāgata Moonlight (*Zla ba'i 'od*). [894]

The Sugata Jñānaratna, when he was a garland maker[228]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a banner made from flowers
To the Tathāgata Flower Essence (*Me tog snying po*). [895]

The Sugata Suśītala, when he was a landowner's son[229]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pair of jewel-studded shoes[230]
To the Tathāgata Focussed Mind (*Yid gtod*). [896]

The Tathāgata Brahmarāja, when he was a caravan leader[231]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered golden garments
To the Tathāgata Given as a Result of Sacrifice (*Mchod sbyin byin pa*).[232] [897]

The Sugata Jñānarata, when he was a cartwright[233]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a throne
To the Sugata Granting Satisfaction According to Wish (*Yid bzhin 'byor pa*). [898]

The Sugata Ṛddhiketu, when he was a dancer[234]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he danced before
The Tathāgata Pleased by Liberation (*Thar pa dgyes*). [899]

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[225]. *pad ma mkhan*: we do not know the precise meaning of this term or its Sanskrit equivalent. 'Connoisseur of lotuses' is a guess. Also occurs at [933].
[226]. *karantaka* or *karantuka*: possibly for Sanskrit *karaṇḍaka*.
[227]. *chos la dgab pa*: cf. Ejima 66 *chos kyi gdab pa* = *dharmācchāda*.
[228]. *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].
[229]. *khyim bdag gi bu*: for *khyim bdag*: see above [11]. *Khyim bdag gi bu* also occurs at [27], [29], [130], [174], [773], [778], [947].
[230]. *nor bu rin chen mchil lham*, see above [27].
[231]. *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [918], [930], [977], [987], [988].
[232]. *mchod sbyin byin pa*: Probably *Yajñadatta*.
[233]. *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16], also at [94], [177], [240], [288], [312], [459], [494], [567], [568], [642], [671], [841], [869], [884], [948].
[234]. *gar mkhan*, also at [246], [263], [456].

The Sugata Janendrakalpa, when he was a merchant's son[235]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered golden threads
Over the Sugata Employing Gracefulness (*Stabs 'jog*).[236] [900]

The Sugata Dharaṇīśvara, when he was a hunter[237]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pair of straw sandals
To the Tathāgata Subduer of Enemies (*Dgra dag 'dul ba*). [901]

The Sugata Sūryapriya, when he was an expert in powders
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered face powder made from lilies
To the Sugata Abandoning the Unsuitable (*Yul med spong ba*). [902]

The Sugata Rāhucandra, when he was another's servant[238]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a reed house
To the Tathāgata Light of Ambrosia (*Bdud rtsi'i 'od*). [903]

The Sugata Puṣpaprabha, when he was a monk[239]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a spitoon[240]
To the Tathāgata Unconcerned for Himself. (*Ngar mi sems pa*). [904]

The Sugata Vaidyādhipa, when he was a brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a parasols made of *vaiḍūrya*
To the Tathāgata Proclaimer of Truth (*Yang dag sgra sgrogs*). [905]

The Tathāgata Ojodhārin, when he was a tailor[241]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered garments
To the Tathāgata Unfathomable Eyes (*Dpag med spyan*). [906]

The Sugata Puṇyapriya, when he was a brahman
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered inexhaustible flowers
Over the Tathāgata Comportment of a Hero (*Brtul zhugs dpa'bo*). [907]

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235. *tshong dpon gyi bu*: see above [754].
236. We follow FA IV 1709, no. 910 'Employing Gracefulness'.
237. *rngon pa*: see above [129], also at [274], [538], [821].
238. *gzhan bran*, also at [698].
239. *dge slong*, see above [799].
240. *mchil snod = mchil ma'i snod*, see above [525].
241. *bzang kan*, see above [758].

The Tathāgata Ratibala, when he was a drummer[242]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he beat great drums
For the Tathāgata Dazzling Light (*'Od 'bar*). [908]

The Tathāgata Sughoṣa, when he was a man of wealth[243]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he played the flute
For the Tathāgata Mass of Good Qualities (*Yon tan tshogs*). [909]

The Sugata Dharmeśvara, when he was a brahman's son[244]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered garments made of *kuśa* grass
To the Tathāgata Delightful Melody (*Yid du 'ong ba'i dbyangs*). [910][245]

The Tathāgata Brahmaruta, when he was a farmer[246]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When desiring merit he put a water bucket in front of a well[247]
For the Tathāgata Grand Intent (*Dgongs pa chen po*). [911]

The Sugata Suceṣṭa, when he was a cowherd[248]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a vessel brimming with curds
To the Tathāgata Radiant God (*Gsal ba'i lha*). [912]

The Sugata Askhalitabuddhi, when he was a flute-player
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he played entrancing tunes
For the Sugata Ambrosial Mind Activity (*Sems spyod bdud rtsi*). [913]

The Tathāgata Mahāpraṇāda, when he was a landowner[249]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he built [and offered] one thousand monastic residences
To the Tathāgata Lucid Intellect (*Blo gros gsal ba*). [914]

The Sugata Yaśaḥkīrti, when he was a merchant's son[250]
First aspired to achieve awakening

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242. *rnga mkhan*, also at [160].
243. *phyug po*, see above [295], also at [970].
244. *bram ze'i bu*: see above [3], also at [22], [64] (*rtsal chen bram ze'i bu*), [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*).
245. This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
246. *zhing pa*, see above [18], also at [66], [497], [542], [617], [825], [911].
247. *khron drung chu tom bzhag*: *khron, kūpa, udāpāna* Negi 1: 411, Mvy 4180, 4181. For *chu tom*, we read as *chu zom*, water bucket. FA 1713, no. 921 has 'drew water from a well'.
248. *ba lang rdzi*, see above [86], also at [220].
249. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [875], [882], [883], [935], [956], [968], [971], [982].
250. *tshong dpon bu*: see above [754].

When he offered strings of garlands
To the Tathāgata Magnificent Lamp (*Sgron ma mchog*). [915]

The Tathāgata Ketumant, when he was a wood-gather[251]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he tossed three lily-flowers
To the Tathāgata Firm Intellect (*Blo gros brtan pa*). [916]

The Sugata Vighuṣṭatejas, when he was a merchant's son[252]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a cluster of flowers
To the Sugata Vital Strength (*Mthu rtsal stobs*). [917]

The Sugata Jagadīśvara, when he was a caravan leader[253]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a jewelled lamp
To the Tathāgata Lotus Petal Eyes (*Pad 'dab spyan*). [918]

The Tathāgata Druma, when he was a poor man[254]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a lamp using bean-oil (*maṣa*) (?)
To the Tathāgata Light of Awakening (*Byang chub 'od*). [919]

The Sugata Supraṇaṣṭamoha, when he was a secret agent[255]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a measure of meat
To the Tathāgata Superb Melody (*Sgra dbyangs mchog*). [920]

The Sugata Amita, when he was a god[256]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he made an offering of toothsticks[257]
To the Tathāgata Sound of the Six Supernormal Powers (*Mngon shes drug sgra*). [921]

The Sugata Sucandra,[258] when he was a monk[259]
First aspired to achieve awakening

[251.] *shing thun*: see above [96], also at [730], [755], [762], [813].
[252.] *tshong dpon gyi bu*: see above [754].
[253.] *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [897], [930], [977], [987], [988].
[254.] *dbul po*, also occurs at [465], [523], [722], [727], [768], [853], [957], [984].
[255.] *bya ba*: FA 1715, no. 930 has 'sentinel': this leads us to *bya ra (ba)*, Negi 9: 3788 *bya ra ba = so ba*, *adṛśyapuruṣa*, *guptacaraḥ*. *ra* can easily be mistaken for *ba* and we therefore read *bya ra'i tshe*. The Sanskrit forms clearly mean undercover or secret agent.
[256.] *lha ris pa*, also occurs at [337], [735], [959].
[257.] *tshems shing*: see above [754].
[258.] Weller 931 and FA 1715, no. 932 have *Sucandramas*. Khotanese has *Sucandrau* (Bailey 1951: 88, no. 904). Same name at [842]; as a past Buddha's name, see [563].
[259.] *dge slong*, see above [799].

When he offered a carpet[260]
To the Tathāgata Power of the Life-force (*Mdangs stobs*). [922]

The Tathāgata Anantapratibhānaketu, when he was a merchant's son[261]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered tiers of garlands of lamps
To the Sugata Numbers of Men (*Mi yi grangs*). [923]

The Sugata Vratanidhi,[262] when he was a merchant[263]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he anointed the body of the Sugata
Masses of the Conquerors' Flowers with red sandal (*Rgyal ba'i me tog tshogs*). [924]

The Sugata Pūjya, when he was an attendant of the gods
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered two flowers
To the Great Crown (*Gtsug chen*). [925]

The Sugata Uttīrṇaśoka, when he was an artisan who worked bamboo[264]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *tala* pearls[265]
To the Sugata Lord of the Gods (*Lha yi bdag po*). [926]

The Sugata Kṣemapriya, when he was an oil-miller[266]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a measure of butter
To the Sugata Dwelling Heedfully (*Bag mi tsha bar gnas pa*). [927]

The Sugata Jagadmati, when he was an oil-miller[267]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered eight measures of mustard-seed oil.
To the Sugata Arhat's Awakening (*Dgra bcom byang chub*). [928]

The Tathāgata Priyaṃgama, when he was a prince[268]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a fan made from peacock's feathers
To the Sugata Dispeller of Sorrow's Gloom (*Mya ngan mun pa sel ba*). [929]

[260.] *gding ba*: see above [122], also at [176], [335].
[261.] *tshong dpon bu*: see above [754].
[262.] Weller 933 *Vratanidhi* suggests *brtul zhugs gter*, cf. Khotanese *Lomavrratau* (Bailey 1951: 88, no. 906).
[263.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[264.] *smyig ma mkhan*, *veṇukāra* Negi 10: 4644, Mvy 3798.
[265.] 'ta la' should be a loan-word from Sanskrit, but we do not know what sort of pearls are meant here.
[266.] *'bru mar mkhan*, also at [186], [235], [278], [530], [596], [652] (*'bru mar spos can mkhan*), [682], [928].
[267.] *'bru mar mkhan*, see above [927].
[268.] *rgyal bu*: see above [761].

The Tathāgata Caraṇābhijñāta,[269] when he was a caravan leader[270]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered pearls
Over the Tathāgata Pure River (*Chu bo rnam dag*). [930]

The Tathāgata Utpala, when he was Śakra[271]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he prayed to the Tathāgata Moonlight (*Zla ba'i 'od*)
To prolong his life-span.[272] [931]

The Sugata Puṣpadamasthita, when he was a gold dealer[273]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered gold
Over the Tathāgata Heroic Mind (*Dpa' ba'i sems*). [932]

The Sugata Anantapratibhānaraśmi, when he was a connoisseur of lotuses[274]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a wooden alms bowl
To the Tathāgata Libaration's Wisdom (*Thar pa'i shes rab*). [933][275]

The Sugata Ṛṣiprasanna, when he was a garland maker[276]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a parasol plaited from flowers
To the Tathāgata Heroic Heart (*Dpa' bo'i sems*). [934]

The Sugata Guṇavīrya, when he was a landowner[277]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered some rice gruel[278]
To the Tathāgata Lamp of Campā (*Tsam pa'i sgron ma*). [935]

The Tathāgata Sāra, when he was a butter merchant[279]

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269. Weller 939 *Caraṇābhijaya*, FA 1717, no. 940 *Caraṇābhijñāta*, the Khotanese has *Caraṇābhijātau* (Bailey 1951: 88, no. 911). Cp. above [157] *gdugs mdzes*: can zhabs mdzes be *Caraṇabhrāja*?
270. *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [897], [918], [977], [987], [988].
271. *brgya byin*: see above [48] (*lha dbang brgya byin*), also at [149], [351].
272. *sku'i tshe*, *āyu* Negi 1: 178–179. *sku tshe'i 'du byed* should be *āyūḥsaṃskāra*. *āyuḥsaṃskāra* = *tshe'i 'du byed*, *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Waldschmidt) 16:13, 14; 17.19; 18.2, 3. When a Buddha decides that the time to pass away has come, he concentrates on his life force (*jīvita-saṃskārān adhiṣṭhāya*, *'tsho ba'i 'du byed ni byin gyis brlabs*) and relinquishes the forces that determine his age or life-span (*āyuḥsaṃskārān utsṛjati*, *tshe'i 'du byed spangs pa*). This is a famous moment in the life of Śākyamuni and other Buddhas, the primary account of which is in the various recensions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. Here as Śakra the Bhadrakalpa Buddha Utpala took upon the role of beseeching the Tathāgata 'Moonlight' to maintain his life-span.
273. *gser rtog*, see above [30], also at [227], [588], [789], [868].
274. *pad ma mkhan*: see above [893].
275. This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
276. *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].
277. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [875], [882], [883], [914], [956], [968], [971], [982].
278. *'jams*: see above [4].
279. *mar 'tshong*: also see at [571], [574], [763], [798].

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered eight measures of ghee[280]
To the Tathāgata Glorious Receptacle of Offerings (*Mchod gnas dpal*). [936]

The Sugata Marudadhipa, when he was a worker in *karañja* wood (?)[281]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered *bakshaka*[282]
To the Tathāgata Well Meaning Intellect (*Blo gros legs sems*). [937]

The Sugata Uccaratna, when he was a prince[283]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered incense and garlands
To the Tathāgata Glorious Brillinace (*Gzi brjid dpal*). [938]

The Tathāgata Prasanna, when he was a merchant[284]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered dripping honey
To the Tathāgata People's Faith (*Skye bo dad pa*). [939]

The Tathāgata Bhāgīratha, when he was a shoemaker[285]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pair of shoes
To the Sugata Supreme Intellect (*Blo mchog*). [940]

The Sugata Puṇyamati, when he was a garland maker[286]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered bouquets of flowers
To the Tathāgata Bright Joy (*Rab dgyes gsal ba*). [941]

The Sugata Hutārci, when he was a weaver[287]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered cotton tassels
To the Tathāgata Self-Appearing (*Bdag nyid snang ba*). [942]

The Sugata Anantaguṇatejorāśi, when he was a merchant[288]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered patched cotton cloth
To the Tathāgata Lotus of Men (*Mi yi pad ma*). [943][289]

[280.] *zhun mar srang brgyad dag*: see above [571].
[281.] Negi 1: 8 *ka rañ dza* = *'jam 'bras karañja, karañjaka*: *vṛkṣabhedaḥ* ref. to *Amarakośa* 2.4.47.
[282.] *baksha ka* looks like a Sanskrit loan-word, but we cannot find anything in Sanskrit similar to *bakṣaka*, *vakṣaka, pakṣaka*. Is it Sanskrit *vaṣaka*? MW 947 'Gendarussa Vulgaris or Adhatoda Vasica'.
[283.] *rgyal bu*: see above [761].
[284.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[285.] *lham mkhan*, see above [20], also at [88], [480], [811].
[286.] *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].
[287.] *thags mkhan*, see above [231], also at [244], [527].
[288.] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[289.] This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.

The Sugata Siṃhavikrāmin, when he was caretaker of an orchard[290]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered pomegranate juice[291]
To the Tathāgata Fragrant Incense (*Spos dri zhim pa*). [944]

The Tathāgata Acala, when he was caretaker of an orchard[292]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered *atimuktaka* flowers
Over the Tathāgata Supreme Worship (*Mchod pa mchog*). [945]

The Tathāgata Prasanna, when he was a physician[293]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered ghee[294]
To the Tathāgata Variegated Flowers (*Me tog sna tshogs*). [946]

The Sugata Cīrṇaprabha, when he was a landowner's son[295]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a string of garlands
To the Tathāgata Exalted Glory (*'Phags pa'i dpal*). [947]

The Sugata Nāgaruta,[296] when he was a cartwright[297]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a divan
To the Tathāgata Equal to Space (*Nam mkha' mtshungs*). [948]

The Tathāgata Saṃgīti, when he was a physician[298]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered flower petals[299]
Over the Tathāgata Lotus Rays (*Pad ma'i 'od zer*). [949][300]

The Sugata Cakradhara, when he was a garland maker[301]

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[290] *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [945], [966], [969], [993].
[291] *se'u 'bru*, see above [156], also at [214] (*se 'bru*), [573], [846].
[292] *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [966], [969], [993].
[293] *sman pa*, see above [783].
[294] *mar khur*, see above [239], also at [574], [606], [771], [778], [798].
[295] *khyim bdag bu*: for *khyim bdag*: see above [11]. *Khyim bdag bu* also occurs at [27], [29], [130], [174], [773], [778], [896].
[296] *glu dbyangs*: all Kanjurs we consulted has *glu dbyangs*, here we follow FA. FA 1720, no. 958 has *klu dbyangs* = *Nāgaruta*. Cf. Khotanese *Nāgarutau* (Bailey 1951: 89, no. 930).
[297] *shing rta mkhan*, see above [16], also at [94], [177], [240], [288], [312], [459], [494], [567], [568], [642], [671], [841], [869], [884], [998].
[298] *sman pa*, see above [783].
[299] *me tog sil ma*: *muktapuṣpa* Negi 10: 4477, also occurs at [18], [950]. *me tog sil ma gtor ba*, *mukta-kusumābhikīrṇa*, Ejima 204.
[300] Only in Derge: C F L N P S omits the whole verse [949].
[301] *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].

First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered flower petals
Over the Tathāgata Radiant God (*Gsal ba'i lha*). [950]

The Sugata Vasuśreṣṭha,[302] when he was a matted-hair ascetic (*jaṭila*)[303]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a grass mattress
To the Sugata Inconceivable Bridge (*Bsam gyis mi khyab stegs*). [951]

The Sugata Lokapriya, when he was a merchant[304]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered garlands
To the Tathāgata Moonlight (*Zla ba'i 'od*). [952]

The Sugata Dharmacandra, when he was supervisor of new building[305]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a precious tree
To the Tathāgata Great Accumulation (*Phung po chen po*). [953]

The Sugata Anantakīrti, when he was a chief of herdsmen[306]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered fresh milk
To the Sugata Mighty Power (*Stobs chen*). [954]

The Tathāgata Meghadhvaja, when he was a cloth merchant[307]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered cotton cloth
To the Tathāgata Wisdom of the Land (*Yul 'khor ye shes*). [955]

The Sugata Prajñāgati,[308] when he was a landowner[309]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he swept the courtyard
For the Tathāgata Fierce Intellect (*Drag shul blo gros*). [956]

The Tathāgata Sugandha, when he was a poor man[310]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered lampwick[311]

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302. The Khotanese has *Suśreṣṭhau* (Bailey 1951: 89, no. 932).
303. *ral pa can*: also occurs at above [757].
304. *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [800], [816], [834], [861], [965], [980].
305. *lag bla*, see above [322], also at [463], [560], [615], [637], [643].
306. *phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*: see [638], [649], [760], [960].
307. *gos 'tshong*, see above [33], also at [75], [173], [207], [342], [361] (*gos 'tshong khye'u*), [414], [501], [504], [850].
308. The Khotanese has *Prajñāgatau* (Bailey 1951: 89, no. 938).
309. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also occurs at [249], [313], [336], [395], [423], [449], [492], [546], [582], [600], [648], [651], [710], [767], [784], [827], [851], [875], [882], [883], [914], [935], [968], [971], [982].
310. *dbul po*, also occurs at [465], [523], [722], [727], [768], [853], [919], [984].
311. *mar me'i snying po*, see above [640], also occurs at [768].

To the Tathāgata Lordly Mountain Intellect (*Ri dbang blo*). [957]

The Sugata Gaganasvara, when he was a merchant[312]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a set of garments[313]
To the Tathāgata Beauteous Limbs (*Yan lag mdzes pa*). [958]

The Sugata Deva, when he was a god[314]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he performed the task of sweeping
For the Tathāgata Supreme Glory (*Dpal gyi mchog*). [959]

The Sugata Devarāja,[315] when he was a chief of herdsmen[316]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered fresh milk
To the Tathāgata Friend of Glory (*Dpal gyi bshes gnyen*). [960]

The Sugata Maṇiviśuddha, when he was an ascetic[317]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered parasols
To the Sugata Doubt Abandoned (*Yid gnyis spong ba po*). [961]

The Tathāgata Sudhana, when he was an aromatics dealer[318]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a *karṣāpaṇa*'s worth of oil
To the Tathāgata Defeat of Enemies (*Dgra bcom ldan*). [962]

The Tathāgata Pradīpa, when he belonged to the Gautama clan[319]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a hermitage for the rainy season[320]
To the Tathāgata Glory of Fragrance (*Spos kyi dpal*). [963]

The Tathāgata Ratnasvaraghoṣa, when he was a market merchant[321]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a measure of melted butter
To the Sugata Arhat's Abode (*Dgra bcom gnas*). [964]

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312. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
313. *phrugs*, Negi 8: 3631 = *zung, yugam*; *pataḥ, paṭam*. Also occurs at [509].
314. *lha ris pa*, also occurs at [337], [735], [921]. FA 1725, no. 969 has 'icon painter'.
315. D *la rgyal*, we follow F L S.
316. *phyugs rdzi'i dpon po*: see [638], [649], [760], [954].
317. *dka' thub can*, also at [534], [728].
318. *spos 'tshong*: see above [14], also at [69], [99], [208], [212], [218], [269], [307], [345], [368], [499], [552], [564], [579], [587], [707], [713], [747].
319. *gau tam*, also at [252].
320. *dbyar gnas pa dag dbul ba byas*, see above [645], [658].
321. *tshong 'dus pa*, see above [219], also at [386], [528], [606] (*tshong dus pa'i khye'u*).

The Sugata Janendrarāja, when he was a merchant[322]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a pleasure grove
To the Tathāgata Abode of Good Qualities (*Yon tan gnas*). [965]

The Sugata Rāhugupta, when he was caretaker of an orchard[323]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a piece of fresh brown ginger[324]
To the Tathāgata Intent on Great Effort (*Brtson 'grus cher dgongs*). [966]

The Tathāgata Kṣemaṃkara, when he was a water carrier[325]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered cool water
To the Tathāgata Dazzling Light (*'Od ni 'bar ba*). [967]

The Sugata Siṃhamati, when he was a landowner[326]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered beautiful flowers
To the Tathāgata Concentrated Power (*Mthu rtsal sdud pa*). [968]

The Sugata Ratnayaśas, when he was caretaker of an orchard[327]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he worshipped the Tathāgata
Deeply Cultivated Intent (*Dgongs pa zab bsgoms*) with song. [969]

The Tathāgata Kṛtārtha, when he was a wealthy man[328]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he beat great drums
For the Tathāgata Burning Incense (*Spos sreg*). [970]

The Sugata Kṛtāntadarśin, when he was a landowner[329]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he built and offered monastic residences
To the Tathāgata Fragrant Elephant (*Spos kyi glang po*).[330] [971]

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322. *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [800], [816], [834], [861], [952], [980].
323. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [969], [993].
324. *sge'u gsher*, see above [770].
325. *chu chun*, Negi 3: 1198 *udahāraka* (*Avadānaśataka*).
326. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also 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], [971], [982].
327. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [993].
328. *phyug po*, see above [295], also at [909].
329. *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also 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], [982].
330. *Spos kyi glang po*: Almost certainly *Gandhahastin*.

The Sugata Bhavapuṣpa, when he was a bath attendant[331]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered bath towels[332]
To the Tathāgata Discriminating Intellect (*Rnam par 'byed blo*). [972]

The Sugata Ūrṇa, when he was a ṛṣi[333]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered garments made of *kuśa* grass
To the Tathāgata Supreme Intellect (*Blo gros mchog*). [973]

The Sugata Atulapratibhānarāja, when he was a painter[334]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a flower garland
To the Tathāgata Array of Good Qualities (*Yon tan bkod pa po*). [974][335]

The Sugata Vibhaktajñānasvara, when he was a traveller[336]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he spread his robes out on the path
For the Tathāgata Lion of Conduct (*seng ge*). [975][337]

The Sugata Siṃhadaṃṣṭra, when he was a monk[338]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a small alms bowl filled with embellic myrobalan
To the Tathāgata Wisdom Intellect (*Ye shes blo gros*). [976]

The Sugata Laḍitagāmin, when he was a caravan leader[339]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a lion throne[340]
To the Tathāgata Meru of Good Qualities (*Yon tan lhun po*). [977]

The Sugata Puṇya, when he was a cakravartin king[341]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a bejewelled canopy[342]
To the Tathāgata Pure Roar (*Nga ro sbyangs pa*). [978]

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331. *khrus pa*, also at [42], [97], [117], [236], [366], [464], [766].
332. *khrus ras*, see above [90], also at [139], [366].
333. *drang srong*, also at [400], [430].
334. *ri mo mkhan*, see above [466], also at [500].
335. This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
336. *'dron po = 'gron po*, cf. above [131], also occurs at [411], [741], [796].
337. This verse has four lines of eleven syllables each: 11-11-11-11.
338. *dge slong*, see above [799].
339. *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [897], [918], [930], [987], [988].
340. *seng ge'i gdan khri*: regularly (as *seng ge'i khri*) *siṃhāsana*, see above [461].
341. *'khor los sgyur rgyal = 'khor los sgyur ba yi rgyal po*, also see [5], [21], [31], [37] (*stobs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba*), [46], [62], [188], [199], [233], [234], [401], [513], [514], [584], [715], [814].
342. *bla re*: see above [38].

The Sugata Dharmapradīpacchatra,[343] when he was a merchant[344]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered an alms bowl [filled with] gems
To the Tathāgata Integrated Analysis (*Bsdu ba rnam 'byed*). [979]

The Sugata Maṅgalin, when he was a merchant[345]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered pleasure groves
To the Tathāgata Clear Glory (*Gsal ba'i dpal*). [980]

The Sugata Aśokarāṣṭra, when he was a merchant's son[346]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a high seat[347]
To the Tathāgata Moon Brightness (*Zla ba snang ba*). [981]

The Sugata Maticintin, when he was a landowner[348]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he apportioned the cost of residence and food
Under the Sugata Light of a Mass of Good Qualities (*Yon tan phung po 'od*). [982]

The Tathāgata Matimant, when he was a follower of the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrine (?)[349]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he set out cloth and a board[350]
For the Tathāgata Dharma Power (*Chos kyi stobs*). [983]

The Sugata Dharmapradīpākṣa, when he was a poor man[351]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered beans and millet[352]
To the Tathāgata Intelligent One (*Blo gros ldan*). [984]

The Sugata Vegajaha, when he was a distiller of rum[353]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a drink of sugarcane juice
To the Tathāgata King of Renown (*Rnam grags rgyal po*). [985]

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[343] The Khotanese has (*puṇya*)-*Dharmapradīpacchatrau* (Bailey 1951: 89, no. 961). FA 1729, no. 988A has *Dharmapradīpa*.
[344] *tshong pa*, see above [780].
[345] *tshong dpon*, also occurs at [311], [316], [329], [437], [551], [742], [800], [816], [834], [861], [952], [965].
[346] *tshong dpon bu*: see above [754].
[347] *stan rings*: if taken as *stan ring* = high or long seat; if taken as *stan rings phul nas*, it could mean 'quickly or promptly offered a seat'.
[348] *khyim bdag*, see above [11], also 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].
[349] *'ug pa = ulūka*, Negi 12: 5564. We take *'ug pa* as *'ug pa pa = aulukya*, Negi 12: 5564. MW 240 'a follower of the Vaiśeshika doctrine'.
[350] We do not understand how or why the owl set out cloth and a board.
[351] *dbul po*, also occurs at [465], [523], [722], [727], [768], [853], [919], [957].
[352] *drus pa = drus ma, gardūla*, Negi 6: 2402. BHSD 210 'some kind of forest plant'. FA 1731, no. 993 has 'millet'.
[353] *bu ram chang mkhan*, see above [654].

The Sugata Atibala,[354] when he was a merchant's wife[355]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he regularly[356] offered three bushels of flour
To the Tathāgata Tamer of Faculties (*Dbang po thul ba*). [986]

The Sugata Prajñāpuṣpa, when he was a caravan leader[357]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he swept the road clean
For the Tathāgata Most Excellent Manner (*Stabs kyi mchog ma*). [987]

The Sugata Dṛḍhasvara, when he was a caravan leader[358]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered his garments as a canopy
To the Tathāgata Rays of Nectar (*Bdud rtsi'i 'od zer*). [988]

The Tathāgata Sukhita, when he was a chief courtesan[359]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered meat balls[360]
To the Tathāgata Thinking of Nectar (*Bdud rtsi sems pa*). [989]

The Sugata Arthavādin, when he was a merchant[361]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a seat made of *kuśa* (?)[362]
To the Tathāgata Best of Those Who Lead Assemblies (*Tshogs can rab mchog*). [990]

The Sugata Priyaprasanna, when he was a townsman[363]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered a drink mixed with *khara*
To the Tathāgata Rejoicing in the Hair-tuft (*Gtsug phud dgyes*).[364] [991]

The Sugata Harivaktra, when he was a garland maker[365]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he scattered ten bushels of flowers
Over the Sugata Matchless Colour (*Kha dog zil gyis mi non*). [992]

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354. Cf. Weller 991, Khotanese has *Adhibalau* (Bailey 1951: 89, no. 967). FA 1731, no. 996 *Atibalaja*.
355. *tshong pa'i chung ma* = *tshong dpon gyi chung ma*, also at [166], [392], [658].
356. *gnyug mar bzhag*: cf. Negi 4: 1613 *gnyug mar gnas pa*, *āvāsika*, *naivāsika*.
357. *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [897], [918], [930], [977], [988].
358. *ded dpon*, see above [125], also at [202], [217], [294], [319], [385], [490], [509], [554], [614], [632], [634], [690], [700], [838], [897], [918], [930], [977], [987].
359. *smad 'tshong*, see above [301].
360. D F S *shi yi bur ma*: we follow P *sha yi phur ma*. FA 1730, no. 999 has 'molasses', evidently reading *bu ram*.
361. *tshong pa*, see above [780].
362. *ka sha'i*: P *sha kha'i*. Can it be *kuśa*?
363. *grong rdal* = *nigama*; *grong dral pa* = *naigama* Negi 2: 556.
364. *gtsug phud dgyes*: Śikhipriya? Cp. MW 1071 'a kind of jujube tree'.
365. *phreng rgyud*, see above [795].

The Tathāgata Cūḍa, when he was caretaker of an orchard[366]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When he offered incense and mango fruits
To the Tathāgata Universally Bright (*Kun tu gsal ba*). [993]

The Tathāgata Roca, when he was a beggar[367]
First aspired to achieve awakening
When by selling himself[368] [was able to afford to] prepare food
For the Tathāgata King of Arrays (*Bkod pa'i rgyal po*). [994]

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BGD   see Zhang Yisun et al. 2004.
BHSD   see Edgerton 1953.
D   Derge Kanjur.
ETED   see Skorupski 2001.
F   Phug brag manuscript Kanjur.
FA   see *The Fortunate Aeon*.
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學叢書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.), *Mahāvyutpatti*, parts 1 and 2, Kyoto: Kyoto Imperial University, 1916 and 1925].
MW   see Monier-Williams [1899].
Negi   see Negi 1993−2005.
P   Peking Kanjur.
S   Stog Palace manuscript Kanjur.
Vin   *Vinayasūtra*. See Bapat and Gokhale 1982.

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366. *shing srungs*, see above [156], also occurs at [196], [213], [255], [266], [516], [580], [599], [672], [675], [676], [688], [689], [716], [723], [775], [804], [805], [809], [818], [822], [846], [944], [945], [966], [969].
367. *slong ba*: also see [603], [621], [753], [829].
368. *bshos dag bdag nyid btsongs te sbyar*: FA 1733, no. 1004 has 'prepared food himself for the Tathāgata…'.

Once again on the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka*[*]

Martin STRAUBE

In 1985 Michael Hahn published a short article on the so called *Śākyasiṃhajātaka,* a short account of the life of the Buddha in the *campū* style of mixed verse and prose. Till that time the Sanskrit text was known only from two Nepalese compilations of Buddhist narratives that had borrowed the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* together with a further ten legends from the *Jātakamālā* of Haribhaṭṭa (HJM). In his article Hahn attempted to substantiate his doubts expressed earlier on the authenticity of the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* as the 35th and concluding chapter of the HJM. While preparing a new and complete edition of the HJM with the help of Hahn's Nachlaß I reconsidered Hahn's arguments against the authenticity of the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* in the light of new sources that have become available. In what follows, I present my conclusions that differ from Hahn's in the main.

The *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* (henceforth Śsj.) is transmitted in two recensions. Under the assumed title *Sarvārthasiddhajātaka* (henceforth Sasj.) it appears as the concluding, i.e. 35th chapter of the HJM in both sources of the HJM proper that are available at present, viz. the Sanskrit manuscript B and the Tibetan translation of the HJM (HJMtib). B is an obviously well preserved, though incomplete palm-leaf manuscript of Tibetan provenance which presently is accessible merely in black and white photostat copies.[1] Unfortunately, the reverse sides of the last two folios of the manuscript are missing in these copies. Thus, we do not have access to the concluding part of the text in B from the prose section after stanza 29 onwards.[2] The second major source for the Sanskrit text of the Śsj. are two Nepalese compilations, viz. the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā* (BJAM) and the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* (JMAS).[3] They transmit the text in a partly reworked and greatly enlarged version which according to the colophons is called *Śākyasiṃhatathāgatajātaka* or *Śākyasiṃhajātaka*.[4] Moreover, in these two compilations the Śsj. does not follow directly upon the ten legends of the HJM (forming a closed section in both compilations) but is separated from them by the *Maitrakanyakajātaka* that can be attributed to Gopadatta.[5] Finally, we have fragments of a bilingual Uighur-Sanskrit manuscript in which passages from the Sasj. are preserved on two

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[*] I am indebted to Jürgen Hanneder and Roland Steiner for a couple of important suggestions, and to Peter A. Khoroche for correcting the English.

[1.] See Hahn 2005, p. 4. A detailed description of the manuscript will be found in Straube forthcoming.

[2.] Hahn 2011, p. 206, line 9. Straube forthcoming 35.29,6.

[3.] See Hahn 1992, p. 5, and 2011, p. 45 ff.

[4.] MS A of the BJAM, fol. 44 r5: *iti śākyasiṃhasta*(sic)*thāgatajātakaḥ* (sic) *samāptaḥ,* MS C of the JMAS, fol. 349 v1: *iti śākyasiṃhajātakaṃ samāptaṃ,* MS C₂ of the JMAS, fol. 156 v10: *iti śrījātakamālā⟨⟨yā⟩⟩ śākyasiṃhajātakaṃ samāptam* (Sigla according to Hahn 2011). According to Hahn 1985a (p. 9, n. 4), the MS C₃ of the JMAS (kept in the Tokyo University Library) also gives the title *"Śākyasiṃhajātaka."*

[5.] See the table on p. 52 in Hahn 2011.

fragmentary consecutive folios, and passages from HJM 32 on a third nearly complete folio.[6] Thus, it can reasonably be assumed that the Sasj. is transmitted as part of the HJM in that manuscript too.

We do not have direct evidence for the original title of the 35th chapter of the HJM. The closing section of B not being accessible, we do not know of a colophon for the 35th chapter. In HJMtib the Sasj. is not concluded by a colophon; immediately after its 58th and last stanza follows a kind of epilogue for the HJM as a whole that consists of four stanzas and a short colophon in prose.[7] While nothing speaks against Haribhaṭṭa as the author of the first two stanzas,[8] the third stanza that matters here is probably the product of a later editor. In a manner of an *uddāna*[9] it lists the last five legends of the HJM:[10]

> *rab 'gro gña' ral can brgya byin ||*
> *khra can don kun grub ldan pa ||*
> *lṅa yis lhag pa'i sum cu 'dir ||*
> *thub pa chen po'i skyes rabs*[11] *rnams ||*

> *Rab 'gro, Gña' ral can, Brgya byin, Khra can* [and] *Don kun grub ldan pa*—[these] five and thirty more jātakas of the Mahāmuni [are contained] in this [Jātakamālā].

Tibetan *Don kun grub ldan pa* given here for the last chapter corresponds to the Sanskrit title *Sarvārthasiddha* that is listed in a table of contents preserved on the last folio of manuscript B.[12] Since the stanza further states that all 35 stories are jātakas *(skyes rabs),* we may reconstruct the title of the 35th legend in the branch of transmission represented by HJMtib and B[13] as *"Sarvārthasiddhajātaka."*

Turning to the question of the authenticity of the 35th legend, it may be useful first to sketch the main points in Hahn's article from 1985.[14] On the basis of the Sanskrit text found in the Nepalese compilations BJAM and JMAS (B was not yet available) and the Tibetan translation Hahn showed that the Śsj. consists of two clearly distinguishable parts with an intermediate section. The Tibetan translation is made up of 58 stanzas imbedded in prose, while the Sanskrit is considerably longer and counts 120 stanzas plus prose. Up to the 37th stanza both versions are identical except for the usual minor variants. The text from the 38th to 53rd stanza differs substantially with the 52nd stanza already being completely different.

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6. See Maue 1996, Kat.-Nr. 21, and 2015, Kat.-Nr. 109.
7. Edited with an English translation by Thomas 1904, p. 738 f. and 742, with a German translation by Hahn 1985b, p. 249 f.; new edition in Straube forthcoming.
8. See Hahn 1985b, p. 250 f., seemingly dissenting in 2011, p. 7.
9. *Uddānas* for each decade of the HJM are preserved in HJMtib (the respective portions in B not being available); see Straube forthcoming for an edition and analysis. While these are plain customary *uddānas,* i.e. being explicitly introduced as such with *sdom la ||* (Skt. **uddānaṃ ||*) and containing nothing more than catchwords, the stanza at hand has a somewhat different style. Nevertheless, at least its first half acts as an *uddāna* for the concluding part of the HJM.
10. Text according to the Tanjur editions of Derge (D) and Peking (Q); D fol. 197 r2, Q fol 233 v5.
11. Q *skyes pa'i rabs*
12. See Straube forthcoming.
13. The table of contents in B quotes the titles of the 35 legends either with or without the final *-jātaka,* e.g. *prabhāsajātaka,* but *badaradvīpa*. Thus, it indirectly supports the designation as "jātaka" by abbreviating the title of the last legend in the same way as a couple of other titles.
14. I will pass over the last paragraph that is concerned with the Śsj. as source for Amṛtānanda's 19th century version of the *Buddhacarita*.

Finally, from the 54th stanza onwards both versions have nothing in common anymore. The shift of text is accompanied by a distinct change of language, metre, and style, and Hahn convincingly could show that the closing section is nothing more than a paraphrase of chapter 23 to 26 of the *Lalitavistara* with a considerable number of more or less mechanical borrowings. This paraphrase continues the biography of the Buddha beyond the account in the Tibetan translation that concludes with his enlightenment.

These findings, Hahn continues, can be explained by assuming that an older text (as reflected in the HJMtib) has been adapted by reworking parts of the second half and replacing the closing section with continuing paraphrases taken from another text, the *Lalitavistara*. (Hahn 1985a, § 3) Hahn considers Gopadatta to be the author of the first part of the Śsj., although with very weak arguments, as he admits (§ 4). He then goes on to give a second, alternative explanation. According to him, the first half of the Śsj. shows significant similarities in different degrees with Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (Bc). Moreover, he says, the agreement between the Śsj. and the Bc comes to an end at exactly the place where the text as reflected in HJMtib shifts into the second part that is based on the *Lalitavistara*.[15] This leads Hahn to consider it possible that one and the same person compiled the Śsj. by using an incomplete copy of the Bc,[16] so that he was forced to look for another source for the remaining parts of his text. (Hahn 1985a, § 5)

However, this scenario seems to be implausible for a couple of reasons. If one assumes that one person—Hahn thinks of a Nepalese—composed the Śsj. in the shape transmitted in the BJAM and JMAS, then two questions arise: (1) When and how did the version underlying the Tibetan translation come into being? (2) How can one explain the sudden change of language, metre, and style?

Ad (1) Hahn only says this much: that the manuscript of the Bc used by the compiler as a source for his text must have been copied before 1190 when the Tibetan translator of the HJM died. (Hahn 1985a, p. 7) But, who prepared the recension of the Śsj. that came to be incorporated into the HJM under the title *"Sarvārthasiddhajātaka"*? As it presents itself to the reader, the Sasj. is not a mere fragment of the Śsj. but a different version with a partly deviating text and a reasonable ending.[17]

Ad (2): Hahn says that the "literal borrowings from the *Lalitavistara* account for most of the Hybrid Sanskrit words and forms occurring in the latter half of the *Śsj*." (Hahn 1985a, p. 6) This is certainly true. However, this does not explain the change in style and metre. The first part of the Śsj. is, as Hahn admits,[18] comparable in style and poetic quality to Haribhaṭṭa's *jātakas,* notably in the prose sections. Now, why should a person who is able to compose a Sanskrit text like this by utilising a text that is metrical throughout as source, viz. the Bc, not be able to do the same by utilising a mixed text, namely the *Lalitavistara?*

This leads to the question whether the first part of the Śsj. really is so strikingly similar to the Bc as Hahn seems to assume. The closest and most obvious correspondence is found

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[15.] According to Hahn's table 2 (p. 5) the seam is between the 61st and 62nd stanza.

[16.] Hahn, moreover, thinks it possible that this incomplete copy of the Bc is none other than the single old Nepalese manuscript of the text known today and used by Johnston for his edition.

[17.] Below, I give the closing section of Sasj. juxtaposed to the Sanskrit text as transmitted in the BJAM.

[18.] Hahn 1985a, p. 4. The form *imaiḥ* (instead of *ebhiḥ*) quoted by Hahn as the only exception to the "fairly correct Sanskrit" of the first half is also found in HJM 24.10, and 25.124 (neither passage being known to Hahn in 1985). Obviously, Haribhaṭṭa considered *imaiḥ* as a regular variant to *ebhiḥ*.

between Śsj. 29+ to 33 and Bc 12.1–83. Here, the Bodhisattva visits the sage Arāḍa in his hermitage and receives instructions on the way to liberation from him. Especially in the passages devoted to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga doctrine the resemblance between the two texts is very close indeed, even if the Śsj. is mainly in prose. However, the remainder of the first part of the Śsj. is far less reminiscent of the Bc than Hahn suggests. Correspondences as those given by him on p. 5 f. can hardly be regarded as borrowings in my eyes:

saṃsthāpito balabhidā jagadekanātho
dhīraḥ krameṇa bhuvi sapta padāni gatvā |
atyadbhutāṃ giram imāṃ nijagāda śāntāṃ
janmedam antyam iti me tamasām abhāvāt || (Śsj. 6)

Raised on his legs by the destroyer of Bala (i.e. Śakra) the stable unique protector of living beings took one by one seven steps, and calmly spoke these marvellous words: "This is my last birth since [for me] there is no delusion [anymore]."

tathaiva dhīrāṇi padāni sapta ... jagāma (Bc 1.14cd)
... antyā bhavotpattir iyaṃ mameti (Bc 1.15b)

He ... walked seven steps with such firmness ...
... this is my last birth in the world of phenomena.[19]

The seven firm steps and the prophecy made by the Bodhisattva immediately after his last birth are an indispensable hagiographic element that one certainly would expect to read in a biography of the Buddha. And when describing it in Sanskrit, it is fairly difficult to avoid an expression like *"sapta padāni."* The same is true of the other passages juxtaposed in table 2 (p. 5), except the passage Śsj. 29+ to 33. Just consider the following, quoted by Hahn as a stanza to stanza correspondence:

vānty ete malayānilāḥ surabhayaḥ puṣpadrumākampinaś
cūtasya bhramaraḥ pradakṣiṇayati prodbhedinīṃ mañjarīm |
*cāpāropaṇadīrghasūtra *kim[20] idaṃ svasthaṃ tvayā sthīyate*
śaṅke codayatīti puṣpadhanuṣaṃ tāradhvaniḥ kokilaḥ || (Śsj. 19)

"The fragrant breezes from the Malaya mountains blow, shaking the flowering trees. A bee reverently circles around the opening cluster of a mango blossom. You who are tardy in drawing the bow,[21] how now? I'm afraid you [peacefully] rest in yourself." Thus, the shrill sounding cuckoo impels the god with the flower bow.

paśya bhartaś citaṃ cūtaṃ kusumair madhugandhibhiḥ |
hemapañjararuddho vā kokilo yatra kūjati || (Bc 4.44)

"See, my lord, this mango loaded with honey-scented flowers, in which the koïl calls, looking as if imprisoned in a golden cage."[22]

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[19]. Translation: Johnston.
[20]. Ex HJMtib *gźu bduṅs pa la bya ba riṅ bar* (read *ba*?) *bde ba **ci phyir** 'di ni khyod kyi⟨s⟩ gnas pa ste ||*; Hss. *kam;* Hahn °*kam*
[21]. A second meaning may be intended for *cāpāropaṇadīrghasūtra*: "You who have a long string for stringing the bow."
[22]. Spoken by a woman in the pleasure garden. The translation is Johnston's.

By contrast, the Śsj. mentions small details that are not to be found in the Bc,[23] uses similes that are different from those in the same places in the Bc,[24] relates a whole episode, viz. the seduction of the Bodhisattva by Māra's daughters, that is not more than faintly alluded to in the Bc,[25] and differs considerably in the final description of the enlightenment.[26]

All in all, it appears very unlikely that the Śsj. was composed, or rather, compiled, by one and the same person in Nepal. Moreover, it seems to me far from certain that the first part of the Śsj. should be nothing more than an adaptation of the Bc. Thus, we are left with the first of the two alternatives mentioned above, namely that an older version of our text, the *Sarvārthasiddhajātaka* as reflected in HJMtib, was later reworked and enlarged with the help of the *Lalitavistara*. We may safely assume that this happened in Nepal since there are many examples of such composite texts in later Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

As a product of that literature the Śsj. can be left aside, since what concerns us here is the question of the authorship of the Sasj. As explained above, all the textual sources of the HJM proper transmit the Sasj. as its 35th chapter. Thus, in order to consider it as a later addition to Haribhaṭṭa's work one should bring forward strong arguments. As far as I can see, there is only one such argument, namely the above mentioned close resemblance of the episode of the Bodhisattva's visit to sage Arāḍa's hermitage with the relevant passage in the Bc. Indeed, a borrowing of this kind would not speak in favour of an author of the rank of Haribhaṭṭa. However, one has to consider the possibility of a common source for both texts that is unknown today. And, what is more, there is usually not much scope for verbal variation in a dry explanation of philosophical theorems. Apart from this passage I can see little in Sasj. that might indicate that Haribhaṭṭa was not its author. The formal setting of the story, the use of metres in terms of variation and quantity,[27] language, and style are much the same as in the other legends of the HJM. It may appear a bit strange that an important subject like the biography of the Buddha has been treated in a sometimes rather cursory manner.[28] But this is true of other stories too.[29] More important appears the question whether a biographical

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[23]. E.g., the Bodhisattva's name "Siddhārtha" (Śsj. 11+) is not mentioned in the Bc, and the Śuddhāvāsa deities, not the Akaniṣṭha as in Bc 5.47, put the women in the palace to sleep (Śsj. 25+).

[24]. Compare, e.g. the different descriptions of the women observing the Bodhisattva's excursion in the chariot (Śsj. 12–13, Bc 3.13–23), as well as of those seducing him in the pleasure garden (Śsj. 18+–23, Bc 4.29–52). Some resemblances can be found in the description of the sleeping women in the palace (Śsj. 25+, Bc 5.47–62).

[25]. The rather detailed description of Māra's seductive daughters in Sasj. 37–42 (see below) has its counterpart merely in the mention of Māra's fruitless attempt to hit the Bodhisattva with his arrow (Bc 13.14–17).

[26]. Sasj. 49–55+ (see below), Bc 14.1–86.

[27]. See Hahn 1985a, p. 3, table 1. Since the table is based on the whole Śsj. the following numbers must be corrected in order to get the statistics for the Sasj.: Anuṣṭubh: 29 (inclusive stanzas 52, 54–56), Upajāti: 0, Vaṃśastha: 4, Vaṃśamālā: 0. The Sanskrit original of the final stanza 58 most probably is in the Vasantatilaka metre, that of stanza 57 may be in the Pramāṇikā metre. In sharp contrast, the metrical incorrect Anuṣṭubh pādas 43c, 43d, 44d, and 46d that are typical for late Nepalese Sanskrit texts are to the account of the editor who reworked the original stanzas.

[28]. E.g., contrary to the common tradition, the Sasj. combines the usual three (sometimes four) excursions during which the Bodhisattva beholds an old, a sick and a dead man (sometimes also a monk) into one. Questioned by the Bodhisattva about an old man on the way, the charioteer explains the matter, and continues, once the Bodhisattva has expressed his disgust: *kumāra na kevalaṃ jarā vyādhir api dhātu-kṣobhasambhūto dehināṃ mahān anarthaḥ | tato 'paro mṛtyur nāma sarvakriyāpaharaṇapaṭur anarthataro yaḥ paricintyamāno 'pi śarīriṇāṃ mahad duḥkham utpādayati,* "Prince, not only age but also sickness caused by disturbance of the humours is a great calamity for living beings. Beyond that, death that puts an end to all activities is an even greater calamity that causes beings profound grief just by thinking of it."

[29]. Compare the "misrepresented" perfection of meditation *(dhyāna)* in the HJM, observed by Hahn 2005, p. 8 f.

account of the last life of the Buddha-to-be is a fitting subject at all for a Jātakamālā, a "Garland of narratives of former lives of the Buddha." Even if it seems odd to treat the last life of the Buddha in the same way as his former lives one has to bear in mind that the account of the Sasj. ends at exactly the point at which the Bodhisattva finally becomes a Buddha. It seems to me not impossible that the moment of final enlightenment may have been seen as another birth, in other words, that the life of the Buddha is deemed in fact to begin at this very moment. Looked at in that way an account of the last life of the Bodhisattva up to the moment of full enlightenment would not be fundamentally different from an account of one of his former lives. Nevertheless, a certain special status of the story can hardly be denied, and one could speculate that this is reflected in its being the 35th and last legend of the HJM. As we know from his prologue Haribhaṭṭa held his predecessor Āryaśūra in high esteem.[30] Thus, it is certainly not a coincidence that his own *Jātakamālā* is made up of just as many, viz. 34, accounts of former lives of the Buddha as is his revered model. An appended 35th story with the somewhat special subject of the last life of the Bodhisattva may be seen as an attempt to add an account deemed as important without thereby outdoing the model.

Speculations aside, even if the inclusion of the Sasj. in the HJM were the deed of some later redactor, it still would not be self-evident that Haribhaṭṭa was not its the author. No other works under his name are known to be extant, but it is easily conceivable that an author of his rank composed other works too. It is not impossible, then, that the Sasj. was such a work that found its way into his *Jātakamālā* for exactly the reason that it was deemed a work written by him.

To sum up: To me it seems highly improbable that the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* as a whole is the work of a Nepalese compilator. It is rather an older work of non-Nepalese origin, probably called *"Sarvārthasiddhajātaka,"* that later on, on the occasion of its adaptation to a compilation in Nepal, was reworked and enlarged. This older Sasj. appears in all textual sources of the HJM that are presently known as its 35th chapter. Formal and stylistic characteristics of the Sasj. do not point to an author other than Haribhaṭṭa. Only one passage shows a resemblance to the Bc that is close enough to be considered as a borrowing but might be explained in other ways. Thus, in the absence of any other strong evidence the Sasj. should be taken as a work of Haribhaṭṭa and part of his *Jātakamālā*.

To faciliate an appraisal of the Sasj. its textually most problematic passage, viz. the closing section, is presented here in the form of its Tibetan translation[31] juxtaposed to the remains of the original Sanskrit.[32] A translation that combines renderings of the original Sanskrit passages and—for the reworked passages—the Tibetan, attempts to give an idea of the contents of Haribhaṭṭa's original narration. Reworked Sanskrit passages are put in italics; to faciliate comparison, the same is done for the corresponding Tibetan passages that reflect

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[30]   *ācāryaśūraracitāni na jātakāni kartā kṣamaḥ samatayāpy anugantum anyaḥ,* "Another writer is not even capable of imitating the *jātaka* stories composed by the teacher Śūra on the same [level]." (HJM, Prologue 2)

[31]   Based on the Tanjur editions of Derge (D: *Skyes rabs,* vol. *U,* fols 195 v6–196 v7) and Peking (Q: *Skyes rabs,* vol. *Khe,* fols 232 r4–233 v3).

[32]   Based on my forthcoming edition; A = manuscript of the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā*; see Hahn 2011, p. 46. Minor errors of the manuscripts have been silently corrected here.

the original Sanskrit, and the relevant passages in the translation. As explained above, the reworking of the original Sanskrit starts in stanza 38. With a view to the content the text presented here sets in with stanza 36 where the episode of the seduction of the Bodhisattva by Māra's daughters begins. The Sanskrit text from stanza 54 onwards need not be given here since it has nothing to do anymore with the Tibetan translation.[33] The Tibetan translation of the HJM is fraught with problems owing mainly to its extremely clumsy and literal style that quite often violates elementary rules of Tibetan syntax.[34] While that extreme literality is a great help in checking and correcting the Sanskrit text, it is a great obstacle to the understanding of those passages where the Sanskrit is lacking.

tato duhitṛbhiḥ sārdhaṃ cāpam ādāya kausumam |
ājagāma manoyonis tasya kṣobhayituṃ manaḥ || 36 ||

de nas bu mo rnams lhan cig || me tog gi gźu blaṅs nas ni ||
de yi yid ni dkrug[35] pa'i phyir || yid kyi skye gnas kun nas 'oṅs || (36)

36. Then, the Mind-born One took his flower bow and came, attended by his daughters, to disturb the mind of the [Bodhisattva].

jighrantī pura⟨ta⟩s[36] tasya mālatīkusumaṃ navam |
kācin nyamīlayat *kiṃcid[37] dṛṣṭim ālolatārakām || 37 ||

śirśa'i me tog sar pa ni || de yi mdun du *snom[38] byed ciṅ ||
'bras bu kun g-yo lta ba ni || la la źig gis cuṅ zad *zum[39] || (37)

37. One, smelling a fresh jasmin flower in front of him, slightly closed her eyes with rolling pupils.

sakhīkarṇe 'bhidhāyānyā kimapi smitapūrvakam |
tatra līlāvatī *rāmā kāsayantī mukhaṃ yayau* || 38 ||

grogs mo'i rna bar gźan gyis ni || dgod pa sṅon 'gro ci yaṅ smras ||
blo ldan de la lta ba ni || sgeg daṅ bcas par *gtad ciṅ gnas* || (38)

38. Another coquettishly *darted a look at this wise one*, while saying with a smile something in the ear of a confidante.

sakāmā darśayanty anyā jagādeti jinarṣabham |
rāmāyāḥ ślathakāñcīkaṃ nitamba[40]srastam aṃśukam || 39 ||

gźan dag me tog du ba ni || *mig ni ṅo tsha bar byed ciṅ* ||

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[35]. D *dkrugs*

[36]. Hahn *ājighrantī puras*

[37]. *kiṃcid* ex HJMtib; *cuṅ zad;* A *kāñcid;* Hahn *kāṃcil* (sic)

[38]. D *sgom;* Q *bsgom*

[39]. DQ *bzuṅ*

[40]. A *nitambaṃ*

gos ni mtshan ma[41] las lhuṅ ba || ska rags[42] lhod pa[43] *bkag par gyur* || (39)

39. *Another whose eyes [have been made up] with collyrium*[44] *bashfully held back* her dress that with loosened girdle slipped from her hips.

kva ca yauvanam etad indukāntaṃ
kva ca *te* tapase *mano'bhilāṣam* |
bhaja kāmam ato nivarta⟨ya⟩sva
vada kiṃ tapasaḥ phalaṃ tvayāptum || 40 ||

zla ba ltar mdzes laṅ tsho[45] 'di ni gaṅ du ste ||
dka' thub *'di ni* gaṅ du e ma 'di ni 'gal ||
yul rnams ñams su myoṅ nas 'di ltar rigs pa ste ||
yoṅs su smin pa khyed kyis 'bras bu thob pa'i phyir || (40)

40. "On the one hand that youth that is lovely as the moon, on the other hand *that* asceticism *that, alas!, is opposed to it. Having enjoyed the lands (= objects of senses),*[46] *it is equally appropriate* that you gain the *ripe* fruit.

hitakāmyatayā bruve bhavantaṃ
kim ataḥ param āptum icchasi tvam |
*gṛhidharmam a*bādhinaṃ mahāntaṃ
nu vihāya kim anyad asti puṇyam || 41 ||

phan par 'dod pa ñid kyis[47] khyed la smra ba ste ||
dus min yoṅs su ṅal du 'jug pa ci phyir lus ||
{*de ltar la la 'dud pa'i yan lag can ni smra ba ste* ||}[48]
yan lag med pa'i[49] *so sor* gnod pa che[50] de la ||
de ltar la la 'dod pa'i yan lag smras par gyur || (41)

41. Out of desire for your benefit I say to you: *What [is the use of] exposing the body to exhaustion at the wrong time?" Thus spoke one whose body [has grown] thin due to desire*[51] to the mighty enemy *of the bodiless*[52] [god of love].

tvad*abhigama[53]samutsukāsu dhīman
kim iyam adayitā manoharāsv apīti |

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mukhalavadantī kāminī kāmukāṃ[54]
*vadana*kamalāni nakhena khaṇḍayantī || 42 ||

khyed la *mṅon 'gror[55] phrad 'dod *bud med* rnams la ni ||
blo ldan *khyed kyi rjes su mthun min ci phyir 'di* ||
'di ltar de la mṅon par smras gyur la la źig ||
padma'i *'dab ma* rnams ni sen mos gtubs[56] byed ciṅ || (42)

42. *"Whence [comes] your aversion* against *women* who are intent on sexual intercourse with you, wise one?" *Thus, one spoke to him* while tearing apart lotus *leaves*[57] with her fingernail.

yadā ca tāsu bodhisattvaḥ sāvajñam api dṛṣṭi*viśeṣāṇi[58] vikṣipatsv[59] api nānāceṣṭāni darśayatsu *dhyānastimitākṣa eva tasthau* tadā māraḥ pravyājahāra | bhīṣayitvainam utthāpayateti |

gaṅ gi tshe de rnams la byaṅ chub sems dpas brñas pa daṅ bcas pa'i lta ba *sbyin par ma byas pa* de'i tshe bdud kyi⟨s⟩ *bka' byed rnam pa du mar 'gyur ba'i gdoṅ can de rnams la* smras pa | 'jigs su bcug nas 'di bslaṅ bar gyur cig ces bya ba'o ||

And, when the Bodhisattva *gave* them *not* even a dismissive glance,[60] Māra spoke *to his demons whose faces were distorted in various ways*:[61] "Make him rise by instilling terror [in him]!"

tataḥ siṃhamukhaḥ kaścit phutkāreṇa punaḥ punaḥ |
bodhisattvasya trāsārthaṃ vahneḥ kaṇān[62] vyasarjayat || 43 ||

de nas seṅ ge'i gdoṅ la ni || hūṃ byas pas ni yaṅ yaṅ du ||
me stag *'od ni 'phro ba yi* || *'bar ba'i gdoṅ las* grol bar gyur || (43)

43. Then, with a hiss a lion-faced one again and again emitted sparks *from his face that shone forth with flames.*

te *kṛśānukaṇās* tasya kiṃkarasya mukhojjhitāḥ |
nipatantaḥ kṣaṇā*j jagmuḥ* praphullapuṣpatāṃ *muneḥ* || 44 ||

de rnams de yi bka' byed gdoṅ las byuṅ ||[63] lhuṅ źiṅ skad cig gis *gsuṅs*[64] *te* ||
rab rgyas *mya ṅan* me tog ñid || *byaṅ chub sems dpa'i steṅ du 'phaṅs* || (44)

44. [As soon] as these, discharged from the mouth of that demon, fell down they instantly *were*

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54. Read *kāmukaṃ*?
55. DQ *ṅan 'gror;* **mṅon 'gror* probably < Skt. *°*abhigama*°; A *adhigama*
56. Q *btubs*
57. Tib. *padma'i 'dab ma rnams ni* may be reconstructed as, e.g., *kamaladalāni instead of the unmetrical and absurd *vadanakamalāni*.
58. A *viśiṣāṇi;* Hahn *viṣāṇi
59. A *vikṣepatsv*
60. The Sanskrit may be restored to *sāvajñām api dṛṣṭi*ṃ na dadau**.
61. Skt. perhaps *tadā* **māro vividhavikāramukhebhyaḥ kiṃkarebhyaḥ* pravyājahāra* (Hahn: ... *nānāvikāra-mukheṣu kiṃkareṣu* ...).
62. Although the wording is confirmed by the Tibetan, this very sequence is metrically faulty (2nd to 4th syllable form a ra-gaṇa).
63. A hypermetrical line with nine instead of seven syllables.
64. Read *oṅs < Skt. *jagmuḥ*?

scattered as full-blown *Aśoka* flowers[65] *upon the Bodhisattva.*

śatavaktreṇa *tīkṣṇāgrā kṣiptā śaktir*[66] *yadākṣipat* |[67]
vikasatkesaravyūho babhūvotpalaśekharaḥ[68] || 45 ||

me ldan 'khor lo su źig gis ||[69]
rnam rgyas ze'u 'bru'i tshogs ldan pa || utpala yi mgo phreṅ gyur || (45)

45. *A fiery discus (with sharp edges) [thrown] by one* with a hundred faces turned into a wreath of water lilies with a mass of full-blown filaments.

daṃṣṭrādhareṇa cānyena vidyudāpiṅgala*tviṣā* |
kṣiptāny ayoguḍoṣṇāni puṣpāṇi babhūvuḥ kṣaṇāt || 46 ||

so bsdams gźan dag ñid kyis ni || glog bźin kham pa'i *smin ma can* ||
kha ba'i rtse mo steṅ du 'bebs || kun da'i phuṅ po ñid du 'gyur || (46)

46. And *a glacial [mountain]peak that* another one with fangs [and] *eyebrows*[70] that were orange-cloured like lightnings *threw down upon [him] turned into a heap of jasmin flowers.*

anyenābhyudyato bāhuḥ sakhaḍgaḥ piṅgacakṣuṣā |
lohastambhasamucchrāyaḥ kṣaṇān niścalatāṃ yayau || 47 ||

gźan dag ser[71] skya'i mig can ni || ral gri daṅ bcas dpuṅ pa bteg ||
lcags kyi ka ba'i grib ma 'dra[72] || skad cig mi g-yo ñid du gyur || (47)

47. An arm [brandishing] a sword [and] towering like an iron pillar that another one with orange-coloured eyes raised became motionless instantly.

atha *madanavijetuḥ siddhamantrānilena*
*jaladhitaṭaga*vahniḥ kiṃkarāṇāṃ samūhaḥ |
asitagatisakhena preryamāṇaḥ samantād
iva[73] *virasavikīrṇaḥ kṣīṇarociḥśato* 'bhūt || 48 ||

de nas *bcom ldan 'das ni*[74] *byaṅ chub śiṅ gi 'og tu bźugs byas nas* ||

<div style="font-size:smaller">

65. Skt. originally *praphullāśokapuṣpatām*? Tib. *rab rgyas mya ṅan me tog ñid* could go back to a corrupt reading, e.g., °*phullāṃ śoka*° or °*phullaśoka*°. The transmitted sequence *praphullapuṣpatāṃ* is metrically faulty (2nd to 4th syllable form a ra-gaṇa).

66. A *vaktreśṛ tīṣṇāgrā[ṃ] kṣiptā śaktiṃr;* Hahn °*vaktreṇa tīkṣṇāgrāṃ kṣeptā śaktiṃ*

67. Parts of this line may well belong to the original text, notably the reference to the hundred faces of the demon. (Note that each stanza that describes the attack of Māra's soldiers refers to some demonic face.) However, due to the defective Tibetan translation details cannot be ascertained.

68. A *{{..}}⟨⟨śe⟩⟩ṣaraḥ*

69. One line is missing in D and Q. Since the first transmitted line deviates from the Sanskrit one cannot say if the missing line once stood before or after it.

70. Tib. *smin ma can;* the Skt. originally read *°bhruvā* instead of °*tviṣā.*

71. Q *gser*

72. *grib ma 'dra* seems to go back to Skt °*samacchāyaḥ* instead of A °*samucchrāyaḥ.*

73. Even if *iva* seemingly has an equivalent in Tib. *bźin du,* it can hardly be expected in this position in the original text.

74. Q om. *ni*

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'phro ba'i mig gi me can *bka'[75] *bźin du ni byed rnams kyi*[76] *ni tshogs* ||
dkar ba min par 'gro ba'i grogs kyis kun nas rab tu bskul bźin pa ||
nags kyi me ni kun tu chu daṅ ñe las bźin du źig par gyur || (48)

48. Now, *after the Blessed One had taken his seat under the Bodhi tree,* the army of demons *whose eyes emitted* fire turned as *it were into a forest fire* that [though] being fanned from all sides by the wind[77] *became completely extinct due to [its being] by the water.*

tataḥ sainyabhagnād viṣādavati kusumaketau bhagavāṁś caturthadhyānād vyutthāyedam acintayat |

me tog rgyal mtshan daṅ ldan pa *'khor gyi skye bo daṅ bcas pa*[78] *soṅ ba na* | bcom ldan 'das de bsam gtan bźi pa las bźeṅs te 'di bsams par gyur te |

When [the god] who has flowers on his banner *together with his attendants had vanished,* the Blessed One came out of the fourth [stage of] contemplation and thought:

ātmanaś cet sukhād duḥkhāt puṇyaṃ pāpaṃ prasūyate |
kathaṃ na bhadratā nityaṃ *karmā[79]bhāve ca dehinām* || 49 ||
rūpasaubhāgyabhāgyādibhedaḥ katham iheṣyate |
yadi pūrvakṛtaṃ *nāsti katham atra śubhāśubhau* || 50 ||

gal te skye ba sṅon yod na || *las rnams kyis ni 'jug pa min* ||
las las byuṅ ba'i skye ba med || las med na yaṅ lus can gyi || (49)
gzugs daṅ skal bzaṅ skal ba sogs || dbye[80] ba ci ltar 'dod ni[81] 'dod ||
'on te sṅon du las *yod na* || *ma skyes pa la*[82] *ga las te* || (50)

49–50. *"If a previous birth [that has] not been induced by actions [did] exist, [then] no birth that grows out of actions exists.* And if actions do not exist, [then] how could it be postulated here [in this world that] living beings are differentiated in outward appearance, beauty, good fortune, etc.? If former actions *exist, [then] how*[83] *[can they exist] for [someone] unborn?*[84]

karmaṇāṃ hetukaṃ karma cet sārādi na kalpayet |
ahetukaṃ jagat syāc cet kaḥ karmasvakatāṃ vadet || 51 ||

mkhas pas 'di ltar 'gal mthoṅ nas || *'khor ba'i* thog ma rtog mi byed ||
gal te rgyu med 'gro yin na || su źig las raṅ[85] ñid smra 'gyur || (51)

51. *If a wise [man] sees a contradiction in this way,* he could not fancy a beginning *of saṃ*sāra.[86] If

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75. DQ *dka'.* Tib. **bka' bźin du ni byed rnams kyi* = Skt. *kiṃkarāṇāṃ;* cf. 35.42+: *bka' byed* = **kiṃkara-,* and 35.44: *bka' byed* = Skt. *kiṃkarasya.*
76. Q *kyis*
77. *asitagatisakhena,* literally, "by the companion of he who has a black path (i.e. fire)." In HJM 23.13,7 one finds the similar expression *asitagatisārathi.*
78. Q *par*
79. Ex HJMtib *las;* A *dharmā*
80. D *dge*
81. D *'doṅ ni.* Read **'di na** < Skt. *iha?*
82. Q *las*
83. Tib. *ga las* probably < Skt. *kutaḥ.*
84. Or, if one reads *las* with Q: "*how [can they come] from [someone who was] not born?"*
85. D *daṅ*
86. Skt. originally *saṃsārādiṃ instead of *cet sārādi.*

the world should exist without a cause, who could state that [anyone] is subject to the consequences of one's own actions?

sukhahetuṃ sukhaṃ syāc ced duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasya hetukam |
tapasā duṣkareṇaivaṃ kathaṃ muktir bhaviṣyati || 52 ||

rgyu med par ni thar pa yaṅ || rtag tu grub pa ñid du 'gyur ||
rgyu med par ni lus[87] *kyaṅ 'di || bskyed pa ñid du 'gyur ba min || (52)*

52. *Though liberation will result in being persistently accomplished without a cause, yet this body will not give rise [to something] without a cause.*

īśvaraḥ kāraṇaṃ kecid abudhāḥ sampracakṣate |
kathaṃ na samatā loke samavartīśvaro hi saḥ || 53 ||

la la dbaṅ phyug rgyu yin pa || mi mkhas pa rnams smra bar byed ||
gal te dbaṅ phyug gźan gyis byas || de 'dir[88] *dbaṅ phyug ñid ga las || (53)*

53. *Some foolish [men] consider a [divine] sovereign (īśvara) as cause. If [this] sovereign has been created by another, then, whence [does his] sovereignty here [in this world come]?*

'on te ma sprul ñid skyes pa || de las gźan ni cis mi skye ||
de phyir dbaṅ phyug smra ba 'di || bdag gi slad du don med ñid || (54)

54. *If [he] came into being uncreated,*[89] *[then] how [can] another man come into being out of him? Therefore, as to me, the designation "[divine] sovereign" (īśvara) is completely senseless.*

de ltar 'khor ba'i 'khor lo 'di || yaṅ daṅ yaṅ du 'khor bźin pa'i ||
nam yaṅ mkhas pa rnams kyis ni || thog ma dmigs par 'gyur ba min || (55)

55. *In this way, wise [men] will never fancy a beginning of this ever revolving wheel of saṃsāra.*

nam mkha'i khams 'di ni rluṅ daṅ me daṅ chu daṅ sa rnams kyis[90] kun nas 'brel pa ni lus źes brjod pa yin no || de yaṅ rnam par śes pa'i khams la brten nas 'gro ba daṅ 'oṅ ba[91] la sogs pa'i bya ba rnams byed do źes bya ba ste | de ltar gnas pa la skyes bu[92] ñe bar btags par bya źes zer ro[93] || de nas bcom ldan 'das mṅon par rdzogs pa'i byaṅ chub thob nas du ma rnams kyi[94] mi śes pa'i rab rib bsal[95] bar mdzad de ||[96] groṅ khyer ser skyar byon nas zas gtsaṅ ma la legs pa'i lam gsal bar mdzad de ||[97] de ltar bcom ldan 'das de 'gro ba ma lus pa rnams kyi sdug bsṅal ñe bar źi bar bya ba'i don du yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'da' bar nus kyaṅ śin tu riṅ por 'khor ba na kun nas 'khor bar gyur to źes bya ba ste |

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87. D *lcags*
88. D *'dir ni*
89. *ma sprul ñid* < Skt. *anirmita eva* ?
90. Q *kyi*
91. D *'oṅ pa* (sic); Q *'oṅs pa*
92. D *pa*
93. D *bya źes zer ro*; Q *byas źes byas | źes zer ro*
94. D *kyis*
95. D *sel*
96. DQ *de ||*. Read *de |* or *do ||*?
97. DQ *de ||*. Read *do ||*?

The element of [empty] space[98] *that is free from [the elements of] wind, fire, water, and earth is called 'body.' Depending on the element of consciousness*[99] *it (i.e. the body) performs actions [like] going, coming, and so forth. This being so, an [independent] person should be taken as conventionally [only]." Now, by having attained perfect enlightenment, the Blessed One has eliminated the many delusions of ignorance. [He] went to Kapilavastu and expounded the right way to [his father] Śuddhodana. In this way*[100] *the Blessed One roamed saṃsāra for a long time in order to remove suffering from all beings, even though [he] would have been capable of final extinction.*

> blo chen de ni byaṅ chub phyir || lag tu gtad ltar sbyin byas te ||
> yun riṅ śes rab pha rol phyin || dam pa bde bar gnas pa yin || (56)

56. *For the sake of salvation, this high-minded one gave away what virtually had been put into his hand,*[101] *and happily dwelt in the noble perfection of wisdom*[102] *for a long time.*

> e ma gal te chos ni mun pa 'joms ||
> bde gśegs kyis gsuṅs 'di ni rnam dpyod nas ||
> dri mas khyab pa'i lta bas mthoṅ ba'i phyir ||
> skye bo[103] 'di ni gźan 'dod rten mi 'gyur || (57)

57. *"Oh, since [I] have scrutinised this teaching that was proclaimed by the Sugata [and] dispels delusion, I*[104] *will rely on no other desirable [means] in order to [be able to] see with [my] eyes that are veiled by impurity!"*

> de bźin gśegs pa'i dri med gsuṅ yaṅ yod pa źes bya la ||
> rmoṅs pa lam ṅan soṅ ba'i skye bo 'di ni kun nas 'khor ||
> ri boṅ mtshan pa mṅon gśer la ni gaṅ źig mi zum pa ||
> dman pa'i blo de soṅ źiṅ ji ltar ltuṅ[105] bar 'gyur ba min || (58)

58. *Indeed,*[106] *since the flawless doctrine of the Tathāgata is available, the deluded being*[107] *of weak intellect that strays on bad paths will not tumble*[108] *as he walks, [provided he] does not avert [his eyes] from the moon oozing*[109] *[with nectar] (i.e. the Tathāgata).*

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[98]. *nam mkha'i khams* < Skt. *ākāśadhātu*

[99]. *rnam par śes pa'i khams* < Skt. *vijñānadhātu*

[100]. With *de ltar* < *Skt. tad evaṃ* starts the formalised conclusion; for the uniform structure of Haribhaṭṭa's jātakas see Hahn 2011, p. 17 f.

[101]. i.e. his life as a king that was ensured by birth.

[102]. *śes rab pha rol phyin* || *dam pa* < Skt. *āryaprajñāpāramitā?* Or, take *dam pa* (< Skt. *sant?*) together with *blo chen de:* "this high-minded sage"?

[103]. Q *bos*

[104]. *skye bo 'di* < Skt. *ayaṃ janaḥ?*

[105]. D *lhuṅ*

[106]. *źes bya,* probably < Skt *nāma.*

[107]. Here *skye bo 'di* stands in a relative clause with *gaṅ źig.*

[108]. *ji ltar ltuṅ bar 'gyur ba min;* for this strange rendering compare HJM 11.32: *ji ltar ltuṅ ste,* Skt. *patanti,* and 18.72+: *ji ltar ltuṅ bar byed par 'gyur,* Skt. *nipātayiṣyati.*

[109]. *mṅon gśer* < Skt. *abhiṣyandin* or similar.

Symbols

*	=	conjecture
<	=	goes back to
⟨ ⟩	=	restored characters omitted in the manuscript
⟪ ⟫	=	(parts of) characters added in the manuscript
{ }	=	superfluous characters to be deleted
{{ }}	=	(parts of) characters deleted in the manuscript
[ ]	=	(in manuscript readings:) damaged or otherwise not clearly legible characters
		(in translations:) additions of the translator

Abbreviations and bibliography

A = manuscript of the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā* (see Hahn 2011, p. 46)

Bc = *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha.* Edited by E.H. Johnston. Parts I & II. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1935–36 (Panjab University Oriental Publications, 31 & 32).

D = Tanjur edition of Derge

HJM = Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*

Q = Tanjur edition of Peking

Sasj. = *Sarvārthasiddhajātaka,* the original version of HJM 35

Śsj. = *Śākyasiṃhajātaka,* reworked and enlarged version of the Sasj., completely edited in Hahn 2011

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Interpretation of the notion of *gotra* by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa:
Focusing on the phrase *"ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ dharmatālakṣaṇo viśeṣaḥ"*

Youngjin LEE

I. Introduction

Since the author of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (hereafter, AA)[1] proclaimed that [*gotra*], the basis of [bodhisattvas'] practice, has *dharmadhātu* as its own nature,[2] it has become one of the main topics dealt with by AA commentators in India as well as in Tibet.[3] This theory has especially attracted attention from Buddhist philosophers regarding its close relation to the *tathāgatagarbha*. For example, Dharmamitra (fl. ca. 800) — who composed the *Prasphuṭa-padā*[4], a sub-commentary on Haribhadra's short commentary (*Vivṛti*) — had first introduced the *tathāgatagarbha* notion into the discussion of the "*gotra* being in its natural state"[5] (*prakṛtisthaṃ gotram*).[6] Subsequently, Abhayākaragupta (late eleventh to early twelfth century)[7] linked it with the *tathāgatagarbha* and the single vehicle theory.[8] All these commentators basically based their understanding of the *gotra* on the commnetaty[9] composed by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa (sixth century),[10] and then developed their own ideas. Therefore, Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's *gotra* theory is basic and important for understanding the more mature and developed ideas of his successive commentators.

[1.] This versified commentary is traditionally ascribed to Maitreyanātha, though this is doubtful from the perspective of modern scholarship. This is due to the fact that the first figure who ascribed authorship to Maitreyanātha, namely the famous Haribhadra (ca. 770–810 CE), did so only in the eighth century (AAĀ[W] 1.13–18, 75.17–22 ; Vivṛti[A] 1.07–14). Makransky (1997, 111) pointed out that ascribing authorship at such a late stage suggests that attribution may well have been used just as a means to lend greater authority to the text.

[2.] *ādhāraḥ pratipatteś ca dharmadhātusvabhāvakaḥ* || AA I. 5cd.

[3.] For this, see Mano (1967), Ruegg (1968), Ruegg (1977), Kano (2015, 59–64), Brunnhuölzl (2010, 283–292; 428–488), and Brunnhuölzl (2012, 123–136), etc.

[4.] *Abhisamayālaṃkārakārikāprajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstraṭīkā Prasphuṭapadā-nāma* D (No. 3796) *shes phyin, nya* 1b1-110a3.

[5.] Regarding this interpretation, see fn. 28.

[6.] Ruegg 1977, 285.

[7.] Ruegg (1977, 285), Hong (2010, XXVn4), and Li (2013, 1–3).

[8.] Ruegg 1977, 286–287.

[9.] This text commonly called *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti*. However, this title did not come from the Sanskrit text, but from the Tibetan translation, "*'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa'i tshul gyi mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi man ngag gi bstan bcos kyi 'grel pa.*" In the Nepalese manuscript, the title is written as *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāryaprajñāpāramitopadeśaṃ Abhisamayā-laṃkāraśāstram*, which reminds us of AA itself. For the details, see Lee (2017a, 222–227).

[10.] Regading Ārya's life story handed down to us, see Nakamura (2014, 19–27). My preference of "Vimuktiṣeṇa" to its proper Sanskrit form, "Vimuktisena" comes from readings of relatively old manuscripts in the 12th to 13th century that I consulted (Lee 2017a, 209n1). A supplementary title on the first folio recto of the newly identified manuscript of AA ascribe its author to Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa. Regarding this, see Lee (2017a, 213).

In modern scholarship, the research on Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's *gotra* theory appears to have been relatively active: Ruegg investigated thoroughly the notion of *gotra* explained by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa and his successor Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa and published it in 1968. Moreover, there has been a recent controversy between Matsumoto and Yamabe surrounding the *gotra* theory presented in AA I 39 and Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's comment on it.[11] These excellent works have made us capable of understanding Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's notion of the *gotra* more deeply.

My paper here seeks to revisit Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's notion of the *gotra*. The main reason why I venture to deal with this subject that has been already studied by the excellent scholars is that the proper attention has not been drawn to what I call Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's exclusive definition of the *gotra*, i.e., *ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ dharmatālakṣaṇo viśeṣaḥ*.[12] To my knowledge, the exact same wording appears in none of the AA commentaries.[13] And what is even more striking is that Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa — who gives almost the same explanation on the *gotra* theory, as if he were identical to Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa[14] — makes no mention of it. Here in this paper, I would like to show how we should understand this unique definition, and, if necessary, revise the reading referring to other relevant materials. In this process, I hope I can provide a more improved Sanskrit text of Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentary using another manuscript preserved in Tibet, which the previous editor Pensa was not able to consult.[15]

In addition, I would like to give my own speculation on the contradictory statement proclaimed in AA I 39, that is, the *gotra* is undivided, but, at the same time, dividable.[16] Referring to a passage in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* as well as the *maṅgala* verse of AA, I will try to show what motivation could possibly lie in maintaining such a contradictory statement.

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[11] Matsumoto (1997, 171), Matsumoto and Yamabe (1997, 206–207; 217), Yamabe (1997, 201–203) and Yamabe (2017, 28–30).

[12] Ruegg (1968, 314) alone, without a detailed explanation, provided its translation, "particularity of the six perfections having as its characteristic the *dharmatā*."

[13] Only Abhayākaragupta makes mention of "*viśiṣṭaṃ gotram*" in a relevant passage. See fn. 24.

[14] Recently, Isoda (2014) raised the following question: Aren't the *Vṛtti*, i.e., Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentary, and the *Vārttika* are different translations of the same original text? According to Nakamura (2014, 43-44), AA on which Bhadanta commented should be seen as "another recension," rather than an "incomplete version" as Haribhadra mentioned. Moreover, the 25.000 *Prajñāpāramitā* that Bhadanta consulted was unrevised recension, which is diferent from the recension that was revised in accordance with AA's system and used by Ārya. See Nakamura (2014, 37–39; 48). Regarding to the sections of *gotra* and the objective supports of the practice that we are dealing with, several quotations of Bhadanta are different from those of Ārya (fn. 57). Moreover, the *kārikā*s on which both Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentaries are based are not same. With reference to AA I 40b and 41d, Ārya reads *te punaḥ kuśalādayaḥ* = *de yang dge la sogs pa yin* (That [all dharmas], furthermore, are [listed] beginning with wholesome *dharma*s) and *ye cāsādhāraṇā muneḥ* = *gang dag thub pa'i thun mong min* (those [*dharma*s] of the Muni which are unshared with others) respectively, Bhadanta has different readings, i.e., *'jig rten dge dang mi dge ba* (wholesome and unwholesome [*dharma*s] that are mundane) and *gang dag ston pa'i stobs la sogs* (those [*dharma*s] of the Teacher (**śāstṛ) beginning with the [ten] powers) in order. The relationship between Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentary and the *Vārttika*, as well as whether they are identical is to be studied throughly.

[15] Based on one Sanskrit manuscript in the early twelfth century with its modern apograph, the whole Sanskrit text was edited by three scholars: 1st *Abhisamaya* by Pensa (1967), 2nd to 4th *Abhisamaya*s by Cicuzza (2001), and 5th to 8th *Abhisamaya*s by Nakamura (2014). In 2013, another manuscript of Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentary was identified. This manuscript, which is now preserved in Tibet, probably dates back to the twelfth century. Recently, the new critical edition of the 1st *Abhisamaya* consulting both manuscripts has been published by Lee (2017b). For the information of both manuscripts, see Lee 2017b, 17–23.

[16] Refer to the quotation [7] in this paper.

II. Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's definition of bodhisattvas' *gotra*

Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa, as does Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa, first starts with the meaning of *gotra* in the fifth section of the first *Abhisamaya* of his commentary.[17] For both of them, the *gotra* indicates the basis (*ādhāra*) or foundation (*pratiṣṭhā*)[18] of the bodhisattvas' practice that begins with generating the resolve [to become a buddha] (*cittotpāda*) and ends with the path of repeated cultivation (*bhāvanāmārga*). Following AA's two *kārikā*s (AA I 37-38), they say that the *gotra* is divided into thirteen types in accordance with the distinction of different states of *dharmas* of the practice.[19]

Then Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa, while elucidating one passage quoted from PvsP, defines the bodhisattvas' *gotra* as such:

[1] For showing that the [bodhisattva] is the support of each of these *dharmas* of realization, [the Blessed one] says [in the 25,000 *Prajñāpāramitā*], "Subhūti! The object referred to by the word "bodhisattva" is nothing real. And why? Subhūti! This is because neither production of [bodhisattvas'] enlightenment nor its existence is existent or perceived." By this [statement] he reveals that the *gotra* —① superiority [to *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s] with regard to the six perfections [which must be developed and practiced by them on the path to becoming a buddha, and it is] characterized by (or defined as) the true nature of *dharmas* — is the cause of application of the word "bodhisattva," but it is not the object referred to by the word, which functions as a real thing since it is reasonable that the enlightenment, the supported [by the supporter = bodhisattva] is not substantially existent.[20]

The point here seems to be that bodhisattvas, bases (*gotra*) of *dharmas* of realization, are not really existent (in other words, empty or absence of its own nature) because their enlightenment, which is to be realized by bodhisattvas, does not exist substantially. Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa, nevertheless, defines the bodhisattvas' *gotra* as "superiority with regard to six-perfections, which is characterized by the true nature of *dharmas*" (*ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ dharmatā-lakṣaṇo viśeṣo gotram*). This notion has not been handed down to not only his immediate successor Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa but also other Indian commentators as far as I know.[21]

This interpretation would make sense in itself. However, considering the following definition of the *gotra* by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa as well as by Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa, we need to have second thoughts about this understanding.

[2] It has been said in the fourteenth generation of the resolve [to become a buddha] that [a

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[17] My division of sections is based on section colophons of two manuscripts. The colophon at the end of the fifth reads as follows: "Bases, objective supports, and [distant and future] goals of [Bodhisattvas'] practice has been taught." (*uktāḥ pratipatter ādhārālambanoddeśāḥ ||*). For the division of sections of the 1st *Abhisamaya* and its section colophons, see Lee(2017b, 27-29).

[18] In Vārttika_Tib, the equivalent of *pratiṣṭhā* is "*zhabs su 'jug pa*" (**caraṇapratiṣṭhā*?)

[19] A 24v2-3, B 22r6-23r1, E^P 73.02-08 ; Vārttika_Tib D (No. 3788) *shes phyin, kha* 34a1-34a3, Q (No. 5186) *sher phyin, kha* 40a7-40b2.

[20] *yas tasya tasyādhigamadharmasyādhāra ity āha | "apadārthaḥ subhūte bodhisattvapadārthaḥ | tat kasya hetoḥ | na hi subhūte bodher^1 utpādo vāstitā vā vidyate vopalabhyate ve"ti | anenādheyāyā bodher^2 adravya-tvopapattyā ① ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ dharmatālakṣaṇo viśeṣo gotraṃ bodhisattvaśabdapravṛttinimittaṃ, na tu vastubhūtaḥ padārtha ity āvedayati |* (^1 *bodher*] B E^P, *bodhir* A ; ^2 *anenādheyāyā bodher*] A B, *anenādheyā bodhir* E^P) A 23v3–4, B 23r1–23r2, E^P 73.08-14 ; cf. E^L [88].10–15 (The underline is mine.); Regarding another English translations, see Sparham (2006, 79).

[21] For corresponding passages without this definition, see the following sources: Bhadanta's Vārttika_Tib D 34a2–3, Q 40b2–4; Haribhadra's AAĀ^W 76.04–12. For Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, refer to fn. 24.

bodhisattva] who wants to realize suchness of all *dharmas* (*sarvadharmatathātā*) [should train in the perfection of wisdom]. In this [quotation], suchness of all *dharmas* indicates the shared true nature of *dharmas* (*sāmānyadharmatā*) that are comprehensively listed by things to avoid, their remedies, and so on. [It has been also taught] that [a bodhisattva] who wants to realize suchness of *dharmadhātu* (*dharmadhātutathatā*) [should train in the perfection of wisdom.] [In this passage, ② <u>the compound *dharmadhātutathatā*] means the true nature connected with *viśeṣa* by which the *dharmadhātu* is to be called [bodhisattvas'] *gotra*</u>[22] [in ① the fifth section of the first *Abhisamaya*].[23]

While analyzing the compound "*dharmadhātutathatā*," Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa and Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa identify *dharmadhātu* with *viśeṣa* and elucidate that this *viśeṣa* makes *gotra* of *dharmadhātu*. Given that Abhayākaragupta adopts "*viśiṣṭaṃ gotram*" instead of "*viśeṣo gotram*" in a passage relevant to ①,[24] the function of the *viśeṣa* is considered to limit the range of meanings of the *dharmadhātu*, which, in turn, leads us to interpret the *viśeṣa* (①) as particular or specific *dharmadhātu*, that is, *viśiṣṭadharmadhātu*.

If my understanding of the *viśeṣa* as *viśiṣṭadharmadhātu* is accepted, a loose connection between the six perfections and the particular *dharmadhātu* can hardly be explained. It is more so considering that the *dharmadhātu*, as we will see, functions as objective support (*ālambana*) of bodhisattvas' practice or as the object-condition (*ālambanapratyaya*) of supramundane *dharmas* of the noble ones.

rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, Tibetan translator of Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentary, rendered the phrase ① differently: "[Bodhisattvas'] *gotra* characterized by the true nature of ***dharmas* belongs to the six sense-spheres**" (***skye mched drug gi*** *chos nyid kyi mtshan nyid kyi rigs*).[25] On the basis of this, we would be able to revise "*ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ*" to "*ṣaṇṇām āyatanānāṃ*." Further, this revision could be supported by Ratnākaraśānti's gloss on "the object referred to by the word bodhisattva" (**bodhisattvasya padārthaḥ/ bodhisattva-padasyārthaḥ*[26]) in the *Śuddhimatī*, in which he understands it as "particularity of six sense-spheres."[27] However, I believe, we need more decisive evidence to confirm this emendation.

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[22] Vṛtti$_{Tib}$ is different in that the *dharmadhātu* is omitted : "*khyad par gang gis rigs zhes 'chad par 'gyur ba de'i chos nyid gang yin pa'o ||*" ([The compound *dharmadhātutathatā*] means the true nature connected with particularity by which [bodhisattvas'] *gotra* is to be explained). This interpretation, however, is not supported by the *Vārttika*$_{Tib}$, which has "*chos kyi dbyings*", an interpretation of *dharmadhātu* : "*khyad par gang gis <u>chos kyi dbyings la</u> rigs zhes bya bar 'chad par 'gyur ba de'i chos nyid gang yin pa'o ||*"

[23] *yad uktaṃ caturdaśe cittotpāde* "*sarvadharmatathatām anuboddhukāmene*"*ti | tatra sarvadharmatathatāyā vipakṣapratipakṣādisaṃgṛhītānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ sāmānyadharmatā |* ② "*<u>dharmadhātutathatām anuboddhu-kāmene</u>*"*ti <u>yena viśeṣeṇa dharmadhātur gotram ity ākhyāsyate tasya yā dharmatā</u> | A 7v1–2, B 7r1–2, E^P 27.21–28.05; cf. E^L [22].5–8; Vṛtti$_{Tib}$ D No. (3787) shes phyin, ka 25b1, Q (No. 5185) sher phyin, ka 28b5–6.

[24] This passage in the *Munimatālaṃkāra* seems to echo Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's definition of *gotra* in [1]. Thanks to Kano (2015, 60n42), we can refer to its Sanskrit version: "However, when the completely pure *dharmadhātu* comes forth through removing stains of conceptualization without remaining, [bodhisattvas'] enlightenment is attained. For this very reason, <u>the particular *gotra*, i.e., the cause of application of the word "bodhisattva", becomes the base of the armor practice, etc.</u>, since aspiration toward twenty-two kinds of generation of the resolve [to become a buddha] and their superior qualities." (*akhilavikalpamalāpanayanāt tu suviśuddho dharmadhātur āvirbhavan bodhiḥ sampadyate | ata eva <u>viśiṣṭaṃ gotraṃ bodhisatvaśabdapravṛttinimittaṃ</u> dvāviṃśaticittotpādānān tadviśeṣāṇāṃ ca cchandāt prabhṛti <u>sannāhādipratipattīnāṃ cādhāraḥ</u> | Munimatālaṃ-kāra* Sanskrit Manuscript. 85v2-3)

[25] Note that here the Tibetan equivalent to *viśeṣa* is absent.

[26] The second alternative was proposed by Prof. Saito Akira. I am deeply grateful to him for this suggestion.

[27] "*byang chub sems dpa'i tshig gi don zhes bya ba ni <u>skye mched drug gi khyad par</u> ro ||*" Śuddhimatī$_{Tib}$ D (No. 3801) shes phyin, ta 102a7.

After having correlates the thirteen types of bodhisattvas' *gotra* listed in AA I 37-38 with relevant passages of PvsP, both Vimuktiṣeṇas provide another definition of the *gotra*:

> [3] [The blessed one], anticipating the question that what is then the definition of the base of [bodhisattvas'] practice says [in the 25,000 *Prajñāpāramitā*]: "Subhūti! A bodhisattva should therefore train himself in non-attachment to all *dharmas* [and] in their unreality, on the basis of non-imagination and non-conceptualization." In this [passage], the imagination and the conceptualization indicate adherence to things and their objective characteristics respectively. It is to be known that the non-attached comes from the absence of these two. The unreality denotes suchness of all *dharmas*. ③ Hence, by this [statement] he shows that the support of the practice is *gotra* being in its natural state (*prakṛtistham gotram*)[28] because *dharmadhātu* alone is the cause of the *dharmas* of the noble ones.[29]

In this passage, Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa seems to accept the "*prakṛtiṣṭhagotra*"[30] —with the different meaning— of the two kinds of bodhisattvas' *gotra* that are presented in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* section of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[31] The reason for this is that *dharmadhātu* or *specific dharmadhātu* alone is the cause of the *dharmas* of the noble ones. Moreover, Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa indirectly and Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa directly reject the second definition of *gotra*, i.e., attained *gotra* (*samudānītagotra*) through the practice of merits in the past lives.[32]

> [4] Others hold that *gotra* is the distinct state of the six sense-spheres, which is twofold: one attained by conditions[33] and one abiding in "*prakṛti*" (*prakṛtyavasthita*)[34]. They should explain

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[28]. I followed Schmithausen's second definition of the *prakṛtistha*, "being in its natural, unrefined state," which is supported by Vṛtti_Tib, "*rang bzhin du / la gnas pa*." Vārttika_Tib, however, reads "*rang bzhin gyis gnas pa*," which can be interpreted either as "innate, inherent" (see Schmithausen 2014, 119n490) or as "existing by nature" (Yamabe 1997, 202). My choice of the former over the latter can be attested in the explanation, rather assumption of Ārya and Bhadanta, which shows that the *prakṛti* in the *prakṛtistha* is synonymous with the *dharmatā*. This assumption clearly suggests that both of them use the *prakṛti* as a noun, not as adverb.

[29]. *kiṃlakṣaṇas[1] tarhi pratipattyādhāra ity āha | "sarvadharmāṇāṃ hi subhūte bodhisattvenāsaktatāyām asadbhūtatāyāṃ śikṣitavyam akalpanatām anavakalpanatāṃ copādāye"ti | tatra kalpanāvakalpane vastutannimittābhiniveśau, tadabhāvād asakto veditavyaḥ[2] | asadbhūtatā sarvadharmatathatā | ③ tad anena dharmadhātur evāryadharmahetutvāt[3] prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ pratipattyādhāra ity upadarśayati ||* ([1] *kiṃlakṣaṇas*] A B, *kiṃ lakṣaṇaṃ* E^P ; [2] *asakto veditavyaḥ*] A B(*aśakto*), *asaktir veditavyā* E^P ; [3] *evāryadharmahetutvāt*] B(°*rmma*°), *evārya(dh)arm.a .e ++ t** A, *evāryadharmāṇāṃ hetutvāt* E^P) ; A 25v6–26r1, B 24r3, E^P 76.12–18; cf. E^L [92].13–18. For other English translation, see Ruegg (1968, 309) and Sparham (2006, 83); Vārttika_Tib D 36a1–2, Q 42b7–43a1.

[30]. Ārya and Bhadanta further explain that the "*pratisthagotra*" intended here is without hindrance (*nirantarāya*) [to attaining enlightenment (*bodhi*) or *nirvāṇa*]. Here, hindrance (*antarāya*) denotes four defects (*ādīnava*) composed of defilements, bad friends, destituteness (*vighāta, phongs pa*), and dependence, those which are defined as defects of *gotra* in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 3.7.

[31]. Regarding two kinds of *gotra* in the early *Yogācāra* texts, consult Yamabe (1997, 195–196).

[32]. Bhadanta adds one sentence to the end of the passage, which clearly reveals that he and his predecessor Ārya have rejected the second definition in this context: "By the [expression], 'because of unreality (*dngos po med pa nyid*, *asadbhūtatā) of [all *dharmas*],' it is clearly explained that the *gotra* is the support of the practice because *dharmadhātu* alone is the cause of the *dharmas* of the Noble Ones. This *gotra* is one which exists by nature (*rang bzhin gyis gnas pa* *prakṛtistha), but not one which results from conditions (*rkyen las byung ba*, *pratyayotpanna)." Also see Ruegg (1968, 312–313).

[33]. The Vārttika_Tib adopts "*rkyen tshogs pa las byung ba*" (*pratyayasāmagryutpanna), interpreted as "[the *gotra*] arisen from an assemblage of conditions," instead of "*rkyen gyis yang dag par blangs pa* (*pratyayasamudānīta)" in the Vṛtti_Tib.

[34]. In the context of the classical *Yogācara* theory of *gotra*, this should be understood as "existing by nature" (=innate, *rang bzhin gyis gnas pa*,) which Yamabe (Matsumoto and Yamabe 1997, 216–217), opposing to

the meaning of the word "*prakṛti*" in [the compound of] the "*prakṛtisthagotra.*" If it is synonymous with [generative] cause[35], it also applies to the "[*gotra*] attained by conditions;" what then is the difference in meaning [between these two classes of *gotra*s]? ④ <u>However, when [we take the word "*prakṛti*"] as a synonym of *dharmatā* [, by which we understand "*prakṛtisthagotra*" as the *gotra* staying in / existing as *dharmatā*,] there is no such problem.</u>[36]

Noteworthy in this passage is that the *prakṛti* of the *prakṛtisthagotra* is a synonym of or interchangeable with *dharmatā* but not with the generative or productive cause (*kāraṇa*). This explanation reminds us of the word *dharmatālakṣaṇa* that modifies *viśeṣa* in ①. Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa, as well as Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa, seems to assert that, even in the context of the early Yogācāra texts, we should understand the compound "*prakṛtisthagotra*" as the *gotra* existing as *dharmatā,* in consequence of which we can infer that *dharmatālakṣaṇa* has the same meaning as "*prakṛtistha.*"

Gathering all information we have about the *gotra* up to now, we can reorganize the phrase ①, in which Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's exclusive definition of the *gotra* appears.

> ①-1. Bodhisattvas' *gotra* indicates particular *dharmadhātu* either of the six perfections or of the six sense-spheres, which is being in its natural [and unaltered][37] state and is characterized by the true nature of *dharma*s, in other words, one that exists as the true nature of *dharma*s.

The remaining problem now is which of these two, i.e., either the six perfections or the six sense-spheres, the particular *dharmadhātu* connects with. Before proceeding to this subject, I would like to take a look at the function of the *dharmadhātu* in the bodhisattvas' practice to understand the *gotra* more clearly.

III. *Dharmadhātu* functioning as an objective support.

Yamabe (1997, 202) has already pointed out that in AA and Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's commentary on it, *dharmadhātu* as the basis for supramundane attainment aids the arising of supra-mundane wisdom by serving as its cognitive object (*ālambana*) as in the *Viniścaya-saṃgrahaṇī.*[38] Moreover, Vasubandhu, in commenting on the *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.15c, "*hetutvāc cāryadharmāṇām*" parallel to ③ "*dharmadhātu* alone is the cause of the *dharmas* of the noble ones," makes clear that *dharmadhātu,* one of the synonyms of emptiness

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Matsumoto's interpretation of "the *gotra* located on *prakṛti*" or "the *gotra* existing on *prakṛti*," discussed this point in detail. However, here we should consider how Ārya as well as Bhadanta accepted this notion. It is probable that they understood this term in accordance with their system, not with the classical *Yogācara* theory as its context shows. cf. Yamabe 2017, 25–32.

[35]. Regarding this interpretation, I consulted Ruegg (1968, 310; 313).

[36]. "*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣo gotraṃ, tac ca dvividhaṃ pratyayasamudānītaṃ prakṛtyavasthitam ce"ty apare | taiḥ prakṛtisthagotre prakṛtyabhidhānasyārtho vācyaḥ*[1] *| kāraṇaparyāyaś cet tad api pratyayasamudānītam iti ko 'rthaviśeṣaḥ*[2] *| ④* <u>*dharmatāparyāye punar eṣa doṣo nāsti*</u> *|* (*[1] vācyaḥ*] A B, *vacyaḥ* E[P]; ko 'rthaviśeṣaḥ] A B (°*rtha*°), *kim arthaviśeṣaḥ* E[P]) A 26r2, B 24r4-5, E[P] 76.24-77.03; cf. E[L] [93].6-9 ; Vṛtti_Tib D 36a4-5, Q 43a3-5 ; Vārttika_Tib D 36a4-5, Q 43a3-5. It is slightly modified translation of Yamabe (1997, 202; 451n50). For other English translations, see Ruegg (1968, 309-310) and Sparham (2006, 84).

[37]. For this insertion, refer to quotation [5].

[38]. With reference to *dharmadhātu* (=*tathatā*) functioning as object-condition (*ālambanapratyaya*) of supramundane *dharmas*, see Yamabe (1990) and Schmithausen (2014, 569–570; 572; 577–578; 582; 594).

(*śūnyatā*)[39] serves as the cognitive object or objective support of *dharma*s of the noble ones.[40]

In both Vimuktiṣeṇas' commentaries, there is a passage that *dharmadhātu* is one of many objective supports of bodhisattvas' practice from generating the resolve to become a buddha to the path of repeated cultivation.

> [5] [In AA I 40a, it is proclaimed that objective support of the practice consists of all *dharma*s (*ālambanaṃ sarvadharmāḥ*)]. Those who think that *dhārmadhātu* alone is the objective support [of the practice] should give an answer to how purity of the objective support becomes more and more enhanced.[41] If you assert [as in the *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.16cd] that purity [of emptiness] is accepted like the purity of water-element, gold, and *ākāśa* [from the viewpoint of the removal of adventitious stains, but its nature does not change at all], in this case the undesired consequence of partial purity would follow. This is because you have not abandoned the conceptualization of things to avoid and their remedies … Having considered so, it is reasonable to say that characteristics of the base (*ādhāra=gotra*) and the objective support (*ālambana*) are different and that purity of the objective support can be attained. [The former is] due to the fact that *gotra* has [unalterable] *prakṛti* as its chief while the objective support has *vikṛti* (=alteration) as its chief. However, [the latter is possible] because both of them are not mutually exclusive. For this very reason, [the Blessed one] says [in the 25,000 *Prajñāpāramitā*], ⑤ "A bodhisattva should therefore train himself in non-attachment to all *dharma*s and in their unreality." What does it mean? The objective support is the alternation (*vikṛti*) intertwined with the [unalterable] *prakṛti*, not a mere alternation.[42]

In this passage, both Vimuktiṣeṇas first reject the opponent's idea that *dharmadhātu* is the only objective support of bodhisattvas' practice and its purity comes from the removal of adventitious stains, not form the alteration of its nature. Then, they clearly mention that the *gotra*, i.e., *dharmadhātu* differs from the objective support (*ālambana*) in that their attributes are distinguishable, that is, the former is unaltered but the latter can be altered. However, these two things are not totally separated since *dharmadhātu* has already been intertwined with *ālambana*s, i.e., all *dharma*s. They also elucidate that during the practice, possibly meditative practice, bodhisattvas have as their cognitive object not only the *dharmadhātu* but also all *dharma*s of which the attribute is alternation. For giving authority to their explanation, they cite the same passage as in [3], in which two Vimuktiṣeṇas accept the

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[39] In MAVBh I.14, in addition to *dharmadhātu*, four terms (*tathatā, bhūtakoṭiḥ, ānimittam*, and *paramārthatā*) are listed as synonyms of emptiness.

[40] MAVBh[N] 222.23–24.02. The following translation is quoted from Schmithausen (2014, 571): "[Emptiness is called] *dharmadhātu* because it is the cause of the dharmas of the Noble Ones, (i.e., the supramundane *dharma*s), for the *dharma*s of the Noble Ones originate from it [insofar] as [it is their] objective support (*ālambana*). In this [expression], "*dhātu*" means indeed "cause.""

[41] According to the Vārttika[Tib], this can be interpreted differently: "… how non-perception (*dmigs su med pa*, *anupalambha*) reaches the distinct state of purification progressively …" (*yang 'ga' zhig gis chos kyi dbyings nyid dmigs pa yin no snyam du sems na | dmigs su med pa des gong nas gong du rnam par dag pa'i khyad par du 'gro ba ci lta bu yin zhe na | brjod par bya ste |*)

[42] *ye tu dharmadhātum evālambanaṃ manyante tair ālambanasyottarottaraśuddhiviśeṣagamanaṃ katham iti vaktavyam | "abdhātukanakākāśaśuddhivac chuddhir iṣyata" iti ced evaṃ tarhi vipakṣapratipakṣavikalpa-prahāṇābhāvāt prādeśikaśuddhiprasaṅgaḥ | … evaṃ ca kṛtvā prakṛtipradhānaṃ gotraṃ vikṛtipradhānam ālambanam ubhayaṃ tūbhayatrāpratiṣiddham ity ādhārālambanayor[1] lakṣaṇabheda ālambanaśuddhigamanaṃ copapannaṃ bhavati | ata evāha ⑤ "sarvadharmāṇāṃ hi subhūte bodhisattvenāsaktatāyām asadbhūtatāyāṃ[2] śikṣitavyam" iti | ko 'rthaḥ | prakṛtyanuviddhā vikṛtir[3] ālambanaṃ na vikāramātram iti | (*[1] *ādhārālambanayor] A B, *ādhāraṇālambanayor* E[P] ; [2] *asadbhūtatāyāṃ*] B, *asadbhūtāyāṃ* A E[P] ; [3] *anuviddhā vikṛtir] A B, *anusahitavikṛtir* E[P]); A 27r1–4, B 35r4-6, E[P] 19.19–80.06; cf. E[L] [97].10–[98].08 ; Vṛtti[Tib] D 61b1–7, Q 70a6 70b5; Vārttika[Tib] D 37b2–38a1, Q 44b6–45a6.

concept of *prakṛtisthagotra* alone. This implies the *gotra* being in its natural and unaltered state (*prakṛtisthagotra*), in other words, specific *dharmadhātu* (②) serves as objective support of bodhisattvas' practice.

As Schmithausen (2014, 578) mentioned, that which has suchness (*dharmatā = dharmadhātu = [viśiṣṭa]dharmadhātu*) as its object-condition must be some form of the mind or a mental factor, more precisely, some form of insight (*jñāna*). If then, the *dharmadhātu* as the object-condition of bodhisattvas' insight should belong to the sphere of mental objects (*dharmāyatana*). According to the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* section of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi*, "*prakṛtisthadhātu*" identical to the "*prakṛtisthagotra*" consists of the eighteen *dhātu*s,[43] which include *dharmadhātu* that is also called the sphere of mental objects (*dharmāyatana*) among the six external sense-spheres. In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*) —which is interchangeable with *gotra* and *dharmadhātu* in commentaries of Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa and Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa in that from which the [*dharma*s of] noble ones originate[44]— belongs to the *dharmadhātu* and is a part of it.[45] Therefore, it is probable that the *viśeṣa* (①), which is *viśiṣṭadharmadhātu* (③), connotes a certain specific *dharmadhātu* (= *dharmāyatana*), i.e., *śūnyatā*[46], among various mental objects. Applying this idea, we can reinterpret ① as follows:

> ①-2. Bodhisattvas' *gotra* indicates particularity (= a specific *dharmadhātu*) among the six [external] sense-spheres, which [exists in a natural and unaltered state and] is characterized by the true nature of *dharma*s.

The following gloss on the compound "*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa*," which was made by an anonymous commentator and handed down to Tsong kha pa, can support my reinterpretation.[47]

> According to others, the sixth external base, particularity (*khyad par, *viśeṣa*) or a part (*nang tshan, *ekadeśa*?) of the sphere of mental objects (**dharmāyatana*) is suchness (**tathatā*),

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[43] Yamabe 1997, 196. Cf. AKBh^E 21.05-10. Regarding its translation, see Matsumoto and Yamabe (1997, 212).

[44] "However, according to the semantic elucidation of words based on phonetic similarities, *gotra* [that is analyzed into **guṇa + uttarana** (from *ut-√tṝ*) as does in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*] indicates the origin of qualities. This is because the meaning is that from this [*gotra*] various qualities spring up, i.e., arise. Accepting such [elucidation, the Blessed one, in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*,] says that all noble ones originate from the unconditioned." *niruktaṃ tu guṇottaraṇārthena[1] gotraṃ, tasmād dhi te te[2] guṇā rohanti prabhavantīty arthaḥ | evaṃ ca kṛtvocyate "asaṃskṛtaprabhāvitāḥ sarvāryapudgalā" iti |* (^1 *guṇottaraṇārthena*] A B, *guṇottāraṇārthena* E^P; ^2 *te te*] A B, *te* E^P) A 26r6, B 24v2, E^P 77.29–21; cf. E^L [94].09-11; Vārttika_Tib D 36b4–5, Q 45b5–6.

[45] **dravyavān ekaḥ** | *asaṃskṛtaṃ hi sāratvād dravyam* || <u>*tac ca dharmadhātāv asty ato dharmadhātur eko dravyayuktaḥ*</u> || AKBh^E 41.05–07; *eṣām aṣṭādaśānāṃ dhātūnāṃ madhye kati nityāḥ katy anityāḥ | na kaścit sakalo 'sti nityo dhātur api tu* **nityā dharmā asaṃskṛtāḥ** | *tena* <u>*dhārmadhātvekadeaśo*</u> *nityaḥ śeṣā anityāḥ* || AKBh^E 57.21–24.

[46] Ārya considers *dharmanairātmya* (selflessness of *dharma*s) as a synonym of *dharmadhātu*: **dharmadhātuparame loka** *iti lakṣaṇālambanato* <u>*dharmanairātmyapradhāne loke*</u> | A 30v3, B28v1, E^P 89.6–7; cf. EL [110].5–6. Abhayākaragupta, who is considered to have followed Ārya's commentary faithfully, define *dharmadhātu* as "absence of own nature of all *dharma*s" (**sarvadharmaniḥsvabhāvatā*) : *rigs 'di ni ci | dmigs pa ni ci | ched du bya ba ni ci zhe na | brjod par bya ste* <u>*chos kyi dbyings chos thams cad rang bzhin med pa nyid kyi mtshan nyid can*</u> *kho na* : Munimatālaṃkāra_Tib D (No. 3903) *dbu ma, a* 169b6.

[47] Thanks to Kim (2012, 53), I could turn my eyes to this passage. Kim pointed out that the closest elucidation to this opinion is Ārya's. He, however, hesitated to attribute this opinion to Ārya because the author of AA and Ārya had not accepted the idea of "*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa*."

because it is taught that [*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa*] is acquired by *dharmatā* (**dharmatāpratilabdha*).[48]

In my opinion, Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's exclusive notion of bodhisattvas' *gotra* in [1] is a reinterpretation of the *gotra* theory represented in the early Yogācāra texts. Having borrowed the compound, the "*ṣaḍāyatanaviśeṣa*," from them, he analyzes it into "*ṣaṇṇām āyatanānāṃ viśeṣaḥ*" and assigned a new meaning, i.e., "external sense-spheres" to it. The intention here is to assert that the *gotra* of bodhisattvas and others cannot be decided or differentiated by their internal capacities (*āyatanaviśeṣa=indriyaviśeṣa*)[49]. The word *dharmatālakṣaṇa*, which means [the *gotra*] characterized by *dharmatā*, appears to be a modified form of the *dharmatāpratilabdha* (naturally acquired). These modifications — as well as alone accepting "*prakṛtisthagotra*" of the two kinds of *gotra* with a different interpretation, that is, *gotra* being in its natural and unaltered state or existing as the true nature of *dharma*s — are regarded to be a prerequisite for introducing the new definition of the *gotra*, i.e., *dharmadhātu* that has been proclaimed in AA. Based on this assumption as well as the materials that we have seen, I suggest we should emend "*ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ*" (①) to "*ṣaṇṇām āyatanānām.*"

As for the reason why Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa's successive commentators made no mention of "a particularity of the six [external] sense-spheres," I only assume that for them, the meaning of *dharmadhātu* has been already fixed as *śūnyatā* and *dharmatā*, etc., so they did not need to limit its meaning in this context. Alternately, they would have wanted to remove the influence from the early *Yogācāra* texts.

IV. Inclusivism presented in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and its commentaries.

One of the most famous *kārikā*s of AA is probably the thirty-ninth verse of the first *Abhisamaya*.[50] There, the author of AA proclaims that, in principle, the division of *gotra* is impossible but nonetheless they differentiate the *gotra* on the basis of differences of *dharma*s that are supported by the supporter, *dharmadhātu*. This verse is important in that AA accepts, at least partially, the three vehicle theory. This statement also seems tricky and contradictory in itself since it asserts that the *gotra* is undivided, but, at the same time, dividable. In this section, as a kind of conclusion, I would like to give my own answer to why the author made such a contradictory statement.

After rejecting the *gotra* that is attained by conditions (*pratyayasamudānītam gotram*) and redefining the "*prakṛtisthaṃ gotram*" as the one existing as the true nature of *dharma*s ([4]), Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa and Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa hypothesize their opponent's objection and then provide a response to it.

> [6] [Objection:] If the *dharmadhātu* is the *gotra* [of bodhisattvas], then it would result in [the undesired consequence] that all [sentient beings would] attain the state of being established in

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[48]. *Gser phreng* 334,19-20: *kha cig ni phyi'i skye mched drug pa chos kyi skye mched kyi khyad par ram nang tshan de bzhin nyid yin te/ chos nyid kyis thob pa zhes pas so zhes zher ro ||*; For this translation, I consulted Ruegg (1969, 103) and Kim (2012, 51).

[49]. Ruegg 1968, 310n25.

[50]. *dharmadhātor asambhedād gotrabhedo na yujyate | ādheyadharmabhedāt tu tadbhedaḥ parigīyate ||* AA I.39.

the noble lineage (*gotrastha*)[51] without exception, since the [*dharmadhātu*] exists equally[52] [in all sentient beings].

