創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
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平成26年度
（第１８号）

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

for the Academic Year 2014

Volume XVIII

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Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
(ARIRIAB)
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An Inscribed Avalokiteśvara from the Hemis Monastery, Ladakh

Oskar von HINÜBER

At the end of 2012 my attention was drawn to the inscription edited here almost simultaneously by Dr. Christian Luczanits, at that time curator at the Rubin Museum in New York, and by Dr. Amy Heller, Nyon (Switzerland).[1] The inscription is written on the pedestal of an Avalokiteśvara image, which is itself approximately 45 cm high or almost 90 cm including the halo (figure 1). An image of this bronze is published without any reading of the inscription in the catalogue of the Museum of the Hemis Monastery, which is situated about 45 km south to Leh in Ladakh.[2]

Script and image do not contradict dating the bronze to approximately 11th century Kashmir as suggested by Ch. Luczanits, although the type of "proto-śāradā" script used did not change much over a longer period, which forbids using palaeography for more than a very rough dating.[3]

The reading of the inscription of three lines does not pose any difficulty (figure 2). Only the interpretation of the end is not entirely certain:

/1/ # *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvā-*

/2/ *dī mahāśravaṇa •• deyadharmo yaṃ karāpitam idaṃ śākyabhikṣu pun(!)yajayasya*

/3/ *yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavatu śrī vasantarājasya tathā s(ārdha)satvāṇāṃ buddhāyas saṃtu-r-iti*

"Of the things (*dharma*) that arise from a cause, the Tathāgata explained their cause and their cessation. This is the teaching of the great ascetic. This is the pious gift (and) this was ordered to be made by the Śākyabhikṣu Puṇyajaya. Whatever merit (was made) here that should go to Śrī Vasantarāja together (with) all beings. May (they) become Buddhas."

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[1]   It is my great pleasure to thank both scholars for information provided on and for photos of this bronze, and I am, first of all, obliged to the authorities of the Hemis Monastery for readily granting the permission to publish image and inscription.

[2]   *Catalogue Hemis Museum.* Photography by Ravinder Kalra, ed. by Khanchen Tsewang Rigzin. Leh-Ladakh: Hemis Museum, no date.

[3]   Date and place mentioned in the catalogue, see preceding note, "Gandhāra 3rd–4th century" is not tenable.

The first part of the inscription is the famous (originally Middle Indic *āryā-*) verse given as an answer by the monk Assaji (Aśvajit) to Sāriputta (Śāriputra) when the latter enquired about the essential teaching of the Buddha.

Although this verse is quoted frequently, almost everywhere in the Indian Buddhist world when merit is made,[4] hardly any research has been done so far on the different recensions of the text, geographical distribution or possible school affiliation. A first attempt at a comprehensive classification was made by Peter Skilling in the felicitation volume presented to the Thai epigraphist Prasert na Nakorn in 1999, which is not easily accessible everywhere.[5] Therefore, P. Skilling's classification is repeated here in an abbreviated form, but enlarged by the north-western group (2.3.4), which is characterized by the use of *mahāśravaṇa* together with either *hy avadat* or *prāha*. The numbering follows the one suggested by P. Skilling.

1. Canonical / literary versions:

1.1 Original verse in the Theravāda-Vinaya

>   *ye dhammā hetuppabhavā   tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha*
>
>   *tesañ ca yo nirodho   evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo*, Vin I 40,28* foll. (Sp 975,19-30)

āryā with *ślokapada* in the first quarter, or, alternatively, *āryā*, if *dhammă* and *hetu-pabhavā* is read.[6]

1.2 Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin

>   *ye dharmā hetuprabhāvā   hetun teṣāṃ tathāgato āha*
>
>   *tesāṃ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ*, Mvu III 62,8* foll. (ed. É. Senart 1897)

The meter is faulty because of *nirodhă*; variant: ms. M (Nepalese paper ms., no date): *mahaśravaṇaḥ* (cf. 2.3.4.1 north-western group)

Manuscripts not used by É Senart in his edition of the *Mahāvastu*:

a) palm-leaf ms. Sa folio 288b2[7] (end):

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[4]. Peter Skilling, ""Buddhist Sealings": Reflections on Terminology, Motivation, Donor's Status, School-Affilation, and Print-Technology," in: *South Asian Archaeology 2001*. edited by Catherine Jarrige and Vincent Lefèvre. Vol. II. Historical Archaeology and Art History. Paris 2005, pp. 677–685, particularly p. 685.

[5]. Peter Skilling, "A Buddhist inscription from Go Xoai, southern Vietnam and notes towards a classification of *ye dharmā* inscriptions," in: *80 pī śāstrācāry dr. Praḥserith ṇa Nagara. Rvam pad gvām vijākār tān² cārük leḥ ekasāra porāṇa (80 years Prof. Dr. Prasert na Nakorn: A collection of research articles on epigraphy and ancient documents)*. Bangkok 2542 (1999), pp. 171–187. Older publications are collected and general questions discussed also by Ingo Strauch, "Zwei Stempel aus Swat (Pakistan)," *BISt* 13/14. 2000, pp. 215–230. — The article by Kyaw Minn Htin, "Early Buddhism in Myanmar: *Ye Dhammā* Inscriptions from Arakan," in: Pierre-Yves Manguin *et alii* (edd.): *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*. Singapore & Delhi 2011, pp. 385–406 is inaccessible to me.

[6]. Metrics and delopment of the verse are discussed in Ludwig Alsdorf: *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons metrisch hergestellt und textgeschichtlich untersucht*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse. Jahrgang 1967, No. 4 [rev.: L. Schwarzschild, *JAOS* 90. 1970, p. 586; J. W. de Jong, *IIJ* 13. 1971, pp. 210 foll.; H. Kopp, *OLZ* 68. 1973, col. 380 foll.; *ABORI* 53. 1972, p. 269], pp. 66 foll.

[7]. A. Yuyama: *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*. I. Palm-Leaf Manuscripts, II. Paper Manuscripts. Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 15, 16. Tokyo 2001.

ye dharmā hetuprabhăvā   hetun teṣāṃ tathāgato āha |

tesāñ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ‖

b) paper ms. Sb[7] = Senart; variant *hetu teṣāṃ*

The only easily accessible palm-leaf ms. thus shows that °-*prabhāvā* is a later Nepalese innovation.

1.3 *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*

ye dharmā hetuprabhavās   teṣāṃ hetuṃ tathāgata āha

tesāñ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ, CPS § 28b10; 28c8

The meter is destroyed by the Sanskrit *sandhi*: *tathāgata*, *nirodha*, cf. also 2.3.3 *uvāca* group.

1.4 *Pratītyasamutpāda-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (Sanskrit in Tibetan script, Tibetan Tripiṭaka):

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat

tesāñ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ

The meter is saved in *hy avadat* (cf. 2.3.1), but destroyed by *nirodha*. The same source is probably quoted by E. Waldschmidt, *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* III. 1962 § 28c8, p. 384 note 1.

This version of the formula also occurs in the *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*, cf. *ARIRIAB* XVII, p. 103 with note 154 (reference provided by N. Kudo).

2. Epigraphical versions:

2.1 Pāli inscriptions

2.1.1 *tesaṃ* group

ye dhammā hetuppabhavā   tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha

tesāñ ca yo nirodho   evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo ti

Siam (5 references), Burma (1 reference)[8]

2.1.2 *yesaṃ* group

*ye dhammā hetuppabhavā   **yesaṃ** hetuṃ tathāgato āha*

tesāñ ca yo nirodho   evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo ti

Siam (10 references)[9]

2.2 Hybrid Pāli inscriptions

2.2.1 *avaca* group

ye dhammā hetuprabhavā   tesāṃ hetuṃ tathāgato avaca

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[8]. If not indicated otherwise, the number of references is that given by P. Skilling, *Prasert Volume* 1999, as note 5.

[9]. Three additional references of this group are published by Peter Skilling, "Traces of the Dharma. Preliminary reports on some *ye dhammā* and *ye dharmā* inscriptions from Mainland South-East Asia," *BEFEO* 90/91. 2003–2004, pp. 273–287; cf. also § 2.2.2.1 (P. Skilling, *Prasert Volume* 1999) for an additional *yeṣāṃ*-inscription.

tesāṃ ca yo nirodho   evaṃvādī mahāśśamaṇo

Bihar and Bengal (7 references), Vietnam (1 reference), Cambodia (1 reference), SE-Asia (1 reference, provenance unclear, *BEFEO* 90/91. 2003–2004, p. 284)

ye dhammā hetuprabhavā   tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato avoca

tesaṃ ca yo nirodho   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇo

This inscription from Sarnath (published by S. Konow, *EI* 9. 1907-1908, p. 293) is according to paleography among the oldest epigraphical evidence for this formula (3rd / 4th century?). The use of the unmetrical *avoca* instead of *avaca* is, if read correctly, so far singular.

ye dhammā hetuppabhavā   tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato

avaca tesañ ca yo nirodho   evaṃvādī mahāsamaṇo

This division of lines results in two *ślokapada*s (a+b) and two unmetrical lines (c+d).

Siam (1 reference); Vietnam (1 reference)

2.3. Sanskrit inscriptions

2.3.1 *hy avadat* group

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat

tesāñ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ

Pāla artefacts in Siam (6 references); Burma (1 reference);[10] Malaysia (1 reference); Vietnam (2 references);[11] Afghanistan (1 reference, cf. 2.3.4.1 north-western group); cf. 1.4 *Pratītya-samutpāda-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*

2.3.2 *avadat* group

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavāḥ   hetun teṣāṃ tathāgato avadat

tesāñ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ

Java (1 reference)

2.3.3 *uvāca* group

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgata uvāca

tesāñ ca yo nirodhaḥ   evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ

Java (1 reference). The reading *teṣāṃ hetuṃ tathāgato hy uvāca*, *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (ed. E. Waldschmidt, I. 1952, p. 23 ms. S 360, folio 111, line 1 = III. 1962 § 28c8, p. 384 note 1) is doubtful, cf. above 1.3.

2.3.4 North-western group:

2.3.4.1 *mahāśravaṇa + hy avadat* sub-group

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[10]   The evidence from Burma is found in John Guy, "Offering up a rare jewel: Buddhist merit-making and votive tablets in early Burma," in: A. Green & T. R. Blurton: *Burma. Art and Archaeology*. London 2002, pp. 23–33, Figure 3.4 from the Archaeological Department, Burma: *[ye dhar]mā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ /2/ [teṣāṃ ta]thāgato hy avadat-te(ṣāṃ) ca yo /3/ [niro]dho evaṃvādī mahā(śra)maṇaḥ*. No reading of the inscriptions is given, which are, unfortunately, with one exception illegible from the images (figures 3.1, 3.8, 3.9, 3.11).

[11]   The inscriptions from Siam (Museum Songhkla) and Vietnam are edited by P. Skilling, *BEFEO* 90/91. 2003–2004, as note 9 above, pp. 282 and pp. 285, 287 respectively.

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat

tesāñ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśravaṇaḥ

Afghanistan (1 reference [type B] in M. Taddei, "Inscribed Clay Tablets and Miniature Stūpas from Ghazni," *EW* NS 20. 1970, pp. 70–86 and 1 reference in L. Sander, "An Unusual *ye dharmā* Formula," in: Jens Braarvig (ed.) *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III. Buddhist Manuscripts II*. Oslo 2002 [rev.: D. Seyfort Ruegg, *BSOAS* 70. 2007, pp. 622-624], pp. 337-349); Gilgit (1 reference in D. Klimburg-Salter, "The Painted Covers of the Saṃghāṭasūtra 627/8 and the Votive Objects from Gilgit," *South Asian Archaeology 1989*, ed. by Catherine Jarrige. Monographs in World Archaeology No. 14. Madison 1992, pp. 395-402, particularly p. 399 Figure 47.5, and 2 references on figures 3a & b[12]); Mvu variant in ms. M., see above 1.2. The inscription from the Hemis Museum also belongs to this group.

2.3.4.2 *mahāśravaṇa* + *prāha* sub-group

ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣāṃ tathāgata prāha

tesāṃ ca yo nirodha   evaṃvādī mahāśravaṇaḥ

Altogether 6 references: Strauch, "Zwei Stempel aus Swat (Pakistan)," as note 5 above, and two sealings (figures 4a & b), one photographed by Chandrabal Tripathi (1929–1996) in SPS Museum in Srinagar (figure 4a), the other, of unknown provenance, by Jürgen Wasim Frembgen, München, in about 2000[13] (figure 4b). The type G in M. Taddei, "Inscribed Clay Tablets and Miniature Stūpasa," above 2.3.4.1, belongs here. M. Taddei's reading *hy avadat* instead of the clearly visible *praha* (figures 24, 25 in Taddei, group G) is a mistake. The figures do not allow controlling most of M. Taddei's readings of the barely legible sealings. However, in figure 18 [type D] the sealing ends with *evaṃvādī*; *mahāśrava*[or: *ma*]*ṇa* is missing).

 # (e) ye tharmā hetuprabhavā   hetu hetus teṣyāṃs tathāgatā(ya)

teṣyāṃ ca yo nīrotha(ṃ)   evaṃvādī mahāśravaṇā ||

deyatharmo yaṃ mahāśrātho upāsaka (cha)ï(da)asvālapati[sya] sumanaśūrasya

L. Sander, "A Graffito with the Quintessence of Buddhist Doctrine from Ladakh," in: *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres*. Reinbek 1994, pp. 561-570.