[Answer:] ⑥ It is called *gotra* in the way that when [*dharmadhātu*][53] is being cognized objectively it becomes the cause of the *dharma*s of the noble ones.[54] Therefore, how can one find overextension in this case (= in our use of the term *gotra*).[55]

In this passage, both Vimuktiṣeṇas clearly mention that the use of the term "*gotra*" has a certain limitation; when *dharmadhātu* functions as the objective support of bodhisattvas' practice and aids the arising of supramundane wisdom by serving as its object-condition (*ālambanapratyaya*), in this case only the word *gotra* can have the meaning of *gotra* as *dharmadhātu*. So the opponent's objection that according to your assertion all beings would attain the state of being established in the noble lineage, in other words, all beings would become bodhisattvas who are predestined to be buddhas, has been refuted.

After this passage, which does not seem to be directly related to the three vehicle theory,[56] another objection with reference to the three vehicle theory.

[7] [Objection:] Even so, **since *dharmadhātu* cannot be differentiated, any distinction among *gotra* is not reasonable [AA I 39ab],** saying that this is the *gotra* of *śrāvaka*s, this is the *gotra* of *pratyekabuddha*s, and this is the *gotra* of Buddhas …

[Answer:] This is true. However, **nonetheless, distinction among the [*gotra*] is proclaimed in accordance with distinction among *dharma*s that is supported [AA I 39cd],** as in the example that pots made from a single lump of clay and baked in the same fire can be named differently, according to what is put in them, as "honey pot," "sugar pot," and so forth.[57]

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51. The term "*gautrastha*" instead of '*gotrastha*' is appeared in both manuscripts A and B. This term, which has not found in Sanskrit texts available to me, might be a scribal error for "*gotrastha*." The *gotrastha* is, according to Takasaki Jikidō's paper published in 1973 that is not available to me, almost never appears in Mahāyāna sūtras and is typical of the *Yogācāra* literature (Yamabe 1997, 451–452n51) ; According to BoBh[W] 211.11–14, The *gotrastha* bodhisattva is explained as the one who is predestined to attain the supreme and perfect enlightenment when he or she meets with favorable conditions; Nanayakkara defines this term which is a synonym of *gotravihāra* as follows: "A *gotrastha*, i.e., one who is established in the noble lineage, is endowed with noble qualities and high aims which are characteristic features of a bodhisattva" in the Encyclopedia of Buddhism (Nanayakkara 1992, "*Gotra-vihāra*").

52. According to Vārttika[Tib], it is "pervades universally" (*spyir khyab pa nyid yin pa'i phyir, *sāmānya-vyāptitvāt*).

53. Regarding this insertion, I followed the Sāratamā[J] 165.24–25; "*dharmadhātuś cālambyamāna ārya-dharmāṇām hetutvāt*."

54. Regarding other commentators' interpretations of this sentence, see the following materials: AAĀ[W] 77.21-22, Vivṛti[A] 22.12-13 (by Haribhadra); *Prasphuṭapadā* D (No.3796) *shes phyin, nya* 48b7-49a3 (by Dharmamitra) and its translation (Ruegg 1977, 294) ; Munimatālaṃkāra[Tib] D 170b3–4 (by Abhayākaragupta) and its translation (Ruegg 1977, 301).

55. *nanu ca dharmadhātor gotratve*[1] *sarvo gotrasthaḥ*[2] *prāpnoti tasya sāmānyavartitvāt* | ⑥ *yathā cālambya-māna āryadharmāṇām hetur bhavati tathā gotram ucyata iti kim atrātiprasaṅgam mṛgayate* | (¹ gotratve] A B(*ggo°*), gotratvam E[P]; ² sarvo gotrasthaḥ] E[P], *sarvve gautrasthaḥ* A B) (For this emendation following E[P], see Lee 2017b, 33–34): A 26r3, B 24r5-6, E[P] 77.04–07; cf. E[L] [93].11–13; Vārttika[Tib] D 36a5-6, Q 43a6–7.

56. Haribhadra relates ⑥ to the division of three vehicles directly in AAĀ and Vivṛti. In Vivṛti especially, he explains that ⑥ is the genuine solution of the opponent's objection, while AA I 39cd along with the simile of pots and their contents is just a conventional way of speaking (*laukikokti*) which makes less intelligent understand more easily. See Vivṛti[A] 22.07-19.

57. *evam api* **dharmadhātor asambhedād gotrabhedo**[1] **na yujyate** | *idaṃ śrāvakagotram idaṃ pratyeka-buddhagotram idaṃ buddhagotram iti* | … *satyam evam etat* | *tathāpi* **ādheyadharmabhedāt tu tadbhedaḥ parigīyate** || *ekamṛddravyābhinirvṛttaikatejaḥparipakvakṣaudraśarkarādibhājanabhedodāharaṇena* | (¹ gotra-bhedo] A E[P], *gotravibhedo* B): A 26r3–4, B 24r6–24v1, E[P] 77.08-15; cf. E[L] [93].14–[94].06; Vārttika[Tib] D 36a6–36b2, Q 43a7–43b4. Bhadanta, saying "*ji skad du mdo de las,*" appears to have quoted the example from

Commenting on AA, Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa and Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa mention that, in principle, *gotra* cannot be divided into three vehicles; nonetheless, it can be divided because *dharma*s that are supported by the supporter (= *dharmadhātu*) are different. In other words, even though *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, and bodhisattvas have *dharmadhātu* as the objective support equally in the spiritual practice, their *dharma*s of realization are distinguished, that is, the selflessness of person (*pudgalanairātmya*) for *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, but the selflessness of phenomena [as well as of person] ([*pudgala*]*dharmanairātmya*) for bodhisattvas.

However, the discrepancy between undivided *dharmadhātu* and multiple vehicle theory does not seem to be able to be fully resolved in this explanation. Then, there still remains a question: "Why did they strive to retain the traditional three vehicle theory even though for them it basically contradicts the most important concept of the *gotra*, i.e., *dharmadhātu*?" I assume this has something to do with the inclusivism shown in the *Prajñāpāramitā*s. In the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, there is a passage that through the *Prajñāpāramitā* alone, one can attain not only the stages of bodhisattvas and Buddhas but also those of *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s.

[8] Whether a bodhisattva wants to train himself at the stage of *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, bodhisattvas, or Buddhas, he should learn this perfection of wisdom. He should receive, memorize, recite, master, and throughly investigate it. And why? Because here in this perfection of wisdom— on the basis of which bodhisattvas, the great beings should train themselves at the stage of *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s or bodhisattvas— the three Vehicles are expounded in detail.[58]

In addition, the *maṅgala* verse of AA shows that from the *Prajñāpāramitā* alone, the three kinds of omniscience, which belong to *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, bodhisattvas, and Buddhas respectively, arise:

[9] Pay homage to the mother of the Buddha with an assembly of *śrāvaka*s and bodhisattvas,
Who, insofar as she is the omniscient, leads *śrāvaka*s who seek the calmness into tranquility,
Who, insofar as she is the one who knows paths, makes [bodhisattvas] who act for the benefit of living beings accomplish the goal of the world,
United with whom, sages [are able to] teach all of this in all aspects.[59]

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the 25,000 *Prajñāpāramitā*. However, I could find this example neither in the revised recension of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, nor in its unrevised recension.

[58]. PvsP I-1 155.13-27: *śrāvakabhūmāv api āyuṣman subhūte śikṣitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena iyam eva prajñāpāramitā śrotavyodgrahītavyā dhārayitavyā vācayitavyā paryavāptavyā yoniśaś ca upaparīkṣitavyā. pratyekabuddhabhūmāv api āyuṣman subhūte śikṣitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena iyam eva prajñā-pāramitā śrotavyodgrahītavyā dhārayitavyā vācayitavyā paryavāptavyā yoniśaś ca upaparīkṣitavyā. bodhi-sattvabhūmāv api āyuṣman subhūte śikṣitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena iyam eva prajñāpāramitā śrotavyodgrahītavyā dhārayitavyā vācayitavyā paryavāptavyā yoniśaś ca upaparīkṣitavyā. buddhabhūmāv api āyuṣman subhūte śikṣitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena iyam eva prajñāpāramitā śrotavyodgrahītavyā dhārayitavyā vācayitavyā paryavāptavyā yoniśaś ca upaparīkṣitavyā. tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hy atra prajñāpāramitāyāṃ trīṇi yānāni vistareṇopadiṣṭāni yatra bodhisattvair mahāsattvaiḥ śrāvakabhūmau vā pratyekabuddhabhūmau vā bodhisattvabhūmau vā śikṣitavyam.*

[59]. *yā sarvajñatayā nayaty upaśamaṃ śāntyeṣiṇaḥ¹ śrāvakān | yā mārgajñatayā jagaddhitakṛtāṃ lokārtha-sampādikā | sarvākāram idaṃ vadanti munayo viśvaṃ yayā² saṅgatāḥ | tasyai śrāvakabodhisattvagaṇino buddhasya mātre namaḥ ||* (¹ *śāntyeṣiṇaḥ*] A B, *śāntaiṣiṇaḥ* Eᴾ ; ² *yayā*] B Eᴾ, *jayā* A) : A 1v1, B 1v1,

Applying these ideas to the model of the *gotra*, I believe we could understand the intentions of AA's author as well as of the two Vimuktiṣeṇas as follows: If Buddhist practitioners have *dharmadhātu* (= emptiness, the tenet of the *Prajñāpāramitās*) as objective support in their spiritual practice, they can give rise to the enlightenment of *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s as well as that of bodhisattvas and Buddhas. Therefore, it can be justified that although the division is not final, insofar as the *dharmadhātu* serves as the cause of the insight of *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, we can still distinguish them into three categories in accordance with what they realize and place them as lower levels into our system.[60]

Abbreviation

A	Palm-leaf manuscript of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāraśāstra*, the commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 25,000 lines by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa (NAK 5/55 = NGMPP A 37/9), used by Pensa 1967 (= E[P]). For the details, see Lee 2017b, 17–18.
AA	*Abhisamayālaṅkāra* ascribed to Maitreyanātha traditionally.
AAĀ	*Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā* by Haribhadra.
AAĀ[W]	Wogihara 1932-1935.
AKBh	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* by Vasubandhu.
AKBh[E]	Ejima 1989.
B	Palm-leaf manuscript of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāraśāstra* preserved in Tibet or Tibet autonomous region, which is placed fourteenth on Wang Sens list. For the details, see Lee 2017b, 18-20.
BoBh[W]	Wogihara 1930-1936.
D	sDe dge edition of Tibetan translation.
E[L]	Lee 2017b.
E[P]	Pensa 1967.
MAVBh	*Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya* by Vasubandhu.
MAVBh[N]	Nagao 1964.
Munimatālaṃkāra[Tib]	Tibetan translation of the *Munimatālaṃkāra* by Abhayākaragupta = *thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan,* D (No. 3903) *dbu ma,* a 73b1–293a7; Q (No. 5299) *dbu ma, ha* 71b3-397a5 (vol. 101, pp. 146–277).
PvsP	*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.
PvsP I-1	Kimura 2007.
Q	Peking edition of Tibetan translation.
Sāratamā[J]	Jaini 1979.
Śuddhimatī[Tib]	Tibetan translation of the Śuddhimatī by Ratnākaraśānti = *mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa dag ldan zhes bya ba,* D (No. 3801) *shes phyin, ta* 76a5–204a3; Q (No. 5199) *sher phyin, ta* 87b8–227b8.
Vārttika	**Abhisamayālaṅkāravārttika* by Bhadanta-Vimuktiṣeṇa.
Vārttika[Tib]	Tibetan translation of the **Abhisamayālaṅkāravārttika* = *'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i rnam par 'grel pa,* D (No. 3788) *shes phyin, kha* 1b1-181a7 ; Q (No. 5186) *sher phyin, kha* 1a1-207a7 (vol. 88, pp. 103–187).
Vṛtti[Tib]	Tibetan translation of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāraśāstra* by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa. = *'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa* (**Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāryaprajñāpāramitopadeś[asy]ābhisamayālaṅkāraśāstrasya vṛttiḥ*?), D (No. 3787) *shes phyin, ka* 14b1-212a7; Q (No. 5185) *sher phyin, ka* 15b3–249a7 (vol. 88, pp. 8–102).
Vivṛti	*Abhisamayālaṅkāravivṛti* by Haribhadra.
Vivṛti[A]	Amano 2000.

E[P] 11.03–06 ; E[L] [1].3–6.

[60]. Cf. "Therefore, those who realize the great enlightenment (**mahābodhi*) preceded by the [two kinds of] realization of the enlightenment of *śrāvaka*s and others (=*pratyekabuddha*s) is indicated to have the *gotra* of *śrāvaka*s and others (**śrāvakādigotraka*) with the temporary title/ name." *gang gi phyir gang nyan thos la sogs pa'i byang chub rtogs pa sngon ma can byang chub chen po rtogs pa de rnams re zhig pa'i dus can du bstan pas nyan thos la sogs pa'i rigs can du bstan to* // Munimatālaṃkāra[Tib] D 170b3–4. For another English translation, see Ruegg 1977, 301.

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Manuscript collectors and collections
from the Southern Silk Road

Ursula Sims-Williams

This article attempts to give a survey of the major manuscript collections from Khotan together with a brief mention of 'Khotanese' manuscripts from Dunhuang — by which I mean manuscripts related to Khotan linguistically or else coming from there. Adopting a basically chronological approach I use the Stein collection, since it is the earliest for which full archaeological details are recorded, as a base-line for contextualising subsequent largely unprovenanced collections from Khotan. The results enhance what we may deduce about manuscript cultures on the Southern Silk Road, and additionally document the history of the trade in antiquities at the end of the 19th century for the following fifty years or so.

The Kingdom of Khotan and Dunhuang

Situated on the trade route between China, India, Sogdiana and Iran, the kingdom of Khotan occupied a key position and was famous from early times as a religious and trading centre through which passed monks, merchants, soldiers and diplomats of many different races, each exerting an influence which can be seen in the archaeology and written records of the area. Legends ascribe the city's founding to the time of Aśoka in the 3rd century BCE and it survived as a separate kingdom until the beginning of the 11th century CE. The main languages of Khotan, altogether written in about ten different scripts, were Khotanese (Iranian), Gandhari and Sanskrit (Indic), Turkic, Tibetan and Chinese, but materials have also been found in Sogdian and New Persian.

Our earliest sources for the history of Khotan are the Chinese chronicles of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). From this period date the bi-lingual Chinese/Gandhari 'Sino-Kharoshthī' or 'horse' coins of Khotan and the spectacular textiles from the cemetery of Sampula. Written documents of the 3rd to 4th century from neighbouring Niya testify to a long-established connection between the Khotanese and the kingdom of Kroraina, but it is not until the 5th and 6th century CE that we find manuscripts in Khotanese, the native language of Khotan. From the 7th to the 9th century Khotan was continually under threat from the Tibetans, the Turks and the Chinese, nevertheless there were periods of stability under the Tibetans and Chinese, and it is from these centuries that the majority of written materials survive. During the 10th century close alliances were formed between the rulers of Khotan and Shazhou (Dunhuang). The Khotanese king Viśa' Saṃbhava (912-967) married the daughter of Cao Yijin, governor of Dunhuang, and a Khotanese princess, depicted in Cave 61 at Dunhuang, married a later governor, Cao Yuanlu.

Very few written materials from Khotan itself survive from the 9th and 10th centuries, though many manuscripts in the Khotanese language were discovered in Cave 17 at Dun-

huang. One of the very few exceptions is **BnF Pelliot chinois 5538**[1] which is available online on the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) website. This is a letter sent in 970 by Viśa' Śūra (967-978), king of Khotan, addressed to his maternal uncle by marriage, Cao Yuanzhong, the great king (Ch. *Da wang*) of Shazhou (Dunhuang). The letter reports that Viśa' Śūra had led a successful expedition against Kashgar and had consequently been presented with wonderful things including wives, sons, an elephant and a thoroughbred valuable horse and the like[2] belonging to the defeated enemy, the Tajik Cong Xian (Khot. Tcūṃ-hye:nä)–who may in fact have been Viśa' Śūra's half-brother.[3] This event is also mentioned in the Chinese *Songshi* (The History of Song [Dynasty]) which records a letter that reached Dunhuang in 971, perhaps the very same letter, announcing the defeat of Kashgar and offering to present a dancing elephant which had been captured there.[4] The tables were turned however at the beginning of the 11th century when the Muslim Karakhanids finally conquered Khotan. By 1007, Yūsuf Qadr Khān was well established, according to Islamic sources, as the ruler of Khotan.

Early Central Asian manuscript discoveries

The story of today's collections began in 1890 with the chance purchase by Lieut H. Bower, while on official duty in Kashgar, of some leaves of a 5th century birchbark manuscript which had been discovered in a *stūpa* about 16 miles from Kucha. Its discovery was first announced to the scholarly world in 1891[5] and it was quickly recognised as by far "the oldest Indian written book that is known to exist."[6] As a result European scholars suddenly became aware, not only of the existence of Buddhist manuscript remains in Central Asia, but of ones which were far older than had been previously thought to exist.

Nikolai Petrovsky, 1882–1903

As a direct result of this discovery, the Oriental Branch of the Russian Archaeological Society, in November 1891, sent a request to the Russian Consul General in Kashgar, N. F. Petrovsky, to try to collect similar manuscript treasures.[7]

Petrovsky was Consul in Kashgar from 1882 to 1903 during which time he supplied the Russian scholar Sergei Oldenburg[8] on a regular basis with large numbers of manuscripts consisting of 582 items in Indian scripts: Sanskrit (251 items), Khotanese (297), and Tocharian, Old Uighur, Old Tibetan and North-Western Prakrit.[9] These included the famous 'Kashgar' (so-called because it was first associated with Kashgar) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*

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[1] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Pelliot+chinios+5538.
[2] See Bailey 1964.
[3] Kumamoto 1986.
[4] *Songshi* 490 "Yutian guo," cited by Pulleyblank 1954, pp. 91-92.
[5] Waterhouse, J. 1890 [1891], "Birch bark MS. from Kashgaria." In *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal* (November 1890 [1891]), pp. 221-223, with plate.
[6] Hoernle 1891, p. 64.
[7] Minutes of the Meeting of the Oriental Branch of the Russian Archaeological Society. November 28, 1891. In: *Zapiski Vostochnago otdieleniia Russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva* 6, 1–4, 1891 [1892], pp. ix-xi.
[8] For a detailed assessment of Oldenburg's work and archival papers, see I. Tunkina, "The personal papers of Sergey F. Oldenburg as a source for the history of the Russian expeditions to Eastern Turkestan." In *Tocharian texts in context*, Bremen, 2013, pp. 259-275.
[9] M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya. "The role of B.N. Petrovsky in the formation of the Central Asiatic Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies". In *Turfan revisited*, Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 2004, pp. 361-2.

('Lotus *sūtra*'), the Khotanese '*Book of Zambasta*', and a folio of the Kharoṣṭhī *Dhamma-pada,* about which see more below.

Dutreuil de Rhins and the Khotan Dhammapada, 1892
The next important discovery was the Khotan *Dhammapada*, dating from the 1st to 2nd century CE, which was acquired in 1892 by the explorers Dutreuil de Rhins (1846–1894) and Grenard (1866–1942). This was the first find to be discovered from Khotan and the only early discovery with a provenance, namely a cave in Gośringa hill (Kohmari) near Khotan. Other portions of the same manuscript were also acquired by Petrovsky in Kashgar and sent to Oldenburg in St Petersburg in February 1897. The manuscript was first presented at the 11th International Congress of Orientalists, Paris, in 1897 which Stein attended. The importance of this discovery, together with the recent acquisitions from Khotan, were, as Stein subsequently wrote,[10] what determined him on his own expedition to Khotan.

The British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia: Hoernle 1 (1895–1901)[11]
Not wanting to be outdone by his Russian and French rivals, the Indologist Rudolf Hoernle, working in Calcutta as Government Epigraphist, in 1893 urged the Government of India to collect material which he asked to be sent to him to decipher. The Political agents at Kashgar and in Kashmir were instructed to acquire antiquities and manuscripts, and from 1895 onwards these were sent to Hoernle for examination.

As a result, between 1895 and 1902, the Government of India sent 23 consignments of manuscripts to Rudolf Hoernle to be deciphered. These consignments also included antiquities and formed what became known as the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia. Hoernle's results were published in his reports between 1895 and 1902,[12] and the collection was finally deposited in the British Museum on 17 June 1902. While the antiquities remain there, the manuscripts were transferred to the British Library in 1973.

By 1901 the collection consisted of 530 coins, 77 seals, numerous terracottas, pottery and manuscripts in Sanskrit (7 substantial Buddhist manuscripts), Khotanese (parts of 6 Buddhist manuscripts and 69 documents), Tocharian (17 leaves of a medical manuscript), Uighur (24 documents), Chinese (12 documents) and Persian (4 documents). It also included works in unknown scripts: numerous sheets, codices and block-prints, all of which subsequently proved to be forgeries.[13]

Significant among the documents and Buddhist manuscripts included in this collection was an 8th century Khotanese document purchased in 1898 through Badruddin (**Or.6394/1**[14]**),** an order sent to the village headman (*spāta*) Sīḍaka in Gazata (Dandan Uiliq) regarding repayment of a debt incurred for purchase of cloth.

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[10] Stein 1901, p. 2.
[11] For more on the Hoernle collections see Sims-Williams 2009.
[12] Hoernle 1897, 1899, 1901.
[13] For more on the Central Asian forgeries see Sims-Williams 2000.
[14] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.6394/1.
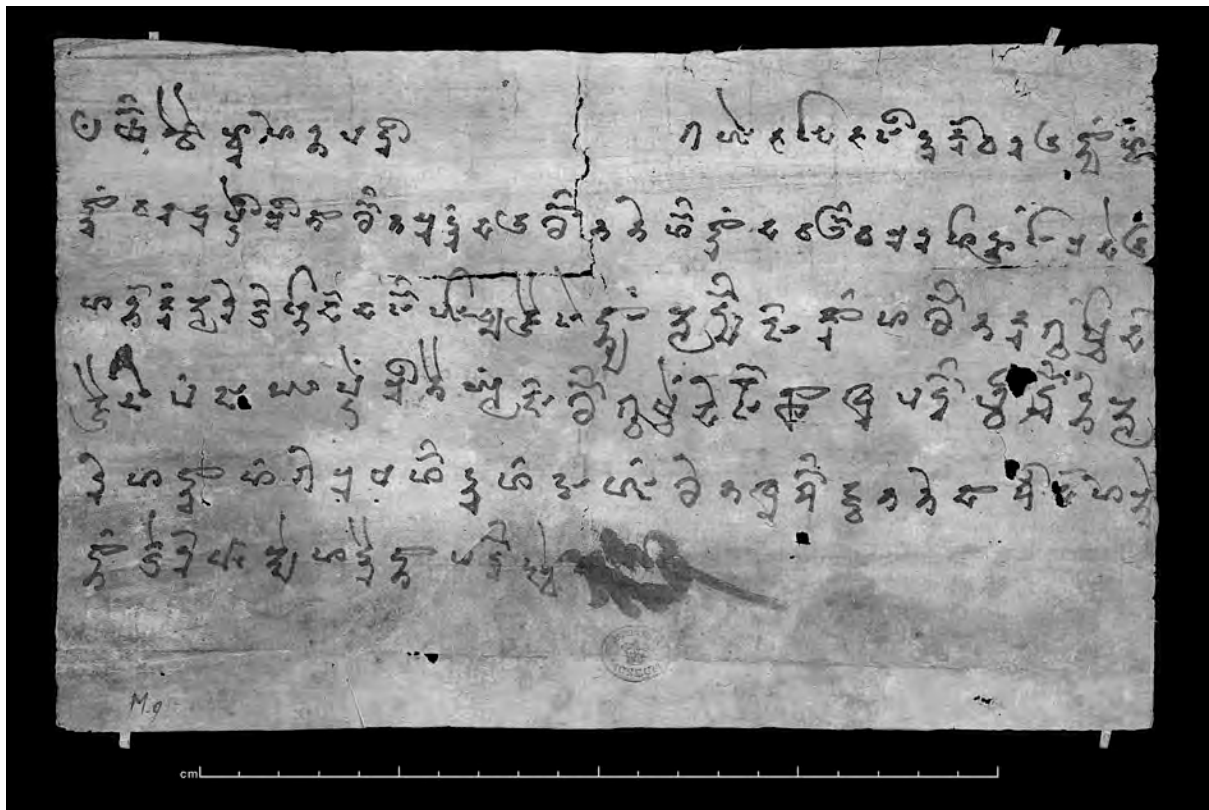
*Fig. 1. **Or.6394/1**. An 8th century Khotanese document sent to to the village headman Sīḍaka in Gazata (Dandan Uiliq) regarding repayment of a debt incurred for purchase of cloth. © The British Library Board*

Sīḍaka was also mentioned in several other documents, both Khotanese and Chinese, including one dated 768 CE excavated by Stein at Dandan Uiliq (D.V.6) where his guide Turdi was able to point out the exact place where he had previously found documents which he had sold to Badruddin.
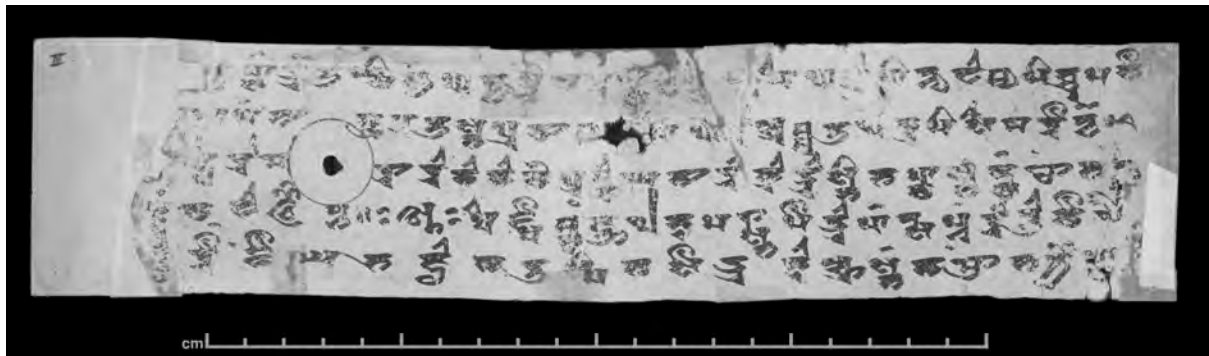
*Fig. 2. **Or.6402B/1.3.**[15] Leaf of the Khotanese Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra. "The Lady Dūlakā ordered (this text) to be written together with her son the knower of the Tripiṭaka, the monk Jayabhadra and together with her brothers, the spāta Sīḍaka and the others, and with her sisters." © The British Library Board*

By chance the addressee of **Or.6394/2** above, Sīḍaka of Gazata also appears as a patron in a Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyaguru* sutra which, according to the colophon, was comissioned by the Lady Dūlakā and her brothers, including the *spāta* Sīḍaka, and her sisters. Thus an undated buddhist text can be successfully located at Dandan Uiliq in the mid to late-eighth century.

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[15] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.6402B/1.3.

A key player in the formation of the 'British Collection' was George Macartney who represented the Government of India as Consul and subsequently Consul-General in Kashgar from 1890 until 1918. Like Petrovsky, Macartney was something of an antiquarian himself and as early as 1893, according to his wife,[16] he had been acquiring manuscripts and antiquities in the bazar. Macartney not only provided manuscripts directly for Rudolf Hoernle, but was an invaluable source of help and advice for Aurel Stein during his first two Central Asian expeditions. In addition to supplying the British with manuscripts, Macartney also procured them for the Russian Consul, N. F. Petrovsky, and A. H. Francke and the Orientalist H. Köber during their expedition to Central Asia in 1914.
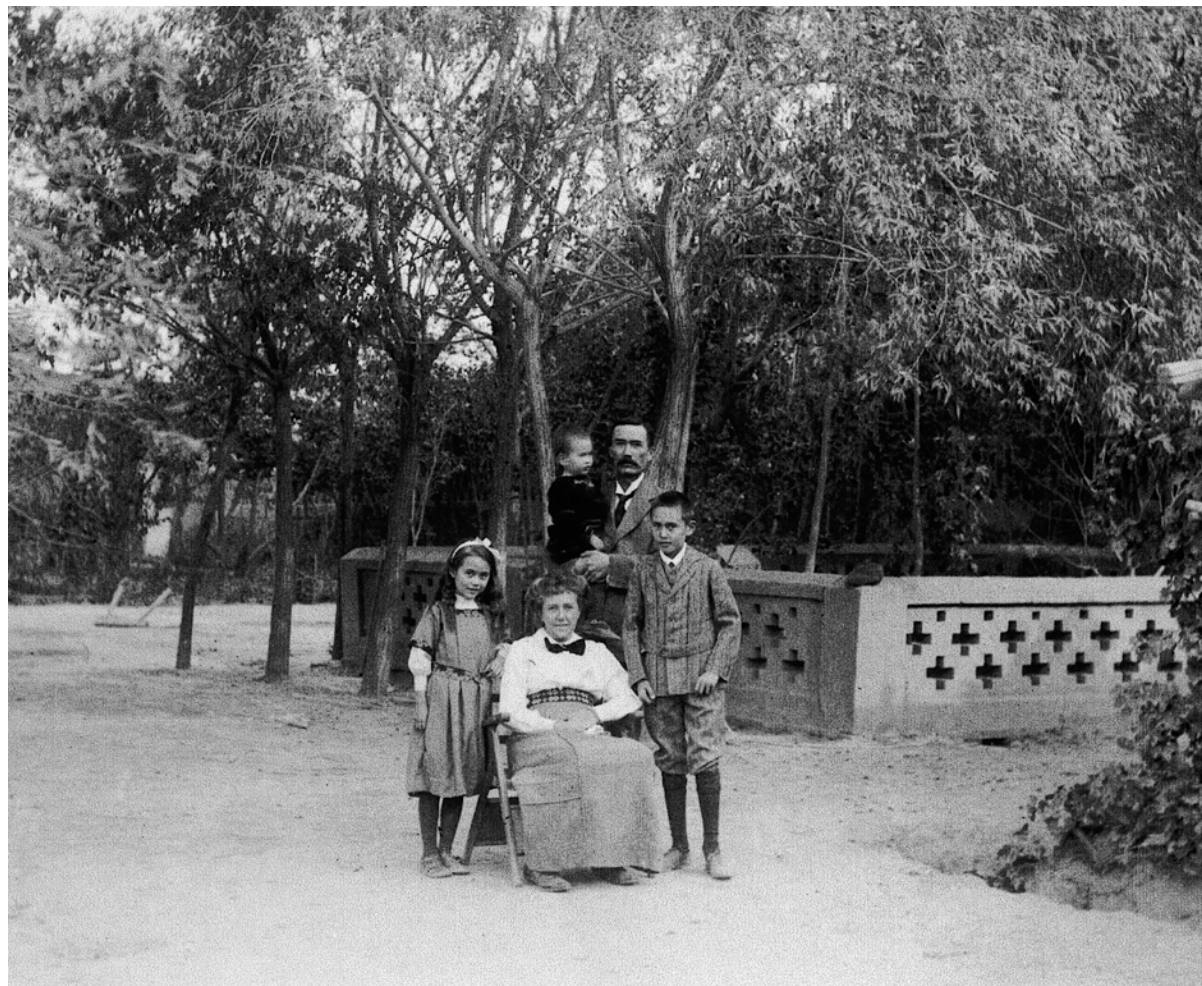
*Fig. 3. Stein's **Photo 392/28(217)**.[17] Group portrait of the Macartney family: Lady Catherine Macartney seated, flanked by her children Sylvia and Eric, Sir George Macartney standing behind, holding their younger son. Chini Bagh, Kashgar, 5 October 1913 © The British Library Board*

Macartney's chief supplier of manuscripts from Khotan was an Afghan trader Badruddin, who acted as *Aqsaqal* (a kind of official representative) for the Government of India and as agent for miscellaneous 'treasure seekers.' Badruddin had been strongly recommended by Macartney to Stein right from the planning stage of his first expedition in 1899 and continued to advise him over a period of more than 30 years, additionally providing hospitality and material to almost every European visitor to Khotan.

[16.] Macartney, Lady Catherine. *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan*. Oxford: Ernest Benn, 1931, p.55.
[17.] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Photo+392/28(217).

*Fig. 4. Stein's **Photo 392/34(130)**.*[18] *Badruddin Khan (centre), 7 December 1930 © The British Library Board*

Stein's Central Asian expeditions

By 1900 an immense amount of material had been collected and forwarded to scholars for identification. Most of it, however, was without any provenance. Besides including manuscripts in completely unknown languages (Khotanese and Tocharian) there were also large numbers of blockprints and documents written in suspiciously strange scripts.

Stein's primary motivation was a desire to rectify this situation through using an archaeological methodology to systematically record the exact place where each artefact was discovered. His expeditions represent, even today, the most important fully documented excavations in the Southern Taklamakan. They were the first scientific archaeological expeditions and took place as a direct result of the increased importance attached to antiquities, especially written ones, and the inadequate information that was provided by treasure seekers and their agents.

[18.] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Photo+392/34(130).
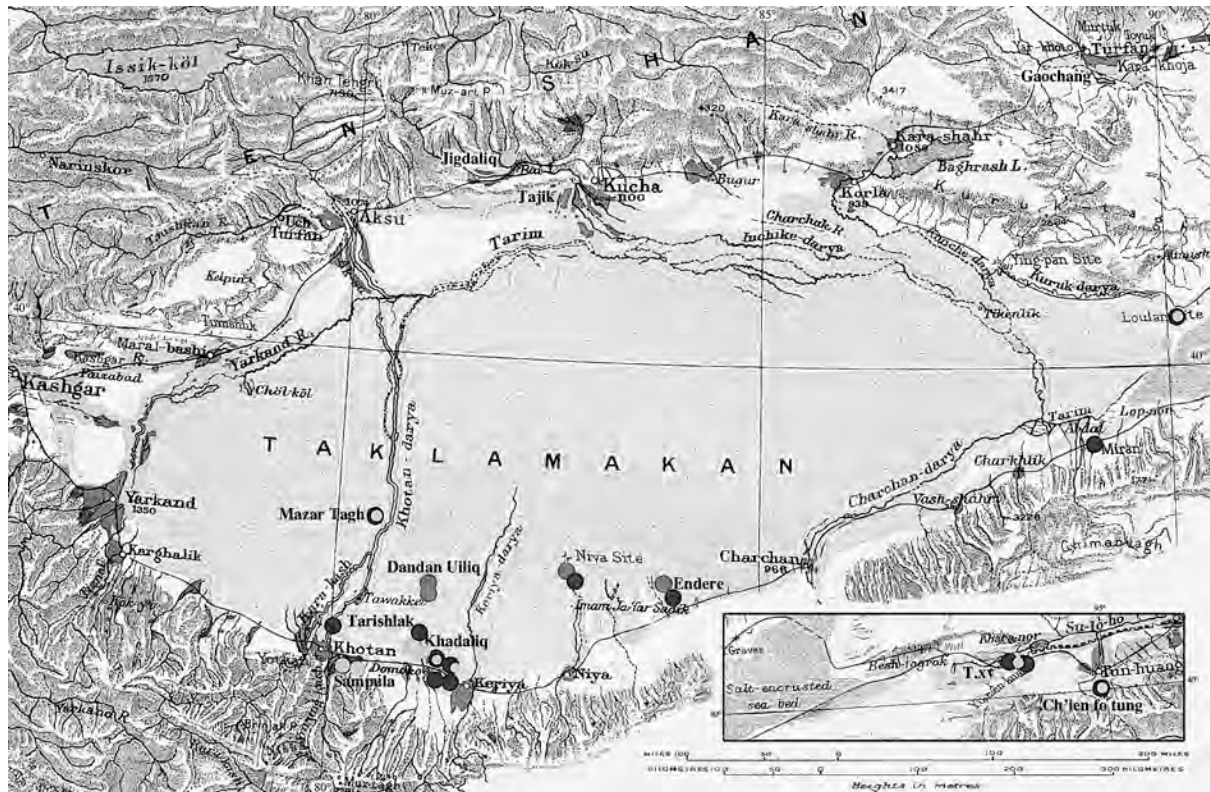
Fig. 5. Map after Stein of the Taklamakan desert showing the sites from which Stein obtained manuscripts on his first expedition (grey), his second (black) and his third (light grey).

Stein's First Expedition, 1900–1901

At the town of Khotan itself, only objects were acquired, including the inscribed fresco fragments brought by Stein's guide Turdi,[19] while Buddhist texts in Khotanese and Sanskrit manuscript were discovered at Dandan Uiliq[20] and (Dandan) Rawak[21] in addition to Khotanese and Chinese documents. It was here also that he found the early 9th century Judaeo-Persian letter DXIII (**Or.8212/166**).[22] At Niya Stein found many Gandhari documents in Kharoshthī script and some Chinese (N.xv). At Endere he found manuscripts in Khotanese, Sanskrit and Tibetan (E.i) in addition to a few in Tocharian.

Stein's Second Expedition, 1906–1908

The main finds were at Khadaliq[23] consisting mostly of Sanskrit and Khotanese leaves in about 230 bundles and packets which were too numerous to number on site. At Mazar Toghrak Stein found Khotanese and Chinese documents including about 50 woodslips. Other sites in this area where he found manuscripts were Farhad Beg, Kara Yantak and Darabzan Dong. Further Gandhari documents were discovered at Niya and at Endere where Khotanese manuscripts were also found. The finds at Miran were mostly in Tibetan.

On his return from Dunhuang Stein visited the temple at Tarishlak[24] and the ruined fort

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[19.] Stein 1907, p. 236.

[20.] *Ibid*.

[21.] *Ibid*., p. 304.

[22.] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8212/166.

[23.] Stein 1921, p. 154.

[24.] Stein 1921, p. 1274.

Mazar Tagh on the Khotan river. Numerous Tibetan and Khotanese finds were taken from rubbish deposits near the outer gate to the fort.[25]

Stein's Third Expedition, 1913–1916
Most of the material from Khotan which was acquired during this expedition was brought to Stein rather than excavated by him. It was collected from Toghrak Mazar and Sampula near Khotan,[26] from Mazar Tagh[27] and from Balawaste,[28] Kuduk Köl,[29] Khadaliq, Domoko, Farhad Beg and Iledong in the Domoko oasis.[30]

A few Southern Brahmi fragments were also apparently discovered at Jigdaliq in the North.

Language distribution of Stein manuscripts from the Southern Silk Road

	Sanskrit	Khotanese	Tibetan	Gandhari	Chinese	Other
Khadalik**	2883	558	15			
Iledong*	142	30	2			
Dandan Uilik	128	37			154	Judaeo-Persian 1
Endere	96	9	21	6	4	Tocharian 6
Miran	19		1500	1		Old Turkish 1
Balawaste*	18	65	3		8	
Sampula* and Toghrak Mazar	17	24			3	
Farhad Beg Yailaki**	13	12			1	
Domoko*	9	34	26		19	Old Turkish 1
Mazar Tagh**		168	1489		44	Sogdian 7
Mazar Toghrak		32			6	
Niya				703	11	

Table 1. Table showing the language distribution of Stein's manuscript finds from Khotan
*Mss collected on Stein's behalf and brought to him in 1913 and 1915
**Mss excavated with some additional purchases made in 1913 and 1915

These figures are based on information from published catalogues supplemented by data from the International Dunhuang Database (IDP). In some cases they represent small individual fragments, while in other cases as many as 60 *pothi*s (leaves) so they should be regarded only as indicative. The manuscripts date almost exclusively from the 6th to the 8th centuries. By far the greatest number of items came from Khadaliq, consisting of mostly fragmentary Buddhist religious texts, mostly fragmentary. The Sanskrit texts far outnumber those in any other language. The Khotanese items represent a mixture of Buddhist texts and documents, especially at Dandan Uiliq. The majority of Tibetan manuscripts unsurprisingly come from the forts at Mazar Tagh and Miran. What is noteworthy is the almost complete lack of material in Sogdian despite the fact that we know there were Sogdian merchants.

[25.] *Ibid.*, p. 1288.
[26.] *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101.
[27.] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[28.] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[29.] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[30.] *Ibid.*, p. 130, note 14a.

Major manuscript finds from Khotan 1900-1931 in European and North American collections

Stein's Central Asian expeditions have already been described above. All three received official Government backing. However, it is not generally realised that the Government of India, which had started collecting as early as 1893, continued to do so in the periods between Stein's expeditions until 1931. Manuscripts were again sent for decipherment to Rudolf Hoernle, by now retired and living in Oxford. After his death in 1917 the political agents stationed at Kashgar: George Macartney, Nicholas Fitzmaurice, Harold Harding, Clarmont Skrine, Frederick Williamson and George Sherriff all brought small collections usually purchased directly from Badruddin or in the bazar and deposited them on their return in the British Museum or the India Office Library (both collections now unified in the British Library).

Date	Collection	Present location
1900-1	Stein 1	British Library
1901-11	Hoernle 2	British Library
1902-3; 1908-9; 1910-14	Otani	Japan, China, Korea
1903	Crosby	Library of Congress
1905	Huntington	Yale University Library
1906	Mannerheim	Helsinki University Library?
1906-8	Stein 2	British Library
1913-14	Le Coq (T4)	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften/ Staatsbibliothek
1913-15	Malov	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St Petersburg
1913-16	Stein 3	British Library
1914	Francke/Korber	State Museum of Ethnography, Munich
ca.1916	Hoernle 3	British Library
ca.1918	Macartney	British Library
1923	Fitzmaurice	British Library
1923	Harding	British Library
1925	Skrine	British Library
1928	Trinkler/Bosshard	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften/ Staatsbibliothek
1929	Hwang Wenbi	China
1930	Williamson	British Library
1930-31	Stein 4	British Library (photographs only)
1931	Sherriff	British Library
ca.1931	Ambolt (Hedin)	The National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm

Table 2. Table showing the major manuscript finds from Khotan 1900-1931

The most important of these are described briefly in chronological order below.

The Hoernle collections 1902-1911: Hoernle 2
Between 1902 and 1911 the Government of India sent Rudolf Hoernle 11 further

consignments. Eight included material from Khotan. They were nearly all acquired through Badruddin and were described in accompanying documentation as found in the Taklamakan Desert or in the neighbourhood of Khotan.

Altogether these consignments yielded the following approximate figures: Sanskrit (4,726 pieces varying from whole leaves to small fragments of which about 600 came from Khotan), Tocharian (1224, all, however, from the Northern Silk Road); Khotanese (264 in addition to Khotanese and Khotanese/Chinese woodslips and wooden documents); some Tibetan and Chinese documents and two Sogdian documents.

Many of these proved to be parts of manuscripts of which fragments existed in other collections. Examples of this are **Or.8210/S. 9224** and **9225**[31] both of which belong to the same manuscript and which were sent to Hoernle as part of consignments H.142 and H.143. One side contains a Chinese *Prajñāpāramitā* fragment and the other a Khotanese Buddhist *Triśaraṇa*. Small pieces of the same document (**IOL Khot 215/17** and **18**[32]) were excavated by Stein (Kha.i.305) which places the original find spot as Khadaliq. A more striking example are four leaves of the 'Kashgar' *Saddharmapundarika Sutra*, obtained from Badruddin **Or.15011/28-32**[33] (H.148 SA 22-25), about which Macartney wrote "I have written to Badrud Din that he should seek out the person from whom he obtained the sheets and endeavour to get from him the entire book." Evidently unsuccessful, the greater part of this manuscript, as already mentioned, was sent to St. Petersburg by Petrovsky while other leaves were subsequently purchased by Trinkler, Skrine, Huntington and Otani.

Oscar Terry Crosby's visit of 1903
In 1903, during an expedition to Central Asia, the US statesman Oscar Crosby visited Khotan and like most western travellers stayed with Badruddin. While there he purchased what he described in his book[34] as "a mass of old paper, mere scraps ... miraculously preserved with their messages from the dead!"

Crosby's collection, now in the Library of Congress, comprised around 90 Sanskrit and 56 Khotanese fragments. It was a substantial collection and important because it included leaves from several different manuscripts which are also to be found in the Hoernle collection and more significantly among Stein's second expedition finds at Khadaliq, giving an assured find-spot to at least some of the manuscripts.[35]

Ellsworth Huntington expedition, 1905
Another important expedition was that led by the geographer Ellsworth Huntington (1876-1947) who visited Khotan in 1905. At Chira, near Domoko, he hired Ibrahim Beg, who had been employed by Stein on his first expedition and who joined Stein again in 1906 remaining with him for the next two years. Huntington visited the sites of Domoko, Darabzan-dong, Kök Jigda, Kushu-aste and Khadaliq. At Khadaliq he found "some fragments

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[31] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.9224 and http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8210/S.9225.
[32] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=IOL+Khot+215/17. and http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=IOL+Khot+215/18.
[33] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.15011/28 and the following three images.
[34] Crosby 1905, p. 60.
[35] Wille 2009, esp. pp. 49–50.

of paper bearing records in Brahmi script, and two pieces of wood covered with the characteristic Kharosthi script of the first three centuries of the Christian era."[36]

These "fragments of paper" included some of the best-known manuscripts from Khotan, leaves of which turned up in several unprovenanced collections. One was a leaf from the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* of which Huntington published a photograph in his expedition report.[37] Another was part of a leaf from the previously mentioned Sanskrit Kashgar *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*,[38] thus confirming Khadaliq as a likely place of origin.

Expedition of Francke and Körber in 1914

The Tibetan scholar August Francke, Professor of Tibetology at Berlin, and the Sinologist Hans Körber, like many earlier travellers, also stayed with Badruddin in Khotan in 1914 while they were collecting material on behalf of the Ethnographic Museum, Munich. In a letter written in August 1914 Francke gave an insightful account of his collecting method:[39]

> K[örber] told me, that he, meanwhile, had also made a find. He had taken the liberty of going through the papers stored in the writing room, our lodging, and he had come across an envelope containing several folios with old Brahmi script. We decided not to give back these folios, which had got among the waste paper here, but also not exactly to steal them. Our honesty was rewarded. While negotiating [sic] with the Aksakal about the price for these folios, he remembered another much larger bundle of similar folios. He agreed to sell the latter to us as well; and as we had already obtained a bundle of old Chinese and Tibetan documents from Sir George [Macartney], we were in the end pleased to be in possession of a considerable collection of old documents. At first glance we could make out that they were of two kinds. One group contained the official correspondence of former times, the other one, however, religious literature, probably fragments of Buddhist works. Most of the documents were written on paper, but for some of them wood was used as writing material.

Their collection of about 2000 items consisted of ceramics, Buddhist stuccos, metal-objects, coins etc., and about 350 manuscript fragments in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Chinese and Tibetan. Although their finds were purchased they carry sitemarks, presumably indicating where they were supposedly found.

Hoernle 3, ca. 1916, and Macartney, ca. 1918

Between 1914 and his death in November 1918, Hoernle acquired a further collection (Hoernle 3) of 473 Sanskrit and about 60 Khotanese manuscripts. These had no accompanying documentation but were almost certainly acquired from Khotan around 1916, after Stein's third expedition, and were probably delivered to Hoernle by Macartney on his return from Kashgar in 1918.[40]

Macartney also handed over a cache of manuscripts to the Librarian of the India Office F.W. Thomas around 1918. Both batches contained leaves from the same manuscripts and also from Stein's 3rd expedition acquired from Khadaliq and Domoko.

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[36] Huntington 1907, p. 173.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 207–208.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 204–5.
[39] Wille 2000, p. 3, translated from Francke 1921, p. 92 onwards.
[40] Sims-Williams 2009, pp. 8–12.

Nicholas Fitzmaurice, 1923

Nicholas Fitzmaurice (1887–1960) served as Vice-Consul at Kashgar from 1918 to 1922, and Consul-General in 1922 and 1931–33. He presented 2 Khotanese wooden tablets (**Or.9268A and B**[41]) to the British Museum in July 1923, presumably during his leave. These are both legal contracts, one about water rights and the second concerning an adoption. Unfortunately nothing is known directly about their provenance but from the context they have been assumed to come from Domoko and date from the early 8th century.

Harold Harding, 1923

Almost 20 years later Harold Harding, Vice-Consul at Kashgar in 1922 and 1923, passed through Kashmir in September 1923 on his way home and presented Stein with a collection of antiquities some of which Stein included in his report *Innermost Asia*, mentioning that he had acquired them from Badruddin. These included about 90 paper fragments (54 Khotanese, **Or.12637/10-21**) and 32 woodslips (19 Khotanese; 7 Tibetan, the rest undetermined, **Or.8211**) now in the British Library. Additionally he presented frescoes and antiquities, most of which were transferred to the new Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. It seems possible that both Harding's manuscripts and antiquities came from the same source, though is not clear at which sites they were ultimately found.

By good fortune several photographs taken in Khotan by Clarmont Skrine, Harding's superior at Kashgar, in November 1922, have been preserved at the Royal Geographical Society.[42] These show a collection of antiquities on display in what may have been Badruddin's house captioned as "from Yotkan, Domoko and other sites" which Skrine was considering purchasing on behalf of the Government of India. They include some of the same Harding antiquities that are now in Delhi in addition to other identifiable objects which were subsequently acquired by Skrine and Eric Trinkler.

Clarmont Skrine, 1925

Clarmont Skrine, Consul-General in Kashgar 1922–24, has already been mentioned in connection with Harold Harding. His collection, which has been described in detail elsewhere[43] was presented to the British Museum in June 1925. It was acquired from an Armenian carpet dealer in Khotan, Keraken Moldovack, and Badruddin who, Skrine wrote,[44] "allowed me to take for presentation to the British Museum a selection of ancient Buddhist manuscripts."

Altogether his collection consisted of 38 Khotanese items (including 10 wooden documents), 211 Sanskrit, a Tibetan fragment and one forgery. It also included antiquities which are now in the British Museum. Among his purchases were, as he wrote to his mother on 26 November 1922, "two practically complete books, in wonderful preservation, of exactly the same kind of script and material as some of the MSS described and pictured in *Serindia*."[45] These in fact included leaves from the Kashgar *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and the '*Book of Zambasta*' mentioned earlier as discovered by Huntington at Khadaliq.

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[41] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.9268(A) and http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.9268(B).
[42] Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, pp. 77–78.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–96.
[44] Skrine 1926, p. 170.
[45] Waugh and Sims-Williams 2010, p. 69.

Emil Trinkler, 1928

During their expedition to Central Asia from1927 to 1928, Emil Trinkler and Walter Bosshard also stayed with Badruddin in Khotan in 1928. Through him they acquired a large number of manuscripts and other antiquities.[46] The carpet manufacturer Keraken Moldovack additionally gave them "several heads of Buddha, and told us that they had been found in Ak Sipil."[47] A few more manuscripts were purchased from Ekram Hadji who "gave me some interesting manuscripts, which were reputed to have come from the old Tibetan fort of the Mazar Tagh, and consisted of little wooden sticks and tablets, on which were written Tibetan characters, a square wooden block, inscribed with Brahmin characters, and a large paper document in Tibetan characters."[48]

The only items found in situ appear to have been discovered at Dandan Uiliq where "Kadre Akhon unearthed a manuscript in tatters with letters in Uigurian [Sogdian] script, and a wooden lock.... In several places we found plaited sandals and Chinese manuscripts."[49]

George Sherriff and Frederick Williamson, 1930 and 1931

Several years later Frederick Williamson, Consul-General in Kashgar from 1927 to 1930 and Major George Sherriff his deputy who succeeded him (from 1930 to 1931) gave the British Museum two collections of Khotanese documents acquired during their official duties. Both were keen photographers and travellers. Sherriff, who is today most famous as a botanist and plant collector, was very helpful to Stein in 1931 with photographing the finds from his fourth expedition.

In 1930 Williamson handed over to the British Museum 41 documents stuck together in a roll, and in May 1931 Sherriff sent L. D. Barnett at the British Museum several more which, he said, "were brought to me in Khotan last March and were said to have been found in or near Domoko."[50] They had been given to him personally by Badruddin.

Together these 59 documents (41 from Williamson and 18 from Sherriff) formed part of an archive containing the correspondence and records of officials from the Six Villages, the area to the East of Khotan. They date from the very end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, from the period of Tibetan occupation and are closely related to documents acquired by Ambolt (see below). They mostly record payment of taxes, delivery of essential commodities and rosters for men on inspection duty.

Nils Ambolt, 1931

The Swedish surveyor Nils Ambolt (1900–1969) was part of the joint Sino-Swedish expedition between 1927 and 1935, led by Sven Hedin (1865–1952). He stayed with Badruddin in Khotan in the winter of 1931/32 and again in May-June 1933 before returning home. His collection of 30 paper and 45 wooden documents (mostly in Khotanese), now in Stockholm, were thought to be part of the Hedin collection and are generally referred to as such. However Rong Xinjiang of Peking University while checking the registers in the Museum of

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[46] Gropp 1974.
[47] Trinkler 1931, p. 180.
[48] *Ibid*, p. 186.
[49] *Ibid*, p. 195.
[50] BL Archives/Official letters. Private correspondence. Letter 20 May 1931 from Capt. G. Sherriff, R.A., British Consulate-General Kashgar to L.D. Barnett, British Museum.

Ethnography in 1989, discovered that most of them were, in fact, collected by Nils Ambolt.[51] They were most probably purchased from Badruddin.

Conclusion

The Ambolt collection concludes a long list of largely unprovenanced manuscripts acquired from Khotan during the first half of the 20th century. By constant reference to manuscripts in the Stein collection, the result of archaeological excavation, it has been possible to pinpoint some of these later finds. I would just like to mention a few outstanding cases.

The first of these is the famous 'Kashgar' Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. Dating from the 8th or early 9th century, it is one of the largest manuscripts to be found measuring 56.1 x 18 cm. It was probably first discovered at Khadalik around 1893 and the greater part sold to Petrovsky who sent it to St. Petersburg. Altogether 447 of the original 459 leaves survive. Independently, Badruddin had supplied the British consul at Kashgar, George Macartney, with four leaves of the same manuscript in 1906 and Skrine's 40 leaves were also probably acquired from him. We know that it came from Khadalik because the geographer Ellsworth Huntington was taken there in 1905 and found part of another leaf of the same manuscript.

Fig. 6. Composite of the right half of folio 282 verso of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, showing Skrine's part (British Library **Or.9613/27**[52]) on the left and the Huntington fragment (Huntington F) on the right. Right side based on Yuyama and Toda 1977, plate II.*

A second example is the famous Khotanese Buddhist text, the *Book of Zambasta*, a popular manual of Buddhism, named after the patron who is mentioned in several colophons.

[51.] Wang 2004, 106, fn. 3.
[52.] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.9613/27.

Fig. 7. **Or.9614/5**[53]. *Folio 299 of the Khotanese* Book of Zambasta, *written in South Turkestan Brahmi script v, probably dating from the 8th century. © The British Library Board*

The Huntington find in 1905 mentioned above confirms the original findspot as Khadaliq. Further leaves were purchased by Petrovsky (192 leaves), the Government of India in 1903 (1 leaf), the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ca. 1910 (6 leaves), Clarmont Skrine ca. 1922 (6 leaves), Emil Trinkler in 1928 (1 leaf), and Zuicho Tachibana on one of Count Otani's Central Asian expeditions (1 leaf). As recently as 2012, two more leaves of this manuscript came to light which are in private possession.

Perhaps the most dramatic case of a composite manuscript is a reconstructed leaf from the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* ('Sutra of the golden light'). As pieced together by Oktor Skjærvø, it is almost complete, consisting of six separate fragments.[54] The fragments marked Kha. were excavated by Stein at Khadaliq in September 1906 and those marked H.147, H 150 and the unnumbered fragment were from separate consignments sent to Rudolf Hoernle in 1905, 1907 and 1916. Many fragments of the same manuscript were also collected by Count Otani Kozui (1876–1948) which are now in Lüshun Museum, China and Ryukoku University Library, Japan.

Fig. 8. Folio 45verso from a manuscript of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra *written in Early South Turkestani Brahmi script dating from the 7th or 8th century.*

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[53] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.9614/5.
[54] Skjærvø 2009, pp. 610-624; plate 376.

This paper has focused on collections formed in the early 20th century but an exciting development has been the recent acquisition in China of further collections of manuscripts from Khotan, many of which, like the earlier ones, lack details of provenance. Work on these collections is in progress.[55] A notable example is the National Library of China **BH1-19**,[56] a page of a letter describing the Uighur invasion of Kashgar in 802.[57] Almost certainly a second folio of Stein's Dandan Uiliq Judaeo-Persian letter (**Or.8212/166**)[58], mentioned earlier, we can be reasonably certain that it too came from there. More recently the scholar Li Can[59] has identified the fragment **BH4-11**, one of a collection recently acquired privately by the National Library of China, as belonging to the same folio as Khad.042 (**Or.8212/1695**[60]) a fragment of the Sanskrit *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* which was brought to Stein in 1915 from Khadaliq, thus demonstrating that there is still material coming to light which relates to these earlier expeditions.

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[55] Bi and Sims-Williams 2010 and 2015; Duan and Zhang 2013; Duan 2015.

[56] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=BH1-19.

[57] Zhang and Shi 2008 and Yoshida forthcoming.

[58] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8212/166.

[59] Li Can 2015.

[60] http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Or.8212/1695.

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Sanskrit Fragments in the Hirayama Collection[*]

Jirō Hirabayashi, Seishi Karashima, Jundō Nagashima and Tatsushi Tamai

The following nine Sanskrit fragments were discovered in the Bāmiyān Valley and are now preserved in the Hirayama Collection, Kamakura, Japan.[1] Soon after we had obtained the photos in 2015, we started studying them at the Brāhmī Club, a reading circle of Sanskrit manuscripts held once every two weeks at the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University. The photos have been already published (Tamai 2016).

Except for Nos. 1 and 8, we have not been able to identify the fragments. Our purpose is to make public this valuable treasure, which must have been written by devout Buddhists in ancient Bactria or in India, and transmitted for centuries. We aim to reach a broader readership rather than preserving the fragments or photos in the depth of a drawer. We hope that somebody will identify them and make clear the readings and meanings of them, which would make the fragments all the more valuable.

Hir. Skt. 1: *Samādhirājasūtra*, cf. Samādh(D) 403.11–407.2, Tib(D), no. 127, 103b5–104b5.
recto

1 /// + [p]rapataṃti || bahukalpāna sahasrakoṭiyo nayutā .. .. + + ///

2 /// [tra]m īdṛśaṃ [s]upraśāntam*[2] || teṣāṃ bodhivarā na durlabhā iya (ś)[r]e + ///

3 /// .odhayitukāmenāyaṃ[3] samādhir ādhārayitavyaḥ [u]dg[ṛ]hītavyaḥ [p]. ///

4 /// + r[m]āṇām abhijñāparikarma • yad uta sarvadharmāṇām aparigraha ///

5 /// + [y](a)yābhijñayā samanvāgato bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ sar(va) + ///

Samādh(D) 403.11–404.12.

> *yūyaṃ pī mama caryā śikṣathā iha sūtre gambhīrā paramārtha deśitā iya netrī /*
> *yatrīmī bahu tasma tīrthikā viparītā kṣiptvā bodhim apāyi bhairave <u>prapatanti</u> // 28[4] //*
> <u>*bahukalpāna sahasrakoṭiyo nayutāni*</u> *veditvā amu tatra vedanā kaṭu tībrāḥ /*
> *bahu kalpā nayutānam atyayāt punar eva hetuḥ so amṛtasya prāptaye bhaviṣyate // 29 //*

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[1] Cf. Matsuda 2013: 165f.
[2] *[s]upraśāntam**: Tib(D) 103b6. *rab tu zhi ba*.
[3] *.odhayitu°*: Tib(D) 104a2. *yongs su sbyang bar 'dod pas* (= *pariśodhayitukāma~*)
[4] Metre: — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡̆ (14 syllables)×4

[ye ye paścimi] kāli bhairave sugatasyo rakṣanti imu sū̱ṯṟa̱m̱ ī̱ḏṛ̱ś̱a̱ṃ̱ p̱ṟa̱ś̱ā̱ṉṯa̱m̱[5] /
ṯe̱ṣ̱ā̱ṃ̱ ḇo̱ḏẖi̱v̱a̱ṟā̱ ṉa̱ ḏu̱ṟḻa̱ḇẖā̱ i̱y̱a̱ ś̱ṟe̱ṣ̱ṭ̱ẖā te te paścimi kāli vyākṛta [dhari dharmān] //
30 //
iti śrīsamādhirāje sarvadharmasvabhāvanirdeśaparivarto nāmâikatriṃśatimaḥ || 31 ||
 (p. 404) *dvātriṃśaparivartaḥ*

*atha khalu bhagavān punar eva candraprabhaṃ (ku)mārabhūtam āmantrayate sma /
tasmāt tarhi kumāra bodhisattvena mahāsattvena mahābhijñāparikarma
[dhāra]yitukāmenâyaṃ*[6] *samādhir dhārayitavyaḥ udgrahītavyaḥ paryavāptavyo
dhārayitavyo vācayitavyaḥ pravartayitavyaḥ uddeṣṭavyaḥ svādhyātavyo bhāvayitavyaḥ
parebhyaś ca vistareṇa saṃprakāśayitavyaḥ / katamac ca tat kumāra sarvadha̱ṟm̱ā̱ṇ̱ā̱m̱
a̱ḇẖi̱j̱ṉ̃ā̱p̱a̱ṟi̱ḵa̱ṟm̱a̱ y̱a̱ḏu̱ṯa̱ s̱a̱ṟv̱a̱ḏẖa̱ṟm̱ā̱ṇ̱ā̱m̱ a̱p̱a̱ṟi̱g̱ṟa̱ẖa̱ḥ aparāmarśaḥ
śīlaskandhasyâmanyanā samādhiskandhasya apracāraḥ prajñāskandhasya
v i v e k a d a r ś a n a ṃ v i m u k t i s k a n d h a s y a y a t h ā b h ū t a d a r ś a n a ṃ
vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhasya svabhāvaśūnyatādarśanaṃ sarvadharmāṇām /
y̱a̱y̱â̱ḇẖi̱j̱ṉ̃a̱y̱ā̱ s̱a̱m̱a̱ṉv̱ā̱g̱a̱ṯo̱ ḇo̱ḏẖi̱s̱a̱ṯṯv̱o̱ m̱a̱ẖā̱s̱a̱ṯṯv̱a̱ḥ̱ s̱a̱ṟv̱a̱s̱a̱m̱ā̱ḏẖi̱v̱i̱ḵu̱ṟv̱i̱ṯā̱ṉi̱ vikurvan
[sarva]sattvāna dharmaṃ deśayati / idam ucyate kumāra mahābhijñāparikarmeti /*

Tib(D) No. 127 103b5–104a5. *mdo sde 'di la khyed kyang nga yi rjes su slobs/ tshul 'di zab
cing dam pa'i don rnams bstan pa ste/ /'di la mu stegs log pa mang po 'di dag 'khyams/ /
byang chub la ni smad byas ngan song 'jigs par ḻṯu̱ṉg̱/ ḇs̱ḵa̱ḻ p̱a̱ m̱a̱ṉg̱ p̱o̱ ḇy̱e̱ ḇa̱ ḵẖṟa̱g̱
ḵẖṟi̱g̱ s̱ṯo̱ṉg̱ ḏu̱ y̱a̱ṉg̱/ de dag sdug bsngal mi bzad tsha ba der myong nas/ bskal pa khrag
khrig mang po dag ni 'das nas kyang/ /de ni de dag mi 'chi 'thob pa'i rgyur 'gyur ro/ gang
dag phyi dus 'jigs la bde bar gshegs pa yi/ m̱ḏo̱ s̱ḏe̱ ṟa̱ḇ ṯu̱ ẕẖi̱ ḇa̱ 'di ni srung byed pa/ ḏe̱
ḏa̱g̱ ḇy̱a̱ṉg̱ c̱ẖu̱ḇ m̱c̱ẖo̱g̱ ṟa̱ḇ '̱ḏi̱ ṉi̱ ṟṉy̱e̱ḏ m̱i̱ ḏḵa̱'̱/ de dang de dang phyi dus chos 'dzin
lung bstan yin/ /chos thams ced kyi rang bzhin nges par bstan pa'i le'u ste sum cu rtsa
gnyis pa'o// // 'phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po'i mdo/ bam po bcu* (104a) *pa/ de nas
yang bcom ldan 'das kyis zla 'od gzhon nur gyur pa la bka' stsal pa/ gzhon nu/ de lta bas
na byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po chos thams cad la mngon par shes pa chen
po'i byi dor bya ba y̱o̱ṉg̱s̱ s̱u̱ s̱ḇy̱a̱ṉg̱ ḇa̱ṟ '̱ḏo̱ḏ p̱a̱s̱ chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin mnyam
pa nyid rnam par spros pa'i ṯi̱ṉg̱ ṉg̱e̱ '̱ḏẕi̱ṉ '̱ḏi̱ mnyan par bya'/ g̱ẕu̱ṉg̱ ḇa̱ṟ ḇy̱a̱/ ḵu̱ṉ c̱ẖu̱ḇ
p̱a̱ṟ ḇy̱a̱/ ḇc̱a̱ṉg̱ ḇa̱ṟ ḇy̱a̱/ bklag par bya/ rab tu gdon par bya/ lung mnod cing kha to na
du bya/ nyon mongs pa med pas bsgom par bya/ mang du bya/ gzhan la yang rgya cher
rab tu bstan par bya'o/ /gzhon nu/ c̱ẖo̱s̱ ṯẖa̱m̱s̱ c̱a̱ḏ ḻa̱ m̱ṉg̱o̱ṉ p̱a̱ṟ s̱ẖe̱s̱ p̱a̱ c̱ẖe̱ṉ p̱o̱'̱i̱ ḇy̱i̱ ḏo̱ṟ
ḇy̱a̱ ḇa̱ gang zhe na/ 'di lta ste/ c̱ẖe̱s̱ ṯẖa̱m̱s̱ c̱a̱ḏ ḻa̱ y̱o̱ṉg̱s̱ s̱u̱ '̱ḏẕi̱ṉ p̱a̱ m̱e̱ḏ cing tshul khrims
kyi phung po mchog tu mi 'dzin pa/ ting nge 'dzin gyi phung po rlom sems med pa/ shes
rab kyi phung po rgyu ba med pa/ rnam par grol ba'i phung po dben par mthong ba/
rnam par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba'i phung po yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du mthong
ba ste/ ḇy̱a̱ṉg̱ c̱ẖu̱ḇ s̱e̱m̱s̱ ḏp̱a̱'̱ s̱e̱m̱s̱ ḏp̱a̱'̱ c̱ẖe̱ṉ p̱o̱ m̱ṉg̱o̱ṉ p̱a̱ṟ s̱ẖe̱s̱ p̱a̱ ḏe̱ ḏa̱g̱ ḏa̱ṉg̱ ḻḏa̱ṉ
p̱a̱s̱ ṯi̱ṉg̱ ṉg̱e̱ '̱ḏẕi̱ṉ gyi rnam par 'phrul pa thams cad kyis rnam par 'phrul zhing sems can
rnams la chos ston pa 'di ni/ gzhon nu/ chos thams cad la mngon par shes pa chen po'i
byi dor bya ba yin no/*

verso

1 /// + k[a]rma aviv[ā]dena deśita •[7] vivāde yas tu carati nodgṛhṇa .[s]. + ///

---

2 /// (n)dhābhāṣyaṃ na jānati || sandhābhāṣyam ajānaṃtaḥ kiṃ saṃdhāyai[8] tu bhāṣi ///

3 /// bhāvitāḥ yāvantaḥ sarvabuddhehi bahū dharmāḥ prakāśitāḥ [n]airā .. ///

4 /// .. g buddhavāg eva sarvaśabdo hy avastukaḥ diśo daśa gav[eṣi] .. +///

5 /// + [m] anuttarā || aṇur na labhyate[9] dharmo aṇuśabde[n]a de[ś]i .. + + ///

Samādh(D) 405.1–407.2.

atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyāṃ velāyām imā gāthā abhāṣata /
mahābhijñāparikarma avivādena deśitam /
vivāde yas tu carati sodgrhṇan na[10] *vimucyate // 1*[11] *//*
abhijñā tasya sā prajñā bauddhaṃ jñānam acintiyam /
udgrahe yaḥ sthito bhoti jñānaṃ tasya na vidyate // 2 //
bahavo 'cintiyā dharmā ye śabdena prakāśitāḥ /
yas tatra niviśec chabde sandhābhāṣyaṃ na jānati // 3 //
sandhābhāṣyam ajānānaḥ kiṃ saṃdhāya tu bhāṣitam /
adharmaṃ [bhāṣate dharmaṃ] dharmatāyām aśikṣitaḥ // 4 //
lokadhātusahasreṣu ye mayā sūtra bhāṣitāḥ /
nānāvyañjana ekārthā na śakyaṃ parikīrtitum // 5 // (p. 406)
ekaṃ padārthaṃ cintetvā sarve te bhonti bhāvitāḥ /
yāvantaḥ sarvabuddhehi bahudharmāḥ prakāśitāḥ // 6 //
nairātmyaṃ sarvadharmāṇāṃ ye narā arthakovidāḥ /
asmin pade tu śikṣitvā buddhadharmā na durlabhāḥ // 7 //
sarvadharmā buddhadharmā dharmatāyāṃ ya śikṣitāḥ /
ye dharmatāṃ prajānanti na virodhenti dharmatām // 8 //
sarvā vāg buddhavāg eva sarvaśabdo hy avastukaḥ /
diśo daśa gaveṣitvā buddhavāg nâiva labhyate // 9 //
eṣā vācā buddhavācā gaveṣitvā diśo daśa /
na labhyate 'nuttarâiṣā na labdhā na ca lapsyate // 10 //
anuttarā buddhavācā [buddhavācā] niruttarā /
aṇur na lapsyate 'trêti tenôktêyam anuttarā // 11 // (p. 407)
aṇu nôtpadyate dharmo aṇuśabdena deśitaḥ /
aṇumātro na co labdo loke śabdena deśitaḥ // 12 //

Tib(D) 104a5–104b5. *de nas de'i tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis chos thams cad la mngon par shes pa chen po'i byi dor bya ba bstan pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs 'di zla gzhon nur gyur pa la tshigs su bcad pa'i dbyangs kyis rgya cher yang dag par rab tu bstan to/ mngon shes chen po yongs sbyangs pa/ rtsod pa med par bstan pa ste/ rtsod pa dag la gang spyod cing/ /'dzin par byed pa de mi thar/ /mngon shes de yi shes rab ste/ / sangs rgyas ye shes bsam mi khab/ /'dzin pa la ni gang gans pa/ /de la ye shes yong mi 'gyur/ gang dag sgra yis bstan pa yi/ /chos rnams mang po bsam mi khyab/ /sgra de la yang gang chags pa/ /dgongs pa'i bshad pa mi shes so/ ci la dgongs te bshad pa yi/ /dgongs pa dag ni mi shes pa/ chos nyid la ni ma bslabs pas/ chos ma yin pa chos su 'chad/ /'jig rten khams ni stong dag tu/ /ngas ni mdo sde gang bshad pa/ chig 'bru tha dad don gig ste/ thams cad brjod par nus ma yin/ /chig gcig rnam par bsgoms na ni/ /de dag thams cad bsgoms par 'gyur/ /sangs rgyas ji snyed thams cad kyis/ /chos rnams mang po rab bshad pa/ /chos*

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[8] *saṃdhāyai* : Inst?; cf Gilgit ms. *sandhāya*.

[9] *labhyate* : Gilgit ms. reads *utpadyate* instead.

[10] *sodgrhṇan na* : The reading *sodgrhṇan na* is reconstructed by Dutt; manuscripts read *nodgrhṇāt* sa*. Cf. Tib(D) 104a6. *'dzin par byed pa de mi thar.*

[11] Metre: *Śloka*

rnams thams cad <u>stong pa nyid</u>/ /mi gang don la mkhas pa dag /tshig 'di bslabs par gyur pa la/ /sangs rgyas chos rnams dkon ma yin/ /chos kun sangs rgyas chos yin te/ /chos nyid la yang gang bslabs pa/ chos nyid rab tu shes pa ni/ /chos nyid dang yang 'gal mi chyed/ tshig kun kyang ni <u>sangs rgyas tshig</u>/ /<u>sgra kun dngos po med pa ste</u>/ / <u>phyogs bcu dag tu btsal na yang</u>/ sangs rgyas tshig ni mmi rnyed do/ /tshig 'di sangs rgyas tshig yin te/ / phyogs bcu dag tu rab btsal kyad/ /bla med 'di ni mi rnyed de/ ma rnye rnyed par mi 'gyur ro/ /sangs rgyas tshig ni bla na med/ ltag na med pa sangs rgyas tshig /de la rsul tsam mi rnyed pas/ de tshe <u>bla na med</u> ces brjod/ <u>chos ni rdul tsam mi rnyed de</u>/ /rdul tsam sgrar ni bshad pa yin</u>/ rdul tsam rnyed par ma gyur kyang/ /'jig rten du ni sgra yis bshad/

Hir. Skt. 2

A

1 /// [s/p]. nti yathā śakkraḥ āha kin nu hetu yena satvā dṛṣṭe (')va dharme na [p]. [r]. n. .. ///

2 /// .[au/o]tsukyatāyāṃ cittan namati • yathā cāha āddhyātmato bahirddhāto ///

3 /// + buddhānām abhipprāyaḥ 1[12] yā punar ānupū ///

B

1 /// + bhāṣati sukhitā bata te (')rhaṃtās tṛṣṇā teṣān na vidyate[13] vistaraḥ 1 ///

2 /// + miphalaṃ[14] prāptam* || 2 || adhikṛtya savedayitaṃ dideśa buddho jagāda ///

3 /// .. śanā vedayitam ārabdhavān* ///

Hir. Skt. 3

Folio 28

recto

1 kim apy atra [ra]tnabitaṃ bhaviṣyat[ī]ti matvā pracchannāṃ gṛhaṃ [na]yitvā udghāṭṭavy[a/ā] ///

2 darśa[ṇī]yo rājagarbha iva dṛṣyate putram etaṃ kariṣye taṃ tvaṃ sūtakākuṭi .. ///

3 nti nāsmābhir iyadbhiḥ kāmaiḥ śrutaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ vā sā kathayati na sarvasyā ○ .. ///

4 [maṇa]ḥ[15] kṛtvā kumāro dhātṛbhyo (')nupradattaḥ nāmañ cāsya cintayitum ārabdhā .i ///

verso

1 [p]ari .. .. nādinā kkrameṇa paṃcadhīt[a]«ḥ»[16] mahāntaś ca kumāro jātaḥ sa ca mahā .. ///

2 tadā dārakasya haste nupre pūṇaṃ[17] kuryād evam uktā phalabalivarddān[18] gṛhya .e ///

3 maṃ halaṃ[19] ko vāhayiṣyati sa kathayaty ahaṃ pitā kathayati śakṣya ///

4 [a]ṇḍāni vā yasmin has(ta)pathe gacchati sa t[e]na hastenotpādya ba .i ///

Hir. Skt. 4

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[12] 1 : Or • ?

[13] *sukhitā bata te (')rhaṃtās tṛṣṇā teṣān na vidyate* || Śloka. Cf. SN III 83.18f. <u>sukhino</u> (cf. Mp III 19. *sukhitā*) <u>vata arahanto | taṇhā tesaṃ na vijjati</u> || *asmimāno samucchinno | mohajālaṃ padālitam* ||

[14] *miphalaṃ* : Probably either *(sakṛdāga)miphalaṃ* or *(anāgā)miphalaṃ*.

[15] *[maṇa]ḥ* : *bahaḥ*?

[16] *paṃcadhīt[a]«ḥ»* : For *paṃcadhītāḥ*

[17] *pūṇaṃ* : S.e. for *pūrṇaṃ*?

[18] *phalabalivarddān* : S.e. for *phāla°* "plough share"; *balivarda*, Pā. *balivadda* an ox yoked to the plough; cf. JPTS 1907: 349, PTSD, s.v.

[19] *halaṃ* : = *phālaṃ*.

A

1 /// citta‹ṃ› vā na cittapurvva[ṅ]gama rtth. na manaḥ salakṣaṇa grahano (’)rtth. na vijñā

2 /// .. : sanniśraya‹ṃ› vā na mana vakalpana‹ṃ› vā vijñānam* • sarvvatrapravṛ/uttacittaṃ • tata

3 /// śiṣāṃ : kuśalaḥ tadya[thā] dana dya murddha paryyavadāna kecid atra kuśa[l]. [s]t.

4 /// .. yaḥ • kecid a[tra] .yakkratas tadyathā sthānasanagama[na]śayanam²⁰ ṛddhir i

5 /// y/ghadidac cittamanta vijñānaṃ sukhadukhapray[oge]na pravṛtta

B

1 /// + + y[o]gena pravṛttasya sa‹ṃ›jñā abhisa‹ṃ›skareṇa prayogeṇa pravṛ/utta

2 /// .. n. r. vam ahuḥ²¹ ska‹ṃ›ddhan niyāmayidva²² vijñānam ity ucya(t)e aya[ta]na

3 /// (t)v(a)²³ ma[n](a) ity ucyate saṃttatin niyāmayitva cittam ity acyate²⁴ • tatra ṣadv.²⁵

4 /// [k]ṣu²⁶ cī²⁷ pratitya rūpaṃ ca aloka²⁸ [c]i manaskara ci imiś caturbhi pratya²⁹

5 /// .. dyati/e vijñānam idaṃ cakṣur vv[i]jñānaṃ || pa³⁰ || yavat³¹ mana

Hir. Skt. 5

Folio 296

recto

1 tena ca gaṇḍi .. śa[b]d[e](na)³² sarva[d]uḥ[kha] pra[t]ipra○srabdhavyopaśāntā abhū .. + .. ///

2 deśayatha praticchannakāni pāpakāni karmā○ṇi • sahitā samagrā bhava[th]a • .. ///

3 palyaṃkebhiḥ³³ āsa‹n›nebhi : utthahitvā ya○thānuśiṣṭa tathā manasīkaro na ///

4 niṣaṇṇāṃ vi(d)i[t](v)ā svayam eva buddho bhagavāṃ ○ svakāto [b]uddhāsanāto utthihi ///

verso

1 yā kāye + ..³⁴ vācaye vā manena vā tat kasya ○ hetoḥ kiṃ cāpi bhikṣav(o) nāst(i) ///

2 kapratyekabuddhānāṃ sadevamānuṣāsure lo[k]e ○ pratyudgato (’)smi sarvadevamanu(ṣ)y. ///

3 yebhiḥ pravrajitāḥ iha ca buddhaśāsane ○ evaṃ dharmatā e«va» karaṇīyo • e ///

4 thā śāḍhīyacittena³⁵ na so bhikṣuḥ sūpasaṃ○panno bhavati na ca tena bhikṣ(u)ṇā ///

Hir. Skt. 6

recto

1 /// + + + t. khalu parigīyate ndralo[k]e .. .. la ma te/o .y. vidhām matiṃ vidh(ā)ya rā .. ///

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²⁰ *sthānasanagama[na]śayanam* : S.e. for *sthānāsanagamanaśayanam*.

²¹ *ahuḥ* : S.e. for *āhuḥ*.

²² *niyāmayidva* : S.e. for *niyāmayitva*.

²³ *(t)v(a)* : Probably *niyāmayitva*.

²⁴ *acyate* : S.e. for *ucyate*.

²⁵ *ṣadv.* : Probably *ṣaḍvijñāna~*.

²⁶ *[k]ṣu* : Probably *cakṣu*.

²⁷ *cī* : The forms *cī* and *ci* in this sentence correspond with Skt. *ca*; cf. GDhp(K) *ci, ji, yi < ca*.

²⁸ *aloka* : = Skt *āloka*.

²⁹ *pratya* : S.e. for *pratītya*? Cf. ŚālSū, p. 105.5. *tadyathā - pañcabhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ cakṣurvijñānam utpadyate | katamaiḥ pañcabhiḥ? yaduta cakṣuḥ pratītya rūpaṃ ca ālokaṃ ca ākāśaṃ ca tajjamanasikāraṃ ca pratītya utpadyate cakṣurvijñānam*

³⁰ *pa* : = Pā, BHS. *pe* (= Pā. *peyyālaṃ*; BHS. *peyālaṃ*); cf. PTSD, s.v. *peyyāla*.

³¹ *yavat* : S.e. for *yāvat*.

³² *.. śa[b]d[e](na)* : Presumably *praśabdena*.

³³ *palyaṃkebhiḥ* : Cf. CDIAL 7964. *palyaṅka*.

³⁴ *kāye + ..* : Probably *kāyana vā*.

³⁵ *śāḍhīyacittena* : < *śāṭhiya-* < *śāṭhyacittena* (BHS). Cf. Pā. *sāṭheyya*

2 /// .. tāya mārggahaṃ || 3 || pālita iti • śramaṇaṣaṇḍe āraṇṇyo pālito nāma bhikṣuḥ ativa .. ///

3 /// ḥ sandi[ṣ]ṭo śramaṇaṣaṇ[ḍ]ād annyanīkācya bhikṣuḥ nimaṃtri haṃ ti vi[s]tareṇa vāstuṃ • [y]. ///

verso

1 /// r iva [k]olitaśirisya • nāścāryyan tac ch[ās]t(ā) vaiśālyāyāṃ viśālakīrtt(ī)nāṃ yaṃ lecchavīna bha ///

2 /// .. yaṃ .. || 4 || divāvihāra iti • śramaṇa[ṣa]ṇḍabhikṣuḥ divāvihāraṅ gato .i .. ///

Hir. Skt. 7

A

1 /// na gaṃjavarayopanyastaṃ upannyasyāpasmṛtaḥ tadāvarakāle ca puna

2 /// sīt* evaṃ nairbandhikā na ca samudācaranti aparityāgatas tu te draṣṭa

3 /// dhātunā vyavahāryyan³⁶ ti •

B

1 /// .. va viśeṣā niścaranti evaṃ ṣaḍv(i)jñānakāyā draṣṭavyā iti • || viga

2 /// rakaprapātaṃ³⁷ vā bhavati • tadā ātmapreṇvaḥ³⁸ samudācarati mukham u

3 /// āha • ambulimarāje³⁹ •

Hir. Skt. 8: *Samādhirājasūtra*, cf. Samādh(D) 472.11–475.5.

recto	*verso*
a /// + .. [t]. .m. .ārdham a[ś]. .y. + ///	**a** /// + + .. + + + .. + + + + ///
b /// .[v]. yaṃ bhikṣuḥ kālaṃ kuryād iti ///	**b** /// ..ṃ dadyām* aham eveha rāja ///
c /// kṣor navakenāsaṃkliṣṭe .. mā .. ///	**c** /// [m]aiṣa bhikṣur asmād āvādhād vyutti ///
d /// s (ta)syā rātryā atyayena tataḥ ///	**d** /// .. hya taṃ cācāryaṃ praveśya rā[jñ]. ///
e /// + + + + + .. + + + + + ///	**e** /// + ..ṃ .. r. .. ribhukte .. .. .i ///

Samādh(D) 472.11-475.5.

atha khalu rājā sāntaḥpuraḥ saputraḥ saduhitṛparivāraḥ taṃ bhikṣuṃ glānaṃ viditvā prārodīd aśrūṇi pravartay<u>ati [sma] sārdham aśītyā</u> strīsahasraiḥ sārdhaṃ paurair nāgaraiḥ sārdhaṃ rāṣṭreṇa naigamajānapadair gaṇakamahāmātraiḥ sārdham amātyadauvārikapāriṣadyaiḥ | te sarve taṃ bhikṣuṃ glānaṃ viditvā praro(p. 473)dantaḥ aśraṇi pravartayām āsuḥ | mā kha<u>lv ayaṃ bhikṣuḥ kālaṃ kuryād iti</u> | tena ca kumāra kālena tena samayena rājño Jñānabalasyânyatarā devatā purāṇasālohitâbhūd anubaddhā | sā tasya rājñaḥ svapnāntargatasyôpadarśayati sma | sa cet mahārāja etasya bhik<u>ṣor navakenâsaṃkliṣṭena mānuṣyeṇa</u> rudhireṇâiṣa kṛṣṇavaisarpa ālipyeta navakaṃ câsaṃkliṣṭaṃ mānuṣaṃ māsaṃ nānārasasaṃprayuktaṃ bhojanaṃ dīyeta evam eṣa bhikṣur asmād ābādhād vyuttiṣṭheta | atha khalu rājā Jñānabalas <u>tasyā rātryā atyayena tataḥ</u> svapnāntarāt prativibuddho 'ntaḥpuram adhyagataḥ imāṃ svapnaprakṛtim antaḥpurāyârocayām āsa | evaṃrūpaḥ svapno mayā dṛṣṭa iti hi kumāra tataḥ stryāgārāt tataś ca rājakulān na kācit strī utsahate tasya hi bhikṣos tadbhaiṣajyaṃ dātum | Jñānāvaty api rājaduhitā imam īdṛśam eva svapnam adrākṣīt | dṛṣṭvā ca punaḥ

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³⁶ *dhātunā vyavahāryyan* : Or *dhātunâvyavahāryyan*?

³⁷ *rakaprapātaṃ* : Probably *narakaprapātaṃ*.

³⁸ *ātmapreṇvaḥ*: Either s.e. for *ātmapremnā* or its Vedic from °*preṇā*?

³⁹ Ambulima, probably Greek Embolima, which Stein [1929: p. 124] identifies with Amb, while Eggermont [1970] does it with Ambela.

*prativibuddhā antaḥpuram adhye imām eva svapnaprakṛtiṃ mātṝṇāṃ parivārasya
cârocayati [sma] | na [ca] kācid utsahate [strī] tasya bhikṣor etad bhaiṣajyaṃ dātum |
atha khalu Jñānavatī rājaduhitā tuṣṭā udagrā āttamanaskā* (p. 474) *pramuditā
prītisaumanasyajātā evaṃ vyavasāyam akārṣīt - yan nv aham etad bhaiṣajyaṃ svakāc
charīrād yathôpadiṣṭaṃ navaṃ rudhiraṃ navaṃ ca māṃsaṃ dadyām aham evêha
rājakule sarvadaharā ca sarvataruṇī ca asaṃkliṣṭakāyavāṅmanaskarmā ca asaṃkliṣṭaṃ
jñānam eṣāmi | asaṃkliṣṭasya dharmabhāṇakasya svaśarīrād rudhiraṃ ca māṃsaṃ
côpanāmayiṣyāmi | apy eva nāmâṣa bhikṣur asmād ābādhād vyuttiṣtheta | atha khalu sā
Jñānavatī rājaduhitā svakam āvāsaṃ gatvā tīkṣṇaṃ śastraṃ gṛhītvā dharmāntargatena
mānasena svakam ūrumāṃsaṃ chittvā nānārasasaṃprayuktaṃ praṇītam abhisaṃskṛtya
lohitaṃ ca pragrhya taṃ câcāryaṃ praveśya rājño Jñānabalasya purato niṣadya
lohitena taṃ visarpam ālepayitvā tena ca svabhisaṃskṛtena bhojanena saṃtarpayati |
atha khalu sa bhikṣur ajānan na paribudhyamānaḥ apariśaṅkamānas tadbhaktaṃ
paribhuktavān | samanantaraparibhukte ca tasminn āhāre tasya bhikṣoḥ sarvās* (p. 475)
*tā vedanāḥ pratiprasrabdhāḥ sarvaś ca vyādhir apagataḥ | tena vigataparidāhena
sarvasukhasamarpitena tathā tathā dharmo deśito yathā tato 'ntaḥpurāt tataś ca
nagarajanapadarāṣṭrasaṃnipātād dvādaśānāṃ prāṇisahasrāṇām anuttarāyāṃ samyak
saṃbodhau cittāny utpannāni ||*

Hir. Skt. 9: cf. Matsuda 2014: 166.

recto

a /// + .. 1 jayant[i] • k. mud. svar. sup. .. ///

b /// + 2 || rājavargo samāpta 17 || ◎ ///

c /// • madhyimabhāṇakenaṃ • vinaya + ///

verso

a /// .. lena ācaryabuddhamitrasya mokṣo .. ///

b /// .. na upadhyāyānānaṃ samya puṇya ///

c /// + ti lābhatāyaṃ bhavatu : || likhitaṃ [a/ā] ///

BIBLIOGRAPHY, ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
CDIAL = R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1973 (1st ed. 1966); Indexes compiled by D. R. Turner, London 1969; Phonetic Analysis, R. L. and D. R. Turner, London 1971; Addenda and Corrigenda, J. C. Wright, London 1985: Oxford University Press.
Eggermont, Pierre Herman Leonard
    1970 "Alexander's Campaigns in Gandhāra", in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* vol. I, pp. 63–123.
    1975 *Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia*, Leuven: Leuven University Press (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 3).
GDhp(K) = John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962: Oxford University Press (*London Oriental Series*, vol. 7).
JPTS = *Journal of the Pali Text Society*
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The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15–19 2009, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Mp = *Manorathapūraṇī: Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, ed. Max Walleser and Hermann Kopp, 5 vols., London 1924–1956: PTS.

ms(s) = manuscript(s)

Pā = Pāli

PTSD = Thomas William Rhys Davids & William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1921~25; reprint 1959, 1979: PTS.

Samādh(D) = *Samādhirājasūtra*, in: *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. II, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, Calcutta 1953; Delhi ²1984: Sri Satguru Publications.

s.e. = scribal error

Skt = Sanskrit

SN = *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, ed. L. Feer, 5 vols., London 1884~1898: The Pali Text Society.

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ŚālSū = *Śālistambasūtra*, in: *Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgraha*, part 1, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1961: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning (*Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, no. 17), pp. 100–106.

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Tib(D) = Derge (sDe dge) Canon; facsimile reproductions:
(1) *Bstan 'gyur sde dge'i par ma: Commentaries on the Buddha's Word by Indian Masters* (CD-Rom), New York: The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC).
(2) *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*: Taipei Edition, ed. A. W. Barber, Taipei 1991: SMC Publishing.

Symbols used in the Transliteration

( )   restored *akṣara*(s)

[ ]   *akṣara*(s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain

‹ ›   omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the manuscript

« »   interlinear insertion

+   one lost *akṣara*

..   one illegible *akṣara*

.   illegible part of an *akṣara*

///   beginning or end of a fragment when broken

| *daṇḍa*

|| double *daṇḍa*

*   *virāma*

•   punctuation mark

:   *visarga* used as punctuation

'   *avagraha*: if not written in the manuscript, it is added in brackets in the transliteration

○   string hole

Symbols used in Notes

~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharma*~

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one

α < β = the form α comes from β

Diplomatic Transcription of the Sanskrit Manuscript of the
*Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā**
— Folios 23v4–29r6 —

LI Xuezhu

Following the last part of the diplomatic transcription of the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā*, I shall here present the next part, i.e., fols. 23v4–29r6, which deals with the *dhātuvyavasthāna* and *āyatanavyavasthāna*. Bold-faced words indicate the *mūla* text of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*. Variant readings are, as far as I noticed, presented in footnotes. The text dealt with in the present paper corresponds to the missing folios of the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (lacuna in Gokhale's edition, pp. 19, 23). Li and Kano 2014 provided text of this and other missing *mūla* parts (i.e. missing fols. 2, 6, and 7) by extracting them from the present manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhā* (fols. 4v6–8v4 and 23v4–32r3). *Mūla* text of further missing folios of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya* manuscript, i.e., fols. 17, 21, 22, 25–28, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, and 41, are under preparation for publication.

Conventions in the Diplomatic Transcription
I keep the reading as found in the manuscript and do not modify it. The sigla used in the transcription and notes are as follows:

○	string hole
+	one lost *akṣara*
..	one illegible *akṣara*
*	*virāma*
0	absence of *virāma*
¦	gap filling sign before a string hole or end of a line
|	*daṇḍa*
||	double *daṇḍa*
[ ]	unclear/damaged *akṣara*(s) in the manuscript
« »	*Akṣara*(s) inserted by the scribe in the manuscript
{{ }}	*Akṣara*(s) cancelled by the scribe in the manuscript
( )	*Akṣara*(s) restored by the present editor
(ˡ)	sic
< >	omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the manuscript
{}	superfluous *akṣara*(s) or a *daṇḍa*

add.	added in
ASBh	Tatia(1976)'s edition of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣya*
Chj.	The Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, namely 大乘阿毘達磨集論, Taisho No. 1605
Chz.	The Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya-vyākhyā*, namely 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論, Taisho No. 1606
em.	emended
Gokhale	Gokhale(1947)'s edition of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*
Ms	manuscript
n.e.	no equivalent in
om.	omitted in
r	*recto*
Tib.	The Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya-Vyākhyā*, namely *Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa'I rnam par bshad pa*. Derge No. 4054; Peking No. 5555
v	*verso*

[Hayashima, pp.100-123; Gokhale, *lacuna*; ASVy(Tib): D 136a4-141a2; P 165b1-171a5; ASVy(Chz): T31.702a23-704a11]

(23v4) dhātuvyavasthānaṃ katamat* | yo rūpaskandhaḥ sa da¦(23v5)śa rūpiṇo dhātavaḥ | cakṣurddhātuḥ | rūpadhātuḥ | śrotradhātuḥ | śabdadhā○tuḥ | ghrāṇādhātuḥ | gandhadhātuḥ | jihvādhātuḥ | rasadhātuḥ | kāyadhātuḥ | spraṣṭavyadhātuḥ | dharma-dhātv[1]ekade(23v6)śaś ca | yo vedanāskandhaḥ saṃjñāskandhaḥ saṃskāraskandhaḥ sa dharmmadhātvekadeśaḥ | yo vijñānaskandhaḥ sa sapta vijñānadhātavaḥ | cakṣur-vijñānadhātuḥ śrotraghrāṇājihvākāyamanovijñānadhātavaḥ |[2] (24r1) manodhātuś ca || ||

dhātvāyatanānāṃ nāsti pṛthaglakṣaṇavyavasthānaṃ skandhanirdeśa eva cakṣurādīnām uktalakṣaṇatvāt* | tasmāt* skandhebhya eva niṣkṛṣya dhātavo vyavasthāpyante dhātubhya āyatanāni ||

kin dhātuṣu (24r2) skandhair asaṃgṛhītaṃ (|) dharmmadhātāv asaṃskṛtaṃ | tataḥ punar aṣṭāv asaṃskṛtavastūni ○ kuśalānāṃ dharmmāṇāṃn tathatā | evam akuśalānān dharmmāṇām avyakṛtānāñ ca dharmmāṇān tathatā | ā(24r3)kāśam aprati-saṃkhyānirodhaḥ | pratisaṃkhyānirodhaḥ | āniṃjyaṃ saṃ○jñāveditanirodhaś ca ||

asaṃskṛtasyedam aṣṭadhā[3] vyavasthānaṃ | tathatāyās traividhyam āśrayaprakāra-bhedā(24r4)t* | na tu[4] svabhāvabhedāt* |

kuśalānāṃ dharmmāṇāṃ tathatā katamā || ○ nairātmyaṃ | śūnyatā | ānimittaṃ | bhūtakoṭiḥ | paramārtho | dharmadhātur api saḥ |

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1. cf. Chj. 666a17–18: 意界; Tib. *chos kyi khams*
2. cf. Chj. 666a19: 眼等六識界。
3. ASBh: *yat tu skandhair asaṃgṛhītam asaṃskṛtaṃ tad aṣṭadhā.*
4. ASBh: n.e.

kena kāraṇena tathatā tathate(24r5)ty ucyate | ananyathībhāvatam upādāya || (kena kāraṇena nairātmyam ity ucyate | dvividhātmaviprayuktatām upādāya)[5] ||

ananyathībhāvatā sadaiva ◯ bhāvānāṃ nirātmatayā draṣṭavyā || ||

kena kāraṇena śūnyatā śūnyatety ucyate (|) saṃkleśāpracāratām upā(24r6)dāya || ||

saṃkleśāpracāratā[6] tenālambanena saṃkleśavastunaḥ saṃkleśaśūnyīkaraṇāt* | ya{{ta}}dāpi saṃkliṣṭety ucyate | tadāpy āgantukas tatropakleśo veditavyaḥ | katamaḥ puna(24v1)r āgantukas tatropakleśaḥ | anapoddhṛtagrāhyagrāhakabījasya paratantracittasya dvayākārā pravṛttiḥ | na dharmmatācittasya | prakṛtiprabhāsvarā hi dharmāṇān[7] dharmmateti |

kena kāraṇenānimi(24v2)ttam ity ucyate | nimittopaśamanatām upādāya || ||

nimittāni rūpaṃ ve◯danā yāvad bodhir iti prapañcitāni | teṣān tatropaśamād animittaṃ ||

kena kāraṇena bhūtakoṭi(24v3)r ity ucyate | aviparyāsālambanatām upādāya || ||

bhūtaṃ yad aviparīta◯n tasya koṭiḥ paryanto nairātmyāt* pareṇa tattvāparyeṣaṇā[8] || ||

kena kāraṇena paramārtha i(24v4)ty ucyate | paramār{{gha}}‹‹tha››jñānagocaratām upādāya ||

kena kāraṇena dharmma◯dhātur ity ucyate | sarvvaśrāvakāpratyekabuddha-dharmmanimittatām upadāya |

yathā kuśalānān dharmmāṇā(24v5)n tathatā | evam akuśalānām avyākṛtānāñ ca dharmmāṇān tathatā draṣṭa◯vyā || ākāśaṅ katamat* | rūpābhāvaḥ | sarvakriyāvakāśa-dānatām upādāya || ||

ākāśaṃ rūpābhā(24v6)va iti | rūpasyaiva viparyayeṇā{{va}}bhāvalakṣaṇo yo dharmmo manovijñānaviṣayas tad ākāśaṃ | manovijñānaviṣayatvaṃ punar ddharmmadhātvadhikārāt[9] veditavyaṃ | rūpasyaivety avadhāraṇād ve(25r1)danādisādhāraṇāḥ | tathatā 'pratisaṃkhyā-pratisaṃkhyānirodhānityatāḥ paryudāsyante | śaśaviṣāṇādīnām atyantabhāvo[10] na teṣāṃ viparyayeṇa vijñāyate yasmāt ta evātyantan na santīti[11] te (')pi śaśaviṣāṇā(25r2)dayo nāsyaiva vidyamānasya rūpasya viparyayeṇa vedanādisādhāraṇatvā◯t tasmād rūpasyaiva viparyayeṇety ucyate | abhāvalakṣaṇavacanena vedanādīnām arūpiṇāṃ paryudāso na (25r3)

<div style="font-size:smaller">

5. A reconstruction by the present editor. cf. Chj. 666a25: 何故真如名無我性, 離二我故.
6. ASBh: *draṣṭavyā saṃkleśāpracāratām upādāyeti*
7. ASBh: *sarvadharmāṇāṃ*
8. ASBh: *tattvāparyeṣaṇāt*
9. ASBh: °*adhikāratvena*
10. ASBh: *atyantam abhāvo*
11. Read: *saṃbhavantīti*. cf. ASBh.

</div>

hi te 'bhāvalakṣaṇā iti || ||

apratisaṃkhyānirodhaḥ katamaḥ | yo ○ nirodho na ca viśaṃyogaḥ || ||

yo nirodho na ca visaṃyoga ity anuśayāsamuddhātāt*[12] || ||

[pra]tisaṃkhyā(25r4)nirodhaḥ katamaḥ | yo nirodhaḥ sa ca visaṃyoga (||)

ity anuśayasamuddhā◯tā<t*>[13] | dvayam idaṃ prahātavyaṃ kleśāś ca tadāśrayañ[14] ca vastu
veditaṃ | tat* punar[15] dvividhaṃ | vaikārikam avaikāri(25r5)kañ ca | sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ
aduḥkhāsukhañ ca yathākramaṃ | tatra kleśaprahā◯ṇāt* pratisaṃkhyānirodhavyavasthānaṃ
| dvividhaveditagra(hā'̣)ṇād yathākrama{{gla}}‹‹m ā››niñjyasya saṃjñāveditani-
niro(25r6)dhasya[16] ca vyavasthānaṃ | tatra kleśaprahāṇan tat*pakṣadauṣṭhulyāpagamād
āśrayaparivṛttiḥ || veditaprahāṇaṃn tat*pratipakṣabhūtāyāḥ samāpatter āvaraṇāpa-
gamā{{pa}}d āśrayaparivṛtti(25v1)r ata eva dvitīye dhyāne duḥkhanirodhasyāvyava-
sthānam[17] vaikārika veditasyāśeṣam aprahāṇāt* | ata āha[18] |

**āniṃjyaṅ katamat* | śubhakṛtsnavītarāgasya upari a{{a}}vītarāgasya ca sukha-
duḥkha(25v2)nirodhaḥ ||**

**saṃjñāveditanirodhaḥ katamaḥ | ākiñcinyāyatanavī◯tarāgasya vihārasaṃjñā-
pūrvvakeṇa manasikāreṇa | asthāvarāṇāṃ cittacaitasikānāṃ | tade(25v3)katyānāñ ca
sthāvaraṇāṃ nirodho yac ca pañcavidhaṃ rūpaṃ yaś ca vedanā◯skandhaḥ saṃjñā-
skandhaḥ | saṃskāraskandhaḥ | yāni vāṣṭāv asaṃskṛtavastūni tadaikadhyam abhisaṃ-
kṣipya ṣoḍa¦(25v4)śātmako dharmmadhātuḥ ||**

**āyatanavyavasthānaṃ katamat* | ye daśa rūpi◯ṇo dhātavas tāny eva rūpīṇi
daśāyatanāni ye {{ṣaḍ*}}‹‹sapta›› vijñānadhātavaḥ | tan manaāyatanaṃ yo dharma-
(25v5)dhātus taddharmmāyatanaṃ |(|)**

**ata eva skandhadhātvāyatanāni trayo dharma bha◯vanti | rūpaskandho dharmma-
dhātur mmanaāyatanañ ca || ||**

rūpaskandhena daśarūpiṇo dhātavaḥ saṃgṛhī(25v6)tāḥ | dharmmadhātunā sa eva |
manaāyatanena sapta vijñānadhātavaḥ | ity evaṃ sarvadharmmas[19] trayo dharmā[20] bhavanti ||

evaṃ vyavasthāpiteṣu skandhadhātvāyataneṣv ānuṣaṅgakam e(26r1)tad vyutpādyate |

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[12]. ASBh: °samuddhātād viparyayād visaṃyogaḥ
[13]. ASBh: n.e.; cf. Chz. 702c4: 永害隨眠故。
[14]. ASBh: °āśrayabhūtaṃ
[15]. ASBh: punar veditaṃ
[16]. ASBh: °vedayitanirodhasya
[17]. ASBh: °nirodhasyāsaṃskṛtāvya°
[18]. ASBh: n.e.
[19]. ASBh: °dharmās
[20]. ASBh: n.e.

cakṣuḥśrotraghrāṇānāṃ pratyekaṃ dvitve sati kathaṃ dhātūnān naikaviṅśatitvaṃ | yady api caiṣāṃ dvitvaṃ na {{dhā}} tu dhātvantaratvaṃ lakṣaṇasāmyena[21] | ubhayoś cakṣur-lakṣanatvāt* | kṛtyasā(26r2)dharmyena | ubhayoś cakṣurvijñānaikakṛtyatvāt*[22] | evaṃ śrotra-ghrāṇayor api[23] yo◯jyaṃ | dvayor dvayos tu nirvṛttir āśrayaśobhārthaṃ | evaṃ suvi‹‹bha››ktasamobhayapārśva āśrayaḥ śobhate[24] nānya(26r3)thā ||

kim ekaikam eva cakṣur nniśritya cakṣurvijñānam utpadyate nityam āho◯svid dve api | dve apīty ucyate | spaṣṭagrahaṇāt* | yathā dvayoś cakṣuṣor unmiṣitayo rūpagrahaṇaṃ¦ (26r4) spaṣṭaṃ bhavati | na tathaikasminn eveti | tadyathaikasminn eveti | tadyathai◯kasminn[25] apavarake dvayoḥ pradīpayor ekaḥ[26] prabhāpratānaḥ[27] spaṣṭataraḥ[28] pradīpadvayaṃ[29] niśritya varttate | (26r5) tadvad atrānayor[30] draṣṭavyaḥ ||

ekaikenendriyadvāreṇa vicitratadviṣeṣa[31]pra◯tyupasthāne{{ha}}‹‹ṣu›› prakāreṣu[32] kiṃ-krameṇa vijñānāny utpadyante | āhosvid yugapat* | yugapan na tv[33] ekam eva (26r6) vicitrākāraṃ vijñānaṃ veditavyaṃ | jihvāsaṃprāpte kavale[34] | jihvākāyavijñānayor nnityaṃ yugapad utpattir veditavyā |

śabdasyoccheditvān na deśāntarotpattisantānena[35] deśāntaragamana(26v1)m asti kin tarhi sakṛt yathā svan deśam[36] avaṣṭabhya pradīpapratānavac chabdapratānasyotpādo draṣṭavyaḥ | yac cāsannaṃ[37] tiraskṛtasya śabdasyāspaṣṭaṃ śravaṇam bhavati tac chabdasya pratipātitvāt*[38] | āvaraṇaśauṣirye (26v2) 'syālpotpattito[39] veditavyaṃ |

ṣaṇṇāṃ vijñānānāṃ kati vijñānāni savika◯lpakāni katy avikalpakāni | tribhis tāvad vikalpair mmanovijñānam ekaṃ savikalpakaṃ | trayo vikalpāḥ (26v3) svabhāvavikalpaḥ | anusmaraṇavikalpaḥ | abhinirūpaṇāvikalpaś ◯ ca | tatra svabhāvavikalpaḥ | pratyutpanneṣu saṃskāre(ṣu')) anubhūyamāneṣu yaḥ svalakṣaṇākāro vikalpaḥ | (26v4) anusmaraṇa{akāro}-vikalpaḥ yo 'nubhūtapūrvasaṃskārākāraḥ | a◯bhinirūpaṇāvikalpo yo 'tītānāgata-varttamāneṣu vi{ṣaya}parokṣeṣv[40] abhyūhanākāro vikalpaḥ | (26v5) | api khalu sapta vikalpāḥ

[21.] Read: *sādharmyena*, cf. ASBh.
[22.] ASBh: *vijñānakṛtyatvāt*, cf. Tib. *mig gi rnam par shes pa yin par gcig pa'i phyir* ; Chz. 702c27: 眼識一所 作故。
[23.] ASBh: n.e.
[24.] Read: *śobhano*, cf. ASBh.
[25.] ASBh. n.e.: *eveti | tadyathaikasminn*
[26.] ASBh: *ekaṃ*
[27.] ASBh: *°pratānaṃ*
[28.] ASBh: *spaṣṭataraṃ*
[29.] ASBh: *dvau pradīpau*
[30.] ASBh: *atrāpi nayo*
[31.] ASBh: *vicitraviṣaya*
[32.] ASBh: *°sthane tatprakāreṣu*
[33.] ASBh: *āhosvid yugapad ekam yugapad*
[34.] ASBh: *kavaḍe*
[35.] ASBh: *deśāntareṣv aparāparotpatti°*
[36.] ASBh: *svapradeśam*
[37.] ASBh: *yat tv āsanna°*
[38.] ASBh: *pratighātitvād*
[39.] ASBh: *°sauṣiryasvalpoktito*
[40.] ASBh: *°pratyutpanneṣu viparokṣeṣv*

| ālambane svarasavāhī vikalpaḥ | sanimitta◯kaḥ[41] | animittakaḥ[42] | paryeṣakaḥ | pratyavekṣakaḥ | kliṣṭaḥ | akliṣṭaś ca | tatrādyo vikalpaḥ[43] | pañca vijñā(26v6)nakāyāḥ | acintayitvālambanaṃ[44] yathāsvaṃ viṣayeṣu svarasenaiva vahanāt* | sanimittaḥ | svabhāvā-nusmaraṇavikalpo vartamānātītaviṣayacitrīkaraṇāt* | animittaḥ | anāgataviṣayo mano(27r1)rathākāro vikalpaḥ | śeṣā abhinirūpaṇāvikalpasvabhāvā veditavyāḥ | tathā hy ekadā 'bhyūhamānaḥ paryeṣate | ekadā pratyavekṣate | ekadā kliṣṭo bhavati | ekadā 'kliṣṭa iti ||

yadā rūpādiprativijña(27r2)ptikam vijñānan tat* kena kāraṇena cakṣurādivijñānam ity ucyate na rūpādi◯vijñānam iti | pañcavidhavigrahopapatteḥ | rūpādivacanānupapattiḥ | katham iti | cakṣuṣi vijñānañ cakṣurvijñānaṃ | (27r3) | āśrayadeśe vijñānotpattitaḥ | sati ca ‹‹ta››{{sta}}smiṃs tadbhāvāt | tathā hi sa◯ti ‹‹cakṣuṣi›› cakṣurvijñānam avaśyam utpadyate | anandhānām antato[45] 'ndhakārasyāpi darśanāt* | na rūpe saty a{{nta}}vaśya(27r4)m andhānām adarśanād iti || cakṣuṣā vijñānañ cakṣuvijñānan tadvaśenāvi◯kṛte cakṣuṣi[46] rūpe vijñānasya vikriyāgamanāt | tadyathā kāmalādyupahatena[47] cakṣuṣā nīlādirūpe(27r5)ṣv api pītādidarśanam[48] eva bhavatīti || cakṣuṣo vijñānaṃ cakṣurvijñānaṃ | bī◯jānubandhāc[49] cakṣu[ṣas] tannirvṛtteḥ | cakṣuṣe vijñānañ cakṣurvijñānaṃ[50] tasmai hitāhitatvāt | tathā hi vijñānasaṃ(27r6)prayuktenānubhavenendriyasyānugrahaḥ | upaghāto vā bhavati na viṣayasyeti || cakṣurvijñānam[51] ubhayoḥ satvasaṃkhyātatvāt* | na tv avaśyaṃ rūpasyeti ||

kin tāvac cakṣū rūpāṇi paśyatīti veditavyaṃ | (27v1) atha vijñānaṃ naikaṃ nāparaṃ paśyatīti veditavyaṃ | nirvvyāpāratvād dharmāṇāṃ | sāmagryān tu satyān darśanaprajñaptiḥ | api khalu ṣaḍbhir ākāraiś cakṣuṣo rūpadarśane prādhānye[52] vedita(27v2)vyaṃ na vijñānasya | katamaiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ | utpattikāraṇataś cakṣuṣas tadu◯tpatteḥ || utpādasthānato[53] darśanasya cakṣur-āśrayaṇāt* | acalavṛttitaś cakṣuṣo nityam ekajātī(27v3)yatvāt* | svatantravṛttitaḥ pratikṣaṇam utpattipratyayasāmagryanape◯kṣatvāt* | śobhāvṛttitaḥ | tenāśrayaśobhanāt | āgamataś cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi dṛṣṭveti vacanāt* || (27v4) etac ca yathoktaṃ sarvvam vijñāne[54] na sambhavatīti | calavṛttitvan tv asya bahu◯prakārotpattito veditavyaṃ ||

yathā dhātvāyataneṣu[55] cāsaṃskṛtam vyavasthāpitam | evaṃ kasmān na skandheṣv api (27v5) vyavasthāpitaṃ | skandhatvā{{ta}}d[56] asambhavāt | rūpādīnām atītādiprakā◯rābhi-saṃ(kṣye')ṇa rāśyarthaḥ skandhārtho nirdiṣṭaḥ | sa ca nityasya na sambhavatīti na

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41. ASBh: *sanimitto*
42. ASBh: *animittaḥ*
43. ASBh: *vikalpaḥ tatra ādyo*
44. ASBh: *acitra°*
45. ASBh: *anandhato*
46. ASBh: n.e. add.: *api*
47. ASBh: *kāmalavyādhy°*
48. ASBh: *pītadarśanam*
49. ASBh: *vijñānabījā°*
50. ASBh: n.e.
51. ASBh: *cakṣurvijñānam cakṣurvijñānam*
52. ASBh: *prādhānyaṃ*
53. ASBh: *tatpada°*
54. ASBh: *vijñānasya*
55. ASBh: *dhātuṣv āyataneṣu*
56. ASBh: *skandhārtha*

skandheṣv asaṃskṛtasya vyava(27v6)sthānaṃ[57] ||

kena kāraṇena ta eva dharmmāḥ skandhadhātvāyatanāḥ[58] pṛthag deśitāḥ | vineyānāṃ samāsa-vyāsanirdeśakauśalyotpādanārthaṃ | tathā hi skandhanirdeśe ye rūpavi(28r1)jñāne samāsena nirdiṣṭe te dhātvāyataneṣu ‹‹saptadaśadhā e››kādaśadhā ca bhittvā vyāsena nirdiṣṭe yathā-yogaṃ | ye tu tatra vedanādayo vyastās te dhātvāyataneṣu dharmadhātvāyatanatvena samastā iti | api khalu lakṣaṇamātravya(28r2)vasthānataḥ skandhanirdeśaḥ | grāhyagrāhaka-grahaṇā‹‹nāṃ›› vyavasthānato dhātunirde◯śaḥ | grahaṇāya dvārabhūtasya grāhyagrāhaka-mātrasya vyavasthānata{{thā}} āyatananirdeśo veditavyaḥ | samā(28r3)ptam ānuṣaṅgikam ||
||
ataḥ paraṃ mūlagranthasyaivārthanirdeśo draṣṭavyaḥ || ◯ ||

**tad ucyate cakṣur ucyate cakṣurddhātuḥ | yac cakṣuś cakṣurddhatur api saḥ | yo vā cakṣurddhātuś cakṣur api tat* | syāc cakṣu(28r4)r nna cakṣurddhātur arhataś caramañ cakṣuḥ | cakṣurddhatur nna cakṣuḥ | aṇḍagatasya | ◯ kalalagatasya | arbbu{{dga}}-‹‹daga››tasya peśīgatasya mātuḥ kukṣigatasyāpratilabdhacakṣuṣaḥ praṇaṣṭacakṣur yathā ārū(28r5)pyopapannasya vā pṛthagjanasya {|} cakṣurhetuḥ | cakṣuś cakṣur-ddhātuś ca tadanyā◯vasthāsu | naiva cakṣur nna cakṣurddhātuḥ | nirupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtasyārūpyopa‹‹pa››nnasya vā ||
yasya ya(28r6)thā cakṣurddhātuḥ |[59] evaṃ śrotraghrāṇajihvākāyaḥ[60] | kāyadhātuś[61] ca | tac ca yathāyogaṃ || ||**

arhataś caramaṃ cakṣuḥ parinirvāṇakāle paściman tan na dhātuś cakṣurantarasyāhetutvāt* | ārūpyopapa(28v1)nnasya pṛthagjanasya cakṣurhetur iti | tataḥ pracyutya (’)sya[62] rūpiṇi dhātāv upapadyamānasya yasmād ālayavijñānasaṃniviṣṭāc cakṣurbījāt[0] punaś[63] cakṣur nirvartiṣyate | na tv āryasya punar anāgamanād iti || kāyadhātur nna kā(28v2)ya{{ḥ |}} ārūpyopapannasya pṛthagjanasya kāyadhātur[64] i{{ti}}ty etāvad[65] atra vaktavyam* ◯ | aṇḍagatādīnāṃ kāya-saṃbhavāt* | apraṇaṣṭakāyasya[66] cājīvanād[67] iti |

yan mano manodhātur api saḥ | yo vā (28v3) manodhātur mmano (’)pi tat* | syān mano na manodhātur arhataś caramam manaḥ ◯ syān manodhātur nna mano nirodhasamāpannasya manodhātuḥ | mano manodhātuś ca tadanyāsv avasthāsu | naiva¦ (28v4) mano na manodhātuḥ | nirūpadhiśeṣe[68] nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtasya || ◯ ||

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57. ASBh: *asaṃkṛtavyavasthānam*
58. ASBh: *°āyatanamukhaiḥ*
59. cf. Chj. 666b20: 如眼與眼界。
60. Read: *°kāyāḥ*
61. cf. Chj. 666b21: 耳等界。
62. ASBh: *pracyutya*
63. ASBh: n.e.
64. ASBh: *yaḥ kāyadhātur*
65. ASBh: *etad*
66. ASBh: *praṇaṣṭa°*; cf. Chz. 703c18: 身壞滅.
67. ASBh: *ajīvitatvād*
68. Read: *nirupadhiśeṣe*

syān manodhātur nna mana ity atrāsaṃjñisamāpannāgrahaṇaṃ[69] kliṣṭamanaḥ sadbhāvāt* ||

yatra jāto bhūtā(28v5)s tadbhūmikena cakṣuṣā | tadbhūmikāny eva rūpāṇi paśyati || ||

jāto bhūto ◯ nirvṛttim* vṛddhiñ cādhikṛtya yathākramaṃ ||

syāt tadbhūmikena cakṣuṣā tadbhūmikāni rūpāṇi paśyati | syā(28v6)d anyabhūmikena | kāmadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ kāmāvacareṇa cakṣuṣā kāmāvacarāṇy eva paśyati | rūpāvacareṇa vā ūrdhvabhūmikenādharabhūmikāni | yathā cakṣūṣā rūpāṇi | evaṃ śrotreṇa śa(29r1)bdān* | yathā kāmadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ | evaṃ rūpadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ || kāmadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ kāmāvacareṇa ghrāṇena jihvayā kāyena kāmāvacarān eva gandhā{ra}n* jighrati | rasān āsvādayati spraṣṭavyāni spṛśa(29r2)ti || rūpadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ | rūpāvacareṇa kāyena svabhūmikāny eva spra◯ṣṭavyāni spṛśati | prakṛtyaiva tatra gandho rasañ ca na vidyate | kavalīkāhāravīta[rāgatvāt | ta] (29r3) taś ca ghrāṇa-vijñānaṃ jihvavijñānañ ca na vidyate | kāmadhātau jāto bhūta◯ḥ kāmāvacareṇa manasā traidhātukāvacarān anāśravāṃś ca dharmān vijānāti | yathā kāmadhātau jāto bhūta (29r4) evaṃ rūpadhātau jāto bhūtaḥ | ārūpyāvacareṇa manasā ārūpyā¦◯vacarān* svabhūmikān anāśravāṃś ca dharmmān vijānāti | anāsraveṇa manasā traidhātukāvacarān anāśravāṃś ca dha(29r5)rmmān vijānāti || ||

ārūpyāvacareṇa manasā ārūpyāvacarā‹‹n*›› sva◯bhūmikān anāsravāṃś ca dharmmān vijānātīti | āryaśrāvakam adhikṛ[tya] bāhyakaḥ pṛthagjanaḥ svabhūmikā¦(29r6)n eva vijānāti | ihadhārmmikas tu kaścit* pūrvvaśrutamatabhāvanāvaśād[70] ūrddhabhūmikān apy ālambate tadutpādanārthaṃ ||

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69.   ASBh: °*samāpannasya agrahaṇam*
70.   ASBh: *pūrvaśrutaparibhāva*°

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A synonym lexicon similar to the *Amarakośa*

Jens BRAARVIG, Jaehee HAN, Hyebin LEE, Weerachai LEURITTHIKUL

MS 2382/9 of the Schøyen collection contains a fragment of a synonym lexicon (abbr.: LexMS) in the same *genre* as the *Amarakośa*. The writing style of the birch bark MS is Gilgit-Bāmiyān type 1, and as such dateable to the 7th century. It measures 7,3 × 14 cm, and on the recto side is a page number 4.