At the end of pada b *tathāgatāya* is clearly a mistake, most likely for *prāha*. The form *tharma* instead of *dharma* is also found in the "Unusual *ye dharmā* formula" (cf. 2.3.4.1), in *deyatharmo* in the inscription on the bronze of Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi, year 82, and in the name *tharmilaḥ*, Thor-Nord 132:8 for Dharmila.[14] Reading and interpretation of the sequence *(cha)ï(da)asvālapati* are, except for °-*pati*, uncertain. Perhaps the Iranian title *spālapati* is hidden in this sequence. If so, *(cha)ï(da)a* may be compared perhaps to *sāïtā*-

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puruṣe or *chchāṭi-puruṣe*.[15] Following the structure of the inscription, *(cha)ï(da)asvālapati* should be the title of Sumanaśūra.[16]

> /1/ *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetu hetus teṣāṃ tathāgata prăha tesāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśravaṇa* /2/ *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetu hetus teṣāṃ tathāgata prăha tesāṃ [ca] yo (nirodha e)vaṃvādī mahāś(ravaṇa)* /3/ *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetu hetus teṣāṃ tathāgata prăha tesāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahā[śravaṇa]* /4/ *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetu hetus te(ṣāṃ ta)thāgata prăha tesāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī m[ahāśravaṇa]* /5/ *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetu hetu[*

This single birch-bark folio, which was most likely found during the excavations at Naupur by Kaul Shastri in 1938, was photographed by D. Klimburg-Salter in the Pratap Singh Museum at Srinagar in summer 1989 (figure 5). The text breaks off in the middle of line 5.

— — —

With the use of *hy avadaṯ* and particularly *mahāśravaṇa*[17] the Hemis inscription edited here fits into group 2.3.4.1. The use of a *virāma* at the end of *avadaṯ* is as remarkable as are the two dots side by side at the end of the word *mahāśravaṇa* ••. They seem to mark at the same time a *visarga* and the end of the verse or sentence.

The inscription is so far the second example for a combination of the *ye-dharma*-formula with *deyadharma* (cf. 2.3.4.2).

The blending of two formulas used to introduce a donation (*deyadharmo yaṃ karāpitam idaṃ*) is unusual, but not really unique. For, similar combinations like *deyadharmo yaṃ susuḍāya kṛtaṃ* on a bronze do occur occasionally[18] with the wording on a bronze donated by Maṅgalahaṃsikā being particularly close to the Hemis inscription: *devadharmo yaṃ śrī paramadeviyā maṅgalahaṃsikayā ayaṃ devadhammaṃ kārāpitaṃ*.[19]

The title of donor Puṇyajaya adds to the Śākyabhikṣus[20] occurring in these north-western inscriptions: Acintamittra (*ARIRIAB* X. 2007, p. 40), Ratnacittin (Fussman, p. 30[21]),

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[15.] *Palola Ṣāhis*, as preceding note, p. 141 (on *spālapati*), 82 foll., 146 foll.

[16.] There are also some titles in inscriptions and colophons from Gilgit which resist interpretation, cf. *Palola Ṣāhis*, as note 14, p. 140.

[17.] On the north-western form °-*śravaṇa* instead of °-*śramaṇa* see O. v. Hinüber: *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 467. Band. Vienna ²2001, § 210.

[18.] Relevant material is collected in *Palola Ṣāhis*, as note 14 above, p. 181; cf. now also *devadharmo ya[ṃ] giriyo (+ kṛtaṃ)* ///, Thor-Nord 29:1, MANP 11, as note 14 above, p. 240, which, however, are probably two separate inscriptions.

[19.] O. v. Hinüber, "Four Donations Made by Maṅgalahaṃsikā, Queen of Palola (Gilgit)," *ARIRIAB* XIV. 2011, pp. 3–6, particularly p. 6.

[20.] The concept of Śākyabhikṣu is discussed by R. Cohen, "Kinsmen of the Son: Śākyabhikṣu and the Institution of the Bodhisatva Ideal," *History of Religions* 40.1. 2000, pp. 1–31.

[21.] G. Fussman, "Chilas, Hatun et les bronzes bouddhiques du Cachemire," in: *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies Vol. 2*, ed. by Karl Jettmar. Mainz 1993, pp. 1–60.

Ratnaprabha (*ARIRIAB* XII. 2009, p. 3), Vimalībhānu (? *ARIRIAB* XII. 2009, p. 4), Vīkavarman (?);[22] and Hariṣayaśa (*Palola Ṣāhis*, p. 168 with note 225). His personal name Punyajaya is written with a dental -*n*- instead of the correct Puṇyajaya.[23] The merit made is shared with a second person called Vasantarāja.[24]

The end of the inscription poses some intricate problems. The readings *s(ārdha)* and *buddhāyas* are not beyond doubt. The vowel long -*ā* is not always marked very clearly; still the slightly lengthened vertical stroke seems to support a reading *sā* rather than *sa*. If so, the next ligature should be a perhaps slightly miswritten *rdha* rather than *rva*, which presupposes *sǎ*, because of the roundish form of the subscript. Comparing the usual formulas it seems that the word *sarva* is missing. Whether or not the uncalled for retroflex -*ṇa*- in *satvāṇāṃ* is really conditioned by *sarva* as the (perhaps missing) first member of the compound is more than doubtful, once *punya* for *puṇya* in the name of the donor is compared. However, the intended message of the faulty wording is clearly "together with (all) beings."

It is difficult to decide, whether the initial *akṣara* in *buddhāyas* is to be read as *bu*- or as *vu*- because of the only slightly flattened head of the character. Read either way, the intended word remains *buddha*. An interpretation of *buddhāyas* as one of the extremely rare nom. pl. forms ending in -*āyaḥ* traced by Franklin Edgerton in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit[25] is supported by the following plural *saṃtu*. The *sandhi*-consonant -*r*- is probably abstracted from a form like *syur-iti*, which is almost a synonym.[26] It is not unusual to find *iti* at the end of an inscription.[27]

There does not seem to be any immediate parallel to the wish that all beings should reach Buddhahood in inscriptions from the north-west.

[22.] The reading of the name is uncertain, also possible is perhaps *vīkra-°* or even *dhīkra-°*: Lobsang Nyima Laurent, "lHa bla ma Zhi ba 'od's Eighth Century Bronze from Gilgit," *Revue d' Études Tibétaines* 26. 2013, pp. 195–214, particularly p. 202.

[23.] Names containing the element *puṇya* were popular not only in Central Asia: O. v. Hinüber, "Indische Namen in Zentralasien bis 1000 n. Chr. 1995," *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 659–665, particularly pp. 659, 663 and below p. 221 "Three *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscripts" note 23, but also in India: Alfons Hilka: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung. Die altindischen Personennamen*. Indische Forschungen 3. Heft. Breslau 1911, p. 133.

[24.] Names containing the element *vasanta* are listed in Hilka: *Beiträge*, as preceding note, p. 115.

[25.] *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Volume I: Grammar. New Haven 1953 § 8.82.

[26.] Examples for the *sandhi*-consonant -*r*-: *Mittelindisch*, as note 17 above, § 271.

[27.] Cf. *Palola Ṣāhis*, as note 14 above, no. 22 (Hatūn inscription), no. 23 (Danyor inscription); *ARIRIAB* XIV. 2011, p. 11, note 12 (Rudrapuruṣadatta inscription); *ARIRIAB* XII. 2014. Supplement (Kanaganahalli Inscriptions), p. 21, inscription E (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvi inscription), etc.

Five Unnoticed Donative Inscriptions and the Relative Chronology of Sanchi Stūpa II

Matthew D. MILLIGAN

In a recent research trip to the Early Historic Period Buddhist site of Sanchi[1] in modern Madhya Pradesh, I re-read, photographed, and catalogued the hundreds of donative inscriptions found on the *vedika* architectural fragments on all three major stūpa-s. When I began comparing and contrasting what was found in Marshall, Foucher, and Majumdar's *The Monuments of Sanchi* (1982) volumes with my records I noticed a small discrepancy in the list of inscriptions from stūpa II. Curiously, five pavement slab inscriptions could not be found in Marshall's list, Lüders' old list (1912), or in Tsukamoto's (1996) more recent catalogue. After carefully searching all known publications of the Sanchi inscriptions, I determined that these five donative inscriptions were unnoticed by previously scholars who all undoubtedly relied heavily upon Marshall or Lüders' list without ever revisiting the source material. Although the reason for their exclusion from previous lists could be many, it may be possible that these architectural fragments were spurious additions by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) when the monuments were reconstructed, meaning that they were removed from a different area of the site and placed inside the circumambulatory path sometime before, during, or after Marshall's time. In this brief article, I present the five previously unnoticed donative inscriptions and attempt to provide new insights into dating stūpa II. Additionally, to flush out what is known and unknown about the stūpa II inscriptions, I compare some recurring donor names to those found at stūpa I and Bharhut. I assemble evidence to augment the relative chronology of stūpa II and its approximate date compared to the other stūpa-s.

Inscription 1 - N. Pavement Slab 1 (figure 1)
(in North Indian Brāhmī, c. 100 BCE)

Just inside the north *vedika* entrance is a pavement slab with the following complete donative inscription:

1 Samikāya vaghumatikasa dānaṁ

"The gift of (the woman) Samikā, from Vaghumata."

There is nothing particularly striking about this inscription other than the woman's personal name and location of residence. The name Samikā is a decidedly common personal name in the Sanchi inscriptional corpus, appearing in at least six other inscriptions throughout the site. Since this woman is from Vaghumata, I am unable to match her with other women with the same name who provide other places of origin. It is possible that the same woman over the course of time simply moved from Vaghumata to another place, such as the city of Ujjain (or vice versa, depending on the date of the inscription). It is also possible that she became a nun later in life, since at least one of the other Samikās found in the inscriptional corpus identifies herself as a nun. Vaghumata is a place of origin for at least two donors from Sanchi's stūpa no. 1 ground *vedika*.

Inscription 2 - N. Pavement Slab 2 (figure 2)
(in North Indian Brāhmī, c. 100 BCE)

1 vanikasa

"of the trader…"

This brief inscription is obviously incomplete or displaced. The mercantile presence at stūpa sites in Madhya Pradesh is unsurprising given the hundreds of other donative inscriptions with references to merchants, various craftsmen, and guilds. Upon inspection, the proximity of this inscription to inscription no. 1 allows for the potential that the two were meant to be placed together and were separated only for convenience. However, I am unable to think of any other inscriptions of this kind at Sanchi, so the possibility remains improbable.

Inscription 3 - N. Pavement Slab 3 (figure 3)
(in North Indian Brāhmī, c. 100 BCE)

1 …lāya bhikuniya danaṁ

"The gift of the nun [Acalā?]."

The fragmented inscription may be an incomplete rendering of an inscription found from stūpa I's *vedika*. That inscription (Tsu. 156/MM 170)[2] reads:

1 Nadinagarā Acalaya bhikhuniya dānaṁ [/]

"The gift of the nun Acalā from Nadinagarā."

However, comparing my photograph, rubbing and personal inspection with Marshall's plates, I find it unlikely to be exactly the same except for the donor's name as potentially determined by the case ending.

[2.] All references to previously published inscriptions will be provided with their numbers in their list publication. Tsukamoto's (1996) catalogue are represented with "Tsu." in accordance to the find-site. Marshall-Foucher-Majumdar's list in *The Monuments of Sanchi* (1982) are represented with a simple "MM." Lastly, Lüders-Waldschmidt-Mahendale's *Bharhut Inscriptions* (1963) are labeled with "Lüders" only. Any place where an inscription appears in more than one of these lists the numbers are separated with a common slash (/).

Inscription 4 - E. Pavement Slab (figure 4)

(in North Indian Brāhmī, c. 100 BCE)

1 Samanaura-matu dānaṁ

"The gift of the mother of a novice…"

No possible connections were found to other inscriptions even though it is a complete record. The title Samanaura is a misspelling of Samanera, 'novice.'

Inscription 5 - S. Pavement Slab (figure 5)

(in North Indian Brāhmī, c. 100 BCE)

1 Gavipu…[bhichu]nina[ṁ] dānaṁ

"The gift of some nuns…"

The incomplete letters were not matched with any previously occurring personal name or place of origin.

Context of the Site

Sanchi stūpa II has long served as one of the primary chronological markers for Early Historic Period Buddhist India because of its relief art, relationships to both the Great Stūpa of Sanchi and the remnants from Bharhut. Although the exact chronologies of Sanchi and Bharhut are blurred by the relative dating of artistic styles, inscriptional paleography, and association (or lack thereof) with normative monastic texts, it is clear that much of the material found at both sites is early, possibly c. 200 BCE, and may function as some of our best options for the study of early Indian Buddhism. The five inscriptions presented here are completely average in that they do not contribute any new information or even begin to clarify the problem of relative dating. Instead, these inscriptions reinforce what is already known about stūpa II and marginally increase known information pertaining to the scope and breadth of the patronage network of the period, which is around the 1st century BCE or slightly earlier.[3]

Stūpa II at Sanchi lies down the hill from the largest structure of the Sanchi hilltop, stūpa I. John Marshall's excavations and detailed study of all the Sanchi architecture revealed a possible Aśokan date for the founding of the site. However, aside from Aśoka's schism edict found on a fractured pillar immediately to the south of stūpa I's ground balustrade, there are no known inscriptions from the earliest time period. If Aśoka erected the pillar and founded the site in the middle of the 3rd century BCE, the earliest preserved layer of inscriptional activity comes more than a century later and may be found on the *vedika*-s of

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[3.] Along the same lines, the content of the inscriptions is very similar to that of Bharhut and Sanchi stūpa I. The presentation and language of the name, place of origin, profession, and status within the community is virtually the same. Three of the previously unnoticed donative inscriptions also refer to monastic donors, which is a common phenomenon within all Early Historic era Buddhist epigraphy. See, for example, some work by Gregory Schopen (Schopen, 2004).

stūpa-s I and II, thus making the well-preserved Brāhmī Prakrit records some of the earliest written materials from the region. Donative inscriptions from other sites such as Pauni or even single inscriptions from places like Mawasa may date to earlier time periods but do not yield a large cache for which statistical analysis and detailed sociological investigation may be carried out. It is thought that Sanchi stūpa II, the Bharhut stūpa and their associated *vedika* inscriptions date to the same paleographic time period and therefore may be compared and contrasted directly together to produce sociological insights into early Buddhist patronage.

Unlike the Great Stūpa (I) at Sanchi, stūpa II contained relics buried inside within a sandstone box. Although it is quite possible that stūpa I once housed relics of some great monastic teacher, such as the Buddha himself, it is impossible to theorize as to the exact contents or accompanying inscriptions. In its place, the reliquaries from stūpa II have received some scholarly attention over the years partially because they are so well preserved and labeled with names and titles. The inscribed sandstone box contained five reliquaries with burnt human bones inside. Accompanying inscriptions describe the deceased as members of the Hemavata school. Undoubtedly, these reliquaries were enshrined in this particular stūpa for veneration, probably by their monastic disciples and disciples of disciples, given that a majority of the donors contributing towards the construction of the stūpa itself (as found in the donative inscriptions found on the *vedika*) were self-identifying monks and nuns.

Dating the Sanchi Stūpa II *Vedika*

The closest and perhaps best reference for dating stūpa II's *vedika* based on its paleography and artistic style is the nearby buff sandstone Besnagar Garuḍa pillar donated by the Greek Heliodoros. As an envoy from Taxila sent by the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas at the end of the 2nd century BCE, most likely between 130–100 BCE, Heliodoros visited the court of Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra (Salomon, 1998, pp. 141, 265–147). According to textual accounts, after the fall of the Mauryan empire, Puśyamitra Śuṅga began the Śuṅgan imperial dynasty, kept the capital in Pataliputra, and maintained a close, probably mostly mercantile, relationship with Vidisha, the closest city to Sanchi and home of the Heliodoros pillar. The fifth ruler according to the Puranic list of Śuṅgan kings was Bhāgabhadra, named in the Heliodoros inscription. Coins bearing Heliodoros' own name were minted in the Northwest (Bopearachchi, 1989; Willis, Cribb, & Shaw, 2000, p. 57) and further suggest a late 2nd century BCE timeframe.

Some art historians have suggested a link between the flat, linear artistic styles of birds, flowers, and garlands seen at the Heliodoros pillar in Vidisha, Sanchi stūpa II, the Bharhut *vedika*, and early stone sculpture at Mathura (Quintanilla, 2007, pp. 13–14). Although the Heliodoros pillar, Sanchi stūpa II (not necessarily the *vedika*), and Bharhut all likely date to the late 2nd century, Quintanilla suggested that the tradition of such stone sculptural production, at least at Mathura, probably started in the middle of that century. Despite the stylistic comparisons between the sites, the names provided in the inscriptions

may prove to be something of a red herring for historians.[4]

For example, although there is a distinct "Bharhut Style" of carving found at Vidisha and Sanchi at the end of the 2nd century, the name mentioned in the well-known Bharhut gateway inscription, Dhanabhūti, was very likely not a Śuṅgan king at all. Traditionally, the inscription has been taken to mean that Dhanabhūti was a monarch within the Śuṅgan dynasty. However, the inscription very likely meant to say only that Dhanabhūti was a ruler at the same time as the Śuṅgas. Additionally, none of the ancestral names found on Dhanabhūti's gateway inscription appear on known textual lists of the Śuṅgan dynasty. Therefore, attempting to utilize the Śuṅgas as a catchall cultural sphere to which we can blindly place the four sites, Mathura, Vidisha, Sanchi, and Bharhut, is problematic. Not even the name Dhanabhūti, which appears at both Bharhut and Mathura can be taken to be the same person (Quintanilla, 2007, p. 8ff.). Thus begins our problem with firmly dating the inscriptions and our eventual use of relative dating based on style and paleography.[5]

Richard Salomon once cautiously pointed out that precise claims for paleographically dating inscriptions should "not be uncritically accepted." One remedy would be to "adopt Ramesh's principle of plus or minus one hundred years for the range of accuracy of paleographic dating" (Salomon, 1998, p. 170). Applying this principle to the problematic case of Sanchi II, Bharhut, and the Heliodoros pillar pushes the solution farther away and further implies a need to proceed carefully.

Until very recently, there have been few new findings or attempts to reconsider the artistic and paleographic findings from Bharhut, which in turn meant that stūpa II at Sanchi was scarcely revisited as well. Fortunately, the two new articles found in previous issues of this journal by von Hinüber and Skilling (2013) and now Salomon and Marino (2014) added new material for study in ancient central India. The stūpa site Deor Kothar yielded two fragmentary Brāhmī pillar inscriptions in Prakrit which might be some of the earliest Buddhist inscriptions after Aśoka's edicts. They date to approximately the 2nd century BCE and present interesting genealogical inscriptions that could refer all the way back to the Buddha. In addition to new genealogical content, which is quite new to the corpus of early Indian Buddhist epigraphy, the inscriptions provide new characters and sequences that can be studied in comparison to Bharhut and, perhaps eventually, Sanchi stūpa II. Unfortunately, such a lofty goal is not the purpose of the present paper but such a future study might go far in assisting to unravel the mystery of applying relative paleographic dating to these sites.[6] From a preliminary analysis, the five unnoticed inscriptions studied here seem to date to the

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[4.]   For a comprehensive presentation of the dynasties and relationships to some Buddhist sites, see (Shimada, 2013, pp. 31–58).
[5.]   Problems of relative dating based on the comparing paleography is succinctly summarized and adequately discussed by Quintanilla (Singh, 2010, p. 73).
[6.]   High definition photographs of all the inscriptions from all three sites would be necessary for detailed comparison. At present, such materials are not within my grasp although in the future I hope that scholars may make digital files containing 3D image renderings of Indian epigraphs available on the Internet for processing and analysis. Scholars studying ancient Mediterranean epigraphy currently have this capability. See the website http://www.digitalepigraphy.org for reference. I plan to publish my own database of central Indian inscriptions by 2016. The database would be in the style of the Bibliotheca Polyglotta's "The Ashoka Library," found at http://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/.

same or nearby paleographic generation as the *vedika* inscriptions from stūpa II, which would mean they also inherit the *vedika* inscriptions' relationship to Bharhut and Deor Kothar, if there is indeed any relationship at all.

Some recent observations at Bharhut and Sanchi are worthy additions to the corpus of what is known about Sanchi stūpa II. J. Hawkes suggested that "changes made over time to the railing [at Bharhut] and its carved programme suggests changes in the use of the monument" (Hawkes, 2008, p. 10). This important point is equally applicable to the *vedika* at Sanchi stūpa II as we know that railings and pillars were undoubtedly added as time passed (Willis et al., 2000). Hawkes tentatively connected such stylistic changes with changes occurring within the monastic Buddhist institution itself, correctly implying that the sites as well as the people and institutions involved in creating, administrating, and preserving them, were not static entities but rather living bodies in a constant state of flux. This is especially true if these sites were consistently inhabited and used over several centuries given their probable Aśokan origin. Therefore, it would make sense for the artistic styles as well as the paleographic intricacies to change and ultimately fluctuate between conservative and innovative, thereby further complicating nearly any attempt at relative historical dating.

While Hawkes' remarks are well taken, there are, at least according to F. Asher, some broad strokes that may be analyzed to determine a relative chronological sculptural sequence to early Buddhist art. Asher suggested that Sanchi stūpa II was very likely *not* one of the first major monuments following the Mauryan period given that it rests on an artificial terrace below the rest of the Sanchi's hilltop monuments (2006, p. 57). Further, stūpa II enshrined what he called "lesser personages" compared to that of the Buddha or of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, famously enshrined on the hilltop proper in stūpa III. Moreover, the so-called "crude" or "primitive" style of stūpa II's reliefs definitely continued well into the 1st century BCE. Asher also revisited the assessment of the donor seṭhin Nāgapiya from Achāvaḍa whose name appears on both the *vedika* of Sanchi stūpa II and stūpa I. Some scholars (Willis et al., 2000, p. 59) proposed that the two donors could not have possibly been the same since the construction of both *vedika*-s was too far apart. Asher warned that the evidence was "marshaled to fit the assumption" (Asher, 2006, p. 58). One potential hole, as Asher pointed out, in the assumption is that two distinct artistic styles could certainly *not* prevail simultaneously at a single site at the same time. Allowing for the potential of two different workshops to work the same site at the same time could, theoretically, allow for the possibility that the *vedika*-s from stūpa I and stūpa II at Sanchi to be contemporaneous despite their distinctive styles and subject matters. Using all of the donor names provided from stūpa II, I reassess both the case of Nāgapiya and others in the next section.

In Asher's view, early Buddhist monuments might be grouped stylistically as opposed to regionally. "Very likely," he says, "there is a chronological order to these groups" (Asher, 2006, p. 63). The order goes: 1.) the Mauryan group, meaning the pillars with lion capitals and inscriptions; 2.) the planar group, which specifically means the Bharhut and Sanchi II styles; 3.) the Bodh Gaya group, which refers to a small group of monuments (namely the Bodh Gaya *vedika*) and some individual pieces of art; and the 4.) highly modeled group, which primarily features the reliefs from Sanchi stūpa I as well as sculptures from Amaravati

and elsewhere. Asher ended his chronology of early Buddhist material culture at the Kuṣāṇa period. That period, he claimed, contains changes that are abrupt and mark the official transition out of the Mauryan influence, such as the introduction of the anthropomorphic depiction of the Buddha (although this particular part of the timeline is contested).

In the end, all of the timelines more or less derive from Marshall, Foucher, and Majumdar's work at Sanchi. The recent observations on the Sanchi area by Michael D. Willis and Julia Shaw (2007) have gone far in locating the nuances required for making highly informed guesses regarding the timeline and relative dating. The most widely accepted general timeline begins with Bharhut (and its inscriptions) in the late 2nd century BCE (Willis et al., 2000, pp. 55–57), then goes to Sanchi stūpa II and its *vedika* slightly later, then Sanchi stūpa I's *vedika*, then the Sanchi stūpa I *toraṇa*-s.[7] However, even though the actual dates of this timeline are flexible—perhaps even very flexible—there are some vital remarks that must be considered.

First, these monuments were not built over night and may have taken many years if not decades to complete, especially the *vedika* and gateways at Sanchi's Great Stūpa. A hidden factor may have been the money earned through donations required to employ workers to cut, transport, carve, and setup the structures. This process means that construction projects could have overlapped, as might the funding for such monuments. Second, with time, structures decay or are deliberately replaced or repaired for a variety of reasons. In such times, new uprights or crossbars could have been added along with new donative records. Lastly, individual pieces of a monument cannot possibly date a whole monument. For instance, the reliquary and human remains from stūpa II may indeed date to an earlier period than the surrounding *vedika*. Even though this fine distinction is easy to forget, if properly understood, it can contribute a great deal to filling in the missing gaps in our history.

Connections Between Donors: A Reassessment

Looking at the relationships between donors from stūpa II's *vedika*, which now includes the five unnoticed reliefs presented above, stūpa I's *vedika* and *toraṇa*, and Bharhut, I considered two hypotheses in attempting to determine a relative chronology:

> 1.) stūpa II's *vedika* is nearly contemporaneous with Bharhut's *vedika* and gateways and earlier than Sanchi stūpa I's *vedika*.

> 2.) stūpa II's *vedika* was a nearly simultaneous construction project with stūpa I and possesses an unclear historical relationship with Bharhut's *vedika*.

To determine which is the best hypothesis given our limited evidence of archaeology, art, and epigraphy, I focused primarily on the epigraphy given the deployment of the Nāgapiya inscription by scholars in the past. Moreover, the five previously unnoticed donative

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[7.]   Two important works on Sanchi stūpa II highlight its imagery and pre-Buddhist cult themes. These are taken to be indicators of an early date. See Bénisti (1986) and Taddei (1996). Karlsson (2006, p. 80) follows Rowland (1967, p. 88) in placing Bharhut between Sanchi stūpa II and stūpa I at no earlier than 100 BCE.

inscriptions presented above may contribute some new data to consider.

The case of Nāgapiya the banker who appears on both stūpa II's *vedika* and on stūpa I's railing is quite odd. The second hypothesis claims that the two *vedika*'s are roughly contemporaneous. However, the gateways of the Great Stūpa have always been considered later than even stūpa I's *vedika*. There are a few possible explanations here: 1.) there were a series of descendants who held the name Nāgapiya, the seṭhin from Achāvaḍa; 2.) the banker was very young when he first contributed to the construction of stūpa II's *vedika* and was still alive, albeit very old, at the time of stūpa I's gateway construction. The last explanation 3.) is that this is simply a case of coincidence. While the case of Nāgapiya the donor is far from a smoking gun in dating the two *vedika*-s, the simplest explanation, that it is indeed the same donor but at different parts of his life, may be the best in that it fits both hypotheses regarding the date. Nāgapiya's inscription by itself supports the second hypothesis: that the *vedika*-s, and possibly the gateways, were built together at about the same time. The timeline the Nāgapiya inscriptions create begins with stūpa II's *vedika* and ends with the gateway on stūpa I. Given that in one of the stūpa I gateway inscriptions Nāgapiya is a donor together along with a son, it feels safe to view the chronology between these three architectural constructions as being within the adult lifespan of Nāgapiya himself, since we know that there likely was not a tradition of naming the son after the father in this family. If he was perhaps a very young man when he first donated and a very old man when he donated again, we may have a period of 40–60 years, depending on how long Nāgapiya may have lived. Since scholars are now fairly certain that the gateway dates to approximately the turn of the millennium in either the very late 1st century BCE or the very early 1st century CE, this might put the inscribing of stūpa II's *vedika* at c. ~75–50 BCE, which is considerably later than the late 2nd century BCE date previously and commonly assigned.