Transliteration

recto (folio no. 4)

1. dheyo dāsa eva ca pr[e]ṣyasya || śarīraṃ vigrahaś caivatmā ta .. ///
2. ttamāṃgaṃ mūrdhnā ca śiraḥ śīrṣaṃ ca mastakam : śirasaḥ vālāḫ keśād. ///
3. mukhasya || locanaṃ nayanaṃ netraṃm īkṣaṇaṃ cakṣur eva ca • cakṣuṣāṃ || ///
4. ca śirodharā • grīvāyā || karṇaśrotraṃ samākhyātaṃ nāsā śrauṇeti ///
5. payodharau stanau vyatti tathaivorasijau kucau || stanānāṃ || jaṭha[ra]ṃ .. ///
6. tathā • kaṭya || [mekhalā] raśanā kakṣyakaṃcī śroṇīcī ◯ ///
7. śā kramaḥ pādaś caraṇaḥ saraṇa{•}ś caraḥ pādayo || .e ///
8. [ś]yati • mātu || bhrātā sahodaror bandhuḥ sanāthaḥ .. ///
9. sūno dāyado vatsa eva ca || śākyaputro yati ///
10. brāhmaṇasya || avadātaṃ sitaṃ śuklaṃ dhavalaṃ .e ///

verso

1. kapilo vabhras tulyārtho varṇavādina || kapilasya ///
2. ṣṭaṃ tṛviṣṭakaḥ svargasya || vibudhās tṛdaśo devāś. ///
3. sāta śarmaḥ sukhaṃ kalyaṃ śivaś ca kuṃ tathā || sukh.. ///
4. sam eva ca • māṃsasya || tajjaṃ ca lohitaṃ raktaṃ śoṇit. ///
5. .. lyāṇa eva ca • + g.o vaśyaṃ ca niyataṃ nissaṃ ◯ ///
6. stokam eṣaś ca kīrtitam* stoka || duṣṭamārgopa ◯ ///
7. viśrāmaṃ śayanaṃ śayyān alpaḥ paryaṃka eva ca • ///
8. panthaṃ khaṣṭaṃ danta caiva || yoktrita syanditaḥ sita || ku .. ///
9. luḥ sthathā || vṛddhasya || athānnaṃ bhojanaṃ bhojyajīvitaṃ ///
10. dhvajaḥ ketuḥ kṛtataś cihnam eva ca || dhvajasya || rājyaṃ .. ///

Note: The birch bark is folded in a few instances as scanned, but could be unfolded temporarily and read. This concerns line b1: *kapilo*; b3: *sāta*; b10: *dhvajaḥ*.

Reconstruction, translation and Amarakośa comparanda

1a servants (*preṣya*):
1 (vi)dheyo dāsa eva ca || preṣyasya || (3.1.50) vidheyo vinayagrāhī vacanesthita āśravaḥ; (2.8.1429)
 bhṛtye dāseradāseyadāsagopyakaceṭakāḥ; (2.5.564) asiknī syād avṛddhā yā preṣyāntaḥpuracāriṇī

2–7a body parts:
body:
śarīraṃ vigrahaś caivātmā (MS: caivatmā) ta .. ::: (2.5.670) gātraṃ vapuḥ saṃhananaṃ śarīraṃ
 varṣma vigrahaḥ

head:
2 (u)ttamāṃgaṃ mūrdhnā ca śiraḥ śīrṣaṃ ca mastakaṃ || śirasaḥ || ::: (2.5.719) uttamāṅgaṃ śiraḥ
 śīrṣaṃ mūrdhā nā mastako 'striyām

hair:
vālāḥ keśād. /// ::: (2.5.720) cikuraḥ kuntalo vālaḥ kacaḥ keśaḥ śiroruhaḥ

mouth:
3 mukhasya || (2.5.707) vaktrāsye vadanaṃ tuṇḍamānanaṃ lapanaṃ mukham

eyes:
locanaṃ nayanaṃ netram īkṣaṇaṃ cakṣur eva ca || cakṣuṣāṃ || ::: (2.5.715) locanaṃ nayanaṃ
 netram īkṣaṇaṃ cakṣur akṣiṇī

neck:
4 ca śirodharā || grīvāyāḥ || ::: (2.5.705) kaṇṭho galo 'tha grīvāyāṃ śirodhiḥ kandharety api

ears:
karṇaśrotraṃ samākhyātaṃ ::: (2.5.718) karṇaśabdagrahau śrotraṃ śrutiḥ strī śravaṇaṃ śravaḥ

nose:
nāsā ghrāṇeti (MS: śrauṇeti) ::: (2.5.708) klībe ghrāṇaṃ gandhavahā ghoṇā nāsā ca nāsikā

nipples:
5 payodharau stanau vṛnte (MS: vṛtti) tathaivorasijau kucau || stanānāṃ || ::: (2.5.683)
 picaṇḍakukṣī jaṭharodaraṃ tundaṃ stanau kucau

stomach:
jaṭha[ra]ṃ .. ::: For Amk see the previous item.

hips:
6 tathā || kaṭyaḥ ||
mekhalā raśanā kakṣyaṃ kaṃcī śroṇīcī… ::: (2.5.746) strīkaṭyāṃ mekhalā kāñcī saptakī raśanā tathā

feet:

7 … śā kramaḥ pādaś caraṇaḥ saraṇaś caraḥ || pādayoḥ || .e ::: (2.5.672) pādāgraṃ prapadaṃ pādaḥ
   padaṅghriścaraṇo 'striyām

7–9a family members:

8 śyati || mātuḥ || bhrātā sahodaror bandhuḥ sanāthaḥ .. ::: (2.5.594) mātur mātā mahādy evaṃ
   sapiṇḍās tu sanābhayaḥ, (2.5.595) samānodaryasodaryasagarbhyasahajāḥ samāḥ, (2.5.596)
   sagotrabāndhavajñātibandhusvasvajanāḥ samāḥ, (2.5.597) jñāteyaṃ bandhutā teṣāṃ kramād
   bhāvasamūhayoḥ

9 sūno dāyado vatsa eva ca || śākyaputro yati ::: (2.5.582) ātmajas tanayaḥ sūnuḥ sutaḥ putraḥ striyāṃ
   tvamī

9–10a classes of society (*varṇa*):

10 brāhmaṇasya || no parallels in the Amk for *brāhmaṇa*

10a–1b colours (*varṇa*):

avadātaṃ sitaṃ śuklaṃ dhavalaṃ .e ::: (1.5.341) śuklaśubhraśuciśvetaviśadaśyetapāṇḍarāḥ, (1.5.342)
   avadātaḥ sito gauro 'valakṣo dhavalo 'rjunaḥ;

1 kapilo vabhras tulyārtho varṇavādinaḥ || kapilasya ::: No parallels in the Amk. *vabhra* for
   babhru "reddish brown" (MMW)

1–2b heaven (*svarga*) and gods:

2 ṣṭaṃ trviṣṭakaḥ || svargasya || ::: (1.1.12) suraloko dyodivau dve striyāṃ klībe triviṣṭapam

vibudhās trdaśo devāś. ::: (1.1.13) amarā nirjarā devās tridaśā vibudhāḥ surāḥ

2–3b happiness (*sukha*):

3 sātaṃ (MS: sāta, n. pleasure, delight) śarmaḥ sukhaṃ kalyaṃ śivaś ca kuṃ tathā ||
   sukh(asya ||) ::: (1.4.302) syād ānandathurānandaḥ śarmaśātasukhāni ca

3–4b meat (*māṃsa*) and blood

4 (tara)sam eva ca || māṃsasya || ::: (2.5.654) piśitaṃ tarasaṃ māṃsaṃ palalaṃ krvyamāmiṣam

tajjaṃ ca lohitaṃ raktaṃ śoṇit(am) ::: (2.5.656) rudhire 'sṛglohitāsraraktakṣatajaśoṇitam

4–5b goodness:

5 (ka)lyāṇa eva ca •

5b words for certainty

+ g.o 'vaśyaṃ ca niyataṃ niḥsam(śayaṃ, °dehaṃ?) ::: No relevant parallels in the Amk

5–6b words for praise (*stoka*):

6 stokam eṣaś ca kīrtitam || stokaḥ || ::: (1.6.373) yaśaḥ kīrtiḥ samajñā ca stavaḥ stotraṃ stutir nutiḥ
   (*stoka* means small, but is evidently understood as belonging to the root *stu*- praise)

6b words for blame:

duṣṭamārgopa ::: No relevant parallels in the Amk

7b words for resting-places:

7 viśrāmaṃ śayanaṃ śayyānalpaḥ paryaṃka eva ca || ::: (2.5.802) upadhānaṃ tūpabarhaḥ śayyāyāṃ
  śayanīyavat; (2.5.803) śayanaṃ mañcaparyaṅkapalyaṅkāḥ khaṭvyā samāḥ

7–8b words for binding and suppressing enemies:

8 (pari)panthaḥ khaṣṭaḥ dantaś caiva yoktritaḥ syanditaḥ sitaḥ || ku .. (MS: panthaṃ khaṣṭaṃ
  danta caiva || yoktrita syanditaḥ sita || *paripantha* means enemy, and this produces one
  syllable in excess in the pada, but *panthaḥ* alone gives no meaning.) ::: No parallels in the
  Amk

8–9b words for growing:

9 (phu)llas tathā (MS: (phu)llaḥ sthathā, but cf. 6a: tathā • kaṭya<ḥ> || and 3b) || vṛddhasya ||
  ::: (2.4.112) praphullotphullasaṃphullavyākośavikacasphuṭāḥ (2.4.113) phullaś caite vikasite
  syuravandhyādayastriṣu; cf. (3.2.246)

9b words for food

athānnaṃ bhojanaṃ bhojyaṃ jīvitaṃ ::: No relevant parallels in the Amk

9–10b names for banners (*dhvaja*):

10 dhvajaḥ ketuḥ kṛtataś cihnam eva ca || dhvajasya || ::: *dhvaja* is found many places in the
  Amk, but not in this context.

10b names for kingdoms:

rājyaṃ .. No relevant parallels in Amk

The metre is ordinary śloka, as borne out by two complete half-ślokas with *lemmata*
extant in our MS, viz., 3a *locanaṃ nayanaṃ netram īkṣaṇaṃ cakṣur eva ca || cakṣuṣāṃ ||*;
and 5a *payodharau stanau vṛnte tathaivorasijau kucau || stanānāṃ ||*. So it seems that the
format is one, or a half, śloka for each concept, and a *lemma* at the end of the śloka or half-
śloka in genitive. Further, LexMS has *eva ca* where Amk has *iti* after the synonym lists. The
lemma is in genitive after the synonym list (*preṣyasya, śirasaḥ, mukhasya, cakṣuṣāṃ,
stanānāṃ, kaṭyaḥ, pādayoḥ, mātuḥ, brāhmaṇasya, kapilasya, svargasya, vṛddhasya,
dhvajasya*), with one exception (*stokaḥ*), which may be an error of the scribe.

It is difficult to understand the order of the *lemmata*. In Amk the sequence is
traditional – as going back even to *Nirukta*, starting out with the universe as consisting of
earth and heaven, corresponding also to the traditional Chinese lexical ontologies (cf.
Braarvig 2018). In LexMS we have also the sequence of servants (*preṣya*), then a set of body
parts in good order, and after that family members, classes of society (*varṇa*) continuing with
the other meanings of *varṇa*, including *colour. svarga* comes between *varṇa* and *sukha* –
though of course one may argue that the higher classes (*varṇa*) are closer to *svarga* than the
lower, and that *sukha* indeed is a quality of *svarga*. The sequence is not complete irrational,
though considering the Indian class society, where servants maybe are seen as having less
value than body parts, and that *svarga* is the continuation of the highest social class, and then

the author includes the other meanings of *varṇa* on the way. That flesh and blood follow, is inscrutable, and, in the case of "certainty, praises and blame", then following, at least the two last members belong together as contrasts. Enemies, growth and food may be connected to the riches of a kingdom, as well as banners, preceding the word *rājya*, being a symbol of the same. But one cannot say that the sequences documented are particularly rational, though to some extent understandable.

The lexicon seems to belong to a Buddhist milieu, similar to the Amk — (see Vogel 1979: 313) — as it mentions the *Śākyaputra* (line 9a). However, if this is a wrong reading it proves only that the scribe is a Buddhist, because *śākyaputra* can be an erroneous reading for *sutaḥ putraḥ*, as has Amk *in loco*. But if Amk is accepted as a Buddhist work, then there is reason to also accept LexMS as such. The lexicon from which the fragment comes must be characterised as a synonym lexicon. Being written in ślokas it belongs to a long Indian lexicographical tradition, but it is most similar to the Amk of the lexica extant, also having many expressions corresponding to those of the Amk. The main difference with the Amk, in principle, is that LexMS gives the *lemma* in genitive for each set of synonyms, which the Amk does not do. The Weber MS is written at same time, but is different in respect of format, as it contains more explanations of each *lemma* – a such it may be characterized as a more sophisticated lexicon than the LexMS as well as Amk. We know more or less the *terminus ad quem* because of the palaeographical dating, and if this is employed as a criterion of dating, it would correspond to the later dating of the Amk as 7th century as based on the "Vikramāditya II" argument (see Vogel 1979: 313)

ABBREVIATIONS

Amk   *Amarakośa*
LexMS   MS 2382/9 of the Schøyen collection

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From philology to history:
Deciphering the language of ancient Afghanistan[*]

Nicholas Sims-Williams

One of the books which first roused my interest in pursuing the study of ancient languages was John Chadwick's "The decipherment of Linear B" — a wonderful tale, as exciting as a detective story, but with the additional advantage of describing the solution to a real-life mystery rather than one invented by the author. The story of Michael Ventris's decipherment of Linear B is a story of the most difficult type of decipherment, involving a completely unknown script and a language which was also at the time unknown (though of course it eventually turned out to be an early form of Greek). I cannot promise you that the story I have to tell you today, that of the rediscovery of the ancient language of Afghanistan, will be equally exciting, but there are many parallels. The decipherment of the Linear B tablets not only revealed a form of the Greek language far older than any known before, but also cast new light on the earliest Greek poetry and the history of Greece; similarly, the decipherment of Bactrian, as we now call it, has given us a previously unknown language and has begun to fill in the gaps in our very imperfect knowledge of the ancient history and culture of Afghanistan and adjacent lands. By telling you this story, I hope to demonstrate what philology can achieve: in particular, how a text which is at first completely incomprehensible can be made to give up its secrets by patient, systematic analysis. But I must admit straight-away that the decipherment of Bactrian was not nearly so difficult as the decipherment of Linear B: although the Bactrian language was indeed unknown, it is written in a script which was already at least partially known, a local variety of the Greek alphabet. I should really say: *two* local varieties of the Greek alphabet, since it appears in two substantially different forms, one "monumental" and one "cursive". So there are really two stories to tell: the first about the discovery and interpretation of the Bactrian inscriptions in monumental script, the second about the later decipherment of the cursive script.

One of the earliest records of Bactrian, an inscription of the 2nd century AD, refers to the language as *ariao*, that is, "Aryan", a term which we can hardly use nowadays—not only because of its political overtones, but also because it is equally applicable to any language of the Iranian family: Darius the Great had used the same name to refer to the language which we now call Old Persian. Later, in early Islamic times, by which time Bactria was renamed Tukharistan, the language was known as "Tukhari" or "Tocharian", but modern scholarship

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has appropriated that name for a completely different group of Indo-European languages. So today the language of ancient Afghanistan is universally known as "Bactrian". As the name implies, the language is assumed to be that of ancient Bactria, the land which lies between the River Oxus or Amu Darya and the Hindukush mountains of central Afghanistan, with its capital at Balkh, a city known to the ancient Greeks as Bactra. The great majority of the Bactrian manuscripts and inscriptions which we know today derive from this very area (see Map).

The Bactrian language belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, being fairly closely related to Persian, Pashto and many other languages spoken in Afghanistan today, more distantly to Sanskrit, and of course ultimately to English and most other languages of Europe. Amongst the languages of the Middle Iranian period, that is, approximately the first millennium AD, Bactrian occupies an intermediate position between the Western group, that is, Middle Persian and Parthian, and the Eastern group, consisting of Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese and Tumshuqese. Naturally enough, it has most in common with its nearest neighbours, Sogdian and Parthian.

Like most of the older Iranian languages, both Sogdian and Parthian are written in scripts derived from Aramaic. Bactrian, however, is written in Greek script, a legacy of the conquest of Bactria by Alexander of Macedon in the 4th century BC. The successors of Alexander introduced Greek as the language of their administration, and in recent years a number of Greek administrative documents have been found in Afghanistan. After the collapse of Greek rule in Bactria, the first centuries AD saw the growth of the Kushan empire under kings such as Kanishka I, who ruled much of northern India and Central Asia from his powerbase in Bactria, and who was the first to use Bactrian in place of Greek on his coins. In the 3rd century, Bactria was conquered by the Sasanian dynasty of Iran, then by various nomadic peoples including Huns and Turks, before eventually falling to the armies of Islam in the 7th-8th centuries. Bactrian was in use as a written language up to this time, and even a little later, so its recorded history lasts for about 800 years.

We may begin the story of the rediscovery of Bactrian towards the end of the 19th century. At that time, not a single substantial Bactrian text had yet come to light. In so far as the language was known at all, it was from short legends on coins and seals, in particular those of the Kushan period, the 1st to 3rd centuries AD, written in what we now refer to as the "monumental" script. For a scholar with a classical education — and a hundred years ago that would have been every scholar in Europe — the script is quite easy to read. On the other hand, these short inscriptions don't tell us much about the Bactrian language. They contain names and titles of kings and deities, but virtually no inflected forms and no verbal forms at all; hardly anything, in fact, to give us an idea of Bactrian morphology or syntax.

The status of Bactrian as an unknown language began to change almost sixty years ago, on the 6th May 1957, with the discovery of the first substantial Bactrian inscription at the site of Surkh Kotal. The inscription is 25 lines long, neatly written and perfectly preserved. But although it was easily legible, there were two major problems: the text was written continuously, with no gaps between the words; and almost all of those words were of unknown meaning. The publication was entrusted to a young Belgian scholar, André Maricq, who made the text available almost immediately, in 1958, providing an almost perfect reading of the letters and making a good stab at dividing the text into words; but he didn't get far with translating it.

Soon afterwards, in 1960, two scholars independently, but more or less simultaneously, published new interpretations of the whole inscription. The first was Helmut Humbach, something of an *enfant terrible*, who had already made a name for himself for his iconoclastic reinterpretation of the most ancient work of Iranian literature, the Gathas of Zarathushtra. According to Humbach, the inscription is a Mithraic hymn, in eight strophes of three to four lines each, in which king Kanishka is simultaneously identified as the son of Mithra and as the god Mithra himself. The second was W. B. Henning, perhaps the greatest specialist in the Middle Iranian languages, according to whom the inscription deals with the foundation of a temple by Kanishka, its abandonment because of problems with the water supply, the digging of a well and the re-establishment of the temple by an official named Nokonzoko.

Everything we have since learned about Bactrian confirms that Henning's more down-to-earth version was essentially correct. But how could two scholars come to such radically different results? They had the same text in front of them, and both shared the same assumption that the text was written in the Middle Iranian language of Bactria, at that time effectively unknown. The same methods were open to both of them: context, etymology and the rules of historical phonology.

As an example of Henning's use of these methods I would like to quote two short passages as he translated them. (You will see that where he had nothing plausible to suggest he prudently left some words untranslated.) The first passage describes what happened because of the lack of a water-supply: "... whereby the acropolis came to be waterless ..., then the gods withdrew from the seat ... and the acropolis was abandoned (*pidorigd-o*)". The second describes the intended outcome of Nokonzoko's building works: "... so that through them pure water shall not be lacking to the acropolis ..., may then the gods not withdraw from their seat, and may their acropolis not become abandoned (*pidorixs-ēio*)". In the first passage, as Henning recognized, the verbs are all in the past tense; in the second they are in the present optative. Comparing the two passages, one sees that the two verbal forms with which they end must attest the past and the present stem respectively of one and the same verb. The past stem *pidorigd-* ends with a *d*, the present stem *pidorixs-* with an *s*. The relationship between the two is characteristic of Sogdian and some other Middle Iranian languages, in which past stems end in *d* or *t* (just as in English!) while the suffix *-s* forms intransitive or passive present stems.

Another acute observation of Henning's was that the Greek script had no letter representing a voiceless affricate such as *č* (English *ch*), a very common type of sound in virtually all Iranian languages. As he wrote: "A Middle Iranian language lacking affricates or sounds representing the ancient affricates ... is frankly impossible". Starting from this premise, he recognized that the Old Iranian *č*, however it may have been pronounced in Bactrian, was represented by the Greek letter *sigma*. This made it possible to see that the spelling *sado* could not only represent the word for "100", Old Iranian **sata-*, but also the word for "a well", Old Iranian **čāt-*. This was a significant result, since the construction of a well turned out to be one of the main topics of the inscription. Henning also recognized this use of the letter *sigma* for older **č* in forms such as the preposition *aso* "from" or the relative pronoun *sido* "which" — an equally important result, since it is little words like these which give a text its structure and make it possible to interpret its syntax even if one does not know the meaning of the nouns and verbs.

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I will mention just one further expression amongst many for which Henning was the first to find a plausible interpretation: *ōsogdo-maggo*. Maricq had translated "hemp was burnt", comparing Persian *mang* "hemp" and *soxtan* "to burn", but Henning recognized that the two words form a compound meaning "pure-minded", "with a pure heart", a compound which has a precise cognate in Sogdian. It may have been this very phrase, as understood by Maricq, which set Humbach off in the wrong direction, towards a mystical, religious interpretation of the text. But in any case it seems to me that Humbach's previous work, which focused on a ritual interpretation of the oldest Iranian and Indian texts, predisposed him to such a viewpoint. Henning's greater familiarity with the Middle Iranian languages, and the more practical content of most Middle Iranian inscriptions, tended to protect him from such extravagances.

So far I have been talking about the discovery and interpretation of Bactrian coins and inscriptions in the "monumental" script. In this case no real decipherment was required, as the script could already be read. But, as I said at the beginning, there is a second story to be told, about the decipherment of Bactrian texts in cursive script.

Here too, the material that has been known for longest consists of coins and seals, mainly from the time after the Kushan dynasty. At the beginning of last century, when the Kushan coin-legends were already quite well understood, the later legends in cursive script could hardly be read at all: as late as 1901, the *Journal Asiatique* published an attempted decipherment based on the assumption that they were written from right to left, in a variety of Aramaic script, rather than in Greek script from left to right. By 1930 or so, the earliest coin-legends in cursive script could be read fairly correctly, in part because their content—names, titles and so on—was so predictable, but the later coin legends, in a cursive which had developed yet further away from the monumental script, were still largely incomprehensible.

A few scraps of manuscripts on paper written in the latest form of this cursive script had been recovered by German archaeological expeditions to Turfan in western China in the early 1900s, but no-one tried to read them until the 1950s. Unfortunately all of the fragments lack either the right or the left margin, so they don't contain a single complete line of text between them. That was only one of many problems for the decipherer. Unlike coins, with their largely predictable legends, no assumptions could be made about the content of the manuscripts; and the cursive writing had developed to such an extent that only a few letters could be clearly identified with those of the earlier monumental script.

The first to attempt a reading of these fragments was Olaf Hansen in 1951. With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that he succeeded in correctly identifying ten letters, less than half of the alphabet. Not surprisingly, he did not discover the correct reading of a single word, though he came close in a couple of cases. Some progress was made during the 1960s by Helmut Humbach and by my own teacher, Ilya Gershevitch, himself a student of W. B. Henning. By this time the Surkh Kotal inscription was known, and Humbach and Gershevitch were able to recognize the cursive forms of several words attested there, including basic words such as conjunctions and prepositions. But all in all, the manuscript fragments remained mysterious, and there seemed to be no way of making significant progress.

My own involvement began just a few years after this. From 1968 to 1975 I was Gershevitch's pupil in Cambridge, studying Sogdian and other Iranian languages, first as an undergraduate and then as a research student. Bactrian was not on the syllabus — in fact I suspect that until I began teaching it in London in the 1990s Bactrian had not been on the

syllabus anywhere for more than a thousand years — but one summer I decided that so little had been written about Bactrian that it would be a manageable task to read it all in the summer vacation. The result was a small discovery about Bactrian syntax, which was published in 1975 in one of my very first articles; and thus I came to be known as one of the few people in the world with an active interest in the Bactrian language.

This was no doubt the reason why, when the parchment illustrated here (fig. 1) came to light in 1991, the photos were forwarded to me. With a total of 28 almost complete lines on the two sides this was easily the most substantial text in cursive script which was known up to that time. I began to transliterate the text, following Gershevitch's system for the reading of the known letters and leaving gaps for the letters whose reading was still unknown. The meanings of a few common words were already known from the Bactrian coins and inscriptions; and some others could be tentatively interpreted on the basis of possible cognates in better-known Iranian languages. At some point it suddenly dawned on me that what I was reading was the beginning of a letter, using the same hyperbolic phrases with which I was familiar from Sogdian letters: "[To so-and-so] the lord, a thousand, ten thousand greetings and homage from so-and-so his servant. I have heard that your lordship is healthy, [therefore] I am [happy]"—and so on.

This first letter was already a revelation; but during the following years documents emerged from Pakistan or Afghanistan in a steady stream. Many were letters, some of them still sealed, with the text on the inside perfectly preserved. Others are economic documents, including tally sticks, or legal contracts. The latter are often preserved in two copies written on a single parchment, the upper copy being rolled up and sealed to avoid alteration and the lower copy left open to be read.

Many of these documents are dated, in an era which probably began in 223 AD, the inaugural year of the Sasanian dynasty of Iran. They range from the 4th century, in the period of Sasanian rule, to the late 8th century, well within the Islamic period, and cover all the centuries in between. Many of them also name the places where they were written, mainly in the principality of Rob, modern Rui in the Hindukush mountains, or in the cities of Guzgan, in north-west Afghanistan.

With this mass of new material, which has now grown to more than 150 items, it is no surprise that the remaining problems of reading the cursive script have simply disappeared. As Michael Ventris discovered in the case of Linear B, once you reach the stage where there is only one unidentified character in a word, it is comparatively easy to guess the value of that character. So I claim no particular credit for identifying the few letters which had not already been recognized by my predecessors. But of course, the decipherment of the script did not make the language instantly comprehensible. There was no bilingual, no Rosetta stone, and the texts still consisted almost entirely of unknown words, often in previously unknown grammatical forms, with no spaces to indicate where a new word begins. In other words, the decipherment of the script put scholars in the position in which Maricq found himself when the perfectly legible but incomprehensible inscription of Surkh Kotal came to light in 1957: the script could be read but the text could not yet be understood.

Of course, it is rather artificial to speak as if the decipherment of the script came first and the interpretation of the text came afterwards. In reality, the two processes proceeded hand in hand. As the reading of the letters became clearer so the meaning of the words emerged; and as the meaning emerged, so the readings could be improved.

I have spoken of meanings "emerging", or even of a "revelation", which no doubt sounds very unscientific. But in fact the way in which such a breakthrough is reached are the typical methods of all scientific enquiry: on the basis of context or a possible etymology, a hypothesis about the reading of a character or the meaning of a word is formulated, and then it must be tested, preferably in the light of new material. If the solution to a problem appears as a sudden flash of inspiration, this is merely because the confirmation sometimes follows the hypothesis so quickly. For example, a Bactrian letter always begins with one of two short words, or, the other of which appears a little further on within the first line or two. It does not take much imagination to guess that these must be the prepositions "to" and "from" and that sometimes the sender and sometimes the recipient is named first.[1] The first of these two words consists of letter-forms which had already been identified in the manuscripts from Turfan, and can be read immediately as *abo* "to", a preposition known from the Surkh Kotal inscription. The other should therefore be the equally well-known *aso* "from" and its second letter, which had previously been read in various ways, should be a cursive form of *s* — a hypothesis easily checked by examining the many other words which contain the same character.

In the case just described the hypothesis, once formulated, was confirmed almost instantaneously. But of course things are not always so simple.

A problem which I grappled with for several years was the meaning of the word *masko*, which often appears near the end of the legal documents in a fixed phrase "then we shall pay the same fine as is written in/on (the) *masko*". My first idea was to identify *masko* with the Old Persian word *maškā* "skin" (a word of Semitic origin), and to understand it as referring to the parchment on which the text is written.

This interpretation seemed plausible enough until the discovery in 1993 of a new Kushan inscription containing what is evidently an older form of the same word. In line 11 of this inscription I read the words: "he ordered images to be made of these gods who are written *maska*". Since the inscription is written on stone, *maska* can hardly mean "parchment". So I devised a new hypothesis, that is, a new translation "above", supported by a new etymology (*m*- "the" + -*aska* = Sogdian *aska* "above"). The translation "images of these gods who(se names) are written (in) the above", fits the context perfectly, since the list of the gods' names immediately precedes the sentence I have quoted. This solution seems equally satisfactory in the contract with which we started, where the sentence quoted comes from the very end of a document and the amount of the fine is indeed mentioned "above". But again a new discovery arrived to invalidate this second hypothesis. This was another parchment, a marriage contract.[2] The text begins by mentioning the date and the place of writing, followed by a reference to the witnesses "who witness the present document and (whose) signatures are written *masko*". Here *masko* cannot mean "above" because the upper part of the document is perfectly preserved and contains no signatures. The only place where the signatures might be is at the bottom of the document, which is damaged but where one can indeed see traces of writing below the blank space where the seals were attached.

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[1] It seems in fact that the sender only names himself first if his status is significantly higher than that of his addressee.

[2] Incidentally, this is the earliest dated Bactrian document (13 October 332?) and also one of the most remarkable: it records the marriage of a woman to two brothers at once, thus confirming later Chinese accounts of the practice of polyandry in Bactria.

So I devised yet another (I hope final) interpretation: "who witness the present document and (whose) signatures are written *hereupon*". This reinterpretation doesn't involve a change in the etymology, but only in the syntactic relationship between its elements: instead of understanding the initial *m-* as a definite article and the following *-aska/-asko* as equivalent to a noun, "the above", one must take *m-* as a demonstrative "this" governed by *-aska/-asko* as a postposition "upon", thus, "upon this, hereupon".

As I mentioned, many of the legal documents exist in two copies, which often differ in small but interesting details. In one such case, the second (open) copy of the text contains our friend *masko* "hereupon" in the phrase: "as is written hereupon concerning the four boundaries".[3] The parallel phrase in the first (sealed) copy contains a different expression: "as is written within (*bandaro*) concerning the four boundaries". The choice of a different word, *bandaro*, which I interpret as "within", from *b-* = *abo* "to, on, in" + *-andaro* = Middle Persian *andar* "inside", may well be deliberate: in this case the details referred to are "inside" a scroll which is rolled up and sealed, while in the other they are "upon" the flat surface of the open copy.

In other instances we can determine the meaning of unknown words not by comparing two versions of the same text, but by comparing different, parallel texts. In Bactrian legal documents it is conventional to name the "houses" or "families" to which the parties to the contract belong. A typical expression is *kidomēno bono kadgo X razindo* "we whose estate (and) house they call X". The vocabulary here includes *bono* "estate" (cf. Avestan *buna-*, Latin *fundus*), *kadgo* "house" (= Middle Persian and Parthian *kadag*) and *raz-* "to call, name", a verb otherwise known only from Khotanese *rrāys-*. A later text replaces these words with synonyms: *kiddēno xano X girlindo* "you whose house they call X". Here *xano* "house" is cognate with Sogdian *xānā*, Persian *xāna* etc., and *girl-* "to call, name" (with the typical Bactrian development of *l* from **d*) with Choresmian *rynd-*, Armenian *kard-*.

In order to interpret texts in a previously unknown language such as Bactrian the most basic requirement is an excellent knowledge of the cognate languages and their history, together with a broad familiarity with the cultural background of the area from which the texts derive and, of course, a good balance of ingenuity and common-sense. Through the application of these types of knowledge and skill to previously unreadable or in-comprehensible texts, their meaning emerges, and with it a dead language comes back to life. In the case of Bactrian, we have reached the stage where the language is well enough understood to contribute to the study of the cognate languages, just as Mycenaean Greek, the language of the Linear B tablets, nowadays contributes to the understanding of the history of Classical Greek.

Despite the title of my talk, "From philology to history", I am aware that I have in fact talked only about philology—about the process of deciphering and interpreting the Bactrian texts—not about what the historians can find in the texts once the philologists have done their work. To give even a sketch of what we can learn from the Bactrian documents and inscriptions about the political, economic, social and religious history of ancient Afghanistan would have required another hour at least; but I think you can imagine, even without my telling you, that the 200 or so documents and inscriptions which we can now read and, to a

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[3.] The naming of the "four boundaries" of a property (i.e. east, west, north and south) is a feature which goes back via Aramaic contracts to ancient Mesopotamia.

large extent, understand inevitably provide a huge amount of information on every aspect of the history and culture of Afghanistan during the first millennium AD. We can follow the political history of Afghanistan over some eight centuries during which it was invaded many times; we learn of the practice of fraternal polyandry; we see that the traditional Zoroastrian religion faced competition from Buddhism. From the contracts we learn something of the legal system, with its roots in the Ancient Near East and the Hellenistic world; in the letters we have the first known references to the Afghan people. Some of these details are mentioned in external sources, such as the accounts left by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, and some we could perhaps have guessed: but now we know them for sure, from the words which were put down in writing by those who actually lived in the region and which can now be read once again. It has been the task of the philologists to bring us to the point where the literal meaning of these words can be understood; now it is the turn of the historians to read between the lines and to bring us to a deeper understanding of the society in which the Bactrian texts were written.

Newly Identified Khotanese Fragments in the "Bodhisattva Compendium" and Their Chinese, Pāli and Sanskrit Parallels*

FAN Jingjing

In 2002, Professor Prods Oktor Skjærvø published a complete catalogue of Khotanese manuscripts from Xinjiang in the British library and identified many texts. A few years later, Professor Yoshida Yutaka reported his new identifications of four manuscripts in this catelogue. Then in 2012, Dr. Huaiyu Chen announced his discovery of three more fragments. Thanks to their research, our knowledge about Khotanese Buddhist scriptures in the British library has been greatly enhanced.[1] But still, a number of fragments are left unidentified, among which are a group of fragments under the heading of "Bodhisattva Compendium". This paper identifies two fragments in this compendium, including IOL Khot 154/4 (H. 142 NS 46) combined with IOL Khot 19/4 (Kha. i. 133. 3)[2] and IOL Khot 153/4 (No. vii 150/1, H. 150. vii. 1)[3]. The main part of the combined fragment of IOL Khot 154/4 with 19/4 corresponds to two passages in the *Benshijing* (**Itivṛttaka*) 本事經, and also has parallels in the Pāli *Itivuttaka* and *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. The second fragment IOL Khot 153/4 is a miscellany of passages adapted from verses of the *Bodhisaṃbhāraśāstra* kept in the Chinese translation *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 and passages from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, of which two Chinese translations *Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經 and *Yujiashi dilun* 瑜伽師地論 exist. Hopefully this paper will shed new light on the transformation of a text from a certain school of Nikāya Buddhism into a Mahāyāna scripture in Central Asia and help better understand the so called "Bodhisattva compendium".

In 1903, Hoernle received a consignment he numbered H. 142. Although it was claimed to have been discovered somewhere in the Takla Makan Desert, Hoernle assumed that most manuscripts were probably from Khadaliq, digged out by a certain Mullah Khwajah before

Stein's visit there during his second expedition.[4] Then in June 1907 he received another consignment 150, Packet vii of which probably came from Khotan.[5] From 1906 onwards, Hoernle loaned out parts of his collection to collaborators in Europe to facilitate further study.[6] In 1908, Leumann published a thorough survey of manuscripts from the Hoernle collection in his hand. Based on the paper, writing, line spacing and stereotypical beginning of the sections, he proposed the possibility that a group of fragments, including H. 142 NS 46, were remnants of one and the same manuscript which dealt with Bodhisattva. Further-more, Leumann pointed out that the numbers 424 and 425 could be read on the two smallest pieces of this group; and consequently he assumed that the fragments in this group would possibly be the pages 420-430 of the presumed manuscript. He also supposed that two more fragments H apr. (H. 150. vii. 1) and H śīl. might have belonged to a manuscript illustrating Buddhist dogmatics since they talked about four *apramāṇa*s and *śīlapāramitā*.[7] In 1920, these fragments, including H. 142 NS 46 and H apr., were published with transcriptions and German translations, under the heading "vom Bodhisattva handelnden Prosa-Kompendium". Leumann did assign the numbers from 419 to 426 and then 430 respectively to the fragments, so the signature H. 142 NS 46 became G [424].[8] However, when I check the photographs of the two fragments supposed to have numbers on them on the website of IDP, I could not find the numbers 424 or 425. Then in 1963, Harold W. Bailey re-edited these fragments in his *Indo-Scythian Studies: Khotanese Texts V*.

Since then, "Bodhisattva Compendium" has continued to attract the attention of scholars. On the one hand, Maggi points out that "the superimposition of Late Khotanese forms upon the original Old Khotanese text by means of additional vowel marks and interlinear additions of akṣaras" is a special and intriguing linguistic feature.[9] On the other hand, this compendium as a whole illustrates different aspects of the practice of a bodhisattva, a very important topic in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Martini claims that together with the *Zambasta*, "it is the only other extant Old Khotanese original composition" and that the identification of its sources is crucial to "date and locate early Khotanese Buddhism within the broader context of the textual and religious history of the Mahāyāna movement".[10] Gradually, other unidentified texts dealing with the duties of Bodhisattvas are also assigned to this category.[11] Perhaps due to the hybridity of these texts, the location of parallels becomes difficult and complicated. In this paper, I will single out two fragments and make a preliminary investigation, trying to locate their parallels in Chinese, Pāli and Sanskrit.

The Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 153/4 combined with IOL Khot 19/4

As discussed above, the original number of IOL Khot 154/4, H. 142 NS 46, indicates that it used to belong to the Hoernle collection, probably obtained from Khadaliq. After several decades since its first publication, Skjærvø affliated this fragment with IOL Khot 19/4, the

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4.   Hoernle 1916: 2, 85.
5.   Skjærvø 2002: xlii.
6.   Sims -Williams 2009: 3.
7.   Leumann 1908: 93–94.
8.   Leumann 1920: 116–150.
9.   Maggi 2009: 404.
10.   Martini 2013: 28–29, note 42.
11.   The whole list can be seen on page 607 in Skjærvø's catalogue.

original number of which was Kha. i. 133. 3, published by Bailey in *KT V*. The signature Kha. i. indicates that it was found at the ruined shrine Khadaliq i on Aurel Stein's second expedition. Skjærvø published a revised version of this combined text in his catalogue, which is very helpful to locate its parallel. In the following, Skjærvø's transliteration will be cited first and then my English translation.

r1 [x x] saddharmä paderāñä || tta [pātcu vā ba]lysūñavū[ysai tta āys]d[a……]
2 cirau padajsīndä u dātīṃgyu rrū[n]d[etu ya]nīndä tta kāma dva śśau *c*u biśśä *r*u[……]
3 dātu sājäte t*r*äte duva. || tta pātcu vā / balysūñavūysai tta āysda tce[rä ……]
4 [x] *m*[e]ri u pīrä ttai perrä ke - ṣṭe se / mārā-pyatara ma pāḍāndä khi[ṣṭāndä ……]
5 [] ṣ-ā ttä [du]va ṣi pūrä - ś[ś]au su / tu väte mātaro dirysda u śśau [sutu vätä ……]
6 […… ha]rbiśśu haurä *n*i ṣe pūrä ttā pu [- ……]
7 [……-]īrä nyatu yanä ṣṣaddo vīrä [……]
8 [……-]ä. h*a* x [……]

v1 […… tta pā]tcu v[ā balysūñavūysai tta āysda tcerä…]
2 [……] mara ysamaśśaṃdya duva vas[va ……]
3 [……ha]rbäśśä uysnaura ārsta haṃbrī*h* [- ……]
4 [x x] cu tt[ä]t[e] duva vasvata hira ci / ysamaśśaṃdau dijsāre. kṣārmä [……]
5 [x] o hvāraka[12] o pīsai o - pīsā / samä nyāpäte. tta ttina ni [……]
6 vāsa. tta ttye hirä kiḍäna balysūña / vūysai ttäte duva hira vasva [……]
7 sūjāña. ku ne ysamaśśaṃdai x [x yä]ḍä hämäte 4 tta pātcu vā [balysūñavūysai tta āysda tcerä ……]
8 [x -]otta u hamarraṣṭu *tt*i pa[- x x x] hamatä x -ī [……]

r1 … good dharma should be maintained. || Thus [next] a bodhisattva [should notice that……]
2 They light a lamp and make dharma light. So which two? The first which all […...]
3 He learns dharma. These two. || Thus next / a bodhisattva should notice that [……]
4 He should regard his mother and father like that: mother and father rear and feed me.
5 These two. This son on one shoulder / carries his mother and on one [shoulder ……]
6 [……a]ll offerings not this son them [……]
7 [……] will surely have faith towards [……]
8 ……

v1 [……Thus ne]xt a [bodhisattva should notice that ……]
2 [……] here in this world two pu[re ……]
3 [……a]ll living beings get mixed up. [……]
4 …… these two pure things when / they hold the world. Shame [……]
5 …… or sister or teacher or quasi teacher / is made known. Thus by this not [……]
6 …… Thus by reason of this a bodhisattva's these two pure things [……]
7 should be purified. Where not for the world …… is to d[o……] 4. Thus next [a bodhisattva should notice that ……]
8 …… and always … when …… is ……

[12.] Skjærvø's transliteration here is "hvarāka", perhaps it is a typo. According to the photograph on the website of IDP and Bailey's transliteration, it should be "hvāraka".

Judging from the stereotypical sentence constructions, this fragment consists of 5 sections, and accordingly 5 topics are announced. Every section begins with "tta pātcu vā balysūñavūysai tta āysda tcerä (Thus next a bodhisattva should notice that)", introducing a new topic. The first line on the recto side closes a topic of a preceding section, and then moves on to a new one. According to Leumann, IOL Khot 154/4 (G[424]) follows immediately IOL Khot 149/1 (G[423]). Unfortunately, due to the poor condition of the ending part of IOL Khot 149/1, the content of this topic can hardly be known. As for the next topic, the presentation is rather brief, just covering about two lines (r1–3). Except for the stereotypical constructions -- including the beginning of the topic, the question "tta kāma dva śśau (which two? the first)", and the closing repetition "ttäte duva (these two)" – only three phrases are left. This situation makes the identification of this section also difficult.

In contrast, the third section about parents' loving-kindness towards children and children's filial piety in return covers at least five lines (r3–7), while the fourth section about two pure things which keep the world in order and free from chaos (or promiscuity) falls into seven lines (v1–7). The details can be very helpful for the identification. It seems that these two sections correspond with two passages in the *Benshijing* 本事經 (T. 17, no. 765), and the Pāli parallels can also be found in the *Itivuttaka* and *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*.

Parallel of Section 3 in the *Benshijing* 本事經 (682c9f.):
苾芻當知！世有二種補特伽羅，恩深難報。云何為二？所謂父、母。假使有人一肩荷父、一肩擔母，盡其壽量曾無暫捨，供給衣食、病緣醫藥、種種所須，猶未能報父母深恩。所以者何？父母於子，恩極深重。所謂產生，慈心乳哺，洗拭將養令其長大，供給種種資身眾具，教示世間所有儀式，心常欲令離苦得樂，曾無暫捨，如影隨形。父母於子，既有如是所說深恩，當云何報？若彼父母於佛、法、僧無清淨信，其子方便示現、勸導、讚勵、慶慰，令生淨信 ("A bhikṣu should know that there are two kinds of individuals whose loving-kindness is difficult to repay. Which two? They are father and mother. If a son should carry his father on one shoulder, and carry his mother on another during his whole life, and supplies all kinds of things such as clothing, food, medicine and other necessities, he could not repay his parents enough. Why? A child is deeply indebted to his father and mother. They give birth to the child; nurture him with compassion; bathe, rub and look after him; bring him up; provide him all kinds of necessities; teach him all rituals in the world; always wish for his happiness instead of suffering; accompany him all the time like his shadow. How can a child repay his parents since they show so much affection to him? If his parents have no faith in the Buddha, the dharma and the saṅgha, the son should persuade and urge them by all means, making them have faith.")[13]

Parallel of Section 3 in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (*AN* I 61, 29-62, 11):
Dvinnāhaṃ bhikkhave na suppatikāraṃ vadāmi. Katamesaṃ dvinnaṃ? Mātuc ca pituc ca. Ekena bhikkhave aṃsena mātaram parihareyya ekena aṃsena pitaraṃ parihareyya vassasatāyuko vassasatajīvī. So ca tesaṃ ucchādana-parimaddana-nahāpana-sambāhanena <patijaggeyya> te pi tatth' eva muttakarīsaṃ cajeyyuṃ na tv eva bhikkhave mātāpitunnaṃ kataṃ vā hoti patikataṃ vā. Imissā ca bhikkhave mahāpaṭhaviyā pahūta-sattaratanāya mātāpitaro issarādhipacce rajje patiṭṭhāpeyya na tv eva bhikkhave mātāpitunnaṃ kataṃ vā hoti patikataṃ vā. Taṃ kissa hetu? Bahukārā bhikkhave mātāpitaro puttānam āpādakā posakā imassa lokassa dassetāro. Yo ca kho*

[13.] The stock phrase "a son carries his mother on one shoulder and his father on another" has many similar expressions scattered in a number of Buddhist scriptures, such as the *Vinayavastu*, the *Karmavibhaṅga*, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Avadānaśataka*, etc. Prof. Noriyuki Kudo kindly reminds me of two articles by Prof. Jonathan Silk (2007 & 2008), which discuss its variant forms.

bhikkhave mātāpitaro assaddhe saddhā-sampadāya samādapeti ... (English translation by Bhikkhu Bodhi: "Bhikkhus, there are <u>two</u> persons that cannot easily be repaid. What two? One's <u>mother and father</u>. Even if one should <u>carry about one's mother on one shoulder</u> and one's father <u>on the other,</u> and [while doing so] should have a life span of a hundred years, live for a hundred years; and if one should attend to them by anointing them with balms, by massaging, bathing, and rubbing their limbs, and they even void their urine and excrement there, one still would <u>not</u> have done enough for one's parents, nor would one have repaid them. Even if one were to establish one's parents as the supreme lords and rulers over this great earth abounding in the seven treasures, one still would not have done enough for one's parents, nor would one have repaid them. For what reason? Parents are of great help to their children; <u>they bring them up, feed them,</u> and show them the world. But, bhikkhus, if, when one's parents lack faith, one encourages, <u>settles, and establishes them in faith</u>; ...") [14]

Parallel of Section 4 in the *Benshijing* 本事經 (680a29f.):
苾芻<u>當知</u>！略有<u>二種白淨善法，能護世間</u>。云何為二？<u>謂慚與愧</u>。若無此二白淨善法，<u>世間有情皆成穢雜</u>，猶如牛羊、鷄猪、狗等，不識父母、兄弟、<u>姊妹</u>，不識軌範、親教、<u>導師、似導師</u>等。<u>由有此二白淨善法</u>，世間有情離諸穢雜，非如牛羊、鷄猪、狗等，<u>了知父母、兄弟、姊妹，了知軌範、親教、導師、似導師等。是故汝等應如是學：我當云何成就如是二種最勝第一慚愧白淨善法</u>？汝等苾芻，應如是學 ("A bhikṣu <u>should know that</u> there are generally <u>two kinds of white and pure</u> good dharmas[15] which could <u>protect the world</u>. Which two? They are <u>shame</u> and fear of wrongdoing. If these two white and pure good dharmas do not exist, <u>the living beings in the world will get mixed up</u>. Just like cows, goats, chickens, pigs and dogs, people will not be able to recognize father or mother, brother <u>or sister</u>, or rule, or preceptor, <u>or teacher, or quasi-teacher</u>, and so on. <u>Because of these two white and pure good dharmas</u>, all living beings in the world will not get mixed up. Unlike cows, goats, chickens, pigs and dogs, they are able to <u>recognize</u> father and mother, brother and sister, and rule, and preceptor, and teacher, and quasi-teacher, and so on. <u>Therefore you should learn how to achieve these two best kinds of white and pure dharmas</u>. You bhikṣus should learn in this way.")

Parallel of Section 4 in the *Itivuttaka* (*Iti* 36, 5-13) and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (*AN* I 51, 19-28):
<u>Dve 'me</u> bhikkhave <u>sukkā dhammā lokam pālenti. Katame dve? Hiri</u> ca ottappañ ca. Ime ce (AN. kho) bhikkhave dve sukkā dhammā lokaṃ na pāleyyuṃ, na-y-idha paññāyetha mātā ti vā mātucchā ti vā mātulānī ti vā <u>ācariyabhariyā ti <u>vā garūnam dārā ti vā</u>, sambhedam loko</u> agamissa (AN. āgamissati) yathā ajeḷakā (AN. ajelakā) kukkuṭasūkarā sonasiṅgālā (AN. soṇasigālā). Yasmā ca kho bhikkhave <u>ime dve sukkā dhammā</u> lokaṃ pālenti, tasmā <u>paññāyati</u> mātā ti vā mātucchā ti vā mātulānī ti vā ācariyabhariyā ti vā garūnaṃ dārā ti vā ti.[16] (English

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14. Bodhi 2012: 153. The Chinese translation of this passage in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* can be found in the *Zengyi ahanjing* 增壹阿含經 (T. 2, no. 125, 601a11f.): 爾時，世尊告諸比丘：教二人作善不可得報恩。云何為二？所謂父母也。若復比丘,有人以父著左肩上，以母著右肩上，至千萬歲，衣被、飯食、床蓐臥具、病瘦醫藥，即於肩上放於屎溺，猶不能得報恩。比丘當知，父母恩重，抱之育之，隨時將護，不失時節，得見日月。以此方便，知此恩難報。是故諸比丘，當供養父母，常當孝順，不失時節。如是，諸比丘！當作是學.
15. Here *dharma* corresponds to the Chinese word 法, the Sanskrit original of which should be *dharma*. The Khotanese text has "hira" in this place, which might also be traced back to the Sanskrit *dharma*. Skjærvø (2012: 128, first print in 1993) points out an interesting phenomenon in the Khotanese translation. When *dharma* means law in the context, the Khotanese translator would choose "dāta" to render it. But when *dharma* means "element", then the Khotanese term "hära" would be chosen for the translation.
16. The same passage appears in both the *Itivuttaka* and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, while the Chinese translations of this passage appear also in the *Zengyi ahanjing* and the *Za ahanjing* (雜阿含經, T. 2, no. 99). The first translation is as follows (587b7f.): 有二妙法擁護世間。云何為二法？所謂有慚、有愧也。諸比丘！若無此二法，世間則不別有父、有母、有兄、有弟、有妻子、知識、尊長、大小，便當與猪、雞、狗、牛、羊六畜之類而同一等。以其世間有此二法擁護世間，則別有父母、兄弟、妻子、尊長、大小，亦不與六畜

translation by John Ireland: "Bhikkhus, <u>these two bright principles protect the world</u>. What are the two? <u>Shame</u> and fear of wrongdoing. If, bhikkhus, these two bright principles did not protect the world, there would not be <u>discerned respect</u> for mother or maternal aunt or maternal uncle's wife or <u>a teacher</u>'s wife or the wives of <u>other honored persons</u>, and <u>the world would have fallen into promiscuity</u>, as with goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, dogs, and jackals. But <u>as these two bright principles</u> protect the world, there is discerned respect for mother … and the wives of other honored persons."[17])

Then the fifth section is very defective. Only two words are preserved apart from the stereotypical beginning, hardly allow identification of this section.

The chief translator of the *Benshijing* 本事經 is Xuanzang 玄奘, while the monks Jingmai 靖邁 and Shenfang 神昉 help writing his translation down during the process. According to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T. 55, no. 2154), the translation job began on September 10th in the first year of the Yonghui 永徽 period (650 CE) at the Daci'en temple (大慈恩寺) and was finished on November 8th, taking about two months. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit original text is perhaps lost. We only have the Pāli *Itivuttaka* at disposal, a collection of 112 short discourses included in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*. From the title "Benshijing 本事經", we could infer that the Sanskrit original might have been "Itivṛttaka (thus happened)", but von Hinüber regards it to be a false Sanskritisation or Hyper-Sanskritism of "itivuttaka". The *Itivuttaka* gets its name from the stereotypical beginning sentence of each discourse "vuttaṃ hetaṃ bhagavatā vuttaṃ arahatā ti me sutaṃ (I heard that this was said by the Buddha, said by the arhat)". So the correct Sanskritisation should be "ityuktaka (thus said)".[18] These sayings are arranged according to the number of items talked about, from one to four in Pāli and from one to three in Xuanzang's translation. To be specific, the paragraphs in our combined fragment belong to the groups of two 二法品.

Compared to their Chinese and Pāli parallels, perhaps we could say that the Khotanese Section 3 and Section 4 bear a closer resemblance to the Chinese versions, despite of differences in some details and the order of paragraphs and sentences. Or the recto side marked by Skjærvø might be the verso side and *vice versa*, since the Chinese parallel of Section 3 at present follows that of Section 4 in the *Benshijing* 本事經, not immediately but with some paragraphs in between. Nevertheless, due to the fragmentary condition of the manuscript, it is hard to tell. In content, the Khotanese and Chinese texts have much in common. Although the beginning sentence in Chinese "a bhikṣu should know that" is changed into "a bodhisattva should notice that" in Khotanese, it still means admonition and serves as a transition to a new topic, helping organizing the text. This recurring sentence is anyhow absent in the Pāli version. We may further guess that the change from "bhikṣu" to "bodhisattva" actually reflects a process of adaptation of Buddhist scriptures and a tendency of transmission from a certain school of Nikāya Buddhism to Mahāyāna. And this transmission might have taken place in ancient Khotan, or some other places in Central Asia such as Kashmir and then brought to Khotan. In section 4, we encounter several words denoting

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共同。是故，諸比丘！當習有慚、有愧。如是，諸比丘！當作是學. And the second translation is (340c23f.): 有二淨法，能護世間。何等為二？所謂慚、愧。假使世間無此二淨法者，世間亦不知有父母、兄弟、姊妹、妻子、宗親、師長尊卑之序，顛倒渾亂，如畜生趣。以有二種淨法，所謂慚、愧，是故世間知有父母，乃至師長尊卑之序，則不渾亂，如畜生趣.

17. Ireland 1997: 138.
18. von Hinüber 1994: 133–134.

different people: "o hvāraka o pīsai o - pīsā / samä" (line v5). Bailey's translation is "or colourers or painter or (pupils?) of painters"[19]. With the help of the Chinese parallels, the correct translation should probably be "or sister, or teacher, or quasi-teacher". And again, here we have a different expression in Pāli "mātulānī ti vā ācariyabhariyā ti vā garūnaṃ dārā ti vā", which means "maternal uncle's wife or a teacher's wife or the wives of other honored persons". The Pāli version lists only female elders who deserve respect, while the Khotanese text and all Chinese parallels also mention respectable male elders.

The Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 153/4

The original number of IOL Khot 153/4 is No. vii by Hoernle and H apr. by Leumann. The former indicates that it was Fragment 1 in Packet 7, Consignment 150 of Hoernle's collection; while the latter denotes its content, which was four *apramāṇa*s. Skjærvø's transliteration and my English translation are as follows.

r1 pare]hāñu tcamna gyastvā tsīndä. u cu rru vātcu tti ci rᵃo ju ye tcaramu hā ṣai puñau ggīstu yīndä tt_yāᵐnvī vā

2 / marī mū-sysaṃth_viya śśirᵃatātä himāte. u ce vātco tti uysnaura ce väte ju balysūñavūysai

3 / ṇi ṣṭi. tta tta vitī vātcu maitra karuṇa muditta tcera u karī hāḍe uysnaura vⁱäte u_pevikṣa ni tce

4 [ra] uysnaurä väte ttrāmu hīśśiḍauśtīnau aysmū yande khu pīru śśau ysātu śśirataraṇu pūrä vä

5 [te] vⁱäte odi āstai mijsāya buru panu uysnaurä vⁱäte mulśdu upevätä. u cu balysānu bau

6 [dhisatvānu] buljse śśirete ṣahāni śirᵉatetä byāta yande u aysmū hā vasūjäte ṣai vātcu muditta sīravātä haṃgge'.

7 / u_pevikṣa khvai vā ṣa'ᵃ himäte ku ni vātcu uysnaura vⁱäte u_pevikṣa tcera śtä. ttina ku satvau u_pevikṣäte tta cu rru ba

8 / vā hāḍe u_pevikṣe tceri cu natu suṣumuḍu ṣva' jᵉū' dātu balysā x ne butte u nai hā bvāmata hauttⁱo

v1 / se ttuto aysu ne buᵉve ttutu balysa buᵃvāre. avaśä ṣa mamä h[o]va himāte kvī vā aysu bustä hi

2 [me … balysū]ñavūysai paḍā u_pevikṣa arⁿandīśśāmata haṃgge'. tta pātcu vā balysūñavūysai ṣa u_pevikṣa kvī hāvä buljsā sta

3 [vä araṃdī]śāte. tta pātcuī ṣā u_pevikṣa haṃgge'. u ku vātcu ttu butte pe ttattīka ju uysnaurāṇu śiru yuḍä yan_ūämä ne śūka gā

4 / je ne nyaskye u ne dukhi. tta pātcu ṣā'ᵃ balysūñavūysai araṃⁿᵃᵐdīśāmata u_pevikṣa haṃgge'. tta pātcu vā

5 / uysnaurāṇu śirᵉatete yanāma kiḍe duṣkara. tta kāma drrai padya cu ttānu uysnaurāṇu haṃjsⁱa

6 [ṣḍe ysaṃ]tha kuśalamūla hataḍarāṃjs_yäya ni īndä ṣä kiḍe (du)ṣkaru ka ye tt_yānu śiru yuḍu īndä. ttina cu atä

7 uysnau]rāṇu ṣe' paḍā. kye vātcä anyattīrthya o vā paḍā añattirthiya vätä oᵃᵘ nu vātcu ttirthānu duiṣṭä. tta

8 / x śśiru gu_yuḍu gī_yīndi tta ṣā vātcu śä'taᵃ balysūñavūysai kiḍe duṣkara :|| :||

r1 … should be restrained. By means of this they go to the gods. And what also next, and then when someone ultimately even helps with merits, of these he

2 … will obtain goodness in this birth. And next those living beings towards whom a

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[19.] Bailey did not join fragment Kha. i. 133 to fragment H. 142 NS 46, so he thought the last word could be "pīsā<nu>." *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 241, 506.

bodhisattva…

3 … is. Thus next towards them kindness, compassiion, joy should be practiced. However, renunciation towards the living beings should not be practiced by him at all.

4 … towards the living being he practices the kind mind, just as a father towards his only born good son.

5 … as far as the marrow of the bone, towards every being he produces compassion.

6 When he well remembers the qualities, goodness and virtues of buddhas and bodhisattvas, and purifies his mind, then this is his joy and total content.

7 … as his renunciation exists, then where should this renunciation towards the living beings not be practiced? Because where he renunciates the living beings, thus then…

8 … however, renunciation should be practiced. When he does not understand the profound and subtle preaching and dharma of the Buddhas, and has not the ability to know.

v1 … that I do not know this, the Buddhas know this. Undoubtedly I will have the ability, on the basis of which I will become awakened.

2 … bodhisattva's first renunciation and total indifference. Thus next for a bodhisattva this is renunciation when benefit, fame and praise are not considered by him.

3 Thus then this is his total renunciation. And then when he considers that here for the living beings I would do good things, not alone…

4 … no abuse and no suffering. Thus then this is a bodhisattva's indifference and total renunciation. Thus next…

5 … very difficult for us to do good for the living beings. So which three kinds? When for those living beings he intends…

6 …in a former birth good roots do not exist. It is very difficult for anyone to do good for them. Because when very…

7 … for the living beings this is the first. Next those heretics, or those who used to be heretics at first, or those who have heretical beliefs. Thus…

8 … for them to do good. Thus then this is the second very difficult thing for a bodhisattva.

Based on the content, this fragment could be divided into two parts. The first part talks about four *apramāṇa*s, followed by the second part about three kinds of difficulties in a bodhisattva's doing good for the living beings. These two parts seem to be only loosely connected with each other. Therefore I would like to suggest that the fragment IOL Khot 153/4 might be a miscellany of passages from different texts.

Due to the fragmentary condition of the beginning two lines, I am not sure whether lines r1 to 2 belong to a preceding part or they are the introducing lines of the present *apramāṇa* part. Then line 3 is a summary of the first part: a bodhisattva should practice kindness, compassion and joy, but not renunciation towards the living beings. After this general statement, four *apramāṇa*s are illustrated in detail respectively. And these discourses correspond closely with the verses in the *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 (T. 32, no. 1660).

Parallel of the discourse about *maitra* and *karuṇa* (525c26f.):
大悲徹骨髓，為諸眾生依，如父於一子，慈則遍一切 ("His compassion reaches as far as the marrow of the bone, and he is the refuge of the living beings, just as a father towards his only son. His kindness extends to every being.")

Although we do not have the Sanskrit original of the *Bodhisaṃbhāraśāstra*, which might be lost, there is a similar expression in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. It reads "*bodhisatvasya*

satveṣu prema majjagatam mahat / yathaiputrake tasmāt sadā hitakaraṃ matam //
Msa. 13.20//"[20] ("A bodhisattva has great love penetrating into the marrow of the bone towards the living beings, just as towards his only son. Therefore their welfare is always in his mind.")[21]

> Parallel of the discourse about *mudita* (526a13f.):
> 若念佛功德，及聞佛神變，愛喜而受淨，此名為大喜("If when he remembers buddhas' virtues and listens to buddhas' miracles, he rejoices and purifies his mind, then it is named great joy.")

As for *upekṣā*, the situation is a little bit complicated. Under some circumstances, renunciation should not be practiced, while under others it should be. In the first place, a bodhisattva should never renounce the living beings (526b11f.): 菩薩於眾生, 不應得捨棄, 當隨力所堪, 一切時攝受 ("Towards the living beings, a bodhisattva should never practice renunciation. Instead he should always protect and teach them according to their ability and disposition.") Then in the Chinese translation six types of living beings are enumerated, accordingly a bodhisattva should lead them to Mahāyāna, Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, or assign meritorious tasks to them, or attract them through worldly benefits, or at least have kindness and compassion towards them.[22] In the corresponding place, the Khotanese fragment probably mentions two kinds of people. The first does not have the ability to understand dharma, while the second believes that he will become awakened in the future. The parallel of the description of the first kind of people might be "以彼少力故, 不堪大乘化 (526c7, due to his limited ability, he could not be converted into Mahāyāna)". In the second place, renunciation should be practiced when it comes to worldly advantages (527b5f.): 利名讚樂等, 四處皆不著, 反上亦無礙, 此等名為捨 ("As for benefit, fame, praise and pleasure, he is not attached to these four. Besides, he is not bothered in their opposites either. This is named renunciation.")

The second part of the fragment IOL Khot 153/4 starts a new topic. Three kinds of difficulties in doing good for the living beings are mentioned in the question in line v5, but only two kinds are preserved in the fragment. The third one is perhaps on the next page, if there is any. The corresponding passage in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* reads as follows:

> *tatra katamā bodhisattvānāṃ duṣkarā arthacaryā / sā trividhā draṣṭavyā / pūrvakuśalamūlahetv acariteṣu sattveṣv arthacaryā bodhisattvānāṃ duṣkarā / tathā hi te duḥkhasamādāpyā bhavanti kuśale / mahatyāṃ bhogasaṃpadi vartamāneṣu sattveṣu tadadhyavasānagateṣv arthacaryā*

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[20]   Lévi 1907: 88. Prof. Seishi Karashima reminds me of another similar paragraph in the *Akṣayamatisūtra* as quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall 1902: 287): "*syād yathâpi nāma śreṣṭhino vā gṛhapater vâikaputrake guṇavati majjāgataṃ prema | evam eva mahākaruṇāpratilabdhasya bodhisatvasya sarvasatveṣu majjāgataṃ premêti //*" Jens Braarvig's translation of this paragraph is as follows (Braarvig 1993: 354): "As a rich man or householder has heartfelt love for his only virtuous son, just so the bodhisattva with great compassion has heartfelt love for all beings". The Chinese translation can be found in the *Dafangdeng dajijing* 大方等大集經 (T. 13, no. 397, 200a23f.): 如大長者唯有一子愍愛情重, 菩薩大悲亦復如是, 於諸眾生愛之若子.

[21]   The Chinese translation of this passage in the *Dacheng zhuangyanjinglun*大乘莊嚴經論(T. 31, no. 1604, 623a11f.) reads as follows:菩薩念眾生, 愛之徹骨髓, 恒時欲利益, 猶如一子故.

[22]   The Chinese translation in the *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 reads as follows (526b17f.): 菩薩從初時，應隨堪能力, 方便化眾生, 令入於大乘。化恒沙眾生, 令得羅漢果, 化一入大乘, 此福德為上。教以聲聞乘, 及獨覺乘者, 以彼少力故, 不堪大乘化。聲聞獨覺乘, 及以大乘中, 不堪受化者, 應置於福處。若人不堪受, 天及解脫化, 便以現世利, 如力應當攝。菩薩於眾生, 無緣能教化, 當起大慈悲, 不應便棄捨.

bodhisattvānāṃ duṣkarā / tathā hi te mahati pramādapade pramādasthāne vartante / ito bāhyakeṣu tīrthikeṣu pūrvaṃ [ca] tīrthikadṛṣṭicariteṣu sattveṣv arthaṃcaryā bodhisattvānāṃ duṣkarā / tathā hi te svayaṃ saṃmūḍhāś câbhiniviṣṭāś câsmin dharmavinaye //[23] ("Here which are the bodhisattvas' <u>deeds for the benefit of others difficult to accomplish</u>? They should be known as of <u>three kinds</u>. <u>In respect of the living beings who did not practice the cause of former good roots, it is difficult</u> for bodhisattvas <u>to do good for them. Because</u> they are difficult to be persuaded to be good. In respect of the living beings who are indulged in and attached to great pleasure and luxury, it is difficult for bodhisattvas to do good for them. Because they immerse themselves in intoxication and insanity. <u>Then in respect of the living beings who are heretics, or former-heretics, or practicing heretical beliefs</u>, it is difficult for bodhisattvas <u>to do good for them</u>. Because they are foolish and stubborn in the Buddha's dharma and vinaya.")

There are two Chinese translations of this passage, one is from the *Pusa dichijing* 菩薩地持經 (T. 30, no. 1581) by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, and the other is from the *Yujiashi dilun* 瑜伽師地論 (T. 30, no. 1579) by Xuanzang 玄奘. Dharmakṣema's translation reads as follows (924b2f.):

云何菩薩難行利？略說三種。<u>若眾生本來不修善因，而能行利，是名第一難行利。</u>謂苦勸化<u>故</u>。若本修善根、得大財寶、深起貪著，而能行利，是名第二難行利。謂彼大放逸處故。<u>外道異學、著本邪見，而能行利，是名第三難行利。</u>謂彼愚癡，極違正法故.

Xuanzang's translation is (531a11f.):

云何菩薩難行利行？當知此行略有<u>三種</u>。若諸菩薩，<u>於先未行勝善根因諸有情所，能行利行，是名第一難行利行。</u>何以故？彼諸有情難勸導故。若諸菩薩，於有善因現前、執著廣大財位、眾具圓滿諸有情所，能行利行，是名第二難行利行。何以故？彼於廣大極放逸迹、極放逸處耽著轉故。若諸菩薩，<u>於諸外道、著本異道、邪見邪行諸有情所，能行利行，是名第三難行利行。</u>何以故？彼於自宗愚癡執故，於正法律憎背執故.

The two Chinese translations correspond closely with the Sanskrit original. The only difference lies in the additive closing remark after each kind of difficulties. That is, … "this is the first difficulty" … "this is the second difficulty"… and "this is the third difficulty". In this respect, the Khotanese text resembles the Chinese translations. But as for the order of the three kinds of difficulties, the Chinese translations conform to the Sanskrit original, while the Khotanese text takes the third difficulty as the second. And unfortunately, the third difficulty in Khotanese might be lost.

Conclusion

Martini notices the dearth of early Āgamas in Khotan and the Middle Period materials' being recast within a Mahāyāna frame of reference.[24] Now we can see how the passages from a Nikāya Buddhist scripture were flexibly selected and adapted in ancient Central Asia. Simply changing the term from "bhikṣu" to "bodhisattva" in the stereotypical opening sentence could make a text assume a Mahāyāna outfit.

The Sanskrit original of the *Bodhisaṃbhāraśāstra* by Nāgārjuna seems to be long lost.

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23. Dutt 1966: 152.
24. Martini 2013: 16–17.

The verses are preserved in the Chinese translation of Vaśitva's *Commentary on the Bodhi-saṃbhāraśāstra* by Dharmagupta 達摩笈多. And some verses are also included in other popular Buddhist scriptures, such as *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and *Akṣayamatisūtra*. Now we have the Khotanese translation of the *apramāṇa* part of this important treatise. Through the translator's joining it to passages from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, we could infer that these two works are closely related to each other in the eyes of ancient Khotanese Buddhists. Perhaps this composite work consisting of passages from different texts serves as a handbook or guidebook for a bodhisattva's religious practice in ancient Khotan.

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The Old Tibetan Version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* preserved in Fragments from Dunhuang (2)

James B. APPLE

This paper continues documentation of the Old Tibetan version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* preserved in fragments from Dunhuang identified and transcribed in Part 1 (Apple 2017). As discussed in Part 1, the currently known extant versions of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* are in Sanskrit in two Central Asian manuscripts, five Chinese versions, Khotanese fragments, and a ninth century Tibetan version preserved among Tibetan Kanjur collections. Part 1 identified for the first time seven Old Tibetan fragments of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* found among the Stein and Pelliot collections from the ancient city-state of Dunhuang. Part 1 was comprised of an analysis and collation of the Old Tibetan fragments that correspond to sections §00-63 of the Staël-Holstein (1926) edition. The following comparative collation documents fragment IOL Tib J 59, which corresponds to sections §98-101, and fragment IOL Tib J 55, that corresponds to sections §102-135. The fragments collated in Parts 1 and 2 altogether comprise a version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* preserved in Old Tibetan that was previously unknown.

Manuscript Fragments and their Characteristics

As discussed in Part 1, the Old Tibetan Dunhuang version represents a slightly earlier version of the canonical Tibetan *Kāśyapaparivarta* that was translated under Imperial support during the early dissemination phase of Buddhism in Tibet at the beginning of the 9th century CE by the translators Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, and Ye-shes-sde. The mid-to-late 8th century Old Tibetan Dunhuang version of the sūtra is called *Ratnakūṭasūtra,* which is consistent with the title found among the majority of Indian *śāstra*s and Khotanese sources.

Among the eight manuscript fragments of the Old Tibetan Dunhuang version preserved within the Stein and Pelliot collections the following collation is comprised of **IOL Tib J 55** and **IOL Tib J 59**. Both fragments are in Pothī format, with measurements of 43 cm. × 9 cm, and exhibit the orthographic characteristics of Old Tibetan. These manuscript fragments have the following characteristics:

IOL Tib J 55   [similar and most likely related to IOL Tib J 153]: six folios, *dbu can* hand-written manuscript, six lines per side; String-hold occurs slightly under third line of text; Leaves are in inverse order; double *tseg* punctuation; inverted phrasing compared to Kanjur editions; reverse *gi-gu*; palatalisation of *ma* by *ya btags* before the vowels *i* and *e* (e.g. *myed*); the use of *da-drag*; the text reads *dbu: ma'i: sgrub: pa:* instead of Kanjur *dbu ma'i lam* for *madhyama pratipad* in sections 56, 57, 58, 59 (See Apple 2017).

IOL Tib J 153 and **IOL Tib J 55** are part of the same manuscript as they both have the same style of print and other shared orthographic features. Noteworthy is that they both

contain *tsheg brtseg pa*, "piled up" or double dot punctuation, which I have transcribed with a colon (:). The punctuation found in these two manuscripts is consistent with that found only in the Old Tibetan Imperial inscriptions at Samye and Zhol that date from the mid-8th century CE.[1]

IOL Tib J 59, corresponding to sections 98, 99, 100 is actually an extended citation from an unknown commentary. The Tibetan text of IOL Tib J 59 in §100 does correlate with the Kanjur versions but as the Old Tibetan text of the fragment continues into §101 the content differs from all Kanjur versions. Sections §98-101 found in IOL Tib J 59 may be a citation form an unknown recension of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*. The fact that this unknown commentary cites the text from the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* and that the text is only in prose indicates that this version matches with the other Old Tibetan Dunhuang fragments.

The Old Tibetan Version's Lack of Verses and Other Features

As discussed in Part 1, the Old Tibetan Dunhuang version lack of verses is a notable feature shared with the older Sanskrit fragments, a number of Khotanese fragments, and the Chinese versions up until the 8th century.[2] Just as notable is that the Old Tibetan version lacks verses and significantly differs from all ninth-century canonical Tibetan versions that contain verses.

The Old Tibetan version also shares features with the brief Sanskrit version beyond the lack of verses. Notable in this regard is that sections §118-120 in the mid-section of IOL Tib J 55 appear in a different sequence of order, i.e., §119 appears first followed by §120 and then §118. Moreover, section §119 appears for the first time among all extant Tibetan versions. I have included in the comparative collation the Sanskrit of section §119 for comparison.

Similar to the brief Sanskrit version as analyzed by Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, the Old Tibetan version lacks the concluding line of section 130[3] and omits a passage of section 131[4] that are found in the extended Sanskrit version. The Old Tibetan also contains several instances where the prose is more contracted than extended versions. A brief example is found in Table 2 containing list of terminology and phrase comparisons, where the Old Tibetan provides the Sanskrit equivalent of *ratna*, the De Jong Sanskrit edition of the Hoernle and Mannerheim fragments as well as the Tibetan Kanjurs read *maṇiratna*, and the Staël-Holstein edition of the SI P/2 manuscript reads *vaiḍūryamahāmaṇiratna*.[5]

Conclusion

To conclude, these previously unidentified Old Tibetan Dunhuang fragments comprise a version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* preserved in Old Tibetan that was previously unknown. This

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1.   See Walters and Beckwith 2010 on the dating and interpretation of Old Tibetan inscriptions. They date the Samye and Zhol inscription to around 764 CE.
2.   Versions without verses include the old Sanskrit recension, the Eastern Han 東漢 (25-220 AD) translation (T 350), the Jin 晉 (265-420 AD) translation (T 351), the version featuring as the seventh chapter of the*Mahāratnamegha-sūtra* (*Dasheng bao yun jing* 大乘寶雲經, T 659) translated in 503 AD during the Liang 梁 period (502-552 AD), and the anonymous Qin 秦 translation that wasassembled in the Mahāratnakūṭa collection (T 310.43) by Bodhiruci in the period 706-713 AD under the Tang 唐 (618-907 AD).
3.   Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002: viii, 45.
4.   Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2002: viii–ix, 45.
5.   See Martini 2011:165, note 79.

version has a number of notable features including a lack of verses and contracted prose. In addition, one fragment indicates that the Old Tibetan version of this *sūtra* was explicitly called *Ratnakuṭa*, a title that accords with the title found in extant Indian and Khotanese works. This title also differs from later Kanjur versions where the text is entitled *'Od srung gi le'u* together with the reconstructed Sanskrit title *Kāśyapaparivarta*. One fragment also contains a segment missing from all extant Tibetan canonical versions. In sum, the Old Tibetan *Ratnakūṭa* is the 8th century Tibetan version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*. This version is similar to, yet distinct from, other versions of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* preserved in Sanskrit, Chinese, Khotanese, and the later canonical Tibetan.

Comparative Collation of Tibetan *Kāśyapaparivarta*

Dunhuang Tibetan	Vulgate Kanjurs
[§98] [IOL Tib J 59, 1a1] {*$ /: / sangs rgyas kyI rang bzhin ngo bo nyid dag pa' las/ /sems shan du gyur cIng/ /skye shi lam rgyud lngar 'khor ba nI/ /myi bden ba'I sems kyIs slad de/ /rnam pa' sna tsogs* [1a2] *su mthong zhing/ /spyod pa' las gyur to/ /de lta bas sna/ /chos tham cad kyang/ /sems las 'byung zhIng/ /bslad/ /'pags pa dkon mchog/ /brtsegs pa las/ /'byung ba/*}	{/'od srung sems ni nang na[6] yang med/ phyi rol na yang med/ gnyi ga[7] med pa la yang mi dmigs so/ /'od srung sems ni dpyad du med pa/ bstan du med pa/ rten ma yin pa/ snang ba med pa/ rnam par rig pa med pa/ gnas pa med pa'o/ /'od srung sems ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyis kyang ma gzigs/ mi gzigs/ gzigs par mi 'gyur ro/ /log par zhugs pa'i 'du shes las chos rnams 'byung ba ma gtogs par sems ni[8] sangs rgyas thams cad kyis kyang ma gzigs/ mi gzigs gzigs par mi 'gyur ba gang yin pa de'i rgyu ba ci 'dra bar[9] blta[10] zhe na/}
'od srungs: // [1a3] *sems nI/ sgyu ma' dang mtshungs ste/ /yang dag pa' ma yin ba la/ /rnam par rtog pa'I phyir/ /skye ba sna tshogs len to/*	'od srung sems ni sgyu ma dang mtshungs te/ yang dag pa ma yin pa <u>kun brtags pas</u> skye ba rnam pa mang po yongs su 'dzin to/ {/'od srung sems ni 'bab chu'i rgyun dang mtshungs te[11] / [12]mi gnas pa skyes nas 'jig cing 'jug pa'o/} /'od srung sems ni rlung dang mtshungs te/ ring du 'gro zhing gzung du med par rgyu ba'o/ {/'od srung sems ni mar me'i 'od 'phro ba dang mtshungs te/ /rgyu dang rkyen las 'byung ba'o/}
'od srungs sems nI rlung dang tshung stI/ /rIng thung du 'gro la gzu [IOL Tib J 59, 1a4] nga du myedo/ /btsal du myed pa'o/	
[§99]	{/'od srung sems ni nam mkha' dang mtshungs te/ nye ba'i nyon mongs pa glo bur ba[13] rnams kyis nye bar nyon mongs pa'o/ /'od srung sems ni glog dang mtshungs te/ skad cig tu 'jig cing mi gnas pa'o/}
/'od srungs sems nI/ /spre 'u dang mtshungs stI/ /yul thams cad la chags pa'o/ /'od srungs sems nI/ /las rnam pa sna tshogs byId pas na/ /[IOL Tib J 59, 1a5] rI mo mkhan dang 'dra'o/ /'od srungs sems nI/ /chos tham cad la' dbang byed pas na/ /rgyal po dang mtshungs so/ /'od srungs sems nI/ /sdug sngal thams cad bskyid pas na// [IOL Tib J 59, 1a6] myI dge ba'I bshes gnyin dang mtshungs so/	/'od srung sems ni spre'u dang mtshungs te/ yul thams cad 'dod pa'o/ /'od srung sems ni las rnam pa sna tshogs mngon par 'du byed pa'i phyir ri mo mkhan dang mtshungs so/ /<u>'od srung sems ni nyon mongs pa tha dad pa 'byung ba'i phyir mi gnas pa'o/ /'od srung sems ni gnyis pa mtshams sbyor ba med pa'i phyir gcig pu rgyu ste gnyis su med pa'o/</u> /'od srung sems ni chos thams cad la dbang byed pa'i phyir rgyal po dang[14] mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni sdug bsngal thams cad skyed pa'i phyir mi mdza' ba[15] dang mtshungs so/

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6. om. na V
7. ka V
8. om. sems ni V
9. ba V
10. blta V
11. dang/ V
12. mtshung te mi gnas pa V
13. gyi Go
14. Go 57b ends here with scribal notes in dbu med at bottom; Change of scribe?
15. mngal ba V

[§100] [IOL Tib J 59, 1a6] /'od srungs sems nI/ /dge ba'i rtsa ba' thams cad bshIg pas khang rul dang mthungs so/ /'od srungs sems nI/ /bdag myId pa' la' [IOL Tib J 59, 1b1] bdag tu 'du shes pas na/ /rmyI lam dang mtshungs so/ /'od srungs sems nI/ /myi gtsang ba' la gtsang mar 'du shes pas na/ /sbrang bu sngon po dang mtshungs so/ /'od srungs [IOL Tib J 59, 1b2] sems nI/ /rnam pa' sna cogs byid cIng / /rtag du glan ka' tshol bas na/ /dgra dang mtshungs so/ /'od srungs sems nI/ /dge ba'I rtsa ba' tha[m]s cad rgus pas rgun po dang [1b3] mtshungs so/	'od srung sems ni dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad 'jig par byed pa'i phyir bye ma'i khang pa dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni mi rtag pa la rtag par 'du shes pa'i phyir zil pa dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni sdug bsngal la bde bar 'du shes pa'i phyir nya'i mchil pa dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni bdag med pa la bdag tu 'du shes pa'i phyir rmi lam dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni mi gtsang ba la gtsang bar 'du shes pa'i phyir sbrag ma[16] sngon po dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni gnod pa rnam pa[17] mang po byed pas phyir rgol ba dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni rtag tu klan ka tshol ba'i phyir gnod sbyin mdangs 'phrog pa dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni rtag tu glags lta bas dgra dang mtshungs so/
[§101] [IOL Tib J 59, 1b3] /'od srungs sems nI/ /byams pa' dang stang ba yod pas na mthon man can no/ /de lta bas sna legs nyes kyI chos sna tsogs thams cad kyang/ /sem las [IOL Tib J 59,1b4] byung rnam pa' sna: tshogs su mthong ba nI/ /sem can 'un kyang rnam pa' sna tshogs su sim *g*y.os pa bzhIn du/ /rnam pa' sna tshogs su mthong/ /mthong ba' bzhIn du rnam pa' sna [IOL Tib J 59,1b5] cogs gyI las spyad pa'/ spyad/ bzhIn du rnam pa' sna cogs gyI lan tho nas/ /skyi zhing 'khor bar gyur to/ /chos rnam pa' sna cogs su mthong ba' nI/ /chu la Ni [IOL Tib J 59,1b6] nya dang ru sbal las stsogs pas ni khyim du mthong/ /'dres ni rnag khrag du mthong/ /sems can dmyal bas nI mye ma mur dang mtshon car mthong/ /myI sni chur mthong/ /	/'od srung sems ni rjes su chags pa dang khong khro ba dang ldan pas rtag par mtho dma'[18] can no/ /'od srung sems ni dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad rku bas chom rkun dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni gzugs la dga' bas phyi byi zhwa[19] la'i mig dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni sgra la dga' bas g.yul[20] gyi rnga dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni phag mi gtsang ba'i dril dga' ba bzhin du dril dga'o/ /'od srung sems ni ro la dga' bas zas kyi lhag ma za ba'i bran mo dang mtshungs so/ /'od srung sems ni reg pa la dga' sa sbrang ma[21] 'bru mar gyi snod la chags pa dang mtshungs so/

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16. sbrang bu Go; sbrang ma K$_H$; sbang ma V
17. om. rnam pa K$_H$
18. dman Go K$_H$ V
19. zho Go K$_H$ V
20. yul Go
21. sbang ma V

| [§102] {*missing*} [IOL Tib J 55, 1.1] no /gang: 'da's: pa: dang:/ da: ltar gyI: dang: ma: 'ongs pa: 'ang: ma: yin: ba: de: nI/ dus gsum: las: 'da's: pa'o /gang: dus: gsum: las: 'da's: pa: de: ni: yod: pa'ang: ma: yIn: myed: pa: pa'ang ma: yIn: no/ /gang: yod: pa'ang: ma: yIn: myed pa ?? [IOL Tib J 55,1.2] ma: yIn ba: de: ni: ma: skyes: pa'o/ /gang: ma skyes: pa: de: la: ngo: bo: nyid: myed: do/ /gang: ngo: bo: myed: pa: de: la: skye: ba: myed: do/ /gang: skye: ba: myed: pa: de: la: 'gog: pa: yang: myed: do/ /gang: 'gog: pa: myed: pa: de: la: 'jig: pa'ang: myed: do/ /gang: 'jig: pa: myed: pa/ [IOL Tib J 55,1.3] de: la: 'ong: ba: yang: myed/ 'gro: ba: 'ang: myed: shI/ 'pho: ba: yang myed/ skyes: ba'ang myed: do/ /gang: la: 'ong: ba: dang:/ 'gro: ba: dang:/ shI: 'pho: ba: dang:/ skye: ba: myed: pa: de: la: 'du: byed: gang: yang: myed: do/ /gang: la: 'du: byed: gang: yang: myed: pa: de nI:'dus/ [IOL Tib J 55,1.4] ma: byas: pa'o/ /gang: 'dus: ma: byas: pa: de: nI: 'phags: pa'i rigso/ | {/'od srung sems ni kun tu btsal na mi rnyed do/ /gang mi rnyed pa de ni mi dmigs} so[22]/ /gang mi dmigs pa de ni 'das pa yang ma yin/ /ma 'ongs pa yang ma yin/ da ltar byung ba yang ma yin no/ /gang 'das pa yang ma yin/ ma 'ongs pa yang ma yin/ /da ltar byung ba yang ma yin pa de ni dus gsum las yang dag par 'das pa'o /gang dus gsum las yang dag par 'das pa de ni yod pa yang ma yin/ med pa yang ma yin no/ /gang yod pa yang ma yin/ /med pa yang ma yin pa de ni ma skyes pa'o/ /gang ma skyes pa de la ngo bo nyid med do/ /gang ngo bo nyid med pa de la 'byung ba med do/ /gang 'byung ba med pa de la 'gag pa med do/ /gang 'gag pa med pa de la 'bral ba med do/ /gang 'bral ba med pa de la 'ong ba yang[23] med/ 'gro ba yang med[24]/ 'chi 'pho yang med/ skye ba yang med do/ /gang la 'ong ba yang med/ /'gro ba yang med/ /'chi 'pho[25] yang med/ skye ba yang med pa de la 'du byed gang yang med do/ /gang la 'du byed gang yang med pa de ni 'dus ma byas pa'o/ /gang 'dus ma byas pa de ni 'phags pa rnams kyi rigs so/ |
| [§103] gang: 'phags: pa'I: rIgs: de: la: bslab: pa: yang: myed/ /bslab: pa: las: 'da's: pa: yang: myed: do/ gang: la: bslab: pa'ang: myed:/ bslab: pa: las: 'da's: pa: [IOL Tib J 55,1.5] myed: pa: de: la: spyod: pa: dang: myi: spyod: pa: dang: bar: du: spyod: pa: yang myed: do/ /gang: la: spyod: pa: dang: myi: spyod: pa: dang/ rab: du: spyod: pa: yang: myed: pa: de: la: sems kyang myed:/ /sems: las: byung: ba'I: chos: kyang: myed: do/ gang: la: sems: kyang: myed:/ sems [IOL Tib J 55,1.6] las: byung: ba'I: chos: kyang: myed: pa: de: las: kyang: myed/ las: gyi: rnam: par: smyin: pa: yang: myed: do/ gang: la: las: kyang: myed: las: kyi: rnam: par: smyind: pa: yang: myed: pa: de: la{{'}} de {{pa}}: yang: myed: / sdug: bsngal: gyang: myed: do/ /gang: la: bde: ba: yang myed: sdug: bsngal / [IOL Tib J 55,2.1] gyang: myed: pa: de: nI: *'*phags: pa'I rigste:/ 'phags: pa'I: rigs: de: la: nI: las: kyang: myed:/ las: kyI: mngon: bar: 'du: byed: pa'ang: myedo/ /rigs: de: la: lus: dang:/ ngag: dang: yId: kyi: las: kyang: myI: byed: do/ /rigs: de: la: che: chung/ 'bring: du gzhag: [IOL Tib J 55,2.2] pa'ang: myed: do/ /de: jI'i phyir: zhe: na: de: nam: ka: dang: mtshungs: pa'I: phyir: /snyoms: pa'i: phyir ro/ /chos: thams chad: ro: gcIg: pa'I: phyir / /rIgs: de: khyad: bar: myed: do:/ | 'phags pa rnams kyi[26] rigs gang yin pa de la bslab pa yang[27] med bslab pa las 'das pa yang med do/ /gang la bslab pa yang med/ bslab pa las 'das pa yang med pa de la rgyu ba yang med/ /mi rgyu ba yang med/ /rab tu rgyu ba yang med/ /nga[28] la rgyu ba yang med/ mi rgyu ba yang med/ rab tu rgyu ba yang med pa de la sems kyang med/ /sems las byung ba'i chos rnams kyang med do/ /gang la sems kyang med/ sems las byung ba'i chos rnams kyang med pa de la las kyang med/ las kyi rnam par smin pa yang med do/ /gang la las kyang med/ las kyi rnam par smin pa yang med pa de la bde ba yang med/ /sdug bsngal yang med do/ /gang la bde ba yang med/ sdug bsngal ba yang med pa de ni 'phags pa rnams kyi rigs te/ /'phags pa rnams kyi rigs gang yin pa de la ni las kyang med/ /las mngon par 'du byed pa yang[29] med do/ /gang la las kyang med/ /las mngon par 'du byed pa yang[30] med pa'i rigs de la ni lus kyis[31] las byed pa med do/ /ngag gis ma yin/ /yid kyis ma yin no/ /rigs de la tha ma dang 'bring dang mchog tu rnam par gzhag pa yang med do/ /de ci'i phyir zhe na/ /rigs de ni nam mkha' dang mtshungs pa'i phyir mnyam pa'o/ /rigs de ni chos thams cad ro gcig pa'i phyir khyad par med pa'o/ |

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22. pa'o Go K$_H$ V
23. om. yang V
24. med do V
25. ba K$_H$
26. om. kyi K$_H$
27. om. yang V
28. gang Go K$_H$ V
29. om. yang K$_H$
30. om. yang K$_H$
31. kyi Go K$_H$

[§104] lus: dang: sems: bden: ba'i: phyir: rigs: bdang: ba'o/ rigs: de: nI mya: ngan: las/ [IOL Tib J 55, 2.3] 'da's: pa: dang: 'thun: ba'i/ /rigs: de nI nyon mongs: pa: thams chad gyI: dri: ma: myed pa'I: phyir dri ma: myed: pa'o/ /rigs: de: nI: <u>nga: dang: nga'I: zhes: pa: myed: pas: nga: myed pa'o</u>/ /rigs: de: yang dag: pa: dang:/ yang: dag: pa: myed: pa: {{/}} / [IOL Tib J 55,2.4] mtshungs: pa'i: phyir: 'byung bas: / myi: mnyam: ba: myed: pa'o/ /rIgs: de: ni: don dam: pa'I bden: bas na bden: ba'o / <u>rigs: de: nI: rab: du: ma: skyes: pa'i: phyIr myi: zad: pa'o</u>/ /rigs: de: nI: rtag: du: chos: thams: chad: snyoms: pa'I/ [IOL Tib J 55,2.5] phyIr: rtag: pa'o/ /rIgs: de: nI: mya: ngan: las: 'da's: ba mchogi: phyir: bde: ba'o/ /rigs: de: nI: rnam: pa: thams: chad: gyi: dri: ma: myed: pa'I: phyir: dge': ba'o/ /<u>rigs: de: nI: nyon mongs: pa'I: dri: ma: thams: chad: myed: pas: na: bzang: ba'o</u> /rigs/ [IOL Tib J 55,2.6] de: nI bdag: yongsu: btsal: te/ ma: rnyed: pa'I: phyir: bdag: myed: pa'o / /rigs: de nI: rab: du: rnam: par: dag: pa'I: phyir:/ rnam: par: dag pa'o/	/rigs de ni lus dang sems dben pa'i phyir dben pa'o rigs de ni mya ngan las 'das pa dang 'thun pa'o/ /rigs de ni nyon mongs pa[32] thams cad kyi dri ma dang bral ba'i phyir dri ma med pa'o/ /rigs de ni <u>ngar 'dzin pa dang/ nga yir 'dzin pas nga'i[33] ba med pa'o[34]</u>/ /rigs de ni yang dag pa dang/ yang dag pa ma yin pa mnyam pa las byung ba ste/ mi mnyam pa med pa'o/ /rigs de ni don dam pa'i bden pa yin pas bden pa'o/ /<u>rigs de ni gtan du mi skye ba'i phyir mi zad pa'o</u>/ /rigs de ni rtag tu chos thams cad de bzhin nyid kyi phyir rtag pa'o/ /rigs de ni mya ngan las 'das pa mchog gi phyir bde ba'o/ /<u>rigs de ni rnam pa thams cad du dri ma med pa'i phyir dge ba'o</u>/ /rigs de ni bdag yongs su btsal te ma rnyed pa'i phyir bdag med do[35]/ /rigs de ni rab tu rnam par dag pa'i phyir rnam par dag pa'o/
[§105] 'od: srung nang: du: kun: tshol: cig/ /phyi: rol du: ma: rgyug: shig/ 'od: srung ma [...] [IOL Tib J 55,3.1] $/:/'ongs: pa'I: dus: na: dge: slong:/ khyi: rdo: la: snyegs: pa: dang: 'dra bar: 'ong ngo/ /jI: ltar: na: 'od: srung: dge: slong: khyi: rdo: la: snyegs pa: dang: 'dra/ /bar: 'gyur: zhe: na: 'dI: lta: ste:/ 'od: srung: khyi: ni: rdos: 'jigs: na: rdo: de'i: phyI: bzhin: du: snyegs:/ [IOL Tib J 55,3.2] kyI: rdo: sus: 'phangs: pa'I: myi la: nI: myi snyegso/ /'od: srung: de: bzhin: du: 'dI: dge sbyong: dang/ bram: mdze': rigs: rnams / gzugs: dang:/ sgra: dang: dri dang/ bro: dang:/ reg: pas: 'jigs: <u>bskrag: nas: dben ba'i 'dum: mched</u> / [IOL Tib J 55, 3.3] du: gnas: te/ de: rnams: de: na: gcIg: pu myIg: gnyis: par: lus: rab: du dben: ba: la/ /gnas: kyang: / gzugs: dang: / sgra: dang: dri: dang/ ro: dang: reg: pa: rnams: snang: bar: 'gyur: pa: dang/ /des: der: gtong: zhing: bde: ba: la / [IOL Tib J 55, 3.4] chags: nas: rjesu: spyod: cing: gnas: te/ nang: gI: so: sor: brtag: pa: *la* nI: myi: brtson: no/	'od srung nang du yongs su tshol la phyi rol du ma rgyug shig[36]/ 'od srungs ma 'ongs pa'i dus na dge slong khyi rngo la snyegs pa dang mtshungs pa dag 'byung ngo/ /'od srung ji ltar na dge slong khyi rngo la snyegs pa dang mtshungs pa[37] yin zhe na/ 'od srung 'di lta ste dper na khyi ni rngos 'jigs la rngo de nyid kyi phyir snyegs kyi rdo de sus 'phangs pa de la ni mi snyegs so/ /'od srung de bzhin du [38]dge sbyong dang bram ze kha cig gzugs dang/ sgra dang/ dri dang/ ro dang/ reg byas <u>'jigs shing skrag nas dgon pa'i gnas rnams</u> na gnas shing/ /de dag de na gcig pu gnyis su med par lus rab tu dben par 'dug ste/ chags par 'gyur ba'i gzugs dang/ sgra dang/ dri dang/ ro dang/ reg bya rnams snang bar gyur na de dag de la btang snyoms su 'jog cing bsod nyams su sbyor ba dang ldan par gnas[39] kyi nang du so sor rtog pa la mngon par mi brtson te/

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32. pa'i K_H
33. nga yi V
34. nga ba'i med pa'o] Go; nga'i med do K_H
35. pa'o Go K_H V
36. om. shig Go
37. mtshungs pa dag K_H
38. insert 'di la Go K_H
39. om. gnas Go

[§106] [IOL Tib J 55] /de: rnams: myI: shes: pas: / gzugs: dang: / sgra: dang: dri: dang/ ro: dang: reg pa: ji: ltar: ’byung: ba: myI: chud: myI: shes: so/ de: dag: myI: chud/ [3.5] myI: shes: pas/ gzhongs: dang: grong: dang: grong: mdab: dang: grong: khyer: dang: / pho: brang: ’khor: du: ’ongs: nas: gzugs: dang: sgra: dang: dri dang: bro dang: reg: pas: nyen to/ /de: ste: dgon par: song: nas: dus: byas: na: de: dag: ’jig: rten: gyI/ [3.6] sdom: ba: la: gnas: pas: mtho: ris: gyi: ’jig: rten: du: skye: bar: ’gyurd/ de: na: ’ang de: dag: lha: rdzas: gyi: ’dod: pa: lnga’i: yon: tan: gyis: nyen: to/ [4.1] byol: song: dang:/ gshin: rje’i: ’jig: rten: dang:/ lha: ma: yin: gyi: ngan: song: bzhI: las: yongsu: myI thar: par: ’gyur ro/ /de: ltar: na: ’od: srung: dge: slong: khyi rdo: la: snyegs: pa: dang: mtshung *pa* yIn: no/	de dag gzugs dang/ sgra dang/ dri dang/ ro dang/ reg bya rnams las cis ’byung ba mi shes shing khong du mi chud do/ /de dag gis nge pa[40] shes shing khong du ma chud pas grong dang/ grong khyer dang/ grong rdal dang/ ljongs dang/ yul ’khor dang/ rgyal po’i pho brang ’khor dag tu song na yang gzugs dang/ sgra dang/ dri dang/ ro dang/ reg bya rnams kyis gnod par ’gyur ro/ /gal te de dag dgon pa na gnas pa las ’chi ba’i dus byas par gyur na ’jig rten pa’i sdom pa la gnas pa de dag mtho ris kyi ’jig rten du skye bar ’gyur te/ /der yang de dag lha’i ’dod pa’i yon tan lnga po dag gis gnod par ’gyur ro/ /de dag de nas shi ’phos nas ngan song bzhi las yongs su ma grol bar ’gyur te/ /bzhi gang zhe na/ ’di lta ste/ sems can dmyal ba dang/ dud ’gro’i skye gnas dang/ gshin rje’i ’jig rten dang/ lha ma yin no/ /’od srung de ltar na[41] dge slong khyi rdo la snyegs pa dang mtshungs pa dag yin no/

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40. de ma Go K$_H$ V

41. de ltar na K$_H$ V; ’di lta ste dper na Go

[§107] /jI: ltar: na: 'od: srung: dge: slong: khyi: *rdo* la snyegs/ [4.2] pa: dang: myI: mtshungs: pa: yIn: zhe: na:/ 'od: srung: gang: dge: slong: khros: pa: la: phyIr: myi: khro: ba: dang:/ / gshe: ba: la: phyIr: myI: gshe: ba: dang/ 'phya': ba: la: phyIr: myi: 'phya': ba: dang/ 'tshog: pa: la: phyIr: myi: 'tshog: pa: dang: smod: pa: la: phyIr: myi: smod: pa/ [4.3] ste: / /de: la: su: zhig: khros: pa: dang/ gshe: ba: dang:/ 'phya: ba: dang:/ 'tshog: pa: dang:/ smod: par: ○ byed: ces: nang: du: sems: la: dmyigs: shing: rtog: go/ /de: ltar: na: 'od: srung: dge: slong: khyI: rdo: la: snyegs: pa: dang: myI: mtshungs: pa: yin/ [4.4] no/

/'od srung ji ltar na khyi rngo la snyegs pa dang mi 'dra ba yin zhe na/ 'od srung gang gshe yang slar mi gshe/ khros kyang slar mi khro/ mtshang brus kyang slar mtshang mi 'dru⁴² /brdegs kyang slar mi rdeg/ bsdigs kyang slar mi sdigs/ smad kyang slar mi smon⁴³ cing nang du sems la⁴⁴ so sor rtog ste/ 'di la gshe ba 'am/ khros pa'am/ brdegs pa'am/ bsdigs pa'am/ smad pa 'am/ mtshang brus⁴⁵ pa de dag gang yin snyam du so sor rtog pa'o/ /'od srung de ltar na dge slong⁴⁶ khyi rdo la snyegs pa dang mi 'dra ba yin no/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste

|dper na khyi ni rngo bas skrag gyur kyang|
|sus 'phangs mi snyegs rngo la snyegs par byed|
|de bzhin dge sbyong bram ze la la dag|
|gzugs la sogs pas skrag nas dgon par gnas|
|de dag dgon pa de la gnas gyur kyang|
|gzugs la sogs pa sdug pa mthong gyur na |
|btang snyoms 'jog cing nang gi tshul mi shes|
|de yi⁴⁷ nyes las byung ba gang yin pa |
|mi shes pas na slar yang grong du gnas|
|gzugs la sogs pas⁴⁸ der yang gnod par 'gyur |
|'dir yang lha yi⁴⁹ longs spyod spyad gyur te|
| lha dang mi las kha cig shi 'phos nas |
| de dag ngan song sar ni ltung bar 'gyur |
| blun po de dag shi 'phos sdug bsngal 'gyur |
| de ltar sdug bsngal brgya ldan de dag ni |
| khyi rngo snyegs pa 'dra zhes bde gshegs gsungs |
| spyos kyang mi gshe brdegs kyang mi rdeg dang |
| su zhig smad kyang smod par mi byed dang |
| de bzhin mtshang brus mtshang 'dru mi byed dang |
| khros kyang des pa khro bar mi byed cing |
| nang gi sems kyi gnyen por gyur pa dag |
| tshol zhing yid zhi dran dang ldan gyur pa |
| de 'dra'i tshul khrims brtul zhugs ldan pa ni |
| rdo snyegs khyi mi 'dra zhes rgyal bas gsungs |

[§108] 'dI: lta: ste: 'od: srung: rta'I: srab: skyogs: la: mkhas: pas:/ rta'i: kha: lo: dang:/ ma: rungs: pa: gang: gag: du: byed: pa: de: dag: de: dag: du: 'dulo:/ /de: bzhin: du: zhugs: spyod: pa'i: dge: slong: yang: gang: nas: gang: du: sems: rnam: pa*r*:/ [4.5] 'gyur: ba: mthong: ba': de: dang: de: dag: du: de: la: 'chos: par: byed: do/ /de: ci: nas: kyang: sems: phyis: myI: 'khrug: par: 'chos: so/

/'od srung 'di lta ste dper na rta'i 'dul sbyong la mkhas pas rta de gang dang gang du g.yo byed cing ma byang ba de dang de rab tu spyod do/ /'od srung de bzhin du dge slong rnal 'byor spyod pa yang gang dang gang du sems 'gyur bar mthong ba de dag der rab tu sbyong ba la 'jug ste/ de ci nas phyis 'khrug par mi 'gyur ba⁵⁰ de ltar sems rab tu 'chos so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste

| dper na rta yi 'dul sbyong mkhas pa zhig |
| byang zhing g-yo med tshul du rab tu 'dul |
| rnal 'byor pa yang sems ni 'gyur mthong nas |
| ji ltar phyis 'khrug mi 'gyur de ltar 'chos |

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42. bru Go; 'bru K_H
43. smod Go K_H;
44. om. sems la V
45. 'brus Go
46. om. dge slong K_H
47. de'i K_H
48. la sogs pas] Go V ;las stsogs pas K_H
49. lha'i K_H
50. bar Go K_H

[§109] ’dI: lta: ste: ’od: srung: rkog: ma’I: nad: gyis: ’tsho: ba’i: dbang: po: ’gog: par: byedo/ /de: bzhin: lta: bar: byed:/ [4.6] pa: thams: chad: gyi: nang: na/ bdag: du: ’dzin: pa: nI: chos: gyi: ’tsho: ba’i: dbang: po: gog: par: byed: do/	/’od srung ’di lta ste dper na lkog nad lha ’or[51] gyis ni srog gi dbang po ’gag par byed do[52]/ /’od srung de bzhin du lta bar gyur pa thams cad kyi nang na bdag tu ’dzin pa ni chos kyi srog gi dbang po ’gag par byed pa’o[53]/ /de la ’di skad ces bya ste |dper na lha ’or srog gi dbang po la| |gnod cing de la bde ba sbyin pa min| |de bzhin lta gyur nang na bdag lta ba| |de ni chos srog rnam par ’jig par byed|
[§110] ’dI: lta: ste: ’od: srung: myI: la: gang nas gang: du: bcings: pa: de: dang:/ /de: {{ }} dag: nas: dgrol: bar: bya’o/ de: bzhin: du: <u>gang: nas:</u> [5.1] $ /:/ <u>gang: du: sems chags: pa:</u> de: dang: de: dag: nas: dgrol: bar: bya’o/	/’od srung ’di lta ste/ dper na mi ni gang dang gang du bcings pa de dang de nyid las dgrol bar bya ba yin no/ /’od srung de bzhin du <u>rnal ’byor spyod pa’i sems gang dang ga’am</u>[54] <u>chags pa</u> de dang de las dgrol bar bya ba yin no/ /de la ’di skad ces bya ste |dper na mi ni gang du bcings gyur pa| |de dag de las dgrol bar bya ba yin| |de bzhin sems rmongs gang dang gang chags pa| | rnal ’byor pas ni de dang de las dgrol|
[§111] ’od: srung: rab: du: byung: ba: la: nam: ka: la: rdul: chags: pa: lta: bu’i: chos: gnyis: yod: de:/ ’jig: rten: gyi: <u>’dum: mched: gyI: gtam: tshol: ba:</u> dang:/ chos: gos: dang/ [5.2] lhung: bzed: lhag: pa: ’chang: ba’o/	/’od srung ’di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba’i nam mkha’ la yongs su chags pa ste/ /gnyis gang zhe na/ ’jig rten rgyang <u>phan pa’i gsang tshig yongs su tshol ba</u> dang/ lhung bzed dang chos gos lhag par ’chang ba ste/ ’di gnyis so/ /de la ’di skad ces bya ste |’jig rten rgyang phan goms byed brtson pa dang| |lhung bzed chos gos lhag par ’chang byed pa| |’di gnyis nam mkha’ la ni chags pa ste| |de dag byang chub sems dpas spang bar bya |
[§112] / ’od: srung: chos: ’dI: gnyIs: ni: rab: du: byung: ba’I: ’ching: ba: dam: pa’o:/ /gnyis: gang: zhe: na: lta: bar: byas: pa’I: ’chIng: ba: dang:/ <u>khe</u> dang: bkur: bstI: dang / tshigsu: bcad: pa’i: ’chib: ba’o:/	/’od srung ’di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba’i ’ching ba dam po ste/ gnyis gang zhe na/ lta bar gyur pa’i ’ching ba dang/ <u>rnyed pa</u> dang/ bkur sti dang/ tshigs su bcad pa’i ’ching ba ste/ ’di gnyis so/ /de la ’di skad ces bya ste |lta gyur ’ching dang rnyed dang bkur sti dang | |grags pa’i ’ching ba rab tu byung ba yi| |’ching pa dam zhes ’phags pa rnams kyis gsungs | |de dag rtag tu rab tu byung bas spang |
[§113] /’od: srung:/ [5.3] chos: ’dI: gnyis: nI: rab: du: byung: ba’i: bar: chad: byed: pa’i: chos: so/ /gnyIs: gang: zhe: ◯ na: khyim: pa’i: phyogs: la’: sten: pa: dang/ ’phags: pa’i phyogs: la: <u>zhe: sdang: ba’o</u>/	/’od srung ’di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba’i bar du gcod pa’i chos te/ /gnyis gang zhe na/ /khyim pa’i phyogs la sten pa dang/ ’phags pa’i phyogs la <u>smod</u>[55] <u>par sems pa ste</u>[56] ’di gnyis so/ /de la ’di skad ces bya ste | khyim pa’i phyogs la sten par byed pa dang | | ’phags pa’i phyogs la rnam par smod byed pa | | ’di gnyis rab byung bar c had bgegs byed yin | | byang chub sems dpas de dag rnam par spang |

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51.   gor V
52.   om. do K_H
53.   byed do K_H
54.   gang la Go K_H
55.   gnod K_H V
56.   khyim pa’i phyogs la gnod par sems dpa’ ste Go (60a9)