To test this conclusion teased by the Nāgapiya inscription, I studied all the other stūpa II *vedika* donors to determine their relationship, if any, to other donors at any of our key sites, namely other structures and inscriptions at Sanchi, at Bharhut, and the Sanchi satellite sites like Sonari. Unfortunately, given the limited number of donative inscriptions that exist throughout time, only a small number of donor names repeat elsewhere. To separate names that simply repeat from names that have a good chance at being the same person appearing at two different sites, I looked at commonalities in the inscriptions, which were the stated locality of the donor, the stated profession (which included monks and nuns), and relationship, if any, to other donors, such as monastic pupils, relatives, etc. I found nine donors, including Nāgapiya, which could have referenced the same donor. The most important ones are described below.

Some of the connections indicate that the berm balustrade from stūpa I may be contemporaneous or nearly so to the *vedika* from stūpa II. The nun Dhamasenā from Kurara is a donor at both places where the inscriptions use the same description to identify her.[8] Given the berm *vedika*'s small size and artistic style, it would make sense for it to have been built by the same builders or at least in the same style to stūpa II's *vedika*. Dhamasenā's case

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[8.] Her inscriptions are: at stūpa II, 1.) Tsu. 722/MM 664; 2.) at stūpa I's berm *vedika*, Tsu. 548/ MM 562 and 3.) Tsu. 562/MM 576.

gives us a more definitive clue as to what to look for in other inscriptions.

The monk Sagharakhita from Kurara also appears in these two places: the stūpa II *vedika* (Tsu. 698/MM 640) and the stūpa I stairway/berm *vedika* (Tsu. 597/MM 611). The connection between the names in these inscriptions rests on the donors' place of origin, like Dhamasenā's inscriptions. The stūpa II *vedika* inscription reads *korarasa* ('[from] Kurara'). Meanwhile, in the stūpa I berm *vedika* inscription the record reads *Koragharānaṁ* ('[from] Koraghara.') in the genitive plural. The plurality of the word is not the issue as it refers to the group of donors mentioned (Kāḍā Subhagā Pusā Nāgadata Sagharakhita). However, the actual locality as it is spelled requires some explanation. At first glance, the village, Koraghara, seems to be an entirely different village from Kurara. However, Tsukamoto (1996, p. 830) and others (Singh, 2010, p. 73) have rightly broken down the form into *Kurara-gṛha* and as such have included all of the donors from Kuraghara into the tabulations for Kurara. If this is so, and it appears that the variants such as Kuraghara, and Korara are also included, then there is yet another connection between the two *vedika*-s. The donor Sagharakhita from Kurara contributed to both *vedika*-s and, perhaps later, sponsored a stairway *vedika* fragment with (monastic?) friends. Sagharakhita was quite a busy donor since his name might appear in an inscription from Sonari, a nearby satellite site to Sanchi. At Sonari (Tsu. 2), the inscription reads "A gift of the monk Sagharakhita, who is the pupil of Aya Pasanaka." Although Sagharakhita is a common monastic personal name, there is reason to at least consider, albeit with considerable caution, that this could be the same man given Sagharakhita from Kurara's active participation in the region. If this *is* the same monk Sagharakhita from Kurara, then he appeared at the reliquary site of Sonari later in his life to honor his monastic teacher, Noble Pasanaka. Coincidentally, Pasanaka himself may have had a long life as well since his name—again, assuming it is the same man—appears on the Sanchi stūpa I *vedika* three times (Tsu. 130, 134, 135/MM 144, 148, 149). If such a connection existed, it would indicate that within the life of Aya Pasanaka, both some part of Sonari and the *vedika* to stūpa I were constructed. Additionally, it could be that within the life of Aya Pasanaka that the berm *vedika* at stūpa I and the *vedika* from stūpa II were also constructed. If Aya Pasanaka lived a fair life of 60 years, it is entirely possible that all of these features date to a period within 30-50 years.

If the *vedika*-s from stūpa I and stūpa II were built during the same period, meaning that they were both roughly contemporaneous with each other and also Bharhut, as the second hypothesis claims, then it would be a fascinating choice to build stūpa I's *vedika* in an entirely different style, size, and vision than the berm *vedika* from the same structure. By this account, it seems more likely that the first hypothesis is true, with zero degrees of relative separation between Sanchi II's *vedika* and I's berm *vedika*. In this timeline, there is one degree of separation between II's *vedika* and I's grand *vedika*.

Just how much time passed between the two periods seems to be within the life span of a monk's career. The donation of Nāgila, the pupil of Aya (Tsu. 690/MM 632) from Sanchi stūpa II's *vedika* may provide some clarity. There, the inscription reads "A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of bhadata Nāgila" (Tsu. 88/MM 102). If some time had passed between the construction of each stūpa's *vedika*, then perhaps Nāgila, a monk tutored under a

famous teacher known in stūpa 2, had in time become worthy of a title such as bhadata. This would make a donation by all of his relatives in his honor much more spiritually auspicious for them either sometime immediately after his passing or during his old age.[9]

In the same manner, Balaka, pupil of Aya Arahaguta from Sāsāda, appears at stūpa II but his teacher, Aya Arahaguta, appears as a donor on stūpa I's *vedika*. It is very likely the same Aya Arahaguta since they are both monks from Sāsāda. The inscriptions are unusually clear here in providing the proper connecting information of locality and profession. Again, the evidence points to the construction or at least funding of both separate *vedika*-s during the lifespan and career of a single individual.

The donor Budharakhita at stūpa II gives us a possible *terminus post quem* for the relative chronology. Even though there are several matches to the masculine name Budharakhita at Sanchi, none match exactly the place of origin (Arapāna) or profession (sutātika, 'versed in the *suttanta*-s'). Nevertheless, interestingly, there are several inscriptions from Bharhut which are worthy of mention. One (Tsu. no 104/Lüders et al. A58) references a monk with two titles which are worthy of prestige: bhadata and satupadāna. Bhadata is a clear monastic title ('venerable') and satupadāna was previously translated as something that could resemble a monastic title. Lüders, Waldschmidt, and Mahendale (1963) presented the most convincing translation of that title, arguing that it is an "imperfect spelling for sattupādāna=Sk srishtopādāna [sic], '[one] who has abandoned attachment'" (p. 38).[10] Another inscription (Tsu. 186/ Lüders et al. A57) gives Budharakhita the title pa[ṁ]ca-nekāyikasa, or '[he] who knows the five *nikāya*-s' (p. 37). Again, the donor Budharakhita is given a prestigious monastic title associated with what we might come to eventually call Buddhist canonical literature, such as the known words 'nekāya (=nikāya),' and 'sutātika' (=suttantika), which was found at Sanchi stūpa II's *vedika*. Lüders et al. argued against Barua in thinking that even though this Budharakhita is not expressly called a *bhikkhu*, he almost certainly was part of the monastic order. These few Bharhut inscriptions may form a strong but tentative monastic connection between Sanchi stūpa II and Bharhut, two stūpa sites that were previously thought to be contemporaneous based on their art.[11] If Bharhut is indeed slightly older than stūpa II's *vedika*, it cannot be *that* much older given Budharakhita's monastic career and sponsorship at both sites.

[9.] Another possible connection between stūpa II and stūpa I lies with the donation by the monk Yakhila. At stūpa II he is stated just as a monk while at stūpa I he is a monk that is the monastic pupil to aya Devagiri. However, this is also a red herring because it is impossible to know whether or not this is the same monk. If stūpa I's *vedika* is indeed later it may just be a coincidence.

[10.] Most recently, Dehejia (1997, p. 107) followed Lüders' translation. Previously, Lamotte (1988, p. 414) translated it as '[one] devoted to the application of mindfulness.' All of these translations emend Hultzsch, who took it as Sk. 'sāstropādāna,' or '[he] who is versed in sciences,' and are substantial reinterpretations from Cunningham's who postulated that the word referenced a place of origin. Satupadāna does not appear as far as scholars can tell in any canonical literature.

[11.] A possible problem for this line of thought comes in another inscription (Tsu. 176/Lüders et al. A55). In that inscription, a man named Budharakhita is called rupakāraka, which may be translated as 'sculptor.' Given the prominence of the mercantile classes in these inscriptions, along with the presence of various kinds of craftsman, it could very well be that this is another, non-monastic Budharakhita. Or, possibly, the same Budharakhita was a monastic-sculptor, although this connection is pushing the limits of what these inscriptions can tell us.

Returning to the case of Nāgapiya, if Budharakhita links stūpa II to Bharhut, and Nāgapiya links stūpa II to the Great Stūpa's gateways, we can tentatively build both a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem*. The key here is that both relative chronological limits could be within a single human's lifespan. To recap, hypothesis one posits that stūpa II's *vedika* is roughly contemporaneous with Bharhut but earlier than stūpa I's *vedika* (and subsequently, its *toraṇa*). The second hypothesis works with the assumption that simultaneous construction projects may have put both stūpa I and stūpa II's *vedika*-s in the same time period. Although the limited evidence mustered here cannot definitively determine which hypothesis is closer to the truth, in studying both hypothesis using previously known art historical and archaeological arguments combined with an epigraphic survey and analysis, I posit a slightly augmented relative chronology. Bharhut comes first (although the *vedika* there seems to be earlier than its *toraṇa*, as per the recurring theme at these types of sites), next comes Sanchi stūpa II's *vedika*, stūpa I's berm *vedika*, stūpa I's ground *vedika*, and, finally, stūpa I's own *toraṇa*-s. The major insight stemming from my small study is that *all* of these periods could have been closer together than previously thought—so close together, in fact, that they might have been within a single person's lifetime, meaning 30–60 years.

Conclusion

The arguments linking Bharhut and Sanchi stūpa II based on artistic style and epigraphy are convincing, as are the attempts to provide a date using the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar. However, the evidence presented above suggests caution in assigning a precise date to these structures, let alone an early date, relative or otherwise. Given the possibility that Bharhut and the earliest inscribed monuments at Sanchi were all erected within a limited amount of time, such as the lifetime of an average person, a conservative timeline may be the best option. One such conservative timeline pushes the *vedika*-s from Bharhut and Sanchi stūpa II back from circa late 2nd century BCE into circa mid-1st century BCE to better align with the erection of stūpa I's *toraṇa*-s.

Such an adjustment may coincide well with what Willis proposed as the date of Gotiputa and the Hemavata monastic teachers enshrined in stūpa II. Willis proposed that Gotiputa may have lived in and around the Sanchi area during the middle of the 2nd century BCE. Although Willis (2001, p. 228) suggested a similar date for the stūpa II *vedika*-s, it seems much more likely that the *vedika*-s were built sometime after the stūpa was built, which would have, in turn, been built sometime after Gotiputa and the others had died. Therefore, I propose a mid 1st-century BCE approximate date for the *terminus post quem* for all of the Sanchi inscriptions, which would better link the paleography of the site internally since there is little development in paleography from stūpa II's *vedika* to stūpa I's *toraṇa*.

The five previously unnoticed donative inscriptions reinforce the solution presented here. Even though it is unknown whether or not these five inscriptions were actually originally intended to serve as pavement slabs at stūpa II specifically, it may not matter since the Brāhmī matches nearly perfectly with the entire era's Brāhmī at Sanchi. Some of the generic architectural pieces like pavement slabs could have been deliberately made as such in

order to provide proper filler for an ongoing program of construction projects. After all, it is easier to shape and mold generic slabs like these into the proper jigsaw puzzle pieces than crossbars and uprights, which were all cut with a specific purpose and place in mind at a specific architectural feature.

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A new Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*
(Texts from the Split Collection 3)

Harry FALK

The manuscript presented here belongs to the so-called "Split collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts", encountered by the author in the bazaar of Peshawar. Its origins are not fully clear, at least the find site is said to be Bajaur or its close vicinity in the tribal area of north-western Pakistan. Because the owners still hold more mss of the find, with some others already gone to different customers, the collection has been labeled "Split" to allow maintaining the term once other parts will come to light, irrespective of their places of accommodation. Two of the five manuscripts have been published so far. One is a single segment from a birch-bark sheet containing a few stanzas of the Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta (Falk 2011: 13-15), the second ms contains parts of the text of a Prajñāpāramitā, a forerunner of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā (Falk & Karashima 2012, 2013). The third text is presented here.

The ms consists of one single sheet of birch-bark, inscribed on only one side. The sheet once measured about 14 × 54 cm.[1] It broke into 11 larger segments along the lateral folds when it was rolled up and the role flattened. The first two segments, once on the outside on top and bottom of the roll, lost material amounting to at least 2 full lines of the running text, one on each lateral fold respectively. The segments from the flattened roll show diagonal abrasions on one side, proof that it was used as an implement to wipe, or brush, something for a period of time. This process has erased a minimum of 4 *akṣara*s at the tip of the diagonal abrasion and about 15 at its base. A similar slanting abrasion is found on the birch-bark of the Prajñāpāramitā,[2] although much less pronounced. The segments and some fragments have been electronically rearranged (plates 4–6), showing the position in the two glass frames on the left and the running line numbers on the right.

This edition adds yet another version to the already impressive collection of texts usually called Dharmapada (Dhp). Few of them contain this term in their title, the most substantially preserved group of Sanskrit mss calls their contents *udāna* or *udānavarga*. The Pali Dhammapada is preserved in manuscripts which differ not very much among themselves. All other versions in Prakrit or Sanskrit are interlinked on account of a series of stanzas they have in common and occurring in the same sequence, or by particular phrases unique to two or more of them. On the whole there are often more differences than common traits when comparing any pair of versions.

[1.] For a comparison with other birch-barks of this collection cf. Falk & Strauch 2014: 75.

[2.] Falk & Karashima 2013 pl. 53, right side.

Our text again presents a collection which is basically independent of other versions. With very few exceptions all stanzas found in it are either known from other Dhp versions or occur in texts from the Pali canon. Since most stanzas do not present breathtaking philosophical insights the value of one more collection may be regarded as limited. However, this new collection is important as it is the third Dhp written in the Kharoṣṭhī script of the North-West published so far. The first was the legendary "Gāndhārī Dharmapada" presented with meticulous commentaries by J. Brough in 1962. The birch-bark segments were most likely found near Khotan, at the south-western end of the Taklamakan desert. Its language and find-place explain the abbreviation used in Lenz (2003) and here, "Dhp-G^K". Fragments of a second manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī script from the British Library in London were published by Lenz (2003; Dhp-G^L). Nothing much of it survived the ravages of time and thus this ms mainly demonstrates that another version existed. Our ms is labeled Dhp-G^S because of its being part of the "Split" collection. It is in comparison rather voluminous, presenting 90 stanzas or parts of them on one sheet of birch-bark and it seems as if the ms is more of less complete, although not undamaged. There is not a single stanza with a parallel in Lenz' edition, but 39 stanzas have parallels in the collection from Khotan. This local aspect is the most interesting one as we now are able to compare stanzas written in the same script, not very much removed in time from each other, but certainly composed in different areas. We are used to call the language of the Khotan Dhp "Gāndhārī", but when we now compare a version which really comes from Gandhara, we see that there are differences of a systematic kind, which may force us to re-christen the language of the Khotan Dhp "Central-Asian Gāndhārī", which sounds like a *contradictio in adiecto* but we also have "American English" and are used to living with it, – and expect that it is different from English proper.

School affiliation

In general I share the opinion of Boucher (2005: 293f.) that searching for a school affiliation of a given Buddhist text is often coupled with too much hope in the expected answers. Even doctrinal texts ran through a "crucial but poorly documented pre- and para-sectarian, transitional phase when significant doctrinal issues were emerging and the Buddhist exegetical genre was still a work in progress", as Cox (2013: 61b) said with early Kharoṣṭhī mss in view. Non-doctrinal texts like the Dhp were, basically, fair game and were dependent on personal preferences more than on anything else. Political upheavals and plagues may have co-mingled the survivors of diverse "schools", which will have led to a mixture of texts and ideas as well. We have no means to reconstruct such re-unions.[3] Without doctrinal implications and meant for the interaction with lay people a new version of the Dhp needed no sanctioning by a dominant local group, be it hereditary or newly installed.

According to the preface of the Fa ju jing (法句經 T. 224 CE; Lévi 1912: 218), the following five schools produced their own *dharmapada* collection, the Dharmaguptakas, the Sarvastivādins, the Kāśyapīyas, the Mahīśāsakas and the Vātsīputrīyas. However,

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[3.] In contrast, the stages of growth of the texts can be reconstructed sometimes, either by inner criteria (Pali Udāna, Analayo 2009) or by reports of the compilers themselves (Willemen 1973).

even the early Chinese quotations from unaffiliated Dharmapadas show that there must have existed more Dhps from other schools or many versions within the individual schools (Mizuno 1979).

The Pali Dhammapada (Dhp) belongs to the Theravādins, as is self-evident. It is quoted following the edition of von Hinüber & Norman (1994). The Udānavarga (Uv) was preserved at different sites in East Turkestan and was collated by Bernhard (1965). It has different layers on a general scale (Schmithausen 1970),[4] and numerous sub-versions (Bernhard 1965,I: 14), the oldest parts belonging to Sarvastivāda communities, the latter included the Mūlasarvāstivādins. To the Sarvāstivādins too belongs the Uv from Subaši on the northern Silk Road in Xinjiang, cited here from the edition of Nakatani (1987). It is different from Bernhard's edition in many passages and in many ways. The Mahāvastu (Mvu) is a text of the Mahāsāṅghikas, which preserves mostly parts of the *sahasravarga*, with some stray links to our text. The Patna-Dharmapada (Dhp-P, cited from Cone 1989) is most likely to have been connected with the Sammatīyas (Namikawa 1993, Skilling 1997a). The Dharmapada from Khotan (Dhp-G^K) was edited by J. Brough (1962), who had no real argument in favour of any of the schools known in the area, and who excluded the Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsaṅghikas only because they are linked with other known Dhp versions. From the epigraphically attested *nikāya*s active in Gandhara only the Dharmaguptakas and the Kāśyapīyas remained and so he considered one of them the most likely candidate for shaping the Dhp-G^K (Brough 1962: 45). His reasoning as well as the additional versions available today would not exclude any other choice instead. The evidence for assigning the fragments from the British Library including the Dhp to the Dharmaguptakas is much better (Lenz 2003: xiii). A short quotation from their Dhp in Tibetan translation found in the work of Bhāvya, 6th century, pertains to the Dīpaṃkara (Skilling 1997b: 609), a truly indigenous topic to the area where the British Library fragments are said to have been found.

Brough (1962: 43) expected his Dhp-G^K to be a fixed version inside a certain sectarian canon. The number of versions accruing presently[5] seem to contradict such a canonical exclusivity and we must be content with pointing at possibilities. For our text I see only one real argument, arising from our stanza 2,10, which starts ///*gahe budho*, which has a parallel in *prāpto rājagr̥he buddho* in the Catuṣpariṣatsūtra (Waldschmidt 1962: 394 no. 3). The other parallels (Pali Vinaya, Mahāvastu) read differently. In the latest *pāda* of this stanza Vin and Mvu use the third person (*nayissati, nayiṣyati),* while the CPS uses the second (*nayiṣyatha*). In our text an original *naeśati* was overwritten with a *sa* to produce the second person *naeśasi.* The Catuṣpariṣatsūtra belongs to the Mūlasarvāstivādins, who separated after the time of our ms from and finally reunited with the Sarvāstivādins. And so our ms could have its origins in Sarvāstivāda circles. I would not call it "the Gāndhārī Dharmapada of the Sarvāstivādins", but would also not exclude the possibility that it is one of probably dozens of versions composed by monks with links to the Sarvāstivādins. In any case, such an affiliation would explain the many

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4. None of the Uv verses Schmithausen found in the Yogācārabhūmi have parallels in the Dhp-G^S.
5. One more ms containing verses of a Dhp on its topmost segment was seen 4 years ago by the author with a dealer in Islamabad.

verbal similarities between the Dhp-G^S and the Uv.

If all the Split Collection mss come from the same monastery, as seems likely, we can try to accumulate evidence from all its texts known so far. The single and still unedited Avadāna ms separates narratives by the phrase "NN *avadana japati*" (Falk 2011: 19). The verb is *jalpati* in Sanskrit. Karashima (2012, III: 560) has shown that the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins use this verb to simply express "to speak, utter". The Mahāsāṃghikas are attested epigraphically in Wardak, west of Kabul, and also in the Peshawar valley, although sparingly, according to the number of just two inscriptions. The parallels from the Mahāvastu belong to this *nikāya*, they have, however, very little in common with our text, so that the evidence of *jalpati* is either arbitrary or a possibly closer connection between the Dhp-G^S and the Mvu has disappeared in the course of the many centuries involved.

The sequence of stanzas

Clearly related versions usually show a similar sequence of stanzas. A sequence of three stanzas following each other in the same order may be regarded as non-arbitrary. I have marked such sequences in the table below in bold. It can be clearly seen that in the versions published so far there are great differences.

The first two *varga*s of this new version have been labeled *śīlavarga* and *prakīrṇakavarga* on the basis of the parallels simply for easier reference. Both draw their material from all directions without a clear topic uniting these two groups. In these makeshift collections no single triple group is found. In the *jarāvarga* the Uv presents one sequence at least. In the *malavarga* it is the Pali Dhp and the Dhp-P, with the latter showing even a parallelism over four stanzas in one case. In the *puṣpavarga* it is Dhp-G^K, Dhp and Subaši which show a concordance, with Dhp-G^K having two strings of three stanzas each in common with Dhp-G^S, while Subaši has even one sequence of four.

When comparing the Chinese versions as found in Willemen 1973 a similar picture arises. There is no exclusive similarity with the two versions with links to the Theravādins,[6] the Fa ju jing (法句經, T.210; Willemen 1973: 204f.; Faucett 1968) and the Fa ju pi yu jing (法句譬喻經, T.211; Willemen 1973: 205-213), dating as early as 224 and 290-306 CE. In 11 cases these two Chinese texts plus the Pali Dhp have no corresponding text to the Uv, while our text as well as the two Sarvāstivāda texts, the Chu yao jing (出曜經, T.212; Willemen 1973: 214-215) from 399 CE and the Fa ji yao song jing (法集要頌經, T.213) from 985 CE, do have. A mixture of Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda sources seems to become apparent through 10 cases, given the observation that only the old Fa ju jing (法句經,T.210) from 224 CE and all the Sarvāstivāda texts plus ours, go against the Pali and the second Chinese text with links to the Theravadins.

On the other hand we have our stanzas 4,1-3, which have no counterpart in the Uv and the two Sarvāstivāda translations, but are found in the Dhp 241-243, in the Dhp-P and in both Chinese Theravāda sources (Willemen 1974: 51).

This picture allows no clear statement as to which other collection this new one is related. It has some relations to all of them, with the Uv having the greatest number of

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[6.] On account of the closeness to the Pali version and because of some linguistic particularities, Dhammajoti (2009) opts for an intermediate version from the North-West, possibly attributable to the Mahīśāsakas.

parallels as such, although in different sequences and in different *varga*s. This picture resembles the one gained by Yamazaki (2000) who assembled all parallels starting from the Pali Dhp, or the tables in Bernhard (1968), or the parallels in Willemen (1974), both starting from the Uv.

List of parallels

The two Dharmapadas in Gāndhārī come first, followed by the Pali Dhp and the Patna Dhp, then the two Udānavargas and finally stanzas from the Pali canon and other sources, some of them for the first time part of a Dhp:

Dhp-G^S	Dhp-G^K	Dhp	Dhp-P	Uv	Subaši	others
	*śīlavarga:					
1,1=1		274	360	12,11		
1,2=2	323	303	331	10,8	115	
1,3=3						AN IV 5-7
1,4=4						AN IV 5-6
1,5=5			341			ThG 509
1,6=6				6,1		
1,7=7				6,8+4,30		
1,8=8				6,6		
1,9=9				6,7+31,44		AN II 40
1,10=10	329	320	215	29,21		
1,11=11		170	258	27,15/16		
	*prakīrṇavarga:					
2,1=12		97	333	29,23		
2,2=13	260		330			
2,3=14	228			25,1		ThG 1018
2,4=15	229			25,2		ThG 1019
2,5=16		249	327	10,12		
2,6=17						ThG 246
2,7=18				10,14	118	Ja V 233
2,8=19						(no parallels found)
2,9=20						(destroyed)
2,10=21				21,5		Vin I 8; MN I 171; CPS II no. 8; Mvu III 326
2,11=22						Vin I 43; CPS III 394; Mvu III 90
2,12=23	267			21,8		Vin I 43; SN I 127f.; Mvu III 90
2,13=24			213			Vin II 195; Ja V 336
2,14=25						ThīG 161
2,15=26	256			22,2		ThG 276
2,16=27	259	305	313	23,2	297	
2,17=28		304		29,19		

Dhp-G^S	Dhp-G^K	Dhp	Dhp-P	Uv	Subaši	others
	*jarāvarga:					
3,1=29	139	156	230	17,4		
3,2=30	160	151		**1,28**		
3,3=31	140			**1,29**		SN V 217
3,4=32				**1,30**		SN V 217
3,5=33			260	1,27		ThG 73; Ja I 139
3,6=34	142	148	259	1,34		
3,7=35			78	29,14		SN I 81f.
3,8=36	161	348	150	29,57		
3,9=37	159					ThG 32
3,10=38						SN I 2; AN I 155
3,11=39						SN I 2; AN I 155
3,12=40						SN I 3
3,13=41						SN I 3
3,14=42				1,18		
3,15=43		136		9,12		
3,16=44	151			1,7		Ja IV 127 = VI 28 vs. 118
3,17=45	152			1,8		Ja VI 26, vs. 100
3,18=46	147			1,11		Sn 579
3,19=47	146			1,10		Ja VI 572 vs. 2325
3,20=48				1,23		SN I 97
3,21=49				5,22		SN I 97
3,22=50				5,23		
3,23=51				5,7		(vague similarity)
3,24=52				29,22		
3,25=53			120			
3,26=54	145			1,33		Ja VI 26, vs. 101
						Mbh 13, app.15, 4062f.+
3,27=55	144			1,6		Ja IV 494
3,28=56				1,31		
3,29=57				1,42		It 40f.
	*malavarga:					
4,1=58		**241**	**157**			
4,2=59		**242**	**158**			
4,3=60		**243**	**159**			
4,4=61		240	**160**	9,19		Nett 129
4,5=62		239	163	2,10		
4,6=63		235	161			
4,7=64		236	162	16,3		
4,8=65						SN I 32
4,9=66						SN I 137
4,10=67		339	237	31,29		
4,11=68						SN I 98; It 45
4,12=69	2	394		33,6		