[§114] 'od: srung: 'dI: gnyis: ni: rab: du: byung: ba'i: dri: ma'o/ [5.4] gnyIs: ga*ng* {{ra}} zhe: na: snyon: smyong: pa: la: dga' ba: dang:/ mdza: bas: zas: ster: pa'I:/ grong: yongsu: bzung: ba'o/	/'od srung 'di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba'i dri ma ste/ gnyis gang zhe na/ nyon mongs pa la <u>mi mjed pa</u> dang/ mdza' bo'i⁵⁷ khyim dang zas ster ba'i khyim yongs su 'dzin pa ste /di gnyis so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |rab tu byung ba nyon mongs mi mjed dang| |mdza' bo'i⁵⁸ khyim dang zas ster khyim sten pa| | de gnyis dri mar rgyal ba'i dbang pos gsungs| | byang chub sems dpas de dag rnam par spang |
[§115] 'od: srung: chos: 'dI: gnyis: ni: rab: du: byung: ba'i: ser: ba: bab: pa'o/ gnyis: gang: zhe: na: dam: pa'i: chos: la: smod/ [5.5] pa: dang: /tshul: khrims: las: 'phyos: kyang: dad: pas: byin: ba: spyod: pa'o/	/'od srung 'di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba'i ser ba 'bab pa ste/ gnying gang zhe na/ dam pa'i chos spong ba dang/ tshul khrims las <u>nyams</u> kyang dad pas sbyin⁵⁹ pa yongs su spyod pa ste/ 'di gnyis so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste/ |dam pa'i chos ni spong ba dang| |tshul khrims nyams kyang spyod pa ste| |ser ba 'bab pa 'di gnyis ni| |rgyal sras rnams kyis spang bar bya|
[§116] /'od: *srung* 'dI: gnyis: nI: rab: du: 'byung: ba'i: rma'o/ gnyis: gang: zhe: na: pha: rol: gyi: nyes: pa: la: rtog: pa: dang:/ bdag gI: nyes: pa: 'tshab: ba'o/	/'od srung 'di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba'i rma yin te/ gnyis gang zhe na/ pha rol gyi nyes pa la so sor rtog pa dang/ bdag gi nyes pa 'chab pa ste 'di gnyis so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste/ |bdag gi skyon ni 'chab byed dang| |pha rol nyes la rtog byed pa| | 'di gnyis dug gi me dang 'dra | | rtog pa rnams kyi rma 'di spang |
[§117] /'od: srung: 'dI: gnyis/ [5.6] no: rab: du: byung: ba'i: yongsu: gdung: ba'o/ /gnyis: gang: zhe: na: rnyog: pa: dang: bcas: pas: ngur: smrig: 'chang: ba: dang/ tshul: khrims: dang: / ldan: zhing: yod: tan: dang: ldan: bas: g.yog: byas: shIng: kun: spyod: pa: la: 'dod: pa'o/	/'od srung 'di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba'i yongs su gdung ba ste/ gnyis gang zhe na/ rnyog pa dang bcas pa'i sems kyis ngur smrig 'chad pa dang/ tshul khrims dang ldan pa⁶⁰/ yon tan dang ldan pa⁶¹ las <u>bsnyen bkur dang rim gror</u>⁶² bya ba bdag gir⁶³ byed pa ste 'di gnyis so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |rnyog dag bcas pa'i sems kyis ngur smrig 'chang ba dang| |bsnyen bkur rim gro byed dang gus par smra ba dag| |tshul khrims ldan pa rnams la sten par byed pa ste⁶⁴| |chos gnyis 'di dag yongs su spang bar bya ba yin|
[§119] /'od: srung/ [6.1] 'dI: gnyis: ni: rab: du: byung: ba'i: *lhung ba* ~~rta~~'o / /gnyis: gang zhe: na: phyI: phyir: zhing: lhung: ba: byed: pa: dang: gso: bar: myI: byed: pa'o/ /	**[§119]** dvāv imo kāshyapa pravrajitasya acikitso gailānyau · katamau dvau · yad utābhīkṣṇāpatti-āpadyanatā · avyutthānatā cetī ime kāshyapa dvau pravrajitasya acikitso glānyo

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57. 'dza' bo'i V
58. 'dza' bo'i V
59. byin K_H ; 'bying pa Go
60. pa'i Go
61. om. yon tan dang ldan pa K_H
62. gro K_H
63. gis K_H
64. dang K_H

[§120] /'od: srung: 'dI: gnyis: ni/ rab: du: byung: ba'i: yun: ring: po': nid: do/ /gnyis: gang: zhe: na: bslab: tsig: nyams: pa/ [6.2] dang/ snying: po: ma: blangs: par: dus: byas: pa'o/	**[§120]**[65] 'od srung 'di gnyis ni rab tu byung ba'i zug rngu ste/ gnyis gang zhe na/ bslab pa'i gzhi las 'gal[66] ba dang/ snying po ma blangs par 'chi ba'i dus byed pa ste/ 'di gnyis so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |bslab pa'i gzhi las 'gal bar gyur pa dang | |snying po ma blangs par ni dus byed pa| |'di gnyis rab tu byung ba'i zug rngu zhes | | lha mi'i ston pa thams cad mkhyen pas gsungs|[67]
[§118] /'od: srung: 'di: gnyis: ni: rab: du: byung: ba'i: gsor: myi: rung: ba'i: nad: do/ /gang: zhe: na: 'dI: sems: nga: rgyal: can: du: rtog: pa: dang: theg: pa: chen: po: la: gnas: pa: rnams: kyi: dad: pa: gcod/ [6.3] pa'o	**[§118]**[68] 'od srung 'di gnyis ni rab tu byug ba'i nad gsor mi rung ba ste/ gnyis gang zhe na/ /<u>mngon pa'i nga rgyal gyis sems nges par sems pa dang theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa'i gang zag rnams kyi 'dun pa zlog pa ste</u> 'di gnyis so/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste/ |mngon pa'i nga rgyal sems la nges sems dang| |sangs rgyas theg pa las ni 'dun pa zlog| |'di gnyis rab tu byung ba'i nad yin zhes| |gang zag mtshungs pa med pa'i rgyal bas gsungs|
[§121] 'od: srung: dge: sbyong: dge: sbyong: zhes: bya: ba: ji: tsam: gyis: na/ 'od: srung: dge: sbyong: zhes: bya: zhe: na:/ 'od: srung: 'dI: bzhi: ni: dge: sbyong: ste:/ bzhi: gang: zhe: na: kha: dog: dang: byad: dang:/ dbyibs: kyi: dge: sbyong: dang:/ kun: du: spyod:/ [6.4] pa: sbyed: cing: sgyu: byed: pa'I dge: sbyong: dang: /grags: pa'i: sgra: tshigsu: bcad: pa'I: dge: sbyong: dang/ yang: dag: par: <u>nan: tan:</u> byed: pa'i: dge: sbyong: ngo	/'od srung dge sbyong dge sbyong zhes bya ba ji tsam gyis na dge sbyong dge sbyong zhes bya zhe na/ 'od srung bzhi po 'di dag ni dge sbyong ste[69]/ bzhi gang zhe na/ kha dog dang rtags dang[70] dbyibs kyi dge sbyong dang cho ga srung zhing tshul 'chos pa'i dge sbyong dang brjod pa'i sgra tshigs su bcad pa'i dge sbyong dang brjod pa'i sgra tshigs su bcad pa'i dge sbyong dang/ yang dag par <u>sgrub pa</u>'i dge sbyong ngo/
[§122] de: la: 'od: srung: kha: dog: dang: byad: dang:/ dbyibs: gyi: dge: sbyong: gang: zhe: na/ /[6.5] 'od: srung: 'dI: la: dge: sbyong: la: la: kha: dog: dang: byad: dang:/ dbyibsu: ldan: bar: gyur: la: sbyar: {{{}}} mas: kun: du: bkab: cing:/ mgo': bregs: la: lag: pa: na:/ lhung: bzed: thogs: pa: ste/ de: yang: lus: kyI: las: kun: du: spyod: pa: yongsu/ [6.6] ma: dag: pa: dang:/ ngagI: las: kun: spyod: pa: yongsu: dag: pa: dang:/ yId: kyi: las: kun: du: spyod: pa: yongsu: ma: dag: pa: dang:/ ma: dul: ba: dang:/ myI: sbad: pa: dang:/ dul: bar: ma: gyur: pa: dang:/ rgod: pa: dang:/ le: lo: can: dang: /tshul/ [7.1] $/ :$ / khrims: log: pa: can: dang: sdig: pa'i: chos: chan: de: 'od: srung: de: ni: kha: dog: dang: byad: dang:/ dbyibs: gyi: dge: sbyong: zhes: bya'o/	/'od srung de la kha dog dang rtags dang[71] dbyibs kyi dge sbyong gang zhe na/ 'od srung 'di la dge sbyong kha cig kha dog dang rtags dang[72] dbyibs dang ldan par gyur te/ /chos gos snam sbyar gyon cing mgo[73] bregs te/ lag na lhung bzed thogs mod kyi de lus kyi las yongs su ma dag par spyod/ ngag gi las yongs su ma dag par spyod/ /yid kyi las yongs su ma dag par spyod cing ma dul ba ma zhi ba/ /ma bsrungs pa/ ma byang ba/ /'tsho ba yongs su ma dag pa/ brkam pa/ le lo can/ tshul khrims 'chal pa/ sdig pa'i chos can yin te/ 'od srung de ni kha dog dang rtags dang[74] dbyibs kyi dge sbyong zhes bya'o/

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65. §118 Go K$_H$ V [Next in sequence after §117]
66. g.yo' Go; gral K$_H$
67. Go, K$_H$ omits verse
68. §119 Go K$_H$ V [Next in sequence after §118]
69. om. ste V
70. kyi Go K$_H$ V
71. kyi Go K$_H$
72. kyi Go K$_H$
73. skra K$_H$ V
74. kyi Go K$_H$

[§123] /'od: srung: de: la: kun: du: spyod: pa: sbed: cing: /sgyu: byed: pa'i: dge: sbyong: gang: zhe: na: 'od: srung: 'dI: la/ [7.2] dge: sbyong: la: la: kun: du: spyod: pa: dang/ /spyod: yul: la: spyod: par: ldan: zhing:/ spyod: lam: bzhir: shes: bzhin: du: spyod: pa: dang: / zas: dang:/ skom: ngan: pa: za: ba: dang/ 'phags: pa'i: rigs: bzhis: <u>chog: shes: pa:</u> dang/ <u>mal: stan: dben: ba: la/</u> [7.3] <u>dga': ba:</u> dang: khyim: pa: dang: rab: du: byung: ba: rnams: dang:/ 'du: 'dzi': ba: myed: pa: dang:/ nyung: du: zer: zhing: nyung: du: smra: ba: ste/ de'i: spyod: lam:/ de: thams: chad: sgyu: bye: zhing: smra: ba: brtags: pa: yin: gyi/ /sems: yongsu: dag: par/ [7.4] bya: ba'i: phyir/ ma: yIn: dul: ba'i: phyir: ma: yin/ <u>mngon: bar: zhi: bar: bya *ba*'i: phyir: ma: yin/</u> ba'o: /dmyigs *pa*: can: du: lta: ba: yIn: te/ <u>nga: rgyal: dang</u>/: <u>bdag: rgyal: du: gans:</u> nas: stong: pa: nyid: dmyigsu: myed: pa'i: chos: la: {{na}}/ [7.5] g.yang: sar 'du: shes: pa: yin:/ stong: pa: nyid: du: smra: ba'i: dge: slong: rnams: bshes: nyen: ma: yin: bar: 'du: shes: par: yin: te/ 'od: srungs: de: nI: <u>kun: tu: spyod: pa: sbed: cing:/</u> sgyu: byed: pee:[75] dge: dge: sbyong: zhes: bya'o /	/'od srung de la cho ga srung zhing tshul 'chos pa'i dge sbyong gang zhe na/ 'od srung 'di la dge sbyong kha cig cho ga dang/ spyod yul dang/ spyod pa phun sum tshogs shing spyod lam bzhir[76] shes bzhin du spyod la/ /zas dang[77] skom ngan pa za 'thung/ 'phags pa'i rigs bzhi po dag gis <u>chog par 'dzin/</u> bas mtha'i gnas <u>mal la mngon par dga'</u>/ khyim pa dang rab tu byung ba rnams dang mi 'dre la tshig nyung zhing smra ba nyung mod kyi de'i spyod lam de dag kyang tshul 'chos pa dang/ kha gsag gis yongs su brtags pa yin te/ sems yongs su dag par bya ba'i phyir ma yin/ /dul bar bya ba'i phyir ma yin[78]/ <u>nye bar zhi bar bya ba'i phyir ma yin gyi/</u> /dmigs par lta ba yin te/ ngar 'dzin pa dang nga yis[79] 'dzin pa la gnas shing stong pa nyid kyis mi dmigs pa'i chos rnams la g.yang sar 'du shes pa yin/ stong pa nyid smra ba'i dge slong rnams la yang dgrar 'du shes pa yin te/ 'od srung de ni <u>cho ga srung zhing tshul 'chos pa'i dge sbyong</u> zhes bya'o/
[§124] de: la: 'od: srung/ [7.6] grags: pa'I: sgra: dang:/ tshIgsu: bcad: pa'I dge: sbyong: gang: zhe: na:/ 'dI: la: 'od: srungs: dge: sbyong: la: la; nI: ji: nas: kyang:/ pha rol gyi*s*: tshul: khrims: dang: ldan: bar: shes: par: bya: ba'i: phyir:/ /tshul: khrims: srung: ngo/ /ji: nas: kyang: pha: rol: gyis:/ [8.1] mang: du: thos: par:/ shes: par: bya: ba'I: phyir: bsams: te/ thos: pa: 'dzIn: to/ /ji: nas: kyang: pha: rol: gyIs: dgon: pa: bar: shes: par: bya: ba'I: phyir: bsams: te:/ dgon: pa: la: gnas: so/ /pha: rol: gyis: mthong: bar: bya: ba'i: phyir/ /chos/ [8.2] shes: shing: bar: du: byed ba: yIn: te:/ skyo: ba'i: phyir: ma: yin '<u>dod: chags: myed par: bya: ba'I: phyir:</u> ma: yIn/ /'<u>gog: pa'i: phyir: ma: yIn</u>:/ mngon: bar: zhi: bar: bya: ba: ba'i: phyir: ma: yIn/ /<u>mngon: bar: byang: chub: pa'i: phyir</u> ma: yin/ /dge: sbyong: gi/ [8.3] phyir: ma: yin:/ /<u>bra: mdze':</u> phyir: ma: yin/ mya: ngan: las: ²d'da' ba'i: phyir ma: yIn/ /'od: srung: de: ni: grags: pa'i: sgra: dang/ /tshIgsu: bcad: pa'i: dge: sbyong: zhes: bya'o/	/'od srung de la brjod pa'i sgra tshigs su bcad pa'i dge sbyong gang zhe na/ 'od srung 'di la dge sbyong kha cig ji ltar bdag tshul khrims dang ldan par gzhan gyis shes par 'gyur snyam du so sor brtags nas tshul khrims srung/ ji ltar mang du thos par gzhan gyis shes par 'gyur snyam du so sor brtags nas thos pa 'dzin/ /ji ltar bdag dgon par gzhan gyis shes par 'gyur snyam du so sor brtags nas dgon pa la gnas shing so sor brtags nas[80] 'dod pa nyung la chog shes pa dang/ rab tu dben par gyur te/ /'di ltar gzhan la bstan pa'i phyir yin gyi[81] skyo bar bya ba'i phyir ma yin/ /'<u>dod chags dang bral bar bya ba'</u> phyir ma yin/ 'gog par bya ba'i phyir ma yin/ nye bar zhi bar bya ba'i phyir ma yin/ <u>rdzogs par byang chub par bya ba'i phyir</u> ma yin[82]/ dge sbyong gi phyir ma yin/ tshangs pa'i phyir ma yin/ mya ngan las 'das pa'i phyir ma yin te/ 'od srung de ni <u>brjod pa'i sgra tshigs su bcad pa'i dge sbyong</u> zhes bya'o/

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75. Note double greng bu
76. bzhi Go
77. om. zas dang Go
78. ma yin gyi V
79. yir K$_H$
80. Om. so sor brtags nas
81. gyis V
82. om. rdzogs par byang chub par bya ba'i phyir ma yin Go

[§125] de: la: 'od srung: yang: dag: par: nan: tan byed pa'i/ [8.4] dge: sbyong:/ gang: zhe: na: 'od: srung dge: slong: lus: dang:/ srog: la: yang: phangs *par*: myi byed: pa: yin: na/ /khe: dang: bkur: bstI: dang:/ /grags: pa'I: sgra: dang:/ tshigsu: bcad: pa: lta: jI: smos: // stong: pa: nyid: dang: mtshan: ma: myed: pa: dang: / [8.5] smon: pa: myed: pa'I: chos: thos: nas: dga': bar: gyur: cing/ /yang: dag: pa: nyId: kyi: phyir: zhugs: pa: ste/ /mya: ngan: las: 'da's: pa: la: yang: dgosu: myI bye*d*: bar: spyad: pa: spyod: nas: khams: gsum: na: dga': bar: bya: ba: lta: jI: smos/ /stong:/ [8.6] pa: nyid: du: mthong: ba: yang: dgos: par myI: byed: na' / bdag dang: sems: can dang: /'tsho: ba: dang: skyes: bu: dang: / gang: zag: du: lta: ba: lta: ji: smos:/ /don: la: 'jug: pa: yIn/ gyI: yI: ge'i: 'bru: la: 'jug: pa: ma: yIn: no/ nang: du: nyon: [9.1] $/ :/ mongs: pa: las: rnam: par: dgrol: bar: tshol: gyi:/ phyI: rol: du: ma: yin: no/ /chos: thams: chad: shin: du: yongsu: dag: cing:/ rang: bzhin: gyis/ nyon: mongs: pa: myed: par: mthong: bas: bdagi: skyabsu: byed: pa: yin: gyi:/ gzhan: gyi: skyabsu:/ [9.2] ma: yin/ /yang: dag: par: gshegs: pa'I: chos *gyi: sku*: nyid: kyang: myI: mthong: na/ gzugs: gyI: lus: lta: ji: smos/ /'dod: chags: myed: pa'I: chos: kyang: myI: mthong: na: ngag: gI: lam: gI: smra: ba'I: sgra: la chags: pa: lta: jI: smos/ /'dus: ma: byas: pa'I/ [9.3] 'phags: pa'I: dge: 'dun: la: yang: myi: rtog: na: mang: po: 'dus: pa: lta: la: jI: smos:/ chos: ◯ gang: yang: / spang: ba'I: phyir: 'grus: par bya: ba: ma: yIn/ bsgom: ba'I: phyir: ma: yIn:/ /mngon: du: bya: ba'I: phyir: ma: yIn:// /'kod: bar: yang: myI: skye:/ mya:/ [9.4] ngan: las: 'da's: pa: la: 'ang: dga': bar: myI: byed: / thar: pa: dang: 'ching: ba: yang: myI: tshol// chos: thams: chad: mya: ngan: las: 'da's: pa'o: zhes: shes: nas/ 'kor: ba: yang: ma: yIn:/ mya: ngan: las: kyang: myI: 'da': ste: */* de: nI: 'od: srung: ya*ng*/ [9.5] dag: par: nan: tan: byed: pa'I: dge: sbyong: zhes: bya'o/ /'od: srung: de: bas: na: yang: dag: par: nan: tan: byed: pa'I: dge: sbyong: du: brtson: bar: bya'i: mying: tsam: du: myI: bya'o/	/'od srung de la yang dag par sgrub pa'i dge sbyong gang zhe na/ 'od srung gang lus dang srog la yang mi lta ba yin na rnyed pa dang/ bkur sti dang/ tshigs su bcad pa la lta ci smos/ stong pa nyid dang/ mtshan ma med pa dang/ smon pa med pa'i chos rnams thos nas dga' zhing de bzhin nyid du zhugs pa yin/ mya ngan las 'das pa la yang 'dod pa med par spyad pa spyod na khams gsum pa la mngon par dga' ba lta ci smos/ /stong pa nyid du lta ba yang mi 'dod pa yin na/ bdag dang sems can dang srog dang skye ba po dang gso ba dang skyes bu dang gang zag tu lta ba lta ci smos/ /don la rton gyi tshig 'bru la rton pa ma yin/ /nyon mongs pa rnams las rnam par thar pa nang du chos gyi phyi rol du rgyug pa ma yin/ /chos thams cad shin tu yongs su dag cig rang bzhin gyis kun nas nyon mongs pa med par mthong bas bdag nyid skyabs yin gyi[83]/ gzhan skyabs ma yin/ de de bzhin gshegs pa la chos nyid du yang mi lta na gzugs kyi skur lta ci smos/ chos la 'dod chags dang bral bar yang mi lta na smra ba'i tshig gi lam[84] nas[85] brjod par lta ci smos/ 'phags pa 'dus ma byas pa'i dge 'dun la yang rnam par mi rtog na mang po 'dus par lta ci smos/ /chos gang spang bar bya ba'i phyir brtson pa ma yin/ /bsgom par bya ba'i phyir ma yin/ /mngon sum du bya ba'i phyir ma yin/ /'khor bar yang mi skye/ /mya ngan las 'das pa la[86] yang mngon par dga' ba ma yi[87]/ thar pa yang mi dmigs so[88]/ /bcing ba yang ma yin la chos thams cad rang bzhin gyis yongs su mya ngan las 'das par rig nas kun tu mi 'khor/ yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba yin te/ 'od srung de ni yang dag par sgrub pa'i dge sbyong zhes bya'o/ /'od srung yang dag par sgrub pa'i dge sbyong du 'gyur bar brtson par bya'i ming gis gnod par ni mi bya ste/ 'od srung dge sbyong ni bzhi po dag go[89]/

83.   te Go K$_H$ V

84.   lam K$_H$; lan Go; lta ba V

85.   las K$_H$

86.   la K$_H$; par Go; las V

87.   yin Go K$_H$ V

88.   om. so Go K$_H$ V

89.   om. dag go K$_H$

[§126]	de la 'di skad ces bya ste | gang zhig lus dang ngag dang sems ma dag | | ma dul ma bsrungs ma byang 'dod chen can| | mgo bregs chos gos lhung bzed lag na thogs | |de ni dbyibs rtags dge sbyong yin zhes bstan| |cho ga spyod pa la sogs ldan gyur cing| |kha zang ngan za tshul 'chos la sogs sten| |'du 'dzi rgyang ring yongs su spong byed cing| |spyod lam 'phags pa'i rigs dang ldan gyur kyang| |de yi de kun dul bar bya phyir min| |zhi phyir ma yin skyo bar bya phyir min| |stong pa mtshan med g-yang sar 'du shes pa| |cho ga srung zhing tshul 'chos gnyis pa yin| |tshul khrims ting 'dzin sbyangs pa'i yon tan thos| |gzhan dag ngo mtshar 'dzin du gzhug phyir byed| |zhi phyir ma yin skyo bar bya phyir min| |brjod dang grags 'dod dge sbyong gsum pa yin| |gang gis lus srog don du mi gnyer zhing | |rnyed dang bkur sti la ni rgyab kyis phyogs| |rnam par thar pa bskyed pa'i sgo thos nas| |srid pa'i 'gro ba thams cad don mi gnyer| |chos rnams shin tu stong par yongs brtags nas| |myang ngan 'das dang ma 'das mthong mi 'gyur| |chos la 'dod chags bral bar rtag tu rtog| |ma byas chos rtogs mya ngan 'das par 'gyur|
[§127] /'od: srung: 'dI: lta: ste: myI: dbul: po: zhig: la: phyug: po'I: mdzod: ces: mying: du: btags:/ [9.6] na / /'od: srung: de: yId: la: jI snyam/ myi: dbul: po: de'i: mying: 'thun: ba: yIn: nam/ /gsold: pa: bcom: ldan: 'da's: ma: lags: so:/ /bcom: ldan: 'da's: gyis: bka': stsal: pha/⁹⁰ /'od: srung: de: bzhin: du: de: dag/ dge: sbyong: dang: bram/ [10.1] mdze: zhes: bya: mod: kyi/ /dge: sbyong: dang bram: mdze'i: yon: tan: dang ma: ldan: bas: na:/ de: dag: la: nga: nI myi: dbul: po: zhes: smra'o/	/'od srung 'di lta ste/ dper na mi dbul po zhig la mdzod 'byor pa zhes ming btags na/ 'od srung 'di ji snyam du sems/ /mi dbul po de dang ming de 'thun pa yin nam/ gsol ba/ bcom ldan 'das de ni ma lags so/ /bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa/ 'od srung de bzhin du gang de sbyong dang/ bram ze gang dag dge sbyong dang/ bram ze'i yon tan dang mi ldan pa de dag ni gsung rab 'di la⁹¹ mi dbul po⁹² zhes ngas bshad do/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |dper na dbul por gyur pa'i mi zhig la| |mdzod ldan ming btags de la mdzes ma yin| |dge sbyong nyams la dge sbyong mi mdzes| |dbul la phyug ces btags pa'i dpe dang mtshungs|

90.   Note antiquity of this line, punctuation, *da drag*, mya, old spelling of Bhagavan, aspiration of *pha*.
91.   las K_H
92.   lo Go K_H

[§128] /'dI: lta ste: 'od: srung: myI: la: la: zhig: chu: la: sred: pa'i: phyir: rgya: mtsho: mching: rnams: gyi: chu: chen:/ [10.2] pos: khyer: te: dus: zad: par: byed: do/ 'od: srung: de: bzhin: du: 'dI: la: dge: sbyong: dang:/ bram: mdze: chos: mang: po: blangs: shing ~~ra~~ chud: par: byas: kyang: 'dod: chags: kyi: sred: pa': myi: 'dul:/ zhe: sdang: gi: sred: pha: myI: 'dul/ gtI: mugi: sred: pa myI: 'dul// [10.3] te/ /nyon: mongs: pa: la: sred: pa'I: phyir:/ chos: kyi: rgya: mtsho: chen: pos: ded: nas: dus: zad: de: 'gro: ba: ngan: par: 'gro: bar: 'gyur: ro/	/'od srung 'di lta ste dper na mi la la zhig rgya mtsho'i chu chen pos khyer la chus skom bzhin du 'chi ba'i dus byed pa de bzhin du 'od srung 'di la dge sbyong dang bram ze kha cig chos mang po blangs te[93] kun chub par byas kyang 'dod chags la sred pa mi sel/ /zhe sdang la sred pa mi sel/ /gti mug la sred pa mi sel ba de dag chos kyi rgya mtshos khyer la/ nyon mongs pa'i skom pas 'chi ba'i dus byed par 'gyur te/ ngan 'gror 'gro bar 'gyur ro/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |dper na mi zhig rgya mtsho'i chus khyer la| |de ni skom bzhin 'chi ba'i dus byed gyur| |de bzhin chos mang sred pas bag med pa| |chos kyi rgya mtshor gnas kyang ngan song 'gro|
[§129] /'od: srung: 'dI: lta: ste: sman: pa: sman: sgro: thogste: phyogsu: phyogsu: song: ba: dang: / de: la: nad:/ [10.4] cIg: gis: btab: na:/ nad: de: gso: bar: ma: nus: na: de'i: sman: de: ni: mkho': ba: myed: pa: yin: no/ / 'od: srung: de: bzhin: du: mang: du: thos: pa'I: nyon: mongs: pa'i: nad: la: ltos: shig/ /gang: de'i: mang: du: thos: pas: bdag: nyon: mongs: pa'I [10.5] nad: gso': myi: nus: na: de'i: thos: pa: de: mkho: ba: myed: pa {{pa}} yIn no/	/'od srung 'di lta dper na sman pa sgro thogs te[94]/ phyogs dang[95] phyogs mtshams su rgyu ba de nad cig gis btab nas nad de gso mi nus na de'i sman de ni don med pa yin no/ /'od srung de bzhin du mang du thos pa'i nyon mongs pa'i nang du blta[96] ste/ gang mang du thos pa des bdag nyon mongs pa'i nad las gso mi nus na de'i mang du thos pa de ni don med pa yin no/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |dper na sman pa'i sman sgror bcug pa'i sman| |'jig rten kun tu yongs su rgyu byed kyang| |nad kyis btab pa bzlog par mi nus na| |de yi sman de don med gyur pa yin| |de bzhin dge slong tshul khrims yon tan ldan| |thos dang ldan yang tshul bzhin ma yin pa'i| |nyon mongs byung ba'i nad de mi sel na| |de yi[97] thos la brtson pa don med yin |
[§130] /'od: srung: 'dI: lta: ste/ myI: nad: pa: la: rgyal: po: la: rigs: pa'I: sman: btang: ste: sdom: ba: myed: na: dus: zad: par: byed: do/ /'od: srung: de: bzhin: du: mang: du: thos: pa'I:/ nyon:/ [10.6] mongs: pa'I: nad: la: ltos: shig/ /gang: de'i: sdom: ba myed: pas: dus: zad: par: byed: do/	/'od srung 'di lta ste dper na mi nad pa zhig la rgyal po la 'os pa'i sman btang la cho ga bzhin ma byas pas 'chi ba'i dus byed pa de bzhin du 'od srung gang mi sdom pa des[98] 'chi ba'i dus byed pa de yang mang du thos pa'i nyon mongs pa'i nang du blta'o[99] || de la 'di skad ces bya ste |dper na rgyal po 'os pa'i sman btang nas| |cho ga ma byas mi de shi bar gyur| |de bzhin gang mi sdom pas 'dir shi ba| |de ni mang du thos pa'i nyon mongs nad|[100]

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93. ste Go
94. ste Go
95. te K$_H$
96. lta V
97. de'i Go; de ni K$_H$
98. om. des V
99. lta'o V
100. Go (63a1-2) repeats several lines.

[§131] /'od: srung: 'dI: lta: ste/ <u>rin: po: che:</u> brtsog: pa'i: nang: du: lhung: na/ smad: par: 'gyur: ba: de: bzhin: du/ 'od: srung: mang: du: thos: pa: khe: dang: bkur:/ [11.1] \$/:/ bstIr: lhung: ba: la: ltos: shig/ lha: dang: myI: rnams: gyis: gyang: chung: zad: gyang: dga': bar: myI bya: ba: yIn no/	/'od srung 'di lta ste dper na <u>nor bu rin po che</u> mi gtsang ba'i nang du lhung na smad par 'gyur zhing mkho bar mi 'gyur ro/ /'od srung de bzhin du mang du thos pa[101] rnyed pa dang bkur sti'i mi gtsang ba'i nang du lhung bar blta ste/ ci yang med pa la ni lha dang mi rnams dga' bar 'gyur ro/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |dper na rin chen mi gtsang lhung ba smad| |ji ltar sngon bzhin du ni phyis ma yin | |dge slong mang du thos par gyur ba yang | |bkur sti'i mi gtsang lhung ba de 'drar bshad|
[§132] /'dI: lta: ste: 'od: srung: myI: rol: la: gser: gyI: 'phreng: ba: thogs: pa:/ bzhin: du: <u>tshul: khrims: ngan: pas: ngur: smrig: 'chang: ba: la/</u> [11.2] <u>ltos:</u> shIg/	/'od srung 'di lta ste dper na mi ro'i mgo la gser gyi phreng ba btags pa de bzhin du <u>tshul khrims 'chal pa ngur smrig gyon par</u> blta'o/ /de la 'di skad ces bya ste |dper na mi ro mgo la gser phreng ngam| |yang na me tog phreng ba btags byas pa| |de bzhin khrims med ngur smrig gyon pa yang| |mthong nas de la yid ni dad mi 'gyur|
[§133] /'od: srung: 'dI: lta: ste/ tshong: dpon: gyi: bu: <u>shin: du: khrus: byas:</u> la: gos: dkar: po: gyon: zhing: sgra: dang: sem: mo: bcos: la: / /can: 'dan: mchog: gis: lus: bskul: pa'i: mgo: la: <u>men: thog:</u> cam: pa: ka'i: phreng: ba: thogs: pa: bzhin: du: / [11.3] 'od: srung tsh{{i}}ul: khrims: dang: ldan: zhIng: mang: du: thos: pas: <u>ngur: smrIg: 'chang: bar:</u> ltos:/ ◯ shig/	/'od srung 'di lta ste dper na tshong dpon gyi bu zhig <u>legs par khrus byas</u> te/ legs par rnam par byugs la/ skra dang sen mo bregs nas gos dkar po bgos te tsan dan mchog gis bskus pa'i mgo la tsam pa ka'i me tog gi phreng ba thogs pa[102] de bzhin du 'od srung tshul khrims dang ldan zhing mang du thos pa <u>ngur smrig gyon par</u> blta'o[103] || de la 'di skad ces bya ste |legs bkrus legs par byugs pa yi| |tshong dpon bu yi mgo bo la| |tsam pa ka yi me tog phreng| |dri zhim yid 'ong btags par mdzes| |de bzhin tshul khrims ldan gyur cing| |mang thos tshul khrims phun sum tshogs| |rgyal ba'i sras po yon tan ldan| |de la ngur smrig de bzhin mdzes |

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101. pa'i Go
102. om. thogs pa K_H
103. lta'o V

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[§134] /’od: srung: ’dI: bzhi: ni: <u>tshul: khrims: log: pa: ste</u>/ <u>tshul: khrims: can: gyi: gzugs: brnyan: no</u>/ /bzhi: gang: zhe: na: ’od: srung: ’dI: la/ [11.4] dge: slong: la: la: so: sor: thard: pa’i: sdom: bas: bsdams: par: gyur: la:/ /kun: du/ spyod: pa: dang: spyod: lam: du: ldan: zhing: kha: na: ma: ma: tho: ba: cung: zad: tsam: la: yang: ’zigs: par: mthong: ba: blangs: te: slob: pa: la: slob: lus: dang/ [11.5] ngag: dang: yId: kyI: las: yongsu: dag: pa: dang/ ldan: zhing: spyod: de/ ’tsho: ba: yongsu: dag: kyang: de: bdag: du: smra: ba: yIn: na:/ ’od: srung: de: ni: <u>tshul: khrims: log: pa: ste</u>/ <u>tshul: khrims: can: gyI: gzugs: brnyan:</u> dang: po’o/ /’od: srung: gzhan/ [11.6] yang: ’dI: la: dge: slong: la: la: ’dul: ba: ’dzin: ’dul: ba: thond: ’dul: ba’I: gsang: ba: la: gnas: kyang: bdag: gI: lusu: lta: ba: las: ma: gyur: na:/ /de: nI <u>tshul: khrims: log: pa: ste: tshul: khrims: can: gyi: gzugs: brnyan</u>/ [12.1] gnyIs: so/ /gzhan: yang: ’od: srung: ’dI: la: dge slong la: la: sems: can: la: dmyigs: pa’I: byams: pa: dang: ldan: na: byams: pas: spyod: par: gyur: kyang: ’du: byed: gyi: chos: thams: chad: ma: skyes: pa: thos: nas:/ ’jigs: bskrag:/ [12.2] sngangs: par: gyur: na:/ /’od: srung: de: ni: <u>tshul: khrims: log: pa: ste:</u>/ <u>tshul: khrims: can: gyi: gzugs: brnyan:</u> gsum: po’o/ /’od: srung: gzhan: yang: ’dI: la: *l̶a̶* dge slong: *la* sbyangs: pa’i: yon: tan: bcu: gnyis: blangs: te:/ ’jug: kyang: lta: ba:/ [12.3] <u>dmyIgs: pa: can: du: gyur: la/ nga: dang: bdag: la: gnas: na</u>/ ’od: srung: de: nI: <u>tshul: khrims/ ◯ log: pa: ste</u>/ <u>tshul: khrims: can: gyi: gzugs: brnyan: bzhI: po’o</u>/ /’od: srung: ’dI: bzhi: ni: <u>tshul: khrims: log: pa: ste: tshul: khrims: can</u> [12.4] ̶e̶a̶ <u>gyI: gzugs: brnyan: no</u>/	/’od srung bzhi po ’di dag ni <u>tshul khrims ’chal pa tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa</u> yin te/ bzhi gang zhe na/ ’od srung ’di la dge slong kha cig tshul khrims dang ldan pa yin te/ /so sor thar pa’i sdom pas bsdams shing gnas/ cho ga dang spyod yul phun sum tshogs[104]/ /kha na ma ma tho ba phra rab rnams la yang ’jigs par lta/ yang dag par blangs te bslab pa’i gzhi rnams la slob cing lus kyi las dang/ ngag gi las dang/ yid kyi las yongs su dag pa dang ldan par gnas pas ’tsho ba yongs su dag kyang de bdag tu smra ba yin te/ /’od srung de ni <u>tshul khrims ’chal ba tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa</u> dad po’o/ /’od srung gzhan yang ’di la dge slong kha cig ’dul pa ’dzin cing ’dul ba la zhugs te/ /’dul ba’i tshul la gnas pa yin yang ’jig tshogs la lta ba las ma bskyod[105] pa yin te || ’od srung de ni <u>tshul khrims ’chal pa tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa</u> gnyis pa’o[106]/ /’od srung gzhan yang ’di la dge slong kha cig byams pa la gnas pa yin te/ sems can la dmigs pa’i byams pa dang ldan pa yin yang ’du byed thams cad las[107] skye ba med pa thos nas[108] skrag ste/ kun tu dngang bar ’gyur zhing kun tu rab tu dngang bar ’gyur ba de ni ’od srung <u>tshul khrims ’chal ba tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa</u> gsum pa’o/ /’od srung gzhan yang ’di la dge slong kha cig sbyangs pa’i yon tan bcu gnyis yang dag par blangs kyang <u>dmigs par lta ba</u> yin te/ <u>ngar ’dzin pa dang/ /nga[109] yir ’dzin pa la gnas pa</u> de ni ’od srung <u>tshul khrims ’chal pa tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa</u> bzhi pa ste ’od srung bzhi po de dag ni <u>tshul khrims ’tshal pa tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa</u> yin no/

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104. tshogs pa Go
105. bskyed V
106. ’dul ba’i tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa gnyis pa’o K$_H$
107. la Go K$_H$
108. na K$_H$
109. ngar V

[§135] /'od: srung: tshul: khrims: tshul: khrims; shes: bya: ba: nI: gag na: bdag: myed: bdagI: zhes: pa: 'ang myed/ bya: ba'ang: myed: myI: bya ba'ang; myed/ /byed: pa'ang: myed: myI: byed: pa'ang: myed/ spyod: pa'ang: myed:/ [12.5] myI: spyod: pa'ang: myed/ /rab: du: spyod: pa'ang: myed:/ rab du myI: spyod: pa'ang: myed/ mying: yang myed: gzugs: kyang: myed:/ mtshan ma'ang: myed/ mtshan ma: myed: pa'ang: myed/ rab: du: zhI ba: 'ang: myed/ rab: du: ma: zhi: ba'ang: myed/ len: pa'ang: myed:/ [12.6] gtong: ba'ang: myed/ gzung ba'ang: myed: myI: gzung: ba'ang: myed:/ sems: can: yang: myed/ sems: can: du: gdagsi: pa'ang: myed:/ tshig: kyang myed: tshig: du g*dag*s: pa'ang: myed/ /sems: kyang: myed: semsu: gdags: pa'ang: myed/ /'jig:	/'od srung tshul khrims[110] tshul khrims zhes bya ba ni gang la bdag med pa dang/ bdag gi ba med pa dang/ bya ba med pa dang/ mi bya ba yang med pa dang/ byed pa med pa dang/ byed pa med pa yang ma yin pa dang rgyu ba ma yin pa dang/ mi rgyu ba yang ma yin pa dang/ rab tu spyod pa med pa dang/ rab tu spyod pa med pa yang ma yin pa dang/ ming med pa dang/ gzugs med pa dang/ mtshan ma med pa dang/ mtshan ma med pa yang ma yin pa dang rab tu zhi ba ma yin pa dang/ rab tu zhi ba ma yin pa yang ma yin pa dang/ 'dzin pa med pa dang/ 'dor ba med pa dang/ gzung ba med pa dang/ gzung ba med pa yang ma yin pa dang/ sems can med pa dang/ sems can du 'dogs pa med pa dang/ tshig med pa dang/ tshig tu 'dogs pa med pa dang/ sems med pa dang/ sems su 'dogs pa med pa dang/ 'jig rten med pa dang/ 'jig rten med pa yang ma yin pa dang/ rten med pa dang/ rten med pa yang ma yin pa dang/ bdag gi tshul khrims la mi stod[111] pa dang/ gzhan gyi tshul khrims la mi smod pa dang/ tshul khrims kyis rlom sems su mi byed pa dang/ tshul khrims la mi rtog pa yin te/ de ni 'phags pa rnams kyi tshul khrims zas[112] pa med pa/ gtogs pa ma yin pa/ khams gsum pa dang bral ba/ rten thams cad med pa zhes bya'o/
§136-§164 <<Dunhuang fragments missing>>	

[110.] om. tshul khrims V
[111.] bstod K$_H$
[112.] zag Go K$_H$ V

Table 1. Kāśyapaparivarta Dunhuang Tibetan Manuscript Concordance Table

Steäl-Holstein §	Dunhuang	D	Go	K_H	V	§
§98	IOL Tib J 59, 1a1	137a6	57a9	100a4	209a1	§98
§99	IOL Tib J 59, 1a3	139b1	57b5	100b1	209a6	§99
§100	IOL Tib J 59, 1a6	139b1	58a1	100b5	209b1	§100
§101	IOL Tib J 59, 1b3	139b4	58a4	100b8	209b5	§101
§102	IOL Tib J 55, 1.1	139b6	58a7	101a3	209b8	§102
§103	IOL Tib J 55, 1.4	140a3	58b2	101a8	210a6	§103
§104	IOL Tib J 55, 2.2	140a7	58b8	101b6	210b4	§104
§105	IOL Tib J 55, 2.6	140b3	59a2	102a2	210b8	§105
§106	IOL Tib J 55, 3.4	140b6	59a6	102a6	211a4	§106
§107	IOL Tib J 55, 4.1	141a3	59a10	102b3	211b1	§107
§108	IOL Tib J 55, 4.4	141b2	59b8	103a3	212a2	§108
§109	IOL Tib J 55, 4.5	141b5	59b10	103a5	212a5	§109
§110	IOL Tib J 55, 4.6	141b6	60a2	103a7	212a7	§110
§111	IOL Tib J 55, 5.1	142a1	60a4	103b1	212b1	§111
§112	IOL Tib J 55, 5.2	142a2	60a7	103b3	212b3	§112
§113	IOL Tib J 55, 5.2	142a4	60a8	103b5	212b5	§113
§114	IOL Tib J 55, 5.3	142a5	60a10	103b7	212b8	§114
§115	IOL Tib J 55, 5.4	142a7	60b2	104a1	213a2	§115
§116	IOL Tib J 55, 5.5	142b1	60b4	104a3	213a4	§116
§117	IOL Tib J 55, 5.5	142b3	60b5	104a5	213a6	§117
§118	IOL Tib J 55, 6.2	142b6	60b9	104a8	213b3	§118
§119	IOL Tib J 55, 6.1	——	——	——	——	§119
§120	IOL Tib J 55, 6.1	142b6	60b8	104a7	213b1	§120
§121	IOL Tib J 55, 6.3-4	143a1	61a1	104b2	213b5	§121
§122	IOL Tib J 55, 6.4-7.1	143a2	61a3	104b4	213b7	§122
§123	IOL Tib J 55, 7.1-7.5	143a4	61a6	104b7	214a2	§123
§124	IOL Tib J 55, 7.5-6	143a7	61b1	105a3	214a7	§124
§124	IOL Tib J 55, 8.1-3					§124
§125	IOL Tib J 55, 8.3-9.5	143b4	61b5	105a8	214b5	§125
§126	<<verses only>>	144a3	62a3	106a1	215a6	§126
§127	IOL Tib J 55, 9.5-6	144b1	62a9	106a6	215b4	§127
§128	IOL Tib J 55, 10.1-3	144b3	62b2	106b1	215b8	§128
§129	IOL Tib J 55, 10.3-5	144b6	62b5	106b4	216a3	§129
§130	IOL Tib J 55, 10.5-6	145a2	62b9	106b8	216a7	§130
§131	IOL Tib J 55, 10.6-11.1	145a3	63a3	107a2	216b2	§131
§132	IOL Tib J 55, 11.1-2	145a5	63a5	107a4	216b4	§132
§133	IOL Tib J 55, 11.2-3	145a6	63a7	107a6	216b6	§133
§134	IOL Tib J 55, 11.3-6	145b2	63b1	107b1	217a2	§134
§134	IOL Tib J 55, 12.1					§134
§135	IOL Tib J 55, 12.4-6	146a1	63b9	108a1	217b2	§135
§136-§166	<<missing>>	146a5-151b7	64a5-69b4	108b7-115a6	218a1-225a8	§136-§166

Table 2. Old Tibetan Kāśyapaparivarta Terminology and Phrase Comparison

Old Tibetan	Kanjur Tibetan	Sanskrit	Section	Manuscript
kun: tu: spyod: pa: sbed: cing:/ sgyu: byed: pe: dge: dge: sbyong:	cho ga srung zhing tshul 'chos pa'i dge sbyong	ācāraguptikuhakaḥ śramaṇaḥ	§123	IOL Tib J 55
kun: spyod: pa: yongsu: ma: dag: pa:	yongs su ma dag par spyod	apariśuddha	§122	IOL Tib J 55
khe	rnyed pa	lābha	§112	IOL Tib J 55
mkho: ba: myed: pa	don med pa	nirarthaka	§129	IOL Tib J 55
gang: nas: gang: du: sems: chags: pa	rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sems gang ga'am chags pa	yato yata cittaṃ sajyati	§110	IOL Tib J 55
grong: mdab:	grong rdal	nigama	§106	IOL Tib J 55
rgod: pa:	brkam pa	lubdha	§122	IOL Tib J 55
ngur smrIg: 'chang: ba	ngur smrig gyon pa	kāṣāyadhāraṇa	§133	IOL Tib J 55
mngon: du: bya: ba	mngon sum du bya ba	sākṣīkriyā	§125	IOL Tib J 55
mngon: bar: zhi: bar: bya: ba:	nye bar zhi bar bya ba	upaśamāya	§124	IOL Tib J 55
chog: shes: pa:	chog par 'dzin ba	saṃtuṣṭa	§122	IOL Tib J 55
'jigs: rten: gyi: 'dum: mched: gyI: gtam: tshol: ba:	'jig rten rgyang phan pa'i gsang tshig yongs su tshol ba	lokāyatana-maṃtra-paryeṣṭitā	§111	IOL Tib J 55
snyon: smyong: pa: la: dga ba:	nyong mongs pa la mi mjed pa	kleśādhivāsanatā	§114	IOL Tib J 55
rta'I: srab: skyogs	rta'i 'dul sbyong	aśvadamaka	§108	IOL Tib J 55
'dum: mched: gyI: gtam: tshol: ba:	phan pa'i gsangs tshig yongs su tshol ba		§111	IOL Tib J 55
rnam par rtog pa	kun rtags pa	vikalpya	§98	IOL Tib J 59
dben ba'i 'dum: mched	dgon pa'i gnas	araṇyāyatana	§105	IOL Tib J 55
ma: dul: ba:	ma bsrungs pa		§122	IOL Tib J 55
mal: stan: dben: ba: la dga': ba:	bas mtha'i gnas mal la mgnon par dga'	No Sanskrit text	§123	IOL Tib J 55
tshul: khrims: ngan: pas: ngur: smrig: 'chang: ba:	tshul khrims 'chal pa ngur smrig gyon pa	duḥśīlasya kāṣāyadhāraṇaṃ	§132	IOL Tib J 55
tshul: khrims: can: gyi: gzugs: brnyan:	tshul khrims dang ldan pa ltar bcos pa	śīlavaṃtapratirūpaka	§134	IOL Tib J 55
tshul khrims: log: pa: can:	tshul khrims 'chal pa	duḥśīla	§122, 134	IOL Tib J 55
zhugs: spyod: pa'i:	rnal 'byor spyod pa	yogācāra	§108	IOL Tib J 55
zhe: dang:	smod par sems pa	vidveṣaṇatā	§113	IOL Tib J 55
yongsu: myI thar: par: 'gyur ro	yongs su ma grol bar 'gyur te	aparimuktā samānāḥ	§105	IOL Tib J 55
g.yog: byas: shIng: kun: spyod: pa:	bsnyen bkur dang rim gror bya ba		§117	IOL Tib J 55
rab: du: ma: skyes: pa'i	gtan du mi skye ba	atyaṃtānutpanna	§104	IOL Tib J 55
rigs: de: nI: nga: dang: nga'I zhes: pa: myed: pas: nga: myed pa'o	rigs de ni ngar 'dzin pa dang nga yir 'dzin pas nga'i ba med pa'o	amamaṃ tad gotram ahaṃkāra-mamakāra-vigataṃ	§104	IOL Tib J 55
rin: po: che:	nor bu rin po che	mahāmaṇiratna	§131	IOL Tib J 55
yang: dag: par: nan: tan byed pa	yang dag par sgrub pa	bhūtapratipatti	§125	IOL Tib J 55

yongsu: myI thar: pa	yongs su ma grol ba	aparimuktā	§106	IOL Tib J 55
shin: du: byas:	legs par khrus byas		§133	IOL Tib J 55
sems chags: pa:	rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sems gang dang ga'am chags pa	cittaṃ sajyati	§110	IOL Tib J 55
srab: skyogs:	'dul sbyong	sūta	§108	IOL Tib J 55

Symbols used in the Transliteration

I	reversed *gi-gu*
M	*anusvāra*
s +ho	*sa* with subscribed *ha* plus *na-ro* vowel sign.
$	page initial sign head *mgo-yig*
:	*tsheg* written with two dots
abc	insertions: letter, word, or phrase written below the line
~~abc~~	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
abc	Tibetan words or phrases with a dotted underline indicate a difference between Dunhuang Tibetan versions and Kanjur Tibetan versions.
{abc}	Indicates Vulgate Kanjur prose portions missing in the comparable Dunhuang Tibetan version.
{{abc}}	Indicates text that has been erased.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

IDP	International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/)
IOL	Indian Office Library
Msk	Manuscript Kanjur
Mvy	Mahāvyutpatti
Pt	Pelliot Tibétain
Σ	A reading shared by all vulgate Kanjur witnesses
v.l.	*varia lectio* (variant reading)

Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts
IOL Tib J 55
IOL Tib J 56
IOL Tib J 59
IOL Tib J 153
Pelliot Tibétain 671
Pelliot Tibétain 672
Pelliot Tibétain 673
Pelliot Tibétain 676

Tibetan Vulgate Kanjur Editions

D Derge (Sde dge) Printed Kanjur, dkon brtsegs, cha 119b1-151b7 (vol. 44). 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

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/).

K$_H$ Kangxi Kanjur (1692–1700). Harvard-Yenching Library. Volume 55, dkon brtsegs (Part VI), 'I, 77b3-115a6.

Ta Tabo Manuscript, Ki 46-49. Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).

Ta$_2$ Tabo Mauscript, Ka 37. Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).

V Ulanbatar Manuscript Kanjur, dkon brtsegs, cha 184a8-225a8 (vol. 53).

Y Yongle Printed Kanjur, readings from variants preserved in *dpe dur ma*.

Z Shey Palace Manuscript Kanjur, dkon brtsegs, Cha 111a3-147b8 (vol. 47). Digital scans from Resources for Kanjur & Tibetan Studies (http://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/).

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The Tocharian *Araṇemi-Jātaka*[*]

Tatsushi TAMAI

On the present topic, there is already a transcription of the *Araṇemi-Jātaka* in A-Toch. by E. Sieg and W. Siegling (1921) translated by E. Sieg (Thomas 1952), and a transcription for B-Toch. by Sieg and Siegling (Thomas 1953) translated by K.T. Schmidt (2001) who was my teacher in Saarbrücken and unfortunately deceased on February 7th 2017. I would like to dedicate this article to Dr. Klaus Totila Schmidt.

Other than Tocharian, we can find the name "Aranemi" in Sanskrit and Pāli[1], Sogdian[2], Tumshuqese[3], Chinese[4], Uighur[5] and Tibetan[6]. This might mean that the *Araṇemi-Jātaka* was popular not only in Northern Silk Road[7] but also other areas, even though the contents differ from Tocharian.

The Jātaka originally keeps three parts (*paccuppannavatthu*, *atītavatthu* and *samodhāna*), but Avadāna only shows the main story. Our *Araṇemi-Jātaka* keeps the last one *samodhāna*, though it is not complete.

The texts under consideration are written in both A- and B-Tocharian languages found in fragments in Šorčuq and Qizil. The abbreviations after THT (Tocharische Handschriften aus Turfan) are as follows: <T> means "Turfan Expedition", <II> "the second", <III> "the third", <Š> "Šorčuq", Numbers such as <101.18> signify the original numbers used in Berlin after the texts were brought from Central Asia.

I will begin this study with my transliteration of the Tocharian text (in italics). When a document is unavailable (i.e. it does not exist in THT), or when missing *akṣara*s are unclear to me, I refer to the transcriptions published by Sieg/Siegling. I then give my tentative translation, in which I sometimes use awkward English to remain faithful to the Tocharian grammar, followed by my commentary in the footnotes.

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[*] I would like to express my thanks to those who corrected my English, to Prof. Zieme for preparing PDF of Silk Road Studies (SRS) V which contains important studies for *Araṇemi-Jātaka*, to Prof. Karashima for pointing me to former researches, to Prof. Saito for some information about Toch. grammar, and to the SAT Daizōkyō (abbreviated as T.) Text Database, from which I quoted the Chinese texts. Needless to say, for any remaining errors and inaccuracies I alone am to blame.

[1] Karashima et al. 2015, p. 169; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* IV pp. 136–139 (*Araka*).

[2] Sundermann in SRS V, p. 339–348.

[3] Bailey 1968, p. 44; Emmerick 1979, p. 172.

[4] Narimatu 成松芳子 1975, p. 262; 阿離念彌經; 阿蘭那經.

[5] Hamilton 1986, pp. 1–20; Zieme in SRS V, pp. 401–433.

[6] Panglung 1981, p. 49; Yao 2013 pp. 429–431.

[7] Yoshida 1993, p. 135, 207 p. 59.

I. Transliteration and Translation of A-Tocharian with Commentaries

THT 0978r (T III Š63.8; *Araṇemi-Jātaka* 1; ≈THT 0077)

1 /// *R(̣) .. R(̣) + + .. + + + + + +*

2 /// • *sūccāc¨ • paśi mācaR̥ l. [l]. .ts.*

3 /// *.. luprācä⁸ tāk[m]äS̥ ‖ tāPArK̥ PALtSAṃ(kāṣ?)*

4 /// *ne SAM̥ puttiśparna[c¨] skey(aṃ?) [y]āṃ(tRA?)*

5 /// *(sā)[s]lu(ṃ)T̥ PALtSAkyo PAklyoṢAS̥ caM̥ cāt(a)[k]ṣ(ṣe maSAK̥)⁹*

<translation>

1 /// nothing to translate.

2 /// … Sūccāc, Paśi, the mother … (personal name?)

3 /// … ‖ Now he/she thinks

4 /// … he would make(?) effort for Buddha-worth.

5 /// with attention(← jumped thought) hear the Jātaka's affair(←connection)!

0978v

1 /// *msec¨̥¹⁰ wu toṣitṣä(←i)ñi ñäktañä(←ñ¨̥) jñānapra(bha)*

2 /// *[RA]Ṣ̥ karuṇaprabhe ñKäT̥ tRAṅ[KA](Ṣ̥) + +*

3 /// *ṅkāraṃ (4x18) ‖ ñäktañ¨̥ (s)ku(nt)w(äṢ̥) litantRA ñareṣ(i)-*

4 *(ñi klopantyo)* /// *.. ntRA kaṢT̥ yokeyo : napeñi ṣme*

5 *(ŚArmeyo?)* /// *ñc¨̥ [ṣ]ome t(a)t[m](u)Ṣ̥ w(ra)ṃ saṃ .. .. + +*

<translation>

1 /// two gods of Tuṣita (come or greet?), Jñānaprabha (and Karuṇaprabha)

2 /// having … the god Karuṇaprabha says

3 /// in the metre of …*ṅkār* ‖ The gods fall down from happiness, (with unhappiness?) of hell (pl. in Toch.)

4 /// with hunger and thirst they … : People … rain-seasons

5 /// some (are) born in water …

THT 0977r (T III Š92.46; *Araṇemi-Jātaka* 2; ≈THT0078)

1 *+ .. + + nāS̥ l. + + + wäL̥ tRAṅKAṢ̥ kuc¨̥ ypaM̥* /// *(kᵤya)-*

2 *L̥ (pa)t ñi enaṣlune mā (kaś to)RAṢA eL̥ essik atSA sRAṅkā(T)̥* ///

3 *.. .. naṢ̥ āLA(ṣtā)◯R(̣) eL̥ elūneyä[Ṣ]̥ ..* ///

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⁸ This word is difficult not only to divide, but also to understand its meaning. If *tāk[m]äS* matches with B-Toch. THT 077r1,2 *tākaM̥* "we would be", it could be *ārwer* "ready" (r1) or *sp(aktanīki)* "servant". If *prācä* (not *prāc¨̥* as is in Sieg/Siegling 1921 p. 190) is a scribal error for *pratim* "decision", semantically *ārwer* "ready" is better, though still unclear. Apropos of *tākmäs*, it is not subj. V, as is in TEB II p. 10. Presumably the subj. stem should be changed (or corrupted), i.e. B-Toch. /tākā/ → A-Toch. /tāk/ because of apocope, even though the suffix /-ā-/ is an important characteristic for subj. V. If this is acceptable, A-Toch. is developed from B-Toch., it is not an original dialect, and the verbal system in A-Toch. should be changed, e.g. there exists no *sk*-pres. in A-Toch. (class IX in B-Toch.).

⁹ Cf. THT 077r4 *sasāllaṣ palsko(sa)* … 77r5 *cau jāta(KAṣṣe me)ske.*

¹⁰ Sieg amended this word as *(ku)mse(ṃ)c¨̥* "they come", but I think that it could be just a scribal error for *(ku)mseñc¨̥* (or *(NA)mseñc¨̥*), as is in line 5 below. *ä → u* in *kumseñc* and its impv. *puknäs* is a facility of the pronunciation, not a dialectal or a phonological difference.

4 *ākāL SAM*ˎ kᵤpre(ne nu caṢAKˎ c)m(o)laṃ nätswatsi klintaRˎ ñi [e](Lˎ) /// (plācäṃ)*

5 *(to)SAMˎ mā esaMˎ tRAṅksī : 1*[11]*(←•) ‖ SA(←RA)sKARˎ aru puruhi[T]ˎ tRAṅ(KAṢˎ) ///*

<translation>

1 … the king says "What do I make? ///

2 Or why do you leave(←not consider) my order (and) get excited even to give a gift? ///

3 … is … , you keep away from giving a gift … ///

4 … the wish. If he[12] then must starve in even this world(←birth), my (gift) …

5 I do not want(←give) to tell the(se speeches). ‖ Excited(←called) violently the sage(←Purohita) says ///

0977v

1 *.. [ṣ]ñi ākāliss mosaṃ ypeye(←i)Sˎ tālorñe mā śke(←aṃ) ka(ś toRAṢˎ) /// (ca)-*

2 *M(ˎ) weñlune(yäṢˎ) + + + .. mā āluRAṢˎ lānTA*[13] *erk[at](une) ///*

3 *.. .. brāmnac¨ˎ (t)RA◯ṅkiñc¨ˎ hai brahma*[14] *[ñ]. ///*

4 *.. (o)MAskeṃ wraso[M]ˎ (mā tu) [cä]mPATˎ elaṃ wañiyuM* nā(TAKˎ)*[15] *///*

5 *.. mā (te) ci karya[ṣ]*[16] *(s)ā(Sˎ aru)ṇāvati ri • tu enāKˎ wraso(Mˎ) ///*

<translation>

1 for the sake of his own wish, not having taken care of the misery of the country …

2 from (this) speech(←saying) … not having restrained … (an)ger of the king …

3 they speak to the Brahmin: "Pooh, oh Brahmin! …

4 (you) can(not) be a angry person (who is) fond of(←in) a gift, oh Sir! ///

5 (whether) Aruṇavati town not … you? • You are a mean(er) person. ///

THT 0976r (T III Š80.13; *Araṇemi-Jātaka* 3; ≈THT 079; no photo)

1 *+ + + + + + + *[17]*(TMAṢˎ wä)Lˎ ts(eṃ yokāSˎ a)ś(ä)nyo āmāśāsac¨ PAlkoRAṢˎ tRAṅKAṢˎ*

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[11] This is not a number but a punctuation before double *daṇḍa* ‖.

[12] /säm/ is a demonstrative pronoun nom.sg.m. "this, he (Skt. *saḥ*)". Sieg translates this passage as "[ist] <u>der</u> Wunsch, wenn <u>ich</u> (auch schon) in (dieser) Geburt verhungern müßte" (Sieg 1952 p. 35) but /säm/ stands never after the noun "<u>der</u> Wunsch", and the predicate is not 1.sg. /klinmār/ but *klintaRˎ* which could be a scribal error for 3.sg. *klinTARˎ*. The speaker is the king, and "he" is a person who is in distress.

[13] The *virāma* sign is lacking (cf. Sieg/Siegling 1921 p. 189 fn. 7, but it is possible that /ä/ is a phonetically murmured sound and sometimes treated as soundless. Another possibility is *metri causa*, if the passage is in verse.

[14] From the context, *brahma* should be voc. which is not surely attested. When there is no special form for voc., it is supplemented with nom. so it could be *brahmaṃ* (appocope of Skt. *brāhmaṇa*?), which is not attested. After *brahna*, the rest of *ñ.* can be recognized, then it could be *brahmañäKATˎ* which is written *passim*. In the beginning of this line, we can see *brāmnac* (all. of *brăm*), which is a tocharized form, but *brahmañäKATˎ* could be a courteous form (close to Skt. and respectful Toch., cf. Bernhard 1958 p. 18 *prattika-ptāñKATˎ*), which is suitable here. Apropos A-Toch. /ñäkt/ (apocope from B-Toch. /ñäkte/) is *communis opinio* "god, Skt. deva; Chin. 天", but it is possible that /ñäkt/ is an agglutinative suffix expressing pliteness towards senior, e.g. *ptāñKATˎ* is /pät/ (←Skt. Buddha) & /ñäkt/ = "(honorable) Buddha" (Toch. -*ā* could be Skt. -*a* of Buddh<u>a</u>).

[15] This is a complement of Sieg (1952 p. 35, fn. 15) as the subject of the sentence in nom. sg., but if the complement is right, I regard it as a voc. as is in THT 976r5 because of the word order and context.

[16] Sieg takes this word as pres.3.sg. of √kary- "to laugh", but this verb belongs to pres. III /karyeṣ/. I would read it as *karyap.ā*, as is in Poucha p. 54, which is independent from √kary-.

[17] The Uighur version (Hamilton I, 1986 p. 10 line 44–46) corresponds to line 1–2: "À ce moment-là, le roi Araṇemi, tournant (vers eux) <u>ses beaux yeux doux</u>, «…… Maintenant ce brahmane est assis à la place de mon maitre. Il faut écouter attentivement les rudes paroles propres à celui-ci.»".

maR˯ MAntā(cärñi)

2 + + + + + + + + + *mā te tam*[18] *ñi ṣtmo TAmyo TAm ñi KALṢAL˯ caṢAṢ˯ enäṣluneṣiṃ erkātune* ‖

3 *[t]MAṢ˯ (āmāśā)ñ˙(˯) KAlycaṃ*[19] *kāresyo tānaśoliS˯ yokmaṃc¨*[20] *ṣtmoRAṢ˯ śla wäktasurñe lānta-*

4 *c¨(˯) tRAṅk(iñc¨˯) ‖ phull(enaṃ) 4x14 ‖* [21]*lā(ṃ)tuneṣiṃ kra(nT)¨˯ tiryā āriñc¨ waSAṃ entsāte :* *kāswoneyiS˯ śmoññe naṢT˯*

5 *[m]ā + + k. yärkā yä(←ya)[L˩]*[22] *(:) mā śkaṃ nāTAK˯ waṢ˯ [c]ämplye tñ(') erkātune caṢ(˯)* *KLAssi : oñi cmolṣi rākṣa[tṢ˩] (SAM˯)*

<translation>

1 … (then the ki)ng, having seen the ministers with eyes (of) blue (colour), says, "Do not scold(←hurt) (him)!

2 … Do I not just stand (in such a case)? Just because of it, I must endure the anger of order by(←from) him. ‖

3 Then the ministers, (having) stood at the gate of *Dānaśālā*(= alms-giving site) with swords (laid together?), say to the king with homage.

4 ‖ in the metre of *phullen* (4x14) ‖ By the good manner of the kingship, you have grabbed our heart. : You are the site of the virtue.

5 (You are) incomparable to be honored. : And, oh Lord! we can not bear this anger of you. : The Rākṣasa in(← of) human shape(← birth)

0976v

1 *kalkāṢ˯ lo ymāR˯ c[a]Ṣ˯ ypey[ä]Ṣ˯ : • ‖ klopasū nāntsu wäL˯ tRAṅKAṢ˯ pācri [p]uK(˯) w. .āñ(¨)˯* *m. + +*[23]

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2 *ñātsey[äṢ̱] pāṣlye MA[nṮ] wäTKAśś*[24] *[ñ]i ṣñi KAṣṣiṃ ypeyäṢ̱ tSAknātsi āmāśāñ¨ tRAṅkiñc̱ mā [t]e*[25] *nāTAḴ*

3 *caṃ [b]rā(maṃ) e(pe) mā te waṢ̱ entsatRA was nū taṃne wKAṃnyo nātkiṢ̱ yäsluntaśśäḺ mā cämplye*

4 *+ s. + + + + + + ‖ mnū luTAsmāṃ wäḺ tRAṅKAṢ̱ hai ṣokyo nu oklopac¨̱ kakmu nasaM̱ kuc¨̱*

5 *+ + + + + + + + r TMAṢ̱ (āmāśāñ¨) lāntaṣ*[26] *ke KAlpoṢ̱ kāresā sāseyūṢ̱ śālyiṢ̱ po(saṃ)*[27]

<translation>

1 should go away from this country immediately. : • ‖ The king, feeling(←been) sad, says, "All fathers are umbrellas(?)

2 (which) should guard from defect (and) distress. Why do you decide to pull out my own teacher from the country? Ministers say: The Lord would

3 take(←grab) whether this Brahmin or us, (in any case) now we cannot (endure to be?) together with enemies of lord in such a manner.

4 … out of (←removing) the sense, the king says, "Oh dear, now I came across exceedingly (big) danger. How

5 … Then (ministers), having gained permission from the king, supported (themselves) with swords, (wall) of hall …

II. Transliteration and Translation of B-Tocharian with Commentaries

From a paleographical point of view, our *Araṇemi-Jātaka* (THT 077–106) shows the same form and style of handwriting as THT 071–076 whose content is *Buddhastotra*[28]. I will begin from THT 077, which shows the conversation between two gods, *Jñānasthite* and *Guṇasaṃpade* (in A-Toch.: *Jñānaprabhe* and *Karuṇaprabhe*, THT 978v1–2; both Toch. in nom. sg. *-e*[29]).

The folios are written sometimes on recto only. Judging from the case of THT 078, I suppose that they were originally written on both sides. This folio THT 078 is a jumble of some pieces (on the photo we can see two numbers, T III Š93 and Š67), and recto is complete, but some of the versos are not written (only one piece is written on verso). Presumably the ink washed out or the

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[24] *wäTKAśś* is, after Sieg (1952 p. 36 "ihr befehlt mir") and TEB II p. 140, pres. caus. 2. pl., but *-śś ← -śc* from *-s*(caus.)-*c*(2.pl.) is irregular because *-c* is an important characteristic for 2. pl. and double consonants stand only before and after vowels (not medially, but in the beginning or end of words). In B-Toch. *waTKAścer-ñ¨* (THT 079r4) is a corresponding. Presumably the writer of A-Toch. could not understand the importance of 2. pl. *-c* and made an assimilation from B-Toch. *-śc*.

[25] *mā te … mā te* is added to B-Toch. version and functions as *epe … epe* "whether … or", though *epe* is written. This also means that A-Toch. was written on the ground of B-Toch.

[26] If this word is abl. of /wäl/ "king", it is a scribal error for *lānTAṣ* (or a misreading?).

[27] *po(saṃ)* is a guess by Sieg (1952 p. 36 fn. 18), but the meaning of "below" is not suitable. I suppose *po(ṣi)* "wall" which can go with *śālyiṢ̱* "of the hall", but of course the context is unclear because of absence of the next folio.

[28] Cf. Ji 季羨林 2010 vol. 16, p. 177: No. 71–76 是一首 *Buddhastotra*, No. 77–98 才是 *Araṇemi-Jātaka*, No. 99–103 *Subhāṣitogaveṣur*(←*Subhāṣitagaveṣin*?)的故事。These folios are written by the same writer because of the paleographic ground and presumably it was composed as one work, because in THT 193r6 we can see a dialogue between *Jñānasthita* and *Guṇasaṃpada*.

[29] Skt. names are always in the same form in both Toch. (without apocope in A-Toch.). I suppose that Skt. names were important for Buddhism but declined in the way of B-Toch. and imported into A-Toch. without any change.

paper on the top broke off, if the folio was made with two or more papers in order to strengthen the folio itself, whose surface of both sides was applied with varnish-like liquid preventing the soaking of ink. I prefer the latter. This methode is used in the case of Japanese original paintings, when papers are thin and weak. In fact, we can see akṣaras from the back side as in THT 083v. Then it looks unwritten, when the paper on the top broke off.

THT 077r (T III Š101.17, Pencil-number 2334)

1 *weṢṢAṃ [c](äm)p(a)mñ[e]ccu tus(ā)ks(a) nai ñ[ak](e) ārw(e)r tākam ente se kr(e)nt[auna]tts(e) sunetre*³⁰ *wal(o) [p](a)ñ(ä)kt(e)*³¹ *ś[ai]ṣṣ[en](e) tsāṅka(ṃ) oT˳ cw[i] sp(aktānta alā-)*

2 *LAcci tākaM˳ mapi kca sū cämpanm(e) laklene waste nestsi jñānasthite weṢṢAṃ waṣama epiyac pi tu pkalaR˳ ente se krent[au](nattse a-)*

3 *raṇemi ñemtsa walo ṣai ot rano sū ololyesa ākteke wantare yamaṣa : ‖ guṇasaṃpade weṢṢAṃ cämpamñeccu s.. + +*

4 *tta ṣpakk anaiśai epiyac [ka]latsi porcaññaR˳ cwi araṇemiñ lānte krent yamalñe • ‖ jñānasthite weṢṢAṃ sasāllaṣ palsko(sa snai)*

5 *wyakṣeP˳ PAklyauṢ˳ cau jāta(KAṣṣe me)ske • ‖ riññaktesa*³² *‖ mā lauke kca KAtkau sū preke [ste] • śāmñe naumye araṇemi walo tne • a[ru](ṇāvati)*

6 *rīne MAskūtRA • yaitu ṣai s[ū] (krentauna)ṣṣeṃ tsaiñ[ñ]entsa 1(← •) ‖ om no [ña]ke se araṇe(mi wa)lo (āñmn)[e] ka pañäK[TA]ṃñe [p]erneś[c]ä (tSA)ṅkau + + + +*³³

<translation>

1 (Guṇasaṃpada) says, "Oh Exalted one (← Man of ability), therefore just now we sould make(←be) ready. When this virtuous king Sunetra would rise in the Buddha-world, then we should be his tireless servants.

2 Well he is somehow able to be our protection in suffering." Jñānasthita says, "Oh my friend, however, remember it! When this virtuous

3 king Araṇemi with name was (there), then also he made exceedingly wonderful thing. : ‖ Guṇasaṃpada says, "Oh Exalted one (← Man of ability)! …

4 and also carefully you must remember the good deed of that king Araṇemi." • ‖ Jñānasthita says, "With attention(← jumped thought)

5 (and) without hindrance, hear the Jātaka's affair(←connection)! • ‖ with the metre of *riññakte* ‖

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³⁰ According to Akanuma (1931 p. 663) *Sunetra* rose into 光音天 (light-sound-heaven) and one of six masters (ibid. p. 431): *Sunetta, Mūgapakkha, Aranemi, Kuddālaka, Hatthipāla* and *Jotipāla*. Here I see the name *Araṇemi* in the third place. In Hamilton (1986 p. 9 line 2–22) we can see the contents: "Ce roi Sunetra était dans une existence antérieure un grand roi khan du nom de Aranemi"; le dieu le plus grand = Jñānasthita; le dieu le plus petit = Guṇasaṃpada.

³¹ Schmidt (2001 p. 303) takes *pañäkte* as nom. "sich als Buddha in der Welt erhebt", but I prefer to take it as a previous word of compound, and *pañäkte-śaiṣṣene tsāṅkaṃ* "he would rise in the Buddha-world" (Chin. 仏国土, Skt. *buddha-kṣetra*, cf. Bernhard 1958 p. 14). *śaiṣṣe* "world" could be translated from Chin. 国土 "country" rather than Skt. *kṣetra* "field", but it is not certain.

³² Schmidt did not translated this word (2001 p.303), but from the following verse in style of 10/11/10/11 (cf. Adams 1999 p. 828) spoken by Jñānasthita, I take it as the name of the verse. Normally Tocharian used loc. with Skt. name (in the metre of …), but here in perl. with Toch. name (with the metre of *riññakte*) As far as I know, perl. for that aim is only here to see. Semantically, I see no difference, so I dare to maintain my opinion, i.e. the name of the metre between double *daṇḍa*s.

³³ This part is a little difficult to understand. After Hamilton (1986 p. 9 line 13–14): "Ce roi s'évertuait vers la béatitude de Bouddha, et, afin de (devenir) Bodhisattva, il n'avait pas son pareil pour renocer à son corps et à sa tête et pour donner so tout".

Not far the time is exceeded (→ not long ago) • there (was) a king Araṇemi (who was) a human jewel • he was in the city Aruṇāvati •

6 he was decorated with jewelry of virtues • ‖ There now, however, this king Araṇemi, also in desire, rose for Buddha-worth …

[34]THT 078r (T III Š79.30, Pencil-number 2333)

1 *ñiś ̮ ñke : sū ñi yärke śpālme(ṃ) ṣai pāramitne*[35] *āyorṣṣe mā no kᵤlāñ palsko : kr ᵤi ñke tetekā Śanmyeṃ yaṣṣūcañ ̈ lareṃ śauly ñi yaṣyeṃtRA sāw ñi wrotstsa*

2 *katkauña mā cakravārt[ñ]e (‖ lāntsa) weṢṢAṃ saswa srukalyñemeṃ taisa ci kka KAlpāmM ̮ mā ṣ nai ñake āyorsa plāc aksasT(̮) ‖ walo weṢṢAṃ lari-*

3 *ya yaṣṣūcaṃts ek[a](lymi neSAṃ) ○ kr ᵤi ñke cai TAṅwaṃñeñcä[36] oT(̮) ñke ñiś ̮ ysape ykāK ̮ KAllāT(̮) ‖ om no ñake lā(ṃ)t wrattsai kekamu viduṣa-*

4 *ke*[37] *katkauñaisa (tane wertsi○yai?)[ne] lāntaś weṢṢAṃ*[38] *‖ ṣartanīkaine (10x4) ‖ cūneṃ tsre[LA]ññesa wek tarkanoyM ̈ <:> makoymar KAlymi(ṃ)tsa cī*

5 *ñaṣṣīma(R ̮ :) + + + + + + + + + marc ̈ : śwātsin eṅKAly ñī ci yukṣ ̃m̄*[39] *PAst ̮ k[a] <:> + + + + [ṣṣi]M ̮ te maṃt weṣṣiM ̮ <:> sū ñi larauñesa*

6 (11 akṣaras?) *sa waipte : āñme no te-yśimaR ̮*[40] *waike wes[k]au <: ‖> (tumeṃ? keri)yemane araṇemi walo weṢṢAṃ*

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[34] Schmidt puts this folio after THT 079 and 080 influenced by Zieme's translation (content of THT 078, story of supplicants comes after THT 079), but I am not sure because THT 080 is a very meager folio, and there is no dialogue between the king and queen in the Uighur version. And the discussion between the king and vassals (THT 079) would be held after the dialogue between the king and Brahmin Vidūṣaka (THT 78). I follow tentatively the order of Sieg/Siegling (1953), i.e. THT 077 → 078 → 079 → 080 → 081.

[35] Schmidt translates *pāramit-ne* (loc.) as "gegenüber der Tugend (*pāramitā*)" which is a little difficult to understand. The loc. functions not only as "on, in", but also as "into" (a goal). This expression could correspond with Skt. *Dāna-pāramitā*, Chin. 施到彼岸 (Mvy 914 p. 71) which is one of six *pāramitā* (*dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā,* Nakamura p. 1093). *pāramitā* means 絶対完全 "absolute completeness" (Nakamura p. 1121), and *dāna-pāramitā* means "perfection of almsgiving" in order to reach the spiritual awakening (Buddha).

[36] In the photo we can read *-ñcä*, but its *trema* (double points on the *akṣara*) seems to be deleted with water. Syntactically this participle should be pl. *-ñcañ* which Sieg/Siegling (1953 p. 17 fn. 14) improved as *-ñcaṃ. ñ → ṃ* is acceptable, but in this folio *virāma*-sign " ̮" is often omitted. Therefore I prefer to see it as a scribal error for *-ñcañ ̈*. The content in Uig. is different from Toch. (Hamilton 1986 p. 9 line 20): "les mendiants indigents et pauvres des quatre coins, dès qu'ils entendirent les brahmanes, vinrent tous, et il leur donna entièrement les choses de toute sorte dont ils avaient besoin".

[37] B-Toch. *viduṣake*; the Uighur version (Hamilyon 1986 p. 9 line 23) *Rudramukha*; A-Toch. (THT 977r5) *puruhiT ̮* (?). There should be some reasons for the different names, but now I have no idea.

[38] The speech of the Brahmin is different from the Uighur version (Hamilton 1986 p. 9 line 26): "«Vous êtes un grand roi. Pourquoi accueillez-vous les propos de méchants calomniateurs? Malheureux, vous ruinez tout ce qu'il y a de provinces et de villes, d'État et d'institutions!»".

[39] *-ñ* is incomprehensible. In the photo we can see a correction together with the next word *PAst ̮* (originally it is *..T ̮*) and the next *kā* can be *ka*. If this *pāda* ends with *ka*, it is suitable for the metre of 4x10, not 10/10/10/11 in Adams 1999 p. 828 and Sieg/Sieg 1953 p.17 fn. 15, but Thomas 1983 p. 273 b). This name of the metre *ṣartanīkaine* is only here to find, and Adams takes the end of pāda after *kāwo* which was complemented by Sieg/Sieg (1953 p. 18, fn.1). However, the context including word order is unclear because the previous *pāda* is lacking, especially *śwātsine* (loc.?) in the beginning and *PAst ka* (intensifier?) in the end. The content of this *pāda* is doubtful, but it should be "The Brahmins wanted to take out the prince".

[40] This verb-form is to be analyzed as *te* (demon.pron. nt. "it") and /aiśimār/ (1. sg. opt. (not impf. as is in Krause 1952 p.225) of √aik- "to know". This form is only here to see, but from *poyśi* "all knower" (*po* "all" and verbal noun of √aik- *aiśi*) it can be analogized, i.e. /e-ai/ → *ey*, /ś/ is palatalized phoneme of /k/ because of following /i/. However, in my opinion, this is not a phonological rule (*sandhi*), but a phonetic simplification with keeping of the semantically important phoneme.

1 "Now I … : He was my excellent veneration, my mind for(← of) alms did not disappear until the perfection (of almsgiving) (← into (*dāna-)pāramitā*). : If now suddenly supplicants might come (and) beg my lovely life, (that is) the big

2 pleasure of me, (but) the kingship(← *Cakravarti*-worth) (is) not (more excellent)". (The queen) says, "Oh my Sir, we would obtain you from the death in such a way, and also now do not tell (←proclaim the speech) about(←with) gift! The king says, "Oh my dear!

3 I (am) to the will of supplicants. If they (are) also(←then) needy(← setting their heart), then near by them(←there) even you would find(←obtain) me. Now there, however, Viduṣaka came to(←on the opposite side of) the king

4 with pleasure (there in front of the assembly?) he says to the king. ‖ in the metre of *ṣartanīka* ‖ "Because of (←with) separation from you I cried(← uttered the voice), ran here and there (← over directions).

5 I desired you! : …… I … you : (It) overcame me (that) I grab you, (this desire is bigger than) even to eat (:) I did …, so said. (:) He … with my love

6 …… with … separately : but I myself would know (that) I tell a lie[41]. (: ‖ Then) the king Araṇemi says (in) smiling,

THT 078v

1 /// [w](e)ṢṢAṃ arai : tu kka ka ñi śaul pern(e) st(e) waike w(eskau)[42]

2 /// rkattse[43] klautkāwa mā twe ñi KAṣṣi MAsketaR̥ twe

3 + + ś m[ā] + + + + + + + + + mteṃ + + + + + + + + + + + (klau)tkaṃ ṣeske kā[44] twe brāhmaṇeṃmpa t epiṅte sak wī-

4 (na) w(ä)rpā[t](ai) + + + + + + ś[̥] en[a] + + + + + + + + + (wa)l[o] weṢṢAṃ brāhmaṇiśka MAkcepi[45] ṅke kektseñe krarma-

5 (rtsa) klautka[ñcä] + + + + + ntsi : [kr̥i] + + kimeṃ mā [PA] + + + + + + + + + ‖ śānaśRAṅkārne (4x18) ‖ waike lāre yāmTAr ksa ṣek somo-

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[41] *waike* means "Lüge" (TEB II p. 243), but here it is not suitable if the sentence is an independant clause. If this word comes from √we "to say" and *wek* "Stimme" (ibid. wek- "lügen" does not exist), then it could be *figura etymologica* "I say a speech" → "I say only" or "reinforced voice" → "violently". I prefer the latter if it coincides with Uighur "tint des propos odieux et rudes" (Hamilton 1986 p. 9 line 26), but other examples of *waike* show the meaning "a lie". Therefore, I suppose that this clause is dependant on *te* "it", then it can be a sentence structure of "it … that".

[42] *w(eskau)* is completed by Sieg/Siegling (1953 p. 18 fn. 6), but it is funny as is in previous fn., and I see no trace of *-e* on *wa*. I suppose that this word is not *weskau*, but *waṣe* "slander" or *warñai* "etc." which begins with *wa-*.

[43] If this word is a scribal error for *(e)rkatte*, we can assume "I became contemptuous", then it is suitable for the sentence following.

[44] Schmidt takes this *kā* as an intensifier "Nur allein", on the other hand Thomas takes it as an interrogative "Warum hast du" (2001 p. 308 fn. 40). I cannot find the intensifier *kā* in the Berlin collection. An intensifier is /k(ä)/ which did not become /kā/, because /ä/ and /ā/ are different phonemes. A similar example is *kā ñiś ṣeske* (THT 298) and the word order is free if this part is in verse. The sentence could begin with *ṣeske*, and this *kā* could be put in the second place as an interrogative, i.e. "Why you alone".

[45] *MAkcepi* is a gen. of /mäkte/ "self" and also /mäksu/ "which". Schmidt takes "self" and translates "Dein Körper wird **dir** selbst doch schwer werden" because of *-ñcä(̥)* (← *ṃ-c* suffix for pron. 2. sg.). Another possibility is to take *cä* as the beginning of the next word, e.g. *cäñcare* "prety" or *cämpamo* "able". I prefer the latter, because "Dein … dir selbst" is a little intricate, but the context is still unclear because of lacuna.

6 *(tkñe) waikesa + + + + (:) ś[a]kmaiyyā(ntse cämpa)⁴⁶mñe pūdñä + + + + + + + pkārsa : oKT꞉ wrotstsana nraintane kluTKAṣṣeñca se*

<translation>

1 /// (Vidūṣaka) says, "Oh! : Just this(← it) is my life (and) worth, a lie …

2 /// I became (contemptuous?). You are not my teacher, you …

3 … not … (he) would (become) … Why did you alone enjoy happiness and satisfaction meanwhile together with Brahmins?

4 …… The king says, "Oh small Brahmin! Of which body would then

5 become heavy? … to … : if (you) from (speech) not … in the metre of *śanaśräṅkār* ‖ (When) one would love somewhat a lie (and) always similarly

6 with lie … : The (ability) of ten powers, the Buddha … You must know (it)! : This (man), making (someone) go(←turn back) to(←in) eight big Hells, …

THT 079 (T III Š75.4, Pencil-number 2089)

1 *(mā MAntana)TArñ꞉ ⁴⁷ ptarkaso śconai mapi wase ñī KAṣṣīññe i ..⁴⁸* ///

2 *rmeṃ kertteṃ oṅkor MAlkānte śle yärke lāntaś weskeṃ⁴⁹ • ‖ ā̃⁵⁰* ///

3 *mā weS꞉ cämpalyi erkatTAṃñe kaltsī⁵¹* ///

4 *TArñ꞉꞉ MAkte teṃ waTKAścerñ꞉꞉ KAṣṣiṃ ypoyme(ṃ)⁵²* ///

5 *(e)pe saswe wess eṅtRA epe brāhmaṇeṃ mā ra tsak weS꞉ c[i]⁵³* ///

6 *sanune kekamu nesau⁵⁴ yeSAñ pi ekalymi tākaṃ seṃ* ///

<translation>

1 Do not scold me. Dismiss hatred! (It is) my poison. The (image?) of a teacher ///

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⁴⁶ For semantic reasons, I supplement *ś[a]kmaiyyā(nte cämpa)mñe* "ability of ten powers" for three *akṣara*s, which would be an apposition of the next word, "Buddha" because of nom. *-mñe* (not adj. *-ññe*).

⁴⁷ A-Toch. THT 0976r1: *maR꞉ MAntä(cäR꞉)* pres. class V mid. 2. pl. "you do not scold". According to Schmidt (2001 p. 305) it is *(mā MAntana)TAr-ñ꞉* pres. VI mid. 2. pl. after THT 1459 a1, but in Krause 1952 p. 266 this root shows Ps. XII (2. pl. is not written). Another possibility is subj. V *māntaTAr-ñ꞉* which could function as prohibition with negation like an injunctive. Apropos, I have some doubt whether Toch. *Konjunktiv* can be called a subjunctive in English. Prof. Saito suggested *prospektiver Konjunktiv* in Toch. Originally subj. is used in subordinate clauses, but in Toch. it is used in main clauses. I prefer to use *Injunktiv* rather than *Konjunktiv*, and Toch. verbal system would be constituted with an indicative (pres. and pret.) and an injunctive (timeless), but now I follow the traditional system.

⁴⁸ In the photo, two remnants of ink are seen, which could be a part of *m*, not *k, t, n, p, l, w, ś, s*. Then it could be *ime* "memory, awereness, Skt. *smr̥ty*".

⁴⁹ A-Toch. THT 976r3–4: *(ānāśā)ñ꞉(꞉) KAlycaṃ kāresyo tānaśoliS꞉ yokmaṃ{c꞉} ṣtmoRAṢ꞉ śla wäktasurñe lāntac꞉(꞉) tRAṅk(iñc꞉꞉).* B-Toch. here *-rmeṃ* (absolutive) could be after A-Toch. "having stood at the gate of *Dānaśālā*(= alms-giving site)". In A-Toch. *MAlkānte* "to put together" is omitted, and reduced with instr. *-yo*. This means that B-Toch. is older than A-Toch., viz. A-Toch. could be an artificial language based on B-Toch. In comparison with A- and B-Toch., I suppose that the swords might be "gathered all together for the sake of not using them in front of the king".

⁵⁰ If this is the name of the metre beginning with *ā-*, it differs from A-Toch. (THT 976r4) *phull(enaṃ) 4x14*, and the number of syllables is also different if *pāda* c begins with *mā* (see next fn.). A-Toch. *śkaṃ nāTAK꞉* and *caṢ* could be added *metri causa* or used as an intensifier and *tñ(')* (←*tñi* "your") could be added to avoid the hiatus *e–e* (A-Toch. nom. pl. m. *-lye* instead of *-lyi* in B-Toch.). This could mean that even within Toch. languages there is a difference because of synchronic and diachronic reason.

⁵¹ A-Toch. THT 976r5: *mā śkaṃ nāTAK꞉ waS꞉ [c]ämplye tñ(') erkātune caṢ(꞉) KLAssi*

⁵² A-Toch. THT 976v2: *MA[nT꞉] wäTKAśś [ñ]i ṣñi KAṣṣiṃ ypeyäṢ꞉ tSAknātsi*

⁵³ A-Toch. THT 976v2–3: *mā [t]e nāTAK꞉ caṃ [b]rā(maṃ) e(pe) mā te waS꞉ entsatRA was nū taṃne wKAṇnyo nātkiS꞉ yäsluntaśśäL꞉ mā cämplye.* B-Toch. *c[i]-* could be *cimpalyi* for *cämpalyi* "be able to".

⁵⁴ A-Toch. THT 976v4: *oklopac꞉꞉ kaknu nasaM꞉*

2 having (stood near the door?) they put the swords together (and) say to the king with respect. ///

3 We are not able to endure (your) anger. ///

4 (Do not scold?) me. Why do you decide so(← it) (to pull out) my teacher from the country? ///

5 The Lord would take(←grab) whether the Brahmin or us, Not at all we (are able to endure?) ///

6 I came across a danger. Would this be also to your will? ///

THT 080[55] (T III Š67, THT 072 und THT 1684 togeter in the same case)

1 */// .. .[KA] k[au]tatsi ///*

2 */// (araṇe)[m](iṃ) lānT̲ ścirona [r]. [k]. ///*

3 */// TKAsTä ārṢṢAlle ka[p.] ///*

4 */// .[s]. nesT̲˙ ‖ te kekly[au] ///*

5 */// nte yamaṣatai mā .e ///*

6 */// .[änta] PAlkormeṃ ///*

<translation>

1 /// … to split ///

2 /// … the king (Araṇemi?), a hard (word?) ///

3 /// … (it) should be given up … ///

4 /// … (it) is … ‖ Having heard it … ///

5 /// … you have done. Not … ///

6 /// … having seen … ///

THT 081r (T III Š102.6, Pencil-number 2340, left side is lost)

1 *(namane[56] • piśuweṃ[57] akaLṢAlyeṃ)Ścä makāyäkne (pa)pauta[rme](ṃ) • weṢAṃnmeśc̲̈*
   SAsūśkaṃ neSAṃ ksa ñī yeSAśc̲ añmaṣṣ(e) reki (‖ ka)pilava(r)ṇ(e)

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2 (*brāhmaṇe weṢṢAṃ spantaï*[58] *KAṣṣi*) *weṃ* ‖ *rudramukhe brāhmaṇe weṢṢAṃ* ‖ *niṣkramāṃne (5/7/5)* ‖ *walo aknātsa su MArsau ṣañ āñm atsai[K⸜] ñeM⸜ ara[ṇ]e*

3 (*mi • yāṃṣate ñiśś erkatte* ○ *lyautsañ PAsT⸜ ṣañ⸛ ypoyneṃ wertsaints enepre • srukor aiśaumyepï*[59] *olypo (KA)rnoyt(a)r(←tär)*[60] *PAsT⸜ mā [k]wī-*

4 (*pe rmoyTAR⸜ : su ke*[61] *ñem wa)○lo yāṃṣate ñīśś erkatte MAkte ṣ teṃ kelu :* ‖ *akaLṢAlyi weskeṃ upādhyāya k"se weSAñ⸛ tanneṃ*[62]

5 (*yamaṢA(l)l[e] (•) brāhmaṇe weṢṢAṃ tu)[s]āksa nai yeS⸜ ñī yait[k]orsa [pc]īso araṇemiñ lānte uttare ñemtsa so[ṃ]śke ste ṣañ śaulameṃ snai wāki (la)*

6 (*rauñesa • sū no walo pañäKTAṃñe perne)ṣṣe akālksa po [ai](ṣṣeṇca ne)[m](ce)k cau uttareṃ [m]ñ(cu)ṣkeṃ yeSAṃññ aiṢṢAṃ cwī lkāllona [LA]klenta ñiś⸛ (utta)*

<translation>

1 … • Having flattered five pupils (in number) in many manners • (Rudramukha) says to them, "My sons! I have somehow my own word for you. ‖ The Brahmin Kapilavarṇa

2 says, "Respectfully (we would like to hear you!), (our) teacher should tell (us). The Brahmin Rudramukha says. ‖ in the metre of *niṣkramān* ‖ The ignorant king (who has) forgotten even himself, (is) Araṇemi by name. •

3 He was(←made) hostile (against) me, expelled me from his own country in front of (his) vassels • The death would afflict exceedingly (for) a wise man (i.e. me). He was shameless (← he did not bow to a shame).

4 He, so called bad guy, the king was(←made) hostile (against) me. How should I also endure it? The pupils say, "Oh teacher! What do we then(←there)

5 have to do?" The Brahmin says, "Well thereby, go with my order! There is a (little) son for(←of) the king Araṇemi, Uttara by name, (who is) loved(←with love) (as if it is) without difference from (the king's) own life.

6 The king, however, (is) a giver of all (things) because of (←with) desire of Buddha worth. Surely he gives the prince Uttara to(←of) you. The sufferings (which the king) should see, I

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[58] /späntai/ seems to be an obl. from the form (nom. is not attested) and could be an adv. as is in Adams 1999 p. 715 (not in TEB I). According to Krause (1952 p. 49 § 43) this form is an adv. which is suffixed with *-ai* direct to the root √spänt "to trust", but other examples show no grammatical rule, viz. *śatkai* (← √kätk), *tsoṅkai-k* (← √tsäṅk) and *lukṣaitse* (← pres. caus. stem of √luk). One possibility is to see it as a root noun, but the obl. suffix /-ai/ cannot be added to consonant stem (same form in nom. and obl.). Another possibility is a loanword from Iranian *spənta-* "heilig, sunctus" (Bartholomae 1904 p. 1619). The meaning "trustfully" is not suitable here because a teacher cannot speak trustfully to pupils, therefore, Schmidt translates it as "getrost". Then I would take it as an independant word with respectful nuance.

[59] *-pi* is a gen. marker for adj. The word *aiśaumye* is originally an adj., but became a noun. Schmidt takes it as possessive "von einem Weisen", but I prefer to take it as a dative function "for wise man, i.e. me".

[60] Sieg/Siegling (1953 p. 19 fn. 8): *(ri)toyt(a)r* for *-TAr* (√rit "to search"). Schmidt (2001 p. 310): *nanoytär* (√nān "to show oneself" and he translates it as "soll hingenommen werden") but in the photo I recognize it as *..rnoyt(ä)r*. "r" over "n" is visible, so I suppose that it would be *(sKA)rnoyt(ä)r* 3. sg. pres. VI from √skär "to threaten" but instances show *-rr-* for *-rn-*. Another possibility is *KArnoytär* from √kärn "to beat, to destroy". Then it is semantically good together with *olypo* "exceedingly". *PAst* is used as a reinforcing particle.

[61] *ke* is presumably an intensifer which is related with *k(ä)* (cf. Adams 1999 p. 188), but together with /ñem/ here, it could include another nuance, i.e. pejorative sence "so called bad guy!".

[62] *tanneṃ* is *hapax legomenon*. Adams (1999 p. 279): "± thereto". TEB II p. 196: "dabei". I suppose this is a scribal error for *tane* "there".

THT 081v

1 *(ri mñcuṣkentse*[63] *lkātsi āyu : kr̥i yeS̱ ñū) ce akāLK(˳) kan(aśceR˳ oT˳) [ṅ]k[e] ñśam(eṃ)*
   ś̱[64]*asta[r]ṣṣ(e) yäknesa pruccamñe ya[nm](a)c(e)Ṟ brāhma(ṇi)*

2 *(weskeṃ MAkte waTKAṢṢAṃ upādhyāye lateṃ) brāhmaṇi : tume(ṃ) [c](ai) brāhmaṇi tot ike*
   posTAṃ ynemane a[ra]ṇemiñ lānte yapoyne kameṃ (tā)

3 *(*[65]*rrine yaipormeṃ ālyauceś we)◯skeṃ bho bho • k̥se [pi] ksa weSAñ̈ kekamoṞ orocce lanṮ*
   śarSAṣṣi ‖ tane plaktu[KA]ñña brāhma

4 *(ṇeṃ lyelyakormeṃ kercīye*[66]*)◯nn(e) yopsa śle yärke l[ā]ntaś we[ṢṢA]ṃ ñakta alyeḴ ypoy[ṣ]i*
   brāhmaṇi parna [k]lyent[RA] SAsweṃ lkātsi ñä

5 *(skentRA • ‖ walo weṢṢAṃ ramer ecce) pwāyarme KArtse yamiñ cai ñi ‖ ta[n]e brāhmaṇi*
   kerciyeṃne yaipormeṃ poñc̱ ṣar koś ceccalorsa ka lānte

6 *(yarke yamaskeṃ ‖ tane a)[r](a)ṇemi walo brā[h](ma)ṇeṃ [wra]tsai (tSA)ṅko[rmeṃ] KAṣṣ[ī]ññe*
   yäknesa asānne ly[ā]mateme ‖ tumeṃ (tse)ññai uppāLAṃ[67]

<translation>

1 would give (for) the prince Uttara's seeing(← to see) : If you fulfill this desire of mine, then also from
   me, you gain the exellence in(←with) the manner of instruction (Skt. *śāstra*)". The Brahmins

2 say, "As the teacher orders!" Brahmins went out. : Then the Brahmins, going meanwhile step to
   step, came into the country of the king Araṇemi. Having entered this

3 city, they say to each other, "Good, good! • Who ever might let the great king know our visit? ‖
   There a female gatekeeper, having seen the Brahmins,

4 entered the palace, and she says to the king with honor, "Oh my Sir! Brahmins from(←of)
   another country stand outside. They want to see you(← the lord). ‖

5 The king says, "Lead them here in a hurry! They are benefactors(← good doers) for me. ‖ There
   Brahmins, having entered the palace, even with raising all hands high,

6 gave honor to(←for) the king. ‖ There the king Araṇemi, having stood up on the opposite to
   Brahmins, made them sit on the seat with a manner of a teacher. ‖ Then (with both eyes of ??)
   blue lotus …

[68]PK NS 35r

1 /// *ñ(ä)skentTRA ‖ (walo we)ṢṢAṃ rameṞ e(cce pwāyarme)* /// =THT 81v4–5

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[63] This construction is "gen. subject" for inf. *lkātsi* "to see", viz. "the prince (will) see (it)". The gen. shows a function of agent, and Toch. inf. became nouns. We can see a similar construction in Latin, *accusativus cum infinitivo*.

[64] The *virāma*-line is a scribal error. We should read it as *śastarṣṣe*. I tried to find other possibilities, e.g. *.keñ śam.ś* (all.) or *.keñ* (causalis), but in vain. *ṅke* is visible, *ñśameṃ* is attested, and with *śastar* (←Skt. *śāstra*) it makes sense.

[65] Double consonants *rr* after vowel *ā* in order to make a clear consonant. It is phonologic /r/.

[66] According to TEB II (p. 186) and Adams (1999 p. 196) *kerciye* is *pl. tantum* but it could be sg. form. Nom. pl. is in TEB II **kerc(c)iyi*, in Adams *kerccī*. Both do not exist. Attested examples are: *kerci* (THT 073b4) and *kercci* (075v1), both are in verse, so they could be *kerciye*. *tā kercyenmeṃ* (394v1) *kercciye(ṃ)ṣṣe* (520v4, pl.? and *-ṣṣe*). There is no reason for *pl. tantum*, especially *tā kercyenmeṃ* is sg. because of demon.pron. f. sg. *tā*. I think that *-e* is nom. sg., *-y-* is an *anaptyxis* (Skt. *svarabhakti*) because of *i*, and *-eṃ* is obl. sg.

[67] If the number of lost *akṣara*s is 13–15 between PK NS 35r2 and r3, this part could be coincident with PK NS 35r3 *(naumi)KAne kreñc eśanesa* "with both jewel-like good eyes".

[68] This folio is published with photos in Couvreur 1964 p. 238–239. PK NS = *Pelliot koutchéen Nouvelle Série* kept in *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris. I put notations of the coincident parts in THT.

2 /// *(yamas)k(eṃ) [‖] tane araṇ(e)mi walo brāhmaṇeṃ (w)r(atsai tsaṅkormeṃ)* /// =THT 81v6

3 /// *(nauni)KAne kreñc eśanesa brāhmaṇeṃ PAlkormeṃ [w]e(ŚŚAṃ)* (12 akṣaras until 82r1)

4 /// *(ñeM॒ KA)ly[w]e keklyauṣormeṃ tane k[m]eM॒ ‖ walo we(ŚŚAṃ)* /// =THT 82r2

PK NS 35v

1 /// *(MA)kt(e) ksa [l]k(āTAr) t(a)ñ(¨)॒ m[aiM]॒ klyomo l(a)l(aṃ)[ṣ](ke)* /// =THT 82r3

2 /// *(ol)[y]p(o)tse : mapi ṅk(e) ñaṣtaR॒ twe pūdñäKTAṃñe (perne)* /// =THT 82r4

3 /// *liT॒ PAst॒ : ‖ tane walo pañäKTAṃñepi pe(r)[n](entse)* ///

4 /// *.. pañä[KTA]ṃ(ñepi pe)rn(e)tse ñeM॒ kā* ///

THT 082r (T III Š91.28, Pencil-number 2332)

1 /// *[.t.] kᵤce w[än]taresa kekamoṢ(॒) takāṢ॒ ytarintse ś(e)śśuko(ṣ)*[69]

2 /// *.e kneM॒ ‖ walo weṢṢAṃ KAṣṣinta*[70] *yessa warñai śaiṣṣe*

3 /// *(‖ karu)ṇapralāpne (4x12) ‖ MAkte ksa lkāTAr tañ¨ maiM॒ klyomo la(laṃṣke :)*

4 /// *(ra)mT॒ śc[ir](i)nn(e :) + + + wate no lalaṃṣke olypo[t](s)e 1*[71]

5 /// *s.ä + + + + + + + + + + + ytāri .e + +*

6 /// *ś we[Ṣ](ṢAṃ) + + +*

<translation>

1 /// With which thing had you come? Drinkings (and) eatings of journey

2 /// (having heard (your) fame, here) we came. ‖ The king says, "Oh my teachers! You and so on, the world

3 /// ‖ in the metre of *(karu)ṇapralāpa* ‖ How else does one estimate you (←see your evaluation) (as) noble (and) soft?

4 /// like (moon?) in stars : … the second, however, (is) very soft

5 (*pāda* a of the second verse) Well indeed you desire the Buddha-worth … the way …

6 /// he says to …

THT 082v

1 /// *[L]KA + + +*

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[69] Schmidt 2001 p. 311: "Vom Weg ermüdet (?)" for *ytarintse ś(e)śśuko(ṣ)* quoting Winter's *Studia Tocharica* p. 212 f. which I tried to get from Prof. Winter directly, but in vain. Judging from the reduplication, it should be a past participle. The function of the preceding gen. could be subjective, objective, possessive and partitive relating to the nominal participle. Schmidt's "ermüdet" does not apply to these cases. A pret. stem /śuk/ could be from √tsuk (caus. of √yok "to drink", *śuke* "Skt. *rasa* Geschmack?" cf. Krause 1952 p. 276), if *ts* could become *ś* (Krause ibid. p. 21). A reduplication is suitable to caus., and the geminated *śś* could show a border of morpheme. I assume this nominal participle as "drinkings", and the next word could be *śaśāwoṣ* "eatings" from √swā "to eat". Then this passage could be "drinkings and (eatings) of the way" → "food for journey". Saito with Catt informed of THT 538b4 *nkantentse tase(mane)* for Skt. *rajatasya prativarnika* "fake silver" as an example for gen. + participle in Toch.

[70] Schmidt (2001 p. 311): "Lehrer euresgleichen". *KAṣṣinta* could be a voc., and *yessa warñai* is not "euresgleichen" but "beginning with you" (→ you and so on).

[71] In this folio, circa 45 *akṣara*s (including *virāma*s and *visarga*s) are written in one line, e.g. in THT 078 r1, and the space for string hole would be the length of 4 *akṣara*s, e.g. THT 079 r3 and r4. Then the line with a string hole can include circa 3 *pāda*s, and this "1" is the end mark of *pāda* d. In PK NS 35 v2 after *(ol)[y]p(o)tse* we can see ":" which is not the end of the verse, because we can see it after *PAst॒ : ‖* in r3. The "1" in THT 078 could show No. 1 of the verse, but there is no No. 2 (instead, *: ‖*). Therefore, I prefer to see it as a space filling mark at the end of the line.

2 /// *ñś. + +*

3 /// ‖ *walo weṢṢAṃ ṣañ palsk(o)*[72] ‖

4 /// *[t.]ll(e) ot tañ¨ st[e] kr(eṃ)t wäntarene ekītattse nestsi •* ‖

5 /// *yai kauc iprerne : toṃ wi wäntarwa tne kalma*[73] *ksa kalloy¨*

6 /// *r [ñ]īŚ¨*[74] *poyśiṃ̃ñ*[75] *ākālksa : yaltse śaulanma ra mā ñi kca ynā(ñMA)*[76]

<translation>

1-2 (uncertain)

3 /// ‖ The king tells his own thought. ‖

4 /// (it) should be … then it is yours to be helpful in good thing. • ‖

5 /// he went up high in the sky. : He might obtain there the two things through early in the morning (?)

6 /// to the wood because of (←with) the desire to be (←of) all-knower(= Buddha). : Thousand lives also (are) not my esteem (= Buddha worth is more honorable than 1000 human lives).

THT 083r (T III Š90.8, Pencil-number 2331, verso is dropped off)

1 /// *[.n.] aṣkār[o]*[77] *: lareṃnmeṃ t[s]relñ(e)s(a) saṃsārn(e) [KA](r)py(eṃ) ce p(e)lyks(a)t[ai] (twe no :)* ///

2 /// *(śa)nmausa śānmyatai prākre twe PArkreṃ prekentsa : ña[k]e nai printsar ce uppāl le*[78] ///

3 /// *(e)◯ṅkormeṃ kenūne laMAsTArne*[79] *au(ṃ)tsatene rupaśke*[80] *kantwas(a) skāw[a](tsi)* ///

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[72] Schmidt (2001 p. 311): "Der König spricht <u>für sich</u>", but *palsko* "thought" can be an obl. (object of *weṢṢAṃ* "he says"). "für sich" would be *ṣañ-añmtsa*.

[73] *kalma* is unknown. Judging from the predicate *kalloy* opt. 3. sg. "he will obtain", *wäntarwa* pl. "things" is the object, so *kalma* should be the subject of the sentence. Another possibility is *kalmak-sa* perl., and if *kalma* is a scribal error for *kālyam* "early in the morning" (cf. Edgerton 1953 p. 181) and *-k* could be an analogy to *tsoṅkai-k* adv. "in the morning", which is semantically the same, but the perl. with adv. is impossible, so it could be a double scribal error. I would like to accept the latter because an indefinitum *ksa* "any, some" is not suitable to the context. Apropos, I think that *ksa* is not only an "adjective" (Adams 1999 p. 242), but also an "adverb", and it is used sometimes *metri causa* like *no* "but", when one syllable is necessary.

[74] In the photo I do not see *r [ñ]īŚ¨* but *.. rtoŚ¨* and it could be *wartoś* "to/for the wood". In TEB II p. 238 and Adams 1999 p. 580, this word is registered as *wartto* "forest", but *warto* is also attested, e.g. THT 044 r2 *wartone*. Geminated *tt* is because of *r*, but phonologically /wärto/, and in Toch. *rt* was kept very well, e.g. *sportomane*. Presumably *rtt* is a form influenced by a foreign language.

[75] This word is *poyśiññe* and *metri causa -e* (obl. sg. m. for next word m.) is omitted and *-ññ* → *-ṃñ*. Apropos, next /ākālk/ is an alternant (sg.: m. and pl.: f.), not n.[m.sg.] "noun whose gender in the singular is masculine" as is in Adams 1999. Moreover, there was no neuter in Toch. noun (except pronoun), though there had been nt-neuter originally (cf. TEB I p. 122). In my opinion pl. f. was formed with /-ā/, on the other hand, pl. m. with /-i/. This "alternant" is one of the Toch. peculiarities.

[76] If the metre is 5/7 in one *pāda* as is in the preceding (if it begins with *wartoś*), this word would be *ynāñMAññe* "esteem".

[77] Schmidt 2001 p. 312: "(wurdest du) zurück(gehalten)", but /āṣkār/ "back" (*-o* is movable *metri causa*) cannot be used as "zurückhalten". I recognize *[r]n(e)* before *aṣkār(o)*, and *-[r]n(e)* could be a middle verbal form with suffixed pron. 3. sg. "him", a noun itself, e.g. *tarne* "vertex", or a noun in loc., e.g. *iprer-ne* "in the air space". Anyway, I take *aṣkār(o)* as adv. "back, reverse".

[78] *uppāl* could be *uppāll* (double *l* before *e-*?), and the the next remnant of *akṣara* shows a single consonant (not ligature or vertically long *akṣara*), e.g. *enestai* "secretly". Schmidt's "lotos(gleichen)?" is possible, but *eneśle* "like" needs comitative. I would take it as *enestai* "secretly" tentatively.

[79] This verb is in pres., but the next one is pret. It is possible that one of them is a scribal error, or this sentence could be a direct speech.

[80] *rupaśke* is, according to TEB II p. 232 a deminutive of Skt. *rūpa* "Gesichtchen", *hapax legomenon*, and this meaning comes presumably from *skāwa(tsi)* "to kiss" (ibid. p. 257) which is also *hapax* (cf. Krause 1952 p. 300: "wörtl. 'bedecken'? Vgl. ai. *skauti*"). These two words are uncertain, and the meanings of both seem to be *ad hoc*. I would like to

4 /// *śaulā*[81]*preñcai sau(←soṃ)śka se wate appakke*[82] *snai tRAṅko ñake PAsȚ rinasTA(r)c(i) t. .p.* ///

5 /// *(we)ṢṢAṃ āppa ate yāmtsi PA[kn](a)s[ta]rñ̈ ‖ walo weṢṢAṃ larekka brāhmaṇe(ṃ)tȘ āyor aiskauc* ‖* ///

6 /// *[n]e weṢṢAm : saswa appakka (yākṣi) [c]aimP*̦ skente mā brāhmaṇi PAsȚ ṅke śwāñ̈ ce yolo* ///

<translation>

1 /// … back : with separation from beloved one in this poor(← low) Saṃsāra, (you, however,) were tormented (:) …

2 /// With fetter you were bound firmly for(← with) long time. : Just now leave this lotus (secretly?)! …

3 /// having grasped … he makes him get down on his knees (and) began to grieve about his pretty figure with the speech. …

4 /// Oh my life-supporter, my son! This second little father (= the king) throws you away now without fault …

5 /// (The prince) says, "Oh my father! You intend to take me away!". ‖ The king says, "Oh my darling! I give you (as) a gift for Brahmins. ‖ …

6 /// in … (the prince) says. : "Oh my lord, father! Those are (Yakṣas), not Brahmins. They will then eat me. This angry …

THT 084r (T III Š101.19, Pencil-number 2330)

1 /// *n. yakṣ[ā]ts̈ ṣarnene taṣṭa[r]ñ̈* ///

2 /// *(mā)[TA]R̦ lāntso lyelyakormeṃ wRA(tts)[ai]* ///

3 /// *l(.)[o]cä ‖ tū keklyau[ṣ]o◯(rmeṃ)* ///

4 /// *rya pratiṃ epiyac̦̈ ◯* ///

5 /// *yeSAñ nauS*̦ pelaikne* ///

6 /// *[p TA]ttāwsa SArwānaṣṣe* ///

<translation>

1 /// You put me in the hands of Yakṣas. …

2 /// having seen the mother, the queen, opposite to …

take *kantwasa* not as "with tongue" but as "with speech" because of its idiomatic usage. If *skāw-* in Toch. relates with Skt. √sku "to tear" as by Krause, this passage could be "he began to grieve(←fulfill his eyes with tear) about his pretty figure with the speech". It is not sure but better semantically. Another possibility for Toch. √skāw is "to praise" which could be assumed from the context. Anyway, the meanings of the words in this sentence are due to *hapax legomena* quite dubious.

[81] Sieg/Siegling's *śaula preñcai* is a compound *śaul-a-preñcai* because of *-a-* which is an accented *anaptyxis* /ä/ (cf. Bernhard 1958 p. 21-22) and a voc. which ends with *-ai*. The next word *soṃśka* is also a voc., but a scribal error *sau-* for *soṃ-* is interesting (cf. Stumpf 1990 p. 71). The function of Toch. *anusvāra* is quite different from Skt. (nasalization of vowels), viz. /n/ and /m/. Sometimes it was omitted even in Skt. documents written in the Toch. area, when the Toch. could not understand it as is in other languages and Toch. *au* was written because of Skt. and expressed, in my opinion, /ō/ which is not a Toch. phoneme because there was no long-short-opposition. It could be also understandable from the shape of initial *au-* and *ai-* which are *o-* and *e-* plus long vowel sign. If this hypothesis is right, the change of diphthongs to monophthongs in A-Toch. is easy to explain.

[82] Schmidt 2001 p. 312: "Dieser da ist [dein] zweites Väterchen, [ein Väterchen] ohne Arg. Jetzt verläßt dich (dein erster Vater)". Another possibility in my opinion is: "The second father (= the king) throws you away now without fault", i.e. (my) first father is a Brahmin who would take the prince. I think that my opinion is better, because a diminutive (*-kke* ← *-śke*?) father which is a subject of the sentence would be used in a family like *āppa* "father" (not *pācer*) or *larekka* "darling" in next line.

3 /// … ‖ having heard it …

4 /// … remembering the decision …

5 /// your earlier law …

6 /// she (has) put … of the face …

THT 084v

1 /// (sau)[śk](a) arañcäṣṣu⁸³ ṣaiyi(ṣka?) ///

2 /// y.T˳ wenempa pkwalñe ///

3 /// keṃtsa ktormeṃ au○ ///

4 /// (ā)[li]nesâṃtpi RAskre .. ○ ///

5 /// [ā]ntpi PAśne⁸⁴ sā_U˳ taṣītr ālūn(e) ///

6 /// (KAl)[y]m(i)ṃ sportītRA sau(←soṃ)śke aumene e(mpelye?) ///

<translation>

1 /// Oh my son, lovely kid! …

2 /// the trust together with both of us …

3 /// having strewed … over the earth …

4 /// with both palms violently …

5 /// on both breasts she has put (her) palms …

6 /// The son turned around (in all) directions in dreadful(?) misery …

THT 085r (T III Š80.31, Pencil-number 2329)

1 (lalauPA)ṣṣusa⁸⁵ kampāl aurcce sā_U˳ ysārasa • weksa sr(a)kañce kwoyTArne taṅsa snai KArsto 3
    ‖ tumeṃ uttare [m](ñcu)[ṣ]k(e) wcukaisa māTAR˳ lāntso eṅku

2 weṢAnneścä ṣarya aṃmakki poññ⁸⁶ āppai mā ñiś cempaṃtS˳ rakṣatsents aiṢṢAṃ ‖ tane
    araṇemiñ lānte (mñcuṣke)nne eṅKAltsa po kektseñmeṃ LA-

3 kleñ¨˳ syel[m]e ⁸⁷ (LAc-neŚ˳?) ○ ylāre kaklautk[au] TArraskemane ⁸⁸ rekisa uttareṃ

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⁸³ Schmidt (2001 p. 312): "[Mein] (liebes Söhn)chen, [mein] Herzchen, [mein] Kind(chen)", but *arañcäṣṣu* is a voc. of adj. relating to the next noun, e.g. THT 251v6 *rṣāKAññeṣṣu kaurṣu* (voc.) for Skt. *ṛṣipuṅgava*. According to Schmidt (ibid. p. 313 fn. 60), *ṣaiyiṣka* means "Kindchen, Tierjunges".