Dhp-G^S	Dhp-G^K	Dhp	Dhp-P	Uv	Subaši	others
	*puṣpavarga					
5,1=70	290	**51**	125	18,6		ThG 323
5,2=71	291	**52**	126		222f.	ThG 324
5,3=72	293	**53**	130	18,10		
5,4=73	292	49	127	18,8	**224**	
5,5=74	271	50	309	18,9	**225**	
5,6=75	303	58	135	18,12	**226**	
5,7=76	304	59	136	18,13	**227**	
5,8=77	**295**	54	121	6,16		
5,9=78	**296**	55	122	6,17		
5,10=79	**297**	57	124	6,19		
5,11=80	294	47	128	18,14		
5,12=81		48	129	18,15		
5,13=82	**300**	46	134	18,18		
5,14=83	**301**	44	131	18,1		
5,15=84	**302**	45			218	
	*sahasravarga					
6,1=85	306	100	376			Mvu III 434
6,2=86				24,2		
6,3=87	308					Mvu III 434
6,4=88	305	103		13,3	298	Mvu III 434
6,5=89		104	319	23,4		
6,6=90	319-20	107	380	24,16		Mvu III 435

The text

The present text enlarges our possibilities to compare structure, contents, vocabulary and phonology of the various Dhps. In order to facilitate comparative studies, the running text is given in the left column in bold characters, with line numbers in brackets. Defect but recognizable letters are given in square brackets, missing consonants or vowel strokes are marked by a middle dot "·", completely missing characters are shown as "+" and partly preserved, but illegible ones as "..". The numerous spaces are represented by underlines of various length, following the original. In a number of cases they help to define the metre. Corrections by overwriting are shown as "(original letter → resulting letter)". The numbering is double, first according to *varga*s, then also continuously. The major parallels follow in the right column. The sequence is Dhp-G^K, Dhp or other Pali sources, Dhp-P and Uv with the Uv from Subaši. Some remarks on the palaeography and remarks on the writing process close this edition.

(1:) .. ..

+ + +　+ + + + +

(2:) + + + + + + +　　　　　　　　　　es' eva maggo n' atth' añño

+ + + + + + + +　　　　　　　　　　dassanassa visuddhiyā,

[e]ṣa marasa mohaṇo　[*1,1]　　　etaṃ hi tumhe paṭipajjatha

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　mārass' etaṃ pamohanaṃ. Dhp 274

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　eseva māggo nāstaṃ'ño
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　daṃśanassa viśuddhiye,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　taṃ māggaṃ paṭipajjahvo
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　mārasse 'sā pramohanī,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　etāhi tubbhe paṭipannā
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　dukkhassa antaṃ kariṣyatha. Dhp-P 360

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　eṣo hi mārgo nāsty anyo
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　darśanasya viśuddhaye,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　pratipannakāḥ prahāsyanti
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　dhyāyino mārabandhanam. Uv 12,11

ṣadho śileṇa saṃpaṇa　　　　　　ṣadhu śileṇa sabaṇo

yaśa bhoga sama[p·] +　　　　　　yaśa-bho'a-samapidu,

(3:) + + + + + + + +　　　　　　yeṇa yeṇeva vayadi

+ + + + + + yida　[*1,2]　　　　teṇa teṇeva puyidu. Dhp-G[K] 323

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　saddho sīlena sampanno
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yasobhogasamappito,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yaṃ yaṃ padesaṃ bhajati
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tattha tatth' eva pūjito. Dhp 303

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　śrāddhaḥ śīlena sampannas
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tyāgavāṃ vītamatsaraḥ,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vrajate yatra yatraiva
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tatra tatraiva pūjyate. Uv 10,8

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　śraddho śīlena sampanno
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yaśabhogasamāhito,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yaṃ yaṃ so bhajate deśaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tattha tattheva pūjiyo. Dhp-P 331

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　yena yena v(ra)ja*t*i
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tat(ra) tat(r)aiva p(ū)j(yat)e. Subaśi 115c+d

io (+ 3 letters *ajihi* wiped out)

aṇutridiya ajihima katava　　　　[cf. p. 59 on the writing process]

ṣa[dha]dhaṇa śi + + +　　　　　saddhādhanaṃ sīladhanaṃ

+ + + + (4:) + + + +　　　　　hiri ottappiyaṃ dhanaṃ

+ + + + + + + +　　　　　　　sutadhanaṃ ca cāgo ca

+ ña e satamo dhaṇa __ [*1,3]　paññā ve sattamaṃ dhanaṃ. AN IV 5-7

yas ed(e) dhaṇa ya (a→da)ṇi[7] yassa ete dhanā atthi

istriya puruṣa + + itthiyā purisassa vā

+ + + + + + + + adāliddo ti taṃ āhu

(5:) .. .. _____ sa jivido [*1,4] amoghaṃ tassa jivitaṃ.[8] AN IV 5-6

tasva ṣadha ca śila ca tasmā saddhañ ca sīlañ ca

prasada dhamadeśaṇe __ pasādaṃ dhammadassanaṃ,

aṇuyujea mesa + anuyuñjetha medhāvī

+ + + + + + + + [*1,5] saraṃ buddhāna sāsanaṃ. ThG 509

tassā śraddhañ ca śīlaṃ ca

prasādaṃ dhammadaṃśane,

anuyuñjeya medhāvī

saraṃ buddhāna śāsanaṃ. Dhp-P 341

(6:) śilo rakṣeya meṣavo śīlaṃ rakṣeta medhāvī

prathea ṇa trae suhaṃ prārthayaṃ vai sukhatrayam,

praśaṃśo vi(dra→tra)labha ca praśaṃsā vittalābhaṃ ca

preca svargeṣu ma ° [*1,6] pretya svarge ca modanam. Uv 6,1

+ + + + + + (7:) praño śīle pratiṣṭhito bhikṣuś

cita praña ca bhavae cittaṃ prajñāṃ ca bhāvayet,

ātāpī nipako nityaṃ

prāpnuyād duḥkhasaṃkṣayam. Uv 6,8

apramādarato bhikṣuḥ

pramāde bhayadarśakaḥ,

pravuṇi[9] aṇ(u)pruveṇa spṛśati hy anupūrveṇa

sarvasaṃyoyaṇakṣayo [*1,7] sarvasaṃyojanakṣayam. Uv 4,30

śi[1·] + + + + + + śīle pratiṣṭhito bhikṣur

+ + + + + (8:) (s)aṃ[v]udo indriyaiś ca susaṃvṛtaḥ,

bhoyaṇasvayamatraṃña __ bhojane cāpi mātrajño

jagariaṇuyujido __ [*1,8] yukto jāgarikāsu ca. Uv 6,6

eva vihari adavi evaṃ vihāri ātāpi

.. + + + + + + + ahorattam atandito,

+ + + + + + + + bhāvayaṃ kusalaṃ dhammaṃ

(9:) yovekṣema[sa][10] p[r]atiyo [*1,9] yogakkhemassa pattiyā. AN II 40 Burmese ms

viharann evam ātāpī

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7. The scribe seems first to have copied a misshaped *athi* or *asti* as *ani*, which he then changed into *dani*, Skt *idāni*, to make it give sense.

8. For the pādas c+d) the AN shows two variants, *adāliddo* etc. on pages 5 to 6, and *sa ve mahaddhano loke ajeyyo devamānuse* on page 7. None of the variants can account for the traces seen on the right side of line 5, where two or three letters seem to stand alone with wide margins to the left and right.

9. For *pravuṇi* cf. s.v. *anuprāpuni* in Edgerton, BHS dictionary: 205, an aorist used as optative. The stanza is split in two in the Uv.

10. The *ve* in *yovekṣema* is most likely to be explained as a misread *ga*. For the reverse process, i.e. misreading *ve* for *gra* (in *gramatakhtua* for *vematakhtua*) cf. Falk 2009: 111. In the Uv the single stanza was again divided into two.

hy ahorātram atandritaḥ,
abhavyaḥ parihāṇāya
nirvāṇasyaiva so 'ntike. Uv 6,7

yo hy udagreṇa cittena
tv adīnena sadā naraḥ,
bhāvayet kuśalāṃ dharmāṃ
yogakṣemasya prāptaye. Uv, 31,44

ahu nago va sakrame
cavativadida [śara
ativa] .. + + + + + + + + + + + (10:) + +
+ + + + + ++ [śil·h·] + + + +[12]   [*1,10]

aho nako va sagami
cavadhivadida[11] śara
adivaka ti*dikṣa*mi
druśilo hi baho-jaṇo. Dhp-G[K] 329

ahaṃ nāgo va saṅgāme
cāpāto patitaṃ saraṃ,
ativākyaṃ titikkhissaṃ
dussīlo hi bahujjano. Dhp 320

ahaṃ nāgo va saṃggrāme
cāpātipatite śare,
atīvāde titikkhāmi
duśśīlo hi bahujano. Dhp-P 215

ahaṃ nāga iva saṃgrāme
cāpād u*tpa*titāṃ śarā*n*,
ativākyam titīkṣāmi
duḥśīlo hi mahājan*a*ḥ. Uv 29,21

+ + + + + + + +
+ + + + + + + +
+ + + + + + + +
(11:) **mucuraya no paśati** [*1,11]

yathā bubbulakaṃ passe
yathā passe marīcikaṃ,
evaṃ lokaṃ avekkhantaṃ
maccurājā na passati. Dhp 170

yathā budbudikāṃ paśyed
yatha paśyen marīcikām,
evaṃ lokaṃ (16: kāyam) avekṣaṃ vai
mṛtyurājaṃ na paśyati. Uv 27,15 or 16

yathā bubbudakaṃ paśśe
yathā paśśe marīcikaṃ,
evaṃ lokam avecchānaṃ
maccurājā na paśśati. Dhp-P 258

10-1 °

[11 stanzas of the *śīlavarga* completed.]

aṣadho agidaṃño [ya]
.. dh]iched(o) **ca yo nara**

assaddho akataññū ca
sandhicchedo ca yo naro,

[11.] c: on *cāpa-atipātitān* cf. Brough (1962: 273), Norman (1997: 138); our text does away with the stray *adhi°*.

[12.] The distribution of space used is unclear.

hada[vavagaś]o + + + [13]	hatāvakāso vantāso
+ + + + + + + + [*2,1 = 12]	sa ve uttamaporiso. Dhp 97
	aśraddho akataṃñū ca
	saṃdhicchedo ca yo naro,
	hatāvakāśo vāntāśo
	sa ve uttimaporuṣo. Dhp-P 333
	aśraddhaś cākṛtajñaś ca
	saṃdhicchettā ca yo naraḥ,
	hatāvakāśo vāntāśaḥ
	sa vai tūttamapūruśaḥ. Uv 29,23
(12:) + + + + + + +	yasa ṣadha i praña ya
+ .. .. .. ___ [k·va]la	viya otrapi'a hiri,
so hi maadhano logo °	s*o* ho maha-dhaṇa bhodi
mahamaṃñida ya .. + [*2,2 = 13][14]	mohaṃ aña baho dhana. Dhp-G^K 260
	yo driṣṭe dhaṃme labhati
	śraddhaṃ pramñāṃ anuttarāṃ,
	sa ve mahaddhano loke
	moham aṃñaṃ bahuṃ dhanaṃ. Dhp-P 330
+ + + + + + +	aṣadhehi kradavehi
(13:) + + + + + + + + ...	phiśuṇehi vivhuda-nanahi,
[sakha na ka]reda paḍido _	sakha na kari'a paṇido
saṃgadi kavuruṣehi paviyo _ [*2,3 = 14]	sagadi kavuruṣehi paviya. Dhp-G^K 228
	pisunena ca kodhanena
	maccharinā ca vibhūtinandinā,
	sakhitaṃ na kareyya paṇḍito
	pāpo kāpurisena saṃgamo. ThG 1018
	*a*śraddhebhi*ḥ* *kada*ryebhi*ḥ*
	piśunair vibhūtinandibhiḥ,
	sākhyaṃ kurvīta na prajña*ḥ*
	saṃgatiḥ pāpair hi pāpikā. Uv 25,1
ṣadhehi ca [p]· + + ++ +	ṣadhehi ya peśalehi ya
(14:) + + + + + + + + + +	*śilava*da yi bahoṣudehi ya,
+ **kha kurveya paḍi** __	sakha kuvi'a paṇido
saṃgati saṃpuruṣehi bhadiya __ [*2,4 = 15]	sagadi sapuruṣehi bhadi'a. Dhp-G^K 229

[13.] For *vavagaśo* cf. the similar dittography in *kujararo* (*kuñjaraḥ*) Dhp-G^S 2,12. For the stanza cf. Hara 1992.

[14.] This stanza has no clear parallel. The pādas a+b) in the Dhp-P can be compared to Uv 10,9ab and pādas c+d) are similar to Dhp-G^K 260 and Dhp-P 330, but the end of pāda b) in Dhp-G^S has no counterpart anywhere. Pāda d) shares the first four consonants with Dhp-G^K 260 when spoken, and with Dhp-P also in writing, so that a faulty reconstruction in Dhp-G^S seems at least possible, changing *moham anyaṃ* to *mahaṃ* (Pkt; Skt *mahantaṃ*) *manye*(*ta*). A "reconstruction" in the course of oral transmission would account for the differences.

saddhena ca pesalena ca
paññavatā bahussutena ca,
sakhitaṃ hi kareyya paṇḍito
bhaddo sappurisena saṃgamo. ThG 1019

*śrāddhe*bhiḥ peśalebhiś ca
*śīlavadbhir bahuśr*utaiḥ,
sākhy*aṃ* kurvīt*a sa*prajñaḥ
saṃgatir bhadrair hi bhadrikā. Uv 25,2

dadaṃti [hi] + + + +   dadanti[15] ve yathāsaddhaṃ
+ + + + + + + +   yathāpasādanaṃ jano,
(15:) + + + + + + + +   tattha yo maṅku bhavati
 + + + + .. **bh·yano**   paresaṃ pānabhojane
na so divo va radi va   na so divā vā rattiṃ vā
samasiṃ asigachati ___ [*2,5 = 16]   samādhim adhigacchati. Dhp 249

dada*nty eke* yathā śraddhā
yathāvibhavato janāḥ,
tatra yo durmanā bhavati
pareṣāṃ pānabhojane,
nāsau divā ca ratrau ca
samādhim adhigacchati. Uv 10,12

dadanti ve yathāśraddhaṃ
yathāprasadanaṃ janā,
tathā yo duṃmano hoti
paresaṃ pānabhojane,
na so divā *ca* rātto ca
samādhim adhigacchati. Dhp-P 327

.. + + + + + + +   ahu tuyhaṃ pure saddhā
(16:) + + + + + + + +   sā te ajja na vijjati,
+ + + + + + + +   yaṃ tuyhaṃ tuyham ev' etaṃ
+ [**sti ducari**]**do mamo** __[*2,6 = 17]   n' atthi duccaritaṃ mama. ThG 246

vigadasadha na sevea   vītasaddhaṃ na seveyya
udavaṇaṃ + + + +   udapānaṃ v' anodakaṃ,
(17:) + + + + + + + +   sace pi naṃ anukhaṇe
+ + + + + + + + [*2,7 = 18]   vāri kaddamagandhikaṃ. Ja V *233

vītaśraddhaṃ na seveta
hradaṃ yadvaddhi nirjalam,
sa cet khanel labhet tatra
vāri kardamagandhikam. Uv 10,14

. . . naḥ parikhaned
vāri karddamagandhika. Subaši 118c+d,

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15. On *dadāti* vs. *dadanti* in Dhp a) cf. Norman 1997: 121.

+ + ·a·a dhrua ṣadha *. . . dhruvaṃ śrāddhaṃ

idi driṭho maya pure _ *idaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ mayā purā

yasa driṭho [tasa s·] .. _ *yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā?? . . . .

+ + + + (18:) + + + + [*2,8 = 19] [16]

+ + + + + + + +

+ + + + + + [d·v·]

[m· .. y·t·v·v·s· ..

+ .. + + + + + +

(19:) + + + + + + +

.. + + + + + + + [*2,9 = 20][17]

+ .. [śa v· jina bh·t·] mādisā ve jinā honti

[y· prata asava]kṣayo ye pattā āsavakkhayaṃ,

jida me pavaga dhama jitā me pāpakā dhammā

tasva hu uvaga .. ..   [*2,10 = 21] tasmā' haṃ upakā jino. Vin I 8, MN I 171

jinā hi mādṛśā bhonti

ye prāptā āśravakṣayaṃ,

jitā me pāpakā dharmā

tasmād ahaṃ upaka jino. Mvu III 326: 19f.

jinā hi mādṛśā jñeyā

ye prāptā hy āsravakṣayam,

jitā me pāpakā dharmās

tato 'haṃ upagā jinaḥ. Uv 21,5[18]

+ + + + (20:) gahe budho agato kho mahāsamaṇo

magasaṇa giri[v]raṇu[19] māgadhānaṃ giribbajaṃ,

sarva saṃjaia ṇetva __ sabbe sañjaye netvāna

ka sa daṇi ṇaeśasi [*2,11 = 22] kaṃ su dāni nayissati. Vin I 43

prāpto rājagṛhe buddho

magadhānāṃ (purottame

sarve saṃjayino) nītāḥ

kiṃ nu bhūyo nayiṣyatha. CPS III 394 no. 3

āgato śramaṇo gautamo

magadhānāṃ girivrajaṃ,

(sarve saṃjaye) netvāna

kaṃ su nāma nayiṣyati.   Mvu III 90

[16.] No parallel was found in the standard corpora. Pādas b-c) are similar to *yathā dṛṣṭāni me purā* in the Aśokāvadāna (ed. Mukhopadhyaya: 118), but the context hardly allows a comparison.

[17.] Not much is left of this stanza and its beginning and length are difficult to define. If more material broke away from the lateral edge, then even two stanzas may be missing.

[18.] Cf. Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann) p. 406: 6f, with a reading as Uv for a-c), but *tenopagajino hy ahaṃ* in pāda d); cf. also CPS II 130 no. 8.

[19.] The -*vraṇu* certainly is not the expected -*vrajo*, but possibly miscopied with -*vanaṃ* in mind. In d) *naeśasi* the *si* is written over an original *ti* or *di*, providing a further link to the CPS. The Chinese version of the Vinaya (Waldschmidt 1962: 395b) refers to Rājagṛha too, while the Tibetan does not.

ṇeyaṃti ya mahavira   nedi hi mahavira

sadhame[ṇa tasa] + +   sadhameṇa tadhakada

(21:) **dhameṇa ṇeamaṇasa**   dhameṇa ne'amaṇaṇa

ka y asuye viyaṇaṃda [*2,12 = 23]   ka y-asu'a vi'aṇadu. Dhp-G^K 267

nayanti ve mahāvīrā
saddhammena tathāgatā,
dhammena niyyamānānaṃ
kā usūyā vijānataṃ.
   Vin I 43 ≈ SN I 127/278 no. 515

nayanti ve mahāvīrā
saddharmeṇa tathāgatā
dhammena nayamānānaṃ
kā asūyā vijānato. Mvu III 90

nada*n*tīha mahāvīrāḥ
saddharmeṇa tathāgatāḥ,
dharmeṇa nadamānānāṃ
ke tv asūyed vijān*a*kāḥ. Uv 21,8

ma kujararo[20] **ṇagomasava**[21]   mā kuñjara nāgaṃ āsida

dukha hi kujaro nagasamado   dukkho kuñjara nāgamaṃsado

ṇa + + + + + + + + +   na hi nāgahatassa kuñjara

(22:) **suati bhoṃti**[22] **idaṃ paraṃ gado**   sugatī hoti ito paraṃ *ya*to. Dhp-P 213
[*2,13 = 24]

mā kuñjara nāgamāsado
dukkhaṃ hi kuñjara nāgamāsado,
na hi nāgahatassa kuñjara
sugati hoti ito paraṃ yato. Vin II 195[23]

aradhavirya pahidatva   āraddhaviriye pahitatte

ṇica driḍhaparakrama   niccaṃ daḷhaparakkame,

samaga ṣavaga paśa   samagge sāvake passa

eṣa budha .. + + + [*2,14 = 25]   esā buddhāna vandanā.
  ThīG 161; cf. ThG 156 a+b)

+ + + + + + + +   nica hi avi'aṇada

(23:) **caraṃti amara** [vi→si]**hu**[24]   caradi amara viva

sadhamaṃ ta viyaṇaṃti   sadhama du vi'aṇada

aduraseva śadvari [*2,15 = 26]   aduraseva śadvari. Dhp-G^K 256

yadā ca avijānantā
iriyanty amarā iva

[20.] The first *ra* in *kujarari* is crossed in an unusual way and thus most likely marked as deleted.

[21.] As a correction a strong stroke changed *nāgamāsava* to *nago māsava*.

[22.] There is a clear curl at the foot of *bho*, so that the *anusvāra* must have been regarded as indispensible.

[23.] Cf. Ja V 336.

[24.] *sihu*: *vi* overwritten with *si*.

vijantanti ca ye dhaṃmaṃ
āturesu anāturā. ThG 276

bālā ihāvijānantaś
caranti hy amarā iva,
vijānatāṃ tu saddharmam
āturasyaiva śarvarī. Uv 22,2

ekasaṇa ekaśayo
egayiaṃ ataṃtri[a]
+ + + + + + + +
(24:) **vaṇe ca ekayo vase** [*2,16 = 27]

ekasaṇa eka-saya
eka-'iya'i savudu [25]
eku ramahi atvaṇa
arañi[26] eka'o vasa. Dhp-G^K 259

ekāsanaṃ ekaseyyaṃ
eko caram atandito,
eko damayam attānaṃ
vanante[27] ramito siyā. Dhp 305

ekāsa*naṃ* ekaśeyaṃ
ekacariyāṃ atandrito,
eko ramayam āttānaṃ
vanānte ramitā siyā. Dhp-P 313

ekāsanaṃ tv ekaśayyām
ekacaryām atandritaḥ,
ramayec caikam ātmānaṃ
vaneṣv ekaḥ sadā vaset. Uv 23,2

ekāsanaṃ eka-śayyā
eka-cāryyam ata(ndr)i(taḥ)
. . . .
. . . . . . vaset. Subaši 297

dure saṃte praveśaṃti[28]
himavata va parvada
asaṃta _____ na pragaśat[i]
+ + + + + + + + [*2,17 = 28]

dūre santo pakāsenti
himavanto va pabbato,
asant' ettha na dissanti
rattikhittā yathā sarā. Dhp 304

[25.] The stanza says the same as ThG 541 where, however, *ekākiyo* expresses what is *eko caram* (Dhp), *ekacaryām* (Uv), *eko ramayam* (Dhp-P) and *ekacāryyam* (Subaši). Dhp-G^S uses *ekākiya* as well when saying *egayiaṃ*. In the Dhp-G^K too *ekākiya* is much better suited to explain *eka'iya* than *ekacaryāya* which Brough adduced on the basis of the parallels known at that time. The following *i* and *savudu* may both go back to an exemplar where the standard term *ataṃdrito* was damaged in the lower part of the characters. The "reconstruction" seems to have interpreted the remnants of *a* as an *i*, being a contracted *ca*. The upper parts of *sa* and *ta* look alike, and so *savudu* (*sarvadā*) crept in where *ataṃdrido* was before.

[26.] All versions use *vana* in pāda d), only Dhp-G^K prefers *araṇya*, possibly as a reaction to local conditions where "woods" are scarce, but "unfriendly areas" galore.

[27.] On *vanante* vs. *vanānte* Norman 1997: 135.

[28.] As pāda d) shows, *pragaśaṃti* must have been the original reading. Here, *ga* was misread as *ve*. The inverse process influenced the engraver of a seal of Vema Takhtu, which now reads *grama-takhtu* instead of *vema-takhtu* (Falk 2009: 111).

durāt santaḥ prakāśyante

himavān iva parvataḥ,

asanto na prakāśyante

rātrikṣiptāḥ śarā yathā. Uv 29,19

(*10-4-1-1)   [16 stanzas of the *varga*[29] are completed.]

(25:) **acarita bramacariyo**   + + + + + + + +

aladhva yo[gaṇa[30] **dhaṇa]**   + + + + + + + +

śati cava vigirṇa va   + + + + + + + +

poraṇaṇi aṇusvara °   [*3,1 = 29]   poraṇaṇi aṇusvar*u*. Dhp-G[K] 139

acaritvā brahmacariyaṃ

aladdhā yobbane dhanaṃ,

senti cāpātikhīṇā va

purāṇāni anutthunaṃ. Dhp 156

acarittā brahmaceraṃ

aladdhā yovvane dhanaṃ,

śenti cāpādhikinno *vā*

porāṇāni a'nutthunaṃ. Dhp-P 230

a*caritvā brahmacarya*m

alabdhvā yauvane dhanam,

ś*e*nti cāp*āti*k*ī*rṇā vā

paurāṇāny anuci*ntitāḥ*. Uv 17,4

ji[a] + + + + + + + + +   jiyadi hi raya-radha sucitra

(26:) **asa śariraṃ pi jaro uveti __**   adha śarira bi jara uvedi

sada du dhama ṇa jaro uveti   sada du dharma na jara *u*ved

sato hi ṇa sadha[31] **pravedeaṃti** [*3,2 = 30] sado hi ṣa sabhi praverayadi. Dhp-G[K] 160

jīranti ve rājarathā sucittā

atho sarīram pi jaraṃ upeti,

satañ ca dhammo na jaraṃ upeti

santo have sabbhi *pavedayanti*. Dhp 151

jīryanti vai rājarathāḥ sucitrā

hy atho śarīram api jarām upaiti,

satāṃ tu dharmo na jarām upaiti

santo hi taṃ satsu nivedayanti. Uv 1,28

dhi [t·] .. + + + + +   *dh* . . jimi jare astu

+ + + + + + + +   dr*u* . . . . . *ja*r*e*

(27:) .. .. **[maṇo]rama bibo**   . . . .

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jarae abhimadeti [*3,3 = 31]   . . . .   Dhp-G^K 140

> dhī taṃ jammī jare atthu
> dubbaṇṇakaraṇī jare,
> tāva manoramaṃ vimbaṃ
> jarāya abhimadditaṃ. SN V 217

> dhik tvām astu jare grāmye
> virupakaraṇī hy asi,
> tathā manoramaṃ bimbaṃ
> jarayā hy abhimarditam. Uv 1,29

[yo vi vaṣaśado jiv·]   yo pi vassasataṃ jīve
sarve mucuparayaṇa   sabbe maccuparāyaṇā
+ + + + + + + +   na kiñci parivajjeti
.. + + + + + + + [*3,4 = 32]   sabbam evābhimaddati.