⁸⁴ *PAśne* is emended to perl. *PAśnesa* by Winter (cf. Schmidt 2001 p. 313 fn.62; 1974 p. 323 Anm. 1), but I think that a loc. is better because of the predicate *taṣītr* impf. "she has put". If it is so, dual *-ne* and loc. *-ne* could be single *-ne* caused by haplology. I see that this sentence is in verse, because two syllables *-cä-* from /päścäne/ and *ä* from *taṣītr* (3. sg. -/tär/) are *metri causa* ommitted. It is possible that a haplology could be used for metre.

⁸⁵ This is a complement by Krause (1952 p. 190 Anm. 1). Thomas completes it as *(lelaKA)ṣṣusa* "showed" which is denied by Schmidt (2001 p. 313 fn. 66) because "coat with blood" is impossible, i.e. a perl. cannot be used with noun. Schmidt translates it as "(befleck)t habend", but this can be confused with absolutive. The form is the past participle f. used as a predicate.

⁸⁶ PK NS 355a1: *p(o)ñ ā[pp](ai)*. Geminated *-ññ* here is written before initial *ā-*.

⁸⁷ *syelme* is *hapax legomenon*, but from the context it would be "sweat". According to Adams (1999 p. 721) it is an obl., but I think that it is a nom., if the predicate is √plätk "hervortreten" as is in Adams, caus.(?), but the form *pletksa* is not attested and dubious whether this verb in pret. III, cf. Krause p. 182 Anm. 1, and he translates it as "he poured out sweat". This would be his own grammar which we cannot trust. On the other hand we can see a part of *LA* (not *ple* at all) and the space of three *akṣaras* in the photo. Then I suppose *LAc-neŚ˳* (pret. 3. sg. of √la(n)t "hinausgehen").

⁸⁸ *TArraskemane* is *hapax legomenon*, and the meaning is unknown. Krause 1952 p. 247: "mahnen(?) oder beruhigen(?)", TEB II p. 198: "mahnen(?)", TEB I §385 Anm.: "unsicher (< *tärnaskemane*?), falls zu einer Wz. *tär-*, Adams 1999 p. 293 "± plead, implore(?)". Adams (ibid.) presents an etymology (Hittite *tariyanu-* 'entreat' by Melchert), but I cannot find this

m(ñcu)[ṣ](k)eṃ (weŚŚAṃ) larekka śāmna caimP* skente mā [ya]-

4 *kṣī mā twe prās(kaT̬ ‖ brāhma)* [89]*Oṇi weskeṃ (mapi oro)ccu walo ṣañ pratinmeṃ klau(tkalle nesT̬) ‖ tumeṃ walo ṣeme ṣarsa u(tta)-*

5 *reṃ mñcuṣkeṃ [e](ṅku wace ṣarsa āyo)rṣ(ṣ)e*[90] *[w](a)r eṅku arañc[ä] st(aukKA)ske[ma]ne mñcuṣkeṃ āyo(rmeṃ brāhmaṇeṃŚ weŚŚAṃ) ‖ taruṇadi(vākarne) 19/19/10/19*[91] *‖*

6 *MAkte ai(sk)au (uttareṃ ñäkte-yoKAṃ Ssuwe)r(śk)e*[92] *amāskai rilye • mā ṣ keś (t)āsau ṣañ la(kle) ///*

<translation>

1 She has stained the broad coat with blood (pl. in Toch.), (and) called him with hoarse voice, with love without interrupting. 3 ‖ Then the prince Uttara seized the mother, the queen, with (his) chin (and)

2 says to her, "Oh my lovely mother, tell (my) father not to give me (← he does not to give me) to those Rākṣasas! ‖ There in(←with) favor of(←in) the prince of the king Araṇemi, from (his) whole body because of (his) suffering

3 a sweat (came out to him?). He became weak (and) with heart-beating(?) word he says to the prince Uttara, "Oh my darling! Those men are not Yakṣas,

4 you (need) not be afraid. ‖ Brahmins say, "Well, oh great king! You would keep(← turn back from) your own decision. ‖ Then the king held the prince Uttara with one hand

5 (and he) held (a container of) water for giving (= Skt. *suvarṇābhiṣeka*?) with the other hand, having given the prince with depressed heart, (he) says to the Brahmins, ‖ in the metre of *taruṇadivākar* ‖

6 How (can) I give (my) little son Uttara (from whom it is) difficult to be separated • and I do not consider (my) own suffering. …

THT 085v #15

1 *te ṣarmtsa + + + + + + + + + .. rsa*[93] *lykaśke tāksoyM̬ śai[ṣ]ṣ(e)ntse mithy[a] + + + + + (wa)[lo] mñcuṣkeṃ brāhmaṇeṃ[ts] (āyormeṃ mi-)*

2 *wamane l[a](klene)* [94](*ṣaMAṃ ‖ tumeṃ brā)hmaṇi uttareṃ mñ(cu)ṣkeṃ [a]ntapi pokainesa y[ä](rt)t(amane) + + + + + kercīyeṃnmeṃ [pa]rna (lateṃ)*

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meaning, viz. *da-ri-ịa-nu-zi* 'er läßt müde werden' (Oettinger 1979 p. 476 fn. 39), and moreover Hittite *tar-* is indger. dʰeh₁- 'festsetzen' → 'autoritativ sprechen' (Oettinger ibid. p. 107). It is clear that Adams' etymology does not help Toch. On the other hand, I see on the photo that TA- is not sure, i.e. SA- is also possible. If it is from √särp "schlagen (vom Herzen)" (Krause ibid. p. 298) and *rp* → *rr* is possible, it could be "with heart-beating word", but it is not certain either. I think that it is better to leave it as pending.

[89] After PK NS 355a2.

[90] PK NS 355a3: *wace ṣarsa ysāśśe (war)*. About *war* "water" here, see Couvreur 1964 p. 240, fn. 13, viz. Skt. *suvarṇābhiṣeka* and *saratnam arghyam*.

[91] Schmidt emends the number of syllables 20/22/10/15 which is given in Sieg/Siegling 1953 p. 23 fn. 5., Thomas 1983 p. 108, 239 f. and 252. It is not sure about the syllable number because of incompleteness of the verse. If Thomas 1983 p. 240 "Der erste Fünfter ist nämlich um 1 Silbe zu kurz" is not right, it is 19 syllables for the first *pāda*, i.e. not 5/5/5/5, but 7/7/5. I suppose that Schmidt's emendation is right as in Adams 1999 p. 828.

[92] After PK NS 355a4.

[93] Schmidt denies (2001 p. 314 fn. 74) Sieg/Siegling's complement *(ṣañ ṣa)rsa* (1953 p. 23 fn. 7) from the photo. I recognize *.TA* before *rsa* and found a possibility of THT 228r1 *āsTArsa* "with (Māra's) weapon" (cf. Adams 1999 p. 59 quoting Couvreur 1964 p. 246 fn. 55 "uit Skr. *astra*; niet «das Reine» *astare* TEB II, 168!). This could be suitable if √tāks means "to smash" (cf. Schmidt 2001 p. 314 fn. 75), I would take it.

[94] After PK NS 355b2.

3 *tane uttare (enerSAṅK͜)*[95] ○ *lkāskemane* + + + *naṃ tRAntācce KAntwāśkesa* + + + + + *mane weṢṢAṃ saswa appa[kk](a ma)-*

4 *pi psāmpar ñ[iś(¨)͜] (cenäṃ rā)[kṣ](a)*[96]○*tsenneṃ lok[e] ykāk tv(e) śāmane nesT˳ ñake ṅke c[ai] ñ(i)ś PA(sT˳ śu)waṃ*[97] ‖ *te keklyau<ṣo>rmeṃ araṇemiñ lā-*

5 *nte pit maiwātene k(eṃ)tsa klāya*[98] • *tane orottsa kwasalñeṣṣa weśeñña klyauṣāte* ‖ *tane ñake brā[h](ma)ṇi uttareṃ MAñcuṣkeṃ ścirona rekauna-*

6 *sa SKArrāmane*[99] *weskeṇne paṣ paṢ˳ KArpīye<ṃ>tṢ˳ soṃṣka wesañ˳ ñake ṣarnene kekamu nesT˳ mā ṣ pātRA (lkā)lle nesT˳* ‖ *tumeṃ brāhmaṇi tott i*

<translation>

1 With this cause … with the weapon(?) I will smash(?) the falsity of the world (in) small (pieces) … The king, having given the prince to Brahmins,

2 sits trembling in suffering. ‖ Then Brahmins, while they tugged the prince Uttara with both hands, went out from the palace.

3 There Uttara, looking … in vain, says with hoarse voice(← small tongue) … , "Oh my glorious(←load) father,

4 really take me away far from these Rākṣasas! Still you are living, but now they will eat me away. ‖ Having heard it, the bile of the king Araṇemi

5 quaked (and) fell down on the ground. • There a big lamenting voice was heard. ‖ There now the Brahmins, while they scold the prince Uttara with hard words,

6 speak to him, "Go, go, oh vulgar boy! You have come now in our hands, and cannot see (your) father. ‖ Then Brahmins, meanwhile …

THT 086r (T III MQ23.6, Pencil-number 2543)

1 /// *PAS˳ śuwaṃ pt(āka saiM˳) waste* • /// (= THT 85v4)

2 /// *kentsa klāya* ‖ *tane orotse kwasalñe[ṣ]ṣe* /// (= THT 85v5)

3 /// *(utta)[r](e)[ṃ] mcuṣkeṃ ścirona rekaunasa SKArrāmane weskeṃ* /// (= THT 85v5)

4 /// *mañiye neS˳ mā ṢP˳ pāTAR˳ lkālle neS*˳*[100] ‖ /// (= THT 85v6)

5 /// *(a)raṇemiṃ lānte ypoytse salyai lyutstsante* ///

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[95] PK NS 355b3: *MA[ñ](c)uṣke enerSAṅK˳*, but judging from the space in the photo (THT 085), it should be *enerSAṅK˳* alone (without *MAñcuṣke*).

[96] PK NS 355b4: *[ce]nä(N)ʲⁱ(˳) räik[ṣ]at(s)e(nneṃ)*.

[97] Schmidt (2001 p. 315) adds "Sei [du mir] (Schutz) [und] Zuflucht!" from THT 086a1, but here there is no space. It is better to show this sentence in fn. in order to recognize the real writing. These two folios are not written by the same writers because of different style of handwriting and as well as different spelling, i.e. *nesT* : *neS, ṣ* : *ṢP, ṣarnene kekamu* : *mañiye*. Writing styles changed even in the same place whithin a short time, i.e. there is no synchlonic and diachronic difference.

[98] The same description is seen on THT 087bav3 which we cannot determine its location. Presumably an expression like this is common in Toch. for the sake of making scenes dramatic.

[99] *-rr-* in this word is an assimilation of *-rn-* (pres. class VI, suffix *-nā-*). Later I will discuss a problem of *rr* within palaeography (in Appendix).

[100] The word and spelling in this line differ from THT 085v6 as written above. From *neS*˳ (*virāma* comma before *daṇḍa*) for *nesT˳* (/t/ is ommited on phonetic ground), and "to our hand come" vs. "slave", it is possible that THT 086 is younger than THT 085 because of phonetic and semantic reason. Moreover, I see a younger scripts (a little awkward square shape) in THT 086.

<translation>

1 ~ 4: the same as THT 085v4 ~ 6.

5 /// they went across the border of the king Araṇemi's country …

THT 086v

1 /// .. *te uttareṃ mcuṣkeṃ śauŚAṃ lāre somśka uttara [•]* ///

2 /// .. *koynameṃ reki klyauṣiM̥ ‖ ate takāsta[ñ]̥* ///

3 /// *(ta)[ñ](˳) KAlymiṃ sportoTAR̥ mā Ṣ̥ tañ¨ koynameṃ lare* ///

4 /// *(‖ chandra)kanivartaṃne (4x12) ‖ ñiśmeṃ tsrorsa larepi somśke(ntse)* ///

5 /// *lñeṣṣe PArmaṅsa + + + TAr nai la* ///

<translation>

1 /// he calls the prince Uttara, "Oh my loving son, Uttara! …

2 /// from (your) mouth I want to hear a word. ‖ You were far away from(←of) me …

3 /// your … he turns around (in all) directions, and not from (your) mouth a lovely …

4 /// ‖ in the metre of *chandrakanivart* ‖ With separation from me, of loving son …

5 /// with hope of … (he) … indeed …

THT 087r (T III Š96.18, Pencil-number 2233)

1-2 {missing}

3 + + *(t).* ///

4 *.. + ṢSAṃ ‖* /// (= THT 086v4 before the name of the metre?)

5 *ṣṣe PArmaṅsa* /// (= THT 086v5)

6 *+ .ā [k].ne • klau[tk].* ///

<translation>

6 /// in … • (he) turned back …

THT 087v #20 (T III Š101, Pencil-number 2233)

1 *ñ[k]e mā kalla[ṃ] • tso(ṅk)[ai](K˳)* ///

2 *brāhmaṇe ..* ///

3 *[w]e + .. [t].e* ///

4 {only one trace}

5, 6 {missing}

<translation>

1 now he will not gain … • In the morning …

2 The Brahaman …

3 ~ 6 impossible to read

THT 088r (T III Š75.3, Pencil-number 2339, the center in normal), The left side is THT 1924 (T III Š731, in ***bold italics***), the right side is THT 073ba (in **bold**). Judging from the folio number 21, THT 088 follows THT 087 directly.

1 *(ka)ntwo koynameṃ parna*[101] *lnaṣṣi(ne ‖ tu)meṃ durmukhe brāhmaṇe uttare<ṃ> śamaśkeṃ*
    KArwāṣṣai witsakaisa RAskare tsopaṇṇe siñcai ṣorpor i[n]e[102] + + +

2 *mormeṃ au«ntsa»ntene śčīre maKAstsi • ‖ tane ñake uttari śamaś(k)entse kālpsa*[103] *painemeṃ*
    ette kloyomane alyeKA kca warttoṣṣe makūltsa tatrāppa-

3 *rmeṃ r[ū]psa*[104] *klāya MArsāne*[105] *keꞲne mrakwe yopsane ‖ tane rudraśarme brāhmaṇe {•}*
    portsaisa[106] *ut[ta](r)e(ṃ mñcu)ṣkeṃ eṅkormeṃ tsak[a]tsai*

4 *keṃtsa orKAntai yärttane ‖ <tu> Ꞷ lyelyakormeṃ vṛkṣavāsike ñakte śle māṃt{s}alyñe śanoś*
    weṢṢAṃ lariya pāl[k]a nai mā ṣekaṃñe

5 *wäntarwatS sparkālye (āke ‖) [pa]ñcagatine (21/21/18/13) ‖ ykāk cwi śamāne pācer wlo*
    vip(←ṣ)ṇuntaṃts[107] *ra amāskai yāṃtsi sū erkatte • (ya)k no cwi somśke<ṃ> lalaṃ-*

6 *ṣkeṃ aināki caimP* brā(hmaṇi yä)r(tt)e(nn)e*[108] *śle tremeṃ : pil(k)o(sā)ñmālaṣkeṃ lkāṢṢAnne*
    taṅsa saM mñcuṣ[k]e lareṃ pāTAr raṃT : mā (wa)[109] *ks[a] Ṣ* cwim[P]*

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[101] *-rna-* is preserved. We can find *-nn-* in younger texts, e.g. THT 331r (T II S57.1), THT 525r (T II S67.7), THT 598a (T III M143.13), THT 599r (T III M135.10).

[102] *i[t]e* is a transliteration in Thomas 1953 p. 25 and Adams 1999 p. 663, which is made by Sieg/Siegling, but on the photo *in[e]* is sure to be read, and the following two *akṣara*s could be *ś.* and *.k.*, then I agree with K.T. Schmidt's reading (2001 p. 316 fn. 94) *ine[ś] (eṃṣ)[k](e yā)mormeṃ*. However, a translation is because of the previous two words *siñcai ṣorpor* quite uncertain. Adams: "having filled the *sincai* bag with water"; K.T. Schmidt: "Nachdem sie eine … Kapuze(?) bis in [seine] Au(gen gez)ogen(?) hatten". Schmidt's translation is much better, but *yneś eṃṣke yāmormeṃ* "bis in Augen gezogen" is dubious. If Schmidt's transcription is right, I would like to translate it as "having even made clear (← *ineś yām-*)", but *sincai* and *ṣorpor* (including another *ṣo(rpo)* M.3b7 in Filliozat 1948 p. 95) are unknown. Judging from the context, it could mean "hard work" or "heavy burden" for the prince Uttara. A mistake is always thinkable for *hapax legomena*, but I dare to find possibilities: *ṣorpor* would be a verbal noun from pret. stem *ṣorp-* which could be from √*särp* "to beat" (palatal *ṣ* and apophony *ā → o* for pret. stem). *sincai* would be an obl., which functions as object of verbal noun. If *sincai* means "back", it would be suitable to the context. I would like to offer a hypothesis in my translation.

[103] *kālp* (Skt. *kalpa*) is difficult to understand. TEB II p. 180: "Verhalten", Adams 1999 p. 155: "age", Edgerton 1953 p. 172: "manner". "Verhalten" is used by Schmidt (2001 p. 316) with (?), "age" is not apt. I prefer to take "manner" (close to "Verhalten").

[104] *r[ū]p* is Skt. *rūpa* "(beatiful) shape" as is in TEB II p. 232. Schmidt translates it as "Gesicht" (2001 p. 317) which comes presumably from *rupaśke* "Gesicht" (TEB II p.232). In my opinion "Gesicht" für *rupaśke* would also be a mistake (cf. fn. 80 above).

[105] Schmidt emends it as *PArsāte* "he/she/it sprinkled" and translates this passage as "spritzte da jetzt Hirn auf die Erde [und] drang in sie ein". If this is right, Uttara died. I suppose that *MArsāne* is not a mistake, but *kene* should be emended as *keṇne* or *kenne* "in the earth" as in Schmidt, and *mrakwe* "small portion (of knee) = kneecap?", because the prince fell on the knee. Anyway, my translation is tentative.

[106] *portsai* is *hapax legomenon*, and its meaning is unknown, only the obl. form is recognizable. Schmidt 2001 p. 317: "Gürtel (?)", Adams 1999 p. 404: **porsno* (sic!) "ankle". Another possibility is a mistake for *pokai* "arm", because *rts* and *k* are a little similar, and we can see mistaken *ts* for *t* in next line *māṃt{s}alyñe*, which (without *s*) is suitable for the context, but is also not sure because of *hapax*. This folio is somehow difficult to understand, e.g. "•" before *portsai* or forgotten <tu> in the next line. This could mean that the writer's ability was not enough to write correctly, though the scripts are fine to read.

[107] The form is gen. pl., but there are not many *Viṣṇu*s, because he is just one god. I suppose that *Viṣṇu* is a representative of two gods and three saints (二天・三仙 cf. Nakamura 1981 p. 1049), two gods are *Maheśvara* and *Viṣṇu*, and three saints are *Kapila*, *Kaṇāda* and *Ṛṣabha* (founder of schools).

[108] *(yä)r(tt)e(nn)e* is not *(yä)r[t](t)e(nn)e* as in Sieg/Siegling 1953 p. 25, because *-[t]-* is written on another paper, but there is enough space for *tt* below *r*. Instead, *-nn-* is visible, but not sure.

[109] *w[a]* is mentioned in Sieg/Siegling 1953 p. 25, but on the photo, *w-* seems to be on another piece as is in r6/v1 of this folio, because there is a remnant of *akṣara* on the left of *w-*, which has nothing to do with the original one, and the back side of this part differs from the piece of *w-*. Another example cited in TEB II p. 238 *mā wa nnai* is *mā wat nai*. A combination with indefinitum /ksā/ "some" and /ṣäp/ "and" is not attested. Moreover, I cannot understand *mā wa ksa ṣ* because of two different conjunctions /wā/ "but" and /ṣäp/ "and" in such a short passage. Schmidt's translation "und nicht ist auch nur irgendeiner" (2001 p. 317) is also difficult to understand. Presumably, another possibility is better, e.g. /preksā/ "he questioned", /räksā/ "he covered" or /weksā/ "with voice", which might mean "nothing to say", but it is also not sure.

\<translation\>

1 The tongue went out from his mouth ‖ Then the Brahmin Durmukha pokes the little boy Uttara violently with root of reed, having (even made clear), beating (his) back (with root of reed ??),

2 they began to make him run hard. • ‖ There now with a manner of the little boy Uttara he stumbled on(←with) some another root in(←of) forest and crashed down on his knee (← from two feet),

3 he fell down with (his whole) body. (The prince) forgot him(← fell in a faint?), (and) small piece (= kneecap?) entered in the earth(?) ‖ There the Brahmin Rudraśarma, having seized the prince Uttara with (his) arm(?), tugged him through thorny

4 earth back and forth. ‖ Having seen it The god Vṛkṣavāsika[110] says to (his) wife with injured (feeling), "Oh my darling, look the instability

5 of things (and) the transitory end!" ‖ in the metre of *pañcagati* ‖ Still his father, the king, (is) alive(←living). Even for Viṣṇu and so on, (it is) difficult to do, he is unfriendly. • Yet those greedy Brahmins tugged his tender son

6 with anger. : With pitying view, that prince sees them with love as if (he sees his) lovely father. : Nothing to say (?) that person's

THT 088v #21

1 **MAsketRA waste comP˷ [l]**(aklene 1 KAlymiṃ) [s]po«rto»tRA pācer cwi[mP˺] (ku)rār lūwo [tu]-yäknes(a) kw[ä]snātRA snai [KAr]st[o] • kwāTArne **taṅsa śauśaṃne cwī**

2 **ykuwa toṃ ykentane wolo(ktRA te)** mw[e]nte[111] <•> lwāsāts ra ṢPA seniK˷[112] comP˷ kaLPAṢṢAṃ ñśameṃ wätkoṣ kr̮i lkācer ñī so(ṃ)ske : p[ts]**ārwaṣṣatne ñi yke-**

3 **ne ytārin empelyai 2 ǀ ś(a)**na ñäkteñña weṢṢAṃ makte pācer walo cwi comP˷ lakle śala kā ṢPA [ñ](ake LA)**klesu ste ǀ vṛkṣa-**

4 **vāsike ñäkte weṢṢAṃ pa**○**ñäKTAṃñe** perneṣṣe akālksa rinsātene mā traṅko [113]yamasne [pi/o] + + k LAkleñ¨ arañce ni-

5 **ttaṃ weSAñ no pernesa sū toṃ LAklenta** lkāṢṢAṃ ‖ te weweñ(o)rmeṃ ltaiS˷ ñaktene ‖ om no ñake tott īke postaṃ yne**[ma]ne brāhmaṇi uttareṃ**

6 **[mñ]c[u]ṣkeṃ ākemane candram(u)khi lānte** yapoyne klāntene • tumeṃ brāhmaṇagrāmne

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[110] *vṛkṣavāsike* is a Skt. name in Toch. nom. sg. as is in Adams 1999 p. 572, but Schmidt 2001 p. 317: "ein baumbewohnender Gott". I cannot find this name in Akanuma 1931, so it is possible that this name was created in Toch. or loaned from some another literature.

[111] *mw[e]nte* is problematic. TEB II p. 52: *mw ente* "wenn …" (fn. 9 -mw (← -mu) "traurig?" in one syllable). Schmidt 2001 p. 317 fn. 100: (tu- or te-)*maṃnte* "von (da) an". On the photo *wa* is pale in comparison with upper *m*, but *ṃ* on *m* is on another paper, therefore, this would be *mante* without *w*. Then *ente* is a fault as Schmidt claims (ibid.), and a conj. "wenn" comes not in the end of sentences even in verses. Moreover, two-syllable-words with *mu* does not exist. And also, I cannot accept Schmidt's notion because *mante* originally "upwards" Skt. *ūrdhvam* and used as postposition "von … ab" (TEB II p. 218), and *te-mante* is not attested. My hypothesis: this word was written *se-mwante* for *se-mant* "in this way" ("*tālis*" in TEB II p. 218), i.e. in such a way of crying and screaming as is mentioned before, or *te-mant* "so". Anyway, it is better not to translate the words here.

[112] The meaning of /senik/ is not easy. TEB II p. 257: "Auftrag", Adams 1999 p. 699: (adv.)! "under one's care", Schmidt 2001 p. 319-320: "anvertraut, in Obhut". I am not sure whether an etymology of this word is Avestan *zaēna* "watching over" (Khot. *ysīnī(ya)*, Sogd. *zynyh*, Kroraina *jheniǵa* cf. Adamas ibid.) because of -*k* in Toch., but from context, I take "trust" as an object of *kaLPAṢṢAṃ* "he gains" tentatively.

[113] *yamas* is an impv. 2. pl. act. with the ending -*s*, without impv. prefix *p*-, which is irregular. Normally before *p*- the impv. prefix could be omitted (*p-p → p*) and the pl. form for his wife is not understandable because *pluralis majestatis* was not attested in Toch. It could be a mistake for *pyāmtsar* (impv. 2. sg. mid.).

*yaipormeṃ akaLṢAlyi rudra**mukheṃ purohiteṃ [w]e(ñ)[ā]**

\<translation\>

1 protection is located in that suffering. 1 ‖ The father of that (person) turned around (in all) directions. A bird(←animal), sea eagle, laments in(←with) such a way (as his father?) without interrupting. • He calls him with love, screams(←calls) at him.

2 He stays in the places (where) his (son) went (in such a manner = in screaming?) • and also he feels(←gets) the(←that) trust in(←of) birds(←animals), (and in his mind) "If you may see my son (who is) separated from me, instead of me (← in my place), (please) comfort him (who is)

3 in dreadful way!" 2 ‖ (His) wife, the goddess says, "The father, the king himself has brought that suffering for him. Why also now is he unhappy?" ‖ Vṛkṣavāsika,

4 the king says, "With (his) desire of the Buddha-worth he has given up him(= the prince). Don't give(←make) him a fault(←sin)! … from suffering he breaks (his) heart.

5   Now because of us (←with our worth) he sees the sufferings. ‖ Having said it, both gods went out. ‖ There now the Brahmins, going step for step (and) leading the prince Uttara,

6 brought him to(←in) the country of the king Candramukha. • Then having entered into Brāhmaṇagrāma(= village of Brahmin) they said to the teacher Rudramukha,

THT 089r (T III Š64.15, Pencil-number 2328)

1 (*?klau*)*tkac perne poyśiññe ket pernesa snai tRAṅko ñiś rinsatai : kṣatriññempa ā[k]lu ñiṤ sakne aukṣu LAkle ///*

2 *nraiṣṣana toṃ LAklenta yśānna lk[ā]skau : waiptāR̥ wloṢAṃ letseṇne po KAlymintsa lwāsa ñi lestai yāmwa*[114] *: ///*

3 *ñi iṅkauṃ KAstweR̥ 2 la○reñ̈ + [ñ]i*[115] *onolmi lkoycer nai ñi tallārñe erka ///*

4 *triku yam warttone : keṃtsa ○ [t.] + + + (+) k[o]tsts[e]ṃts*[116] *[p]arwa tat(w)āṅ[k]au mā ketrā[ññe]*[117] *(:) ///*

5 *sasw appakka 3 ‖ tumeṃ uttar(e) mñcuṣke [na] + + + + + .. e[pi]ya + + + [n]. ram (n)o .. ///*

6 *[yau]*[118] *taur āp(←ṣ)tsa*[119] *KA(tnāman)e*[120] *weṢṢAṃ ‖ bharyaci[n](tākne) (4x12) ///*

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[114] This *pāda* c is a little difficult to understand, i.e. to which word, *letseṃ* "locks, hair" or *lestai* "nest", *ñi* "my" relates. Thomas 1983 p. 243: "in [ihren; scil. der Tiere] auseinandergeschlagenen Haaren gewährten mir die Tiere überall Unterkunft" (because of pl. *letseṃ* with pl. *luwāsa* "animals"?) against Couvreur's "in [mijn] verwarde haarlokken". Schmidt follows Thomas with quotation in fn. 108 (2001 p. 318). From context I prefer Couvreur's because the prince alone gets suffering on his head where many animals (= metaphor for sufferings?) make their nests, not the prince's nest in many animals, though *ñi* is written separately (*metri causa*).

[115] On the photo, *ñ* can be recognized. If this is *ñi* "my", the word before *ñi* is in one syllable from the number of syllables (7/4/7), and it could be a conjunction *no* "now" or *ṣäp* "and" in a sence of emphasis like the next passage *lkoycer **nai** ñi.*

[116] *k[o]tsts[e]ṃts* is *hapax legomenon* and the meaning is unknown. Schmidt 2001 p. 318: "in Eulen(?)federn gezwängt". An adj. with -tstse is thinkable, e.g. *palskotstse* "having thought" or *pilkotstse* "having a view", but *k-* is clear (not ligature) on the photo. *tstsai* instead of *tstse* is possible to see and *ko* could be *kau*. If it is *kautstsai* which could be a scribal error for *kautātstsai* (obl.) "breakable" from √*kaut* "to split off" (cf. Adams 1999 p. 210, the nom. **kautātstste* should be **kautātstse*), and *kautātstsai* is not an adj. as is in Adams, because the obl. and gen. of *tstse*-adj. is *-cce.* The reading is sure (Lévi 1933 p. 61, S (5) a3; Thomas 1966 p. 172, S 5 Vorderseite 3), so this word is a noun in gen. pl. and its meaning could be "poor clothes" like BHS *pāṃśu-kūla*, but it is not sure because of the next *[p]arwa* "feathers".

[117] *mā ketrā[ññe]* is *hapax legomenon* and not easy to understand. Thomas (1985 p. 243): "niemandem angehörig", which Schmidt follows (2001 p. 318), citing *cwiññe* "ihm gehörig" etc. I doubt whether this part including the previous one was written correctly. Tentatively I follow Thomas' opinion.

[118] This *akṣara yau* could be written on another paper. Both *y-* and *-au* are in different form, so Schmidt's supposition *kaklāyau* "(gefal)len" (2001 p. 319) would be incorrect.

\<translation\>

1 … (?became to) your worth of All-knowing(= Buddha), with its(←whose) worth you have left me (though I have) no sin. : I have studied with (people) of Kṣatriya happily(←in happiness), (but) a suffering (is) increased ///

2 I see the sufferings of hell in human life (← among men). : In my confused(← attacked differently) hairs all over, animals have made (their own) nest. : ///

3 for me(?) day and night. 2 (verse number without ‖) My loving beings! You might see even my misery (and) anger ///

4 confusedly(←confused) I go into the forest. : On the earth … worn(?) feathers of *k[o]tsts[e]*, (and I am) belonging to nobody(?). : ///

5 Oh my lord, father!" 3 ‖ Then the prince Uttara … remembering(?) … as if ///

6 … strewing ash(← dust) on his head, he says. ‖ in the metre of *bharyacintāka* ///

THT 089v #23

1 *(e)kitatse śauly ñe + + + .n. • śaul oṅkipṣu [k].* ///

2 *snai saim waste : yāmor ñakta*[121] *kā tot ñiśne maiyya (lkā)st(a)R⸜*[122] *(:) + + +.s. ye + + + + + s[a]ññ[ā]T⸜* ///

3 *lkātsi : ñi sak lakle [t](a)ñ waО[ṣe]*[123] *tu [p]āke yā(m)u (: ya)k no ñiŚ⸜ ñke erk(a)tñettse lye[l](k)[w] e* ///

4 *(la)klene 3 ‖ tane ñake āruОṇāvatiṣṣi KAryo(r)tt(a)ñc¨ uttari mñcuṣkeṃtse tRAṅkalyñe [re](ki)* ///

5 *k̮se nai tamP⸜ añmālaṣke palwaṃ SAsweṃtse araṇemiñ lānte ṢPA ñeM⸜ śauŚAṃ ‖ dravyaśvare KAryo(r)tt(au)* /// *(LAklesso)-*

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[119] *āṣtsa* is a perl. of *āśce* "head", which shows three fricatives (or sibilants), i.e. *āstäṃ* obl. pl., *āśce* nom. sg., *āści* nom. pl. and *āṣtsa* perl. sg. /ṣc/ can be seen (12 times in THT 001–633), but /śc/ is mostly written (205 times ibid.), so /ṣc/ could be a mistake. These are all Toch. phoneme inventories /s, ś, ṣ/, and the reason why three phonemes come together for one word is presumably based on *Phonotaktik* (phoneme combination), i.e. /s/-/t/, /ś/-/c/ and /ṣ/-/ts/. Phonetic interpretation for /ś/ is a little difficult, but from palatal opposition of /k/, it could be [ç] (palatal fricative), which I discussed with Pinault, while /ṣ/ is [ʃ] (postalveolar fricative, palatal opposition of /s/). I suppose that the original form was /āst/, and nom. sg. -*e* made t → c, c made s → ś (obl. is minus -*e*, nom. pl. is obl. plus -*i*), and perl. sg. *āst-sa* → *āṣ-tsa*. Apropos, *aṣtsa* = **BHS -śira-** (251a5) in Adams 1999 p. 56 is not correct because Skt. instrmental case is *śirasā*.

[120] Cf. Schmidt 1974 p. 353 and 2001 p. 319 fn. 109; Thomas 1985 p. 243. Other similar examples are in PK NS 36 Aa5 and PK NS Ca5.

[121] *yāmor ñakta* (voc.) could be a compound (cf. Thomas 1983 p. 243), but can be separated as *pratyaika- ra -pudñäkte* (cf. Bernhard 1958 p. 48), viz. not real compound as in Skt., and *ñakte* is added to Skt. words showing respected nuance, e.g. B-Toch. *pud-ñäkte* "Buddha-God = Buddha" or A-Toch. *wlā-ñKAt* "King-God = Skt. *devendra* = Indra" (cf. Bernhard, ibid. p. 49). *yāmor* "deed" could be translated from Skt. *karman*, but there is not such a god in India. I suppose a BHS *karmakāraka* "presiding officer in assembly" (cf. Edgerton 1953 p. 170) or Chin. 業道神 "gods who observe the people's right and wrong deed" (cf. Nakamura 1981 p. 408). I prefer the latter because of the context.

[122] The passage is difficult to translate because of this verb. Schmidt 1974 p. 460: "warum (zeig)st du so sehr [deine] Macht an mir?", and in fn. 2 (ibid.): "Die von Sieg/Siegling in den Text gesetzte Ergänzung … *(lkā)st(a)r* hat keine kausative Bedeutung (Kaus. würde **lakästar*)". Thomas (1983 p. 243) follows Schmidt's opinion, but he thinks 3. sg. passive *lkāstär*, "warum wird [deine] Macht so [sehr] an mir gesehen?". I suppose that both are not right because there is space only for one *akṣara* before -*st*-, i.e. **lakästar* is impossible, and after voc. of 2. sg., normally the predicate of 2. sg. comes. However, I wonder which power *yāmor-ñakte* possesses. My opinion: *lkāstar* is not wrong if *yāmor-ñakte* observes the people's right and wrong deed, as is the previous fn., and *maiyya* "might" is a metaphor for "wrong deed". Other possibilities are *rustar* "you open" or *klāstar* "you lead", but *lkāstar* is better from the context. Apropos, *palkaṣtār⸜* 92a4 (my transliteration: *PALKAṣtāR⸜*) in Thomas (ibid) is not from √läk "sehen", but √pälk "quälen, skt. *tāpayati*" (TEB II p. 209) because pres. caus. 2. sg. of √läk is *läkṣtār*.

[123] In the photo I can recognize this word as *waṣe* but the meaning "lie" is not suitable. Schmidt translates it as "Bereich" (*mīṣe*?), but I also cannot understand well. Tentatively, I take "lie" though the relation or context is not clear.

6 *nt*[124] *onolme ‖ maṇiśvare KAryaurtto weṢṢAṃ lalaṃske ksā samP˳ weK˳ klyauṣṭRA mā tāmP˳ nta*
ykāka śaumoṃntse ///

<translation>

1 helpful(?), a life … • a life, oh shameless man! …

2 without support (and) refuge(←house). ‖ Oh my *Karma*(-observing) god! Why do you
observe(←see) my(←in me) might in such a way? : … restrained ///

3 to see. : My happiness and misery, and your lie(?), it (is) separated, : furthermore now I saw …
of anger. ///

4 in misery 3 ‖ There now merchants of Aruṇāvati (heard?) the lament (and word) …

5 "Who complains so pitifully and calls the name of the lord, the king Araṇemi?" ‖ The merchant
Dravyaśvara (says) ///

6 (unhappy) being. ‖ The merchant Maṇiśvara says, "Some soft voice is heard. (I have) never
(heard) such (a voice) of human being. ///

THT 090r (T III Š93.14,)[125]

1 /// *tatwāṅkau*[126] *tapovaṃ varttoś ya-*[127]

2 /// [*KA*]*ry. .t. ñc̈˙[˳] alloKA kca*[128] *stānasa ā*

3 /// (*ta*)*llāw ram no* [*ā*]*rw*[*a*] *KArsnāmane ścireNAṃ*

4 /// *yane aruṇ*[*ā*]*vati riŚ˳ sorromP˳ ka*

5 /// [*k*]*. yoK˳*[129] *ente nai kca nesta ñke ñissa*

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[124] Obl. sg. m. of /läkle-ssu/ "unhappy".

[125] According to Schmidt (2001 p. 319), there are 18 folios between No. 89 and 91. No. 90 which does not follow directly to No. 89, and also Uig. version, Mz 223 belong to the gap. The king Araṇemi gave not only his son and wife but also himself. The oppression against the king Araṇemi in Mz 223 is similar to that of prince Uttara. I will shortly present the story from the German translation of Zieme (2001 p. 420): The king was tormented on the dirty ground, sometimes stamped on his face, but he showed mild eyes like a lotus to the Brahmin Rudramukha. The king was happy, though he was tormented, because he completed the *kṣānti-pāramitā*. Then, Brahmin's wife asked not to torment him but to sell him. The king, wearing clothes of the poor, was taken to Caṇḍāla-gate where somebody with a sword in his hand asked the Brahmin whether the king could be sold.

[126] This is a p.p. from √*twāṅk*, which appears only here and in THT 089r4. In A-Toch. we can find *twāṅkatr aśśuK˳* THT 815r3 and p.p. *kārKAryāṣi wsāl tā[t]wä-* 707r3 and *tā[t]wäṅku [ṣ]āma[ñ]li* 771r6. The meaning is "einzwängen(?)" (Krause 1952 p. 252), "einzwängen" (TEB p. 108, p. 201) and "± wear (or 'don' or 'doff'?)" (Adams 1999 p. 322). I cannot understand why TEB mentions it without (?). Despite poor fragments, I prefer "to wear" (not "doff"), because of B-*parwa* "feathers" and A- *wsāl* "clothing", especially Uig. description "ein sehr schlechtes, einem Sklaven passendes schäbiges Gewand anziehen" (Zieme 2001 p. 420).

[127] Schmidt 2001 p. 320: "geht er"; Adams 1999 p. 322: "[lege: *yaṃ*?] he goes". Both are pres. 3. sg. from √i "to go", but in this folio *anusvāra* is written correctly, and beginning with *ya-* is ger. and inf. of √i. Another possibility is *yaPAṢṢAṃ* caus. pres. 3. sg. from √*yäp* "to enter".

[128] *kca* is obl. of indefinitum *ksa* with nuance "some", but here obl. pl. f. *alloKA*(← *alloṅkna*) "others" which is related to perl. pl. f. (alternate) *stāna-sa* is already indefinite. Schmidt translates *alloKA kca* as "irgendwo (?)" (2001 p. 320). The combination *ksa/kca* is presumably an analogy with kₐse/kₐce "who", but gen. *ket(-ra)* cannot be interpreted, and *ksa* is neither "Indefinitpronomen" in TEB I p. 166 nor pronominal adj. in Adams 1999 p. 242, but a particle because it could not stand alone. There are some interpretations about this problem, but I can accept/understand none of them, e.g. *kwäśé kwäśe > B *kuse ksa* (Catt's attempt for *käkse* THT 197v5). I would rather not translate *ksa*, when *ksa* has semantically or even grammatically nothing to do for the context, especially in the case of verses, though there might have been some meaning or function originally.

[129] Thomas completed it as *(lare)-yoK˳* "lovelike" (Adams 1999 p. 548) which appears in THT 072r2 and 093v5, but on the photo *[k]*. is visible. It is recognized by Schmidt (2001 p. 320), but he mistakes it for *(aina)k(e)-lare* for *-yoK˳* "Aussehender" which I cannot understand. *yok* means "color" or "hair", which is not suitable here. I leave it as pending.

6 /// *[wa]rtto*[130] *ynema[ne] reskeñ˙ ysāra : a*

<translation>

1 /// worn(?) he(= Brahmin?) make him(= the king?) enter Tapovana woods

2 /// marchants … with other trees …

3 /// like misery … hard woods cutting

4 /// (he led?) him to the city Arṇāvati, downward

5 /// … where you were, now with me

6 /// while he goes to the woods, his blood (pl.) flows : …

THT 090v

1 /// *(me)[ñ ra]mT*˳*[131] *ściri(n)[n](e) • taññe cau yaitko(rsa?)*

2 /// *[m]. lāntne*[132] *maiyyācce weR*˳ *epiyac˳*

3 /// *[pru]kormeṃ*[133] *i[s](ta)K*˳ *traikane*[134] ‖ *tumeṃ*

4 /// ‖ *śle tremeṃ (brā)hmaṇe weṢṢAṃ hai ma(niśvara)*

5 /// *(r)[e]kau[na] kauṃ parki aksaune mā śwātsi*

6 /// *.. t. sne wāṣpinnau(←wawārpau??) yan nai*

<translation>

1 /// like (moon in) stars. • (With?) this order of you

2 /// (having) remember(ed) a strong hate in king (Araṇemi?)

3 /// having jumped, immediately (Bracman?) confused him(= the king)

4 /// ‖ Brahmin says with anger, "Hey Ma(niśvara)!

5 /// I will proclaim the words to him (at) sunrise, "No food

6 /// … to him / in … surrounded(??) he goes surely (??)

THT 091r (T III Š91.25 & 91.26)

1 *(ā)ntsesa watsālai premane war āṣtsiś*[135] *yakne yamaṢAṃ satyakār [a]* ///

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[130] *wartto* (obl.) might be *warttone* (loc.) because of √i "to go" (cf. examples in Adams 1999 p. 580), but *-ne* is omitted *metri causa*. Toch. obl. is not an accusative in the sense of indger., i.e. no function of "Akkusativ der Richtung". The obl. is a key factor in Toch., so Toch. could be the oblique language.

[131] *(me)[ñ ra]mT* is a complement of Thomas (1983 p. 244), but *meñ* is obl. of *meñe* "moon". It might be *metri causa* or nom. *-e* was added to *meñ*, i.e. *meñ* was original. I prefer the latter because of *meñ-yok* "moon-color" or *meñ-ñäkte* "moon-god", if a quasi compound in Toch. (against the Skt. compound) was not composed with obl. in previous member. Another possibility is that *-e* was omitted like a syncope of *ä*, when a closely related word came next to *meñe* (not a compound).

[132] *lāntne* is corrected from *lāntwe*.

[133] *[pru]kormeṃ* is Schmidt's comlement (2001 p. 320). On the photo I can recognize it.

[134] According to Schmidt (2001 p. 320 fn. 121) this verb means "ohnmächtig werden" because of two examples in A-Toch. 56a4 and 77b1f. (Schmidt 1974 p. 124), but these two are combined with *tkanā (klā)* "(fel) on the earth". I suppose "confused" → "powerless" → "fell on earth". I prefer to take its meaning as "to confuse" (caus. of √trik "to be confused") as is in Krause 1952 p. 251.

[135] Schmidt 2001 p. 321: "verhält er sich wie ein Wasserträger", but the infinitive in allative *āṣtsiś* is not explained. I think that this *āṣtsiś* is relating to *watsālai premane*, "carrying *watsāla* on the shoulder in order to bring water". Similar usage of *yakne* is in THT 019v3 *nestsiŚca yakne aiṢṢAṃ* "… zu sein, gibt er die Weise" (Sieg/Siegling 1949 p. 31). Then *watsāla* is a tool on the shoulder for carring water. It could be Schmidt's "Schlauch" (made from animal's skin?) or a balance-bar hanging water-tubs tied with rope at both ends, which is used in China and Japan. I prefer the latter because of "on the shoulder". If it is right, a gardener can easily water with it.

2 *warpor ṣe mai klātsāT*( )*[136] *araṇemi weṢṢAṃ tañ yai[tk]o(rne kl)y(e)ñca nes[au] sa ///*

3 *(ke)r(c)iyenne pāṣa ‖ om no ñake [a](ra)ṇemi werpiśkatse ///*

4 *+ + te ‖ [t]e maṃt yaknesa (cwi) [laṃtu]ññeṣṣepi*[137] *rṣāke(ntse) ///*

5 *+ + l(w)āsasa lkāṣṣi cwi perne[sa] + + + + po stāna ñäkci ///*

6 *+ + [śa]noś weṢṢAṃ ṣarya [k]auṃ (s)[ū] (pe)rn(e)[w] t(a)kāñ¨ ente ce śaumo ///*

<translation>

1 carrying a balance-bar(?) on (his) shoulder in order to bring water, he behaves (as if?) promise(= Skt. *satyaṃkāra* ?) … ///

2 you have indeed led(?) together with enjoyment(?). Araṇemi says, "In your order, I am a standing man … ///

3 Bring (wreaths?) into palace! ‖ There then now, the gardener Araṇemi ///

4 … ‖ In(←with) such a manner … of his kingship's sage ///

5 … he saw with animals, with his worth … all divine trees ///

6 … says to (his) wife, "Oh my darling! The day is worthy for me, when a man (sees?) this ///

THT 091v

1 *+ + + takāñ¨ pokkāk(a) .. pākri tākāreñ¨ ñäkcyana ramȚ ‖ tane candramukhi lānte ke(r)cc(i)yainne ///*

2 *+ (ka)kkā[k](a)rmeṃ sārri warpoṢAṃtS( )*[138] *e(nepre) + + + [o]m no ñake se araṇemi werpiśkatstse śpaluwentatȘ ywa(rcka?) ///*

3 *+ + śānmya ram no palsko la(ntsoy¨ k̦se) cetȘ krenta śwatsanma enepre tākoyeṃ tuk cwi PAst aiṣṣiye(ṃ) ///*

4 *. [w](e)sk(e)ṃ k̦se pi se eṅwe ste tsw[ai](ññe) [ta]ne cärkenta klāstRA po krentaunasa kekenu ste mā weSAṃ saswe ///*

5 *cwi krentaunaŚc̦ paLKAṃ ‖ tumeṃ candra[m]ukhe [w](alo) ṣecakecce asānne ṣmemane twār Ṣ[P]A araṇemiṃ werpiśkacce cä(rkenta) ///*

6 *amācänTA preKṢAṃ k̦se samp eṅwe ste po śānna[s](a oṃṣa)p( ) PAlkātsi ste ‖ kintarikne ‖ rājavat*[139] *yoK̦ matsi cwim[P̦] ///*

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[136] *klātsāT* is after Krause (1952 p. 233) 2. sg. subj. V from √käl(t)s "bedrohen". However, pres. II does not combine with subj. V but with subj. II, and √käl(t)s cannot produce a subj. stem /klāts-ā-/, but /kālts-ā-/. Therefore, I would like to deny Krause's opinion. Schmidt translates it as "hemmen (?)" and the object *warporṣe* as "Kummer (?)". I would see *klātsāT* as a mistake for pret. 2. pl. /klāt/ from √käl "to lead", *warpor* as a verbal noun of √wärp "to enjoy" and *ṣe* as a postposition "together with". *ṣe* combined after TEB (p. 251) with comitative /-mpā/, but obl. can substitute all secondary cases, in other words, originally, there was no case in a sence of indger. except nom. and gen., i.e. so called case-marker is a postposition or even an adv.

[137] *-ṣṣe* is a adj.-suffix modifying nouns like gen.-attribute, and when gen.-suffix *-pi* for adj. is added, the qualified noun is in gen. form, so I supply gen. *-ntse* to *rṣāke* (Adams notices no gen. form).

[138] *warpoṢAṃtS* is a gen. pl. m. of p.p. from √wärp "to enjoy". Gen. pl. of p.p. was written, when the qualifying noun is gen. pl., e.g. THT 002r3 *tetemoṢAṃtȘ onolmeṃtȘ* "(the death) of born people", or for translation of Skt. gen. pl., but when p.p. became a noun, e.g. THT 588v2 *yukoṢAṃtȘ kekesoṢAṃtȘ* "for conquered and extinguished (people)". Here *sārri* "assembly" is an object of *(ka)kkā[k](a)rmeṃ* "having called", and semantically "assembly of enjoyed people" is not suitable, so the next of *warpoṢAṃtS* could be the word gen. pl. m. beginning with *e-*, e.g. *eṅkweṃts* "of (enjoyed) men". Schmidt's (2001 p. 322) "vor (= *enepre*) den Versammlungsteilnehmern" is also acceptable, if *warpu* became a noun. The same is *śpaluwentatȘ* in the next sentence, if *ywa(rcka)* adv. "midst" follows.

[139] According to Schmidt (2001 p. 322): BHS *rājapaṭṭa* "a kind of (blue) dye-stuff, indigo (color)" (Edgerton 1953 p. 454), but Skt. /p/ → Toch. /v/ (or /w/) is impossible from the point of view of the Toch. phonology (Skt *ṭṭa* → Toch. /t/ with apocope is possible). Moreover, it is impossible to see the Skt. previous member followed by Toch. I suppose that

<translation>

1 … was for me. Say! They were clear for me, like divine (fortunes?) ‖ There in the palace of the king Candramukha ///

2 having called an assembly, the enjoyed … there now the gardener Araṇemi midst(?) of excellent … ///

3 … as if he tied up the thought of the queen. What(ever) good foods they had in front of them, that they gave to him. ///

4 They say, "Who is this man indeed? Just here he brings wreaths. He is in the state of(← with) all virtues. Not our lord ///

5 for his virtues (he) shines. ‖ Then the king Candramukha asks, sitting on lion-seat, and thereon (watching?) the gardener Araṇemi (and wreaths?),

6 the minister, "Who is that man? He seems to be (←is to see) more (striking) than(←with) all (other) people. ‖ in the metre of *kintarik* ‖ The hair of that man is kingly(←king-like) color ///

THT 092r (T III Š91.29 & Š32.4, Pencil-number 2327)

1 */// poyknesa e[n]. ///*

2 */// .[w]. st[e] ‖ amācänta weskeṃ SA ///*

3 */// .[tRA] saswe preKAnne mai no SAsweṃ[t](s)e + + .. .ṢA. ‖ + + + + + + + ara(ṇe)*

4 (11 syllables)[140] *(ara)ṇemi werpiśkatstse candramu(khi lā)[n]t(e) kartte[141] ykuwerm(e)ṃ asāṃ ñor ṣ[a]MA[ṃ] ‖ tumeṃ*

5 (19 syllables) *sTä kā wat no ci kka cärkenta (kalatsi yātka ‖) añcalī ṣarne yāmu araṇemi weṢṢAṃ*

6 (19 syllables) *[tu]sa tane cärkenta KAll[ā](skau ‖ ta)ne candramukhe walo araṇemiṃtsa wa(lke)*

<translation>

1 /// with all manner … ///

2 /// protection(?) ‖ The ministers say, " … ///

3 /// … The lord will ask him, however, lord's … ‖ … Ara(ṇemi)

4 /// the gardener Araṇemi, having gotten near the king Candramuhki, sits below the throne. ‖ Then

5 /// (you a)re, or why (did he order) just you (to bring) the wreaths? ‖ With(←done) hands put together Araṇemi says,

6 /// therefore here I bring the wreaths. ‖ There the king Candramukha (saw?) over Araṇemi (long time?)

THT 092v

1 (19 syllables) *[ye]rpesa meñ PAlle[n]tn(e) ṣ(eṣṣirku : wnolme)[nt]s[o][142] ra pont{ṣ} aiṣi*

---

whole word is Skt. which is made in Toch., i.e. *rāja* with possesive suffix *-vat* "king-possesing" → "king-like" → "kingly".

[140] The number of lost syllables (recto 4–6 and verso 1–5) are counted by Sieg/Siegling (1953 p. 29), presumably on the basis of the verse of the back side, and also the numbers of the lost syllables of recto 1–3 and verso 6 are countable in the photo.

[141] *kartte* is for *akartte* "near". From the accent rule, this word is phonologically /ākärte/. The reason why *a-* is omitted is either an avoidance of hiatus or a mistake. *metri causa* is possible, but it is not a verse here. An avoidance of hiatus would be deleted, if *e + a > a* in TEB p. 73 is correct. Then a mistake is possible.

[142] In the photo I can see the remnant of *-o* which is the so-called *o*-mobile for the metre. If *wnolmentso* is really written, it

amiśkana[143] *eśne no • ṣe*

2 (16 syllables) *(kamar)t[a]ññe ñem māṣāṃ*[144] *ste kāka[tsi] (‖ KArsto)[ṣ] w(a)ṣtsi ausu*[145] *samP*˯
wawākauwa kuke-*

3 (*ne* 12 syllables) *rne : yakte*[146] *tapre kektseṃtsa pre(ñca yai)nmu ṣañ˯ yke«ne» : erkatñene kekmu
ra sau«ke»*[147] *ymī-*

4 (*ye MAskeTAR˯ :)* (8 syllables)   *[m]. lykaśkaṃ*[148] *lkān[ta]rne : KArpyeṃ św(ātsi
śe)[ś](m)orsa*[149] *[t.] + + + + + + oṅkolma*

5 (18 syllables) + *yāmṢAṃ mañye[ṃ]ts ñi : tseṃ u[p](pāl). ///*

6 */// [MA]ntantRA po[ś cwi] ///*

<translation>

1 /// (he is) excelled with (round face like) disk in (shape of) full moon. : He gave all to beeings
(who had) greedy(← displeased) eyes. • One(?)

2 /// the name of supremacy is not worthy to call. ‖ That man, put on worn-out clothes, (and)
splitted heels …

3 /// … : Despite(←bringing with) high body, he obtained a little in his own place : Even he comes
(across) anger, (his) way

4 is fortunate(?). : … they will see him (as) small … : With eating common food … female
elephant

5 /// he makes (sevices) of slaves for me. : (Like?) blue lotus …

6 /// they hurt … for all your …

---

should be *onolments* (3 syllables), and if *ponts* is a scribal error for *pontaṃts* as is corrected in Sieg/Siegling 1953 p. 30 fn.
3, it is not suitable for the metre (7/7). I suppose that *ponts* is a scribal error for *pont* (obl. sg. m. object of *aiṣi* "he gave"),
then the metre is in order, and also the context is better to understand. The scribe could make two mistakes in my opinion.

[143] *amiśkana* is adj. pl. f., but only found here. If this adj. is really nom./obl. pl. f., there is no qualified noun. *metri causa* it
could be used instead of m. *amiśkaṃ* which qualifies *eśne* (dual obl. m.). *eśne* could be loc. *eśnene* (haplology). Adams
takes it as "*amiśkane?*" (1999 p. 19), but there is no dual form in adj.

[144] *māṣāṃ* is *mā aṣāṃ* "not worthy". Another possibility is *ñemm āṣāṃ* "name is worthy", but *mm* before *ā* and *āṣāṃ* are
not attested because of the accent system (*āṣaṃ* is possible for /āṣāṃ/).

[145] *au* of *ausu* is peculiar in form (cf. Tamai 2011 p. 355). This form is written only here and in THT 089r1. An original
form is *o* + long-vowel-sign (toward right like *-ā* of *kā*), but here the long-sign is on the contrary written toward the left
like *jā*. Therefore, I suppose that Toch. *au* might be *ō*. The peculiar *akṣara* here shows that the writer did not know the
orthography and possibly made mistakes ☙.

[146] Schmidt (2001 p. 323): "Trotzdem" which might come from *yak* "dennoch" and demon. pron. neut. *te* "so(?)", which
is not attested and difficult to understand, and "…" for *(yai)nmu*. Words with *-nmu* in THT 001–633 are *ṣeṣṣannu* (3
syllables) and *yainmu* (2 syllables; passim), so *yainmu* is suitable for metre and context, when *yakte* "little" qualifies
yainmu "obtained". Then it is easier to understand.

[147] This word is corrected with *-ke* by the writer, but *sauke* is still not understandable. Schmidt (2001 p. 323): "stolz (?)",
Adams (1999 p. 705): "?", and nothing in Thomas (1983 p. 246). One possibility is a mistake for *sakwṣṣe* "fortunate",
which was occasionally made by the writer. At first the writer wrote *sau* for *s(k)u* and added *k* with *-e* of *-ṣṣe*. It is
dangerous to make such a hypothesis, but tentatively I take it because it is suitable for the context.

[148] *lykaśkaṃ* is a scribal error for *lykaśkeṃ* (adj. obl. sg. m.) "small", which is an apposition of *-ne* "him" of *lkān[ta]r-ne*,
whose *[ta]* is a scribal error for *TA*, but on the photo it could be *TA*.

[149] *(śe)[ś](m)orsa* is completed by Sieg/Sirling (1953 p. 30), but I cannot find the root. Thomas proposes *śeśworsa*
because of THT 407b3 *śeśwormeṃ* from √*śu* "to eat". I agree with Thomas' opinion, when *śwātsi* √*śu* could be a quasi
figura etymologica "to eat the eating(= food)".

THT 093r (T III Š79.29, no photo, PK NS 36 & 20 is in bold)

1 *(wa)lke pilko śeśśamorm[e]ṃ weṣṣann(e)śca nemcek twe [k]ₜₜsattarye nesT꜀ taisa ksa*[150] *ṣotruna lk[ā](skau) ///*

2 *(?śmo)ñña neSAṃ* ‖ *śle skloK꜀ candramukhe walo weṢṢAṃ auspa SAsweṃntse araṇemiñ lānte twe ///*

3 *mā weṢṢAṃ kca* ‖ *nano*[151] *candramukhe walo weṢṢAṃ auspa poñ̈*[152] *mapi twe* **nesT꜀** ‖ **[tan(e) a](raṇemi walo) [w](a)lk(e)PAlsk(o)nt(asa ṣa)-**

4 *ñ añMAmpa k[a] weṢṢAṃ MAkte ñake tākaṃ mā ñi pele ste waike weṃtsi •* **tumeṃ candramukheṃ lāntaś (w)e[Ṣ](Ṣ)[Aṃ] (•) oroccu walo se ñiś̈꜀ [a](raṇemi su) walo**

5 *nesau* ‖ *te keklyauṣormeṃ candramukhe walo ṣecakecce asāṃmeṃ ñor klāya ara*ṇ**emiñ̈꜀ lānte paine yäksau PAlwā(mane ◯) weṢṢAṃ ñäkte-yoK꜀** *sas[w]a*

6 *kₜₜse te takac̈꜀* ‖ **tumeṃ weṢṢAṃ** ‖ *devadattenne* **(20/22/10/15)** ‖ *ket śāmñe śaiṣṣe aiwau poykne(sa) + + + + +* **[ci] naktsy āñme : kete wat [n]o [l](kā)-**

<translation>

1 having watched(←put a view) (Araṇemi) for a long time, says to him, "You are surely a Kṣatriya, just so (I) see[153] the characteristic …

2 … is (a site?) ‖ With doubt the king Candramukha says, "In fact, you (are) … of the lord, of the king Araṇemi …

3 (he) says nothing. ‖ Again the king Candramukha says, "Exactly you must tell(←say) (who) really you are ! ‖ There the king Araṇemi, after(←with) long thoughts

4 just in(←together with) himself, "How would it be now? It is not my way(←law) to tell a lie. • Then he says to the king Candramukha, • "Oh (my) great king! I myself(← this) am the king Araṇemi."

5 ‖ Having heard it, the king Candramukha fell down from the lion-seat, clasped the feet of the king Araṇemi (and) says with whine (←whining), "Oh (my) god-like lord!

6 What happened(←was so) to you? ‖ Then he says ‖ in the metre of *devadatta* ‖ To whom the human world turned with all manners … wish to ruin you, : or whose

---

[150] *ksa* is so-called indefinitum, but here it is not neccesary to see an indefiniteness from the context (*nemcek* "surely" in the previous sentence). Schmidt (2001 p. 323): "Derartige Merkmale", but *taisa* is not adj. I think that *taisa ksa* is not two separated words, but one word *taisaksa* like *tusāksa* "just therefore". Both have intensified forms, *taisa-k* and *tusā-k*. If its suffix /-sā/ can be explained, e.g. double perl. or from /sām/ "equal" (from Skt. *sama* ?) etc., so-called indefinitum /ksā/ could be intensive particle /k/ + /sā/. This is just a hypothesis, but it could be supported by the fact that Toch. is an agglutinative language.

[151] PK NS 36 & 20 a1: *(ta)ne* "there". Hereafter, I refer the transliteration of Couvreur (1964 p. 241 ff.)

[152] PK NS 36 & 20 a1: *p[o]ks(e)ñ̈꜀* impv. 2. sg. act. from √āks "to proclaim". This root is so-called thematic, and indger. *-e* could be a thematic vowel. Judging from the examples, the thematic vowel made the previous consonant palatalize with *ä* instead of *e*, especially in 3. sg. or verbal nouns. The impv. of √āks is made from subj. stem without a palatalizing effect of *-e*. I wonder whether thematics/athematics really existed in Toch. As far as I see, palatal and non-palatal are just an opposition in Toch.

[153] Schmidt (2001 p. 323): "Merkmale zeigen (sich an dir.)", but the caus. form is *lakäske-* (caus. marker /ä/ before /sk/), and its pres. mid. is not attested. *ṣotruna* is pl. nom./obl. If it is a nom. as is in Schmidt, the predicate should be *lkāsnTAr*, but such a form is not attested. *lkānTAr* is possible, if √läk has pres.V, but attested forms are subjunctive. Therefore, I prefer to take pres. sg. act. *lkāskau*. It is suitable also for the context. Apropos, there is no pl. obl. *ṣotarnma* (Adams 1999 p. 663) in THT 001–633. If it exists, it should be a scribal error or another word, because /-u/ in pl. is an important characteristic for this word.

THT 093v (PK NS 36 & 20 is in bold, IOL Toch 069 (old No. H 149.240) is in bold italics in THT 93v3 – 94v1)

1 *tsi*[154] *āñme nraiṣana to(ṃ) LAklenta su ci klāte ñyātsene : k~u~se nai [ṅ]k(e) [p](i)*[155] *su aknā(tsa śaumo :)* (15 syllables for *pāda* d)

2 *pokseñ nai saswa ṣarM˳ cwi wäntrentse k~u~se ksa allek*[156] *tañ¨˳ eṅsate yapoy¨ (:) śak ko***(ntsa)** **+ +** **[t/k]e[ñ]i [s/p.]eñi** (8 syllables) *(śau)-*

3 *ly ñi śaśayu : sanaṃ saswentse lakau kr~u~i yneśo*[157] *: tārko(←au) eṅKAL˳* **+ + +** *.n.* **+ k.** **lk(ā)[s]TAR˳ ā + + [2 s]w(e)[s](e) [t]s(ainwāṣṣe s)w(ā)-**

4 *SAskau kemtsa tsainwāṣṣai l(ā)ñsa KAlymiṃ prutkaskau*[158] *: srukoṢṢAmts a* **+ + + + + +** **āntse** **yke posTAṃ yāmmaR˳ p(ā)[k](e) t(e)ntse ñiś¨˳ •**

5 *ylaiñäkte ram no lare-yok saswe<ṃ> : tallāw ram no śem ñi ypoyne se ñkeK˳ lnaskau śle + +* (3) **(araṇemi walo) weṢṢAṃ oroccu walo (tā)kañc(¨)˳**[159]

6 *śconiye mā su ksa neSAṃ ce śaiṣṣene k~u~se ñiś maiyyasa cämpalle ṣai ceṃ erkatñe* **kalatsi ǀ tumeṃ** **weṢṢAṃ ǀ a**ptsara(darśaṃne) (4x14) **ǀ)** **+ + + + + +**

<translation>

1 wish to show(←make see) the miseries of hells, he led you into distress. : Who was indeed the foolish human being? : (15 syllables for *pāda* d. 1.)

2 Well, oh (my) lord, tell me the reason of your matter! Some other man grabbed your country. : Through ten days …

3 my lived life. : If I would see really an enemy of the lord, : I will dismiss the suffering … he would see … 2. I will make weapon's rain fall(←rain)

4 on the earth, I fulfill (all) directions with weapon's flood. : Of died … shoulder continually(←step by step). I would take(←make) its part •

5 Like Indra (he is) loving lord : like poor (man) he came in my country. Just now I go out with (suffering? 3.) The king Araṇemi says, "Oh (my) great king! It would be

6 your hatred. There is no one in this world, who could bring me the anger with force. ǁ Then he says. ǁ in the metre of *apsaradarśana* ǁ …

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[154] This inf. functions as caus. Cf. TEB I p. 184.

[155] PK NS 36 & 20 a4: *ṣai*

[156] PK NS 36 & 20 a5: [K](˳). Thomas (1983 p. 247) and Schmidt (2001 p. 325) take *k~u~se ksa allek* as interrogative "Wer anders denn …?" This expression (*k~u~se ksa* & *allek*) is only written here. Judging from other examples in THT 001–633 and TEB II p. 185 "Indef. *k~u~se pi ksa*", *k~u~se ksa* is not interrogative, but an indefinite pronoun "someone". Cases like this can be seen in Skt., cf. Whitney1879 p. 177 § 507: "The interrogative pronoun, … it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by *ca, cana, cid, api, vā* … thus, *káś caná* 'any one' …".

[157] PK NS 36 & 20 b1: (k)[w]r(i y)[n](eś)[n](e)

[158] *prutkaskau* is 1. sg. pres. caus. of √prutk "to be filled", and there is no subj. in the caus., therefore, pres. is used, though subj. is necessary from the context (*swāSAkau* in previous passage). Judging from *a* before /sk/, the writer is neglected, because /ä/ before /sk/ is an important characteristic for causative.

[159] Couvreur supplements *(a)kañc* ("± distant" Adams 1999 p. 1, equivalent to Skt. *prāntaṃ* "border"), but *(a)KAñc* is written in Lévi 1933 p. 55, U (24) a3. It is problematic depending on whether *(a)kañc* and *(a)KAñc* are the same because of both *(a)-* and the accent. Schmidt translates it as "Schließlich" (2001 p. 325), presumably following Couvreur's. Also, Thomas (1983 p. 248) cites Couvreur's without any comment, but *(a)kañc* does not make any sense here. I would like to complete it as *(tā)kañc* "for you it would be" which is more suitable for the context.

THT 094r (T III Š93.13, Pencil-number 2326, PK NS 36 & 20 is in bold, IOL Toch 069 (old No. H 149.240) is in bold italics

1 *sa ptārka śconai wroccu wlo [:] (mā ksa neSAṃ)*[160] **[t]ā kentsa k**ᵤ**se ñī tañci**[161] **cimpamñe :**
karu[ṇ](äṣ)(ṣe) warKṢAltsa rī PAlskoṣṣai yū(kāwa :) akālkaṣṣe retke no were

2 *te ramT˳ yāmṣateñ¨ (: 1)* **kRAtājñeṣṣi**[162] *preri aunarñ RA[s](kr)[e] (arañcne :)* [ā]ñimalāṣl[ñ]e
orotse sū ñiś˳ klāte ce y[k]e[ne : lkāsk]au ś[ai]ṣṣe [ta]llān[t]o[163] (o)-

3 *ś kakamaṢ˳ kleśanmatS**[164] *[:]* **pudñä(kte)**[165] (11 syllables) *(2) … ke ṅke ñäṣ¨*

4 *śle witsakai PAsT¨ nkema(R˴) ///* **snai mattsi(←mentsi?) (m)[āka] mā[ka] ///**

5 *temeñce ette (ya)lyñene ///* **candramukhe ///**

6 */// ṣke ‖ a ///* **(brā)[hm](a)ṇemtS¨˳ ///**

<translation>

1 with … dismiss the hatred, oh (my) great king! : There is nobody over the world, who might inhibit my ability. : With the power of the pity I overcame the fortress(← city) of the thought. : The army of the wish, however,

2 was destroyed(← made into odor) in such a way of mine. (: 1) Arrows of *Kṛtajña* have hit (←met) me violently in the heart. : The big pity brought me into this place. : I see the world (of) misery

3 (which) brought disaster(?) of afflictions. : The Buddha … (2) I then …

4 perish with root /// without sorrow(?) very much ///

5 Consequently in going down /// Candramukha ///

6 /// … ‖ A(raṇemi?) /// of Brahmins ///

THT 094v #45

1 + + + + + + *cce pil[k]. ///*

2 *śpālmeṃ tsai[ñ](ñe)sa [p]īta(ntse?) ///*

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[160] This is a complement of Schmidt (2001 p. 324 fn. 139) for four syllables. Other suggestions are Thomas 1983 p. 248 *mā su neSAṃ* and Couveur 1983 p. 245 fn. 54 *jaṃbudvipṣai* or *pelaikneṣṣai*. There is no *mā ksa*, but there is *mā su (ksa)* "nobody". Also, here I see no value of *ksa*, but it is used for one syllable in the verse (*metri causa*). *ksa* might be the so-called indefinitum original, and it cannot be used alone, e.g. *kᵤse ksa* or *su ksa*. Therefore, I prefer to take *mā su nta ksa* (THT 099v5) or *mā su neSAṃ* (Thomas 1983 p. 248). I would take the latter, because it is better to take the predicate in the main clause which is correlative with *kᵤse*-clause.

[161] *tañci* is *hapax legomenon* and according to Krause (1952 p. 246) this is an optative from √täṅk "to inhibit". If *tañci* is really an opt., it should be *tañśi* (← /täṅś-i/ ← /täṅk-i/). A similar example is *kᵤse ñi cäñśä///* in THT 139v5. If *cäñśä///* (also *hapax legomenon*) is an opt. of √täṅk, it is acceptable because *cäñś-* could be subj. II which apts to pres. II. Judging from inf. *taṅktsi* of this root, it is subj. I. There is an irregularity in this root but *tañci* could be a scribal error, because *ñś* is a regular phonotactic in Toch.

[162] *kṛtājñeṣṣi* is difficult to understand. Schmidt translates it as "rachsüchtig", presumably based on the context. *kṛtājñe* is a noun, not Skt. adj. *kṛtajña* "grateful, knowing what is right" (MW p. 302) or "name of a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni" (Edgerton 1953 p. 190). Other possibilities are: a mistake for *kṛtaghna* "ungrateful" (MW p. 302) which is better for the context, *metri causa* without *a-* of *akṛtajña* 不知恩惠 "not known of benefit" (Nakamura p. 137), or Skt. *kṛta-ajñā* "known of ignorance". In any case, the writer confused noun and adj. of Skt., so I would not dare to translate it.

[163] *-o* of *[ta]llān[t]o* is *metri causa* an *o*-mobile. Next *oś* is written in THT 213 v5, but the meaning is unknown. According to Adams (1999 p. 126) it is a compound *oś-kakāmau* "led astray", but such a compound is impossible. This *oś* could be an adv., e.g. "really" or "indeed", or noun obl. "disaster"(?), if *kakamaṢ* is obl. sg. and an apposition of *[ta]llān[t]o* qualifying *śaiṣṣe*. Tentatively I take *oś* as a noun.

[164] PK NS 36 & 20 v5: *kleśanmaś¨*; PK NS 83 r5: *kleŚAnmatSA* (Couvreur 1964 p. 243 fn. 37, in another word order). It is confused with gen. pl. and all. pl.

[165] IOL Toch 069 v2: *lkāskau śaiṣṣe tallānto : pū[dñä](kte)*

3 *(?mā pkā)mai nta brāhmaṇeṃ kautsi [wa]* ///

4 *nukhe walo araṇemiṃ* ///

5 *ṢPA lantuññana yärke[nta]* ///

6 *(a)pāKArtse ltu ṣañ yapo*[166] ///

<translation>

1 … view ///

2 with excellent jewellery (of) cost ///

3 (I do not intend) to kill Brahmins at all. … ///

4 the king Candramukha (?says to the king) Araṇemi ///

5 and … royal honors ///

6 he went out apparently from his(←Araṇemi's?) own country. ///

THT 095ar (T III Š64.17 & 18, the line 2 is the end of *Araṇemi-Jātaka* showing its *somodhāna*. Then the new one, *Subhāṣitagaveṣin-Jātaka* begins with the dialogue between Guṇasampada and presumably Jñānasthita as is in *Araṇemi-Jātaka*)

1 *(e)tre ṣaiM̦ k_uṣe no sū (rudramukhe brāh)[m](a)ne ṣai soy śano makce ṢPA yaṣṣāteñ̇ se [ña]* ///

2 *sā ñake yaśo(dhara ste) k_uṣe no su u[tta]re mñcuṣke [ṣ]ai se ña(k)e [rā]hul[e] st(e) ‖ k_uṣe* ///

3 *te maṃt yaknesa* /// /// *(ñ)ñ(e) perneŚca skaināmane* ///

4 *sāksa yeȘ ṣam(ā)[n]i pa +* /// /// *[...s.] yaitkor po āñmtsa paṣṣaȚ te we* ///

5 *ni pañäktentse welyñesa* /// /// *[o]m no ñake guṇasampa[d]e* ///

6 *subhāṣitagaveṣi ñem(tsa)* /// /// *pi ślaukantse perne* ///

<translation>

1 the hero, I was (that). Who was the Brahmin (Rudramukha) who solicited me for (my) son, wife and myself, he (is now) ///

2 she is now Yaśodhara. Who was the prince Uttara, he is now Rāhula ‖ Who ///

III. Aranemi in other documents

1) Pāli Aṅguttara-Nikāya (AN) IV pp. 136–139 (Aranemi is called as Araka):

Appakaṃ jīvitaṃ manussānaṃ "the human life is trifling". For this theme there are some parables, i.e. *ussavabindūpamaṃ* "like a dew drop", *udakabubbulūpanaṃ* "like a bubble", *udake daṇḍarājūpamaṃ* "like a stick-line in the water", *nadipabbateyyūpamaṃ* "like a mountain-born (water) of a river", *kheḷapiṇḍūpamaṃ* "like a saliva-lump", *maṃsapesūpamaṃ* "like a mass of flesh", *govajjūpamaṃ* "like a cow-killing", and consequently *jīvitaṃ manussānaṃ parittaṃ … natthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ* "the lifetime of human beings (is) short … there is no immortality for a living creature". And the conclusion of this Jātaka: *jhāyatha, mā pamādattha, mā pacchā*

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[166] Sieg/Siegling 1953 p. 32: *yapo(ymeṃ)*, Thomas 1983 p. 249: "(syntaktische Zusammenhang) nicht sicher", Schmidt 2001 p. 326 *yapo(yne)*. *pāKArtse* is 4 syllabic word *apāKArtse* (adv., not adj. as in Adams 1999 p. 16) qualifying *ltu* (p.p. of √lät "to go out" nom. sg.), which could be a doer (*nomen agentis*), and √lät requires an abl. Then it should be *yapo(ymeṃ)*. Schmidt might have thought that *ṣañ* "his own" would be "Candramukha's own", but I suppose it "Araṇemi's own" because of abl. *yapo(ymeṃ)*.

vippaṭisārino ahuvattha! "You must think (deeply), do not be negligent, do not be a repenter afterwards!".

2) Aranemi in Skt.:

   a. *Avadāna* Anthology from Merv, Turkmenistan (Karashima 2015 p. 169).
I quote the translation:

   "As (I was, as a chariot-maker[167], skilled) in the crookedness in wood, defects in wood, so (I am now skilled) in the distortions of the body, defects of the body. Like in the story of Dharmapāla, who did not have any hatred in his mind, when he was killed by his father, (so) was Araṇemi (not Araṇemi), being the Bodhisatva, … in detail … (said:) "Life is, O disciples, short!"

   b. SHT 1720 (Wille 1991 p. 143–4) & 1324 + 1331 (Wille 1989 p. 81–2)[168]:
According to Wille, the SHT version r1–3 is identified with Mahāvadānasūtra 1b.4–5 (Waldschmidt 1956 p. 65), and after the repetition of the monk's speech, Wille complements the text comparing with 阿蘭那經 T.01.682b26 and AN IV 136.26.

   Judging from the type of scripts, I suppose that the manuscript was written in Sängim or Murtuq (SHT 1720: T II S 75, from Sängim, but 1324 + 1331: X 60 + X 80, unknown place[169]), where Abhidharma was written in Toch. with the same type of *akṣara*s, which is II-1 in my classification (cf. Tamai 2011 pp. 81 f.).

   I quote the transcription of Wille (ibid.). The SHT texts (r1–3) are in bold, and round parentheses are complements which are missing in SHT.

*(kā nu yuṣmākaṃ bhikṣavaḥ saṃbahulānāṃ bhi)<r1>**kṣūṇāṃ upasthānaśā**(lāyāṃ saṃniṣaṃṇānāṃ saṃnipatitānāṃ antarākathā v)**iprakṛtā | kay**(ā cātha kathayaitarhi saṃniṣaṃṇāḥ saṃnipatitāḥ |) <r2> **ihāsmākaṃ bhadanta saṃbahu**(lānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ upasthānaśālāyāṃ saṃ)**niṣaṃṇānāṃ saṃni**(patitānāṃ ayaṃ evaṃrūpo 'bhūd antarākathāsa)<r3>**mudāhārā (|) alpakam e**(va jīvitaṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ) /// (p)**ūrvavad yāvat yāvat kalyāṇacaryāyāṃ iy**(aṃ asmākaṃ bhadanta saṃbahulānāṃ <r4> **bhikṣūṇāṃ upasthānaś**(ālāyāṃ saṃniṣaṃṇānāṃ saṃnioati)**tānāṃ antarākathā viprakṛtā | tayā ca anayā vā** (bhagavaṃ kathayaitarhi saṃni)<r5>**ṣaṃṇā saṃnipatitā e(va)m etad bhikṣavaḥ** /// **manuṣyāṇāṃ pūrvavad yāvat kalyaṇacaryāyāṃ** /// <r6> (aśī)**tivarṣasahasrāyuṣo manuṣyā** /// **yāṃ mahad eva sūtraṃ | aśitir varṣa**(sahasrāyuṣo manuṣyāḥ /// <v1> **t kauravyo nāma cakravartī cāturantyāṃ v**(ijetā) /// (a)**dhyāvasitā vā taṃ rājñaḥ kauravyasyā** /// <v2> (nya)**grodharājā babhūva | supratiṣṭhitasya ny**(agrodharājñaḥ) ///*

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[167] This concept is the same as the Tibetan popular etymology (cf. Mvy 3472, Jäschke 1881 p. 439): *rtsibs-kyi* (= Skt. *ara* "spoke") *mu-khyud* (= Skt. *nemi* "rim").

[168] SHT means "Sanskrithandschriften aus Turfan" in Berlin. I got information about these fragments in Ogiwara 2011 from Yao's publication (see next, Aranemi in Tibetan). SHT 1720 is on the left side of 1324 + 1331, for which we should thank Wille who recognized it (1991) after SHT 1324 + 1331 (1989). I quote his tranliteration and complement which is based on *Mahāvadānasūtra* (see above). According to Ogiwara, this part corresponds to 阿離念彌經, 阿蘭那經, B-Toch. *Udānālaṅkāra* (THT 003a5–b3, see below) and Pāli.

[169] This SHT manuscript is written by the Tocharian in Sängim or Murtuq. SHT 1720 has a *signum* T II S 75 which means "the second Turfan expedition, No. 75 (from) Sängim", but sometimes the found spot is confused, e.g. "M" for Murtuq, but it is sometimes mistaken for Ming-Öi Qizil (M.Q.) or "X" for Kuča (cf. Sieg/Siegling 1953 p. 8). The manuscripts from Sängim or Murtuq are written in a relatively late time compared to M.Q. I would introduce the result of the ^{14}C-test in order to show a chronological relation in Toch. area: THT 178 from Sängim is written in A.D. 697–773; THT 367 from Murtuq is written in A.D. 737–773 (cf. Tamai 2011 p. 320 and 374).

(brā)hmaṇamahāśālaḥ .. .. mātrāṇi māṇavaśat(asahasrāṇi) /// <v3> ti athāranemino brāhma(rājā) /// <v4> manuṣyāṇāṃ pūrvavad yāva(t kalyāṇacaryāyāṃ /// (keśaśma)śrūṇy avatārya kāṣāyāṇi vastrāṇy ācchā(dya) /// <v5> (ana)gārikaṃ pravrajeyaṃ | athāranemi brā(hmano) /// (katha)yati | yat khalu mā(ṇavāḥ) /// <v6> (p)ūrvavad yāvat kalyāṇacaryāyāṃ /// (kāṣā)yāni vastrāṇy āc(chādya)

The theme is *alpakam eva jīvitaṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ* "the human life is really short" as in Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese (阿離念彌經, 阿蘭那經). "80,000 years old" is depicted in 阿蘭那經 and Tib. (84,000 in 阿離念彌經). Kauravya is dipicted in Chin. and Tib. Other contents or elements are added in each texts diachronically and synchronically.

3) Aranemi in Tibetan: Panglung 1981 p. 49. I quote his commentary and translation.
Aranemi: Der brahmanische Lehrer, der seine Schüler in den Apramāṇas unterweist.
"Zu der Zeit, als die Menschen 80,000 Jahre lang lebten, war ein Brahmane namens Aranemi. Er und seine 500 Schüler wurden Asketen. Er lehrte seine Schüler Vergäng-
lichkeit, Liebe, Mitleid und Gleichmut. Ich war damals der Brahmane Aranemi."

The detailed content is available in Yao 2013 pp. 429–431 (in Japanese). According to Yao, this story is not found in Chin., but corresponds to 阿蘭那經 (see below) and Pāli AN (see above), paralleled to 阿離念彌經 (see below) and B-Toch. *Udānālaṅkāra* (Ogiwara 2011, see below). As far as I see, the theme of these stories is "the life is short" (I will argue it later). The Skt. name is depicted in Chin., e.g. Skt. *Kauravya* in 阿蘭那經 as 拘牢婆, in 阿離念彌經 as 拘獵, or Skt. *Supratiṣṭhita* in 阿離念彌經 as 須波桓樹, and some parts correspond to Udānavarga 1.16cd, 1.13, 1.14 and 1.15–16ab. Moreover Sunetta, Mūgapakkha, Aranemi, Kuddālaka, Hatthipāla and Jotipāla (Govinda) are depicted in AN, and the first three Brahmins appear in Tibetan, others are not sure, but they presumably appear under different names (cf. Yao ibid. and fn. 30 above).

4) Aranemi in Chinese:
   a. 阿離念彌經 (T.03.49c18–50a16 in 六度集經); reduced translation from Chavannes 1962 p. 331–332.
時有長者名阿離念彌。財賄無數。念彌自惟。壽命甚促。無生不死。寶非己有。數致災患。不如布施以濟貧乏。世榮雖樂無久存者。不如棄家捐穢濁。執清潔被袈裟作沙門。即詣賢衆受沙門戒。凡人見念彌作沙門。數千餘人。聞其聖化皆覺無常。有盛即衰。無存不亡。唯道可貴。皆作沙門。隨其教化。念彌爲諸弟子説經曰。
人命致短。恍惚無常。當棄此身就於後世。無生不死。焉得久長。是故當絶慳貪之心。布施貧乏。撿情攝欲。無犯諸惡。人之處世命流甚迅。人命譬若朝草上露須臾即落。人命如此。焉得久長。人命譬若天雨墮水泡起即滅。命之流疾有甚於泡。人命譬若雷電恍惚。須臾即滅。命之流疾有甚雷電。人命譬若以杖捶水。杖去水合。命之流疾有甚於此。人命譬若熾火上炒少膏著中。須臾燋盡。命之流去疾於少膏。人命譬若織機經縷。稍就減盡。天命日夜耗損若茲。憂多苦重。焉得久長。人命譬若牽牛市屠。牛一遷步。一近死地。人得一日猶牛一歩。命之流去又 促於此。人命譬若水從山下。晝夜進疾無須臾止。人命過去有疾於此。晝夜趣死。進疾無住。人處世間甚勤苦多憂念。人命難得。以斯之故。當奉正道。守行經戒無得毀傷。布施窮乏。人生於世無不死者。念彌教諸弟子如斯。

En ce temps, il y avait un maitre de maison nommé A-li-nien-mi qui possédait des richesses incalculables. (A-li-)nien-mi fit cette réflexion: «La vie est fort courte; il n'est point d'être vivant qui ne meure; … Tous devinrent çramanas et suivirent ses enseignements. (A-li-)nien-mi expliquait les textes saints à ses disciples en leur disant:

«La vie humaine est fort brève; comme une lueur, elle est impermanente. … la vie humaine est comparable à la rosée qui se dépose sur les herbes au matin et qui tombe en un instant; … La vie humaine est comparable aux gouttes de pluie qui tombent dans l'eau; … La vie humaine est comparable â la lueur de l'éclair qui s'éteint en un instant; … La vie humaine est comparable à l'acte de fendre l'eau avec un bâton; … La vie humaine est comparable à un peu de graisse qu'on passe dans une friture faite sur un feu ardent; … La vie humaine est comparable au fil qui traverse le métier; … La vie humaine est comparable à un bœuf qu'on traîne à la boucherie: … La vie humainne est comparable à un torrent qui descend de la montagne et qui jour et nuit se porte en avant avec impétuosité sans jamais s'arrêter; … La vie humaine étant chose insaisissable, c'est pour cette raison qu'il faut se conformer à la vraie doctrine, observer les défenses prescrites et n'y porter aucune atteinte, faire des libéralités aux pauvres. Des hommes qui naissent dans ce monde il n'y en a aucun qui ne doive mourir.» Tels étaint les enseignements qu'(A-li-)nien-mi donnait à ses disciples.

Main theme is "the life is short" as in Pāli and Skt.

b. 阿蘭那經 (T.01.683c11–684a28 in 中阿含經; the topics are underlined)

復次尊師阿蘭那爲弟子説法。摩納磨。猶如夜闇以杖投地。或下頭墮地。或上頭墮地。或復臥墮。或墮淨處。或墮不淨處。如是摩納磨。衆生爲無明所覆。爲愛所繫。或生泥犁。或生畜生。或生餓鬼。或生天上。或生人間。如是摩納磨。人命如闇杖投地。甚爲難得。至少少味。大苦災患。災患甚多。…… 我於世斷除貪伺心無有諍。見他財物諸生活具。不起貪伺欲令我得。我於貪伺淨除其心。如是瞋恚睡眠調悔。我於世斷疑度惑。於諸善法無有猶豫我於疑惑淨除其心。摩納磨。汝等於世亦當斷除貪伺心無有諍。見他財物諸生活具。不起貪伺欲令我得。汝於貪伺淨除其心。如是瞋恚睡眠調悔。汝於世斷疑度惑。於諸善法無有猶豫。…… 我心與慈俱遍滿一方成就遊。如是二三四方 四維上下。普周一切心與慈俱無結無怨無恚無諍。極廣甚大無量善修。遍滿一切世間成就遊。如是悲喜心與捨俱。無結無怨無恚無諍。極廣甚大無量善修。遍滿一切世間成就遊。摩納磨。汝等亦當心與慈俱遍滿一方成就遊。如是二三四方四維上下。普周一切心與慈俱。無結無怨無恚無諍。…… 若尊師阿蘭那爲説梵世法時諸弟子等有不具足奉行法者。彼命終已或生四王天。或生三十三天。或生㷃摩天。或生兜瑟哆天。或生化樂天。或生他化樂天。若尊師阿蘭那爲説梵世法時。諸弟子等設有具足奉行法者。修四梵室捨離於欲。彼命終已得生梵天。…… 尊師阿蘭那及諸弟子。學道不虛得大果報。比丘。於意云何。昔時尊師阿蘭那者謂異人耶。莫作斯念。所以者何。比丘當知。即是我也。我於爾時名尊師阿蘭那。我於爾時有無量百千弟子。

The name Aranemi is used as 尊師 "noble teacher" who made admonitions for his disciples, occasionally with parables like the Pāli version. This noble teacher was the former Buddha who had innumerable disciples, which is like *samodhāna* in Jātakas.

c. 悲華經 (Vol. 2, T.03.174b27–181b08; Vol. 3, T.03.181b12–188c08)

Aranemi appeared as 無諍念 "thinking of no struggle" which came presumably from the meaning of BHS *arana* "free from passion" (Egerton 1953 p. 64). Aranemi is represented as 轉輪聖王 "holy king of *Cakravartin*".

我今悉捨以奉施佛及諸聖衆 (T.03.175a25) "Now I give up all things, and offer them to the Buddha and every holy ones"; 轉輪王因布施故 "because of the offering of Cakravartin-king". The offering of gifts is not the main theme of this *sūtra*, but 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 (T.03.181b6) Skt. *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi* "supreme perfect enlightenment" (Edgerton 1953 p. 27, 582).

5) Araṇemi in Iranian languages:
We can see the name of Araṇemi in Tumshuqese (cf. Yoshida 2007a, p. 232) and in Sogdian (cf. Yoshida 2007b, p. 59). Moreover, Hansen (1940) discussed the relation between Toch. and the Iranian language, which shows some connections including etymology of Toch. words within Central Asia.

a. Tumshuqese: Emmerick (1979 p. 172) introduces the existence of the Araṇemi fragment, which "further confirms that there must have existed close connections with Kucha". This document was published by Bailey (1968 p. 44) as follows:
Tumshuq. H 149 add. 121 r4 | *je araṇemi* | and v4 ‖ *k̲aryortañe* ‖
v4 *k̲aryortañe* could be a B-Toch. metre name in THT 350v3 *k̲aryortaññene* "in the metre of *k̲aryortaññe* (4x12). The word is similar to *k̲aryortau* "merchant" as is mentioned by Bailey and Emmerick, but I cannot understand why "merchant" or the metre name comes here. If we could find more documents relating this fragment, and meanings of other words could be clear, we can understand *k̲aryortañe*. I recognize that this word is Toch. because of so-called Fremdzeichen *k̲a*.

b. Sogdian: Henning (1940 p. 60–62) introduces that Toch. monk translated Saṃjñā-Dharmāḥ Sūtra into Sogd. as follows:
(v22) *šm'r'kh pδkth* "Saṃjñā-Dharmāḥ" (v23) *[?pwst](k') 'γw 'kwcyk myrz/n'tk* "Sūtra(?) the Kuchean Mir-son(?)" (v24) *[. . . . .]'rkšyt šmny cnn 'kwc'n'y* ". . . .a-rakṣita, the Śramana, from the Kuchean" (v25) *[zβ'k] s'r prw sγwδy'w zβ'k* "language into the Sogdian language" (v26) *[prw's](t)w d'rt* "has [translated]".

If this is accepted with certainty, *Araṇemi-Jātaka* can be translated from Toch. into Sogd., and the Sogd. version could corrrespond with Toch. because of some words though it shows fragmentary contents and imcomplete words, e.g. (citation from Sundermann's translation[170] in cursive):
<3. Stück> r2 *kläglich*; r4 *schlimme Wunde schlug und verletzte*; r6 *Verschließung und ihm Ziehen*
<4. Stück> r3 *wegen des Wunsches des Ranges der Buddhas*
<5. Stück> r3 *Araṇemi der König*

6) Araṇemi in Uighur:
As I show above, the Uighur version is almost identical with the Toch. version. It is *communis opinio* that the Uighur Buddhist (texts) had some influences from not only Chin., but also from Toch. (cf. Kasai 2006 pp. 32–38; Moriyasu 2007 pp. 19–29, especially p. 28 about

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[170] Sundermann 2001 p. 341–347. The folios are too fragmentary to read with certainty, and possibly it includes other naratives as Yoshida informs (1993 p. 136, 6. Stück MIK 4949b Recto 8 *tausend Kron[en]träger*). Therefore, I refer to Sundermann's translation.

Araṇemi-Jātaka). I cannot understand the discussions very well, which are argued until now including the Toch. philology. I hope that we can co-operate with various scholors, as Kasai writes in the case of *Maitrisimit* (2006 p. 38), in order to make progress in their own fields.

7) Aranemi in B-Tocharian (THT 003 r3–v3):

This story is mentioned in the so-called "Udānalāṅkāra-Fragmente" (THT 01–70) whose find spot is mainly Šorčuq (THT 19, 34–40 from MQ, 43 Hoernre). As far as I see, there are three types of scripts, i.e. Š-1 (round), Š-2 (square) and MQ (also THT 44–46, though the signum is Š, confused?). Sieg/Siegling ordered the numbers on the basis of "Udānavarga", so it is not in order from the diachronic and synchronic point of view, i.e. from different find spots, and unfortunately, there are many folios which are not available, especially of the long texts. The concerned manuscript, THT 003 is also missing, therefore, we cannot check the reading including the type of the writer for the sake of accurate understanding. Fortunately, the reading of Sieg/Siegling is relatively correct, so we can trust it, as I do above.

The Aranemi-legend is, according to Ogiwara (2011)[171], found in verse No. 90 *pāda b* ~ the end of No. 94. The theme of this folio is "how the life elapses" (THT 03r2 verse 88 *pāda* a) with citation of Anityavarga of Udānavarga and an abstract point of Chin. *Madhyamāgama* (Chavannes 1962) whose content is the Aranemi-legend (阿蘭那經 above). This means that Udānālaṅkāra is an annotation for Udānavarga as is said, and Aranemi-legend could be used for an easy understanding of the teaching of Buddhism within the famous Udānavarga which was popular in various areas in that time.

IV. Conclusion

The name of Araṇemi or Aranemi was available in various areas, but I can see the two different contents and themes, viz. <1> "the life is short" and <2> "an importance of the gift", and also the name could be written differently, viz. Aranemi for <1> and Araṇemi for <2>. I will sum up as follows:

<1> (Aranemi): Pāli, Skt. (Merv, Toch.), Chinese, Tibetan.
<2> (Araṇemi): Tocharian., Uighur, Iranian (Tumshuqese, Sogd.).

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[171] His supplement for the verse 94 *pāda a* (THT 003v2) is not correct. (7 = 4 **x** 3) in his note f in p. 241, it is misleading. It should be (7 = 4-3) for the 2nd part of the 21 syllables in *pāda*s = 8/7/6, and this can be 3-4 which comes in THT 003r6 (see also his fn. 14 ibid.). Nevertheless, he observes "Aranemi and Araṇemi" correctly (his note e ibid.), which I will offer my commentary in the conclusion. Apropos, the Toch. metre is very difficult to understand because there was no relation with others which are known, but I will try to offer my opinion: the system is based on the numbers of syllables (cf. Thomas 1983 p. 272–276) which is similar to Skt. (cf. Appendix I in Apte 1924 pp. 1035–1042) or Greek prosody, e.g. hexameter. There was no long-short opposition in Toch., so it is easier to compose, but the problem is the numbers of syllables. A model could be Skt. because the influence from India was so big that the name of the metre is written often in Skt. word, but it could be modified in Toch. In fact, a mixed system, e.g. here 21/21/18/13 in Toch. was made with *prakṛti* (21 syllables) + *dhṛti* (18 syllables) + *atijagatī* (13 syllables), and the arrangement of each *pāda* was also made, i.e. <for 21> Skt. 7/7/7 → Toch. 8/7/6 (= 5-3-4-3-6); <for 18> Skt. 5/6/7, 4/7/7, 11/7, 8/5/5 → Toch. 9/9 (= 4-5-4-5); <for 13> Skt. 6/7, 7/6, 3/10 → Toch. 7/6 (= 4-3-6). This mixed formation occured in the case of the 21 syllables in one *pāda*, whose cause is obscure, but I suppose (of couse not sure) that the three syllables are important as is in India and Greek, and 8/7/6/ was arranged with <8 = 5-3>, <7 = 4-3> and <6 = 3-3>, which looks like one verse, or simply 4 x 21 is too long? Sometime we can see 4-3 → 3-4 (this is the upper case) or 6-5 → 5-6 because of the number of syllables in Toch. words.

De <1>: From a chronological point of view, the Pāli version is original with the hero's name "Araka", and this Jātaka spread over various areas as the teaching of Buddhism, in which the original "Araka" was changed to "Aranemi" with the theme "life is short". In Skt. versions (Merv and B-Toch.) we can see the same theme with the name of "Aranemi".

In the Chin. version, 阿離念彌 and 阿蘭那 are the sound reproductions of Skt. "Aranemi", whose "ne" was represented as 念 nɛmʰ and 那 nà[172], which are not "ṇe", because "n" and "ṇ" are distinguished and reproduced in different characters in the Tang dynasty 唐王朝 (Prof. Karashima's suggetion).

無諍念 "thinking of no struggle" in 悲華經 is a semantic translation of BHS arana "free from passion" (see above), and the main theme is not "life is short", but 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 Skt. anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi (see above).

In the Tibetan version, it is *Rtsibs-kyi mu-khyud* "fellies composing the rib of a wheel" (Jäschke 1881 p. 439) Ara-nemiḥ (cf. Mvy 3472), which is translated from Skt. *ara* "spoke" and *nemi* "rim", which could be a popular etymology, but the concept is similar to Merv *Avadāna*.

De <2>: On the contrary, the theme of type <2> in Toch. is "importance of gifts" which could explain the teaching of the first Dānapāramitā[173] of the six *pāramitā*s (六波羅密: 布施 *dāna*, 自戒 *śīla*, 忍辱 *kṣānti*, 精進 *vīrya*, 禅定 *dhyāna*, 般若 *prajñā*).

We can see the same theme (轉輪王因布施故) in 悲華經, which could be influenced by the Toch. version.

From the scripts in Uig., *n* and *ṇ* are not distinguished, if it is not written in Brāhmī-script (Prof. Zieme's suggestion), but the Uig. version shows almost the same content as Toch. with some modification which would fit into the Uighur culture.

The Sogdiam version is too fragmentary to get the content and there is no script for *ṇ* (cf. Gershevitsh 1961 p. 1), but judging from some words, we can guess the same content as Toch.

My hypothesis:
Our Toch. versions show both <1> and <2>. The traditional version could be <1>, and <2> was newly created in Toch. with the well known name "Aranemi" for the sake of the explanation of the difficult teaching of Buddhism, viz. *Dānapāramitā* "perfection of gift". Instead of "Aranemi" the Toch. writer used "Araṇemi" in order to show the Skt. conception with *ṇ* which was not Toch. phoneme, but used only for Skt. words. Such a character was not changed in shape chronologically, though that of Toch. own phoneme showed the palaeographical development. The linguistic and semantic development can be seen not only in Toch., but also in all other languages, as well as in the content. Therefore we should read old documents diachronically and synchronically.

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[172] These nɛmʰ and nà are not modern Chinese 平音 píng-yīn, but pronunciations in early middle Chinese recontstructed by Pullyblank (1991 p. 225, 221).

[173] If there are 18 folios between No. 89 and 91, and also the Uig. version, Mz 223 belongs to the gap, which contains *kṣānti-pāramitā* (cf. fn. 125 above), we can see No. 1 *dāna-pāramitā* and No. 3 *kṣānti-pāramitā* of six *pāramitā*s. Then it is possible that *Araṇemi-Jātaka* was compiled for six *pāramitā*s. This could mean that Jātaka was used for easy understanding of difficult teachings of Buddhism.

Appendix

The shape of *r* and *rr* in Toch. area (Northern Brāhmī):

The oldest shape: *rr* in THT 273r3 (MQ70.7).

Our Araṇemi-Jātaka (THT 85):   v6 *rr* and   r5 *r*.

THT 3599v a5 *TArre* whose *rr → r* like *r* of *wra*   THT 90r3.

OR15007_0154r1 (syllabary) shows *r(c)i* and *r(c)ī* (the upper part of the ligature).

Our *Araṇemi-Jātaka* shows the developed form of *rr* (*r-* + *-r*) which is distinguishable with single *r*, but *rr* was used in ligatures as *r* in order to make /r/ clear. This is a palaeographical development which is useful and important for reading ancient documents. Therefore, we need to see the photos or original folios to get accurate contents which the writer wanted to tell us, viz. communications with anciant writers.

Abbreviation and Symbols

BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

Skt. = Sanskrit

Sogd. = Sogdian

Toch. = Tocharian

Uig. = Uighur

abl. = ablative

adj. = adjective

all. = allative

fn. = footnote

f. = feminine

gen. = genitive

indger. = Indo-Germanic

instr. = instrumental

loc. = locative

m. = mascrine

nom. = nominative

obl. = oblique (case)

p.p. = past participle

part. = participle

perl. = perlative

pl. = plural

m. = mascrine

nom. = nominative

obl. = oblique (case)

p.p. = past participle

part. = participle

perl. = perlative

pl. = plural

pres. = present

sg. = singular

subj. = subjunctive

voc. = vocative

phoneme interpretation: / /

damaged *akṣara*(s): [ ]

restored *akṣara*(s): ( )

correction: (←) or (→)

interlinear insertion: « »

omitted *akṣara*(s): < >

superfluous *akṣara*(s): { }

lost *akṣara*: "+"

illegible *akṣara*: ".."

illegible part of *akṣara*: "."

traditional diaeresis over *akṣara* [ä]: "¨"

string hole: ○

non-syllabic *u*: "ᵤ"

virāma line: "ˌ"

virāma sign over *akṣara*: "*"

punctuation: "•" and ":"

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*Gāthā*s of the lost *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 in Old Uigur translation

Peter Zieme

Introduction[1]

The *Jinhuachao* 金花抄[2] is an Abhidharma text that is known only from other works, but the text itself no longer exists. Thus, the fragments edited by K. Kudara are of high importance for Abhidharma studies. The author published some *gāthā*s from the Hedin manuscript No. 40[3] of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm. His Japanese study was translated by K. Röhrborn into German in 1988.[4] K. Kudara concluded that the *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 doubtlessly was a commentary to the *Abhidharmakośaśāstra*.[5] In the Song Gaoseng chuan 宋高僧傳 (T.L.2061)[6] two commentaries under the name *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 are mentioned. One is the 金花抄 in 10 卷 juan by 崇廙 Chong Yu, the other the *Jushelun Jinhuachao* 俱舍論金華鈔 in 20 juan by 玄約 Xuan Yue of Tang. Both works are lost. It is impossible to determine the exact nature of this *Jinhuachao*, but clearly the verses preserved here in translation exactly parallel the *gāthā*s of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. Discussing the origin of the Old Uigur text K. Kudara came to the conclusion that its base was the first commentary[7].

K. Kudara identified already all six *gāthā*s preserved on the Stockholm leaf No. 40 with the equivalents in the *Abhidharmakośa*, but presented only the edition of three *gāthā*s. Since this Old Uigur translation offers an interesting example for the question how foreign Buddhist groups were studying the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions and how they interpreted the source texts in their mother languages that were very different from both "original" religious languages I would like to present here the whole material including the *gāthā*s already presented by K. Kudara. It will be shown that even if the Vorlage was a or the

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[1]. Here I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dieter Maue who made valuable suggestions and corrections, but for all remaining mistakes and misunderstandings I alone am responsible. I extend my thanks to Seishi Karashima who accepted my paper for the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*.

[2]. Hedin 40 (fac-simile in Shōgaito 2014, p. 337) with the leaf number *otuzunč yeti* "XXX, 7". 40R24 (cp. fig. 3) 金花抄中云 *kym q ʾ ʾ č ʾv [*kim ka čav]-ta sözlär* "In the *Kimkačav* (it) says". The title could also be written 金華鈔 (cp. Kudara 1982, p. 990 = Kudara 1988, p. 32). The pustaka leaves of this book were prepared with a hole in the first third of a leaf, but on this leaf No. 40 the space of the hole was also used for writing (for these lines cp. fig. 3).

[3]. Meanwhile a new fragment of this manuscript among the texts preserved at the Lujia Caotang was recognised by Zhang Tieshan (publication in print).

[4]. Kudara 1982, Kudara 1988.

[5]. For the details cp. Kudara 1988, pp. 32-33.

[6]. The method to use the numbers of the dictionary of Giles for the Chinese characters as K. Röhrborn does is a source of errors, here e. g. the word 僧 *seng* [this character is registered in Giles as No. 9617] correctly given by Kudara 1982, p. 994, was transcribed as *hsing* with the Giles number 4617 形 (Kudara 1988, p. 27).

[7]. Kudara 1982, pp. 990-989; Kudara 1988, p. 33.

Chinese text as we know it today the translator considered the Sanskrit text as well.

The main topic of these *gāthā*s concerns the preservation of the Dharma after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. Through faith and the vow for salvation, it is possible to remove the impurities (Skt. *kleśa*s) and triumph over other teachings.

As K. Kudara pointed out, these poems contain materials that show how the translator could provide the same text in two different translations. The remark (25) 大師世眼 *tegüči šloknuŋ yalıŋ äntkäkčäsi bo ärür*[8] introduces a word-for-word translation of the Sanskrit text. The second translation follows the Chinese text. For example, K. Kudara already recognized the text D as a version that is literally in line with the Chinese.[9] Since the Old Uigur texts of chapter VIII are missing so far, possible variants for the corresponding verses cannot be given. Here, those verses of chapter IX in the translation formed according to the Chinese model are presented in bold letters.

gāthā 01 = Abhdhk. VIII.41

(cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

01		
a	nimīlite śāstari lokacakṣuṣi	yumulmıšta bahšıta yertinčünüŋ közi bolmıšta
	大師世眼久已閉	
b	kṣayaṃ gate sākṣijane ca bhūyasā	alkınmakka barmıšta tanuk boltačı tınl(ı)glar ymä üküši anantta ulatılar ärür
	堪爲證者多散滅	
c	adṛṣṭatattvair niravagrahaiḥ kṛtaṃ	körmätük odguraklanmaklıglar üzä midik partagčanlar ärür tıtdačısızlar üzä kılıldı
	不見眞理無制人	
d	kutārkikaiḥ śāsanam etad ākulam	yavız tarkikeli üzä nom šazın kıyım kuyum
	由鄙尋思亂聖教	

La Vallée Poussin: Le Maître, œil du monde, s'est fermé ; les témoins, en général, ont péri ; la loi est mise en confusion par des hommes qui n'ont pas vu la vérité, mauvais sophistes, indépendants, que rien ne retient.[10]

Pruden: The Master, the eye of the world, is closed; the witnesses, for the most part, have perished; the Law is put into confusion by persons who have not seen the Truth; and by bad sophists, independent, from whom nothing is gained.[11]

Analysis

(a) (26) yumulmıš-ta bahšı-ta yertinčü-nüŋ közi bolmıš-ta
      nimīlite   śāstari   loka-   cakṣuṣi
      大師世眼久已閉

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8. Kudara 1982, p. 994; Kudara 1988, p. 28.
9. Shōgaito 2014, p. 170.
10. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 224.
11. Pruden, p. 1282.

(b)   alkınmak- (27) -ka barmıšta tanuk boltačı   tınl(ı)glar   ymä üküši anant-ta (28) ulatılar ärür
        kṣayaṃ   gate   sākṣi-   jane   ca   bhūyasā
        堪爲證者多散滅

c)   körmätük odguraklanmaklıglar üzä midik (29) partagčan-lar ärür tıddačısızlar üzä   kılıldı
        adṛṣṭa-   tattvair   niravagrahaiḥ   kṛtaṃ
        不見眞理無制人

(d)   yavız   tarkike-(30)-li[12] üzä   nom šazın   kıyım kuyum ..
        ku-   tārkikaiḥ   śāsanam   etad   ākulam
        由鄙尋思亂聖教

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) When the Master who had become the eye of the world had closed his eyes[13], (b) when also those who were witnesses perished, most of them – these are Ānanda and others –, (c) by those who did not see and have fixed views, by those who are as *pṛthagjana* laypeople[14] without restraint, (d) by bad philosophers the *dharma-śāsana* was made disordered.

Notes

(a) When one compares the Skt. and Chin. word order, it is evident that the Uigur translator followed the Sanskrit text, especially by reproducing the cases. He put the "closing (of the eyes)" at the beginning of the sentence as in Sanskrit, while it takes the final position in the Chinese version.

(b) At the end of the line the translator added *anant-ta ulatı-lar ärür* "Ānanda and others", probably in order to make it clear that one should understand the Buddha's early disciples.

(c) The term *odguraklanmak* is known from the Tattvārtha, e. g. 決者決斷 [*jue yue jue duan* "making decisions is to decide and to abandon"], differently in the translation *yinčürmäk ärsär odguraklanmak üzmäk ärür* "Veneration is to decide and to abandon"[15]. Skt. *niravagraha* "without restraint" is translated as *midik partagčan-lar ärür tıddačısızlar üzä* where *midik partagčan-lar ärür* is an interpretament. Dieter Maue suggested that syz is the negative suffix corresponding to Skt. *nir-*, wherefore one has to understand *tıddačısızlar* as **tıdmadačılar* "those who do not restrain". H. Tokyürek mentioned a similar construction of -DAčI + sXz in her edition of Altun Yaruk IV: *ol köŋül yänä öŋsüz b(ä)lgüsüz išsiz küdöksüz etdäčisiz yaratdačısız tetir* = Chin. 心亦不可説. 無色相無事業. 非可造作 "One can also not explain the mind which is without form and characteristic, without work and activity, and one cannot make and create it".[16]

(d) The compound *kıyım kuyum* was explained in a different context by D. Maue and Niu Ruji: "From köŋöl we see that kıyım kuyum is some sort of mental state or behaviour."[17] Although the meaning "confused, disordered" is quite sure, the derivation is not. Hopefully new examples will turn up for solving this problem.

[12.]   ly is surely a mistake for l'r *lar the plural marker.*
[13.]   The term *lokacakṣus* = 世眼 = *yertinčünüŋ közi* is one of the designations of the Buddha spread around the world, cp. Nakamura 817b, 818b; DDB.
[14.]   For the compound *midik* (Sogdian myδʾk) *partagčan* (<< Skt. pṛthagjana) cp. ED 765b.
[15.]   Tattvārtha B 935.
[16.]   Tokyürek 2015, p. 511.
[17.]   Maue & Niu 2012, pp. 57-58.

For the pāda (d) the Old Uigur author provided two variants marked by *ymä ter* "and one says" at the end and by 又 "again" followed by final *ymä ter* "and one says".

(d)　　　　yavız　tarkike-(30)-li üzä　　nom šazın　kıyım kuyum

1. *adrılur　yavız　tarkike-lar* (31) *üzä　nom šazın　bölük bölük　– ymä ter*

"By bad philosophers the dharma-śāsana is divided into parts – and one says."

(d)　　　　yavız　tarkike-(30)-li üzä　　nom šazın　kıyım kuyum

2. 又 – 　*yavız　bögüš sakıš-lıg-* (32) *–l(a)r*[18] *üzä*　　　　　　　　*– ymä ter*

"Again: By bad recognisers and thinkers – and one says."

The first alternative not supported by Sanskrit or Chinese is an interpretation paraphrasing the work of (bad) philosophers. In the second alternative the author translated the Sanskrit term into an Uigur compound. Both the words *bögüš*[19] and *sakıš*[20] have the meaning "thought" derived from verbs "to reckon". This sentence contains the same mistake (*ly* for *l'r*) as the main text of (d) itself.

<center>

gāthā 02 (Kudara A) = Abhdhk. VIII.42

(cp. fig. 3)

</center>

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

02		
a	gate 'tha śāntiṃ paramāṃ svayaṃbhuvi	barmıšta inčip yeg üstünki nirvanka k(ä)ntün tuymışta
	自覺已歸勝寂靜	
b	svayaṃbhuvaḥ śāsanadhūrdhareṣu ca	k(ä)ntün tuymıšnıŋ šazının särgürdäčilärtä ymä purnašita ulatılar ärür
	持彼教者多隨滅	
c	jagaty anāthe guṇaghātibhir malaiḥ	yertinčütä umugsuzta ädgülärig koruldurtačılar üzä nizvanilar üzä
	世無依怙喪衆徳	
d	niraṅkuśaiḥ svairam ihādya caryate	ıŋraksızlar üzä özin ögdämin amtı yorılur
	無鉤制惑隨意轉	

La Vallée Poussin: Car, Celui qui sait par lui-même est parti dans le Calme suprême, et aussi les soutiens de la loi de Celui qui sait par lui-même : le monde n'a plus de gardien. Les vices, qui détruisent les biens spirituels, ont maintenant pleine liberté.[21]

Pruden: For he who knows for himself has departed on the Supreme Path, as well as the supports of the Law of the one who knows for himself: the world no longer has a Protector. The defilements, which destroy spiritual qualities, now have full liberty.[22]

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18. Written ly.
19. ED 329b.
20. ED 816-817.
21. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, 224.
22. Pruden, p. 1282.

Analysis

(a) barmıš-ta inčip   yeg üstünki nirvan-ka (33)   k(ä)ntün tuymıš-ta
gate   ʾtha (> hi)[23] śāntiṃ paramāṃ   svayaṃbhuvi
自覺已歸勝寂靜

(b) k(ä)ntün tuymıš-nıŋ   šazının[24] särgürdäči-lär-tä (34) ymä purnaši-ta ulatı-lar ärür :
svayaṃbhuvaḥ   śāsana-   dhūrdhareṣu   ca
持彼教者多隨滅

(c) yertinčütä   umugsuzta   ädgü-lär-(35)-ig koruldurtačı-lar üzä   nizvani-lar üzä
jagaty   anāthe   guṇa-   ghātibhir   malaiḥ[25]
世無依怙喪衆德

(d) ıŋrak-sız-lar üzä   (36) özin ögdäm-in amtı   yorılur :
niraṅkuśaiḥ   svairam   ihādya   caryate
無鉤制惑隨意轉

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) When the One who gained the knowledge by himself departed into the highest[26] Nirvāṇa, (b) as well as the supporters of the discipline of the One who gained the knowledge by himself like *Purnaši and others, (c) in the world without protector[27] on (the path of) defilements (*kleśa*) which destroy the good qualities, (d) the unrestrained[28] wander about by themselves at heir own discretion.

Notes

(b) At the end of the line the translator added an interesting but unclear statement omitted by K. Kudara: *purnaši-ta ulatı-lar ärür*. Evidently, there is no Sanskrit parallel. I assume that it refers to Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra who often simply was called Pūrṇa.[29] Being one of the best disciples of the Buddha he was regarded as a master and excellent preacher of the dharma. The clear spelling pwrṅʾṣy can be read only as *purnaši* where the final syllable ṣy might represent *shi* 師 "master" which is admittedly an unusual formation.

(c) The verb *kurul-* or *korol-* and especially the nomen actoris of this text was discussed by Maue & Niu: "The verb korol- is met with as <qwrwl-> in Sogd.-Uig. script in the sense of 'to suffer loss, to get destroyed'; two instances are quoted in OTWF 666 f. Special importance falls to the nomen actoris from the causative stem, <qwrwldwrtʾčy> being the

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23. AKBh (ed. Pradhan): ʾtha, with varia lectio: hi which corresponds to Uig. *inčip* (note by D. Maue).
24. The mark beside the locative suffix (tʾ) means that is to be deleted.
25. AKBh (ed. Pradhan): mataiḥ, with varia lectio: malaiḥ which was accepted by Kudara 1988, p. 29 (additional note by D. Maue).
26. In the German translation (Kudara 1988, p. 29) the attribute was not translated, in the Japanese version (Kudara 1982, p. 993 (49)) it was 勝れて最上なる "best and highest" (for Skt. *parama*).
27. Kudara 1988, p. 29 has accordingly "in der führerlosen Welt" (in the world without guide), while Kudara 1982, 993 (49) translates through 世間において、救なきものにおいて "in the world, in hopelessness". Formally, both interpretations are possible. Semantically, it can be taken for sure that Skt. anātha- and umugsuz serve as qualifying adjectives which are subordinated to "the world". Because of the inverse word order the adjectival *umugsuz* must have the locative suffix.
28. Literally "hook-less, without hooks" like untamed elephants, cp. Trautmann p. 66: "The restraining purpose of the *aṅkuśa* is indicated by the adjective *niraṅkuśa*, indicating a person who does not follow the rules, who is unrestrained, a bohemian perhaps."
29. DDB (sub 富樓那).

equivalent of Skt. ghātin- 'killing, destroying' in the translation of a jagatī strophe[30]. Given that korol- and <qwrwl> are one and the same verb, this would imply that the stem vowel was o. Consequently the etymological derivation from kurı- 'to be, or become dry', favoured by Erdal (OTWF 194 f.), could not be upheld. The basic verb of korol- is kora- "to suffer loss, be damaged", derived from kor 'damage, loss'. The regularly formed passive koral- is met with at least twice in BuddhUig II 183 f., where the reading <qwryl-> has to be replaced by <qwr'l->, as M. Erdal kindly informed us.[31] The assimilation koral- > korol- is not unparalleled, cf. yölön- 'to betake o.s., take refuge' <yölän->".[32] In Kasai 2017[33] the verb *koruldur-*[34] is recorded two times (Aa12, Gb18), but probably in the second instance (Gb18) for *koruldurmadın* one should read *örlätürmädin* in compound with *ämgätmätin* "without injuring").

(d) Skt. *niraṅkuśa* "extravagant, independent, uncontrolled, unruly".[35] The Old Uigur word is here *ıŋrak* a variant of the usual *ırgak* "hook"[36]. A further variant is *ırıŋak*[37]. The most probable development could be arranged in the following way: *ırgak* > **ırıgak* > *ırıŋak* > **(by metathesis) ıŋırak* > *ıŋrak*. For further examples and a possible explanation cp. the data of the translation of the Xuanzang Biography.[38]

(d) Kudara 1982, p. 993 (49) *özin ökḍämin* "みずから意のまま" ("by oneself's wish") was changed in Kudara 1988, p. 29[39] into *özin ök ṭemin* "nach Gutdünken" without a clear definition of the single words. The conjecture is not advisable in view of the combination öz ögdäm[40] though it is rarely attested, cf. Ch/U 6181 verso, l. 03 *[ ] kurug öz ögdäm taplap* "pleasing in empty, selfish discretion"; Ch/U 8192 verso, l. 10 *[ ] ögdäm kılık-lıg äriglig*" having a […] behaviour at one's own discretion".

(d) Here the verb *yorı-* "to go, to march" is used in the passive voice which is the only occurrence up to now[41], surely induced by the Sanskrit passive *caryate*.

gāthā 03 (Kudara B) = Abhdhk. VIII.43
(cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

03		
a	iti kaṇṭhagataprāṇaṃ	munı munčulayu boguzta barmıš isig özlügüg ..
	既知如來正法壽	
b	viditvā śāsanaṃ muneḥ	bilip täŋri burhannıŋ nomın šazının
	漸次淪亡如至喉	

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30. This is the strophe discussed here, cp. OTWF 826.
31. The original has in both cases clearly qwryl-; koral- seems to be unattested, cp. Nuri 2015, p. 40, but the author reads *qurïl-* with *u* in the first syllable.
32. Maue & Niu 2012, pp. 67-68.
33. Kasai 2017.
34. The author reads *kuruldur-*.
35. Vgl. Trautmann 2015, p. 66.
36. ED 216a.
37. BT XIII.25.8.
38. HT IX, n. to 671-672 (pp. 306-307).
39. It is not clear whether this change was introduced by the author or by the translator.
40. Cp. ED 102 *öktem* "proud, boastful" in a pejorative sense.
41. OTWF 690-691.

c	balakālaṃ malānāṃ ca	küčädmäklig üdin nizvanilarnıŋ ymä
	是諸煩惱力增時	
d	na pramādyaṃ mumukṣubhiḥ	näŋ sımtalguluk ärmäz ozmak kutrulmak küsüšlüglär üzä tep
	應求解脱勿放逸	

La Vallée Poussin: Voyant que la loi du Muni est à son dernier souffle, que c'est l'heure de la force des vices, ceux qui désirent la délivrance doivent être diligents.[42]

Pruden: Seeing that the Law of the Muni is in its last breath, and that it is the hour of the forces of defilements, those who desire liberation should be diligent.[43]

Analysis

(a) munı munčulayu boguzta barmıš (37) isig özlügüg ..
      iti kaṇṭha- gata- prāṇaṃ
      既知如來正法壽

(b) bilip [#] täŋri burhan-nıŋ nomın šazının
      viditvā śāsanaṃ [#] muneḥ
      漸次淪亡如至喉

(c) küčä-(38)-dmäklig üdin nizvanilarnıŋ ymä
      bala- kālaṃ malānāṃ ca
      是諸煩惱力增時

(d) näŋ sımtalguluk ärmäz oz-(39)-mak kutrulmak küsüš-lüg-lär üzä tep
      na pramādyaṃ mumukṣubhiḥ
      應求解脱勿放逸

Translation of the Old Uigur text
(a-b) Thus, perceiving the divine Buddha's *dharma-śāsana* as being in its (last) breath (c) and the time when the kleśas become strong, (d) those who wish to be released must not be careless.

Notes
(b) In this line the Uigur author changed the word order.[44]

gāthā 04 = Abhdhk. IX.1
(cp. fig. 4)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation
As already demonstrated by K. Kudara in one example, the translations are given on the same leaf in two different versions. The first is strictly based on the Sanskrit text, the other one is nearer to the Chinese version. From the point of view of the Old Uigur language, the latter version is easier to understand as it follows Old Uigur structure patterns.

[42.] La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 224.
[43.] Pruden, p. 1282.
[44.] It is a rare case in this translation.

04		
a	ity etāṃ suvihita-hetu-mārga-śuddhāṃ	uz nomlatılmıš t(a)ŋlıg yaŋ üzä arıg kılılmıšıg
	已善説此淨因道	**uz nomlatılu tükätmiš bo arınmaknıŋ tıltagılıg yaŋ bolmıš yol üzä**
b	buddhānāṃ pravacana-dharmatāṃ niśamya	burhanlarnıŋ nomlamaklıg yaŋın äšitip
	謂佛至言眞法性	**k(a)ltı burhanlarnıŋ čınınča y(a)rlıkamıš čınkertü nomnuŋ tözi üzä**
c	andhānāṃ vividha-ku-dṛṣṭi-ceṣṭitānāṃ	täglüklärniŋ öŋi öŋi türlüg yavız körümtä säviglig taplaglıglarnıŋ
	應捨闇盲諸外執	**tägimlig ol titip biligsizlig karaŋgu üzä tägilmiš alku taš azag nomluglarnıŋ adgakın**
d	tīrthyānāṃ matam apavidhya yānty anandhāḥ	tirtilarnıŋ tapın sıdanın titip barırlar täglük közsüzlär säčilürlär bilgälär bo nomdın tep ymä yörmiš
	惡見所爲求慧眼	**ayıg körümlüglärniŋ kayu kılmıšın tilägäli bilgä biliglig közüg**

La Vallée Poussin: Voyant donc que la doctrine de l'enseignement des Bouddhas est parfaite par un chemin d'arguments démonstratifs, rejetant l'opinion des aveugles aux mauvaises vues et aux mauvaises démarches, les non aveugles vont.[45]

Pruden: Seeing then, by a path of demonstrative arguments, that the doctrine of the teaching of the Buddhas is perfect, and rejecting the opinion of those blind through bad views and through bad steps, the non-blind see.[46]

Analysis

(a)　　　(41) uz nomlatılmıš　　t(a)ŋ-lıg　yaŋ üzä　　arıg kılılmıš-ıg
　　ity etāṃ suvihita-　　　　　hetu-mārga-　śuddhāṃ
(Var.)　uz (02) nomlatılu tükätmiš　bo (03) arınmak-nıŋ　tıltagı bolmıš yol üzä
已善　　説　　　　此　淨　　　　因　　道

(b)　burhanlar-(42)-nıŋ nomlamak-lıg　yaŋın　　äšitip
　　buddhānāṃ　　pravacana-dharmatāṃ　　niśamya
(Var.) k(a)ltı　burhanlarnıŋ　čınınča　y(a)rlıkamıš (05) čın kertü　nomnuŋ tözi üzä
謂　　佛　　　　至　　言　　　眞　　　法　　性

(c)　täglük-(43)-lärniŋ öŋi öŋi törlüg　yavız　körümtä säviglig taplag-(44)-lıglarnıŋ
　　andhānāṃ　　vividha-　　　ku-　dṛṣṭi-　ceṣṭitānāṃ
(Var.) tägimlig ol　titip bilig-(06)-sizlig　karaŋgu üzä tägilmiš　alku　taš azag
應　　捨　　　　闇　盲　　　諸　外
nomlug-(07)-larnıŋ　adgakın
執

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45. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, pp. 300-301.
46. Pruden, p. 1355.

(d)	tirtilarnıŋ	tapın sıdanın	titip	barırlar (45)	täglük közsüzlär
	tīrthyānāṃ	matam	apavidhya	yānty	anandhāḥ

säčilürlär bilgälär bo nomdın tep ymä (46) yörmiš

(Var.)ayıg körümlüglärniŋ kayu kılmıšın tilägäli (08) bilgä biliglig közüg
惡　見　　　　　　所　爲　　求　　　　慧　　　　眼

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a-b) Having listened to Buddhas' preaching method which is purified by a well preached and proper method (c-d) and having abandoned the intentions of the blind heretics who are fond of different bad views, the blind go, chosen will be wise from this dharma - as also explained.

(Var.)

(a) Well was preached in this way that became the method of the reason of purity – (b) by the true dharma essence like spoken truly by the Buddhas. (c) One should abandon the clinging of all those who are adherents of outside (= non-Buddhist) bad doctrines who are blinded by nescience-darkness, (d) (and having abandoned) whatever is the doing of the adherents of bad views one should wish the wisdom-eye.

Notes

(a) In line 03 the first text *arınmak-nıŋ tıltag-lıg yaŋ üzä* was corrected to *arınmak-nıŋ tıltag-ı bolmıš yol üzä*. In the variant the manuscript offers an alternative reading: (03) 又 *bo taŋ-lıg yaŋ* (04) *üzä ymä ter* "Also: in this proper manner - one also says". This shows that the words *yol* and *yaŋ* are interchangeable. Difficult is the word tʾnk as equivalent of Skt. *hetu*. M. Shōgaito read *tang-lïγ yang üzä* translating it as "by this wonderful way"[47]. While *taŋlıg* is attested only here, the opposite *taŋsız* is known from other sources. In the Maitrisimit nom bitig there are two instances of a compound, either *tapsız taŋsız* (Maitr 73 v 30) or *taŋsız tapsız* (Maitr 139 verso 09)[48]. For *taŋ* Ş. Tekin[49] referred to *taŋ* "ruin"[50] which is impossible because of semantic reasons. Rather, *taŋ* should have a meaning similar to that of *tap* "satisfaction, sufficiency; satisfactory, sufficient"[51]. For the first case J. P. Laut translated the compound as "unappetitlich"[52]. Following Shōgaito's translation I adopted here the meaning "proper".

(b) The text offers the following alternative: 又 *törö-sin bilip ymä ter* "Also: perceiving the law of – one also says."

(d) The word *bäkiz* (pkyz) of the manuscript was corrected by a later hand in cursive script to *barır* (pʾryr) (cp. fig. 4, line 44).

gāthā 05 (Kudara C) = Abhdhk. IX.2

(cp. fig. 4)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

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[47.] Shōgaito 2014, p. 209.
[48.] The word is recorded in Doğan & Usta 2014, p. 308a, but without meaning.
[49.] BT IX, I, p. 96 n. 139 v 9.
[50.] ED 511a.
[51.] ED 434a. The derivation *tapsız* often means "ill". D. Maue found *tapsız* "wunschlos" as equivalent of Tocharian *snāyme* (Maue 2015, p. 512).
[52.] Laut 2001, p. 136.

05		
a	imaṃ hi nirvāṇa- puraika- vartinīṃ	munı inčip nirvanlıg balıkka yalaŋuz ävirtäči
	此涅槃宮一廣道	**bo nirvanlıg orduka yalŋuz eltdäçi keŋ yolug**
b	tathāgatāditya-vaco ’ṃśu- bhāsvatīṃ	ančulayu kälmišlig kün täŋriniŋ savlıg yarukı üzä yaltrıklıgıg
	千聖所遊無我性	**miŋ miŋ tözünlär üzä yorıtılmıšm(ä)nsiz tözlügüg**
c	nirātmatām ārya-sahasra-vāhitāṃ	m(ä)nsiz bolmakıg ukıtdačıg miŋ miŋ aryapudgalelar üzä sözlätilmišig
	諸佛日言光所照	**kim burhanlıg kün t(ä)ŋriniŋ savlıg arukı üzä yarutılmıšıg**
d	na mandacakṣur vivṛtām apīkṣate	biligsiz tirtilar ačılmıšıg ymä körmäzlär
	雖開殊眼不能覩	**näčä ačılsar yadılsar ymä közläri umazlar körgäli**

La Vallée Poussin: En effet, cette doctrine de l'inexistence de l'âme, seul chemin de la ville du Nirvāṇa, encore qu'elle soit illuminée par ces rayons qui sont les paroles de ce soleil qui est le Tathāgata, encore qu'elle soit suivie par des milliers de saints, encore qu'elle soit sans obstacles, l'homme de vue faible ne la voit pas.[53]

Pruden: In fact, this doctrine of the non-existence of the soul is the only road to the city of Nirvana; although illumined by the rays which are the words of this sun which is the Tathagata, although followed by thousands of saints, and although it is without obstacles, it is not seen by persons of weak insight.[54]

Analysis

(a) munı inčip nirvanlıg balıkka yalaŋuz ävirtäči[55]
     imaṃ hi nirvāṇa- pura=[56] eka- vartinīṃ
(Var.)bo nirvanlıg orduka (09) yalŋuz eltdäči keŋ yolug
     此 涅槃 宮 一 廣 道

(b) ančulayu (47)kälmišlig kün täŋriniŋ savlıg yarukı üzä yaltrıklıg-(48)-ıg
     tathāgata āditya- vacas= ’ṃśu bhāsvatīṃ
(Var.)miŋ miŋ tözünlär üzä (10) yorıtılmıš m(ä)nsiz tözlügüg
     千 聖 所 遊 無我 性

(c) m(ä)nsiz bolmakıg ukıtdačıg miŋ miŋ aryapudgaleli[57] üzä (49) sözlätilmišig
     nirātmatām ārya-sahasra- vāhitāṃ
(Var.)kim burhanlıg kün t(ä)ŋri-(11)-niŋ savlıg yarukı üzä yarutılmıšıg
     諸 佛 日 言 光 所 照

(d) biligsiz tirtilar ačılmıš-ıg ymä körmäzlär :
     na[58] mandacakṣur vivṛtām api= īkṣate

[53.] La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 301.
[54.] Pruden, p. 1355.
[55.] Probably a mistake for *ävirtäčig* (additional note by D. Maue).
[56.] For marking a canceled sandhi.
[57.] Emended to *lar*.
[58.] The negation is not rendered separately, but incorporated in the verb *körmäzlär* (additional note by D. Maue).

(Var.)näčä ačılsar (12) yadılsar ymä   közläri umazlar körgäli
      雖   開   殊   眼   不能   覩

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a-) Indeed, (d-) the nescient heretics cannot see (-a-) this (c-) soullessness (-a) which alone is leading to the Nirvāṇa city which is resplendent of the word-splendour of the Tathāgata-sun (-c) which is proclaimed by thousands of Āryapudgalas, (-d) though it is manifest.

(Var.)

(d) The eyes (of the heretics) cannot see – even when clearly propagated - (a) the broad way alone leading to this nirvāṇa palace, (b) the nirātmā essence experienced by thousands and thousands of noble men, (c) the resplendent[59] **illuminated by word-splendour of Buddha, the sun.**

Notes

(Additional note) D. Maue proposed the deletion of *ukıtdačıg* which was probably inserted by a later reader or redactor who did not realize that the hyperbaton *munı … m(ä)nsiz bolmakıg* formed the object. By the addition of *ukıtdačıg* the syntagma changed its meaning, "who/which is teaching the soullessness", and its syntactical function, thus becoming parallel to (a) ... ävirtäči<g>, (b) ... yaltrıklıgıg, (c) ... sözlätilmišig, (d) ... ačılmıšıg. The resulting translation is different from the Sanskrit text and significantly inferior: (a-) Indeed, (d-) the nescient heretics do not see (-a) this, which alone is leading to the Nirvāṇa-city, (b) which is resplendent of the word-splendour of the Tathāgata-sun god, (c) which is teaching the soullessness, which is proclaimed by thousands of Āryapudgalas, (-d) though it is manifest (literally opened). D. Maue also pointed out that *sözlätilmiš* is an unexpected equivalent of Skt. vāhita- "exerted, endeavoured" and might indicate a varia lectio: *vācita-* (?) "taught" which is known from the Pali but not listed in the Skt. dictionaries.

(d) For *körmäzlär* the manuscript offers the following alternative: (50) 又 b*ilmäzlär ymä ter* "Also: they do not know - thus one also says."

gāthā 06 = Abhdhk. IX.3

(cp. fig. 4)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

06		
a	iti diṅmātram evedam	munı munčulayu buluŋ yıŋak täŋinčä ök bo
	於此方隅已略説	**munta buluŋ yıŋak t(ä)ŋinčä kavırasınča sözläyü tükätdim(i)z**
b	upadiṣṭaṃ sumedhasām	ukıtılmıš bolgay bilgälärkä bälgülüg
	爲開智者慧毒門	**boltı bilgälärkä agulug bilgä bilig tözlüg nomug bašta urulmıš agunuŋ täg**
c	vraṇadeśo viṣasyeva	m(ä)nsiz nom bašta urulmıš agunuŋ täg
	庶各隨己力堪能	**bodun bokun öŋin öŋin öz küčläriniŋ umaklıg ädrämi eyin**

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59. Chin. 照 shows that instead of *yaratılmıš* the author thought of *yarutılmıš* or *yarutulmıš*.

d	svasāmarthyavisarpaṇa iti	öz küči eyin yatıldačınıŋ
	遍悟所知成勝業	**tüzü tuyup bilgülüküg bütürzün yeg adruk išig kütüküg tep**

La Vallée Poussin: Dans ce livre on n'en trouvera qu'une indication sommaire, à l'usage des hommes intelligents : le poison, une fois dans la blessure, s'insinue partout par sa propre force.[60]

Pruden: In this book one will find but a summary indication for the use of intelligent persons: but poison (of belief in soul), once within a wound, will spread itself everywhere by its own force.[61]

Analysis

(a) munı munčulayu   buluŋ   yıŋak   täŋinčä ök bo
     iti   diṅ-   mātram eva=idam
(Var.)munta   buluŋ   yıŋak (13) t(ä)ŋinčä kavırasınča   sözläyü tükätdim(i)z
     於此   方   隅   已略   説

(b)   (51) ukıtılmıš bolgay   bilgälärkä bälgülüg
      upadiṣṭaṃ   sumedhasām
(Var.)boltı bilgä-(14)lärkä agulug bilgä bilig tözlüg   nomug baš-ta urulmıš (15) agu-nuŋ täg
     爲開 智者   慧 毒   門

(c)   m(ä)nsiz nom bašta   urulmıš (52) agu-nuŋ   täg :
                   vraṇa   -deśo   viṣa-sya= iva
(Var.)   bodun bokun   öŋin öŋin öz   küčläri[62]-(16)-niŋ   umak-lıg ädrämi eyin
      庶   各 隨 己   力   堪   能

(d)   öz küči eyin   yatıldačı-nıŋ
      sva- sāmarthya-   visarpaṇa iti
(Var.)tüzü tuyup   bilgü-(17)-lük-üg[63]   bütürzün[64] yeg adruk   išig kütüküg tep
     遍 悟   所知   成   勝   業

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) The thus, in the form of an orientation (b-) taught (c-) (scil.) doctrine of soulless(ness) (-b) will be (fully) manifest for the wise (c) like (the manifestation) of poison which is put into a wound (d) spreading by its own power.

(Var.)
(a) Here, in a measure of an orientation, shortly, we have summarized (the dharma), (b) that became for the wise men[65] like poison - poison of the nature of wisdom - put into the wound - the dharma[66] - (c) which is able (to spread) according to its own power

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60. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 301.
61. Pruden, p. 1355.
62. Deleted: *yetmiš-inčä učuz oŋay uzun-lar*.
63. In Shōgaito 2014, p. 172 the syllable *-üg* was omitted.
64. Deleted: *bütürgäli*.
65. #*bašta urulmıš boltı* "it was put into the wound". Chin. 開 ... 門 "opened ... the gate [= the teaching]". The alternative between the lines: 又 *ačılır* [Shōgaito: *ačılgalır*] *üčün bilgälär yogun kapıgların* "that the compact gates will be opened for the wise ones" clarifies the sense.
66. Emend to *nomlug*?

differently in (all) people. (d) (Therefore) one should completely perceive that what is to be perceived and complete the good and excellent work.

Notes

(a) The manuscript has the alternative text variant: 又 *tükätmiš ymä ter* "Also: it is finished – one also says".

(c) The deleted variant *yetmiš-inčä učuz oŋay uzun-lar* offers the possibility to compare two different translations of the Chinese version, but one can agree with the redactor that the correction better expresses the intention of the text.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		(6)	(7)	
庶 shu	各 ge	隨 sui	己 ji	力 li		堪 kan	能 neng	
All may according to their capacities, to their powers …								
bodun bokun	öŋin öŋin		öz	küčläriniŋ		umaklıg	ädrämi	(3) eyin
All people, everybody according to the ability-quality of their powers …								
bodun bokun	öŋin öŋin		öz	küčläri (3) *yetmišinčä*		*učuz oŋay*	*uzunlar*	
All people, everybody may as much as their powers reach easily be able to …								

The term *siddhānta*

syd'n = *sıdan* or *sidan,* here synonym of *tap* "wish, opinion", cp. HT.IV.1407-1409 *anın [ya]ŋılmıš sıdan taplagıŋız-[lar]nı b(ä)k katıg tutarsizlär* "Therefore you persist in your erroneous views"[67] = chin. T.L.2053.244c27 *gushou yuzong* 固守愚宗 "you persist in your erroneous views"[68]. Here the word in question must have the same meaning as *taplag* "tenet". Chin. *zong* 宗 is one of the equivalents of Skt. *siddhānta*, and thus *sıdan* could be derived from Chin. *xitan* 悉檀 "accomplishment, skt. siddhānta"[69] (DDB). But only if one accepts that *xi* 悉 spelled in Old Uigur several times *syr*[70] could also been have adopted as *sy*. For the syllable *tan* 檀 the pronunciation t'n[71] is recorded. The word is attested also in the so-called "Lehrtext" edited by K. Kitsudō[72]: *tört türlüg sy[ ]d[ ]*[73] as translation of 四悉檀 "four siddhānta". The letters sy[ ]d[ ] should be restituted there to *si[r]d[an]* as already pointed out by K. Kitsudō. A clear spelling syd'n is known from (IOM) SI.0412 B02 *sıdan nom-ları* (not identified fragment).

In HT.V.0761-0765 we read *kinayan sevšeŋ [bah]šılar taš azag nomlug tirtilar k(ä)ntülärniŋ sitan taplagın sımıšın buzmıšın körüp* "The Hīnayāna masters and the heretics of erroneous teachings saw that one destroyed and aborted their views and opinions". The

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[67]. HT IV, pp. 138-139 (his explanation on p. 260 is out of question).
[68]. Li 1995, p. 131.
[69]. "an established conclusion, proved fact, axiom, dogma, a text or authoritative work" (DDB). The Skt. word *siddhānta* was borrowed into Chinese in the transcription 悉檀, cp. Wogihara, p. 1168b.
[70]. Shōgaito et alii 2015, p. 188.
[71]. Shōgaito et alii 2015, p. 183.
[72]. Kitsudō 2015, B0021.
[73]. Cp. fig. 1.

authors[74] thought that at the end of the line a final letter *-t* is not visible, but it is clear that the last letter is *-n*[75] as in all other examples mentioned.

The lines 21-23 of fol. 40R

The Chinese text of the lines 21-23 written in columns running from left to right were quoted by K. Kudara[76], but not translated: [21]淨因道者菩提名淨無我道能 [22]趣涅盤故故名因道淨之因道 [23]依主釋也.

(21) 淨因道 [gāthā 04a] 者 ⼀[77] 名淨無我道 [cp. gāthā 05b 無我道] "What concerns the pure way of causes, its ⼀ name is the pure way of nirātmā."

能 (22) 趣涅盤 [cp. gāthā 05a] 故 故名因道淨之因道 "For being able to grasp the nirvāṇa, therefore its name is 'way of causes' (or) 'pure way of causes'."

(23) 依主釋也 "That is a tatpuruṣa".

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IBK   印度学仏教学研究 [*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*].

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[74].   HT V, p. 303 note to 0763.

[75].   Cp. fig. 2. The last letter is a long final *-n*.

[76].   Kudara 1982, p. 994; Kudara 1988, p. 28.

[77].   The character (cp. fig. 3 col. 21, fifth character = fig. 5) has a special shape with two times four vertical strokes. According to Huang 2005, p. 292 it stands for 涅盤 *niepan* = Skt. *nirvāṇa*, not for 菩提 *puti* = Skt. *bodhi* as K. Kudara read. The latter one has only two times two vertical strokes (cp. fig. 6) in Dunhuang manuscripts, cp. Huang 2005, p. 309.

IOM   Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

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SIAL   内陸アジア言語の研究 *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*.

SWTF   E. Waldschmidt et alii, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule*, Göttingen 1973~.

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A Newly Identified Fragment of a Lost Translation of the
Bhadrakalpika-sūtra

Li Can

In a previous study, I re-edited a Chinese fragment BD14741/I preserved in the National Library of China and compared it with Tibetan and Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Bhadra-kalpika-sūtra (BKS)*, demonstrating the fragment robustly part of a lost translation of *BKS*.[1] This work is necessary given the inadequacy of evidence offered and transcription mistakes made by former research.[2]

In addition to the fragment mentioned above, we have been fortunate to be able to identify a second new fragment of the lost translation in the collection of the Taito City Calligraphy Museum (台東区立書道博物館) in Tokyo.

According to *Chu Sanzang Jiji* (出三藏記集), as well as other catalogues, the *BKS* had been translated twice (if Buddhanāma-sūtras and T.649 **Sarvadharmanaya[viniścaya]-nirdeśa-sūtra* 觀察諸法行經[3] are not included); the first version by Dharmarakṣa (3rd–4th century) and the second by Kumārajīva (344–411?[4]). While the Dharmarakṣa's translation has been preserved to this day, as far back as the beginning of the 6th century *Chu Sanzang Ji Ji* recorded that the Kumārajīva's translation had disappeared.[5]

Therefore considering the translation of Kumārajīva is on record as being lost, both of the identified fragment SH.152-6 and BD14741/I probably belong to the lost translation of Kumārajīva. Furthermore, I will provide some internal evidence in this paper to support this hypothesis.

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[1]. Cf. Can Li 李燦 2015a.

[2]. Cf. *GTDY* 2010, p. 42, catalogue 7–8.

[3]. The brief report of the relation between *Sarvadharmanaya[viniścaya]nirdeśa-sūtra* and *BKS*, cf. Can Li 2015a: 236.

[4]. On the date of Kumārajīva's death, cf. Tatsuya Saito 2000.

[5]. *Chu Sanzang Ji Ji* records: "…New [translation of] *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* Seven volumes Now it is lost…the 35 sūtras on the right are 294 volumes in sum. During the reign of An (安) Emperor of Jin Dynasty, Indian śrāmaṇa Kūmārajīva came to Chang'an at the third year of Hong Shi era reigned by Yao Xing in pseudo Qin Dynasty (401 CE), and translated them in Da Si Temple and Xiao Yao Garden." (《新賢劫經》七卷(今闕) …… 右三十五部, 凡二百九十四卷。晋安帝時, 天竺沙門鳩摩羅什以僞秦姚興弘始三年至長安, 于大寺及 逍遙園譯出。) Cf. T 55, no. 2145, p. 10, c20–p. 11, a27. Other catalogues are mainly in agreement with *Chu Sanzang Ji Ji*'s record. Although *Dazhou Kanding Zhongjing Mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄 lists five different translations (cf. T 55, no. 2153, p. 397, b25–c7), three of them are different names of Dharmarakṣa's translation and Tan Wulan's version is actually re-edited from the Buddha section of Dharmarakṣa's translation according to his preface *Qianfo Minghao Xu* 千佛名號序 (cf. T 55, no. 2145, p. 82, b3–20). Therefore *Dazhou Kanding Zhongjing Mulu* do not provide new information to us.

1. Identification of Fragment SH.152-6

As was accounted by Wang Shunan (王樹枏 1852–1936 CE), the then-governor of Xinjiang (新疆布政使), fragment SH.152-6 had been first excavated at an ancient temple in Tuyuq by Liu Baochen 劉寶臣, the magistrate of Shan Shan county (鄯善知縣). And then the fragment obtained by Xing Qiao 星橋 (the coutesy name of Lian Kui 聯魁 1849–? CE) and Zi Dan 子丹 (the coutesy name of Du Tong 杜彤 1864–1929 CE) in succession, and finally acquired by Wang Shunan and recorded in his preface to SH.152[6]. Later the fragment, together with some other items in the Wang Shunan collection, was purchased by the notable Japanese collector Nakamura Fusetsu (中村不折) and subsequently preserved in his own Calligraphy Museum which is the present Taito City Calligraphy Museum.

The fragment measures 215×323 mm and the lower portion is missing. There are seventeen lines of writing, while each line consists of around seventeen Chinese characters if our restoration is correct. The fragment, as was reported, shows the typical calligraphy style of the Northern Liang (北涼體), a dynasty dated to around the first half of the 5th century.[7]

The fragment first came to light in 2005,[8] and was denominated the "sūtra of Prajñā-pāramitā division" 般若部經, which is obviously not a sūtra title. Recently we find it represents a close parallel to the Tibetan version of the *BKS*, although it is quite distinct from Dharmarakṣa's translation which seems to include considerable exegetical components. Meanwhile, no extant Gāndhārī and Sanskrit fragments preserve the corresponding paragraph.

The fragment belongs to the *pāramitā* section of the *BKS*, and mainly covers four groups of six *pāramitā*s as follows:

Fragment	Translation of the fragment	Tibetan	Dharmarakṣa
明波羅蜜	the *pāramitā* of illumination	snang bar byed pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa	光曜度無極
(為)世波羅蜜	the *pāramitā* of the world	'jig rten gyi pha rol tu phyin pa	世度無極
緣眾生波羅蜜	the *pāramitā* of hanging on sentient beings	sems can la dmigs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa	為眾生故行度無極
住菩提波羅蜜	the *pāramitā* of abiding in enlightenment	[byang chub kyi phyir][9] gnas pa'i sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa	住度無極

Neither the fragment itself nor the parallels in the Tibetan version follow the typical structure of the *pāramitā* section, and in particular the former two groups of *pāramitā*s (i.e. the *pāramitā* of illumination & the *pāramitā* of the world), do not explain each in detail. Despite the fact that the latter two *pāramitā*s (i.e. the *pāramitā* of focusing on sentient beings & the *pāramitā* of abiding in enlightenment), mainly follow the structure, they also show some variations. A comparison between the latter two and the typical structure follows.

[6.] Cf. Yuqi Zhu 朱玉麒 2012.
[7.] Cf. *TKSHNFU* 2005, p.5. We agree with this conclusion.
[8.] Cf. *TKSHNFU* 2005, p. IV.
[9.] The phrase appears several times and "byang chub kyi phyir" does not appear the first time.

Latter two groups of *pāramitā*s in SH. 152-6 and their Tibetan parallels		Typical structure of *pāramitā* section			
SH. 152-6	Tibetan	Tibetan	Sanskrit	Gāndhārī	Dharmarakṣa
X波羅蜜有六者。	De la … pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na	De la … pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na	Tattra katamaḥ … pāramita ṣaṭ*	Tatra kadara… paramida ṣo	何謂X度無極有六事？
……, 是名X檀波羅蜜；	de ni … sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'o	…gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o	ya … aya dāna ×	ya … ayaṃ daṇa	……, 是曰布施
……是名X尸波羅蜜；	de ni … tshul khrims so	…gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o	ya … aya śīla×	ya … ayaṃ śila	……, 是曰持戒
……是名X羼提波羅蜜；	de ni … bzod pa'o	…gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o	ya … aya kṣānti ×	ya … ayaṃ kṣati	……, 是曰忍辱
……是名X毗梨耶波羅蜜；	de ni … brtson 'grus so	…gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o	ya … aya vīryya ×	ya … ayaṃ virya	……, 是曰精進
……是名X禪定波羅蜜；	de ni …'i bsam gtan no	…gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o	ya … aya dhyāna ×	ya … ayaṃ јaṇa	……, 是曰一心
……是名X般若波羅蜜；	-	…gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste	ya … aya jñāna ×	ya … ayaṃ praña	……是曰智慧
是名X波羅蜜六。	de ni …'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go	'di dag ni …pha rol tu phyin pa drug go	ime … pāramita ṣaṭ*[10]	Ime … paramida ṣo	是為六

Transcription

Editorial Signs:

【】 damaged character

□ one lost character

千 restored character(s)

? uncertain character

1. □□□□□□□□□□□□ 波羅蜜
2. 六。明波羅蜜有六者。智者 □□□□□□,
3. 因布施為首，或因持戒、忍辱/、精進、禪定、般若

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[10]. Baums argued that *ṣaṭ** "could in our opinion also be read *ṣū*, and thus possibly preserves at least a trace of a Gāndhārī substrate." Cf. Stefan Baums, Andrew Glass and Kazunobu Matsuda 2016, p. 185.

4. 為首，是明波羅蜜六。[為]世/波羅蜜有六者。(攀?)
5. 緣眾生布施、持戒、忍辱、精進/、禪定、般若，是名
6. 為世波羅蜜六。緣眾生波羅蜜有六/者。□□
7. 施攝眾生，願令得樂，而不教菩【提】¹¹，是/名緣眾
8. 生檀波羅蜜；破戒眾生令得安樂，是/名緣眾
9. 生尸波羅蜜；忍眾生惡，不以空【智?】/，是名緣眾生
10. 羼提波羅蜜；行【精進】/□□□□，是名緣眾生
11. 毘梨【耶】¹²波羅蜜；我/□□□□□□□□
12. □【精】進，是名緣眾/生禪波羅蜜。□□□□□
13. 【廻】向菩提，【為】眾生【故】，【當行】佛道，【是】/名緣眾生
14. 般若波羅蜜。¹³住菩提波羅蜜/有六者。□□□
15. 一向菩提，是名住菩提檀/波羅蜜；□□□□
16. 分別，趣向菩提，無所□相/，是名住菩提尸波
17. 羅蜜；受一切苦惚¹⁴，堅心行/(願？)，是名住菩提羼
18. 提波羅蜜

BSK (Tib.) D94, vol. 45, mDo sde, ka 24b2-25a4
de ni yongs su sbyong bar byed pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug ces bya'o/_/

de la snang bar byed pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na/
_[24b.3]pha rol tu phyin pa'i chos dang /_byang chub sems bskyed pas byang chub tu sems skye ba sbyin pa sngon du 'gro ba 'am/_tshul khrims sngon du 'gro ba 'am/_bzod pa sngon du 'gro ba 'am/_brtson 'grus sngon tu 'gro ba 'am/_bsam gtan sngon du 'gro ba 'am/_[24b.4]shes rab sngon du 'gro ba zhig gam zhes bdag nyid dpyod par byed pa gang yin pa de ni snang bar byed pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go/_/

de la 'jig rten gyi pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na/
_sems can la dmigs pa'i sbyin pa dang /_tshul khrims dang /_bzod [24b.5]pa dang /_brtson 'grus dang /_bsam gtan dang /_shes rab gang yin pa 'di dag ni'jig rten gyi pha rol tu phyin pa drug ces bya'o/_/

de la sems can la dmigs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na/
sems can rnams sbyin pas sdud par byed [24b.6]pa na/_byang chub kyi phyir gdams ngag mi ston par sems can 'di dag bde bar gyur cig pa de ni sems can la dmigs pa'i sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'o/_/
tshul khrims kyis sems can bde bar byed pa de ni sems can la dmigs pa'i tshul khrims [24b.7]so/_/

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¹¹ For the reading 菩提, cf. line 13, 15.
¹² Here only the radical "身" is preserved. According to the Tibetan version, we believe the reading here is probably 躆 or another similar variants (異體字) of the character "耶". 毘梨耶 (躆) = Tib. *brtson 'grus* = Skt. *vīrya*.
¹³ Considering the typical structure of the perfections section, there is probably a concluding sentence missing here, which should be "these are the perfections of focusing on sentient beings by name (是名緣眾生波羅蜜六)". The missing portion can be confirmed by the Tibetan and Dharmarakṣa' versions. Meanwhile, both the Tibetan and Dharmarakṣa' versions also have a missing sentence, which in this case is preserved in the fragment in question "This is the wisdom perfection of focusing on sentient beings by name" (是名/緣眾生般若波羅蜜).
¹⁴ 惚 is a variant of 惱.

stong pa nyid shes pa med par sems can thams cad la bzod pa byed pa de ni sems can la dmigs pa'i bzod pa'o/_/

sems can rnams rnam par grol bar bya ba'i phyir brtson 'grus rtsom pa de ni sems can la dmigs pa'i brtson 'grus so/_/

sems [25a][25a.1]/la 'dzin pa med par bya ba'i phyir bdag tu dmigs pa'i bsam gtan sems la 'dzin pa med pa de ni sems can la dmigs pa'i bsam gtan no/_/

dmigs pa'i 'du shes dang ldan pa'i shes rab kyis sems can rnams bskyal ba'i phyir/_byang chub [25a.2]tu yongs su sngo zhing byang chub mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas par bya ba gang yin pa de ni sems can la dmigs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go_/

de la gnas pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na/

yi dam la brtan pa lhag pa'i bsam pas byang chub kyi phyir yongs [25a.3]su bsngos pa gang yin pa de ni byang chub kyi phyir gnas pa'i sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'o//

rtog pa med pa'i tshul khrims byang chub kyi phyir yongs su sngo zhing bcabs pa med pa de ni byang chub kyi phyir gnas pa'i tshul khrims kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'o/_/

nam byang chub kyi bar du [25a.4]sdug bsngal thams cad bzod pa brtan par smon pa de ni byang chub kyi phyir gnas pa'i bzod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'o/_/

***BKS* (Ch.) T14, no. 425, p. 13, a19-b7**
……是為六。
何謂光曜度無極有六事？發顯明智道心之法，已自察戒，發菩薩心，始從施起戒、忍、精進、一心、智慧，是謂光曜度無極。
何謂世度無極有六事？所供養佛興功立德，皆為眾生，六度亦然，拘制六情，志慕六通，達往業，進大道，是世度無極。
何謂為眾生故行度無極有六事？若以布施攝于眾生，心自念言：使諸眾生常獲安隱。亦複勸人入于佛道。六度無極亦複如是。以戒安之，以苦如空，忍辱之法而度脫之，精進濟之，以一心攝護于眾生，自投顛倒想，逮智慧，勸助于道，欲安眾生，求成正覺，欲度眾生。是謂為眾生故行度無極有六事。
何謂住度無極有六事？若以堅固建立志願，道心清和，而無諍訟，是施度無極。
所立游土，觀無想戒，志存道法，不求望報，是戒度無極。
住于道法，忍一切苦，堅住道要，是忍度無極。

2. The Two Identified Fragments and Kumārajīva's lost Translation

The *BKS* is recorded to have been translated into Chinese just twice, and the two fragments SH.152-6 and BD14741/I at hand are obviously different from the well-known Dharmarakṣa translation, so it is reasonable to assume that the two fragments belong to Kumārajīva's lost translation. In other words, such identification is made possible by a process of elimination. Furthermore, internal evidence supports the identification. Firstly, Kumārajīva's version was translated and circulated generally in 5th century and as mentioned above was effectively lost at the beginning of 6th century. The fact that, based on calligraphic evidence, both fragments were dated to around the 5th century by previous researchers may not be a coincidence.[15]

Secondly, we find that neither of the fragments shows evidence of early terminology that fell out of use before the 5th century, that is to say, there is no wording present that would be typical of the period from the Eastern Han Dynasty (東漢) to Western Jin (西晉) Dynasty.

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15. Cf. *GTDY* 2010, Catalogue p.7–8; *TKSHNFU* 2005, p. IV.

Furthermore, no new translation terminology coined after 6th century can be identified in either of the fragments.

Moreover, some terminology or idioms in the two fragments came into being only during Eastern Jin Dynasty or were rarely used before that era. For example, "Piliye" （毘梨耶 = *vīrya*）is probably a term first used by Kumārajīva. Before him, "Vīrya" was often translated as "Weidai" [惟逮] or "Jingjin" [精進]. In addition, some terms like "Huixiang"（回向, 迴向 or 迴向 = [*pari*]-*nam*） and "A'nouduoluo sanmiao sanputi"（阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 = *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*） were seldom used before the 5th century.

Therefore, it is concluded that both fragments belong to a lost translation of the *BKS* and probably the one by Kumārajīva.

Abbreviation:

GTDY 2010 = Zhongguo Guojia Tushuguan 中國國家圖書館 ed., *Guojia Tushuguan Cang Dunhuang Yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書, vol. 133, Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社.

TKSHNFU 2005 = Isobe Akira 磯部彰 ed., *Taito Kuritsu Shodō Hakubutsukan shozō Nakamura Fusetsu kyūzō Uiki bokusho shūsei* 台東区立書道博物館所蔵中村不折旧蔵禹域墨書集成, Tokyo: Monbu Kagakushō Kagaku Kenkyūhi Tokutei Ryōiki Kenkyū, Higashi Ajia Shuppan Bunka no Kenkyū, Sōkatsuhan (Nigensha) 文部科学省科学研究費特定領域研究「東アジア出版文化の研究」総括班 (二玄社), 2005.

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Not *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (賁識, 奔識) but *Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera* (毘沙門天)
—Critical Review of Arlt/Hiyama's Article on Gandharan Great Departure—

Katsumi TANABE

Introductory Remarks

In 2006 I published my doctoral thesis in Japanese: *The Origin of the Vaiśravaṇa Image* (毘沙門天像の起原), Sankibō-busshorin (山喜房佛書林), Tokyo. In this dissertation I identified the male figure (Fig. 1) holding a bow and an arrow depicted in Gandharan Great Departure (Fig. 2) as *Vaiśravaṇa* (毘沙門天). However, in 2007, Osamu Izumoji (出雲路修) of Ryukoku University, Kyoto published an article entitled "Hārītī is the wife of the Great God of the Five Paths (五道大神)" in which he maliciously criticized my identification of the aforesaid armed figure as *Vaiśravaṇa* and in its stead identified the male figure armed with a bow (and arrow) as the Great God (General) of the Five Paths (五道大神) named *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (賁識, 奔識) in Chinese.[1] He based his identification solely on the descriptions of this god narrated only in the three Chinese sutras: the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (仏説太子瑞応本起経, T3. 185), the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本記経, T3.188) and the *Foshuo pu yao jing* (仏説普曜経, T3. 186).[2] In a sense, his identification is well worth taking into account and publishing because it depends solely upon the two attributes of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*: a bow and an arrow without taking into consideration various types of male figures armed or unarmed in the Gandharan Great Departure. He kindly sent me a photocopy of his paper and therefore, I replied him that his identification was completely wrong and beside the mark after succinctly explaining why his identification is incorrect.

Four years later in June 2011, Seishi Karashima (辛嶋静志) of Soka University, Tokyo sent me an e-mail in which he kindly informed me that the Chinese expression *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí Benzhi* was a fanciful transliteration of *Vaiśramaṇa* (毘沙門天), *a by-form of Vaiśravaṇa*. He seemed to be inclined to identify the above-mentioned Gandharan armed figure (Fig. 1) as *Vaiśramaṇa/Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* described in the aforesaid three Chinese sutras. Therefore I informed him of a few reasons why such an identification as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* was hardly tenable from iconographical point of view. What is more, through his e-mail I happened to know that Juhyung Rhi (李柱亨) of Seoul National University had also attempted to identify the relevant armed figure as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* but he seemed to abandon it later.[3]

Since then, I had not encountered this identification as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* until at the beginning of January 2018 I happened to find the same wrong identification relying on the

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same wrong literary basis and misunderstanding as already put forward by Izumoji in 2007, in the newly-founded online journal, *Distant Worlds Journal*, Vol. 1 (2016). It is found in the article written by young coauthors: Robert Arlt, German and Satomi Hiyama (檜山智美), Japanese (infra abbreviated, Arlt/Hiyama) both of whom I have been acquainted with for several years. Then, I felt as if I was unexpectedly shot by a gunman and a gunwoman from behind at moonless night.

Anyhow, their so-called 'New Evidence' is no more than an enlarged repetition of misunderstanding already made by Izumoji around ten years ago. It is unfortunate that the article was published. However, in order to defend my thesis and also to prevent readers of the article from being misled into accepting a mistaken identification, I find it necessary to severely criticize the paper from the point of view of text criticism and iconographical analysis.[4]

1 Apocryphal Buddhist Scriptures

First, I will begin by clarifying that the relevant passages of the two Chinese 'sutras' of which both Izumoji and Arlt /Hiyama used for their identifications were probably fabricated and inserted by Chinese compilers in China. As regards the relevant passage of the *Foshuo pu yao jing* (仏説普曜経, dated 308 AD) I will exclude it from my discussion because the relevant passage (T3. 186. 507c) of this sutra is definitively of later interpolation made in China as Masaharu Arakawa and Kiyoshi Okano already demonstrated.[5] What is more, the most reliable text of the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara,* one of the 'original' sutra of the *Foshuo pu yao jing*, recently revised and annotated by Kōichi Hokazono from several Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts, does not contain such a passage at all.[6] The same holds true of another Chinese translation of the *Lalitavistara*, the *Fan guang da zhuangyan jing* (方廣大荘厳経, T3. 187) translated by an Indian priest Divākara (地婆阿羅, Di Po He Luo) in 683. The text of the extant *Lalitavistara* was completed around 6th century AD and it is undoubtedly posterior to the *Foshuo pu yao jing* (仏説普曜経).[7]

From the above we might be allowed to assume that the relevant passage of the *Foshuo pu yao jing* did not exist in the original (lost) text of the *Lalitavistara* compiled in the north-west India or Gandhara by the second century AD at the latest.[8] Therefore, the supposedly interpolated passage of this sutra should be better excluded from discussion of literary sources pertaining to the problem of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*.

Arlt/Hiyama's identification depends upon the following two passages:

A *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* 仏説太子瑞応本起経 (T3. 185. 475c):

即起上馬。将車匿前行数十里。忽然見主五道大神。名曰賁識。最独剛強。左執弓。右持箭。腰帯利剣。所居三道之衢。一曰天道。二曰人道。三曰三悪道。此所謂死者魂神。所當過見者也。太子到問。何道所従。賁識惶怖。投弓。釈箭。解剣。逡巡示以天道曰。是道可従。(行数十里)。

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4.   Tanabe 1993/94, 1997.
5.   Arakawa 2006: 516; Okano 1990: 260-261; cf. Karashima 2016: 115, notes 87, 92.
6.   Hokazono 1997: 70, 82, 1998: 74–75, 86.
7.   Okano 1990: 244; Hokazono 1994: 103.
8.   Okano 1990: 265-264.

This passage narrates the Great Departure after the so-called the First Meditation (樹下観耕) of the prince Siddhārtha conducted under the Jambu-tree and His Pessimistic View of Life, not after His Leave from Kapilavastu. Arlt/ Hiyama translated this passage as follows (pp. 190–191):

> "After the prince had mounted Kaṇṭhaka, Candaka went ahead for several ten Li. (Then they) suddenly saw the great god, who reigned over the five paths (主五道大神), by the name of Bēnzhì/Bēnshí (賁識), the single most powerful (of the gods). In his left and he held a bow, and in his right hand he had <u>an arrow</u>. At his waist he carried a sharp sword. He dwelled at an intersection of the three paths (所居三道之衢). The first is the path to the heaven(s). The second is the path to the human realm. The third are the three bad paths. This is the place, where spirits of the deceased pass and meet him. The prince asked him which path he should take. Bēnzhì/Bēnshí frightened and bashful, <u>threw away the bow and arrow, untied his sword, hesitated and then pointed towards heaven (path),</u> and said to go on this path" (underline mine).
> (The prince advanced another several ten Li and encountered two hunters).

B *Yichu pusa benqi jing* 異出菩薩本記経 (T3. 188. 619b):
即上馬而去。行数十里。見一男子。名曰賁識。賁識者。鬼神中大神。為人剛懬。左手持弓。右手持箭。腰帯利剣。當道而立。賁識所立處者有三道。一者天道。二者人道。三者泥犁悪人之道。太子遙見。心為不楽。直以馬前趣之。<u>賁識即惶怖戦慄。解剣持弓箭。</u>却路而立。太子問曰。何道可従。賁識即以天道示之。此道可従。太子行数十里。道逢猟者。

This passage narrates almost the same story as the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing*. Arlt and Hiyama translated this passage as follows (pp. 191–192):

> (After Siddhārtha's First Meditation and His Pessimistic View of Life are described) "After the prince had ridden his horse for more than ten Li he saw a youth, named Bēnzhì/Bēnshí (賁識). Bēnzhì/Bēnshí was a great god among the demonic gods (鬼神中大神), appearing threatening to everyone. He held <u>a bow in his left and, and an arrow in his right hand.</u> At his waist he carried a sharp sword. He stood on the road. Where Bēnzhì/Bēnshí stood there are three paths. The first one is the path to the heaven(s). The second is the path to the human realm. The third is the path of the bad ones going to hell (泥犁 = Skt. *naraka*). He saw the prince from a distance and felt uncomfortable. When the prince's horse stood directly in front of him, <u>Bēnzhì/Bēnshí became scared and trembled. He loosened his sword and took the bow and arrow</u> and remained standing on the path. The prince asked him which way he should go. Bēnzhì/Bēnshí immediately pointed to the heaven, (and said,) this is the path to go" (underline mine).
> (The prince advanced another several ten Li and encountered hunters).

Before investigating the passages pertaining to the identification by Arlt/Hiyama, the problem must be examined whether the two relevant sutras quoted by them are valid for identification of the Gandharan Buddhist art. The supposed dates of the 'translation' (compilation, revision) of the two sutras are given as follows:

Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing 仏説太子瑞応本起経: from 222 to 253 AD translated by Zhi Qian (支謙)
Yichu pusa benqi jing 異出菩薩本起経: 280-313 AD translated by Nie Dao Zhen (攝道眞)

The above-mentioned dates (3rd–4th centuries) seem to be almost contemporary with that of Gandharan sculpture. Therefore, we can use these two Chinese texts for identifying Gandharan iconography if they were undoubtedly translated from *Gandhārī* or Sanskrit texts that actually existed in Gandhara.

However, these dates are solely based upon the names of the so-called translators written in the texts and later Buddhist records, but are not proved by any concrete evidence. That is to say, the dates 222–253 AD and 280–313 AD are post-quam. We should keep in mind that the two relevant texts cannot be precisely dated and can merely be traced back to the 3rd–4th centuries AD.[9] Therefore, these two Chinese sutras and the relevant passages may be posterior to the armed figure depicted in the Gandharan Great Departure scene. If this is the case, Izumoji's and Arlt/Hiyama's identification loses validity.

Next, it is now almost evident that these two sutras were not translated from the original Prākrit (*Gandhārī*) or Sanskrit texts brought from Indian Subcontinent or Gandhara to China. According to Yūko Matsuda both are patchworks composed at least by two other lost sutras.[10] She concludes rightly that it is doubtful that there was ever a Sanskrit text in the same format as the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (太子瑞応本起経). In my opinion, the same can be said of the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本起経) because both texts share a similar length, order, and story content.[11] What is more, Satoshi Kawano analyzed the content of the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* in comparison with the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (修行本起経, T3. 184. 467c~468a) and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing*, and then concluded definitively the first part (上巻) of the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* is mostly based on the original shorter sutra (lost) of the *Xiuxing benqi jing* translated into Chinese in 197 AD.[12] As far as my knowledge goes, no Buddhologist maintains and proves that these two 'sutras' are word-for-word translations from the Indic original texts and they once existed in India and Gandhara. In my opinion, both two passages on which Arlt/Hiyama' study depend are apparently apocryphal scriptures (疑経, 偽経) fabricated in China most probably by Chinese monks.[13] This contention is acceptable if we read the story developed in these two sutras. We can easily notice that the plot before and after the Great Departure is not coherent but rather confused as Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky already mentioned.[14] The standard order of the episodes of the prince Siddhārtha after the First Meditation (1) (Fig. 3) is broadly arranged as follows:

Marriage (2), Palace Life (3), Four Encounters (4), Life of Ease in Palace and Renunciation (5), Great Departure (6) and Encounter with Hunters (7) and Farewell to Kaṇṭhaka and Candaka (8).[15]

Although in some sutras such as the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (修行本起経) and the *Saṅghabhedavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin's Vinaya* (根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事) the First Meditation (*prathama-dhyāna*, 初思慮 under the Jambu-tree seeing plowing) comes after the Four Encounters, such an arrangement of events does not affect our discussion.[16]

The problem lies in the fact that the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* do not follow the above-mentioned order of episodes but mix up the order of events, and consequently put the First Meditation (1) after the Great Departure (6) not before.

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9. Matsuda 1988: 487–489; Kawano 1991: 133-134; Nattier 2008: 10, 19, 135.
10. Matsuda 1988: 481–482, 485–486.
11. Matsuda 1988: 480, 488.
12. Kawano 1991: 163–165.
13. Oda 1976: 24.
14. Karetzky 1992: introduction, 72.
15. Foucher 1905: 340-368, 1949: 92-107; Hargreaves 1939: 13-21; Nakamura 1992: 153–204; Karetzky 1992: 51–80; Mori/Honzawa/Iwai 2000: 51-72.
16. T3. 184. 466b-467b; Gnoli 1977: 65–78; T. 24. 1450. 113c–114b.

More exactly speaking, the Great Departure splits into two parts (6-1, 6-2) between which is inserted the First Meditation (1). This split might be brought about by the compiler who got such an idea from the exceptional location of the First Meditation inserted just before the Great Departure of the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (修行本起経, T3. 184. 467b, c).

Anyhow, in the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* the first of the Great Departure (6-1) is followed by the First Meditation (1) after which the second departure from the Royal Field (6-2) takes place. The *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* says as follows:

夜其過半… …即呼車匿… …天王…久知其意。即使鬼神。捧挙馬足。幷接車匿。踰出宮城。到於王田閻浮樹下。… …王因自到田上。遙見太子。坐於樹下… …（樹下観耕）… …即起上馬。将車匿前行数十里。忽然見主五道神。名曰賁識。

After midnight the prince Siddhārtha called the groom named Candaka and riding the horse Kaṇṭhaka advanced to the gate. Then, the Four Lokapālas (四天王) having known the intention of the prince ordered the *yakṣa*s to hold the legs (hooves) of Kaṇṭhaka and made the prince on horseback and Candaka cross over the city-gate. From there they advanced and arrived at the foot of the Jambu tree (閻浮樹) in the Royal Field… …(The next day) King Śuddhodana found the prince meditating under the Jambu tree… …(The prince saw plowing and indulged in the First Meditation)… …(On the same day) the prince stood up and rode Kaṇṭhaka, and accompanied by Candaka proceeded several ten Li and unexpectedly saw the God (General) of the Five Paths named *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (my translation, T3. 185. 475b, c).

The *Yichu pusa benqi jing* says as follows:

太子馬行… …四天王。即使諸鬼神。抱持馬足。踰屋出城。自到王家佃上。止樹下。… …王即自到佃舎。遙見太子坐樹下。… …（樹下観耕）… …即馬而去。行数十里。見一男子。名曰賁識。

The prince Siddhārtha advanced riding the horse Kaṇṭhaka… …Four Lokapālas made *yakṣa*s hold the legs (hooves) of the horse Kaṇṭhaka and the prince flew over the city-gate and left Kapilavastu. Arriving in the Royal Field the prince stopped under the Jambu tre… …(The next day) King Śuddhodana arrived at a pavilion in the Royal field and found the prince sitting under the Jambu tree… …(The prince was looking at plowing while sitting in the First Meditation)… …Then, (on the same day) the prince rode the horse Kaṇṭhaka and left the Royal Field. When they advanced several ten Li, the prince found a man named *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (my translation, T3. 188. 619b).

More than thirty of the Buddha's Life Stories found in the *Nidānakathā*, *Buddhacarita*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Saṅghabhedavastu* and Chinese translations do not mention the above-quoted split of the Great Departure nor the God (General) of the Five Paths.[17] As standard Life Story of the Buddha does not insert the First Meditation between the two episodes of departure, the Great Departure splitting into two independent events is quite irregular and unreasonable.[18] Such an irregularity and exception lead us to regard that the aforesaid two sutras are of Chinese fabrication rather than translation from Indic original text. This assumption might be corroborated by a few Gandharan relief panels (Fig. 4) that depict continuously both the Great Departure and Farewell to Kaṇṭhaka and Candaka or the Exchange of Clothes.[19] No extant Gandharan relief panel depicts the First Meditation side by side with the Great Departure.

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[17]. Mori/Honzawa/Iwai 2000: 66–69; Gnoli 1977.

[18]. Foucher 1905: 340–348, figs. 175, 176.

[19]. Foucher 1905: 361-367, figs. 184, 187; Hargreaves 1939: 19–20, fig. XIX; Ingholt 1957: 61, fig. 48; Karetzky 1992: 242, fig. 39; Yasuda 2000: 17, fig. 20-9; Ueeda 2016: 158, no.10. Tanabe/Maeda 1999: fig. 8.

Especially, the passage pertaining to the episode of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is quite odd and incongruous. The Five Paths are concerned only with five postmortem destinations of humans (*naraka*, *tiryagyoni*, *preta*, *manuṣya* and *deva*) and *saṃsāra* (輪廻転生, endless transmigration), but not with the Enlightenment and *Nirvāṇa* for which Siddhārtha renounced luxurious palace life and made the Great Departure. Therefore, there is no room for the God of the Five Paths to intervene in Siddhārtha's Renunciation.

What is more, the Sanskrit or Indic word equivalent and corresponding to 五道(大)神 (the God of the Five Paths) is not attested so far not only in Indic Buddhist scripture but also in Sanskrit-English, Sanskrit-German and Pāli-English dictionaries as far as I know. For example, the *Zeng yi a han jing* 増一阿含経 (T2. 125. 700a, b) describes the name of 五道大神, but in the Pāli *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* corresponding to this Chinese sutra (tr. 384–85 AD) that name cannot be found at all as far as its extant parts are concerned.[20] Therefore, the existence of the God of the Five Paths in Indian Buddhism is highly doubtful as Arlt/Hiyama also admit.[21] In other words, the God of the Five Paths is no more than a '*mirage*' or ghost appearing only in Chinese sutras. Eventually, these two doubtful sutras, the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* require validation of Indian authorship and assurance of their historicity when employed for academic research of Gandharan art.[22] However, until now this requirement has not been fulfilled by scholars with expertise in Buddhology.

From all the above, it can be said that the passages quoted by Arlt/Hiyama must have been interpolated by the so-called translators or compilers in order to propagate teachings of the *saṃsāra* and the Five Paths (五趣) especially for the Chinese Buddhists and the lay public who did not know these Indian concepts. Arakawa and Bulcsu Siklós presumed in the same way as regards the similar interpolation in the *Foshuo pu yao jing* (仏説普曜経).[23]

In my opinion, the insertion of the relevant passages might have been inspired by one *gāthā* (偈) appearing in the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (修行本起経, T3. 184. 468a) where the prince Siddhārtha declares that life and death have lasted a very long time (*saṃsāra*) and men's spirits have repeated incarnation along the Five Paths (生死為久長 精神経五道), just before he leaves the gate of palace.[24] The expression of Five Paths (五道) is found in several lines of the Great Departure chapter of the second volume of this sutra.[25] The Xiuxing benqi jing or its older and shorter version was regarded by Kawano as the original text of the first volume of the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (太子瑞応本起経).[26] On the other hand, the Five Paths (五道) were exactly translated from Pāli or Sanskrit *pañcagati*, *pañca gatiyaḥ*, *pañca gatika* etc. (五道).[27] The Pāli *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. I, page 73 and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. IV, page 459 mention that word (*pañca gatiyaḥ*) and each of the Five Paths.[28] However, the God of the Five Paths is not mentioned.

[20]. Hunt 1910.
[21]. Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 195–196.
[22]. Teiser 1994: 63.
[23]. Arakawa 2006: 516, 519. Siklós 1996:180.
[24]. T3. 184. 468a; Karetzky 1992: 71.
[25]. T3. 184. 469b, c, 470a, b, 471a, c; Oda 1997: 16.
[26]. Kawano 1991: 164–165.
[27]. Hirakawa 1997: 89.
[28]. Trencner 1888:73; Hardy 1899: 459; Lamotte 1958: 34.

Besides, it is almost certain that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* derived from the word *pañca* (五道).[29] At first glance, Izumoji seems to be right in proposing that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is perceived as identical with Pāñcika.[30] It is true that the Sanskrit word *pañca* reminds us of Pañcika or Pāñcika, the husband of a Yakṣṇī Hārītī as Glen Dudbride and Izumoji supposed.[31] In 2016 Karashima proposed that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is likely the Chinese phonetic translation of Pāñcika.[32] Therefore, it is now nearly certain that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is Pāñcika (般闍鬼将軍, 半祁鬼神, 般遮迦). However, even if Karashima's identification is correct from the phonetic point of view, contrary to the assertion of Dudbride and Izumoji, the Chinese *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (賁識, 奔識) is not the same Pāñcika who is a Yakṣa in Gandharan depictions and the husband of Hārītī. The Indian and Gandharan Pāñcika is not associated with the Guardian of the Five Paths nor with the Guide for the postmortem destinations of the deceased Buddhists, but is confined to dispenser of riches.[33] This is best demonstrated by the fact that the literary image of Pāñcika as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is apparently different from that of Gandharan Pāñcika/ Pharro/Kuvera who is not depicted holding a bow, an arrow and a sword but a lance, spear or staff (and a purse). He is often accompanied by Hārītī/Ardoxsho and an infant or boys (Figs. 5, 6).[34] The lance or spear held by Pāñcika probably symbolizes his role as General (*senapati*) of Yakṣas who in Buddhist scriptures are said to be heavily armed, and probably does not derive from the lance or staff held by Pharro depicted in Kushan coins and seals.[35] In any case, the iconography of Gandharan Pāñcika/Pharro/Kuvera (Figs. 5, 6) was so well established in Gandhara that the Gandharan Buddhists could easily distinguish Pāñcika/ Pharro/Kuvera from the male figure armed with a bow and an arrow (Fig. 1). That means the relevant armed figure is not *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*/Pāñcika at all.

The reason why Chinese compilers of the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (太子瑞応本起経) and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本起経) inserted the First Meditation between the first Great Departure and the Encounters with *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* might be found in their strong intention to introduce and include the General of the Five Paths (五道大神) in the sutras that they compiled. Probably they took up the relevant passage of the First Meditation and fabricated its shorter version to be inserted or 'transplanted' after the Great Departure. This is quite evident just if we compare the First Meditation in the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (修行本起経) translated in 197 AD with those in the above two Chinese sutras.[36] It is clear that the content of the First Meditation of the *Xiuxing benqi jing* corresponds to those narrated in other sutras.[37]

From the above considerations one can understand that the identification of *Bēnzhì/ Bēnshí* as Gandharan Pāñcika is beside the mark and that it is wrong to make use of the

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[29.] Dudbridge 1996/97: 87, 2005: 242; Arakawa 2006: 516; Zheng 2009: 4, 2013: 188.

[30.] Izumoji 2007: 77.

[31.] Dudbride 1996/97: 87; Izumoji 2007: 76–78.

[32.] Karashima 2016: 114–115.

[33.] Foucher 1918: 103, 106, 111–120.

[34.] Foucher 1918: 102-162, figs. 364, 367, 369, 370, 371, 382, 383, 385, 386, 387; Bachhofer 1937: Taf.3-figs.1–3; Johne 2003: 427, figs.2–5; Quagliotti 2003: figs.1-2, 5, 9, 24,33, 37, 43, 2005: figs.1–8.

[35.] Rosenfield 1967: 96-98, fig. 13, pl. IX-nos.169–181; Göbl 1984: pl. 171-Pharro 1~12; Callieri 1997: pl.19-Cat.7.1, 59–Cat. U 7. 11; Tanabe 1999/2000: 120, figs. 1, 6-9; Rahman/Falk 2011: 103, figs. 07. 05. 01, 104, 07. 05. 06~09, 105, figs. 07. 05. 10~13, 107, fig. 07. 06.14; Cribb 2015: 281-282.

[36.] T3. 184. 467b, 185. 475b, c, 188. 619b.

[37.] T3. 186. 499a, 187. 560b, 189. 629a, 190. 705c, T24. 1450. 117a, and the *Lalitavistara* ch. 11.

aforesaid two Chinese passages without textual criticism in order to identify the armed figure holding a bow (and arrow) depicted in the Great Departure of Gandhara.

2 Misconceptions of Chinese Textual Description

Arlt/Hiyama made an unfortunate error in the English translation of the Chinese character 箭 (arrows). They translated 箭 into 'an arrow' in both sutras (refer to the above underlined two Chinese texts and English translations and the *Foshuo puyao jing* (仏説普曜経, T3. 186. 507c). However, this word should be translated into plural 'arrows' or 'a bundle of arrows'. Although it is true that the Chinese character 箭 means both singularly 'an arrow' and plurally 'arrows', but as far as the relevant passage is concerned, it must be translated into 'arrows' or 'a bundle of arrows'. Karetzky, Dudbridge and Karashima correctly translated 箭 into 'arrows'.[38] In antiquity the archer, whether hunter or soldier, who is armed with a bow carries a quiver in which are usually inserted a bundle of arrows, never only one arrow. It seems that Arlt/Huiyama translated, carelessly or intentionally, 箭 into an arrow in order to adjust it to the Gandharan male figure holding an arrow (Figs. 1, 7). Probably, Arlt/Hiyama did not pay any attention to shooting male figures or princes depicted in Achaemenian, Scythian, Parthian, Kushan and Sasanian arts.[39] If they knew the archer or cavalier equipped with a quiver, they would not have made such a crucial error. Even if the cavalier or archer is depicted without quiver (Fig. 8), he can still hold a few arrows in the left hand and attempt to shoot an arrow.

In the light of the above revised translation of 箭, Arlt/Hiyama's assertion to the effect that "at least from the description of his behavior and appearance, holding a bow and arrow (in the exact same hands as in text and art) and wearing a sword, the correspondence between the representation and the literary sources seems evident in this case"[40] is hardly tenable.

To the contrary, it can be definitively concluded that the male figure (Figs. 1, 7) holding an arrow in addition to a bow depicted in Great Departure relief panels of Gandhara cannot be identified at all as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* who is described to hold a bundle of arrows or a quiver containing many arrows.

In passing, I must confess that it is very difficult to determine the reason why Vaiśravaṇa carries a bow and an arrow.[41] One solution might be that Vaiśravaṇa was assumed by Gandharan Buddhists to carry these arms as is suggested in the Conception/Dream of Queen Māyā episode in the Chinese translation of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事). The chapter two of this sutra runs as follows:

> When the Siddhārtha descended into the womb of his mother Māyā, Indra ordered the Four Lokapālas (四天王) to guard the mother. Each of them is armed with one weapon: first one (*Dhṛtarāṣṭra*) with a sword, the second (*Virūḍhaka*) with a kind of rope, the third (*Virūpākṣa*) with a javelin and the fourth (*Vaiśravaṇa*) with a bow and arrows (四天王神営衛其母。而此四

[38.] Karetzky 1992: 72; Dudbridge 1996/97: 88, 2005: 241; Karashima 2016: 114–115.

[39.] Wilcox/McBride 1986: 7, 8, 18, 22, 23, 40, 41, 46, pls. B, D-H; Rickenbach 1989: 50, fig. 22; Nicolle/ McBride 1996: 7, 8, 11, 12,16, 18, 22, 60, 65, pls. A, C, E-G.

[40.] Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 197.

[41.] Tanabe 2006: 113–122. Cf. The most resembling image to *Vaiśravaṇa* of this type is the Greek god Apollon holding a bow and an arrow depicted on bronze coin issued by Apollodotos I Soter (180-160 BC) of Indo-Greek Kingdom. Bopearachchi 1991: pls.12-14. Apollon is the god of archery and light (Sun god). Bow and arrow may symbolize light flashing over the pitch-dark road at midnight.

神一執利刀。一執絹索。一執於戟。一執弓箭、T24. 1450. 107b, c) (my translation).[42]

In the *Saṅghabhedavastu* the corresponding passage of the above is described slightly differently and does not mention clearly a bow and arrows. It runs as follows:

Śakro devendraś caturo devaputrān mātur ārakṣakān sthāpayaty asihastān, prāsahastāṃś, chakti-hastān tomarahastān.

(Indra told the Four Lokapālas to stay there guarding the Mother of Siddhārtha, one Lokapāla holding in the hand a sword, the other Lokapāla a javelin (arrow?), another Lokapāla a spear (bow ?) and the fourth Lokapāla (*Vaiśravaṇa*) a lance (my translation).[43]

The *Lalitavistara* says that each of the Four Lokapālas hold a sword or an arrow or a javelins/ bow (?) or a dagger (*asidhanuśaraśaktikhaḍgahastāḥ*) (my translation; Hokazono 1994: 372), but the *Foshuo pu yao jing* (仏説普曜経 T3. 186. 490b) does not mention any weapon.

Another solution might be found in the description of the *Lalistavistara* chapter fifteen (*Abhiniṣkramaṇa-parivartaḥ*) to the effect that *Vaiśravaṇa*'s army (*yakṣa*s) is equipped with all kinds of weapon such as bow, sword, arrow, spear, disk, a kind of rope and so forth.[44] Following this description, bow and arrow can be seen to symbolize that *Vaiśravaṇa* is the lord of *yakṣa*s. This symbolism is able to explain a bow and an arrow held by Gandharan *Vaiśravaṇa* image.

In any case, it is almost impossible to clarify the definitive and particular reason why *Vaiśravaṇa* has weapons solely relying on the extant Buddhist sutras. Probably, it might be rather attributed to the original idea and creation of Gandharan sculptors to add weapons to *Vaiśravaṇa* image regardless of Buddhist scripture.

Next, Arlt/Hiyama do not seem to understand the significance of disarmament of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* when he encountered the prince Siddhārtha. The *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (仏説太子瑞応本起経) describes that when Siddhārtha asked him the way to take he was extremely frightened and threw away the bow and arrows and 'removed the sword and sword-belt from the waist' (賁識惶怖。投弓。釈箭。解剣, T3. 185. 475c). The *Foshuo pu yao jing* (仏説普曜経) also narrates that when *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* recognized Siddhārtha coming towards him he threw away the bow and arrows and 'took away the sword and sword-belt from the waist', and retreated to the side of the road (見菩薩来。釈弓投箭解剣退住, T3. 186. 507c). Arlt/Hiyama translated the Chinese expression 解剣 into 'untied his sword' and 'loosened his sword', but it actually means that a belt suspending a sword by scabbard slide (Fig. 9) was untied and removed from the waist of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*.[45]

On the other hand, as regards the sword held by *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*, the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本記経) says that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* was immediately terrified and shivered: he removed his sword and sword-belt from the waist (解剣) but still held a bow and arrows (賁識即惶怖戦慄。解剣持弓箭, T3. 188. 619b). The Chinese word 持 (held) turns out to be a scribe's or copyist's error compared with the aforesaid passages of the *Foshuo taizi ruiying*

[42.] As for the directional order from the East to North of the Four Lokapālas, especially the fourth Lokapāla Vaiśravaṇa, Tanabe 1993/94: 163, 2006: 51-54; Sadakata 2002: 119–118.

[43.] Gnoli 1977: 42.

[44.] Foucaux 1884: 192; Hokazono 1997: 76; cf. Tanabe 1993/94: 175.

[45.] In antiquity of China and Central Asia, scabbard-slide was generally used. Trousdale 1975: 11–108, figs. 20–31 (China), 46–64 (Pakistan and Afghanistan); Göbl 1984: diagram VII.

benqi jing and the *Foshuo pu yao jing*. It is meaningless and senseless that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* throws away only the sword but still keeps carrying his bow and arrows when he surrenders and shows allegiance to the visitor Siddhārtha. According to the above-quoted relevant Chinese descriptions, *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* laid down all his arms (bow, arrows and sword) as if he surrendered unconditionally as soon as he confronted the prince Siddhārtha on horseback.

These descriptions of disarmament of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* are not in harmony with the armed figure (Figs. 1, 7, 10) depicted in the Great Departure scene of Gandhara. To the best of my knowledge, there are at least four relief panels known that depicts a unarmed male figure in the Great Departure: one panel from Kunduz or northern Afghanistan represents lamellar-armoured *Vaiśravaṇa* wearing a pair of wings on the head and standing in front of Siddhārtha and showing him the way without bow, arrow and sword. Other panels from Loriyan Tangai and Swat depict wearing an Indian princely dress.[46]

However, these are exceptional and their disarmament can be explained from the description of the Great Departure in the sutras where *Vaiśravaṇa* is not described carrying weapon at all.[47]

What is more, there are at least three Gandharan relief panels that depict a male figure without bow and arrow but holding only a sword (Fig. 11) showing the way by the right hand (Indian Museum, Kolkata, Si. no. 283, Acc. No. 5045/A23428 and Swat Museum, Inv. no. 2892).[48] Therefore, the Gandharan male figure was sometimes depicted without bow and arrow.

Anyhow, the above-quoted three passages should not be used as textual source for identifying Gandharan imagery. Furthermore, the relevant Gandharan male figure armed with a bow and an arrow should not be identified as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*.

3 Contradictions between the Gandharan Iconography and Chinese Literary Description

First, I mention that the male figure armed with a bow (and an arrow) depicted in the Great Departure relief panels of Gandhara often wears a cuirass or plate mail armour (Figs. 7, 10) while in the aforesaid three Chinese sutras *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is not described wearing a cuirass or armour. Therefore, this discrepancy favours and supports the view that the armoured figure (Figs. 7, 10) holding a bow and an arrow in the Gandharan Great Departure scene is not derived from what is written in the Chinese sources and eventually has nothing to do with *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*. In my opinion, the armour of the male figure might have been influenced by that worn by Pharro depicted on Huviṣka's gold coins in the collection of the American Numismatic Society[49] or, more probably by the armoured portrait of Kushan king Vasudeva (Fig. 12).

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[46]   Fischer 1958: 238-239, panel III-fig. 4; Foucher 1905: 184a: Kurita 2003: 29, fig. 27; Tanabe/Maeda 1999: 12, fig. 8; Faccenna 1964: 129, pl. CDXI; Nara National Museum 1987: pl. 3; Yūrinkan 1996: pl. 18; Tanabe 2006: 100–101, figs. 44, 51, 55; cf. Dani 1968/89: pl. 35-b; Mizuno/Higuchi 1978: pl. 104-4; Jongeward 2003: 85, pl. 18; Kurita 2003: 68, fig. 134.
[47]   Tanabe 1993/94: 173–175.
[48]   Foucher 1905: 359, fig. 183; Faccenna 1985: 330, pl. III; Tanabe/Maeda 1999: 146, fig. 109; Maeda 2014: 14, fig. 1.
[49]   Carter 1993: fig. 12; Tanabe 1999/2000: 120, fig. 8; Yongeward/Cribb 2015: pl. 23-nos. 773, 774.

Second, the male figure armed with a bow (and an arrow) in Gandharan Great Departure scene shows the way to Siddhārtha by the right hand (Fig. 13) or by an arrow (Figs. 1, 7) grasped by the right hand. No concrete gesture of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is mentioned in the three relevant Chinese sutras. Therefore, the gesture of the armed figure in the Gandharan Great Departure scene is not visualized from what is described in the relevant Chinese sources. Both hand and arrow gestures probably derived from the function of *Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera* as Guide of Siddhārtha as I already demonstrated in my dissertation.[50]

Third, both the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (仏説太子瑞応本起経) and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本記経) do not mention that the *yakṣa*s supported the hooves or legs of the horse Kaṇṭhaka when Siddhārtha left the Royal Field after the First Meditation under the Jambu tree.[51] It means that Kaṇṭhaka was not supported by *yakṣa*s when Siddhārtha on horseback met *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*. On the contrary, in the Great Departure of Gandhara Kaṇṭhaka is, as a rule, represented supported by *yakṣa*s. This discrepancy tells us clearly that Kaṇṭhaka supported by *yakṣa*s is undoubtedly the representation of the first departure from Kapilavastu as is mentioned above (supra, p. 427). Needless to say, both Chinese sutras describe that the *yakṣa*s supported the hooves or legs of Kaṇṭhaka when Siddhārtha departed from Kapilavastu for the first time, i.e., in the 'first' Great Departure before the First Meditation (Fig. 4) under the Jambu tree (閻浮樹) (supra, p. 427). The reason why *yakṣa*s held the hooves or legs of Kaṇṭhaka is to ensure that no noise would be noticed by the guards of the gate of Kapilavastu. On the contrary, when Siddhārtha left the Royal Field after the First Meditation under the Jambu tree, such a conduct of *yakṣa*s was not necessary.

In any case, if the male figure were *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*, we cannot explain the reason why *yakṣa*s are depicted in the Great Departure scene. The same holds true of the Nagaradevatā and city-gate of Kapilavastu depicted in the Great Departure. Yakṣas, Nagaradevatā and city-gate are associated with the first departure but not with the second one after the First Meditation under the Jambu tree.

Fourth, a pair of wings worn by *Vaiśravaṇa* in the Donation of Four Bowls (Fig. 14) and the Great Departure (Figs. 1, 2, 7, 10) must be investigated. As I already proved, this winged headdress derives from the pair of wings on the head of the Kushan god Pharro (Fig. 15) struck on the coins issued by Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka.[52] This is a visual representation of *Xvarnah* (royal glory, fortune etc.) of Zoroastrianism. With regard to this unique motif, Arlt /Hiyama attempts to relate it to one of the attributes of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* on the basis of a 10th–11th centuries AD painting of the General of the Five Paths (五道将軍) and a Dunhuang manuscript. They propose this in order to make *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* derive from Māra, personified Death or tempter,[53] in spite of the fact that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is not described as wearing a winged headdress. In my opinion the attempt to relate the pair of wings to Māra[54] is out of question because in all the images of Māra as far as Gandharan and Indian Buddhist relief panels are concerned,[55] Māra does not wear a pair of wings but rather a turban.

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[50] Tanabe 2006: 184–86, 05-107, figs. 47, 51, 55, 68, 59.

[51] T3. 185. 475c, 188. 619b.

[52] Tanabe 1993/94: 164, fig. 6, 2006: 125–132, figs. 16, 67–68.

[53] Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 196–200, fig. 5.

[54] Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 198–200.

[55] Foucher 1918: 197–202, figs. 402-404; Coomaraswamy 1956: 43–44, pls. VIII-fig.23, IX-fig. 26 Ingholt 1957: figs. 62, 63, 66 ; Kurita 2003: figs. 217–220, 227, 228, 230, 235.

In my view, the image of the General of the Five Paths illustrated by Art/Hiyama[56] does not appear to wear a pair of wings but an ear-guard attached to helmet. Even if he wears a pair of wings as Arlt/Hiyama propose, such a late painting of medieval China together with Dunhuang literary evidence of Tang period does not necessarily prove that *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* wears a winged headdress. In my opinion there is no particular relationship between *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* appearing in the aforesaid three Chinese sutras and a pair of wings sometimes worn by Gandharan *Vaiśravaṇa/Pharro/Pañcika* images (Figs. 1, 2, 7, 10,).[57] The history of winged headdress or winged headgear in China might go back to the latter half of the 5th century AD of the Northern Wei Dynasty.[58] Since then it was diffused so widely that it was later unrestrictedly applied to *Vajrapāṇi*, *Vaiśravaṇa* (多聞天), *deva*, demigod, and guardian-deity etc. as Hiyama herself knows well.[59] Probably a pair of wings was used as a generic ornament of helmet without any particular symbolic meaning in medieval China.

Fifth, another unfortunate error to the identifications by Izumoji and Arlt/Hiyama is found in the fact that they paid no attention to the description of the daytime encounter of Siddhārtha with *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*. If we read the passage of the First Meditation in both the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (仏説太子瑞応本起経) and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本記経), it is clear that in the daytime Siddhārtha is meditating after seeing plowed fields (見耕者, 見田中犁者).[60] On realizing the misery and vanity of this world he again rode Kaṇṭhaka and advanced. These two sutras do not mention that he departed from the Royal Field at night.

Contrary to such a daytime event, all the sutras say that the Great Departure took place at midnight, and Gandharan Great Departure relief panels represents undoubtedly the midnight episode of Siddhārtha. This is evident on several relief panels of the Great Departure scene in depictions of the Goddess of Night, *Rātrī* (Figs. 1, 2, 10–13) holding scarf or veil (*velificatio*, symbol of night sky) above the head.[61] Therefore, if the armed male figure represents *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*, it is absolutely impossible to explain the reason why the Goddess of Night is often depicted in the Great Departure. What is more, the Great Departure took place at midnight. That is the reason why a guide was needed for showing the proper way to Siddhārtha in the pitch-dark darkness.

Lastly, it is necessary to take into consideration the mode of visual narrative of the relief panels pertaining to the Great Departure. In ancient India the sculptors attempted to depict a few episodes in one scene. This method of visual narrative is called 'continuous narrative (異時同図)'.[62] This method was used for depicting Gandharan *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, *Viśvantara-jātaka*, *Dīpaṃkara-jātaka* and so on.[63] If Gandharan sculptors adopted continuous narrative, the Gandharan Great Departure may represent thrice continuously, Siddhārtha on horseback leaving Kapilavastu (I), the First Meditation under the Jambu tree (II) and the Meeting with

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56. Art/Hiyama 2016: 195, fig. 5.

57. Dagens/ Le Berre/Schlumberger 1964: pl. V-fig. 9; Giès/Cohen 1995: 238, fig. 183.

58. Cf. 雲崗石窟 Yün-kan Caves, Nagahiro 1976: Text, plan 14, Plates, pl. 182, color pls. 24, 30; Ikawa 1986: 76-78, figs. 88, 91.

59. Hiyama 2013: 130, figs. 912; Kageyama 2007: 1–14, Tables 2, 3; Dainobu 1992: pls. 36, 107, 114–124.

60. T3. 185. 475c, 188. 619b.

61. Tanabe 1997/98: 213–219, figs. 1–3, 10-13, 2006: 234-257, figs. 33-1, 34-1~2, 47, 120, 129-131, 133, 134.

62. Dehejia 1997: 3–27, figs. 17a–21.

63. Tanabe 2016: 76–81, figs. 1, 17, 20–22. Ingholt 1957: figs.7, 138, 139, 141. Dehejia 1997: 25, fig.19.

Bēnzhì/Bēnshí who shows him the way (III). That is to say, Siddhārtha involved in three episodes (I, II, III) must be continuously depicted three times in a relief panel. However, he is always represented only once (I). In case his horse Kaṇṭhaka is not supported by a *yakṣa* or *yakṣa*s, Siddhārtha can be understood to be represented twice on horseback representing both the Great Departure (II) and the Meeting with *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (III). However, this is not the case because the depiction of *yakṣa*(s) is often missing in Gandharan sculpture. Even without *yakṣa*(s) the horse Kaṇṭhaka is intimately related to the gate of Kapilavastu, not with the Five Paths. In any case, following the principle of 'continuous narrative', the First Meditation (Fig. 3) always depicted by the image of the Buddha sitting must be inserted in the scene of the Great Departure, but actually is not represented nor suggested in Gandharan Great Departure relief panels known to us. Eventually, we can assume that 'continuous narrative'[64] was not applied to the Great Departure of Gandhara. In other words, Siddhārtha's Meeting *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (II) is not represented at all in the Gandharan Great Departure.

Concluding remarks

Taking all the above refutations into consideration, it can be best concluded that there is no room for identifying the armed male figure in the Great Departure of Gandhara (Figs. 1, 6, 8, 10, 11) as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*.

Arlt/Hiyama's article does not present any useful new evidence for the identification and the two relevant Chinese sutras were already vainly introduced to us by Izumoji ten years ago. Arlt/Hiyama's presents many interesting and useful preceding studies but their argument is evidently beside the mark and gives us nothing convincing. Our textual and iconographical investigation convinces us that the episode of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* described only in the three Chinese sutras has nothing to do with the Great Departure of Gandhara. I have shown that there is no Gandharan relief panel which depicts the General (God) of the Five Paths and *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí*. This is contrary to the Arlt/Hiyama's conclusion that "the figure with a bow, which is standing in front of the prince on his horse, can be identified as the deity, called *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* and is described as the god of the five paths."[65] What is more, another of their conclusions that "from an art-historical point of view, the figure with a bow in Gandharan art can be understood as *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* 'the God of the Five Paths' mentioned in three early Chinese translations"[66] cannot be acceptable either. Both their conclusions might be perceived as *argumentum ex silentio*.

At the end of their conclusion, Arlt/Hiyama proudly declare that "the authors hope that this study brings a fresh perspective and will inspire future studies of Gandharan art,"[67] but their declaration sounds like a remarkable but vain joke.

Lastly I close my review by an additional remark that as the episode of *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* is decisively of Chinese fabrication and interpolation, the *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* (仏説太子瑞応本起経) and the *Yichu pusa benqi jing* (異出菩薩本記経) may be no more than apocryphal scriptures (疑経, 偽経) compiled in China.

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64. Dehejia 1997: 21–27, figs. 16–21. Behrendt 2004: 383–391, figs.1a–5.
65. Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 193.
66. Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 200.
67. Arlt/Hiyama 2016: 200.

Acknowledgments

Abbriviations

T: *Taishō-shinshū-daizō-kyō* (大正新脩大蔵経), ed. by Junjirō Takakusu and Kaikyoku Watanabe, 100 vols., Tokyo: Taishō Issai-kyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934

Sources of Illustrations
Fig. 1. Courtesy of J. Bautze
Fig. 2. Author's photo
Fig. 3. Nimogram: Pakistan Archaeological Site Images (internet)
Fig. 4. Courtesy of late M. Kurisu
Fig. 5. Tanabe/Maeda 1999: pl.128
Fig. 6. Author's photo
Fig. 7. Courtesy of E. Uehara
Fig. 8. R. Ghirshman, *Parthes et Sassanides*, Gallimard, Paris, 1962, Paris, fig. 340
Fig. 9. Senoku hakukokan, *Gandharan Art and Silk Road Painting*, in Japanese, Kyoto, 1990, pl. 31
Fig. 10. Courtesy of E. Uehara
Fig. 11. Tanabe /Maeda 1999: fig. 109
Fig. 12. Courtesy of the British Museum
Fig. 13. Courtesy of T. Tanabe
Fig. 14. Courtesy of the Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum
Fig. 15. Author's photo

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*Stūpa*s described in the Chinese translations of the *Vinaya*s[*]

Seishi KARASHIMA

Prologue

The late Prof. Kyūzō Katō 加藤九祚 (1922~2016), a renowned Japanese archaeologist, who excavated Buddhist sites in Termez, Uzbekistan, until the very last moment of his life of 96 years, used to visit me with a 1.8 litre bottle of *saka* (rice wine) in his backpack, when he came back to Japan from Uzbekistan. While drinking *sake* relaxingly with him, I heard from him of how he had spent his difficult times in Siberia as a prisoner of war and in Tokyo in the chaotic post-war period, what he was excavating in Termez and what he was translating from Russian. All these have become precious memories for me. He often asked me about descriptions of monasteries, especially *stūpa*s in Buddhist texts. I used to show him related passages in the Chinese translations of the *Vinaya* texts or my German translation of the *Abhisamacārikā Dharmāḥ*, a collection of monastic regulations in the Community, which contains detailed descriptions of their everyday lives, e.g. how to build toilets, saunas and how to use them in a correct manner *etc.* I remember very well that he was greatly excited when I told him about the building of saunas and ponds for washing their feet in monasteries after alms-begging. He seemed to have identified ruins of such facilities.

Also, I continually exchange information with Prof. M. Nasim Khan, the leading Pakistani archaeologist, conducting excavations of Buddhist monasteries in the ancient Gandhāra region, each time he visits our institute on our invitation. Also to him, I translate some of the following passages from Chinese *Vinaya* texts.

This article is, thus, aimed towards offering information about the structure of *stūpa*s and the monastic activities concerned with them. Already Bareau (1962) has dealt with similar material, however he has not translated the whole texts and also has misunderstood Chinese expressions in some places. The technical terms of architecture are difficult also for me and hence, there must be some misinterpretations in this article. Therefore, I wish for any reader to correct my interpretation and inform me of my mistakes. The *Vinaya* texts contain important information about everyday life in and around monasteries. It is a desideratum to collect information on such particular topics from the Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Vinaya* texts and compare them together.

(1) *Stūpa*s described in the *Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya*

In the chapter, dealing with miscellaneous matters, named *Ming Zasongbaqufa* 明雜誦跋渠法 (*Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka-vinaya*[1]), in the Chinese translation of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya* (T. 22, no. 1425, *Mohesengzhilü* 摩訶僧祇律) translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian 法顯 between 416~418 C.E., pp. 497b18~499a12, we find extremely detailed descriptions of how to build *stūpa*s, how to make offerings to them, how to maintain them *etc.*[2] There is a Sanskrit text, named *Stūpalakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana* (abbr. Slkv; Roth 1997; Roth et al. 34~71) of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottavādins, in which passages from the *Prakīrṇaka* of the *Vinaya* of that school are quoted. Some quotations in that text agree with the Chinese translation dealt with in this paper.

Rules concerning *stūpa*s[3]:

Dwelling in Kosala (Skt. Kośala), the Buddha wandered around. At that time, a Brahmin, who was ploughing the land, having seen the Lord passing by, put his staff for (controlling) the ox down on the ground and revered the Buddha. Having seen this, the Buddha immediately smiled. The monks asked the Buddha: "For what reason did you smile? Please (let us know!) We want to listen." The Buddha said to the monks: "This Brahmin just now revered two Lords." The monks said to the Buddha: "Who are the two *buddha*s?" The Buddha said to the monks: "(He) revered me. (Also he revered Buddha Kāśyapa, as) under his staff, there is Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa*." The monks said to the Buddha: "We should like to see Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa*." The Buddha said to the monks: "Ask the Brahmin for clods of earth as well as the soil here!" The monks, thereupon, asked (him) for these, and the Brahmin gave them in a little while. Having received them, thereupon, the Lord immediately displayed Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa* (to them), made of the seven jewels, one *yojana* in height and half a *yojana* in width. Having seen this, the Brahmin immediately said to the Buddha: "My family name is, O Lord, Kāśyapa. This (must) be a *stūpa* of ours, the Kāśyapas."

Thereupon, the Buddha constructed a *stūpa* for Buddha Kāśyapa on that very spot. The monks said to the Buddha: "May we, O Lord, offer clay (for building the *stūpa*)?" The Buddha said: "You may offer." Thereupon, (he) recited a verse:

Making a donation of hundreds of thousands of piculs (or loads; 擔) of genuine gold is not equal to (the offering of)

塔法者：

佛住拘薩羅國，遊行。時有婆羅門耕地，見世尊行過，持牛杖住地，禮佛。世尊見已，便發微笑。諸比丘白佛："何因緣笑？唯願欲聞。" 佛告諸比丘："是婆羅門今禮二世尊。" 諸比丘白佛言："何等二佛？" 佛告比丘："禮我，當其杖下有迦葉佛塔。" 諸比丘白佛："願見迦葉佛塔。" 佛告比丘："汝從此婆羅門索土塊幷是地。" 諸比丘即便索之。時婆羅門便與之。得已，爾時，世尊即現出迦葉佛七寶塔，高一由旬，面廣半由延。婆羅門見已，即便白佛言："世尊！我姓迦葉。是我迦葉塔。"

爾時，世尊即於彼處，作迦葉佛塔。諸比丘白佛言："世尊！我得授泥不？" **(497c)** 佛言："得授。" 即時，説偈言：

"眞金百千擔
持用行布施

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[1] Cf. Roth 1970: 333.
[2] Cf. Bareau 1962: 257~259.
[3] 塔法： The Sanskrit parallel in the summary of the *Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka* (Roth 1970: 332) reads *stūpa-prati-saṃyuktaṃ* ("Concerning *stūpa*s").

a ball of clay for building a *buddha-stūpa* with a respectful mind.

Then, the Lord, by himself, raised Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa* (from beneath the ground). Railings surrounded four sides of its platform. Two domes (*aṇḍa*), one on top of the other, stood (圓起二重) (upon the platform). (Atop of the domes), a square tusk-like (construction; 方牙) (*harmikā*) protruded in the four directions; canopies (槃蓋), long banners (長表) and discs (*chattra*; 輪相) were attached atop.

The Buddha said: "The method of constructing a *stūpa* should be such as this."

After the *stūpa* was completed, the Buddha, himself, paid homage to it in order to pay respects to the past *buddha* (namely Buddha Kāśyapa). The monks asked the Buddha: "May we, O Lord, pay homage?" The Buddha said: "You may", then he recited a verse:

> "People's making a donation of hundreds of thousands (of pieces) of gold does not match respectfully paying homage to a *buddha-stūpa* with a single good mind."

At that time, people, having heard that the Lord had constructed a *stūpa*, came with incense and flowers in their hands and offered them to the Lord. Out of respect to the past *buddha*, the Lord accepted them immediately and offered them to the *stūpa*. Monks asked the Buddha: "May we, O Lord, make offerings?" The Buddha said: "You may", then he recited a verse:

> "Making a donation of genuine gold (loaded) on hundreds of thousands of carts does not match the offering of flowers and incense to a *stūpa* with a single good mind."

At that time, multitudes of people gathered like clouds. The Buddha said to Śāriputra: "Preach the Teaching to the people!" The Buddha, then, recited a verse:

> "Making a donation of genuine gold equal to hundreds of thousands of Jambudvīpas does not match the giving of a single Teaching and accordingly letting (people) practise."

At that time, there was one who had attained the Path among the assembly. The Buddha, then, recited a verse:

> "Making a donation of genuine gold equal to hundreds of thousands of worlds does not match the giving of a single Teaching and accordingly see ultimate truth."

不如一團泥
敬心治佛塔"

爾時, 世尊自起迦葉佛塔。下基四方周匝欄楯, 圓起二重,

方牙四出。上施槃蓋、長表、輪相。

佛言：“作塔法應如是。”

塔成已, 世尊敬過去佛故, 便自作禮。諸比丘白佛言：“世尊！我等得作禮不？” 佛言：“得。” 即説偈言：

人等百千金
持用行布施
不如一善心
恭敬禮佛塔

爾時, 世人聞世尊作塔, 持香華來奉世尊。世尊恭敬過去佛故, 即受華香, 持供養塔。諸比丘白佛言：“我等得供養不？” 佛言：“得。” 即説偈言：

“百千車眞金
持用行布施
不如一善心
華香[1]供養塔"

爾時, 大衆雲集。佛告舍利弗：“汝爲諸人説法。” 佛即説偈言：

“百千閻浮提
滿中眞金施
不如一法施
隨順令修行"

爾時, 坐中有得道者。佛即説偈言：

“百千世界中
滿中眞金施
不如一法施
隨順見眞諦"

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[1] 華香: *v.l.* 香華 (hereafter this variation will be indicated by the sign "*").

At that time, a brahmin gained indestructible faith and, then, fed the Buddha and the Community in front of the *stūpa*.

At that time, having heard that the Lord had constructed a *stūpa* for Buddha Kāśyapa, King Prasenajit had bricks loaded on seven hundred carts and visited the Buddha. Having bowed his head at (the Buddha's) feet, he said to the Buddha: "I wish, O Lord, to enlarge this *stūpa*. May I?" The Buddha replied: "You may."

The Buddha said (further): "In the past, O great king, when Buddha Kāśyapa entered *parinirvāṇa*, there was a king, Kṛ(kin) (吉利) by name, who desired to construct a seven-jewelled *stūpa*. At that time, a certain minister said to the king: 'In a future time, there will be unlawful people who will commit a serious crime by destroying this *stūpa*. I ask the king to make (the *stūpa*) with bricks and cover it with gold and silver. If one takes away the gold and silver, the *stūpa* itself will remain untouched.' Following his advice, the king, then, made (the *stūpa*) with bricks and covered it with gold foil (J. "gold and silver"). [1](The *stūpa*) was one *yojana* in height and half a *yojana* in width. Its railings were made of copper. It took seven years, seven months and seven days to complete. When it was constructed, (the king) made offerings of incense and flowers to the Community of *bhikṣu*s."

King Prasenajit said to the Buddha: "That king possessed great precious treasures (thanks to) his merits. What I am going to construct is not equal to (the *stūpa* constructed by) that king." Thereupon, he (started) constructing, and it took seven months and seven days to complete it. On completion, (the king) made offerings to the Buddha and the Community of *bhikṣu*s.

Rules concerning the building of *stūpa*s:

[2]Railings (should) surround the four sides of the platform (of a *stūpa*). Two domes (*aṇḍa*) (should) be constructed one on top of the other, (on the platform) (圓起二重). (Atop of them), a square tusk-like (construction; 方牙) (*harmikā*) (should) protrude in the four directions; canopies (槃蓋), long banners (長表) and discs (*chattra*; 輪相) (should) be attached atop.

If (a monk) says: "The Lord has already eliminated greed, anger and ignorance. Of what use is a *stūpa*?", he transgresses the

爾時，婆羅門得不壞信，即於塔前飯佛及僧。

時波斯匿王聞世尊造迦葉佛塔，即勅載七百車塼，來詣佛所。頭面禮足，白佛言：「世尊！我欲廣作此塔，爲得不？」佛言："得。"

佛告："大王！過去世時，迦葉佛般泥洹時，有王名吉利，欲作七寶塔。時有臣白王言：'未來世，當有非法人出，當破此塔，得重罪。唯願王當以塼作，金銀覆**(498a)**上。若取金銀者，塔故在得全。' 王即如臣言以塼作，金薄[1]覆上，高一由延，面廣半由延。銅作欄楯。經七年七月七日乃成。作成已，香華供養及比丘僧。"

波斯匿王白佛言："彼王福德多有珍寶。我今當作不及彼王。"

即便作，經七月七日乃成。成已，供養佛比丘僧。

作塔法者：

下基四方周匝欄楯，圓起二重，方牙四出，上施槃[2]蓋、長表、輪相。

若言："世尊已除貪欲、

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[1] Cf. Slkv § 6. *Prakīrṇake hi yad viṃśatisahasrāyuṣiprajāyāṃ bhagavataḥ Kāśyapasya Kṛkina rājñā stūpaḥ kṛtaḥ yojanam uccatvena yojanaṃ pariṇāhena arddhayojana pratisareṇa krośamātrikayā vedikayā / tāmraloharaitikāya hastacāraṇāya tam upadarśayitvôktaṃ.*

[2] Cf. Slkv § 7. *athâṅgana* (MS: *athāṅgaṇa*) *vedī jaṃghā puṣpagrahaṇīyam. āyakā aṇḍakaṃ kaṇṭhakaṃ kaṇṭhikā harmikā cchatrāvalī cchatraṃ ghaṇṭā dhvajaḥ patākā stūpagṛha āgama puṣkiriṇī prākāra côktaṃ.*

[1] 薄: J. 銀.   [2] 槃: *v.l.* 盤.

vinayātikrama[1] and the karmic retribution from this act is serious. Above are "the rules concerning the building of *stūpa*s".

瞋恚、愚癡。用是塔爲？”，得越比尼[1]罪，業報重故。是名塔法。

Concerning matters of *stūpa*s （塔事；*stūpavastupratisaṃyuktaṃ*)[2]:

塔事者：

When a *saṃghārāma* (monastery) is built, one should choose (lit. "plan") a suitable place, in advance, for a *stūpa*. A *stūpa* should not be located to the south nor west (of the monastery). [3]It should be located to the east, (or) should be located to the north. The area of the Community is not allowed to transgress the area of the Buddha (i.e. *stūpa*). The area of the Buddha (i.e. *stūpa*) is not allowed to transgress the area of the Community. When a *stūpa* is located near a cemetery and when dogs, which feed on leftovers, bring them and dirty the area, fences should be made. Cells of monks should be built to the west or south of (the *stūpa*). Used water of the area of the Community should not flow into the area of the Buddha (i.e. *stūpa*). Used water of the area of the Buddha (i.e. *stūpa*) is allowed to flow into the area of the Community. A *stūpa* should be built on a high place and at a vantage point. In the area of a *stūpa*, the following are not allowed: washing, dyeing, hanging robes, wearing sandals, covering one's head, covering one's shoulders, blowing one's nose or spitting on the ground.

起僧伽藍時，先預[2]度好地，作塔處。塔不得在南，不得在西，應在東，應在北，不得僧地侵佛地。佛地不得侵僧地。若塔近死尸林，若狗食殘持來污地，應作垣牆。應在西若南作僧坊[3]，不得使僧地水流[4]入佛地，佛地水得流入僧地。塔應在高顯處作，不得在塔院中浣、染、曬衣、著革屣、覆頭、覆肩、涕唾地。

If (a monk) says: "The Lord has already eliminated greed, anger and ignorance. Of what use is a *stūpa*?", he transgresses the *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution from this act is serious. This is what concerns matters of *stūpa*s (塔事)."

若作是言：“世尊貪欲、瞋恚、愚癡已除。用是塔爲？”，得越比尼*罪，業報重，是名塔事。

Concerning niches of *stūpa*s (塔龕; *stūpa-gṛha-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[4]):

塔龕者：

At that time, King Prasenajit visited the Buddha. Having bowed his head at (the Buddha's) feet, he said to the Buddha: "We

爾時，波斯匿王往詣佛所，頭面禮足，白佛言：

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[1] Cf. Abhis. § 3.13, n. 1. *vinayātikramam āsādayanti*：Cf. Roth 1980: 83; Nolot 1991: 384~385; MaVin 429a28~c1. 越毘尼(*vinayātikrama*)者，有十三事. 阿遮與、偸蘭遮、醜偸蘭、不作、不語、突吉羅、惡聲、威儀、非威儀、惡威儀、惡邪命、惡見、心生悔毘尼. ……

[2] 塔事： The Sanskrit parallel in the summary of the *Bhikṣu-prakīrṇaka* (Roth 1970: 332) reads *stūpavastu-pratisaṃyuktaṃ. Stūpa-vastu* means "site of a *stūpa*" (cf. BHSD, s.v. *vastu* "site, place" [= Skt. *vāstu*]). *Shi* 事 is a mistranslation of *vastu*. Cf. also Abhis § 18.52, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Slkv § 6. *sthale pradeśe stūpaṃ kartavyaṃ kārayatā prācīran* (read *prācīnan*) *ty evaṃ kartavyaṃ*; § 12. *atra prakīrṇe côktaṃ. eṣa kaścit stūpaṃ kārayatā prācīrāntāt* (read *prācīnāntāt*) *tāvat kārayitavya*.

[4] Roth 1970: 332; "(Rules) concerning niches of *stūpa*s". Cf. Slkv § 8. *sagṛha-stūpaḥ*. For *gṛha*, meaning "niche", cf. Śrk p. 75, § 139, p. 124 (picture), p. 127, § 284, p. 197, s.v.; Śpr 403, s.v.; Boner *et al.* 1972: 243.

[1.] 比尼: *v.l.* 毘尼 (hereafter this variation will be indicated by the sign "*"). [2.] 預: *v.l.* 規 = FyZl 580b3. [3.] 坊: *v.l.* 房. [4.] 水流: *v.l.* 流水.

have, O Lord, constructed the *stūpa* for Buddha Kāśyapa. May I make niches?" The Buddha replied: "You may. In the past, after Buddha Kāśyapa had entered *parinirvāṇa*, King Kṛ(kin) constructed a *stūpa* for the Buddha, [1](and) made arched-niches on the four surfaces, on which he had coloured paintings of lions, elephants and so on painted. In front (of them), railings and places, at which flowers were to be offered, were made. Inside the arched-niches, silken banners and canopies were hung."

If (a monk) says: "The Lord has already eliminated greed, anger and ignorance. How (?) would he adorn himself and get delight?", he transgresses the *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution (from this act) is serious. Above are "the rules concerning the arched-niches of *stūpa*s."

Rules concerning gardens of *stūpa*s (塔園法; *stūpa-ārāma-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[2]):

The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. At that time, King Prasenajit visited the Buddha. Having bowed his head at (the Buddha's) feet, he said to the Buddha: "May I, O Lord, construct a garden for Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa*?" The Buddha replied: "You may. In the past, there was a king, Kṛ(kin) (吉利) by name. After Buddha Kāśyapa had entered *parinirvāṇa*, the king constructed a *stūpa*. Around the *stūpa*, he made various gardens."

(In) the gardens of a *stūpa*, *āmra* (mango) trees, *jambu* (rose apple) trees, *panasa* (jackfruit) trees, *campa* (Michelia champaca) trees, *atimukta* (Ougenia oojeinensis) trees, *sĭmǎnă* (?; 斯摩那) trees, dragon-flower (*nāgapuṣpa*; Mesua roxburghii) trees, "no sorrow" (*aśoka*; Saraca asoca) trees (should) be planted, (so that) flowers bloom constantly (there). Flowers bloom there (i.e. in the gardens). (These flowers) should be offered to the *stūpa*. If a *dānapati* ("donor") says: "Flowers there, O venerable ones, (should) be offered to the Buddha, (while) the fruits (should) be given to the Community", one should do as he says.

If there are many flowers, it is allowed to give them to garland-makers, saying: "Make garlands using these flowers and give them to us! Give us this much (amount of) money in exchange for the remaining (flowers)!" If they receive money, they may, by

"世尊！我等爲迦葉佛作塔，得作龕不？[1]" 佛言："得。過去世時，迦葉佛般泥洹後，吉利王爲佛起塔，四面作龕，上作師子、象、種種彩[2]畫，前作欄楯、安置花處。龕內懸繒幡蓋。"

若人言："世尊貪欲、瞋恚、愚癡已除，但自莊嚴而受樂？"者，得越比尼＊罪，業報重。是名塔龕法。

塔園法[3]者：

佛住舍衞城，爾時，波斯匿王往至佛所，頭面禮足，白佛言："世尊！我得爲迦葉佛塔作園不？" 佛言："得作。過去世時，有王名吉利。迦葉佛般[4]泥洹後，王爲起塔。塔四面，造種種園林。"

(498b) 塔園林者，種菴婆羅樹、閻浮樹、頗那娑樹、瞻婆樹、阿提目多樹、斯摩那樹、龍華樹、無憂樹，一切時華。是中出華，應供養塔。若檀越言[5]："尊者！是中華供養佛，果與僧[6]。" 應從檀越語。

若花多者，得與華鬘家，語言："爾許華作鬘與我。餘者與我爾許直。" 若得直，得用然燈，買香，

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[1] Cf. Slkv § 8. *sagṛhastūpaḥ stambhaś catasraḥ pariṣaṇṇāḥ stambha sopāna lokapālā sthā sacandra-sitāmbaraḥ patākā makaradhvajādayaḥ côktāḥ.*

[2] Roth 1970: 332. *stūpa-rāma-p°* (a scribal error); "(Rules) concerning gardens of *stūpas*".

[1.] 我等爲迦葉佛作塔，得作龕不？: *v.l.* 我得爲迦葉佛作塔龕不？   [2.] 彩: *v.l.* 綵.   [3.] 法: *v.l.* -.   [4.] 般: *v.l.* -. [5.] 若檀越言: FyZl reads 若樹檀越自種，檀越言 (580b9; "If the trees were planted by a donor and that donor says") instead.   [6.] 果與僧: FyZl reads 果與僧食 (580b10; "give fruits to the Community to eat") instead.

using this (money), burn lamps, buy incense to offer to the Buddha and maintain the *stūpa*. If there is surplus of money, they may place it in a perpetual endowment (*akṣayanivī*, 無盡物)[1] of the Buddha. If (a monk) says: "The Lord is free from debauchery (婬), anger and ignorance. Of what use are the gardens of flowers and fruits?", he transgresses *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution (from this act) is serious. These are the "rules concerning gardens of a *stūpa*".

以供養佛, 得治塔。若直多者, 得置著佛無盡物中。若人言："佛無婬、怒、癡。用是華果園爲？", 得越比尼*罪, 果[1]報重。是名塔園法。

Rules concerning ponds (attached) to a *stūpa* (塔池法; *stūpa-puṣkiriṇī-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[2]):

The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. ... The Buddha said: "In the past, O great king, after Buddha Kāśyapa had entered *parinirvāṇa*, King Kṛ(kin) constructed ponds in four directions of Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa* and planted *utpala*s (blue lotuses), *padma*s (red and white lotuses), *kumuda*s (white lotuses), *puṇḍarīka*s (white lotuses) and many varieties of (aquatic plants with) flowers. The king, at present, (i.e. you) can also construct ponds (around the *stūpa*)."

塔[2]池法者：

佛住舍衞城, 乃至佛告："大王！過去, 迦葉佛泥洹後, 吉利王爲迦葉佛塔, 四面作池, 種優鉢羅華[3]、波頭摩華[4]、拘物頭、分陀利、種種雜華。今王亦得作池。"

Rules concerning ponds (attached to *stūpa*s) are as follows: Ponds in the four directions of a *stūpa* are permitted to be constructed. Varieties of (aquatic plants with) flowers are to be planted in the ponds, and (the flowers should) be offered to the Buddha *stūpa*. Surplus (of flowers) may be given to garland-makers. If (the money from the garland-makers) is not used up, it may be placed in a perpetual endowment (無盡物).

池法者：

得在塔四面作池。池中<種>種種[5]雜華, 供養佛塔。餘得與華鬘家。若不盡, 得置無盡物中。不得浣衣、澡[6]洗手面, 洗鉢。

The following are not allowed: washing clothes, washing hands and faces, washing *pātra*s (bowls). At an outflow, one may use (water) as one likes, it is no offence.

下頭流出處, 得隨意用, 無罪。

Above are "rules concerning ponds (attached) to *stūpa*s".

是名塔[7]池法。

Concerning *stūpa*s and *caitya*s (塔枝提; *cetiya-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[3]):

The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. ... The Buddha said: "You may, O great king, construct *caitya*s. In the past, after Buddha Kāśyapa had entered *parinirvāṇa*, King Kṛ(kin) constructed jewelled *caitya*s (寶枝提) in the four directions of Buddha Kāśyapa's *stūpa* and made reliefs, engravings and varieties

塔、枝提[8]者：

佛住舍衞城, 乃至佛語："大王！得作枝提。過去, 迦葉佛般泥洹後, 吉利王爲迦葉佛塔, 四面起寶枝提, 彫文刻鏤, 種

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[1] Cf. Schopen 2004, 45~90, esp. 52~56.
[2] Roth 1970: 332; "Rules concerning ponds (attached) to a *stūpa*".
[3] Roth 1970: 332; "Concerning *cetiya*(= *caitya*)s".

[1]. 果: *v.l.* 業. [2]. 塔: *v.l.* -. [3]. 華 *v.l.* -. [4]. 華: *v.l.* -. [5]. 種: *v.l.* -. [6]. 澡: *v.l.* 浴. [7]. 塔: *v.l.* -. [8]. 枝提: *v.l.* 支提 (hereafter this variation will be indicated by the sign "*") = ZyFl 580b16.

of coloured paintings (on their surface).[1] The king, at present, (i.e. you) can also construct *caitya*s."

One, which contains *śarīra*s (relics), is called a *stūpa*; one, which does not have *śarīra*s in it, is called a *caitya*. Those, which are (constructed) at the birthplace of the Buddha, the place of his enlightenment, the place where he rolled the Dharma-wheel, the place of his *parinirvāṇa*, the Bodhisatva-image(s?)[2] the cave(s?) of *pratyekabuddha*(s?), the footprints of the Buddha, (are called *caitya*s). At these *caitya*s, one may place flower canopies and items for worshipping (meant) for the Buddha.

If (a monk) says: "The Lord has already eliminated greed, anger and ignorance. Of what use is worshipping (him) by means of fine buildings (精舍)?", he transgresses the *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution from this act is serious. This is what concerns *stūpa*s and *caitya*s.

Concerning items for worshipping (*caitya*s) (供養具; *cetiyā-laṅkāra-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[3]):

The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. ... The monks said to the Buddha: "May one, O Lord, worship *caitya*s by means of items for worshipping *stūpa*s?" The Buddha said: "One may."

On the occasions of the Buddha's birthday, the day of his enlightenment, the day of his rolling of the Dharma-wheel, and the day of the quinquennial big-gathering[4], one may worship (*caitya*s) by means (of the items). (Items) of high and middle grades are to be used for worshipping the Buddha-*stūpa*s, (while) those of a lower grade are to be used for worshipping *caitya*s.

If a (monk) says: "The Buddha has already eliminated debauchery (婬), anger and ignorance. Of what use is worshipping (him) by means of banners and canopies?", he transgresses the *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution from this act is serious. Above are the "rules concerning *caitya*s".

Concerning worshipping (*stūpa*s) by means of dancing and

種彩畫。今王亦得作枝提。"

有舍利者名塔；無舍利者名枝提。如佛生處、得道處、轉法輪處、般[1]泥洹處、菩薩像、辟支佛窟、佛腳跡。此諸枝提得安佛華蓋供養具。

若有言："佛貪欲[2]、瞋恚、愚癡已斷。用是精舍供養爲？"，得越比尼*罪，業報重。是名塔、枝提。

供養具者：

佛住舍衞城，乃至諸比丘白佛言："世尊！得持塔供養具供養枝提不？"

佛言："得。" 若佛生日、得道日、轉法輪日、五年大會日，當此時，得持供養。中上者供養佛塔，下者供養 **(498c)** 枝提*。

若有言："佛婬、怒、癡已盡。用是幡蓋供養爲？" 得[3]越比尼*罪，業報重。是名枝提*法。

伎樂供養者：

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[1] Cf. Slkv § 15. *yataḥ prakīrṇake uktaṃ | "caturdikṣu āyakāḥ kartavyāḥ | ayam eṣu buddhavigrahāḥ sthāpayitavyā | puṣpagrahaṇī kartavyê"ti | tatrâyakaśabdena pratipālakam ucyate | puṣpagrahaṇīśabdena na ca vedikābāhyata samantato vāpya paṃktyākāreṇa nānāsaṃsthānagṛhadvāramātre pūrvajātakapratimāṇāṃ racanêti ||*

[2] Cf. Slkv § 24. *na kevalaṃ bodhisatvānāṃ pratimā kumbhena kāryā kāṃcanêti buddhapratimā api.*

[3] Roth 1970: 332; "Concerning adornments of *cetiya*(= *caitya*)s".

[4] 五年大會 : = BHS *pañcavarṣika-maha* ("the festival-gathering of the Buddhist order every five years" [BHSD, s.v. *pañcavarṣika*]).

[1.] 般: *v.l.* -.   [2.] 欲: *v.l.* 婬.   [3.] 得: *v.l.* -.

music (伎樂供養; *naṭa-nartaka-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[1]):

The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. At that time, King Prasenajit visited the Buddha. Having bowed his head at (the Buddha's) feet, he withdrew to one side and said to the Buddha: "May I, O Lord, worship a Buddha-*stūpa* by means of dancing and music?" The Buddha replied: "You may. After Buddha Kāśyapa had entered *parinirvāṇa*, King Kṛ(kin) worshipped the Buddha-*stūpa* by means of all (sorts of) songs, dances and music. The king, at present, (i.e. you) also may do so."

The Buddha said: "No matter even when the "Thus Come One" (Tathāgata) is alive in the world or after his entering *parinirvāṇa*, one may offer any kind of flowers, incense, dancing and music, various clothes, food and drink (to *stūpa*s), because (this deed) brings benefit to this world and makes all sentient beings obtain happiness for a long time."

If somebody says: "The Lord is free from debauchery (婬), anger and ignorance. Of what use is worshipping (him) by means of such dancing and music?", he transgresses the *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution from this act is serious. Above are the "rules concerning dancing and music (as a method of worshipping *stūpa*s)".

Concerning tidying up items for worship (收供養具; *sāharaṇā-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[2]):

The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. At that time, the monks said to the Buddha: "May we, O Lord, tidy up items for worship at *caitya*s?" The Buddha replied: "You may."

Tidying up (should be carried out) as follows. On the occasions of the Buddha's birthday, the day of his enlightenment, the day of his rolling of the Dharma-wheel, and the day of the quinquennial big-gathering, (monks) worship at *caitya*s by displaying many banners and canopies.

When suddenly the wind blows (or/and) it rains, all the monks should tidy up (those items) together. One should not say: "I am an elder monk (*sthavira*), ..."; "I am an *āraṇyaka* (wilderness monk), ..."; "I am an alms-begging (monk), ..."; "I am (a monk) who wears a garment made of rags taken from a rubbish-heap (*pāṃsukūlika*), ..."; "I am a monk of great virtue (*bhadanta*), (while) you live relying on this business. You should alone tidy

佛住舍衞城, 時波斯匿王往詣佛所, 頭面禮足, 却住一面, 而[1]白佛言："世尊！得持伎樂供養佛[2]塔不？" 佛言："得。迦葉佛般泥洹後, 吉利王以一切歌舞伎樂供養佛塔。今王亦得。"

佛言："若如來在世, 若泥洹後, 一切華、香*、伎樂、種種衣服、飲食, 盡得供養。爲饒益世間, 令一切衆生長夜得安樂故。"

若有人言："世尊無婬、怒、癡。用此伎樂供養爲？", 得越比尼*罪, 業報重。是名伎樂法。

收供養具者：

佛住舍衞城。爾時, 諸比丘白佛言："世尊！我等得收枝提供養具不？" 佛言："得。"

收者：若佛生日、得道日、轉法輪日、五年大會日, 多(←名)[3]出幡蓋供養枝提。

若卒風雨, 一切衆僧應共收。不得言："我是上座"; "我是阿練若", "我是乞食", "我是糞掃衣", "我是大德。汝等依是活者, 自應收。"

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[1] Roth 1970: 332; "Concerning dance performers and dancers".
[2] Roth 1970: 332; "Concerning bringing together (*or* collecting, carrying away)"
[1.] 而: *v.l.* -. [2.] 佛: *v.l.* 迦葉佛. [3.] 多(←名): Taishō Edition reads 名 instead of 多 (a misprint).

them up."

 When suddenly the wind blows (or/and) it rains, all (members of the Community) should tidy up (those items) together. (In such cases, those items) should be put in the closest cells. It is not allowed to say: "Put them in another place which lies ahead", with the intention of protecting one's own cell.

 If (items) get wet, they should be dried out in the sun. If (items) are soiled with dust and dirt, one should shake off (the dust and dirt) and fold (the items) up. If somebody says: "I am an elder monk, ..."; "I am an *āraṇyaka*, ..."; "I am an alms-begging (monk), ..."; "I am (a monk) who wears a garment made of rags taken from a rubbish-heap, ..."; "I am a monk of great virtue", he transgresses the *vinayātikrama* and the karmic retribution from this act is serious. Above are the "rules concerning tidying up the items for worship (at *caitya*s)".

Concerning misfortune (難; *āpadā-pratisaṃyuktaṃ*[1]):

 The Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. At that time, Venerable Upāli visited the Buddha. Having bowed his head at (the Buddha's) feet, he said to the Buddha: "What should be done, O Lord, if a misfortune occurs to the property of the *stūpa* (塔物) or to the property of the Community (僧物)?" The Buddha replied: "If the outside bandits are weak, (the Community) should ask the king for protection (無畏, lit. "fearlessness"; Skt. *abhaya*). If the king says: 'Stay there, O venerable ones! Don't be afraid! If after my (death), the state cannot stand firm, do as you like!' At that time, (the monks) should measure the king's strength. If the bandits are strong, (the monks) should secretly send a messenger to the leader of the bandits to ask for protection.

 If the king says: 'I, myself, am scared now, how can (you) receive protection (from me)? You, venerable ones, should ask the bandits for protection!', (then the monks) should leave there.

 If the bandits are heretical and do not believe in the Buddhist Teaching, (and hence, monks) cannot take refuge in them, (then the monks) should not leave any property (in the monastery) and leave right away. (Instead the monks) should ask trustworthy people to keep the property, belonging to the Buddha (佛物) and the

若風雨卒來，應共收。隨近房應[1]安。不得護房言：“著先處！”

若[2]濕者，應曬。塵土坌者，應抖擻疊舉。若言：“我是上座”；“我是阿練若”；“我是乞食”；“我是[3]糞掃衣”；“我是大德”者，得越比尼*罪。是名收供養具法[4]。

難者：

佛住舍衞城。時尊者優波離往詣佛所，頭面禮足，白佛言：“世尊！若塔物、僧物難起者[5]，當云何？”佛言：“若外賊弱者，應從王求無畏。王若言：‘尊者！但住。莫畏。若我後事不立者，隨意。’爾時，應量王力強弱。賊[6]強者[7]，應密遣信往賊主所，求索無畏。

王若言：‘我今自恐不立, 何得無畏？尊者自可從賊索救護！’者, 應去[8]。若[9]**(499a)**賊是邪見不信佛法者[10]，不可歸趣者，不得[11]便捨物去，應使可

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[1] Roth 1970: 332; "Concerning misfortune".
[1] 應: *v.l.* -. [2] 若: *v.l.* -. [3] 我是: *v.l.* -. [4] 法: J *etc.* -. [5] 者: *v.l.* -. [6] 賊: *v.l.* -. [7] 者: *v.l.* 者便住。弱者.
[8] 去: *v.l.* 看賊. [9] 若: *v.l.* -. [10] 者: *v.l.* -. [11] 得: *v.l.* 可.

property of the Community.[1]

(The monks) should watch and observe the bandits so as not to let them come all of a sudden. If the bandits do come suddenly and (the monks) cannot hide (the property), (then) the property, belonging to the Buddha, should be used to adorn Buddha-images. Seats and mats belonging to the Community should be spread, various food and drink should be laid out, and (the monks should) let the bandits look at the features (of the Buddha-images and adornments?). A young monk should be made to stay in a hidden place and watch the bandits' arrival. If the bandits, having seen the items for worship, become compassionate and ask as follows: 'Are there monks? Don't be afraid, you can come out!', then the young monk should observe (them, whether they speak the truth or not).

If the bandits come suddenly and (monks) cannot hide the property, (then the monks) should say: 'All conditioned phenomena (行; Skt. *saṃskāra*) are impermanent.' Having said this, (they should) abandon it and leave." Above are the "rules concerning misfortune".

[2]"Rules concerning *stūpa*s" and "Matters of *stūpa*s"
"Niches of *stūpa*s" and "Gardens of *stūpa*s"
"Ponds (attached) to a *stūpa*" and "*Caitya*s"
"Dancing and music", "Items for worshipping"
"Tidying up incense and flowers" (and) "Misfortune"

The fourteenth *varga* (chapter) ends.

信人藏佛物、僧物。

當先探候看賊，不可令
奄爾卒至。若賊來急，不
得藏者，佛物應莊嚴佛
像，僧坐具應敷，安置種
種飲食，令賊見相。當使
年少比丘在屏處伺看賊
至。賊[1]見供養具，若起
慈心，作是問：'有比丘
不？莫畏！可來出！'，
爾時，年少比丘應看。

若賊卒至，不得藏物
者，應言：'一切行無常。'
作是言[2]已，捨去。" 是
名難法[3]。

塔法并塔事
塔龕及塔園
塔池及枝提
伎樂供養具
收撿香花難
十四跋渠竟

(2) (Mini-)*stūpa*s and Bodhisatva figures in the *Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya*

In the *Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya* (T. 22, no. 1425, *Mohesengzhilü* 摩訶僧祇律), 312b15~18, we find important information concerning (mini-)*stūpa*s and Bodhisatva figures made of gold and/or silver.

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[1] According to the *Sifenlü Shanfan Buque Xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T. 40, no. 1804), composed by Daoxuan 道宣 in 626–630, there are four kinds of properties which belong to the Buddha. (1) Those, which the Buddha used, are not allowed to be used for any other purpose. For example, buildings, garments, beds, carpets *etc.*, which were used by the Buddha, should be placed in the *stūpa*s and should not be used for any other purpose. (2) Those, which were donated to the Buddha and now belong to the *stūpa*s etc., such as money, fields, domestic animals *etc.* (3) Those, which are used to worship the Buddha, such as flowers, incense, banners, lamps and other items for worshipping. (4) Those, which were given to the Buddha, such as medicine and food. (T. 40, 57b7~28). Cf. also the *Fanwangjing Pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏, composed by Fazang 法藏 by 699 C.E., T. 40, no. 1813, 615b08~c18.

[2] The corresponding Sanskrit list of chapter names is found in Roth 1970: 332: *uddānaṃ / stūpapratisaṃyuktaṃ / stūpavastupratisaṃyuktaṃ / stūpagṛhapratisaṃyuktaṃ / stūparāmapratisaṃyuktaṃ / stūpapuṣkiriṇīpratisaṃyuktaṃ / cetiyapratisaṃyuktaṃ / cetiyālaṅkārapratisaṃyuktaṃ / naṭanartakapratisaṃyuktaṃ / sāharaṇāpratisaṃyuktaṃ / āpadāpratisaṃyuktaṃ // // caturdaśamo vargaḥ //*

[1.] 賊: J *etc.* 時. [2.] 言: *v.l.* 語. [3.] 法: J. 去 (error).

When people worship (a *stūpa*) on the occasions of the eighth day of the fourth month (i.e. Buddha's birthday) and the great assembly, monks are not allowed to touch with their hands a (mini-?)*stūpa* made of gold and/or silver, a figure of the Bodhisatva, banners, streamers and canopies and (other) items used for worshipping, all which are coated with gold or silver. They should make *jingren*s (淨人 *kalpiya-kāraka*) touch them.

若四月八日及大會供養時，金銀塔、菩薩像及幢幡蓋供養具，一切有金銀塗者，比丘不得自手捉，使淨人捉。[1]

(3) *Stūpa*s described in the *Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya*:

In the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptakas (*Sifenlü* 四分律, trans. Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in 412 C.E.; T. 22, no.1428), 956c1~957a19, we find detailed descriptions of *stūpa*s.

At that time, after Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana had entered *parinirvāṇa*, a certain *dānapati* ("donor") said as follows: "If the Lord allows us to construct *stūpa*s for them, we shall construct them." The monks told the Buddha (about this). The Buddha said: "I allow them to be constructed."

時舍利弗、目連般涅槃已，有檀越，作如是言："若世尊聽我等爲其起塔者，我當作。" 諸比丘白佛。佛言："聽作。"

They did not know how to construct (the *stūpa*s). The Buddha said: "One (should) construct them in a square shape, round or in an octagonal shape."

彼不知云何作。佛言："四方作，若圓，若八角作。"

(They) did not know with what material to construct (the *stūpa*s). (They) told the Buddha. The Buddha said: "One may construct (a *stūpa*) with stones, bricks or wood. Having constructed it, it should be plastered." (They) did not know with what material to plaster them. The Buddha said: "One may use black plaster, plaster (mixed with) rice husks (?), plaster (mixed with) cow dung, white plaster, lime, or white clay."

不知以何物作，白佛。佛言："聽以石、墼若木作。作[1]已，應泥。" 不知用何等泥。佛言："聽用黑泥、若藁泥，若牛屎泥，若用白泥，若用石灰，若白墡[2]土。"

They wanted to construct platforms (for the *stūpa*s). The Buddha said: "One may construct them."

彼欲作塔基。佛言："聽作。"

They wanted to offer incense and flowers. The Buddha said: "Railings are allowed to be made on the four sides of (the platform of a *stūpa*) and incense and flowers (should) be placed on them."

彼欲華香供養。佛言："聽四邊作欄楯，安華香著上。"

They wanted to hang banners and canopies. The Buddha said: "I allow (them) to hang banners and canopies."

彼欲上幡蓋。佛言："聽安懸幡蓋物。"

They climbed a *stūpa*. A guard deity of the *stūpa* became angry. The Buddha said: "One should not climb it. If one needs to

彼上塔上，護塔神瞋。佛言："不應上。若須上

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[1] This sentence is quoted in the *Sifenlü Shanfan Buque Xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 (T. 40, no. 1804), composed by Daoxuan 道宣 in 626~630 C.E.; however, the reading is different: 88b29~c2. 若四月八日及大會供養時，浴像金銀塔及菩薩像。供養具有金銀塗者，使淨人捉。

[1] 作: = *v.l.*; Kr, J. -.   [2] 墡: *v.l.* 墡.

	有所取，聽上。"
They climbed a railing. A guard deity of the *stūpa* became angry. The Buddha said: "One should not climb it. If one needs to climb to take something there, it is allowed."	彼上欄上，護塔神瞋。佛言："不應上。若須上有所取，聽上。"
They climbed up on the wooden pegs and tusk-like pegs. The Buddha said: "One should not do so. If one needs to climb to take something there or hang something on them, it is allowed."	彼上杙上、龍牙杙上。佛言："不應爾。若須上有所取與，聽上。"
They climbed up on the image (像) and installed a canopy as an offering. The Buddha said: "One should not do so. One should use another method, (e.g. one should) climb up, by means of a stepladder to install the canopy.	彼上像上，安蓋供養。佛言："不應爾。應作餘方便，蹬上安蓋。"
The *stūpa*s had no cover. Flowers, incense, lamps, (lamp-)oil, banners, canopies, dancing and musical (instruments) and (other) items for worship were soaked with rain, blown by the wind, exposed to the sun, soiled with dust and dirt, and stained by the excrement of crows and birds. The Buddha said: "One may construct various sorts of roofs and cover everything. (Materials) necessary for making the roofs should be given(?). If the ground is dusty, one should plaster it by means of black plaster, plaster (mixed with) cow dung. If (the ground) needs to be white, it should be plastered with lime or with white clay."	彼塔露地，華、香、燈油、幡蓋、妓¹樂供養具，雨漬、風飄、日曝²、塵土坌及烏鳥不淨污。佛言："聽作種種屋，覆一切。作屋所須應與。若地有塵，應泥。若黑泥、牛屎泥，若須白³，以石灰泥，白墠⁴土⁵泥。"
They needed a tub in order to wash their feet. (The Buddha said:) "It should be given."	彼須洗足器，"應與。"
It was necessary to pave a path with stones. The Buddha said: "I allow it to be constructed."	須石作道行，佛言："聽作。"
They needed a mat. (The Buddha said:) "I allow it to be given to them."	彼須地敷。"聽與。"
At that time, as there was neither wall nor fence (around a *stūpa*), cows and horses entered without hindrance. The Buddha said: "I allow a wall to be built. If a gate is necessary, I allow it as well."	時無外牆障，牛馬入無限。佛言："聽作牆。若須門，聽作。"
At that time, the *dānapati*s (i.e. donors) of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana thought as follows: "When the two were alive, we used to make offerings of food and drink to them. Now they have entered *parinirvāṇa*. If the Lord allows us to make offerings of very fine food and drink to the *stūpa*s, we shall send (them)." The monks told the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow (them) to make offerings." They did not know on what sorts of receptacles they should place food. The Buddha said: "I allow (them) to use golden or silver *pātra*s (bowls), jewelled receptacles or receptacles, inlaid	時舍利弗、目連檀越作如是念："彼二人存在時，我常供養飲食。今已涅槃，若世尊聽我等⁶上美飲食供養塔者，我當送。"諸比丘白佛。佛言："聽供養。" 不知用何器盛食。佛言："聽用金銀鉢、寶器、雜寶器。" 不知云

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¹· 妓: *v.l.* 伎. ²· 曝: *v.l.* 暴. ³· 白: *v.l.* -. ⁴· 墠: *v.l.* 墡. ⁵· 土: *v.l.* -. ⁶· 等: *v.ll.* 等送; 送.

with sundry jewels." They did not know how to bring them (to the *stūpa*s). The Buddha said: "I allow (them) to be carried by elephants, horses or carts; to be carried by litters, on heads or shoulders."

何持往[1]。佛言："聽象、馬、車乘載，若舁[2]、若頭戴，若肩擔。"

At that time, the monks worshipped (*stūpa*s) by dancing (作伎; *or* "performing music") or blowing (conch) shells by themselves. The Buddha said: "One should not do so."

時諸比丘自作伎，若吹**(957a)**貝供養。佛言："不應爾。"

They (i.e. monks) were so fearful and cautious that they did not dare to let lay people worship (*stūpa*s) by dancing (*or* "performing music"). The Buddha said: "I allow it."

彼畏慎，不敢令白衣作伎供養。佛言："聽。"

They did not know who should consume the food and drink, which they had offered to the *stūpa*s. The Buddha said: "Monks, *śrāmaṇera*s, *upāsaka*s or (the monk), who manages (and supervises) construction (i.e. *navakarmika*[1]), should consume them."

彼不知供養塔飲食誰當應食。佛言："比丘，若沙彌，若優婆塞，若經營作者應食。"

At that time, the *dānapati*s of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana thought as follows: "If the Buddha would allow us to worship the *stūpa*s by decorating them, we shall do it." The Buddha said: "I allow it."

時舍利弗目連檀越作是念："佛聽我等莊嚴供養塔者，我當作。"佛言："聽[3]。"

They needed flowers, incense, hanging ornaments, dancing and music, banners and streamers, lamps and (lamp-)oil and carts with elevations on them (? 高臺車[2])." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

彼須華、香、瓔珞、伎樂、幢幡、燈油、高臺車。佛言："聽作。"

They wished to make statues. The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

彼欲作形像。佛言："聽作。"

They did not know how to place the *śarīra*s (i.e. relics). (The Buddha said:) "They should be placed in a golden *stūpa*, silver *stūpa*, jewelled *stūpa*, or in a *stūpa*, (inlaid) with sundry jewels; they should be wrapped in silk (or) cotton cloth, should be wrapped in *patsijaṃlamba* (?; 鉢肆酖嵐婆[3]) cloth, or *d(h)ud(h)ula* (?; 頭頭羅[4]) cloth."

彼不知云何安舍利。"應安金塔中，若銀塔，若寶塔，若雜寶塔，若以繒綿裹，若以鉢肆酖嵐婆衣，若以頭頭羅衣裹。"

Moreover, (they) did not know how to bring (the *śarīra*s to the *stūpa*s). The Buddha said: "I allow (them) to be carried by elephants, horses, carts, handcarts or palanquins; to be carried on shoulders or heads. If (the *śarīra*s) are likely to topple over, one should hold them up."

復不知云何持行。佛言："聽象、馬、車乘、輦轝馱載，若肩上、頭上擔戴[4]。若欲傾倒，應扶持。"

They (i.e. the monks) worshipped (the *stūpa*s) by dancing (作伎; *or* "performing music") by themselves. The Buddha said: "One should not do so."

彼自作伎供養。佛言："不應爾。"

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[1] For this word, cf. Silk 2008: 75ff.
[2] 高臺車: The precise meaning of the word is not clear.
[3] 鉢肆酖嵐婆: MC. pwât si- ḍjəm lậm bwâ.
[4] 頭頭羅: MC. dəu dəu lâ.
[1.] 往: *v.l.* 行. [2.] 舁: *v.l.* 轝. [3.] 聽: *v.l.* 聽作. [4.] 戴: *v.l.* 載.

They were so fearful and cautious that did not dare to let lay people worship (the *stūpa*s) by dancing (*or* "performing music"). The Buddha said: "I allow it."

They wanted to wipe the *stūpa*s of the disciples (i.e. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana). The Buddha said: "One should wipe (them) with the leaves of *tāla* (i.e. palm) trees, the leaves of *mālu* trees (i.e. creepers), or peacocks' tails (feathers)."

They had a great many flowers. (The Buddha said:) "I allow them to be placed on the platform of the *stūpa*, on the railings, on the tusk-like pegs or in the niches (牖; lit "a window"), or to string them up (i.e. flowers) on a rope and hang them under (前; lit. "in front of") the eaves (of the *stūpa*)."

"If there is a great deal of incensed plaster, (I) allow it to be made into a figure of the hand, an image of a (Dharma-)wheel, a figure of Maheśvara, a figure of creepers, a figure of grapevines, or a figure of lotuses. If there is still some left over, one should plaster the ground."

彼畏愼不敢令白衣作伎供養。佛言：“聽。”

彼欲拂拭聲聞塔。佛言：“應以多羅樹葉、摩樓樹葉、若孔雀尾拂拭。”

彼大有華。“聽著塔基上, 若欄上, 若龍牙杙上, 若牖中, 若繩貫懸著屋簷前。”

“若有多香泥，聽作手像、輪像、魔[1]醯陀羅像，若作藤[2]像，若[3]作葡萄[4]蔓像，若作蓮華像。若故有餘，應泥地。”

(4) *Stūpa*s described in the Mahīśāsakas' *Vinaya*:

In the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas (the *Mishasaibu hexi wufenlü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律, trans. Buddhajīva, Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 *et al.* in 424 C.E.; T. 22, no.1421), 172c23~173a18, we find the following descriptions of *stūpa*s.

The Buddha said to Ānanda: "After the Buddha Kāśyapa had entered *parinirvāṇa*, that king built a *stūpa* for the Buddha, made of gold and silver, half a *yojana* wide and one *yojana* high. (It was built) by piling gold and silver bricks alternatively. It exists still now under the ground. The Buddha, then, brought up the *stūpa* and showed it to the fourfold assembly (of monks, nuns, male lay followers and female lay followers). (It contained) the *śarīra* (relics) of the whole body of Buddha Kāśyapa, retained in its original form. In this connection, the Buddha picked up a ball of clay and recited the following verse:

> Benefitting from (donating) *jāmbūnada* (gold), hundreds of thousands of gold jewels, is not equal to (the offering of) a ball of clay for the building of a *stūpa* for a *buddha*.

Having shown (the *stūpa*), he returned it to its original place. The Buddha, thereupon, plastered the spot, where the clay *stūpa* had disappeared, with four balls of clay. Each of the one thousand two

佛告阿難：“彼迦葉佛般泥洹後, 其王爲佛起金銀塔, 縱廣半由旬, 高一由旬。累金銀墼, 一一相間。今猶在地中。” 佛即出塔, 示諸四衆。迦葉佛全身舍利儼然如本。佛因此事, 取一搏泥而説偈言：

雖得閻浮檀
百千金寶利
不如一團[5]泥
爲佛起塔廟

示已, 還復故處。佛便以四搏泥泥塔沒處。千二百五十比丘亦各上泥四

[1.] 魔: *v.l.* 摩.　[2.] 藤: *v.l.* 滕.　[3.] 若: *v.l.* 共.　[4.] 葡萄: *v.ll.* 蒲萄, 蒱萄, 蒲桃.　[5.] 團: *v.l.* 搏.

hundred and fifty monks also plastered it with four balls of clay. Thereupon, those monks wished to build a *stūpa* for Buddha Kāśyapa on that spot, where (the clay balls had been) plastered. The Buddha said: "I allow it to be built." Thereupon, all together, they built (a *stūpa*). At that time, it was the very first time that a *stūpa* had been built on the continent of Jambudvīpa.

Afterwards, monks wanted to build *stūpa*s for *arhant*s, voice-hearers (i.e. disciples) and *pratyekabuddha*s. The Buddha said: "I allow *stūpa*s to be built for the four kinds of people, (namely), "Thus Come One" (*tathāgata*), holy disciples, *pratyekabuddha*s and wheel-turning sage kings."

Monks wanted to build *stūpa*s without a covering, roofed *stūpa*s, *stūpa*s without walls; they wanted to build figures in the niches inside (the *stūpa*s), to make railings outside (the *stūpa*s); they wanted to make plates to collect dew (承露盤; *varṣasthālī*, lit. "rain-receptacle") (atop the *stūpa*s); they wanted to make pillars out of copper, iron, stone or wood in front of the *stūpa*s and to make figures of elephants, lions and other various animals on the top; they wanted to plant trees on the right and left of the *stūpa*s. The Buddha allowed all this to be done.

At that time, heretics also built *stūpa*s themselves and worshipped them in various ways. People saw them and embraced faith and devotion. The monks thought as follows: "If the Buddha allows us to worship the *stūpa*s in various ways, people will embrace faith and devotion as well." The Buddha, again, allowed this. The monks themselves, thereupon, sang and danced in order to worship the *stūpa*s. Laypeople reproached them, saying: "Laypeople sing and dance. The *śramaṇa*s, Śakya(muni)'s disciples are doing the same, then what differentiates them from us?" The monks told this matter to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "Monks should not themselves sing and dance to worship the *stūpa*s. I allow (monks) to make (other) people perform this. I allow monks to praise the Buddha, to worship the *stūpa*s with flowers, incense, banners and canopies."

搏。於是，諸比丘欲於所泥處，爲迦葉佛起塔。佛言："聽起。" 即便共起。是時，於閻浮提地上最初起塔。

其後，諸比丘欲爲阿羅漢、諸聲聞、辟支佛起塔。佛言："聽有四種人應起塔。如來、聖弟子、辟支佛、轉輪聖王。"

諸比丘欲作露塔、屋塔、無壁塔；欲於内作龕像，於外作欄楯；欲作承露盤；欲於塔前作銅鐵石木柱，上作象、師子種種獸形；欲於塔左右種樹。佛[1]皆聽之。

時諸外道亦自作塔, 種種供養, 衆人見, 起信樂心。諸比丘作是念："佛若聽我等種種供養塔者,衆人亦當起信樂心。" 佛亦聽之。諸比丘便自歌舞以供養塔。諸白衣譏呵言："白衣歌舞。沙門釋子 亦 復 如 是,與 我 何異？" 諸比丘以是白佛。佛言："比丘不應自歌舞供養塔。聽使人爲之。聽比丘自讚歎佛, 華、香、幡蓋供養於塔。"

(5) *Stūpa*s described in the *Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (1)

In the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins (*Shisonglü* 十誦律, trans. Kumārajīva, Puṇyatrāta and Dharmaruci in 404 C.E., T. 23, no. 1435), 351c11~352a21, we find following very important and much detailed descriptions of *stūpa*s.

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[1] 佛: *v.l.* 白佛佛.

The householder, "Donor to Orphans and the Childless" (Anāthapiṇḍada) visited the Buddha, paid his respects by bowing his head (at the Buddha's feet), sat down on one side and said to the Buddha: "O Lord! While the Lord walks about in the world, preaching the teaching, I constantly long for and desire to meet the Buddha. Please, O Lord, give me a little something and let me worship it." The Buddha, then, gave some of his hair and nails, (saying:) "You (may) worship them."

給孤獨居士往到佛所，頭面作禮，一面坐已，白佛言：“世尊！若世尊遊行人間教化時，我恒渴仰欲見佛。願世尊與我少物，使得供養。” 佛即與髮、爪甲：“汝供養是。”

Thereupon, he told the Buddha: "Allow me, O Lord, to build a *stūpa* for the hair and nails!" The Buddha said: "I allow it to be erected."

即白佛言：“世尊！聽我以髮爪起塔。” 佛言：“聽起。”

Again, he said: "Does the Buddha allow me to paint the surface (of the *stūpa*) red, black and white?" The Buddha said: "I allow it to be painted red, black and white."

又言：“佛聽我以赤色、黑色、白色塗壁不？” 佛言：“聽以赤色、黑色、白色塗壁。”

Also, he said: "If the Buddha would allow me to paint pictures on the *stūpa*, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "Except for images of sexual intercourse, I allow others to be painted."

又言：“佛聽我畫塔者，善。” 佛言：“除男女和合像，餘者聽畫。”

Somebody made a canopy and donated it, but there was nowhere to put the canopy. The Buddha said: "One should place it by using nails and pegs."

有人作蓋供養。無安蓋處。佛言：“應釘橛安。”

At that time, as the doors (*hu* 戶) of the *stūpa* were not furnished with panels, cows, deer, monkeys, dogs and so on entered. This matter was reported to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "Door-panels should be made."

時塔戶無扇。牛、鹿、獼猴、狗等入。以是事白佛。佛言：“應作戶扇。”

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought:) "If the Buddha would allow me to construct railings in front of the doors, it will be wonderful." He told this thought to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

“佛聽我戶前施欄楯者，善。” 以是事白佛。佛言：“聽作。”

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought:) "If the Buddha would allow me to construct railings all around (the *stūpa*), it will be wonderful." He told this matter to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

“佛聽我周匝施欄楯者，善。” 以是事白佛。佛言：“聽作。”

There was nowhere to put flowers. He told this matter to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow something to place flowers on."

是中無著華處。是事白佛。佛言：“聽作安華物。”

The receptacle, on which flowers were placed, became full. The Buddha said: "Curved pegs (to hang the flowers on) should be set up."

著華已器滿。佛言：“應施曲橛。”

The installed curved pegs also became filled (to capacity). The Buddha said: "Ropes should be stretched all around (the *stūpa*).

施曲橛亦滿。佛言：“應周匝懸繩。”

At that time, the householder (Anāthapiṇḍada) thought as

時居士作是念：“佛聽

follows: "If the Buddha would allow me to make garlands (inlaid) with *maṇi* gems and garlands of fresh flowers, it will be wonderful." He told this thought to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

(Anāthapiṇḍada) also said as follows: "If the Buddha would allow me to make a grotto (inside the *stūpa*), it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow it to be made."

Moreover, (Anāthapiṇḍada) said: "If the Buddha would allow me to make a (mini) *stūpa* in the grotto, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow a (mini) *stūpa* to be made in the grotto."

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to make a gate for the grotto, it will be wonderful." He told this thought to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow it to made."

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to cover the (mini) *stūpa* in the grotto, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow it to be covered."

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to make a finial (? of the mini *stūpa*; *shefutou* 舍枕頭) to protrude (over the cover?), it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow it to be made to protrude."

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to install bearing blocks (櫨) and trusses (栱[←拱]), it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be installed."

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to construct (施 or "donate") pillars for (於) the *stūpa*, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be constructed (作)."

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to decorate the pillars of the *stūpa* with colour, ochre and lime, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be decorated."

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to paint pictures on the upper part of the pillars of the *stūpa*, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "Except for images of sexual intercourse, I allow others to be painted."

At that time, the householder, "Donor to Orphans and the Childless" (Anāthapiṇḍada), being pure in faith, visited the Buddha, paid his respects by bowing his head (at the Buddha's feet), sat down on one side and said to the Buddha: "O Lord! Images, resembling the Buddha's body are not permitted to be made. I wish that the Buddha would allow me to make a figure of his Bodhisatva

我作摩尼珠鬘、新華鬘者，善。" 以是事白佛。佛言："聽作。"

又作是言："佛聽我作窟者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

又言："佛聽我窟中作塔者，善。" 佛言："聽窟中起塔。"

"佛聽我施窟門者，善。" 是事白佛。佛言："聽作。" **(352a)**

"佛聽我覆窟中塔者，善。" 佛言："聽覆。"

"佛聽我出舍枕頭者，善。" 佛言："聽出。"

"佛聽我安櫨栱者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

"佛聽我施柱作[1]塔者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

"佛聽我以彩色赭土白灰莊嚴塔柱者，善。" 佛言："聽莊嚴柱。"

"佛聽我畫柱塔上者，善。" 佛言："除男女合像。餘者聽作。"

爾時, 給孤獨居士信心清淨, 往到佛所, 頭面作禮, 一面坐已, 白佛言："世尊！如佛身像不應作。願佛聽我作菩薩

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[1] 作: read 於?

times (菩薩時[←侍]像)[1]. (If so,) it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow it to be made."

時(←侍)[1]像者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

Also, he said as follows: "When the Buddha was previously a lay person, he was preceded by those who held the banners (?; 引幡). I wish that the Buddha would allow me to make (images of?) those who hold banners in front (of the Bodhisatva figure). (If so,) it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

又作是言："佛本在家時，引幡在前。願佛聽我作引幡在前者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to construct highly-piled pedestals in front of the *stūpa* and place (figures of) lions on them, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

"佛聽我塔前作高垛，安師子者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

(Anāthapiṇḍada said): "If the Buddha would allow me to construct railings in the four direction of the (figures of) the lions, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

"佛聽師子四邊作欄楯者，善。" 佛言："聽作。"

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to make the (figures of) the lions from copper, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made (from copper)."

"佛聽我以銅作師子者，善。" 是事白佛。佛言："聽作。"

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow (me) to erect banners on the copper (figures of) the lions, it will be wonderful." He told this thought to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow them to be erected."

"佛聽銅師子上繫幡者，善。" 是事白佛。佛言："聽繫。"

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to worship (the *stūpa*) with incense, flowers, lamps, dancing and music, it will be wonderful." He told this thought to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow it (to be done)."

"佛聽我以香、華、燈、伎樂供養者，善。" 是事白佛。佛言："聽作。"

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to anoint incense, flowers and oil on the ground (around) the *stūpa*, it will be wonderful." He told this thought to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow the ground (around?) the *stūpa* to be anointed with

"佛聽我以香、華、油塗塔地者，善。" 是事白佛。佛言："聽香、華、油塗塔地。"

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[1] This phrase has been long discussed: e.g. Lin 1949: 97; Rhi 1994: 221; Fujiwara 2012: 127f., n. 14; Kuan 2013: 161. I agree with Lin and Rhi, who assume that 侍 is an error for 時. Cf. also the following parallel descriptions in the Chinese translation of the *Nidāna-Muktaka* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, namely *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Nituona Mudejia* 根本説一切有部尼陀那 (T. 24, no. 1452), 434b15. 聽爲菩薩像 ("The allowance of making an image of the Bodhisatva")… 434b18f. 是時，給孤獨長者來至佛所，禮雙足已，退坐一面，而白佛言："我今欲作贍部影像。唯願聽許。" 佛言："應作。" ("At that time, Anāthapiṇḍada visited the Buddha, paid his respects by bowing [his head at the Buddha's] feet, withdrew and sat down on one side and said to the Buddha: "I wish, now, to make an image of [the Bodhisatva Siddhārtha sitting in] the shade of the *jambu* tree [*Jambuchāyā*]. I wish it will be allowed." The Buddha said: "You should make it."). The Tibetan translation of the *Nidāna* has the same content: Kishino 2013: 303f. § 5.1: *byang chub sems dpa'i sku gzugs dang // … gleng gzhi ni mnyan du yod pa na ste / khyim bdag mgon med zas sbyin gyis bcom ldan 'das kyis gnang na / bdag gis bcom ldan 'das byang chub sems dpa'i sku gzugs bgyi'o zhes gsol pa dang / bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa / khyim bdag gnang gis byos shig /* ("The image of the Bodhisatva / … The setting was Śrāvastī. The Householder Anāthapiṇḍada said: "If the Blessed One authorizes it, I will make an image of the Bodhisattva, the Blessed One. And the Blessed One said: "Householder, since I authorize it, you must do it!" [Kishino 2013: 459]).

[1.] 時(←侍): All the present editions and manuscripts read 侍 which is probably an error for 時.

incense, flowers and oil."

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to make a pedestal to put the flowers on, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow it to be made."

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to make a place to put the lamps on, it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow it to be made."

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow me to make niches (?; 團堂 lit. "circular chamber"), it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be made."

(Anāthapiṇḍada thought): "If the Buddha would allow (me) to set up wooden (rails/poles) to hang banners over the niches (?; 堂 lit. "chamber"), it will be wonderful." The Buddha said: "I allow them to be set up."

"佛聽我作安華揬者，善。" 佛言：“聽作。”

"佛聽我作安燈處者，善。" 佛言：“聽作。”

"佛聽我作團堂者，善。" 佛言：“聽作。”

"佛聽堂上安木懸幡者，善。" 佛言：“聽作。”

(6) *Stūpa*s described in the *Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (2)

In the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins (*Shisonglü* 十誦律, T. 23, no. 1435), 415b27~ 415c22, we find other descriptions of *stūpa*s.

Rules, concerning the constructing of the *stūpa*s:

The householder, "Donor to Orphans and the Childless" (Anāthapiṇḍada), who believed in the Buddha with profound faith, visited the Buddha, paid his respects by bowing his head at the Buddha's feet, sat down on one side and said to the Buddha: "O Lord! While the Lord is walking about in many countries, I cannot see the Lord and, therefore, long for the Lord. Please give me a little something (of yourself) and let me worship it." The Buddha gave some of his hair and nails, saying: "You, O householder, should worship these hair and nails." Thereupon, the householder told the Buddha: "Allow me, O Lord, to build a *stūpa* for the hair and a(nother) *stūpa* for the nails!" The Buddha said: "I allow a *stūpa* for the hair and a(nother) *stūpa* for the nails to be built." These are the "rules concerning the construction of the *stūpa*s".

The ground of a *stūpa*:

The ground of a *stūpa* consists of its garden, field and grain field. As a *stūpa* is built there, it is called the "ground of a *stūpa*".

Rules, concerning niche-*stūpa*s:

The Buddha allowed *stūpa*s, (furnished) with niches and *stūpa*s (furnished) with pillars, to be built. The Buddha basically allowed all (types of) *stūpa*s to be built. These are the "rules concerning (niche-)*stūpa*s".

起塔法者。
給孤獨居士深心信佛，到佛所，頭面禮足，一面坐，白佛言：“世尊！世尊遊行諸國土時。我不見世尊故甚渴仰。願**(415c)**賜一物我當供養。" 佛與爪髮，言：“居士！汝當供養是爪髮。" 居士即時白佛言：“願世尊！聽我起髮塔、爪塔。" 佛言：“聽起髮塔爪塔。" 是名起塔法。

塔地者。
屬塔地者，園田穀田。於中初起塔。是名塔地。

龕塔法者。
佛聽作龕塔柱塔。佛廣聽一切作塔。是名塔(read 龕塔)法。

The perpetual endowment (*wujin* 無盡[1]) **of the belongings of** *stūpa*s:

[2]Merchants of Vaiśālī made profit by leasing out (?; 翻轉) items, belonging to the *stūpa*s so as to give offerings to the *stūpa*s. They wanted to go to a remote land in order to make money. They gave those items to the monks, saying: "These are, O Elders, the items of the *stūpa*s. You should lease them out and make a profit so as to make offerings to the *stūpa*s." The monks said: "The Buddha has not allowed us to lease out items of the *stūpa*s in order to make a profit so as to make offerings to the *stūpa*s." They told this to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "I allow the *jingren*s (淨人 *kalpiya-kāraka*)[3] of the monastery or *upāsaka*s to lease out items of the *stūpa*s so as to make a profit and, (using this profit), make offering to the *stūpa*s." This is the "perpetual endowment of the belongings of *stūpa*s".

Rules, concerning making offerings to *stūpa*s:

(It concerns) those items, which should be given as offerings to *stūpa*s. Such as (paintwork? of) white, red, blue, yellow and other colours and items for decorations. All these are allowed to be given as offerings to *stūpa*s. These are the "rules, concerning making offerings to *stūpa*s".

Rules, concerning the decoration of *stūpa*s:

(It concerns) those items, which decorate *stūpa*s. Such as a "diamond seat" (*vajrāsana*), a lofty hall, a high building, a two-storey building; those items, which are hung, (such as) jewelled bells, nimbus (?; 光相 lit. "radiant feature"), festoons with jewels, pieces of fine silken cloth, banners, flowers and canopies; various precious items such as gold, silver, pearls, giant clam shells, emerald, lapis lazuli, crystal and so on. People should worship *stūpa*s with such wonderful ornaments. These are the "rules, concerning the decoration of *stūpa*s".

Rules, concerning flowers, incense and festoons:

(It concerns) those items, which should be given as offerings to *stūpa*s. (Namely,) flowers, incense, powdered incense, unguents, festoons of flowers, festoons of jewels. (People should) line up burning lamps; perform dancing and music; anoint incense on the walls; arrange incense boxes. (People should) scatter

塔物無盡者。

毘耶離諸估客用塔物翻轉得利，供養塔。是人求利故，欲到遠處，持此物與比丘，言：“長老！是塔物。汝當出息，令得利，供養塔。” 比丘言：“佛未聽我等出塔物得利供養塔。” 以是事白佛。佛言：“聽僧坊淨人，若優婆塞出息塔物，得供養塔。” 是名塔物無盡。

供養塔法者。
所應供養塔。若白色、赤色、青色、黃色、諸色等，聽供養塔及諸嚴飾具。是名供養塔法。

莊嚴塔法者。
所應莊嚴塔。若金剛座、高堂、高樓、重閣；懸諸寶鈴、光相、瓔珞、繪、幡、華、蓋；金、銀、眞珠、車𤦲、馬瑙、琉璃、頗梨等種種寶物。如是等妙莊嚴具是[1]應供養塔。是名莊嚴塔法。

花、香、瓔珞法者。
所應供養塔。花、香、末[2]香、塗香、花瓔珞、寶瓔珞；羅列然燈，作眾伎樂；香塗牆壁，分布香簋；應布花、香，

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[1] lit. "inexhaustible"; Skt. *akṣayanīvī*. Cf. Schopen 2004: 45~90, esp. 52~56; Zhanru 2006: p. 217f.

[2] Cf. *Uttaragrantha*, Tib(D), *'Dul ba*, pa 265a6~265b1; Schopen 2014: 108. I should like to thank Dr. Fumi Yao for drawing my attention to this passages.

[3] "a layman, who receives items on behalf of monks to make them acceptable" (CPD, III, p. 184a, s.v. *kappiya-kāraka*; cf. *ib.* 472b with further references).

[1.] 是: *v.l. -.*　[2.] 末: *v.l.* 粖.

flowers and incense and sprinkle incensed oil on the ground. These are the "rules, concerning flowers, incense and festoons".

香油灑地。是名花、香、瓔珞法。

(7) *Stūpa*s described in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (1)

In the Chinese translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (*Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Pinaye Zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事, trans. Yijing 義淨, around 710 C.E., T. 24, no. 1451), 291a18~292a8, we find descriptions of the construction of *stūpa*s, the different numbers of *chattra*s according to the rank, and money for the maintenance of *stūpa*s. Cf. Tibetan version, Tib(D), no. 6, *tha* 244b2~247a4.

(291a18~c1: After Śāriputra had entered *parinirvāṇa*, his relics were taken care of and worshipped by Ānanda. Having heard this, Anāthapiṇḍada visited Ānanda and then the Buddha and asked to have the relics entrusted to him, promising to worship them properly. Having brought the relics home, he placed them on an elevated place and worshipped them with incense, flowers and so on. Having heard of this, other people visited his house to worship Śāriputra's relics. One day, as he had to go out, he locked the gate and left his house. People, who came to worship the relics, saw the gate locked and reproached him, saying: "Why does he prevent us from making merit?" Having heard this from his family upon his return, he visited the Buddha and said as follows:)

291c1~16

[1]"If the Buddha would allow, I wish, now, to build a *stūpa* for the relics of the venerable one (i.e. Śāriputra) on an open and

"若佛聽者，我今欲於顯敞之處，以尊者骨起窣覩

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[1] The Tibetan version reads as follows: Tib(D), no. 6, *tha* 246a3~b4. *"de'i slad du gal te bcom ldan 'das kyis gnang na bdag gis || 'phags pa SHĀ RI'I BU'i mchod rten phyogs snang yal can zhig tu bgyis la | der skye po'i tshogs chen po bag yangs su mchod ba bgyid" du stsal to || bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | "khyim bdag de lta bas na gnang gis byos shig" | bcom ldan 'das kyis "gnang gis byos shig" ces bka' stsal pa dang | des ji lta bur bya ba mi shes nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | "rim gyis bang rim bzhi byas la de nas bum rten bya'o || de nas bum pa dang bre dang srog shing dang | gdugs gcig dang | gnyis dang | gsum dang | bzhi bya ba byas nas bcu gsum gyi bar du bya zhing char khab dag gzhag par bya'o || bcom ldan 'das kyis mchod rten de lta bu bya'o"* zhes gsungs pa dang | des ci 'phags pa SHĀ RI'I BU 'ba' zhig la mchod rten rnam pa de lta bu'am | 'on te 'phags pa thams cad la bya ba mi shes nas | skabs de bcom ldan 'das la dge slong dag gis gsol pa dang | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | "khyim bdag re zhig de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten ni rnam pa thams cad rdzogs par bya'o || rang sangs rgyas kyi char khab mi gzhag par bya'o || dgra bcom pa'i ni gdugs bzhi'o || phyir mi 'ong ba'i ni gsum mo || phyir 'ong ba'i ni gnyis so || rgyun du zhugs pa'i ni gcig go || so so'i skye bo dge pa rnams kyi mchod rten ni byi bor bya'o || bcom ldan 'das kyis 'phags ba rnams kyi mchod rten ni rnam pa 'dis so || so so'i skye bo rnams kyi ni 'dis so" zhes bka' stsal pa dang | des gang gi gnas gang du bya ba mi shes nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | "ji ltar de bzhin gshegs pa bzhugs pa na | SHĀ RI'I BU dang | MAUD GAL GYI BU dag 'dug pa de bzhin du yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa'i mchod rten yang bya'o || gzhan yang gnas brtan gnas brtan rnams kyi mchod rten ni rgan rims bzhin sbreng bar bya'o || so so'i skye bo dge ba rnams kyi ni dge 'dun gyi kun dga' ra ba'i phyi rol du bya'o" || khyim bdag MGON MED ZAS SBYIN gyis gsol pa | "gal te bcom ldan 'das kyis gnang na | bdag gis 'phags pa SHĀ RI'I BU'i mchod rten gyi dus ston dag bgyi'o" || bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | "khyim bdag gnang gis gyis shig" |

The content of this part is versified in the *Vinayakārikā* by *Viśākhadeva, preserved in the Tibetan (Derge, no. 4123, *'Dul ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa*) and Chinese translations (T. 24, no. 1459, *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Pinaiye Song* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶頌). The latter reads as follows: 造佛窣覩波　蘇迷盧等量　四畔基牢固　乃至安寶瓶　輪一二三四　如次果應知　凡夫具德人　瓦頭爲制底　若作佛制底　輪蓋無定數　過千妙高量　獲福乃無邊　獨覺麟喩佛　不過十三槃　於彼相輪頭　寶瓶不合置　制底中安佛　兩邊二弟子　餘聖次爲行　諸凡應在外 (T. 24, 652c10~19).

visible place, in order to let people worship whenever they wish." The Buddha said: "O householder, you should do as you wish."

The householder, then, thought: "How should it be built?" The Buddha said: "One should construct its platform by piling up bricks in pairs (兩重). Next, the (main) body (*medhī*) of the *stūpa* should be set up, (then), upon it, an inverted bowl(-shaped mound) (*aṇḍa*) should be placed. Its height is your choice. Upon it, a "flat head" (平頭; *harmika*; square pavilion) should be placed. Depending on the size (of the *stūpa*), the size (of the *harmika*) can vary from one (ca. 30 cm) to two *chi*s (ca. 60 cm) high and from two (ca. 60 cm) to three *chi*s (ca. 90 cm) on each side. In the centre (of the *stūpa*), a pole (*yaṣṭi*) for (attaching) discs should be erected and thereafter, discs (*chattra*) should be attached to it. The discs are to be placed one on top of each other. Their number can vary, one, two, three, four up to thirteen. After that, a jewelled vase (*varṣasthālī*, lit. "rain-receptacle") should be placed (on the pole)."

The householder (i.e. Anāthapiṇḍada) wondered: "A *stūpa* like this can be built only for Śāriputra, or is it allowed for others as well?" He, thereupon, went up to the Buddha and asked him. The Buddha said to the householder: "When a *stūpa* is constructed for the Tathāgata, it should be made completely as described above. When it is for a *pratyekabuddha*, do not place a jewelled vase (*varṣasthālī*) (on the pole). When it is for an *arhant*, (only) four layers of discs should be used; for a non-returner (*anāgāmin*), just three; for a once-returner (*sakṛd-āgāmin*), two layers of discs (should be used); for a stream-enterer (*srota-āpanna*), one disc should (be used). (A *stūpa*) for a virtuous layperson should be (constructed) only (up to) the "flat head" (*harmika*) and without any disc (*chattra*). (*Stūpa*s) should be constructed in this way as the Lord has instructed."

The monks did not know where *stūpa*s should be located. The Buddha said: "Where the Lord stays on the Dharma-seat, there, the *caitya* of the great master should be made. The great disciples('*stūpa*s) should be on both sides of it. (*Stūpa*s of) other elder members and so on (should be) arranged according to their rank (*vṛddhanta*). (*Stūpa*s of) virtuous laypeople should be (constructed) outside the monastery."

Having constructed the *stūpa*, the householder said to the Buddha: "If I am allowed, I shall hold, in commemoration of (為; lit. "for the sake of") the (late) venerable Śāriputra, a great donation gathering in celebration of the *stūpa*." The Buddha said: "Do as you wish."

波，得使眾人隨情供養。”佛言：“長者！隨意當作。”

長者便念：“云何而作？”佛言：“應可用甎兩重作基。次安塔身，上安覆鉢，隨意高下，上(*v.l.* -)置平頭，高一二尺，方二三尺，準量大小。中竪輪竿。次著相輪。其相輪重，數或一二三四乃至十三。次安寶瓶。”。

長者自念：“唯舍利子得作如此窣覩波耶？爲餘亦得？” 即往白佛。佛告長者：“若爲如來造窣覩波者，應可如前具足而作。若爲獨覺勿安寶瓶。若阿羅漢相輪四重；不還至三；一來應二；預流應一。凡夫善人但可平頭，無有輪蓋。如世尊說如是應作。”

苾芻不知若爲安置。佛言：“如世尊住法處中，應安大師制底。諸大聲聞應在兩邊。餘尊宿類隨大小安置。凡夫善人應在寺外。”。

長者既爲造窣覩波已，白佛言：“若聽許者，我爲尊者舍利子，慶窣覩波設大施會。” 佛言：“隨作。”。

(Having heard of Anāthapiṇḍada's holding the great donation gathering, King Prasenajit decided to support it and announced that merchants, who would come and see the Dharma assembly, should be exempt from taxes of trades. At that time, there were five hundred merchants, who had earlier received Buddhist precepts from Śāriputra, and when they had been hit by a hurricane, they had invoked [the Buddha] and were rescued. They also wanted to make merits by donating.)

[1]Having all embraced respect and faith, they, then, offered with cordiality gold, silver, precious things, pearls, shells and jades to the Dharma assembly and left. Having received these things, the monks did not know how to handle them. The Buddha said: "Conch shells, which can be used to blow, should be given to the place of the image of (the Bodhisatva Siddhārtha sitting in) the shade of the *jambu* tree (*Jambuchāyā*) to be used there. The remaining precious things should be retained and used for the cost of the maintenance of the *stūpa* of Śāriputra. If there are pieces of cloth which can be hung for worship, they should be retained, and (monks) should hang the fine cloth on ceremonial days. The remaining things, clothing, cloth of fine cotton, coins and shells and so on should be distributed among the resident monks, because this matches the rule that possessions of fellow practitioners should be shared. The above treatments apply to things of the *stūpa* of Śāriputra. In case of things of the *stūpa* of the Buddha, everything is used for the *stūpa*."

...

291c28~292a8:
商人皆共起敬信心，即以眾多金、銀、珍寶、眞珠、貝、玉，於法會中盡心供**(292a)**養，捨之而去。苾芻受已，不知如何處分其物。佛言：“螺貝堪吹響者，應與贍部影像處用。自餘所有珍寶應留多少，與舍利子塔修理所須。若有衣物堪懸供養者，應留多少，可於齋日懸繒供養。所餘諸物、衣裳、疊布及錢、貝等，現前僧眾應共分之。是同梵行財理合用故。此據舍利子塔物，作斯處分。若是佛塔之物，皆入塔用。”

(8) *Stūpa*s described in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (2)

In the Chinese translation of the *Nidāna* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, namely the *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Nituona* 根本説一切有部尼陀那 (T. 24, no. 1452), 429b2~430a2, we find detailed descriptions of the building of *stūpa*s. In his unpublished dissertation, Ryoji Kishino (2013) made a meticulous edition and translation of the Tibetan version of the *Nidāna*. The part in question is found at pp. 239 (§ 3.7)~ 258 (§ 3.10.1) (edition) and 410 (§ 3.7)~426 (§ 3.10.1) (English translation) in his dissertation.[2,3]

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[1] The Tibetan version reads as follows: Tib(D), no. 6, *tha* 247a2~4. *de dag yid rab tu dang ba skyes te | dus ston de'i dus su dung dang | nor bu dang mu tig la sogs pa phul ba dang | dge slong dag gis ji ltar bsgrub pa mi shes nas | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | "bud dud gang yin pa de dag ni shing 'dzam bu'i gri ba man bzhugs pa'i sku gzugs la dbul bar bya'o // gzhan yang chung shas shig ni SHĀ RI'I BU'i mchod rten de'i bcos legs bya bar bzhag la lhag ma ni dge 'dun tshogs pas bgo bar bya'o // de de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten gyi ma yin gyi | SHĀ RI'I BU'i mchod rten gyi yin te | de lta bas na 'gyod par mi bya'o"* //
[2] PDF file is available at: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6gd606x5 (Last access: 21/March/2018).
[3] Cf. Dorjee 1996: 4~7.

The summarising verse of the seventh section:
The *stūpa* for the hair and nails.
The allowance for making (it) pure white.
The placing of lamps where one wishes.
The making of a turret on one side (一畔?)

At that time, the Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. The householder, Anāthapiṇḍada visited the Lord, and requested the Lord: "I wish, now, to build a *stūpa* for some of the Lord's hair and nails. Please, O Lord, have mercy and deign to give permission!" The Lord said: "Build it as you wish!"

He, further said: "Please allow me to cover the *stūpa* for the hair and nails with pure white plaster.
Also, (allow me) to honour it by lining up burning lamps on that place." The Lord said: "Do it all as you wish!"

The householder placed lamps upon the elevated place (級; i.e. *pradakṣiṇā-patha* "circumambulatory path"?), the oil dripped down and stained the *stūpa*. The Buddha said: "One should line the burning lamps up under the elevated place."

A dog drank the oil and overturned and broke the oil receptacles. The householder said to the Buddha: "Please allow (me) to make branched lamp holders." The Buddha said: "Make them as you wish!"

Bulls came and butted and broke them. The householder said to the Buddha: "Please allow (me) to make stands for the lamps." The Buddha said: "Make them as you wish!"

Being surrounded with lamp(-stand)s, the view was blocked off. The householder said to the Buddha: "Please allow (me) to make a turret (高簷, lit. "lofty eaves"; = *aṭṭāla*?)." The Buddha said: "As you wish."

The summarising verse of the eighth section:
The gateway (*toraṇa*), turret (*aṭṭāla*)
and the platform (基; *vedikā* "railing"?) of the *stūpa*
and painting it with vermilion and lacquer
are all allowed to be done as one wishes.
At that time, the householder, Anāthapiṇḍada said to the Buddha: "Please allow me to make a gateway (*toraṇa*?) in the open space (around) the *stūpa* for the hair and nails and also (allow me) to make a turret (*aṭṭāla*) as well as to construct the

第七子攝頌曰
　髮爪窣覩[1]波
　任作鮮白色
　隨意安燈處
　一畔出高簷

爾時，佛在室羅伐城。給孤獨長者往世尊處，請世尊曰："我今願以世尊髮爪造窣覩波。唯願，世尊！慈哀聽許。" 世尊告曰："當隨意作。"

復言："世尊唯願許，我於彼髮爪窣覩波上以鮮白物而爲塗拭，復於其處行列然燈而爲供養。" 佛言："皆隨意作。"

長者以燈安在級上，油下污塔。佛言："可於級下行列然燈。"

有犬食油，墜損油器。長者白佛："請造燈樹。" 佛言："隨作。"

牛來觸破。長者白佛："請爲燈架。" 佛言："應作。"

四面安燈，便非顯望。長者白佛："請作高簷。" 佛言："隨意。"

第八子攝頌曰
　門戶并簷屋
　及以塔下基
　赤石紫礦塗
　此等皆隨作

爾時，給孤獨長者白世尊言："唯願許我於髮爪窣覩波中間空者，爲作門戶。復

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[1]. 覩: *v.l.* 堵.

platform (基; *vedikā* "railing"?) of the *stūpa* and also paint the pillars with vermilion and paint pictures on the wall with lacquer (紫礦)." The Buddha said: "As you wish."

The summarising verse of the ninth section:
One should not use pegs or nails,
nor climb the *stūpa*.
Flowers made of gold and silver are allowed.
(One may) cover the *stūpa* with a building.

At that time, the Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. When making offerings (to the *stūpa*), the monks wanted to hang flower garlands on the *stūpa*. They, thereupon, climbed up and drove nails into the *stūpa* and hung the flower garlands. Then, brahmins and householders all said as follows: "Your master has extracted the nails and thorns (of suffering) forever. How (dare the monks), now, drive nails into (the *stūpa* of the Buddha)?" The monks, then, told this to the Buddha. The Buddha said: "One should not drive sharp nails into the *stūpa*. If somebody transgresses, he will be guilty of wrongdoing (*duṣ-kṛta*). When one starts building a *stūpa*, one should have crooked pegs (?; 傍橛) protrude and (also) fix elephant tusk-like pegs.

At that time, when the time of worshipping came, the monks, then, climbed to the top of the *stūpa* and placed a cup-shaped oil lamp. The Buddha said: "One should not place a lamp on top of the Incense Tower (香臺; = *gandhakuṭī*; i.e. the *stūpa*?). If somebody transgresses, he will be guilty of wrongdoing (*duṣkṛta*).

At that time, the monks climbed the *stūpa* and placed banners, canopies and other items for worshipping on it. Then, brahmins and householders all criticised them: "It is improper (for monks) to climb it." The Buddha said: "One should let laypeople (climb). If there are no laypeople, one should let novices (求寂; Skt. *śrāmeṇera*) (climb). If there are no novices, the monks should, at first, wash their feet, anoint them with incense liquid or unguents, and think: 'We are now going to worship the Great Master', and, thereafter, climb the *stūpa*. Otherwise, one will be guilty of wrongdoing. If the *stūpa* is high and huge, one should fasten a rope under (the part of) the discs (*chattra*), and climb it by holding onto it."

Brahmins and householders all visited the *stūpa* for the hair

安簷屋并造塔基。復以赤石塗拭其柱。於塔壁上紫礦圖畫。" 佛言："隨意。"

第九子攝頌曰
不應以橛釘
及昇窣覩波
開許金銀花
塔上以舍蓋

爾時，佛在室羅伐城。諸苾芻眾於供養時，欲以花鬘挂[1]於塔上，即便登躡，以釘釘塔，挂諸花鬘。時婆羅門、居士咸作是言："仁等大師久除釘刺。何故今者以釘釘之？" 時諸苾芻以 **(429c)**緣白佛。佛言："不應於窣覩波上尖刺釘之。若有犯者，得惡作罪。然於刱始造塔之時，應出傍橛，作象牙杙。"

時諸苾芻至供養時，遂便登上窣覩波頂，而安燈盞。佛言："不應([= *v.l.*]←不)於香臺頂上而設燈明。若有犯者，得惡作罪。"

時諸苾芻上窣覩波，安置幡蓋供養之物。時婆羅門、居士咸共譏嫌："不淨登躡。" 佛言："應使俗人。若無俗人，應使求寂。若無求寂，諸苾芻等應先濯足淨，以香湯或塗香泥。作如是念：'我今爲欲供養大師。' 然後昇塔。若異此者，得惡作罪。若窣覩波形高大者，應可以繩繫相輪下，攀緣而上。"

有婆羅門、居士咸來詣髮

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and nails. Each offered flower garlands. All the flowers dried up and were not cleared away. (The *stūpa*) could not become clean. The Buddha said: "They should be cleared away." Thereupon, the householder, Anāthapiṇḍada said to the Buddha: "I, now, wish to offer garlands made of gold and silver to the *stūpa* for the hair and nails." The Buddha said: "As you wish."

Birds perched on the *stūpa* and their droppings stained it. (Anāthapiṇḍada) wanted to build a cover (覆舍 lit. "a covering building") over it. The Buddha said: "It should be built." Also, as (the cover) did not have any gate, it was dark inside and it was damaged. The Buddha said: "Make a gate as you wish."

The summarising verse of the tenth section:
The making of a *stūpa* of iron
and gold and silver and so on.
The allowance of donations of banners and flags.
Also, permission to use incense oil.

At that time, the Buddha was dwelling in the city of Śrāvastī. The householder, Anāthapiṇḍada requested the Lord: "Please allow me to make a *stūpa* of iron." The Buddha said: "Make it as you wish." He said, further, "I wish to make (*stūpa*s) of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, copper and so on." The Buddha said: "You should make them."

Although the *stūpa* was made, there were no good decorations on it. (Anāthapiṇḍada) wanted to offer banners, flags, pieces of fine variegated silk cloth. The Buddha said: "You should do so." However, (Anāthapiṇḍada) did not know the rules concerning making flags. The Buddha said: "There are four kinds of banners, namely the lion banner, the bull banner, the *garuḍa* banner and the *nāga* banner. These four images should be painted on the banners."

He, further, said to the Buddha: "Now, I want to, at first, anoint (the *stūpa*) with incense oil, then, make fragrant incense water by (mixing together) lacquer, saffron, sandalwood and so on, and wash the *stūpa* for the hair and nails (with it). Please allow this." The Buddha said: "You should do all this as you wish."

Chapter Three ends.

爪窣覩波處。各持花鬘奉獻供養。所有乾花而不㨮[1]除，不能淨潔。佛言："㨮[2]除。" 時給孤獨長者請世尊白："我今願以金銀花鬘供養髮爪窣覩波。" 佛言："隨作。"

塔上鳥栖，不淨穢汚。欲於其上造立覆舍。佛言："應作。" 復爲無門，室闇損壞。佛言："隨意開門。"

第十子攝頌曰
　鐵作窣覩波
　及以金銀等
　許幡旗供養
　并可用香油

爾時，佛在室羅伐城。給孤獨長者請世尊曰："願許我造鐵窣覩波。" 佛言："隨作。" 復言："欲以金、銀、琉璃、水精、銅等造作。" 佛言："應作。"

雖作塔，上未善莊嚴，欲以幡旗并雜繪綵而爲供養。佛言："應作。" 時彼不解造旗法式。佛言："有四種旗。謂師子旗、牛旗、金翅鳥旗及龍旗等。於旗幡上，畫作四形。"

復白佛言："我今先欲香油塗拭。次以[3]紫礦、欝金、栴檀等作妙香水，洗髮爪 **(430a)**窣覩波。唯願聽許。" 佛言："皆隨意作。"

　　　第三門了。

1. 㨮: *v.l.* 屛. 2. 㨮: *v.l.* 屛. 3. 以: *v.l.* 此.

(9) *Stūpa*s described in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (3)

In the Chinese translation of the *Muktaka* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, namely *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Mudejia* 根本説一切有部目得迦 (T. 24, no. 1452), 445c20~29, we find very interesting descriptions about repairs to *stūpa*s, in which Buddha statues, wall-paintings and palm-leaf manuscripts are referred to.

[1]"Concerning the (re-)construction of a *stūpa*, a small one can be enlarged, while a big one should not be decreased. If laypeople are able to enlarge (a *stūpa*), it is good. If they cannot manage, monks should exhort (people) to donate and (thus) help the construction."

Discs (*chattra*) of a *stūpa* became old and broken. The Buddha said: "They should be repaired." Then, somebody first took the old discs down, and thereafter started making new ones. A long time passed, but they were not completed. The Buddha said: "(Old discs) should not be removed. Having finished new ones, old discs should be, then, removed."

Figures and clay statues of the Buddha became damaged and broken. Being unsure, the monks dared not redecorate them. The Buddha: "One should either enlarge them or make similar ones as one likes."

Coloured wall paintings became faded. Being unsure, the monks dared not repaint them. The Buddha said: "One should brush off (the old paintings), and paint anew."

Buddhist scriptures written on various (諸餘) palm-leaves became worn away. Being unsure, the monks dared not erase them. The Buddha: "One should erase the old ones, and write anew."

"然造窣覩波，小者得增大；大者不應減小。若有俗人能大作者, 善。如不能辦，苾芻應可勸化助造。"

若塔相輪久故破壞。佛言："應可修營。" 時有先下故輪，更造新者。時久不成。佛言："不應先下。造新者訖，方下故輪。"

若佛形像泥壞[1]虧壞。苾芻生疑, 不敢營[2]飾。佛言："或增令大。或可相似隨意而作。"

諸彩畫壁不分明者。苾芻生疑, 不敢重畫。佛言："應可拂除, 更爲新畫。"

諸餘葉紙佛經磨滅。苾芻生疑, 不敢揩拭。佛言："應拭故者, 更可新書。"

(10) *Stūpa* described in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* (4)

In the same Chinese translation of the *Muktaka* as the previous one, 450a26~b4, we find an interesting reference to paintings of the Buddha's biography as well as *Jātaka*s.

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[1] The Tibetan version (*'Dul ba gzhung bla ma*; **Vinaya-Uttaragrantha.*) reads differently: Derge, no. 7, pa 175a3~7. *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa* / *"de ste chung ngu bshig ste chen por byed nus na gnang gis byos shig* / *de la the tshom du ma byed cig"* / *mchod rten dang gdugs rnyings shing zhig ba yang de bzhin no* // *bcom ldan 'das kyis "chos shig" ces bka' stsal pa dang* / *gzhan zhig gis gdugs phab nas slar ma bsgrubs kyi bar du dus 'das pa dang* / *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa* / *"rjes ma ma zin gyi bar du snga ma dbab par ma byed cig"* / *de bzhin du sku gzugs 'jim pa la byas pa dag rnyings nas* / *dge slong dag the tshom skyes nas ma byas pa dang* / *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa* / *"de dang 'dra ba'am* / *de las lhag par ni byos shig* / *chung ngu ni ma yin no"* // *de bzhin du ri mor bris pa dag kyang ri mo byed pa dang* / *dge slong dag the tshom skyes nas ri mor ma bris nas* // *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa* / *"byid na de nyid kyi rgyud slar bris shig"* / *de bzhin du sangs rgyas kyi bka'i glegs bam dag byid par gyur nas* / *dge slong dag gis the tshom skyes nas ma bris pa dang* / *bcom ldan 'das kyi bka' stsal pa* / *"byid na sangs rgyas kyi bka' slar bris shig* / *de la the tshom du ma byed cig"* /. Cf. Kishino 2016: 244.

[1.] 壞: *v.l.* 素. [2.] 營: 瑩.

[1]The summarising verse of the ninth section:

Around the *stūpa*,

the traces of the Sage should be depicted in details. ...

At that time, the householder, Anāthapiṇḍada requested the Buddha: "I want to decorate the *stūpa* for the Tathāgata's hair and nails. If the Buddha would allow, I shall exercise the supervision of the construction." The Buddha said to the householder: "You should do as you wish." The householder did not know how to do this. The Buddha said: "(Depictions of) the traces of the Sage, (namely) starting from Tuṣita Heaven, his rebirth in Jambu(dvīpa), his guiding and teaching sentient beings, up to his *(pari)nirvāṇa* and previous lives should be made, as you wish."

第九子攝頌曰
窣覩波圍繞
廣陳諸聖迹 ...

爾時, 給孤獨長者請世尊曰："我於如來髮爪窣覩波處欲爲莊嚴。若佛聽者, 我當營造。" 佛告長者："隨意應作。" 長者不知云何而作。佛言："始從覩史多天下生贍部, 化導有情乃至涅槃、本生聖跡隨意應作。"

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← = α ← β: the Chinese character (or Sanskrit form) β should be changed to α

A Gandhāran *stūpa* as depicted in the Lotus Sutra[*]

Seishi Karashima

(1) Descriptions of the *stūpa* in the Lotus Sutra

At the beginning of the eleventh chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or the Lotus Sutra, named *Stūpasaṃdarśana* "Manifestation of a *Stūpa*", a *stūpa* suddenly appeared in the middle of Śākyamuni Buddha's assembly while he was preaching the Lotus Sutra. In the *stūpa*, a body of a *buddha* of the past, namely Prabhūtaratna, was sitting. He came to praise Śākyamuni's teaching of the Lotus Sutra. This *stūpa* as described in this chapter resembles the *stūpa*s in Gandhāra, while differing from those in Central, South and the Eastern part of India.

Below, we shall see the descriptions of the *stūpa* found in the Sanskrit version. My translation here is based on the Kern-Nanjio edition (abbr. KN), the *editio princeps*. When its readings differ from those in the so-called Kashgar manuscript (abbr. O) — though purchased in Kashgar, it was actually discovered in Khādaliq, dating back probably to the 8th century ——, the translation of the latter is inserted with the sign "O".

The *stūpa* is depicted as follows (KN 239~241)[1]:

> **(KN 239)** Then, in front of the Lord, arose a *stūpa*, consisting of seven precious substances, from a spot on the Earth. In the middle of the [O. Lord's] assembly, (the *stūpa*) of five hundred *yojana*s (ca. 3,500 km) in height and of proportionate circumference, arose and stood up in the sky. It was aglitter, [very] beautiful, [shining in various ways,] nicely decorated with five [O. hundreds of] thousands of terraces (*vedikā*) with railings attached with flower(-ornament)s (*puṣpagrahaṇī*)[2], adorned with many [O. hundreds of] thousands of arched-niches (*toraṇa*)[3], hung [O. decorated] with [O. hundreds of] thousands of banners and streamers, hung (KN. *pralambita~*; O. *avasikta~*) with [O. hundreds of] thousands of garlands of jewels, hung with [O.

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[1] The following part has parallels in the four Chinese translations, namely (1) the *Satan fentuoli jing* 薩曇分陀利經, anonymous, possibly translated in the *Xijin* (西晉) Dynasty, T. 9, no. 265, 197a11~14; (2) the *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經, translated by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) in 286 C.E., T. 9, no. 263, 102b22~c26; (3) the *Miaofalianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, translated by Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什) in 406 C.E., T. 9, no. 262, 32b17~c18 = the *Tianpin Miaofalianhuajing* 添品妙法蓮華經, translated by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, 601 or 602 C.E., T. 9, no. 264, 166c29~167b1.

[2] Cf. von Hinüber 2016: 9ff.; *ib.* 2016a: 30f.

[3] Cf. *kānshì* 龕室 "arched-niches" in Kumārajīva's translation, T. 9, no. 262, 32b19.

hundreds of] thousands of pieces of cloth and bells (KN. *paṭṭaghaṇṭā*; O. *paṭṭadāma-*: "garlands made of cloth"), [O. with the hundreds of thousands of ringing bells], emitting the fragrance of *tamālapattra* (Xanthochymus pictorius) and sandalwood, whose scent filled this whole world. (The *stūpa*'s) row of *chattra*s, made of the seven precious substances — namely, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, sapphire, emerald, **(KN 240)** red coral, and chrysoberyl —, rose (KN. *samucchrita~*; O. *anuprāpta~* "reached") as high as the divine palaces of the Four Great Kings. The gods of "the Thirty-three Heaven" scattered, bestrewed and spread divine *mandārava-* and great *mandārava* flowers on that *stūpa* (O. The gods of "the Thirty-three Heaven" let fall a great rain of divine flowers, [namely] divine *mandārava-* and great *mandārava* flowers, thus scattered, bestrewed and spread them on that *stūpa*.). [O "In addition to them, hundreds of thousands of gods, *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s, *gandharva*s, *asura*s, *garuḍa*s, *kinnara*s, *mahoraga*s, human beings and non-human beings worshipped, honoured, respected, revered and paid homage to that *stūpa* with all (sorts of) flowers, all (kinds of) incense, all (kinds of) garlands, hundreds of thousands of ointments, powders, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners, streamers, and by the playing of hundreds of billions of musical instruments."][4]

From the jewelled *stūpa*, then, the following voice issued forth: "Excellent, excellent, O Lord Śākyamuni! You have well expounded this religious discourse of the Lotus of the True Dharma. So it is, O Lord!; so it is, O Sugata!" [O. "It is excellent, excellent, O Lord Śākyamuni, that you show and expound this religious discourse which is a compendium for *bodhisatva*s, an elucidation of the equality of great wisdom and which all *buddha*s embrace. So it is, O Lord!; so it is, O Lord Śākyamuni, as you have explained. You have expounded well this religious discourse and I came here to listen to this religious discourse."][5]

Then, having seen that great jewelled *stūpa* [O. which, having emerged from the ground, was] standing up in the sky, in the atmosphere, the fourfold assembly (of monks, nuns, male lay followers and female lay followers), [O. became thrilled], became delighted, filled with joy, delight and happiness [O. -], and then [O.-], they [O. all] stood up from their seats, held out their joined hands and remained standing [O. standing, while looking up at the *stūpa*].

(Hereafter is a free translation:) Then, a *bodhisatva*, named Mahāpratibhāna, asked the Buddha why that jewelled *stūpa* had appeared and who had uttered those words. The Buddha replied as follows: "In that *stūpa*, there is the complete body of Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna. He had lived in a world called Ratnaviśuddhā, which is located beyond immeasurable thousands of billions of worlds away in the East[6]. He, being a *bodhisatva*, **(KN 241)** having listened to the Lotus Sutra, had attained perfect enlightenment. Therefore, when he entered *parinirvāṇa*,

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[4] These sentences are found only in the Central Asian manuscripts, incl. O and Kumārajīva's translation.

[5] These sentences, which are extant only in O, a Sanskrit fragment from Central Asia, dating back to the 5th century and the Chinese translations by Dharmarakṣa (T. 9, no. 263; translated in 286 C.E.) and Kumārajīva (T. 9, no. 262; translated in 406 C.E.), are very important for the research of the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism as well as the Lotus Sutra. I have already discussed this issue (see Karashima 2015: 185f.).

[6] O and the Gilgit manuscript as well as the Tibetan and Chinese translations read "in the East", while Nepalese manuscripts read "beneath".

he entrusted monks with the making of a great jewelled *stūpa* to hold his complete body, and made a vow, saying: 'May this *stūpa* of mine, containing my body-frame, arise in whatever world, when a *buddha* expounds the Lotus Sutra and may my body-frame applaud him.' "

(2) The *stūpa* in the Lotus Sutra agrees with those in Gandhāra

In the above-cited descriptions of the *stūpa*, we find a phrase "adorned with many [O. hundreds of] thousands of arched-niches (*toraṇa*)" (KN 239.4f. *bahutoraṇasahasraiḥ pratimaṇḍitaḥ*; O. *bahutoraṇaśatasahasrasupratimaṇḍitaṃ*). The Sanskrit word *toraṇa* means usually "gate; arch". However, the phrase "many hundreds of thousands of *toraṇa*s" here does not mean gates outside a *stūpa* at the entrance from the four cardinal directions as seen in Bharhut, Sanchi *etc.* As Kumārajīva translated it as *kanshi* 龕室 meaning "arched-niche" (T. 9, no. 262, 32b19)[7], *toraṇa* here must mean "arched-niche" made in the walls of each layer of a *stūpa*. As its upper part is arched, such a niche must have been called *toraṇa* as well.[8] *Stūpa*s with a large number of arched-niches can be seen in "Greater Gandhāra" (present-day Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan).

Fig. 1 *Toraṇa*s ("gates") at Sanchi[9]
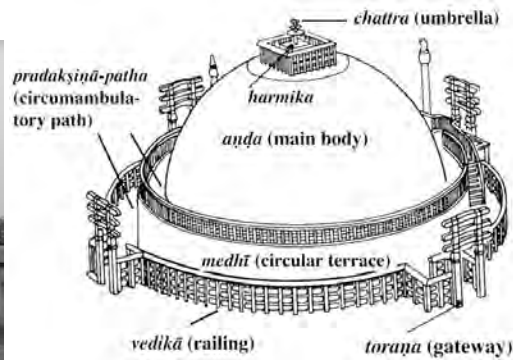
Fig. 2 Structural features of Sanchi *stūpa*[10]

Fig. 3, 4. *Toraṇa*s ("arched-niches") seen on the small *stūpa* from Loriyan Tangal, Peshawar District, Pakistan. Photo taken in 1895.[11]

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[7] Dharmarakṣa translated *toraṇa* as *chuangyong xuanhu* 窻牖軒戶 ("windows and doors [*or* windows]") (T. 9, no. 263, 102b26).

[8] As far as I know, this meaning of *toraṇa* is not attested; cf. Acharya 1934: 246~254; *ib.* 1946: 216~222.

[9] Photo taken by Katarzyna Marciniak.

[10] The present author processed an image found on the internet.

[11] © British Library Board, Photo 1003/(1037). Permission to reproduce the photo was granted by The British Library Board (8/March/2018).

Moreover, a row of umbrellas (*chattra*) on the top of this jewelled *stūpa* in the Lotus Sutra, which is described as "rose (O. reached) as high as the divine palaces of the Four Great Kings", clearly shows the characteristics of *stūpa*s in the Gandhāra region, too.

In ancient India, it was customary for an attendant to carry an umbrella to shade a king or a noble man from the sun. Consequently, there is a statue of the Buddha over which an umbrella is placed to express people's respect for him. Out of the same respectful feelings, multiple umbrellas were placed on top of a *stūpa*.

Fig. 5 A statue of the Buddha with an umbrella[12]

Fig. 6 A crystal *stūpa* with five umbrellas atop it[13]
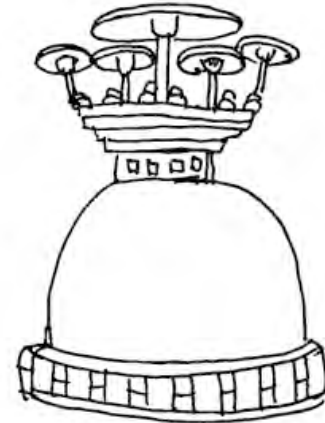
Fig. 7 A drawing of a *stūpa* with many umbrellas atop it[14]

Umbrellas, which had been placed next to each other on a *stūpa*, later became the layered circular umbrella-like discs on the domes of *stūpa*s. For example, both the *stūpa*s in Sanchi (from around the beginning of the first century; see Fig. 2, 3) and in Amarāvatī (from around the 2nd century), have round bases (*medhi*), on which massive hemispherical domes (*aṇḍa* "egg") or inverted bowl-shaped mounds have been constructed. The dome on each *stūpa* has a square pavilion (*harmika*) and a pole (*yaṣṭi*) — which was supposed to pass through the dome (*aṇḍa*) to the ground — on its top. Two- or three-layered umbrella-like discs (*chattra*) are attached to the pole. On the top of the *stūpa* in Sanchi, there are layers of three umbrella-like discs; while on the one in Amarāvatī, two umbrella-like discs were laid side-by-side (cf. Fig. 8). Thus, on the mainland of India, no high towering *stūpa* exists, but rather only a few umbrella-like discs are placed on the top of a *stūpa*.

In the case of *stūpa*s in Gandhāra, there is a cylindrical barrel between the base (*medhi*) and the hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*), —— arched-niches were made around the cylindrical barrel. On the dome, there is a square pavilion (*harmika*), topped by a long

[12] 5th~6th c.; discovered in Sarnath, preserved presently at Banaras Hindu University. Dr. Ye Shaoyong's drawing based on a photograph found in Satō Sōtarō 佐藤宗太郎, *Kodai Indo no Ishibori* 古代インドの石彫 [*Stone Sculptures in Ancient India*], Tokyo 1970: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 河出書房新社, pl. 50.
[13] Discovered in Mansera, in a private collection, Kurita 2003b, p. 303, no. 940.
[14] Dr. Ye Shaoyong's drawing based on a painting in Ajanta (1st c. B.C.E.).

pole (*yasti*) with multi-layered umbrella-like discs (*chattra*). This Gāndhāran-type *stūpa* was the origin of the multi-storeyed *stūpa*s or pagodas built in East Asia.

Fig. 8 Miniature *stūpa*
from Gandhāra[15] →

↓ Fig. 9 Depiction of the
Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī[16]

↓ Fig. 10 Structure of a minia-
ture *stūpa* in Gandhāra[17]

According to the travelogues of a Chinese monk, named Huisheng 惠生, and Song Yun 宋雲, who visited Gandhāra together in 520 C.E., they saw a huge *stūpa*, namely the *Stūpa* of Queli (雀離浮圖), built by King Kaniṣka (re. ca. 127~ca. 150) in Peshawar. According to them[18], the *stūpa* was twelve or 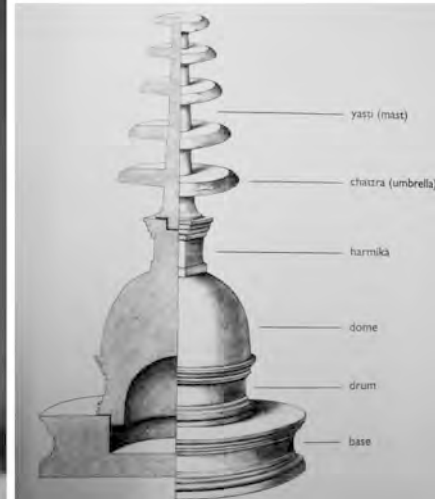thirteen storeys high, topped with an iron pole with thirteen layers of metal discs. Altogether the height of the *stūpa* was 700 *chi*s (ca. 175 m).[19]

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[15] Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, H 100165; Tanabe 2007: 206.

[16] From NHK 1994: 230.

[17] Drawing by Elizabeth Errington, in Jongeward *et al.* 2012: 70.

[18] Queli 雀離 seems to be a transliteration (MC. tsjak lje).

[19] Huisheng's travelogue, namely *BeiWei seng Huisheng shi Xiyu ji* 北魏僧惠生使西域記 ("A Record of the Western Regions by the envoy and monk Huisheng of the Northern Wei", T. 51, no. 2086) reads as follows: "... they arrived at the city of Gandhāra. Two hundred years after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, King Kaniṣka had built the Queli *stūpa*. It is twelve storeys and seven hundred *chi*s (ca. 175 m) high from the ground and its platform is about three hundred paces (ca. 457 m) wide. The lower part (陛) (of its cylindrical barrel) is made completely of sculptured stone. Inside the *stūpa*, an infinite variety of Buddhist services are carried out. The golden discs (*chattra*s) are shining brilliantly, jewelled bells are ringing in harmony. It is the best *stūpa* in the Western Regions. (867b2~7. 至乾陀羅城。有佛涅槃後二百年，國王迦尼迦所造雀離浮圖，凡十二重，去地七百尺，基廣三百餘步，悉用文石爲陛。塔内佛事千變萬化。金盤晃朗，寶鐸和鳴。西域浮圖最爲第一。). Cf. Deeg 2007: 87.

Song Yun's travelogue is quoted in the fifth *juan* of Yang Xuanzhi (楊衒之)'s *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 ("Records of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang"; ca. 547 C.E.; T. 51, no. 2092) in juxtaposition to another travelogue by a certain Daorong 道榮 (cf. Deeg 2007: 65f.): "... they arrived at the city of Gandhāra. Seven *li* southeast of the city, there is the Queli *stūpa*. ... When the Tathāgata was in this world, ... while pointing to the east of the city, he said: 'Two hundred years after my entering *nirvāṇa*, there will be a king, named Kaniṣka. He will build a *stūpa* there.' Two hundred years after the Buddha's entering *nirvāṇa*, a king, named Kaniṣka, really did appear. When he went out (of the city) and walked around the east (out) of the city, he saw four boys, building a *stūpa* by piling up cow dung. When it became about three *chi*s (ca. 75 cm) high, they disappeared suddenly. ... Being perplexed by the boys(' making this cow dung *stūpa*), the king immediately built a *stūpa* to

Thus, the *stūpa*s in the Gandhāra region rose high with umbrella-like discs (*chattra*) atop, rising high in the sky, just as described in the *Stūpasaṃdarśana* chapter in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

Fig. 11 A picture of two Buddhas' sitting together as in the *Stūpasaṃdarśana* chapter in the Lotus Sutra; Hodar, Gilgit, Pakistan[20]

(3) The newer strata of the Lotus Sutra were composed in Gandhāra

As I have demonstrated (Karashima 2015: 163f.), I assumes that the Lotus Sutra consists of the following three strata:

The first stratum: from the *Upāya* (II) to the "Prophecies to Adepts and Novices" (IX) (KN 29~223).

The second stratum: 11 chapters from the "Dharma Master" (X) to "Tathāgata's Mystical Powers" (XX) (KN 224~394), as well as the "Introduction" (I) (KN 1~28) and "Entrustment" (XXVII) (KN 484~487). Probably the latter half of "Plant" (V) (KN 131.13~143.6), which has no parallels in Kumārajīva's translation, also belongs to this stratum.

The third stratum: all other SP chapters (XXI~XXVI) (KN 395~483) and the latter half

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cover it. The *stūpa* made of cow dung gradually grew higher and higher and started protruding outside the *stūpa* (made by the king to cover the former). When it had become four hundred *chi*s (ca. 100 m) high from the ground, it stopped (growing). The king, thereupon, broadened the foundation of the *stūpa* to more than three hundred paces (ca. 460 m) wide. —— The *Account of Daorong* relates: 'three hundred and ninety paces (ca. 600 m)' ——. From there (i.e. the foundation), (people) erected a wood structure and thus, it could match (the height of the cow dung *stūpa*) —— The *Account of Daorong* states: 'Each (piece of the timber) is three *zhang* (ca. 7.5 m) high. All the lower and upper parts (陛階) (of the cylindrical barrel of the *stūpa*), steps, bearing bearing-blocks (櫨) and trusses (栱) are made of sculptured stone, upon which the timber is assembled. Altogether it is thirteen storeys high.' —. Upon (the *stūpa*), there is a three-hundred-*chi* (ca. 75 m)-high iron pillar (*yaṣṭi*), to which thirteen layers of golden discs (*chattra*s) are attached. Altogether (the *stūpa*) is 700 *chi*s (ca. 175 m) high from the ground — the *Account of Daorong* says: 'The iron pillar is eighty-eight *chi*s (ca. 22 m) high and eighty spans (*wei* 圍) in circumference. Golden discs (*chattra*s) are placed in fifteen layers. Altogether it is sixty-three *zhang*s and two *chi*s (ca. 158 m) high from the ground.'" (1021a25~b10. 至乾陀羅城。東南七里，有雀離浮圖。…… 乃是，如來在世之時，與弟子遊化此土，指城東曰："我入涅槃後三百年，有國王，名迦膩色迦。此處起浮圖。" 佛入涅槃後二百年來，果有國王，字迦膩色迦。出游城東，見四童子累牛糞爲塔，可高三尺，俄然即失。…… 王怪此童子，即作塔籠之。糞塔漸高，挺出於外，去地四百尺，然後止。王始更廣塔基三百餘步 — 道榮傳云："三百九十步" 。從此構木始得齊等 — 道榮傳云："其高三丈。悉用文石[(= v.l.)←木]爲陛、階砌、櫨[v.l. 楹]、栱[←拱]，上構衆木。凡十三級。" —。上有鐵柱，高三[read 三百]尺。金槃十三重。合去地七百尺 — 道榮傳云："鐵柱八十八尺，八十圍。金盤十五重。去地六十三丈二尺。" —。). Cf. Wang 1984: 239f.

[20] From Harald Hauptmann, "Felsbildkunst am Oberen Indus", in: *Gandhara: Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans: Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese*, Mainz 200: Philipp von Zabern, p. 353.

of the "*Stūpasaṃdarśana*" (XI) —— , where stories about Devadatta's previous life and a daughter of a dragon king are found (KN 256~266).

Though the precise ages of the compositions of these strata and layers are unknown, they were probably formed in the order, A, B, C and D (see above).

It is apparent that the *stūpa* as depicted in the *Stūpasaṃdarśana* Chapter in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* was modelled on real *stūpa*s in the Gandhāra region. This indicates that the newer part of the Lotus Sutra was composed in this region, while the earlier part was composed elsewhere in India —— I assume it could have taken place in South East India.

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Pouched garments (*utsaṅga*, *yige* 衣裓)
and flower balls (*puṣpa-puṭa*)
in texts and art[*]

Seishi KARASHIMA

(I) pouched garments (*utsaṅga*, *yige* 衣裓) and flower balls (*puṣpa-puṭa*) in texts

In Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra (abbr. Kj), namely the *Miaofalianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (T. 9, no. 262; trans. 406 C.E.), we find a depiction of gods' carrying flowers in the folds of garments:

(1) Kj. 23a27~b4. 爾時，五百萬億國土諸梵天王與宮殿俱，<u>各以衣裓盛諸天華</u>，共詣西方，推尋是相，見大通智勝如來處于道場，菩提樹下，坐師子座，……及見十六王子請佛轉法輪。即時，諸梵天王頭面禮佛，繞百千匝，<u>即以天華而散佛上。其所散華如須彌山</u>。(≒ 23c4~10, 24a12~18, 24b20~26)

"At that time, <u>each, having filled the folds of their garments with celestial flowers</u>, five thousand billions of Brahmā kings all together went towards the west with their palaces (*vimāna*), seeking (the reason) of this phenomenon and saw the Tathāgata, Excellence-of-Great-Penetration-and-Wisdom (Mahābhijñājñānābhibhuva) on the terrace of enlightenment, sitting on the lion-seat under the Bodhi tree ... also saw the sixteen princes entreating the Buddha to turn the wheel of the Law. The Brahmā kings, thereupon, bowed their heads at the Buddha('s feet), circumambulated him a hundred thousand times <u>and then, scattered celestial flowers over the Buddha. The scattered flowers were as large as Mount Sumeru</u>."

Its parallels in Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation (T. 9, no. 263; translated in 286 C.E.; abbr. Dr.) and the Sanskrit versions read a little differently.

Dr. 90b12~18 時五百億百千梵天各從宮殿駱驛四出，<u>以諸天華如須彌山</u>，……適見佛已，尋時即往，稽首于地，繞無數匝，<u>手執大華，而散佛上</u>。(≒ 90c23~29; ≠ 90a1~7)

"Then, five hundred thousand billions of Brahmā kings one after another came out from their palaces in the four directions, <u>with celestial flowers as large as Mount Sumeru</u> ... having seen the Buddha, immediately came up to him, bowed their

heads at the ground, circumambulated him an infinite number of times, <u>took the large flowers in their hands and scattered them over the Buddha.</u>

KN.165.3~12. *Mahābrahmāṇas ... <u>divyāṃś ca Sumerumātrān puṣpapuṭān gṛhītvā</u>* (O. <u>*divyāni Sumerumātrāṇi puṣpapuṭānī gṛhītvā*</u>) *... taiś ca* (O. *tai(ḥ)*) *Sumerumātraiḥ puṣpapuṭais taṃ bhagavantam abhyavakiranti smâbhiprakiranti sma* (= 168.11~6, 172.1~10, 175.9~176.1)

> "The Great Brahmā, <u>having taken celestial flower balls as large as Mount Sumeru,</u> ... They scattered and strewed the celestial flower balls as large as Mount Sumeru on the Lord."

The Chinese word *yige* 衣裓, found in the above-quoted Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, does not have any parallel in any other version. The same word occurs at another place in the same translation, where it parallels Skt. *utsaṅga*:

(2) Kj. 12b17~25. 周匝俱時欻然火起，焚燒舍宅。長者諸子若十，二十或至三十在此宅中。長者見是大火從四面起，即大驚怖。…………　是長者作是思惟："我身手有力，當以<u>衣裓</u>，若以几([= *v.l.*]←机)案，從舍出之。"

> "All of a sudden, fire breaks out all around and conflagrates the house. The householder's children, say ten, or twenty, or even thirty remain in the house. Having seen the massive fire breaking out all around, the householder becomes greatly frightened. … The householder thinks: "As I, myself, have powerful arms, I should, (carrying them) <u>in the folds of my garment</u> or on a table, take (them) out of the house."

KN.73.2f. *... yan nv ahaṃ sarvān imān kumārakān ekadhye* (←*eka-*)[1] *piṇḍayitvôtsaṅgen' ādāyâsmād gṛhān nirgamayeyaṃ*[2]

> "I should, having gathered all the boys together in one place and taken (them) <u>in the folds of (my) garment</u>, go out of the house."

O.78r1~2. *... yaṃ nv ahaṃ sarvāṇîmāni kumārakāny ekasmiṃ samāvartyaṃ pīṭhakena*[3] *vā <u>utsaṃgena</u> vā-m-ādāyâsmād gṛhā nirgaccheyaṃ*

> "I should, having gathered all the boys together and taken (them) on a stool or <u>in the folds of (my) garment,</u> go out of the house."

There are some other occurrences of the word *yige* 衣裓 which parallels *utsaṃga* in the Sanskrit texts. I shall quote two examples from the *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Pinaye Posengshi* 根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事, a Chinese translation of the *Saṃghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition by Yijing 義淨 at the beginning of the 8th century, T. 24, no. 1450 (abbr. SBV[Ch])

(3) SBV(Ch) 198b15~18. 其象生天。…… 其夜即<u>衣裓</u>盛衆妙花，往如來所。竹林園中，其光遍照，勝晝日。時以衆寶花散佛身上。

> "The elephant was reborn in the heaven. ... He, then, on that night, <u>filled the folds of his garment with many fine flowers</u>, went to the Tathāgata, whose light

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[1] A Gilgit manuscript and the older Nepalese mss. read as follows: *ekadhye* (D3), *ekadhyam* (L1), *aikadhyaṃ* (Bj, N3, C5), *ekathye* (L3, K), *aikathye* (L2).

[2] Cf. Yuyama 1987: 124.

[3] The word *pīṭhaka* ("stool, chair") in this sentence is probably a wrong reading for *piṭaka* ("basket").

illuminated the whole Bamboo Grove (Veṇuvana), surpassing the sun. Then, he scattered many jewelled flowers over the Buddha.”

SBV II 190.8~9. ... *tām eva rātriṃ divyānām utpala-padma-kumuda-puṇḍarīka-māndārakāṇāṃ puṣpāṇām utsaṃgaṃ pūrayitvā* ...

“(He, then,) on that night, <u>having filled the folds of his garment with</u> celestial <u>flowers</u>, such as the blue lotuses, red lotuses, moon lotuses, white lotuses, *māndāraka*. ...”

(4) SBV(Ch) 176c6~7. 菩薩雖困，遂昇高巖，摘取其菓，擲與鬘人。彼人得已，便自食足，<u>餘殘菓子衣裓盛之</u>。

“Despite being tired, the Bodhisatva then climbed up a steep cliff (*sic.* ≠ SBV *vṛkṣa* “tree”), and plucked the fruit and threw it down to the garland-maker. Having obtained (the fruit), the later, then, ate it to his content <u>and filled the folds of his garment with the remaining fruit</u>.”

SBV II 102.2~5. *sa mahātmā parahitādhānatatparaḥ pariśrānto ’pi taṃ vṛkṣam adhiruhya āmraphalāni pātayitum ārabdhaḥ; tena puruṣeṇa yāvadāptam āmraphalāni bhakṣitāni, utsaṃgaṃ ca pūritaṃ*

“Despite being tired, the great sage, who was totally devoted to bringing welfare to others, climbed up the tree and began causing mangoes to fall. The man (i.e. the garland-maker) ate them and <u>filled the folds of his garment with as many mangoes as he obtained</u>.”

It is clear, thus, that *yige* 衣裓 in the Chinese translations parallels *utsaṃga* in the Sanskrit texts. The Sanskrit *utsaṃga* and Pāli *ucchaṅga* are used, at times, in the meaning of “the fold of a garment, pouched garment serving as a bag, a sort of an apron used for carrying things”[4]. The following are instances from the Pali texts:

(5) Ap 374.27~375.2. *māliko ... ucchaṅgaṃ pūrayitvāna agamaṃ antarāpaṇaṃ ... pupphaṃ paggayha ucchaṅgā buddhaseṭṭhaṃ apūjayiṃ* (“A garland-maker ... having filled the folds of his garment [with flowers], went to the bazaar. ... [Having seen the Buddha,] he took a flower from the folds of his garment and worshipped the best of *buddha*s [with it].”)

(6) Vism 279.5~7. *cheko hi gopālako sakkharādayo ucchaṅgena gahetvā rajjudaṇḍa-hattho pāto va vajaṃ gantvā ...* (“A skilful cowherd, having put gravel *etc.* in the folds of his garment, with a rope and stick in his hands, went to the cow barn in the early morning ... ”)

Outer garments worn by Indians in ancient times were loose, as they are still at present. People could pull up the hanging parts of their garments and make them like a bag similar to a large pocket into which one could put flowers, fruit, grains, treasure or even dead bodies. The Chinese equivalent *yige* 衣裓 has a similar meaning[5].

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[4] Cf. CPD, s.v. *ucchaṅga*; cf. also Gotō 1980: 12, 13 “Heraushang als Tragemittel”, *ibid.* 15 “eine Art Schürze handelt, die als provisorisches Tragemittel dient”; EWAia, I. Band, 214, s.v. *utsaṅgá-* “‘Heraushang’, d.i. ein provisorisches Tragemittel, eine Art Schürze”.

[5] *yige* 衣裓 used to carry a dead body:
爾時，長者子……則以衣裓盛女死屍。棄叢樹間而捨之去 (the *Dajing famen jing* [= *Mañjuśrīvikurvitasūtra*], translated by Dharmarakṣa in 301 C.E., T. 17, no. 817, 823c9f.).

Yige 衣襁 is used to put flower (balls) for scattering as depicted in the first citation from the Lotus Sutra at the beginning of this article. We find quite a few instances of the same usage of *yige* 衣襁 in the Chinese translations of other Buddhist scriptures, though *Yige* 衣襁 has no parallels in Sanskrit texts, e.g.:[6]

(7) 爾時，其在會者衣襁上皆化自有華。皆起持是華散伅真陀羅上。(the *Dun zhentuo-luo suowen rulai sanmei jing* 伅真陀羅所問如來三昧經, a Chinese translation of the *Drumakinnnararāja-paripṛcchā* by Lokakṣema [fl. 178~189 C.E.] or his disciples, T. 15, no. 624, 355a-7f.)[7]

> "At that time, flowers appeared by themselves in all the folds of the garments of the people at the assembly. They stood up, took the flowers and scattered them over Drumakinnara."

Kumārajīva's translation of the same scripture and the Tibetan version have no parallels to 衣襁: T. 15, no. 625, 374c8. 有天曼陀羅花聚 ("a mass of celestial *mandārava* flowers appeared") ≑ Harrison 1992: 100, l. 4f. *me tog man da ra ba'i phur ma byung nas* ("balls of celestial *mandārava* flowers appeared").

(8) 此十方菩薩飛　皆以衣襁諸華　天拘蠶種種具　往供養無量覺 ....
　　所散華止虛空　合成蓋百由旬　其柄妙嚴飾好　悉遍覆衆會上 (the *Wuliang-qingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經, a Chinese translation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, probably by Zhi Qian 支謙 [fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.], T. 12, no. 361, 288b1~8)

> "These *bodhisatva*s from the ten directions, having flowers, celestial *jucan* 拘蠶 (? lit. "seizing silkworms") and various things in the folds of their garments, flew to

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to carry treasure:

爾時，少婦便共交通。老婆羅門聞是事已，心懷忿恨，即取寶物，盛裹衣襁，棄婦而去。(the *Zabaozang jing* 雜寶藏經 translated by Ji jiaye 吉迦夜, compiled by Tan Yao 曇曜 in 472 C.E., T. 4, no. 203, 497c11f.).

此北方有國城名石室。國土豐熟，人民熾盛。彼有伊羅波多羅藏，無數百千金、銀、珍寶、車渠、馬瑙、眞珠、琥珀、水精、瑠璃及諸衆妙寶。彼揵陀賴國人七歲中七月七日，或以襁盛抱戴，隨其所欲，皆悉費用。然彼伊羅鉢多羅藏無所減少。(the *Anabindi hua qizi jing* 阿那邠邸化七子經, tr. attributed to An Shigao 安世高, but probably tr. by Dharmanandi(n) 曇摩難提 and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念, T. 2, no. 140, 862b4~9).

to carry beans:

若淨人食麨豆時，比丘欲得。即從索作是言："與我麨豆"。淨人不欲與比丘。擗淨人手。瀉著衣襁中。(the *Mohesengzhilü* 摩訶僧祇律, the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghikas, T. 22, no. 1425, translated by Buddhabhadra and Faxian 法顯 in 418 C.E., T. 22, no. 1425, 358a3f.).

to carry dust and rubbish:

食塵、穀塵、水塵、衣塵、一切塵。是名五塵坌，不須更受得噉。有五種受。有五種受。手來，手受；衣襁來，衣襁受；簁來，簁受；器來，器受。汚賤國放地受。(the *Shisonglü* 十誦律, the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, translated by Kumārajīva, Puṇyatrāta and Dharmaruci in 404 C.E., T. 23, no. 1435, 359c10~13).

[6] Other examples are as follows: T. 15, no. 588, 111c10f.; T. 11, no. 310, 63b1f.; T. 13, no. 420, 932b11f.; T. 14, no. 426, 67a20f.; T. 15, no. 633, 471b26f.;T. 14, no. 545, 846c15f.; T. 17, no.818, 832a22f.; T. 17, no. 816, 806b2f.; T. 11, no. 310, 44b6f; T. 17, no. 815, 793b1f.; T.14, no. 484, 673a9f. Cf. Karashima 2007: 454f.; *ib.* 2008: 153~155 = 2016: 47~49.

[7] Kumārajīva's translation of the same scripture and the Tibetan version have no parallels to *yige* 衣襁: T. 15, no. 625, 374c8. 有天曼陀羅花聚 ("a mass of celestial *mandārava* flowers appeared") ≑ Harrison 1992: 100, l. 4f. *me tog man da ra ba'i phur ma byung nas* ("balls of celestial *mandārava* flowers appeared").

worship the "Infinitely Enlightened One". ... The scattered flowers stayed in the sky and created a hundred *yojana* (-wide) canopy, which, being furnished with a wonderfully decorated and beautiful handle, completely shaded the whole assembly."

The parallel verses in the Sanskrit *Sukhāvatīvyūha* read as follows:

> *bahupuṣpapuṭāṃ gṛhītva te nānavarṇa surabhī manoramān |*
> *okiranti naranāyakottamaṃ Amita-āyu naradevapūjitaṃ ǁ (2) ...*
> *bahugandhapuṭāṃ gṛhītvā te nānavarṇa surabhī manoramān |*
> *okiranti naranāyakottamaṃ Amita-āyu naradevapūjitaṃ ǁ (4) ...*
> *taiḥ puṣpapūṭā iti kṣipta tatra cchatraṃ tadā saṃsthihi yojanāśataṃ |*
> *svalaṃkṛtaṃ śobhati citradaṇḍaṃ cchādeti buddhasya samantakāyaṃ ǁ (7) (Sukh[F]*
> 50.7~52.7)

> "They (i.e. *bodhisatva*s), having taken many flower balls (*puṣpapuṭa*), multi-coloured, fragrant (and) beautiful, scattered them on Amita-āyu, who was the best guide of human beings and worshipped by human beings and gods. (2) ...
> They, having taken many incense balls (*gandhapuṭa*), many-coloured, fragrant (and) beautiful, scattered them ... (4) ...
> When flower balls were thrown there, they became a hundred *yojana* (-wide) parasol which, being well decorated and furnished with a beautiful handle, shone and shaded the whole body of the Buddha." (7)

(9) 一一手掌示江河沙華在衣裓([= *v.l.*] ←諸裓)上。以用供養諸佛世尊。(the *Jianbei yiqie zhide jing* 漸備一切智德經, translated by Dharmarakṣa, T. 10, no. 285, 492b13f.)

> "(A *bodhisatva* creates his bodies magically as many as atom-dusts in incalculable numbers of worlds) ... On each of the palms of the hands (of his magically-created bodies), he shows flowers (as many as) the sands of the Great River in the folds of his garments, and worships with them these *buddha*s, the Lords."

The parallel in the Sanskrit *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* reads as follows:

> *ekaikena ca pāṇinā gaṅgānadīvālikāsamān puṣpapuṭāṃs teṣāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ kṣipati.* (Daśa-bh 91.9f. = Daśa-bh[K] 192.15 = Daśa-bh[V] 61.30f.).

> "(A *bodhisatva* creates his bodies magically as many as atom-dusts in inexpressible worlds) ... By each of the hands (of his magically-created bodies), he throws flower balls as many as the sands of the Ganges river over these *buddha*s, the Lords."

(10) 其國眾生常以清旦，各以衣裓盛眾妙華，供養他方十萬億佛。即以食時還到本國，飯食經行。(the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經, the Chinese translation of the *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha*, translated by Kumārajīva in 402 C.E., T. 12, no. 366, 347a8~10)

> "Sentient beings of that world constantly, in the early morning, each having placed wonderful flowers in the folds of their garments, (go and) worship a hundred billion *buddha*s of other worlds. At mealtime, they return to their own world, eat their meals and walk about."

The parallel in the Sanskrit *Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha* reads as follows:

> *tatra ye sattvā upapannās ta ekena purobhaktena koṭiśatasahasraṃ buddhānāṃ vaṃdanty anyāṃl lokadhātūn gatvā ekaikaṃ ca tathāgataṃ koṭiśatasahasrābhiḥ puṣpavṛṣṭibhir abhyavakīrya punar api tām eva lokadhātum āgacchanti divāvihārāya* (Sukh[S.F] 86.6~10)[8]

> "Sentient beings, who are reborn there, go to other world systems at the time of a single breakfast to worship a hundred billion *buddha*s, and having scattered a hundred billion rains of flowers on each *tathāgata*, they return to the same world in order to take rest during the day."

(11) 佛之聖旨使舍利弗及衆會者<u>於衣裓上自然有天華香</u>。則取東向，散彼佛上。

   (the *Achamo pusa jing* 阿差末菩薩經, a Chinese translation of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*, translated by Dharmarakṣa [fl. 265~308], T. 13, no. 403, 586b3f.)

> "With a sublime intention, the Buddha caused <u>celestial flowers to appear spontaneously in the folds of the garments</u> of Śāriputra and the people at the assembly. (They) took them and went towards the east and scattered them on the *buddha*s there."

The parallel in the Tibetan version reads as follows:

> *de dag gi lag pa g-yas par sngon ma mthong sngon ma thos pa'i <u>me tog gi phur ma dri rab tu zhim zhing, sna tshogs pa, blta na sdug pa, kha dog dang ldan zhing, yid du 'ong ba dag byung bar gyur te</u>. de dag gis me tog gi phur ma de dag ... gtor to. me tog gi phur ma gtor ba de dag sans rgyas kyi zhing der chags te* (Braarvig 1993: vol. I, p. 18, l. 8f.)[9]

> "In their right hands, flower balls (*me tog gi phur ma*), never seen before, never heard of before, fragrant, multi-coloured, beautiful to behold, colourful and pleasing, appeared. They threw them (towards the east, where the Buddha Samantabhadra was.)[10]

The word *puṣpa-puṭa* is found only in Buddhist Sanskrit texts[11]. Max Müller translated it as "bunches of flowers"[12], while Edgerton interpreted it as "flower-sheath, calyx"[13] and Honda (1968: 271) translated it as "baskets of flowers". Toshihide Unebe published a

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[8] A Tibetan translation of this text has *me tog skun bu* (*puṣpapuṭa*) in place of *puṣpavṛṣṭi~*; Tib(D), no. 115, *mDo sde*, ja,196b7f. *de bzhin gshegs pa re re la yang me tog skon*(read skun) *bu* (= *puṣpapuṭa*) *bye ba phrag 'bum mngon par 'thor te*| *gtor nas nyin mo gnas pa'i phyir slar 'jig rten gyi khams de nyid du 'dong ngo*.

[9] The reading of another Chinese translation of the same text, translated by Zhiyan 智嚴 and Baoyun 寶雲 at the beginning of the 5th century, agrees with the Tibetan version: 得微妙華，世所希有，其華色香未曾見聞，自然滿掬。……華尋遍至… (T. 13, no. 397, 187a6~8).

[10] Cf. Braarvig 1993: vol. II, p. 66, l. 4f.

[11] Except for the above-quoted occurrences, the word *puṣpa-puṭa* occurs in the *Lalitavistara* (abbr. LV) and *Mañjusrīmūlakalpa* (abbr. Mmk): LV. 297.3f. *ke câgatā grahiya Meru karetalebhiḥ   utsṛṣṭapuṣpapuṭa saṃsthita antarīkṣe*; Mmk I 111.18f. *kārikaindīvarakusumaiś ca nānāvidhaiḥ mahāpramāṇaiḥ mahākūṭasthaiḥ puṣpapuṭaiḥ bhagavataḥ pūjāṃ kuryā*. Also, we find this word in a fragmentary manuscript of a *dhāraṇī*, named *Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratiṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparāja-dhāraṇī*, discovered in Gilgit and transliterated by Matsumura: 1983: 76. *śeṣaṃ prahastaṃ kartavyaṃ tṛśūlaṃ cakraṃ khadgaṃ vajraṃ puṣpapuṭaṃ gaṇendakakaṇḍulaṃ aṣiḥ pu ///.*

[12] Müller 1894: 47.

[13] BHSD, 349~350, s.v. *puṣpa-puṭa*.

detailed investigation of this word (2002: 69~105), in which he concluded that it means "container of flowers, flower basket" (2002: 94).

Though its etymology is not clear, the word *puṭa* seems to mean a round container, sack, bag *etc.*, and its equivalent forms in modern languages mean "any small thing (esp. powder) wrapped up in paper or leaves"; "packet of spices *etc.*"; "small packet"; "paper in which drugs or spices are wrapped"; "food given to ascetics in a leaf cup" and so on (CDIAL, 8253 *puṭa-*). I assume, therefore, that *puṣpa-puṭa* means "a flower ball", a cluster of flowers made in a round shape.[14]

(3) Pouched garments (*utsaṅga*, 衣裓) and flower balls (*puṣpa-puṭa*) in art

Young art historians, Drs. Izumi Ueeda, Tadashi Tanabe, Satomi Hiyama as well as Mr. Kenzō Kawasaki, an archaeologist, helped me to find scriptures depicting pouched garments and flower balls.
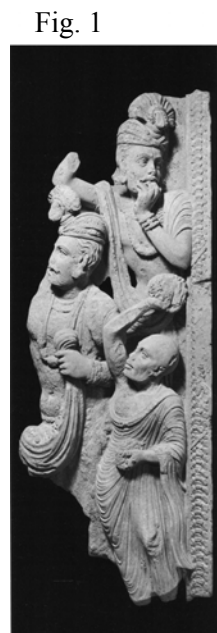
Fig. 3
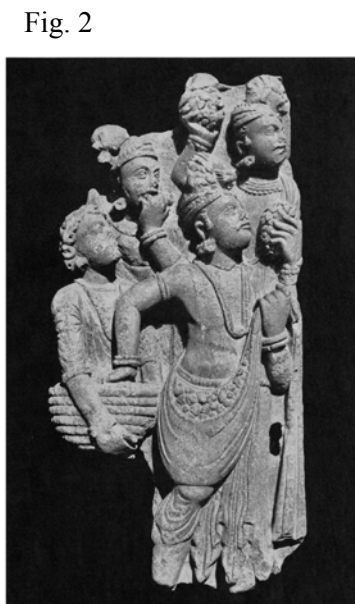
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 4

Fig. 1 A depiction of taking flower balls from a pouched garment and throwing them, Butkara, Pakistan[15]
Fig. 2 Flower balls and a pouched garment on a relief, Butkara[16]
Fig. 3 A depiction of female deities' throwing flower balls and a pouched garment in a scene showing King Udayana presents the Buddha's image to the Buddha, Sahri Bahlol, Pakistan[17]
Fig. 4 A depiction of taking flower balls from a pouched garment and throwing them, Butkara[18]

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[14] Akira Yuyama interprets *puṭa* as "packet, parcel" and translates the phrase *candana-puṭaṃ grahiyāṇa ... abhyokireyu ... bodhisattvaṃ* in the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* as "having taken a packet of sandal powder, ... would scatter ... upon the bodhisattva" (Yuyama 1972: 33). I assume that the above-quoted expression *bahugandhapuṭān* in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* means "many incense balls". In the *Mahāvyutpatti*, *puṣpa-puṭa* is rendered into Tibetan as "*me tog gi phur ma*"(Mvy 6112), which means "a bag of flowers", i.e. "flower ball".
[15] Hallade 1968: pl. XII.
[16] Faccenna 1962: vol. II-2, pl. LXXXIV.
[17] Tokyo National Museum 2002: 50, fig. 28.
[18] Faccenna 1962: vol. II-2, pl. LV.

Fig. 5   A depiction of female deities' taking flower balls from pouched garments and throwing them in a scene showing the Buddha's preaching to the gods in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, from Sikri, Pakistan[19]

Thanks to these scriptures, we now know the forms of *utsaṅga = yige* 衣裓, meaning "pouched garments", and *puṣpa-puṭa*, meaning "flower ball". Now we can understand better what the passages in the above-quoted texts describe and we are able to imagine the scenes vividly. For example:

(1)　諸梵天王 … 各以衣裓盛諸天華 … 即以天華而散佛上。其所散華如須彌山。
　　　("Each, having filled the folds of their garments with celestial flowers, ... Brahmā kings ... scattered celestial flowers over the Buddha. The scattered flowers were as large as Mount Sumeru.")

And its Sanskrit parallel:

KN.165.3~12. *Mahābrahmāṇas ... divyāṃś ca Sumerumātrān puṣpapuṭān gṛhītvā ... taiś ca Sumerumātraiḥ puṣpapuṭais taṃ bhagavantam abhyavakiranti smâbhiprakiranti sma* ("The Great Brahmā, having taken celestial flower balls as large as Mount Sumeru, ... They scattered and strewed the celestial flower balls as large as Mount Sumeru on the Lord.")

As I wrote above, the word *puṣpa-puṭa* does not occur in the Pali literature and is found only in Buddhist Sanskrit texts. The scenes of filling the folds of their garments with celestial flowers and scattering them over the *buddha*s or *bodhisatva*s, described in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts, might have been inspired by scriptures in Gandhāra of similar scenes, and maybe not the other way round.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations of the Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, referred to in this article, are as follows:

Bj = Ms. formerly kept in the Library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities, Beijing (written in 1082 C.E.); C5 = Mss. kept in the Cambridge University Library, Add. No. 1683, No. 1684, No. 2197; D3 = Gilgit Mss. kept in the National Archives of India (New Delhi), the British Museum (London), and in the possession of Mr. M. A. Shah (Lahore); K = Ms. kept in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo (brought from Tibet by Rev. E. Kawaguchi) (written in 1069/70 C.E.); L1 = Ms. kept in the Potala Palace, Lhasa; L2, L3 = Mss. now kept in the Norbulingka, Lhasa, written in 1065 C.E. and 1067 C.E., respectively; N3 = Ms. kept in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, No. 5–144.; O = the so-called Kashgar manuscript, actually discovered in Khādaliq but purchased in Kashgar

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[19] NHK 1994: 190, fig. 137.

Ap = *The Apadāna of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, 2 vols., ed. Mary E. Lilley, London 1925, 1927: PTS; reprint Oxford 2000: The Pali Text Society.

ARIRIAB = *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*

BHSD = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953: Yale University Press; repr. Delhi, ²1970: Motilal Banarsidass.

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CPD = *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen *et al.*, Copenhagen, Bristol, 1924~2011.

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Daśa-bh(K) = *Daśabhūmīśvaro nāma Mahāyānasūtra*, revised and edited by Ryūkō Kondō, Kyoto 1983: Rinsen Book Co. (Rinsen Buddhist Text Series II).

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EWAia = Manfred Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, 3 vols., Heidelberg 1986~1999: Carl Winter.

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Mvy ＝ *Hon'yaku Myōgi Daishū* 飜譯名義大集 (*Mahāvyutpatti*), ed. Ryōzaburō Sakaki 榊亮三郎, 2 vols., Kyoto 1926; repr.: Tokyo 1962: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団.

NHK 日本放送出版協会

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SBV ＝ *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, ed. Raniero Gnoli, 2 parts, Roma 1978: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Serie Orientale Roma 49/1-2).

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T ＝ *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, ed. Junjirō Takakusu 高楠順次郎, Kaikyoku Watanabe 渡邊海旭 *et al*., 100 vols., Tokyo 1924~1934: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai.

Tib(D) ＝ Derge (sDe dge) Canon; facsimile reproductions:

(1) *Bstan 'gyur sde dge'i par ma: Commentaries on the Buddha's Word by Indian Masters* (CD-Rom), New York: The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC).

(2) *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*: Taipei Edition, ed. A. W. Barber, Taipei 1991: SMC Publishing.

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1987　"Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lotus Sutra", in: *lndogaku Bukkyōgaku Ronshū: Takasaki Jikidō Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Ronshū*: インド学仏教学論集：高崎直道博士還暦記念論集 [Collected Papers on Indian and Buddhist. Studies: A Volume Dedicated to Dr. Jikidō Takasaki on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, Tokyo: Tokyo: Shunjūsha, pp. 119(720)~127(712).

A Panel depicting a King of Kushan

Isao KURITA

This huge panel, which is most probably of the statue of a king of Kushan, was brought to Japan a long time ago, but permission to publish it from the owner was not granted until now.

Belonging to one of the well-executed images of a Kushan king of the Kapisa school, this statue has all the characteristics of Kushan sculpture. The king is standing flanked by retainers, all clad in heavy Kushan coats and grooved trousers, whose ends are tied up as all other Kushan soldiers' trousers are.

The king's head is embellished with a diadem, which has almost been completely dug out. Long bands of hair hang down on both shoulders. He is wearing a necklace, which looks metallic, probably gold. On both shoulders, he has also round emblems though their designs are not clear (fig. 2). His left hand is on the hilt of a sword. The main figure on the hilt is a head of a *garūḍa* with its neck missing (fig. 3). We see one more sword, probably a dagger. Next to it, something is hanging, though we cannot identify what it is (fig. 4). At the level of the king's ankles, we find birds probably eagles (fig. 5).

One more important thing is that on his shoulders, the source of fire can be seen. Though the flames are broken off, their source remains clear (fig. 6) and hence, they seem to be emanating from his shoulders.

The expression on the bearded face of the king is very hard and fierce, resembling that on the Kushan kings' coins. The physiognomy is neither Hellenistic nor Gandharan at all, but Kapisian.

The person on the king's right is holding a bowl (fig. 7), perhaps containing something like food. This food is not for the king but probably offerings to the Buddha and hence, it seems that the king is visiting the Buddha with offerings.

The panel is broken between the king and the person on his right. Two heads of retainers are missing. The neck of the king is fortunately not broken. His nose has been restored but it might have been carried out in ancient times.

There is no inscription except for two letters in Kharoṣṭhī on either corner at the bottom, which were meant only for positioning the panel.

We cannot identify the king, but probably it is of a later Kushan king.

『カルマ・ヴィバンガ』サンスクリット写本：
「スコイエン・コレクション」断片

工藤 順之

0．はじめに

　『カルマ・ヴィバンガ』(*Karmavibhaṅga*, abbrev. KV) のサンスクリット・テキストには、ネパールで発見された二つの写本（A、B）に見られる系統とB写本に附随するC写本が示す系統と二つの伝承が存在する[1]（同じくネパールで新たに見出されたE写本はB写本からの直接の写し、あるいは極めて近い写しであり、系統的に異なるものではない）。これら二つの写本の最も大きな相違は、業報を説明する引用文献の有無である。前者の系統には他文献からの引用があり、後者にはない。また業報の説かれる順序も異なる。

　これまでこのテキストについて論じてきたいくつかの先行研究の成果とともに[2]、これらの写本を分類すればおよそ次のようになる。KV を含む所謂「鸚鵡経類」は二類に分けられるが、そのうち第一類は説かれる業報の数が１４項目で、「中阿含経」の異訳３種を含む漢訳４本 (Ch-1~4) とパーリ・テキスト (*Majjhima-Nikāya* No. 135)、そして数葉の中央アジア出土『シュカ・スートラ』 (*Śukasūtra*) 断簡からなる。他方、第二類は、第一類から発展し、説かれる業報の数が飛躍的に増加したテキストで、サンスクリット写本の KV （A～Dの写本）や漢訳２本 (Ch-5, Ch-6)、３種のチベット訳 (Tib-1~3) からなる。この第二類では更に、後半の大部分の節が付け加えられた後で業報を例証する、他文献からの引用が挿入される。引用を含むテキストが {A・B写本, Tib-1} である。引用を含まないC写本、漢訳２本、チベット訳２本 (Tib-2, Tib-3) は、内容の構成上 {C写本, Ch-6, Tib-3} と {Ch-5, Tib-2} とに分けることが出来る。

　さて、サンスクリット写本で言えば、A・B（・E）写本は業報の例証として他文献からの引用を含む、最も拡大されたテキストの写本で、その内容から推測すると、正量部のテキストと類推されている他の文献との親縁性からみて正量部系のテキストと見なしうるものである[3]。他方、C写本は引用を含まない段階のテキストを

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[1]　KV のテキスト伝承については既に工藤 2005 で論じた。A, B写本については Kudo 2004 参照。また、C写本は最初 Fukita 1990 において対応する漢訳 (= 『分別善悪報應經』(T 81, vol. 1, 895b26–901b19) [= Lévi: Cht; Kudo: Ch-6]) と「ロンドン写本カンギュル」所収のチベットテキスト (no. 287) と対照させたテキストが出版され、Kudo 2004: 217–224 には若干の読替を加えてサンスクリットテキスト同士を対照させた。D写本はA写本に付随するテキストで、Kudo 2004: 225–227 に転写テキストを挙げた。更に、その後発見されたE写本は Kudo 2006b, 2007 にテキストを公開した。そこで論じたように、この写本はB写本の写しであることが判っている (Kudo 2006b: 44–48)。

[2]　例えば、並川 1984, 1985, Fukita 1990, 岡野 2002。

[3]　正量部所属の可能性については、先に挙げた並川 1984, 1985 に論じられる。そこでは引用文献が

伝える。両系統が異なるのは引用の有無・節の順序だけではなく、列挙される功徳の内容も相違し、特にC写本第7節に残る「避難所の施与」で説かれる天界等に関わる記述はこの系統が持つ伝承がＡＢ写本系とは決定的に異なっていたことを示していて[4]、そのC写本にのみ残る記述は有部系資料に見られる思想との関係が指摘されている[5]。伝承が部派によって異なっていたとの前提に立てば、明らかにC写本は有部系伝承として、独自にテキストを形成していたことになる。

これらのサンスクリット写本は全てネパールで発見されたものである。我々が二つの異なる伝承の存在を断定することに関して、ネパール写本という大きな資料群以外にも同様の事例が見出せるならば、つまり少なくともAB写本とは異なるC写本の形式・内容と類似した別の写本が見出せるならば、テキスト形成史の或る一点だけでなく、地域的な広がりの中で、あるいはテキストの伝播という観点からそれらの結びつきを考察することができるのではないかと期待できよう。（伝承の異なるＢとＣの写本が同じバンドルで保持されていたという謎は残ったままである。）

幸いなことに、数も少なく破損した断片ではあるが、「スコイエン・コレクション」(Schøyen Collection = SC) として収集されていた写本群の中に KV の写本の一部と思われる断簡が発見された。その内容は、断片的ではあるのだが、ネパール写本から得られた KV のテキストと類似した構成を有していて、テキストとして復元出来る箇所の節もその主題は共通している。しかし、これらの断片から得られるテキストは写本Cと同様に一切の引用を有さない。また節の順序も他のいかなるテキストとも異なる。つまり、KV のテキスト形成史に密接に関係すると思われる断片が、ネパール以外の地、即ち北西インドに存在していたことが確実である。以下、それについて検討しよう[6]。

1.「スコイエン・コレクション」の写本断簡

「スコイエン・コレクション」とは今では言うまでもなく、ノルウェーの実業家マーティン・スコイエン氏が収集した文字資料の全体を意味するが、特にここでは仏教資料に限定してそう呼ぶことにする。多くのものがバーミヤーン渓谷東部ザルガラーン地区にある石窟寺院跡から出土したものと推定されている。小さな破片を含めると一万点以上になるその膨大な写本断簡のうち、KV に関係するものは同定されているだけで僅か7点に過ぎない。そしてそれらも完全な一枚として残っているのではなく、ほんの極く一部だけが残る断片である。文字部分の摩滅もあって、

現存するいかなるテキストに対応するのかという観点から、対応する文献の有無によって消去法的に正量部所属の可能性が指摘された。岡野 2002: 225–229 では十不善業道の結果として「胡麻・砂糖黍・乳製品の消失」があるという記述が、この『カルマ・ヴィバンガ』と正量部文献（『マハー・サンヴァルタニー・カター』）のみに残ることを指摘し、『カルマ・ヴィバンガ』=正量部所属を「有力な仮説」であるとする。

[4] C写本が有部系である可能性を論じたのが、Fukita 1990 である。そこでは、「避難所の布施」を説く節 (MS[C] §*7) にある三界諸天を列挙する部分に、色界に十七天を挙げる箇所に着目し、『大毘婆沙論』の記述を基にこの数を挙げるのがカシュミール有部ではなく、ガンダーラ有部であることを指摘する (Fukita 1990: 9–11 and fn. 54-59)。

[5] 写本Cが他の2写本とは異なっている点について、その内容が「ロンドン写本カンギュル」ときわめてよく一致することが指摘されている (Fukita 1990: 11–13)。この写本カンギュルは KV のチベット伝承で言えば第3の系統を伝えるものであり (Simon 1970)、更にこのカンギュルは戒律部所収文献の配列から根本説一切有部の伝承に近いことも指摘されている (Eimer 1987参照)。簡単には工藤 2005: 107, fn. 27 参照のこと。

[6] 一部は工藤 2005 にて報告した。また、2005年の International Association of Buddhist Studies の第14回大会（ロンドン）にて口頭発表した。

文字の痕跡のみが辿れるだけの部分もあり、テキストを完全には復元出来ない。しかし、それらを組み合わせることが可能で、二枚のフォリオから分かれたものであることが分かった。

　現在までに判明している KV （或いは KV に密接な関係を持つテキスト）の断片は以下の通りである[7]。

　　　SC 2382/49a, 252, 255, 258a, uf1/1b, uf19/1b, 176.

これらの七断片は全てゲッティンゲンのクラウス・ヴィレー博士 (Klaus Wille) によって予備的にテキストのローマ字転写がなされ、そのうち六つの断片に関しては博士によって KV と関係するものと同定されたものである。残る一つの断片(176)は筆者が上記の断片と組み合わせることができることを確認した。

　七つの断片は全て樺皮(birch-bark)を素材とし、片面のみが残る。おそらくは素材の性質故、即ちもう片面が剥離したものと思われる（残っている側が表か裏かはわからない）。文字は6世紀以降の "Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I" に分類される。

　内容的には冒頭の因縁譚の一部と仏塔への施与によってもたらされる功徳を扱う節が残されており、4節にまたがっている。そのうち3節は施与するものが特定できる。そして一つのものの施与によってもたらされる功徳は十ずつ列挙されている。ところが、 KV に見られるような教説を例証する為の他文献からの引用は一切存在せず、一つの施与の功徳を説いた後すぐに次の節が始まる。このような例証を伴わないサンスクリット・テキストはC写本と同じである。

2.1 転写テキスト

2.1.1. SC2382/49a.

　SC2382/49a は KV 冒頭の因縁譚に対応するテキストを残している。A写本とB写本とでは読みに違いがあって、SC断片はA写本にのみ見られる読みに対応している。対応する箇所を下線で示す。

SC 2382/49a:

a: /// + + + [su]vicitrakle[ś]. .. .. .[r]. .. [tt]. [s]u .. + + + ///

b: /// v. [t]ā śubhasya māṇavasya taudeyaputra[s]ya karma s[v]. ///

c: /// + + + + + ṃ + .. + + + ... [s].. .. + + ///

Text:

(a)(vicitrakarma)　　suvicitrakle[ś](ā)　　(vicit)[r](aci)[t](rā)　　[s]u(vicitradeśanā　|　yathoktaṃ Bhaga)(b)[v](a)[t]ā śubhasya māṇavasya taudeyaputra[s]ya karma[sv](akān ahaṃ māṇava satvān vadāmi |)

　　Lévi 1932: 29.31–30.3; A7v.4–8r.1; B5r.1–2 [= Kudo 2004: 26–27]; E3v.1–3 [= Kudo 2006: 56]

　　A7v.4–8r.2: "tena hi māṇava śṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca maṇasikuru bhāṣiṣye | vicitrakarmā suvicitrakleśā vicitracitrā śuvicitradesaṇā |"

yathoktaṃ Bhagavatā Śukasya māṇavasya Taudeyaputrasyāsvalāpanasya māṇavasya |
"karmasvakān ahaṃ māṇava satvān vadāmi <|> karmadāyādān karmayonīn karma-
pratiśaraṇān karma māṇava satvān vibhajati | yad idaṃ hīnotkṛst(a)[madh]yamatāyāṃ ||"

B5r.1–3: tatra Bhagavāṃ Śukaṃ māṇavakaṃ Taudeyaputram idam avocat |
"karmavibhaṅgan te mānavaka dharmaparyāyaṃ deśayiṣyāmi | tat śṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu
ca + + + + + + + + "
"eva[ṃ] Bhagavann" iti Śuko māna<va>ko <Tau>deyaputro Bhagavataḥ pratyaśauṣīt* ||
Bhagavān idam avocat* ||
"karmasvakān ahaṃ māṇava satvān vadāmi || karmadāyādā(n) karmayon(īn) karmma-
(pratiśaraṇān karma mā)ṇava satvān vibhajati || yad idaṃ hīnotkṛṣṭamadhyamatāyāṃ ||"

Cf. E3v.1–3: tatra Bhagavāṃ Śukaṃ māṇavaṃ Taudeyaputram idam avocat* |
"karmavibhaṅgan te māṇava dharmaparyāyaṃ deśayiṣyāmi | tac chṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu
ca manasi<kuru> bhāṣiṣye 'haṃ te |"
"evaṃ Bhagavann" iti Śuko māṇavas Taudeyaputro Bhagavataḥ pratyaśauṣīt* |
Bhagavān idam avocat* ||
"karmasvakān ahaṃ māṇava satvān vadāmi || karmadāyādā(n) karmayon(īn) karmaprati-
śaraṇā(n) karma māṇava satvān vibhajati <|> yad idaṃ hīnotkṛṣṭamadhyamatāyāṃ (|)"

「鸚鵡経類」に属する他のテキストにおける該当箇所は以下の通りである。

Pāli Cūḷakammavibhaṅgasutta [203.4–6][8]:
kammasakkā māṇava, sattā kammadāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammapaṭisaraṇā.
kammaṃ satte vibhajati yadidaṃ hīnappaṇītatāyāti;

Ch-2 [704c25–27]:
世尊答日。「彼衆生者因自行業。因業得報。緣業依業業處。衆生隨其高下處妙
不妙。」;

Ch-3 [889b21–22]:
「此摩牢。衆生因緣故。因行故緣行故作行故。隨衆生所作行。令彼彼有好惡高
下。」;

Ch-4 [588c29-589a1]:
佛言。「淨意。汝今當知。世間衆生。所作因行。有差別故。其所得果而各有
異。」;

Ch-5 [891a25–26]:
佛告首迦。「一切衆生。繫屬於業。依止於業。隨自業轉。以是因緣。有上中下
差別不同。」;

Ch-6 [896b23–27]:
佛告輪迦長者子言。「善哉善哉。汝應諦聽善思念之。今爲汝説。一切有情作業
修因善惡不等。所獲報應貴賎上下。種族高低差別亦殊。」;

Tib-3. (London no. 202. 304a5–7)[9]
bram ze'i khye'u de'i phyir legs par rab tu nyon la (304a6) yid la zung shig dang bshad
do | bram ze'i khye'u sems can rnams ni las bdag gir 'gyur ba las kyi bgo skal la sbyod
pa | las kyi skye gnas can las la ston pa ste | bram (304a7) ze'i khye'u sems can rnams ni
las kyis 'di lta ste | dman pa dang | mchog dang 'brid dang | mchog dang mthon po dang
| dma' ba dang | ngan pa dang | bzang po rnamsu rnam par phye'o ||

[8.]   また AN V. pp. 288, 291 にも同様のことが記されている(cf. AN III. pp. 72–75, 186; V. p. 88)。
[9.]   チベット訳の中で因縁譚を含むのは Tib-3 だけである。ここではそのうちのロンドン写本カン
ギュルを引く。

SC2382/49a は KV 冒頭の因縁譚に対応するテキストを残している。A写本とB写本とでは読みに違いがあって、SC 断片はA写本にのみ見られる読みに対応しているが、A/B写本の違いは次のようにして説明できる。

シュカは世尊の教え通りに自分の家の白狗から財宝の在処を知ることが出来、そのことで白狗が嘗ての父であることを知って世尊に帰依することになる。そこでシュカは世尊に業によって人々に様々な違いが生じていることを問う。世尊は彼の問い答えるが、そこからが二つの写本で異なる。

A写本では次のようになる：

「では梵志よ、よく聞き、よく覚えておくがよい。話してあげよう。

つまり、様々な業があり、よき種々の煩悩があり、種々の citra があり、よき種々の教えがある」

このように世尊によってアシュヴァラーヤナ姓の梵志、シュカ・タウデーヤプトラは言われた。

（世尊は語った）「梵志よ、私は人々を業の所有者と呼ぶ。彼らは業の相続者、業を胎とし、業を所依とするものである。梵志よ、業は人々を区分する、即ち劣・優・中間にである」

他方、B写本の読みでは次のようになる：

そこで世尊はシュカ・タウデーヤプトラにこのように言った：

「業の分別という経説を、汝梵志よ、説いてあげよう。よく聞き、よく（覚えておくがよい。話してあげよう）」

「わかりました」とシュカ・タウデーヤプトラは世尊の言葉に耳を傾けた。

世尊はこのように語った「梵志よ、私は人々を業の所有者と呼ぶ。彼らは業の相続者、業を胎とし、業を所依とするものである。梵志よ、業は人々を区分する、即ち劣・優・中間にである」

共通する部分を下線で示した (SC 断片との対応は二重下線)。世尊の最初の言葉が大きく異なっているが、B写本にある「業の分別云々」という文は、ウッデーシャが終わった後のまとめの句として「以上が業の分別という経説のウッデーシャである」(Lévi 1932: 32.3; B6v.4 = Kudo 2004: 35) とあることに連動していて、この写本のテキストとしては一貫性を維持している。他方、A写本はウッデーシャ末のまとめの文は「これが業の分別のウッデーシャである」(A10v.3 = Kudo 2004: 34)とあって、dharmaparyāya とは述べていない。そうした違いが最初の文に現れているのである。もう一つの違いである世尊の最初の言葉を受けたシュカの答に相当する部分では、A写本ではおそらくはバラモンの家系を付加して述べたものと思われ、このようなシュカの属性ともいえる内容は他のヴァージョンには見出せない。SC 断片でもこの部分はない。したがって、偶々A写本のテキストに混入したか、或いはB写本とは異なるそうした伝承があったかであろう。

この部分にはテキストの発展の中で生じた違いが残っているといえるのだが、何に基づく違いであるのか（例えば部派的な伝承の違いを受けているのかどうか）は分からない。ただ、SC断片は一部分とは言えA写本と同じ読みを残しており、こちらの方がB写本の読みより古いものであることは確かである。但し、それはA写本全体がB写本より古いということを証明するものではない。

もう一点、興味深いことがある。それは主人公の名前が SC 断片には Śubha と残っていることである。これまで見つかっているサンスクリット写本では名前は全てが Śuka となっているのに対して、パーリ語では「スバ」(subha)とあり、この違い

はおそらく śuka/suka > sua > suva (オウム) > suba > subha (浄い) のような音韻変化を
経て定着したものであったと想定されてきた。つまり類似テキスト全体を総称す
る「鸚鵡経類」の由来となった主人公の名前は「シュカ（鸚鵡 Śuka)」であること
を前提としてきたわけである。しかし、サンスクリット語で Śubha とある写本が出
てきた以上、主人公の名前に異なった伝承があったことを想定しないといけなくな
る。これについては別の機会に論じたい。

2.1.2. SC 2382/176, 252, 255, 258a, uf19/1b.

さて、残りの六断片であるが、その内の五断片は一枚のフォリオを構成すること
が分かった。SC 2382/uf1/1b だけはどの部分に接合すべきか不明である。僅かに残
る単語から同じフォリオに属する可能性が高いが、確定的なことは言えない。後で
示すように、接合が可能となったため六行写本であることが判るので、それぞれの
断片の残るテキストが何行目であるのかが確定する。

SC 2382/176: A
4   ///.. ◯ t. kāy. .. + + + + + ///
5   ///ya .i ime daśa dharmā upa .. + + ///
6   /// + śyati kā .ā d daurgandhyaṃ navāy. .. .. ///

SC 2382/252: A
1   /// hābho{•}go bhavati svarge upapadyate k. ip[r]. ///
2   /// lgusvaro bhavati raṃjanīyasvaro bhavati praṃ ///
3   /// .. .[i]◯rvāyati ime daśa dharmā u .. ///
4   /// + + (◯) .. + + daurgandhyaṃ navāy. ///

SC 2382/255: A
3   /// pac[i]t[ā bhav]at[i] ghaṇṭapradā .. +
      + + + +
4   /// .. ti kāyāt sogandhyaṃ vāyati digvidikṣu .. .. guṇa[gan]dh. + + + + + + + + + + + + ..
      m. v. dhān. .. .. [t]. ..
5   /// .. .. .i .. .. + + + || tatra katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhavaṃti puṣpapradānena puṣpab-
      hūto bhavati lokasya di
6   /// + + + + + .. ndhyaṃ vāyati digvidikṣūdāro guṇagandho vāya punaḥ punar i[ti]
      dhar[m]aiḥ s. .ā .. ma .. dhānaṃ bha

SC 2382/258a: A
1   /// + + + + + ṣu kuleṣūpapadyate ma .. + ///
2   /// .. ghaṇṭapradānena ratnasvaro bhavati .. .. + + ///
3   /// + .. vati svarge upapadyate kṣipraṃ ca parini ◯ ///
4   /// + + ..ṃ .. [jā?] .. .. .. + + + + ..ṃ p[ra]tilabha{•} ///

SC 2382/uf19/1b: A
2   /// .. .. n. gandhapradānena ///
3   /// .. .i kāyāt* saug. + ///

５つの断片同士は単純に右と左、或いは上と下というように接合しているのでは
ないので、以下ではそれらの位置関係を明らかにしておこう。(以下、"SC 2382/"は
省略する。)
先ず、258a と 252 が左–右として接合する：
258aA1最後の欠損文字の一部が 252A1 最初の文字と結合し、hā (mahābhogo) を構成す
る；258aA3 最後には n- が見え、その文字の上端が切れているが、252A3 始めには母音

記号 -i が見え、両断片はここで上下に結合し ni となる (parinirvāyati)；両断片とも 3〜4 行目に綴じ穴があるが、それを囲む二重丸の円周が奇麗に繋がる。

更に S176 が 258a + 252 の下に結合する：

252A4 にある綴じ穴の直ぐ後に母音記号 -e が残っているが、176A4 の綴じ穴の直ぐ後にある基字 t- と一文字を構成する(pratilabhate)；それぞれ同じ行で 4 文字目に 252 では [d]au とあるが、176 には基字 d の左下部分があり、文字が完全に復元できる；176A4 始まり部分に綴じ穴とそれを取り囲む二重丸があるが、258a + 252 の丁度真下に結合することで二重丸の円周全体が形となる。

255 と uf19/1b が接合する：

255 左端の下 2 行分 (255A5-6) は丁度入り組んだ湾のように内側に欠けているが、その切れ込み部分に uf19/1b が填め込まれる。255A4 の 7 文字目に ndh[y]aṃ とあるが、結合文字の下に延びている -y- の一部が uf19/1b.A4 に残る；uf19/1b.A5 の 4〜5 文字目に g[a]ndh[a] とあるが、その上部線が 255A5 の 4〜5 文字目にある；uf19/1b.A5 末に僅かなインクの痕跡が残るが、これは 255A5 にあるダブル・ダンダの左側縦線の一部で、両断片の切れ目は完全に一致する；uf19/1b.A6 最後に g- とあり、その右側の縦線部分が欠損しているが、それが 255A6 最初の欠損文字と結合して ga という文字全体となる。

255+ uf19/1b が 258a + 252 + 176 の右に接合する：

252A3 最後に [p] があるが、これは 255A3 冒頭の [p] の一部であり [pa] を構成する；252A4 最後には基字 [y]- の左側部分だけが残るが、255A4 冒頭の部分欠損文字と合わせて [ya] の形全体となる；上記のそれぞれ 2 行分は 252 右と 255 左の切れ目が完全に一致する；uf19/1b は位置的に 176 と連続するのだが、176A6 最後に見られる文字 [y] の右半分から後の部分が一皮分剥離しており、丁度その剥離した部分が uf 19/1b.A6 になる（ここに見られる文字の痕跡は -ā の形であろう。したがって、176 と uf19/1b を接合すると yā が回収できる）。
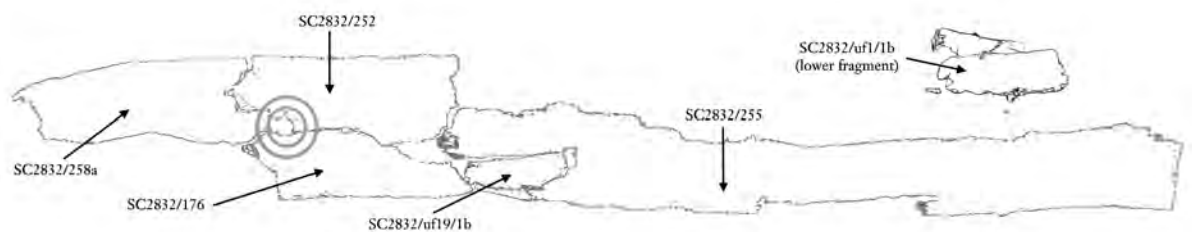
以上のような接合関係をそれぞれの断片の行と対応させて、このフォリオを再構成すると次のようになる。

1　258aA1 + 252A1
2　258aA2 + 252A2
3　258aA3 + 252A3 + 255A3
4　258aA4 + 176A4 + 252A4 + 255A4 + uf19/1b.A4
5　176A5 + 255A5 + uf19/1b.A5
6　176A6 + uf19/1b.A6 + 255A6

このようにして片面 6 行の一枚分のフォリオが約 3 分の 2 の大きさで回収できたが、左端に欠損があるかどうかは何とも言えない。フォリオの右端は 255A4–6 によって欠損なしに残っていることが明らかである。ところが残念なことに、フォリ

オの４行目から５行目、或いは５行目から６行目へと行変わりする部分でそれぞれ次の行の左端冒頭部分が欠けている為に、全体として一行の文字数をカウント出来ない（１から３行目は右端が欠損している為に２～４行目の左端部分が残っていても一行として確認出来ない）。ただ、綴じ穴までの文字数から考えると（綴じ穴前が18文字前後と考える）、左端には２～３文字程度ではないかと推定できる。したがって、以下の復元テキストでは行始めにその程度の欠損があるものとして復元しておく。（一行はおおよそ70文字前後となり、綴じ穴後が45~49文字前後となる）。

　　上下左右に断片が接合するが、それぞれの断片の行と対応させて、このフォリオを再構成すると次のようになる。

1　(258aA1)ṣu kuleṣūpapadyate ma(252A1)hābho{•}go bhavati svarge upapadyate k. ipr. ＋＋
　　＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋

2　(258aA2) ＋＋ .i ghaṇṭapradānena <|> ratnasvaro bhavati ＋ (252A2)lgusvaro bhavati raṃjanīyasvaro bhavati u ＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋
＋

3　(258aA3) (bhogo bha)vati svarge upapadyate kṣipraṃ ca parin(252A3)i○rvāyati ime daśa dharmā u(255A3)pacitā bhava(n)ti ghaṇṭapradā ＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋
＋＋＋＋

4　(258aA4) ＋＋＋＋ ..ṃ .. [jā?] .. .. .. ＋＋＋＋ ..ṃ p[ra]tilabha{•}○(176A4)te kāyā(d) (252A4) daurgandhyaṃ na vāy(a)(255A4)ti kāyāt s(au)gandhyaṃ vāyati digvidikṣ(ūdāro) guṇagandh. ＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋ .. m. v. dhān. bh. v. t. m.

5　＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋ (176A5)yati <|> ime daśa dharmā upac. .. (255Ay5; <u>uf19/1b.A5</u>).. v(a)nti <u>gandhapradānena</u> || tatra katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhavaṃti puṣpapradānena <|> puṣpabhūto bhavati lokasya di

6　＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋ (176A6)śyati kāyād daurgandhyaṃ na vāy(a)(255A6; <u>uf19/1b.A6</u>)(t)i kāyāt* <u>sauga</u>ndhyaṃ vāyati digvidikṣūdāro guṇagandho vāya punaḥ punar iti dharmaiḥ s. .ā .. ma[va?]dhānaṃ bha

上記の結合テキストを更に分節し、復元したものを以下に掲げる。

Text:[10]

SC　§　*1. (1)ṣu kuleṣūpapadyate mahābhogo bhavati svarge upapadyate k(ṣ)ipr(aṃ ca parinirvāyati |
　　ime daśa dharmā upacitā bhavanti X-pradānena ||

SC § *2. katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhava)(2)(nt)i ghaṇṭapradānena <|>
　　ratnasvaro bhavati (va)lgusvaro bhavati raṃjanīyasvaro bhavati u ＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋
　　＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋＋ (mahā)(3)(bhogo bha)vati svarge upapadyate kṣipraṃ
　　ca parinirvāyati|
　　ime daśa dharmā upacitā bhava(n)ti ghaṇṭapradā(nena ||

　　KV § 65 ghaṇṭā (Lévi 1932: 87.10–88.3; A53r.2–4; B31r.2–3 [= Kudo 2004: 184–185]).
　　<u>katame daśa guṇā</u>[11] <u>ghaṇṭapradāna</u>sya[12] | ucyate |

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abhirūpo bhavati | su<u>sv</u>aro bhavati | manojñabhāṣī bhavati | kalaviṅkarutabhāṣī bhavati[13] | ādeyavākyo bhavati | nityaṃ saṃpraharyajāto bhavati[14] | punaḥ punar ānanda(ṃ) śabdaṃ[15] śṛnoti | <u>sv</u>argeṣūpapadyati[16] | mahābhogaś ca bha<u>vati</u> | <u>kṣiprañ ca parinirvāti</u> |

<u>ime daśa</u> guṇā <u>ghaṇṭapradā</u>nasya[17] ||

引用 a) Viśākhā からの世尊への問い (Lévi 87.15–88.2; A53r.–v.1; B31r.3–4).

SC § *3. tatra katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhavanti gandhapradānena |)

+ + (4) + + + + ..ṃ .. [jā?] .. .. .. + + + + ..ṃ p[ra]tilabhate kāyā(d) daurgandhyaṃ na vāy(a)ti kāyāt s(au)gandhyaṃ vāyati digvidikṣ(ūdāro) guṇagandh. + + + + + + + + + + + + .. m(ahā)dhān(aṃ) bh(a)v(a)t(i) m(a)(5)(hābhogo bhavati svarge upapadyate kṣipraṃ ca parinirvā)yati <|>

ime daśa dharmā upac(itā bha)v(a)nti gandhapradānena ||

KV § 76 gandha (Lévi 1932: 103.1–13; A59v.1–3; B35r.1–2 [= Kudo 2004: 208–211]).

<u>katame daśa</u> guṇā <u>gandhapradā</u>nasya | ucyate |

gandhabhūto bhavati lokasya | ghrāṇendriyaṃ viśudhyati | kāye <u>daurgandhyam</u> apaiti | <u>sau</u>gandhyaṃ prādurbhavati | <u>daśa diśaḥ śīlagandhaḥ</u> pravāti | abhigamanīyaś ca bhavati | lābhī ca bhavati iṣṭānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ | <u>mahā</u>bhogaś ca bhavati | svargeṣūpapadyati[18] | kṣiprañ ca pariṇirvāti |

<u>ime daśa</u> guṇā <u>gandhapradā</u>nasya ||

引用 a) Cakravartisūtra 一節 (Lévi 1932: 103.6–12; A59v.3–60r.1; B35r.2–4).

SC § *4. tatra katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhavaṃti puṣpapradānena <|>

puṣpabhūto bhavati lokasya di (6) + śyati kāyād daurgandhyaṃ na vāy(at)i kāyāt* saugandhyaṃ vāyati digvidikṣūdāro guṇagandho vāya(ti) punaḥ punar iti dharmaiḥ s. .ā .. ma[va?]dhānaṃ bha(vati)

KV § 74 puṣpa (Lévi 1932: 100.11–101.7; A58r.4–v.1; B34r.3–4 [= Kudo 2004: 204–205]).

<u>katame daśa</u> guṇā mukta<u>puṣpapradā</u>nasya | ucyate |

<u>puṣpabhūto bhavati lokasya</u> | ghrāṇendriyaṃ viśudhyati | kāye <u>daurgandhyaṃ</u> samapaiti[19] | <u>sau</u>gandhyaṃ prādurbhavati | <u>daśa diśaḥ śīlagandhaḥ</u> kṣāntiṅ gacchati | abhigamanīyaś ca bhavati | lābhī ca bhavati iṣṭānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ | <u>mahā</u>bhogaś ca bhavati | svargeṣūpapadyati[20] | kṣiprañ ca pariṇirvāti |

ime daśa guṇā muktapuṣpapradānasya ||

引用 a) Karṇesumana のアヴァダーナ (Lévi 101.3–6; A58v.1–2; B34r.5–6).

2.1.3. SC 2382/uf1/1b.

SC 2382/uf1/1b-Aa:

a /// takāya susvaro bhavati ///

b: /// + .[i/e?] + ...[i?] .. .[ā] .. [ṃ?] ///

　この断片の一行目には "susvaro bhavati" という文章が残る。susvara という語は音に関係するから、これはおそらく KV §65「鐘の施与」(ghaṇṭapradāna)によってもた

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13. B にはこの句なし。
14. B にはこの句なし。
15. A には *śabdaṃ* なし.
16. B: *°papadyate*.
17. B にはこの終わりの句なし。
18. B: *svarge copapadyate*.
19. A: "*samapaiti*: disappears"; B: "*jahāti* (3rd, sg. form of *hā*, cl. 3): removes."
20. B: *svarge copapadyate*.

らされる果報の一つであると思われる[21]。そうすこのフォリオの二行目（即ち、252A2)の右側の何処かに置かれるはずである。また uf1/1b の二行目には一部の母音記号と文字の上部だけが残っている。これはフォリオの三行目になるはずであるが、それに相当する部分は 255A3 で欠けているものの丁度定型句に当たる部分なので復元が可能である。両者を並べて比較する。

uf1/1b.b: /// + .[i/e?] + ...[i?] .. .[ā] .. [ṃ?] ///
255A3: ghaṇṭapradā(nena || tatra katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhavanti gandhapradānena |) + +

uf1/1b の読みが確定できないことも大きな理由であるが、ここで判別できる文字の母音の散らばり方が 255A3 と全く異なっており、とても当てはまるようには思えない。そうすると、uf1/1b の一行目をフォリオの二行目に当てること自体が正しくないことになる。

　フォリオ全体から見てみると、大きく欠損している箇所は一〜二行目右側３分の２と、右半分の三行目と四行目の一部、そして五〜六行目の左側（綴じ穴より前の部分）である。それら欠損している部分で復元が可能なのは一行目後半、三行目後半、五行目冒頭である。それらは全て定型句であり、復元できるテキストは確実なものである。したがって、果報の内容を説く uf1/ib の一行目にある susvaro bhavati という文章が入るべき位置は二行目後半と、四行目の一部、六行目冒頭しか可能性はない。その内、六行目には当て嵌められない。なぜなら、uf1/1b の二行目が６行のフォリオの七行目になってしまうからである。また、四行目の一部にも当て嵌まらない。何故なら、四行目の欠けている部分の下の五行目には一切欠損がないからで、uf1/1b の二行目が１００％重ならないからである。したがって、唯一可能性があるのはフォリオ二行目後半だけであるが、先に見たようにそれも無理であった。uf1/1b の二行目の読みがより正確になれば、あらためて考える余地も生まれるであろうが、現時点では「内容的には結合すべき断片であるが、フォリオにおける位置は不明である」ということになる。

2.2. 定型句の比較
2.2.0　節順序の対応
　接合した１枚のフォリオから主題が分かる節は３つである。
　　　§ *2 鐘 ghaṇṭa (1~3行. 単語自体は 258aA2 [冒頭]と 255A3 [結句]にある）
　　　§ *3 香 gandha (3~5行. 単語は 255A5 + uf19/1b-a [結句]にある）
　　　§ *4 花 puṣpa (5行~. 単語は 255A5 [冒頭]にある）

　SC 断片では KV の節番号でいう §§ 65⇒76⇒74 という順序でテキストが残っていることが判明する。他のヴァージョンとの節の対応を比べて見よう。

SC	KV	Ch-5	Ch-6	Tib-1	Tib-2	Tib-3
鐘 ghaṇṭa	65	68	79	82	66	61
香 gandha	76	73	85	88	71	67

[21.] susvara- という語は KV では §65「鐘の布施」の果報部分にあるが(Lévi 87.11; A53r.2; B31r.2 = Kudo 2004: 184–185)、もう一箇所 §63「如来の塔に敬礼すること」にもこの単語が現れる(Lévi 84.2; A52r.2; B30r.6 = Kudo 2004: 180-181)。しかし後者に対応するとは思われない。

花 puṣpa	74	73[22]	82	85	68	64

SC 断片の節の順番は「鸚鵡経類」に属するいかなるヴァージョンにも一致せず、この断片が KV に関係するものであるとしても現行の梵本 KV とは異なるものであることは明白である。引用を欠くという点では写 C 本と同系になるのだが、果たして節の順序が同じであるかどうかは分からない。何故ならC写本は SC 断片が有する節を持たないからである。但し、C写本に残る範囲ではその節の順序は Ch-6 と Tib-3 と同じであることが分かっているので、それを考慮するとSC 断片はこれまでのサンスクリット写本のどれにも対応しないことが確定する。

2.2. SC 断簡の特徴　定型句
　片面 6 行の写本であるが、4 つの節にまたがったテキストを残している為、功徳を列挙していく際の定型句が次のように回収できる。
　　　(1) 節の冒頭が "tatra katame daśa dharmā upacitā bhavanti XX-pradānena" で始まること (5 行目 = 255A3)
　　　(2) 節の終わりが "ime daśa dharmā upacitā bhavanti XXpradānena" で終わること (3行目 = 252A3; 5行目 = 176A5)
　　　(3) 項目列挙の最後に "mahābhogo bhavati svarge upapdyate kṣipraṃ parinivāyati" が挙げられること (1行目 = 258aA1 + 252A1; 3行目 = 258aA3 + 252A3).

2.2.1. (1) 冒頭の定型句
　冒頭の定型句について他のヴァージョン（A~C写本、漢訳、チベット訳）と対比させよう。

SC:　　tatra katame daśa <u>dharmā</u> upacitā bhavanti XX-pradānena

A:　　katame daśa <u>gunā</u> XXpradānasya | ucyate | 64–67, 70–79
　　　katame daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XXpradānasya | ucyate | 62–63, 68–69
　　　daśa XX-[nom. pl] katamāni daśa | ucyate | 80

B:　　katame daśa <u>gunā</u> XXpradānasya | ucyate | 66, 70–74, 77–79
　　　katame daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XXpradānasya | ucyate | 62–65, 67, 69, 75[23]
　　　daśānuśaṃsā XXpradānasya | katame daśa | 68
　　　daśa XX-[nom. pl] katamāni daśa | ucyate | 80

C:　　daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XXpradānasya | katame daśa | 2, 5–8[24]
　　　daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XX-loc. case | katame daśa | 3–4, 9

Ch-5:　若有衆生。奉施XX。得十種功徳。

Ch-6:　若復有人施XX。獲十種功徳。何等爲十。

Tib-1:　de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten la XX dpul ba'i <u>phan yon</u> bcu yod de | bcu gang zhe na |

Tib-2:　yang dag par gzhegs pa'i mchod rten la XX phul na | <u>legs pa</u> bcu thob par 'gyur te | bcu gang zhe na |

Tib-3:　de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten la XX phul ba'i <u>phan yon</u> bcu ste | bcu gang zhe na |

　A/B写本には「どのようなXXの十の功徳があるのか。答える」(katame daśa ... | ucyate |)とあり、いわば問答の形を備えている。C写本では「十の功徳がある。その

<u>22.</u>　　Ch-5 では「香華」というようにして香料と華との布施が一括して述べられている。

<u>23.</u>　§76 については欠損しているために不明である。

<u>24.</u>　但し§(7) は「十」ではなく「多くの(bahula)」である。

十とは何か」(daśa ... | katame daśa)とあり、Ch-6 とチベット訳３種も同様の表現となっている[25]。Ch-5 は「十の功徳がある」という肯定表現で終わっていて、あらためての質問文を含んでいない。SC 断片は「どのようなXXの十のダルマがまとめられるのか」(katame daśa ...)という最初の問いの部分だけしかなく、直ぐに十項目が列挙される。しかし、その文章は他のヴァージョンと比較して最も丁寧な構成になっている。

2.2.2　(2) 節末の定型句

結句表現はほぼ一致していて「これらがXの施与による十の〜である」とある。

SC:　　ime daśa <u>dharmā</u> upacitā bhavanti XXpradānena

A:　　ime daśa <u>guṇā</u> XXpradānasya || 65, 67, 69–79[26]

　　　　ime daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XXpradānasya || 63–64, 68

　　　　ime daśa <u>guṇā</u> anuśaṃsā XXpradānasya || 66[27]

B:　　ime daśa <u>guṇā</u> XXpradānasya || 65

　　　　ime daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XXpradānasya || 63–64, 79[28]

C:　　ime daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XXpradānasya || 2, 4–6, 8

　　　　ime daśa <u>anuśaṃsā</u> XX-loc. case || 3, 7[29]

Ch-5:　是名奉施XX得十種功徳

Ch-6:　如是功徳。施XX獲斯勝報。

Tib-1, 3:　bcu po de dag ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten la XX phul ba'i <u>phan yon</u> o.

Tib-2: 無し

冒頭の句と結句とが異なっているのはA写本では§64 (guṇa/anu°), 66 (guṇa/guṇa + anu°), 69 (anu°/guṇa) であり、B写本では§65 (anu°/guṇa), §79 (guṇa/anu°) で残りは一致するか(§§63–64)、結句を持たないものとなっている。

冒頭と末尾の定型句における以上のような表現上の違いは、伝承における段階的な発展の違いを反映したものと理解できる。即ち、説かれる業報項目の増加、業報項目の例証として他文献を引用することに伴う節の順序の変更とそれに際して行われたであろう表現の整形の混乱をそれぞれが残しているのである。A/B写本に guṇa と anuśaṃsa が共存していて、同じ節の冒頭の句と結句とで違っていることはそうした整形が一貫して成されなかったために生じた齟齬であり、他方C写本或いはSC断片では一貫して整形されていたものと推測される。

上記二つの定型句での違いは、構文のみならず、そこに用いられている語にも見出せる。何かを施与することによってもたらされる内容をそれぞれ以下のような単語で表現している：

SC:　　　十のダルマ (daśa dharmāḥ)

A/B:　　十の功徳 (daśa guṇāḥ) ／十の利益 (daśa anuśaṃsāḥ)

C:　　　十の利益 (daśa anuśaṃsāḥ).

[25.] 中央アジア写本『シュカ・スートラ』でも同様である。

[26.] 但し§79 は最後は loc. 形である。

[27.] §62 に関しては両写本とも結句がない。

[28.] 但し§79 は最後は loc. 形である。B写本ではここに挙げた節以外には結句は存在しない。

[29.] 但し§(7) は「十」ではなく「多くの(bahula)」である。また§(9) は途中までしかない。

Ch-5, 6:　　功徳
Tib-1, 3:　　phan yon (= Skt. anuśaṃsā)
Tib-2:　　　legs pa (= Skt. anuśaṃsā)

一見して分かるように、SC 断片のみが大きく異なっていて、「ダルマ」(dharma)という語を用いている。確かにこの語の表す意味は広く、「福・功徳」の意味で用いられることは不思議ではない。しかし、SC 断片のみが dharma という語を一貫して使っていることに何か特別な意味でもあるのだろうか。

　guṇa という語が dharma という語に言い換えられる例がある。それもこの KV に関係した伝承の中である。ボロブドゥール遺跡の旧基壇部分には KV からそのモティーフを取ったレリーフが残っているが、その第１３８番パネルの右側には器をもった６人が一段高い所に座る３人に対面している構図が刻まれており、レリーフ上部に残る碑文は dāna と読めるのだと言われている。その左側には人々が合掌しながら一段高い所に座る僧侶と思しき４人の、おそらくは説法を聴いている図柄が刻まれていて、その上辺には kuśaladharmabhājana と碑文が残っているのだとされている[30]。この部分をシルヴァン・レヴィは KV § 68「鉢の施与」をモティーフにしたものと解釈し、次のように言う：

　　「さてカルマ・ヴィバンガ第６８節は鉢の施与について語る、即ち katame daśānuśaṃsā bhājanapradānasya (鉢を施与することの１０の功徳は何であるか)。これは間違いなく右側のレリーフのモティーフである（中略）。左側のレリーフについては、KV には碑文の意味に対応するような同じ文句が見あたらない。KV はこう続く：*bhājanabhūto bhavati guṇānāṃ snigdhasaṃtatir bhavati* (諸々の福徳の器となる、友情は継続する)。ここで使われている *guṇa* という語がレリーフ碑文の *kuśaladharma* と同義で用いられていることに反対する人はいないであろうが、さらにもう少し見てみよう。Chg と呼ぶ漢訳では[= Ch-5, 工藤注記]「善法 *shen fa*」とあり、これは通常はサンスクリット語の *kuśaladharma* の訳語である。クチャ語の韻文には *lwāke tatākau ... cmela ne kreṃt pelaiknen tse* (彼は善き *krent* = *kuśala* 法 *pelaikne* = *dharma* の器 *lwāke* = *bhājana* となる)とある。こうしたことから元本の伝承の一つには *guṇa* ではなく *kuśaladharma* という読みがあった、それはボロブドゥールのレリーフから見いだされたものと同じである、ということをかなりの確度で推測できるだろう」(1931: 7)[31]

ボロブドゥールのレリーフでは kuśaladharma = guṇa とあることが直接 SC 断片で dharma とあることにつながるとは言えないが、他の写本では guṇa を用いているか或いはそれを別の語に言い換えることを伝承の一つとして見なしうるとすれば、SC

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[30]　Lévi 1931 より。Cf. Krom 1927: 51–54.

[31]　"Now the text of the *Karmavibhaṅga*, § LXVIII, here brings in the gift of receptacles: *katame daśānuśaṃsā bhājanapradānasya*, 'Which are the ten benefits resulting from the gift of a receptacle?' This is undoubtedly the subject of the right hand half-panel, ... As regards the other half of the bas-relief, the Sanskrit text of the *Karmavibhaṅga* does not contain exactly the same term as the inscription. The passage commences as follows: *bhājanabhūto bhavati guṇānāṃ snigdhasaṃtatir bhavatti*: 'One becometh a receptacle of virtue; the moments of thought have a smooth flow.' No one will dispute that the word guṇa can be used synonymously with *kuśala-dharma*, but we may go a step farther. One of the Chinese texts, which we have indicated as *Chg*, clearly contains the word 善法 *shen fa*, which is the regular rendering of the Sanskrit kuśala-dharma. The Kucean poem reads: *lwāke tatākau ... cmele ne kreṃt pelaiknen tse*, meaning: 'He hath become the receptacle (*lwāke* = *bhājana*) of the good (*krent* = *kuśala*) laws (*pelaikne* = *dharma*).' From this it may be inferred with certainty that one of the recensions of the original had the reading *kuśala-dharma* instead of *guṇa* in agreement with what we find on the *Barabuḍur*." As to the Kucean, i.e., Tocharian passage, see Tamai 2015: 367. His gives a new transliteration: *lwāke tatāk[au MA](skeTAr s)u cm(e)lane kreṃt pelaiknentse* "He was a pot of good law at birth, : and his thought(s) are(←is) clear(←smooth)."

断片が保持するテキストも別の伝承である可能性もあるかもしれない[32]。

　参考までに、中央アジア写本の『シュカ・スートラ』は Skt. KV の §§ 7–14 に対応するテキストで「鸚鵡経類」第一類に属する資料であるが、節始まりの定型句には dharma という語が用いられている：

冒頭： §§ 8-14: daśa dharmā XX-saṃvartanīyāḥ katame daśa | (XXに生まれさせる十のダルマがある)

結句： §§ 7-14: ime daśa dharmā XXsaṃvartanīyāḥ ||

A: katamat karma XX-samvartanīyaṃ | ucyate | (ＸＸに生まれさせる業とはなにか)

B: tatra katamaṃ karma XX-samvartanīyaṃ | ucyate |

Pāli: So tena kammena [evaṃ samattena evaṃ samādiṇṇena]

Ch-2: 摩納。何因何縁

Ch-3: 此摩牢。復何因復何縁。

Ch-4: 復次淨意。... 由此因縁。

Ch-5: 復有十業。

Ch-6: 復云何業獲XX。有十種業。云何十種。

Tib-1: de la XX bar 'gyur ba'i las yod de.

Tib-2: ji ltar las kyis XX bar 'gyur zhe na

Tib-3: de la XX bar 'gyur ba'i las gang zhe na.

　§§ 1–14 では或る結果（例えば、短命・長命、裕福・貧乏）をもたらす業が何であるのかを列挙していく。これこれの業 (karma) を原因としてその結果が生ずるという表現が共通しているのだが、中央アジア写本『シュカ・スートラ』は他のヴァージョンでは karma という語で示している所を dharma という語を用いていて、尚且つ内容を「十の」という形で説いており、このような記述は他にはない（十に整えるのは Ch-5, 6 がある）。但し、SC 断片のテキストを除けば、である。こうした記述の類似性は SC 断片が阿含系の『シュカ・スートラ』から展開した可能性を示唆するものと思われる。

2.2.3. (3) 果報の定型句

　業報を数え上げる最後の３つは次のようになる（但し、節によっては８番目のものが必ずしも「富裕になる」というものになっていないが、多くの節で共通する項目としてここに示す）。

SC: mahābhogo bhavati <|> svarge upapdyate <|> kṣipraṃ parinivāyati <|>

A: mahābhogo bhavati | svargeṣūpapadyate | kṣipraṃ ca parinirvāti |

B: mahābhogo bhavati | svarge copapadyate | kṣiprañ ca parinirvāti |[33]

C: mahābhogo bhavati | svargeṣūpapadyate | kṣipraṃ ca parinirvāti | 2-5, 8[34]

svargeṣūpapadyate | kṣipraṃ ca parinirvāti | 1, 6

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[32]　尚、レヴィが指摘するように「クチャ語」、即ちトカラ語テキストは Ch-5 に対応するが、この SC 断片との関係は不明である。Tamai 2015: 369 にも両者が同一であるとする ("Now I see that the Toch. and Ch. 佛爲首迦長者説業報差別經 are identical in detail, ...")。

[33]　§67 のA写本には "mahābhogo bhavati" が無く、項目数も１１である；他方、その文はB写本には含まれていて、そのため項目数は１２となる。両写本とも、§65 では "svarga-; mahābhoga; kṣipraṃ" の順になっている。

[34]　§(7) は十項目ではないために三つとも存在しない。この写本では他と全く異なる記述が残されている。§(9) は途中までしか存在しないので、項目も４つ目の項目で途切れている。

Ch-5: 八者具大福報。九者命終生天。十者速證涅槃。³⁵

Ch-6: 八崇貴（尊貴）自在。九生天自在。十速證圓寂。³⁶

Tib-1~3: longs spyod che bar ’gyur ba dang| mtho ris su skye bar ’gyur ba dang | myur du yongs su mya ngan las ’da’ ba ste |³⁷

　これら三項目は第二類テキストの特徴であり、SC 断片がそれらを有していることは KV の別ヴァージョンであることを結論する為の有力な証拠となる。

　尚、節の順序が他のヴァージョンと全く異なっていることから、SC 断片が一つのまとまったテキストを伝える写本の一部ではなく、何か別のテキストから適宜必要な所を抜粋した、ある種の備忘録の一部である可能性も完全に否定されたわけではない。しかし、その場合でも抜粋の元となった別のテキストが KV の諸ヴァージョンと全く異なった順序を持つテキストであると仮定しなければならない。抜粋に際して、元のテキストからわざわざ節を前後しながら写したというのは手間のかかることであり、むしろ順に抜粋するのが普通であろう。他のヴァージョンとは順序が連続せず、前後関係も対応しない以上、仮に抜粋であったとしてもそこに見られる順序でのテキストが存在したと考える方が合理的である。ここで扱った SC 断片のもう片面（もしあるとすればだが）、或いは他のフォリオが発見されるならば、備忘録であったかどうかの判断をつけるのは意外と簡単に出来るだろう。現在まで我々が手にしうる諸々の仏教文献の中で、布施・供養によってもたらされる果報を記述していくテキストで、しかもその果報が十ずつにまとめられ、更に後半三つの果報が共通して「裕福になる・天界に生まれる・速やかに涅槃する」というものであるようなテキストは今のところ KV しか存在しない。各節の冒頭・末尾にある定型句が使う単語の違いは見られるものの、その形式はかなり共通している。したがって、やはりこれら断片も KV の或る段階のテキストである可能性が極めて高い。現時点では、KV の別ヴァージョンではない可能性が僅かでも残っていることを指摘するに留める。

３．まとめ

　幾つかの断片を接合し、たった一枚のフォリオ、しかも本来あったであろうはずの内容の三分の二だけしか回収出来ない写本ではあるが、実に多くのことを導き出してくれる。これまでに検討してきたことに基づき、導きだせることを述べていこう。

① 節の冒頭・末尾の定型句が他のヴァージョンと同じ構文形式をとっていること。

② 施与によってもたらされる功徳が十に纏められていること。

③ その十の功徳のうち、最後の三つが他のヴァージョンと共通していること。

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^{35.} ３つの功徳を全て含む節は次の通り（節番号は Ch-5 のそれを用い、括弧内には Skt. KV の節番号を付す）： 65(63), 66(64), 68(65), 69(66), 70(68), 71(69), 73(74), 74(75)。Ch-5 § 75 (62) には３つが含まれていない。

^{36.} この Ch-6 では、“mahābhogo bhavati” に相当する功徳が必ずしも十種の内の８番目に挙げられておらず、その順番はばらばらである（節の番号は Ch-6 のものである。[ ] 内に Skt. KV の節番号を付す）：六尊貴自在。(76[63]); 七崇貴自在。(77[x]); 九富貴上族自在生天。(80[x]), 七尊貴自在。(79[65]); 七豐足珍寶。(91[69]); 七尊貴自在。(84[75], 85[76]); 八崇貴自在。(86[x])。

^{37.} Tib-1~3 は多少の違いはあってもほぼ一致している。したがって、ここには Tib-3 の表現を挙げた。

これらから、これらの断片が伝えるテキストが Karmavibhaṅga であることは確実であろう。更に、以下のことから伝承の違いを指摘できる。

④ 節の順序が他のヴァージョンと全く一致しないこと。
⑤ 列挙される功徳の内容が、最後の三つを除けば、他のヴァージョン同士がそうであるように、必ずしも全てが一致するわけではないこと。
⑥ 業報を説明する引用が一切含まれないこと。

増広された「鸚鵡経類」第二類に属するテキストではあるが、A・B写本に伝わるサンスクリット本 KV とは異なる伝承にあるテキストであることは確からしく、また引用を含まない点においてC写本に近いグループのものである。写本の筆写年代は正確にはつかめないが、文字(Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I)が6世紀以降のものであることから、「鸚鵡経類」第二類の展開するなかで相当早い段階に作られたテキストであり、成立過程上ではC写本より前の段階にあることが言える。少なくとも引用文献を持たない点からすると、系統的にはC写本と同じ流れ・グループに属するものと考えてよいだろう。先に述べたように、C写本に代表される引用を含まないテキストの系統は有部系の伝承を反映していることが指摘されている。そうすると、SC 断片もまた有部系であるかもしれないし、或いは業報を説く文献として共通に保持されていたテキスト（未だ部派的な改変を受けていないもの）であるかもしれない。列挙される功徳の内容や節の順序の違いは、伝承された時期・地域の違いを反映したものと思われる。それは別の見方をすれば、内容が相互に異なるが同一名で伝えられたテキストが複数存在したことの証左ともなる。

　そうすると、ネパール写本に見られるようなサンスクリット本の二つの伝承以外に、節の順序、その業報の内容が異なる、新しい別の伝承テキストが見出されたことになる。勿論、ネパール写本の二つの伝承と言っても、引用文の有無が区別の最大の規準であったから、その意味では引用を持たない方の伝承の一つと考えることもできる。

　発見された地域から推測すれば、SC 断片に残るテキストは北西インドに流布していたヴァージョンで、地域的には中央アジア写本の『シュカ・スートラ』の系譜に連なるものではないだろうか。使われる文脈は異なり、またその意味も異なるが、多様な意味を持つ dharma という語を用いている点、そして決定的なのは中央アジア写本の『シュカ・スートラ』が有する、第一類に属する「中阿含経」の異訳である漢訳仏典 (Ch-1~3) にはない特徴、即ち列挙する業あるいは功徳を十に揃える点は、第一類から第二類へと展開するこの文献の中で両者が極めて近い関係にあることを示しているのではないかと思われる。

　それ故、列挙される内容が十に整序されているかどうかで「鸚鵡経類」の第一類を分け、そして第二類は引用の有無によって分けてテキストの展開を示すならば、次のように分けることができよう。

第一類（項目未整序）	Pāli, 漢訳 (Ch-1, 2, 3, 4)
第一類（項目整序）	中央アジア『シュカ・スートラ』写本
第二類（項目整序・引用無）	SC 断片 (北西インド), C写本 (ネパール), 漢訳 (Ch-5, 6), Tib-2, Tib-3
第二類（項目整序・引用有）	A・B写本 (ネパール), Tib-1

　　したがって、SC 断片は、第一類から第二類へと飛躍的に業報項目が増加した後での第二類に属するテキストではあるが、まだ引用が挿入されず（その意味ではC写本と同系になるが、節の順序やその内容は異なる）、他方阿含系のテキストとも共通点を持つ、いわばテキストが増広・発展する過程のちょうど間に位置するものである可能性が極めて高い、重要な資料なのである。

KV 資料：
パーリテキスト：

Majjhima-Nikāya No. 135, *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga* (PTS ed. MN. III, 202–206).

サンスクリット写本：

中央アジア梵語断簡: Hoernle no. 149.x/1-2; Turfan, SHT Kat.-Nr. 1210 (X 1718)

A 写本, no. 4-20, 貝葉, 76葉 (ネパール国立公文書館蔵)

B 写本, no. 1-1697, 貝葉, 27 + 3 葉 [= No. 5-141] (ネパール国立公文書館蔵)

C 写本, B 写本に付随, 貝葉, 2葉 (ネパール国立公文書館蔵)

D 写本, A 写本に付随, 貝葉, 1葉 (ネパール国立公文書館蔵)

E 写本, no. 4-951, B 写本の写し, 紙, 10枚 (ネパール国立公文書館蔵)

SC 断片: 以下に写真が公開されている:

49. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.049-50a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.049-50b.png

176. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.175-180a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.175-180b.png

252. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.250-253a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.250-253b.png

255. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.255-256a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.255-256b.png

258a. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.257-260a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.257-260b.png

uf19/1b. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.uf019a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.uf019b.png

uf1/1b. https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.uf.001a.png; https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/public/media/img_to_txt/2382.uf.001b.png

漢訳：

Ch-1: 『佛説兜調經』(T no. 78, vol. 1, 887b5–888b11). 失訳, 265-316 C.E.

Ch-2: 『中阿含經』第百七十経「鸚鵡經」(T no. 26(170), vol. 1, 703c21–706b11). 瞿曇僧伽提婆, 397-398 C.E.

Ch-3: 『佛説鸚鵡經』(T no. 79, vol. 1, 888b16–891a13). 求那跋陀羅, 435–443 C.E.

Ch-4: 『佛説淨意優婆塞所問經』(T no. 755, vol. 17, 588c9–590b7). 施護, 982–1017 C.E.

Ch-5: 『佛爲首迦長者説業報差別經』(T no. 80, vol. 1, 891a18–895b21) [= Lévi: Chg]. 瞿曇法智, 582 C.E.

Ch-6: 『分別善惡報應經』(T no. 81, vol. 1, 895b26–901b19) [= Lévi: Cht]. 天息災, 982–1000 C.E.

チベット訳：

Tib-1: Cone no. 977, Derge no. 338, Narthang no. 323, Peking no. 1005, Lhasa no. 344, ’Jang Sa-tham no. 278, Urga no. 338, Newark Mdo bsde tsha // 20.472

Tib-2: Cone no. 978, Derge, no. 339, Narthang no. 324, Peking no. 1006, London no. 213, sTog no. 298, Tokyo (Kawaguchi) no. 295, Lhasa, no. 345, ’Jang Sa-tham no. 279, Urga no. 339

Tib-3: London no. 202, sTog no. 287, Phug brag no. 186, Phug brag no. 404, Narthang no. 784 (783?), Tokyo (Kawaguchi) no. 284, Lhasa no. 343

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<div align="center">

活動報告（平成２９年３月以降）

</div>

「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所員会」を月１回の割合（夏期休暇中を除く）で開会。
以下、主立った活動について記す

平成28年度
3月9日(木)　第77回　仏教学懇話会
　　　　　講師：宮治昭博士 (名古屋大学名誉教授・龍谷大学特任教授)
　　　　　テーマ：「弥勒信仰とその美術—インド・ガンダーラから中国へ—」

3月22日(水)　タイ、DCI Center for Buddhist Studies, 副所長 Taniyo Bhikkhu, Dr. Maythee Pitakteeradhanm
　　　　　(研究主任), Wilaiphon Jaimun 氏, Achawan Ngumruksa 氏来所。所員と研究について懇談

平成29年度 (2017年)
4月15日(土)〜5月2日(火)　辛嶋静志教授　中国・四川大学、上海師範大学招聘出張
　　　　　4月16日(日)~20日(木), 24日(月)~26日(水)：四川大学・中国俗文化研究所で次の八つの連続
　　　　　講議（各二時間）を行った。（1）觀世音與觀自在（観世音と観自在）；（2）犍陀羅語與
　　　　　大乘佛教（ガンダーラ語と大乗仏教）；（3）盂蘭盆之義——自恣日的"飯鉢"（盂蘭盆の意
　　　　　味——自恣の日のご飯鉢）；（4）《列子》與《般若經》（『列子』と『般若
　　　　　経』）；（5）支謙譯研究——《大明度經》與《道行般若經》對比研究（支謙訳研究
　　　　　——『大明度経』と『道行般若経』の比較研究）；（6）利用"翻版"研究中古漢語演變——以
　　　　　《九色鹿經》為例（"翻版"を利用した中古漢語の変遷の研究——『九色鹿経』を例とし
　　　　　て）；（7）支讖譯《大阿彌陀經》、支謙譯《平等覺經》以及《無量壽經》對比研究（支
　　　　　婁迦讖訳『大阿弥陀経』・支謙訳『平等覚経』および『無量寿経』の比較研究）；（8）
　　　　　支讖譯《道行般若經》《大阿彌陀經》以及支謙譯《維摩經》的原語面貌—音寫詞分析（支
　　　　　婁迦讖訳『道行般若経』・『大阿弥陀経』および支謙訳『維摩経』の原語の様相——音写
　　　　　語分析）。
　　　　　4月21日(金)~22日(土)：重慶市、四川外国語大学を訪問。4月21日、「漢譯佛典語言研究的
　　　　　意義及方法」（漢訳仏典の言語学的研究の意義と方法）と題して公開講演。
　　　　　4月28日(金)：上海市、上海師範大学中国文学系にて「漢譯佛典語言研究的意義及方
　　　　　法」（漢訳仏典の言語学的研究の意義と方法）と題して講演。
　　　　　4月29日(土)~5月1日(日)：上海師範大学で開催された学術シンポジウム「六朝佛經梵漢對
　　　　　勘語料庫與中古漢語研究」に参加、開幕式式辞を述べるとともに「試探西晉竺法護譯《正
　　　　　法華經》的原語面貌」（西晋代竺法護訳『正法華経』の原語の様相）と題して主題発表。

5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28年度(第20号) [3月31日付発刊]
　　　　　・Adelheid METTE, Noriyuki KUDO, Ruriko SAKUMA, Chanwit TUDKEAO, and Jiro HIRABAYASHI (ed.),
　　　　　Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition. Vol. II.4. *Further
　　　　　Mahāyānasūtras: Ratneketuparivarta, Kāraṇḍavyūha, Ajitasenavyākaraṇa and Avikalpapraveśa-
　　　　　sūtra*, 2017, New Delhi/Tokyo: The National Archives of India/The International Research Institute
　　　　　for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, xliv pages + 151 plates, ISBN 978-4-904234-15-0.
　　　　　・Noriyuki KUDO (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition.*
　　　　　Vol. III. *Avadānas and Miscellaneous Texts*, 2017, New Delhi/Tokyo: The National Archives of
　　　　　India/The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, lxvi pages
　　　　　+ 146 plates, ISBN 978-4-904234-14-3.

5月28日(日)〜7月2日(日)　浙江大学教授・方一新博士、同・王雲路博士　客員研究員として滞在。仏
　　　　　典の漢語についての共同研究を行う。

6月1日(木)　辛嶋教授　京都出張
　　　　　龍谷大学で開催された科研（基盤（B））「中央アジア仏教美術の研究—釈迦・弥勒・阿
　　　　　弥陀信仰の美術の生成を中心に—」（代表：宮治昭）2017年度第1回全体研究会参加。

6月29日(木)　第78回　仏教学懇話会
　　　　　講師：方一新博士 (浙江大学教授)
　　　　　テーマ：「『太子須大拏経』から古写経と刊本との対校を考察する」

(從《太子須大拏經》看寫經、刻經之對勘)
講師：王雲路博士 (浙江大学教授)
テーマ：「二つの中古漢訳仏典から古写経と刊本との対校の価値を考察する」
(從兩種中古佛經管窺寫經、刻經比勘之價值)

8月8日(火)　辛嶋教授　ミホ・ミュージアム（滋賀県）所蔵梵語写本の調査。

10月10日(火)　李晶氏（中国・人民大学文学院漢語言語文字学専攻）　研究の為、来日（一年間、指導：辛嶋教授）

9月2日(土)〜3日(日)　辛嶋教授、工藤教授　第68回日本印度学仏教学会学術大会（於：花園大学）に参加。
2日　辛嶋教授「大衆部と大乗経典」と題して発表

9月10日(日)~10月18日(木)　辛嶋教授　中国招聘出張
9月11日(月), 13日(水), 15日(金), 18日(月), 20日(水), 22日(金)に、復旦大学哲学学院で、「仏教学講座シリーズ」して六つの講議（各一時間半）を行った (http://philosophy.fudan.edu.cn/d3/01/c6942a119553/page.htm)。（1）"On *Avalokitasvara* and *Avalokiteśvara*",（観世音と観自在）；（2）犍陀羅語與大乗佛教（ガンダーラ語と大乗仏教）；（3）《般若經》是在犍陀羅以犍陀羅語産生的嗎？（『般若経』は、ガンダーラ地方でガンダーラ語で作られたか）；（4）「"變"、"變相"及"變文"之義」（「変」、「変相」、「変文」の意味)；（5）《長阿含經》及《中阿含經》的原語面貌──音寫詞分析（『長阿含経』と『中阿含経』の原語の様相──音写語分析）；（6）《列子》與《般若經》（『列子』と『般若経』）
9月26日(火)~28日(水)：金華市、浙江師範大学を訪問。9月27日、同人文学院にて「漢譯佛典語言研究的意義及方法」（漢訳仏典の言語学的研究の意義と方法）と題して講演。(http://yjsb.zjnu.ed.cn/2017/0929/c4710a207865/page.htm)
9月28日(水)~29日(木)：浙江大学漢語史研究中心を訪問。9月28日、「漢譯佛典語言研究的意義及方法」（漢訳仏典の言語学的研究の意義と方法）と題して講演。(http://hanyushi.zju.edu.cn/redir.php?catalog_id=20&object_id=11265)
10月2日(月)~15日(日)：山西省五台山の仏教与東亜文化五台山国際研究院で、中国全国から選抜された仏教学関係の院生・若手研究者に、《法華経》に関して二週間集中講義。
10月16日(月)：午前、四川大学・中国俗文化研究所で「漢譯佛典語言研究的意義及方法」（漢訳仏典の言語学的研究の意義と方法）と題して公開講演。午後、同・中国チベット学研究所にて、「誰創造了大乗經典 ── 大眾部與方等經典』(大乗経典は誰が作ったか：大衆部と方等経)と題して講演。(http://www.zangx.com/cms/news/guonei/2017-10-25/852.html)
10月17日(火)〜18日(水)：四川大学・中国俗文化研究所で開催された第十届「中古漢語学術研討会」に参加し、「試論梵語"*chattra*"、漢語"刹"、朝鮮語"*tjer* 뎔(절)"以及日語"*tera* てら"」(梵語*chattra*、漢語"刹"、朝鮮語"*tjer* 뎔(절)"および日語"*tera* てら"についての試論）と題して主題発表。

10月4日(水)~11月8日(水)　フライブルク大学名誉教授・オスカー・フォン・ヒニューバー博士　招聘研究員として滞在。ギルギット写本等の共同研究を行う。フライブルク大学孔子学院元院長・ハイィエン・フ・フォン・ヒニューバー博士も同じく滞在。

10月21日(土)　第79回　仏教学懇話会
講師：ニコラス・シムス＝ウィリアムズ博士 (ロンドン大学名誉教授、英国学士院会員)
テーマ：「文献学から歴史へ：古代アフガニスタンの言語の解読」
(From philology to history: Deciphering the language of ancient Afghanistan)
講師：ウルスラ・シムス＝ウィリアムズ博士 (大英図書館キュレーター)
テーマ：「南シルクロード(西域南道)からの写本収集品と収集者たち」
(Manuscript collections and collectors from the Southern Silk Road)
講師：イェンス・ブロールヴィック博士 (オスロ大学教授、ノルウェー学士院会員)
テーマ：「スコイエン・コレクション中の『アマラコーシャ』に関連する類義語辞典の八世紀の写本断簡について」
(An 8th century fragment in the Schøyen collection of a synonym lexicon related to the *Amarakośa*)

10月28日(土)　第80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：「ヴェーダ、インドの文法家、そして初期仏教の言語」
(The Veda, Indian Grammarians, and the Language of Early Buddhism)

11月2日(木)~6日(月)　辛嶋教授　台湾招聘出張
　　　　　11月3日(金)〜5日(日)：中央大学及び仏光大学で開催された第十一届「漢文仏典語言学国際学術研討会」に参加し、「試探西晉竺法護譯《正法華經》的原語面貌」（西晋代竺法護訳『正法華経』の原語の様相）と題して主題発表。

11月21日(火)~27日(月)　辛嶋教授　ウズベキスタン出張
　　　　　11月24日、日本と同国の外交関係樹立25周年を記念してテルメズ国立大学で行われた、仏教文化に関する国際学術会議に出席、Буддизм Махаяны из Гандхары через Бактрии в Китай (ガンダーラからバクトリアを経て中国へ伝わった大乗仏教)と題して基調講演、さらに分科会にて、Передача буддийской культуры из Гандхары через Бактрии в Восточную Азию (ガンダーラからバクトリアを経て東アジアへの仏教文化の伝承)と題して発表。
　　　　　11月25日、テルメズ国立大学、ウズベキスタン歴史・考古学学部の名誉教授称号を受ける。

11月30日(木)~12月1日(金)　中国・北京藏学研究中心、科学研究業務弁公室総幹事長・鄭堆博士、李学竹博士（宗教研究所研究員）、冯智博士（中国蔵学研究中心歴史研究所研究員）、万德卡尔博士（中国蔵学研究中心経済研究所副研究員）、孟秋丽博士（中国蔵学研究中心歴史研究所副研究員）、高颖博士（中国蔵学研究中心宗教研究所補助研究員）、共同研究の討議の為来所。

12月5日(火)~27日(水)　ペシャワール大学名誉教授・ナシム・ハン博士　招聘研究員として滞在。ガンダーラ語大乗仏典写本等の共同研究を行う。

12月5日(火)~6日(水)　辛嶋教授　京都出張
　　　　　12月5日(火) 浄土真宗本願寺派宗学院の公開講座にて「言葉の向こうに開ける仏教の原風景——「阿弥陀」、「即得往生」、「一闡提」の本当の意味——」と題して講演。

12月16日(土)　第81回　仏教学懇話会
　　　　　講師：ナシム・ハン博士 (ペシャワール大学名誉教授)
　　　　　テーマ：「仏教彫刻を（考古学的）コンテキストから考察する：ガンダーラのブトカラ第３遺跡の例」
　　　　　　　　(Studying Buddhist Sculptures in Context: The case of But Kara III site in Gandhāra)

12月17日(日)　辛嶋教授　京都出張
　　　　　龍谷大学で開催された科研（基盤（B））「中央アジア仏教美術の研究—釈迦・弥勒・阿弥陀信仰の美術の生成を中心に—」（代表：宮治昭）2017年度第3回全体研究会参加。

(平成30年, 2018年)
1月4日(木)~2月2日(金)　ロシア、サンクトペテルブルク・ロシア科学アカデミー東洋写本研究所、サファラリ・シャマフマドフ博士　招聘研究員として滞在。中央アジア出土梵語仏典断簡等についての共同研究を行う。

1月20日(土)　第82回　仏教学懇話会
　　　　　講師：サファラリ・シャマフマドフ博士 (ロシア科学アカデミー東洋写本研究所)
　　　　　テーマ：「ロシア科学アカデミー東洋写本学研究所所蔵仏教写本断簡研究——特に陀羅尼断簡に注目して」
　　　　　　　　(Research on Buddhist Sanskrit fragments of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, with special attention to the fragments of *dhāraṇī*s)

<h1 style="text-align:center">国際仏教学高等研究所・所員の著作
(List of Publications of the IRIAB Fellows)</h1>

辛嶋静志 (Seishi KARASHIMA)

"New Research on the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia", in: *Sanskrit on The Silk Route*, ed. by Shashibala, New Delhi 2016: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. 78~88.

"Vehicle (*Yāna*) and Wisdom (*Jñāna*) in the Lotus Sutra—the Origin of the Notion of *Yāna* in Mahāyāna Buddhism", *id.*, pp. 155~198.

"On *Avalokitasvara* and *Avalokiteśvara*", in: *ARIRIAB* (*Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*), vol. 20 (2017): 139~165.

"On *cha* 刹, *tjer* 뎔(절) and *tera* てら", in: *ARIRIAB* (*Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*), vol. 20 (2017): 241~249.

「「変」、「変相」、「変文」の意味」, 『印度學佛教學研究』65.2 (2017.3): 208(732)~215(739) ["Meanings of *bian* 變, *bianxiang* 變相 and *bianwen* 變文", in: *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*), 65.2 (2017.3): 208(732)~215(739)]

「《中阿含经》原语问题之考察」,《南京师范大学学报》(社会科学版), 2017.2: 148~152 (裘雲青訳). ["Underlying Language of the Chinese Translation of the Madhyama-Āgama", in: *Journal of Nanjing Normal University*, Social Science Edition, 2017, 2, pp. 148~152 (translated by Qiu Yunqing)].

"Some Folios of the *Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyaviṣayāvatāra* and *Dvādaśadaṇḍakanāmāṣṭaśatavimalī-karaṇā* in the Kurita Collection", in: *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2017.6): 11~44.

「試論梵語"*chattra*"、漢語"刹"、朝鮮語"*tjer* 뎔(절)"以及日語"*tera* てら"」,《佛学研究》2017第1期，総第26期 (中国佛教文化研究所, 北京, 2017.7): 106~114 ["On Sanskrit *chattra*, Chinese *cha* 刹, Korean *tjer* 뎔(절) and Japanese *tera* てら", in: *Buddhist Studies* (The Research Institute of Buddhist Culture of China, Beijing, China), vol. 26 (2017.7): 106~114].

「*brāhmaṇa*、*śramaṇa* 和 *Vaiśramaṇa* ——印度语言流俗词源及其在汉译的反映」《人文宗教研究》第九辑 (2017.10), 宗教文化出版社, pp. 1~42 (裘雲青訳)["*Brāhmaṇa*, *śramaṇa* and *Vaiśramaṇa* —— Indian Folk Etymologies and their Reflections in Chinese Translations", in: *Journal of Humanistic Religion* (Religious Cultures Press, Beijing), vol. 9 (2017.10): 1~42 (translated by Qiu Yunqing)].

「大衆部と大乗」, 『印度學佛教學研究』66.1 (2017.12): 411(82)~405(88) ["Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna", in: *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*), 66.1 (2017.12): 411(82)~405(88)].

工藤順之 (Noriyuki KUDO)

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受贈受入書籍類 [Books & CD-ROMs/DVDs Received]
(2017.2~2018.1)

* We should like to express our gratitude to those who have kindly sent us their publications. The following list of books, CD-ROMs and DVDs, exclusively in the fields of Indology and Buddhology, is certainly by no means complete.

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編集後記 (Editorial Postscript)

本誌第21号をお届けします。今号は30篇の論文を掲載することが出来ました。紙面の都合上、それぞれのご論攷についてその内容を紹介することは割愛させて戴きますが、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。

　研究所出版物について　今年度は年報に加え、昨年に引き続き、インド国立公文書館所蔵ギルギット写本写真版シリーズの第２巻「大乗仏典」第３分冊として、『三昧王経（月灯三昧経）』(Samādhirājasūtra) の写真版を出版いたします。この経典のギルギット写本はサンスクリット本の中で最も古いもので、残念ながら一部欠けている所もありますが、後世のネパール等で見出された写本とは異なる内容を伝えています。今回は現存する164葉全てをカラーで出版いたします。また、サンスクリットテキスト、漢訳・チベット訳（４種）との対応表も附してあります。入手方については、国内からの申込みの場合、研究所ウェブサイトの出版物のページから申込書をダウンロードした後、必要事項を記入の上、本研究所までご返送いただきましたら、こちらから料金着払いにて当該出版物をお送りしております。国外からの申込みの場合のみ、郵送費をウェブ上で決済していただくことになりますが、詳しくはお申し込みされてからお知らせ致します。いずれも残部僅少の場合には発送できないこともありますが、どうぞ予めご了承くださいますようお願いいたします。

　研究所より　研究所の日々の活動は、事務全般担当の松井博子さん、高柳さつきさん、五十嵐裕子さん、蔵書管理の佐々木一憲さん、森富士子学事部副部長、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。特に今年度末で退職される松井さんには一方ならぬご尽力をいただきましたこと、心より感謝いたします。また理事長、学長をはじめ、研究所運営委員会委員長・神立孝一副学長、大学理事会、学事部・近藤部長、そして多くの関係部署、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。我々の研究と活動を支えて下さる多くの方々にこの場を借りて深くお礼申し上げます。今後も、いま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。　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(8, 3. 2018/ N.K.)

Correspondence regarding all editorial matters and acknowledgements of monographs and the Annual Report, including manuscripts to be offered for publication, may be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief of this issue, in care of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.

略号提案：
　　　　(創大)仏高研年報＝創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報
Suggested Abbreviation:
　　　　ARIRIAB = Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology

𝔑𝔢𝔴 𝔓𝔲𝔟𝔩𝔦𝔠𝔞𝔱𝔦𝔬𝔫 / 新刊案内

GILGIT MANUSCRIPTS
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Edited by

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Tananori FUKITA and Tomonori TANAKA

PLATES

Fig. 1. Pekapharṇa inscription.

PLATE 2

Fig. 2a.

Fig. 2b.

Fig. 2c.

Fig. 2d.

Fig. 2e.

Fig. 2f.

PLATE 3

Oskar von Hinüber, "A Second Copper-Plate Grant of King Subandhu."
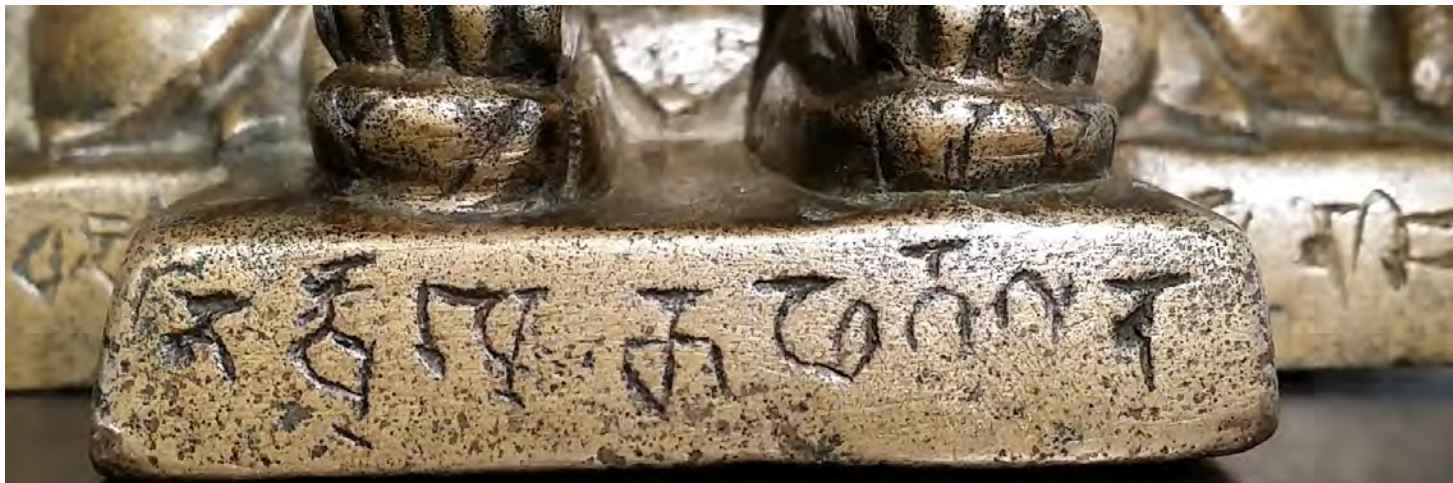
Fig. 1. Bagh Copper-Plate II of King Subandhu.
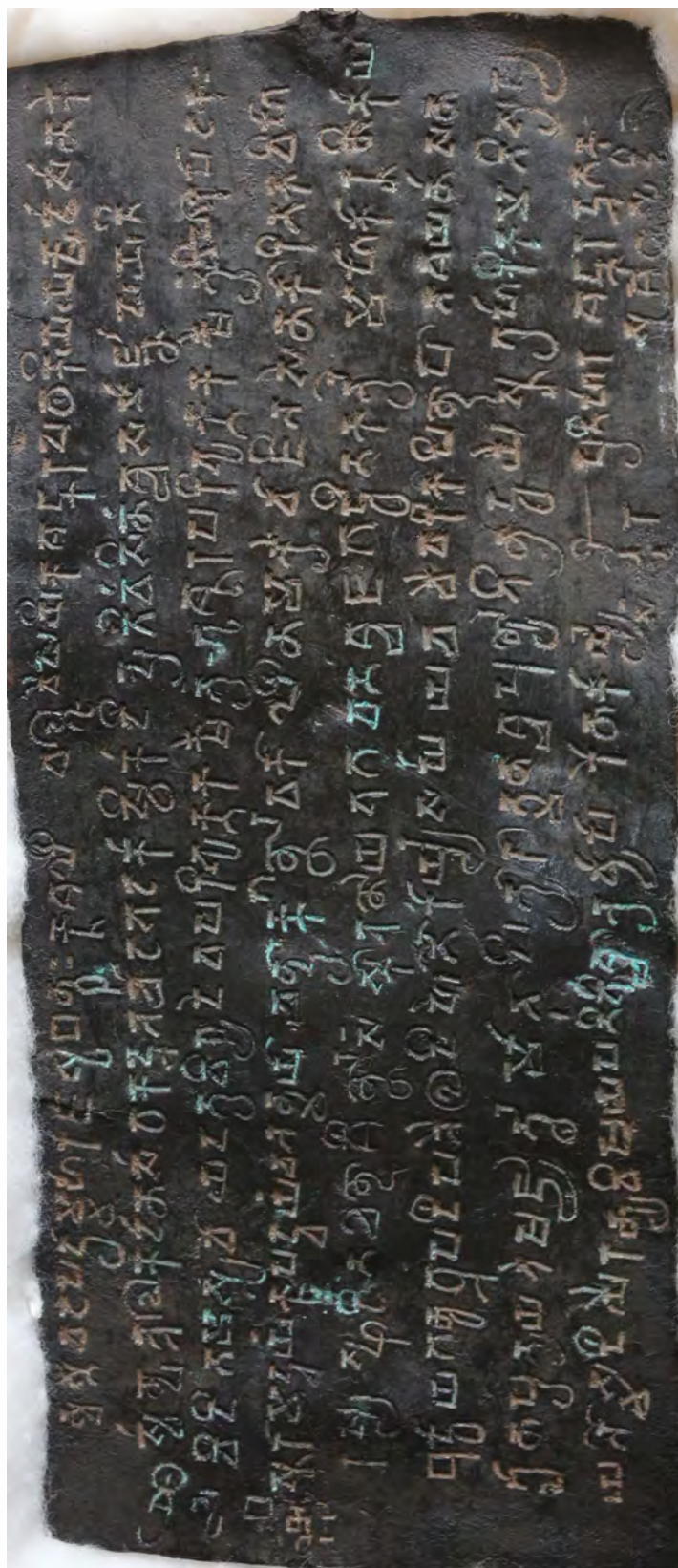
Fig. 2. *"tisṛṣya"*

Fig. 3. *"kartre"*

Fig. 4. *"bhivṛddhaye"*

PLATE 4

Fig. 1. Front view with mandorla.

Fig. 2. Back view with mandorla.

PLATE 5

Fig. 3. Side view with hand posture.

Fig. 4. Head with gem-stone tilak.

Fig. 5. The legend on eight lotus leaves.

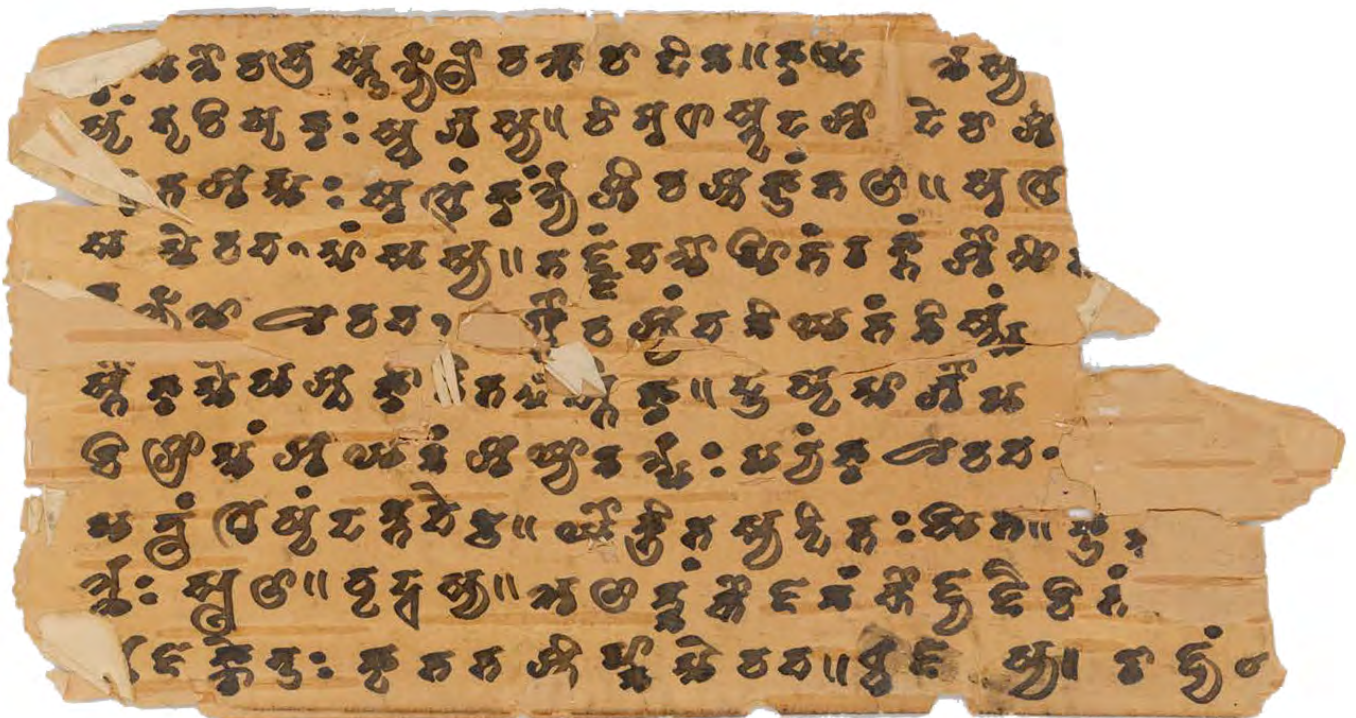**PLATE 6**

Fig. 1. SC 2382/2 recto.
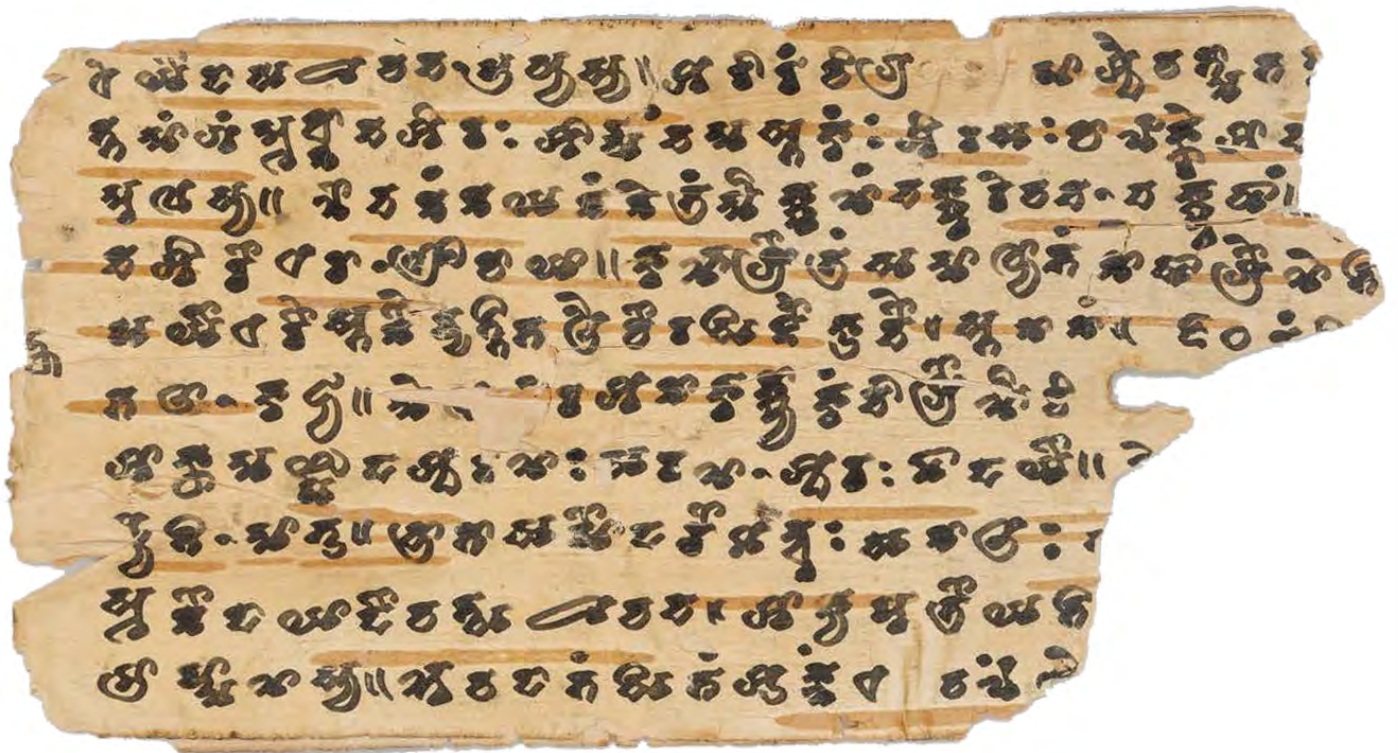
Fig. 2. SC 2382/2 verso.

Fig. 1. A Bactrian letter (**xp** = DOC. 1), Recto. Courtesy Professor D. N. Khalili.

PLATE 8

Map: Afghanistan and adjacent regions, showing places mentioned in the Bactrian documents (Δ) and sites where Bactrian inscriptions have been found (□). Drawn by François Ory. © Nicholas Sims-Williams.
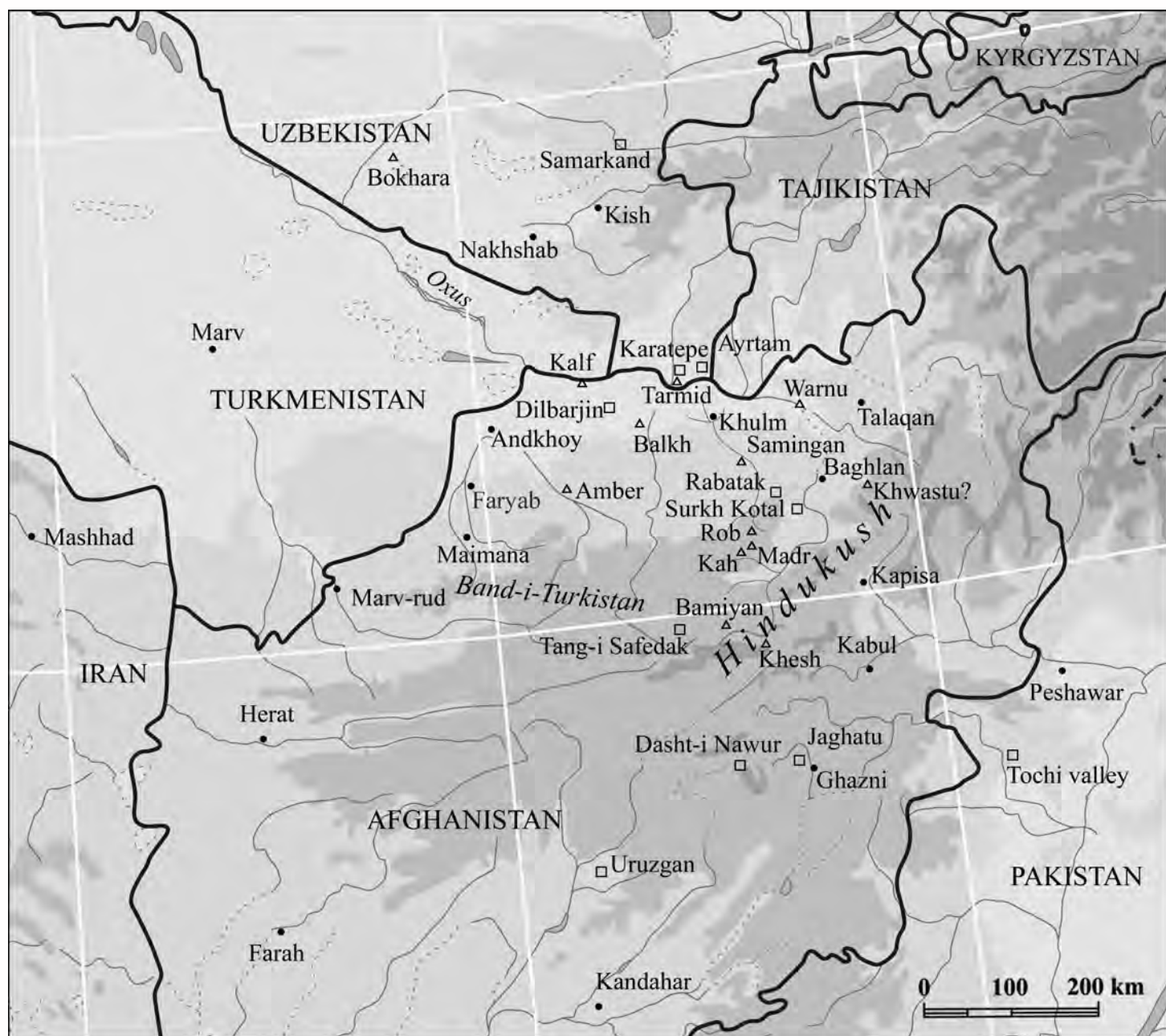
Peter Zieme, "*Gāthā*s of the lost *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 in Old Uigur translation."

PLATE 9

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3. Hedin 40R21-39.
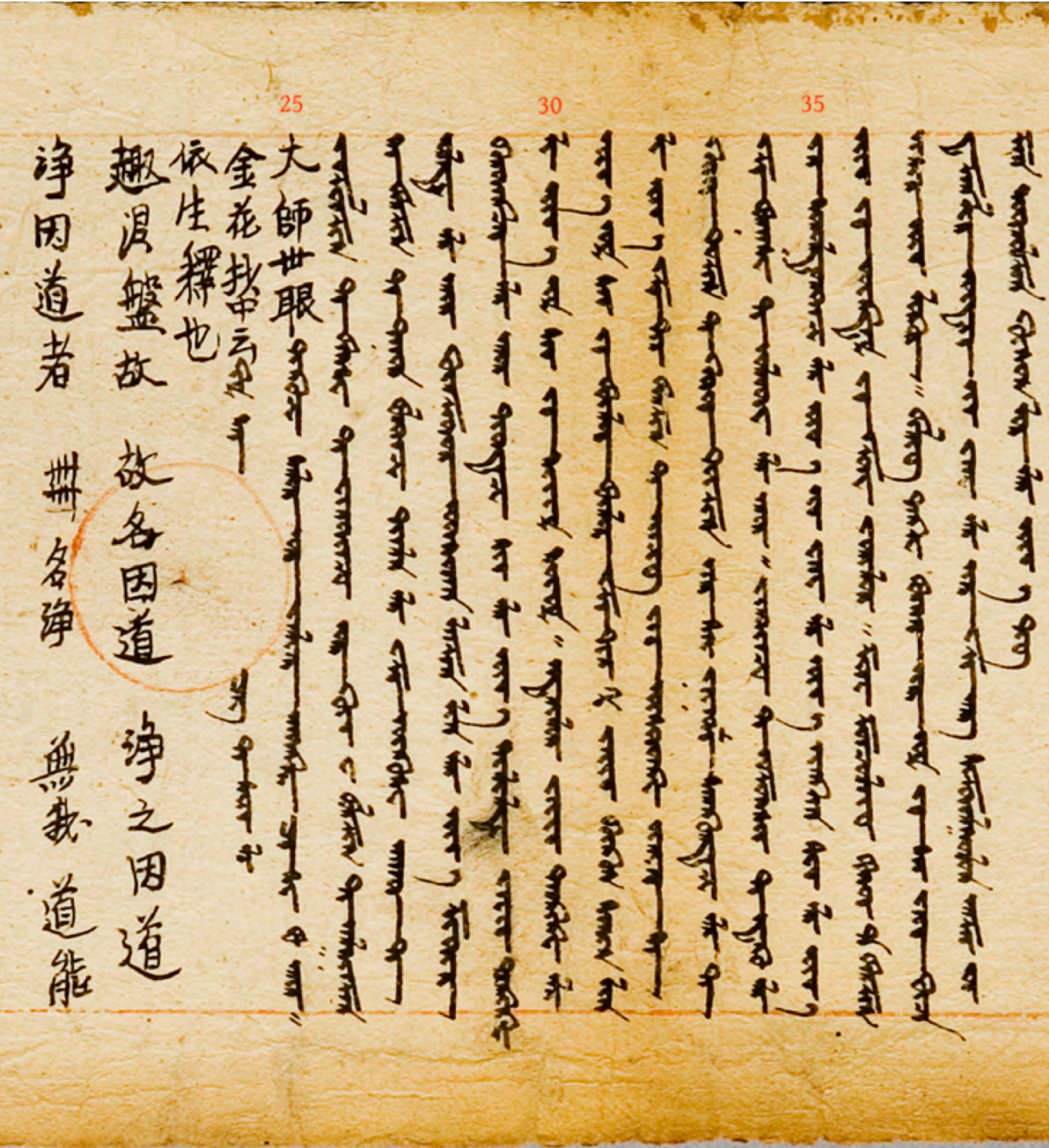
PLATE 10

Fig. 4. Hedin 40R39-53.

Fig. 5.   Fig. 6.

PLATE 11

Katsumi Tanabe, "Not *Bēnzhì/Bēnshí* (賁識, 奔識) but *Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera* (毘沙門天)."
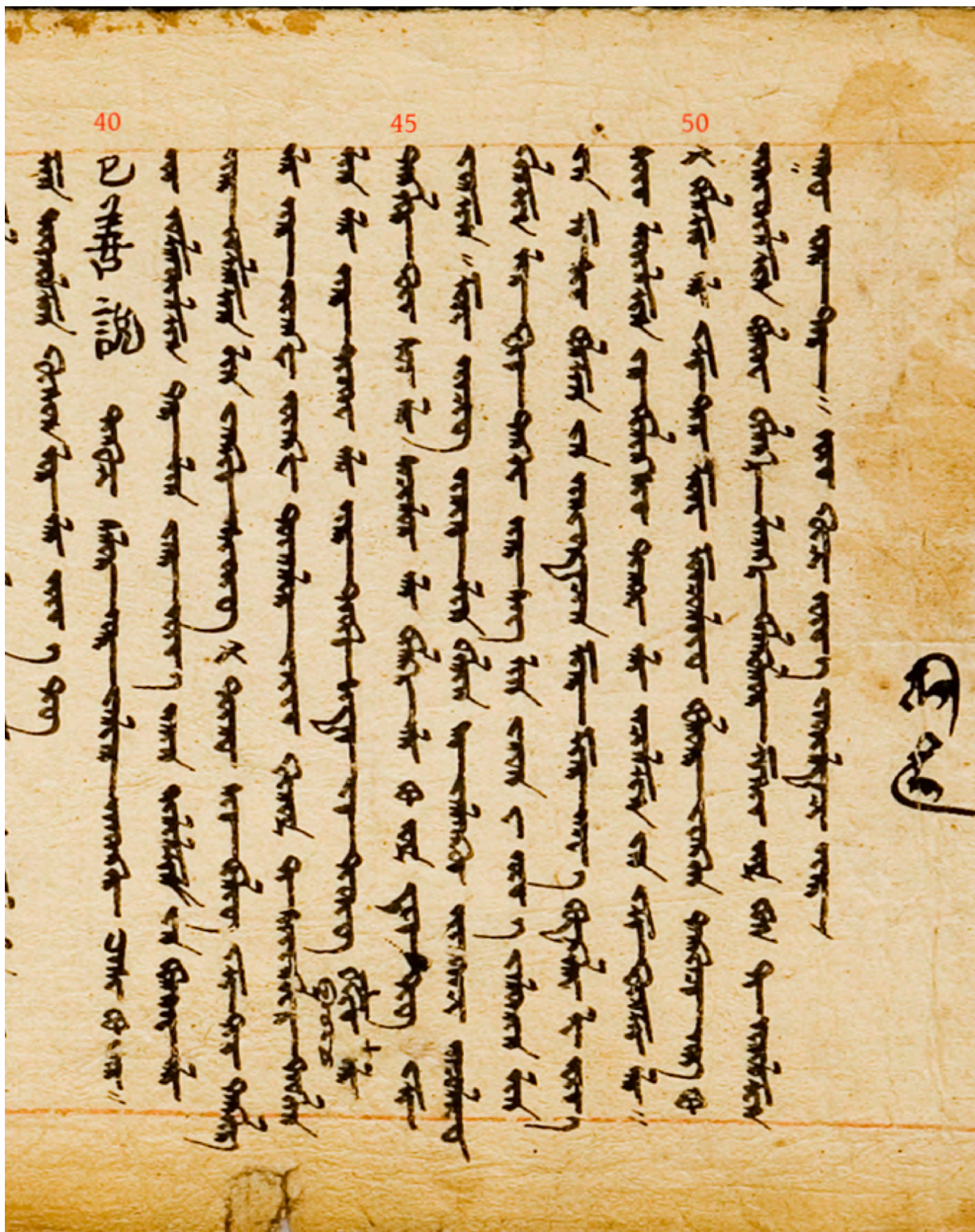
Fig. 1. Great Departure, detail of Fig. 2.

Fig. 2. Great Departure, Nimogram, H: 11cm, Musée Guimet, Paris.

PLATE 12

Fig. 3. First Meditation, Nimogram, H:18cm, Swat Museum.

Fig. 4. Great Departure and Farewell to Kaṇṭhaka, H: 9cm, Nara National Museum, Nara.

Fig. 5. Pāñcika, H: 54cm, Peshawar Museum.

Fig. 6. Pāñcika/Pharro and Hārītī/Ardoxsho, H:18cm, Asiatische Museum, Berlin.

PLATE 13

Fig. 7. Great Departure, H:ca.30cm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Fig. 8. Galloping Parthian cavalier, H: 17cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fig. 9. Vajrapāṇi, H: 33cm, Sen-oku-hakuko-kan (泉屋博古館), Kyoto.

PLATE 14

Fig. 10. Great Departure, H: ca.20cm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Fig. 11. Great Departure, H: 38cm, Indian Museum, Kolkata.

PLATE 15

Fig. 12. Vasudeva, gold dinar, D: 2cm, British Museum, London.

Fig. 13. Great Departure, H: 21cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

PLATE 16

Fig. 14. Donation of Four Bowls to the Buddha by the Four Lokapālas, H; 45cm, Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Hokuto, Japan.

Fig. 15. Pharro, god dinar of Huvishka, D: 2cm, Hamana-konpō-yusō Silk Road Museum, Iwata, Japan.

Isao Kurita, "A Panel depicting a King of Kushan."

PLATE 17

Fig. 1. Panel of a Khushan King. [Private collection, JAPAN]

PLATE 18

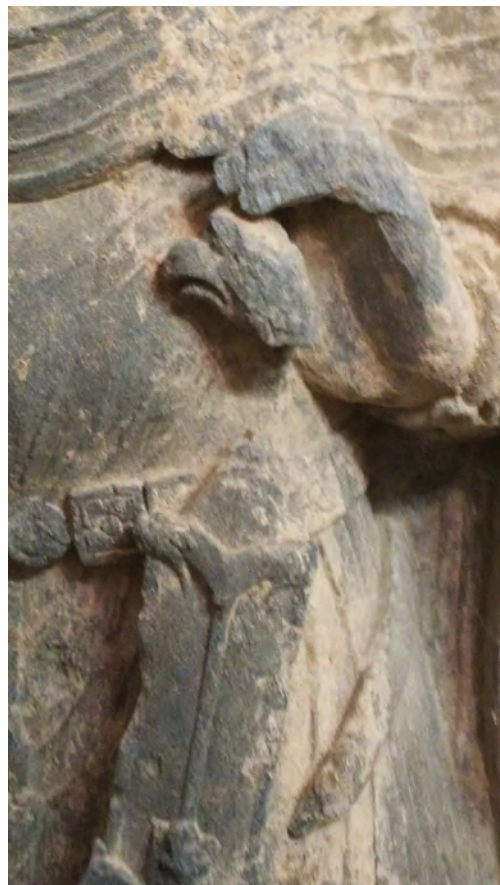Fig. 2. Necklace and round emblems on shoulder.

Fig. 3. Left hand.

Fig. 4. Sword.

Fig. 5. Eagle.

PLATE 19

Fig. 6. Source of fire.

Fig. 7. Bowl.