> SN V 217 Burmese mss

> yo 'pi varṣaśataṃ jīvet
> so 'pi mṛtyuparāyaṇaḥ,
> anu hy enaṃ jarā hanti
> vyādhir va yadi vāntakaḥ.   Uv 1,30

(28:) + + + .. **sva duhinaṃ ca vaṣido**   jiṇṇañ ca disvā dukkhitañ ca byādhitaṃ
mudaṃ ca drisvaṇa avedacedaso   matañ ca disvā gataṃ āyusaṃkhayaṃ
achicha dhiro gihibadhaṇa[ṇ]· _   tato ahaṃ nikkhamitūna pabbajiṃ
+ + + + + + + + + + + [*3,5 = 33]   pahāya kāmāni manoramāni.   ThG 73

> jihmaṃ ca driṣṭā dukhitaṃ ca vyādhitaṃ
> pretañ ca driṣṭā na cirassa mānavo,
> saṃvego tīppe (?) vipulo (?) ajāyatha
> acchecchi dhīro gṛhibandhanāni. Dhp-P 260

> jīrṇaṃ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇaṃ
> mṛtaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā vyapayātacetasam,
> jahau sa dhīro gṛhabandhanāni
> kāmā hi lokasya na supraheyāḥ. Uv 1,27

(29:) **parijaṇam idaṃ ruvo**   parijiṇam ida ruvu
ruvaṇeḍo prabhaṃguṇu   ro'a-neḍa pravhaguṇo
bhesati^32 pudasaṃteśo^33   bhetsidi p*u*di . . . .
maraṇaṃta hi jivida [*3,6 = 34]   . . . .   Dhp-G^K 142

> parijiṇṇam idaṃ rūpaṃ
> roganiḍḍaṃ pabhaṅguṇaṃ,
> bhijjati pūtisandeho

[32.] To be compared with what Norman (1997: 99) collected on the future forms of root *bhid*.

[33.] *-teśo* for *-deha* could be a miswritten *-teyo* from *-teo* with elided *h* as in *patinivaito* (*pratinirvāhitaḥ*) or *siasena* (*siṃhasena*) or *danamue* (*dānamukha*). However, cases where *hy* becomes *ś* are attested and may have influenced plain *h* as well.

maraṇantaṃ hi jīvitaṃ.   Dhp 148

parijinnam idaṃ rūpaṃ
roganīḍaṃ prabhaṃguraṃ,
bhi*jjī*hiti⟨ti⟩ pūtisaṃdeho
maraṇāttaṃ hi jīvitam. Dhp-P 259

parijīrṇam idaṃ rupaṃ
roganīḍaṃ prabhaṅguram,
bhetsyate pūty asaṃdehaṃ
maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitam. Uv 1,34

aṇuyasa [s]· + + + +
(30:) matra janadhu ladhva bhoyaṇo
tanu asa bhavati vedaṇa
śaṇayo jivati ayu palati [*3,7 = 35]

manujassa sadā satīmato
mattaṃ jānato laddhabhojane,
tanu tassa bhavanti vedanā
saṇikaṃ jīrati āyu pālayaṃ.
     SN I 81+82/185+186 nos. 402+403[34]

*ma*nujassa sadā satīmato
māttaṃ jāniya laddhibhojane,
tanukā 'ssa bhavanti vedanā
śanikaṃ jīrati āyu pālayaṃ. Dhp-P 78

manujasya sadā smṛtīmato
labdhvā bhojanamātrajānataḥ,
tanukāsya bhavanti vedanāḥ
śanakair jīryati āyuḥ pālayam. Uv 29,14

muṃce purado [muṃc]· + + +
+ + + + (31:) bhavasa parago
sarvatra vimutamanasa
ṇa puṇu jatijaro uveśasi [*3,8 = 36]

muj*u* pur*a* muju pachadu
mājadu muju bhavasa parako
sarvatra vi*mutamo*ṇaso
na puṇu jadijara uvehiṣ*i*. Dhp-G^K 161[35]

muñca pure muñca pacchato
majjhe muñca bhavassa pāragū,
sabbattha vimuttamānaso
na punañ jātijaraṃ upehisi. Dhp 348

muñca pure muñca pacchato
majjhe muñca bhavassa paragu,
sabbattha vimuttamanaso
na puno jatijaram upehisi. Dhp-P 150

muṃca purato muṃca paścato
madhye muṃca bhavasya pāragaḥ,
sarvatra vimuktamānaso
na punar jātijarām upeṣyasi. Uv 29,57

[34.] ≈ Ja II 294 c) *tanū tassa* ≈ Dhp-a III 265 c) *tanu tassa*, B *tanuk'assa*.
[35.] Cf. Caillat 1978 for an explanation of this form; Dhp-G^S presents standard Gāndhārī instead.

ajara jivamaṇeṇa
ḍaśamaṇeṇa ṇiva[ti]
+ + + + + + + +
(32:) **yovakṣemo aṇuta** [*3,9A = 37A] [36]

ajaro jivamaṇeṇa	ayara jiyamaṇeṇa
ḍaśamaṇeṇa ṇivuti	ḍaĵamaṇeṇa nivrudi
ṇimesa paramo śodhi	nimedha[37] parama śodhi
yoyakṣemo aṇutaro [*3,9B = 37B] [38]	yoka-kṣemu aṇutara. Dhp-G[K] 159

ajaro jiamaṇena
daśamaṇ(*ena) ṇivudi
ṇimesa parama śati
yoakṣemo (*aṇutaro)   Baums (2009: 564)

ajaraṃ jīramānena
tappamānena nibbutiṃ
nimmissaṃ paramaṃ santiṃ
yogakkhemaṃ anuttaraṃ. ThG 32

(33:) **uvaṇiyati jivida apomayu**	upanīyati jīvitam appam āyu
jarovaṇidasa ṇa bhati trana	jarūpanītassa na santi tāṇā,
ede bhaya maraṇa prekṣama[39]	etaṃ bhayaṃ maraṇe pekkhamāno
puñaṇi kurvea suhavaga + [*3,10 = 38]	puññāni kayirātha sukhāvahāni.
	SN I 2/4 no. 3 = AN I 155, ab) Ja IV 398

(34:) **uvaṇiati jivido apomayu**	upanīyati jivitam appam āyu
jarovaṇidasa ṇa bhoti traṇa	jarūpanītassa na santi tāṇā
ede bhaya maraṇa prekṣamaṇa	etaṃ bhayaṃ maraṇe pekkhamāno
logamiṣa pra·aha śa .. + + [*3,11 = 39]	lokāmisaṃ pajahe santipekkho.
	SN I 2/4 no. 4 = AN I 155

(35:) **[a]cayaṃti kale tarayati rati[a?]__**	accenti kālā tarayanti rattiyo
[vaya puṇu aṇ(u)p(ru)[ve jahaṃ]ma	vayoguṇā anupubbaṃ jahanti.
[ido] bha[yamaraṇ] pre[kṣamaṇa]	etaṃ bhayaṃ maraṇe pekkhamāno
+ + + + + + + + + + + [*3,12 = 40]	puññāni kayirātha sukhāvahāni.
	SN I 3/5 no. 5; ab) Ja IV 487

(36:) **[aca]yaṃti kale tvarayat[i] radiyo_**	accenti kālā tarayanti rattiyo
vayo puṇu[40] **aṇapuṇa °**[41] **aṇapruve jahaṃti**	vayoguṇā anupubbaṃ jahanti,

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[36.] This stanza, with some variations, is immediately repeated in a more complete form.

[37.] The future *nimmissaṃ* in ThG has an equivalent *nimesa* in Dhp-G[S]. The multiple *nimedha* in Khotan (Dhp-G[K] 156-159), which Brough derives from *nir-mā,* is most likely to be explained as a "wrong Gandharisation" of a not understood *nimesa.*

[38.] Because of a large knothole the line is ended here.

[39.] No *na* or *no* closes *prekṣama.*

[40.] *vayo puṇu* parallels *vayoguṇā* and can be explained with the rule that a velar stop at the beginning of the second member of a compound can be elided; cf. *ekaüta* from *ekakūṭa,* or *dharmaüta* from *dharmagupta.* If *vayoguṇā* had an intermediate form of **vayoüṇa* then *uṇa* may have be faultily restored to *puṇa.*

[41.] The dot after *aṇapuṇa* marks this word as deleted.

edo bhayo maraṇa prekṣamaṇa °   etaṃ bhayaṃ maraṇe pekkhamāno
               [*3,13 = 41]   lokāmisaṃ pajahe santipekkho.

                                              SN I 3/5 no. 6

acayati aho + +   atiyānti hy ahorātrā

+ + + + + + + +   jīvitaṃ coparudhyate,

(37:) ayu kṣiyati mracaṇa __   āyuḥ kṣīyati martyānāṃ

kuṇadiṣu yasodayo - [*3,14 = 42]   kunadīṣu *yatha*udakam. Uv 1,18

° asa pavaṇi kamaṇi   atha pāpāni kammāni

karo balo ṇa buǰati   karaṃ bālo na bujjhati,

svagehi kamehi [ya] +   sehi kammehi dummedho

+ + + + + + + + [*3,15 = 43]   aggidaḍḍho va tappati. Dhp 136

                                     sa cet pāpāni karmāni

                                     kurvaṃ bālo na budhyate,

                                     karmabhiḥ svais tu durmedhā

                                     hy agnidagdhaiva tapyate. Uv 9,12

(38:) sahi ege ṇa driśati _   sadi eki na diśadi

praṇe[42] driṭha bahojaṇa   pradu diṭho baho-jaṇo

praṇi ege ṇa driśati __   pradu eki na diśadi

saï driṭha bahujaṇa [*3,16 = 44]   sadi diṭha bahojaṇo Dhp-G^K 151

                                     sāyaṃ eke na dissanti

                                     pāto diṭṭhā bahujjanā,

                                     pāto eke na dissanti

                                     sāyaṃ diṭṭhā bahujjanā. Ja IV 127 = VI 28

                                     sāyam eke na dṛśyante

                                     kālyaṃ dṛṣṭā *mahājan*āḥ,

                                     kālyaṃ *cai*ke na dṛṣya*n*te

                                     *sā*yaṃ dṛṣṭā mahājanāḥ. Uv 1,7

tatra ko viśpiśe mraca   tatra ko viśpaśi maco

.. + + + + + + +   daharo si di jividi

(39:) dahara yeva mriyaṃti   dahara vi miyadi

ṇa[43] ṇari ca egaśo [*3,17 = 45]   nara nari ca ekada. Dhp-G^K 152

                                     daharāpi hi mīyanti

                                     narā ca atha nāriyo,

                                     tatha ko vissase poso

                                     daharo 'mhīti jīvite. Ja VI 26*

                                     tatra ko viśvasen *mart*yo

                                     *dahar*o 'sm*ī*ti jīvite,

                                     *dahar*āpi *mr*iya*n*te hi

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42. *praṇe* and *praṇi* could probably be misreadings from a carelessly written *pradu*; alternatively they can be derived from *prāhṇe*, "in the early morning".

43. After the first *ṇa* the *ra* was omitted.

narā nāryaś ca-n-ekaśaḥ. Uv 1,8

° yasa phalasa pakasa

yadha phalaṇa pakaṇa

nico padaṇado bhayo

nice padaṇado bhayo

eva ja[d]· + + + +

emu jadasa macasa

+ + + + + + + + [*3,18 = 46]

nica maraṇado bhayo. Dhp-G^K 147

phalānaṃ iva pakkānaṃ
pāto patanato bhayaṃ,
evaṃ jātānaṃ maccānaṃ
niccaṃ maraṇato bhayaṃ. Sn 579

yathā phalānāṃ pakvānāṃ
nityaṃ patanato bhayaṃ,
evaṃ jātasya ma*rtyasya*
*ni*tyaṃ mara*ṇato bhaya*m. Uv 1,11

(40:**)** ye ca vurdha ye ca dahara °

ye vrudha ye ya dahara

ye ca majimaporuṣa

ye ca maɪ̄ima-poruṣa

aṇapruvo pravataṃti

aṇ*u*pova [*pravaya*]*d*i

phala paka va baṃdhaṇa _ [*3,19 = 47]

*pha*la paka va banaṇa. Dhp-G^K 146

ye ca vṛddhā ye ca dahrā
ye ca madhyamapuruṣāḥ,
anupūrvaṃ *pravrajan*ti
pha*laṃ pakva*ṃ va bandhanāt. Uv 1,10

ye ca vuddhā ye ca daharā
ye ca majjhima-porisā. Jā VI 572, 2325 ab)

[**s**]· + + + + + + +

sabbe sattā marissanti

+ + + + + + + +

maraṇantaṃ hi jīvitaṃ,

(41:) yasa[ka]ma gramiśati

yathākammaṃ gamissanti

puñapava-phal(o)vaga

puññapāpaphalūpagā,

niraya pavakamaṃta __

nirayaṃ pāpakammantā

pu + + + + + + + + [*3,20 = 48]

puññakammā ca suggatiṃ. SN I 97/218, 431

sarve satvā mariṣyanti
maraṇāntaṃ hi jīvitaṃ,
yathākarma gamiṣyanti
puṇyapāpaphalopagāḥ. Uv 1,23

+ + + + + + + +

tasmā kareyya kalyānaṃ

(42:) puña kurvea ta[.. ..]

nicayam samparāyikaṃ,

puña hi paraloasmi

puññāni paralokasmiṃ

pradiṭha bhaṃti pranina _ [*3,21 = 49]

patiṭṭhā honti paṇinaṃ. SN I 97/218, 432

tasmāt kuruta puṇyānāṃ
nicayam sāṃparāyikaṃ,
puṇyāni paraloke hi
pratiṣṭhā prāṇināṃ hi sā. Uv 5,22

puña deva pra[śaṃśaṃti]   puṇyaṃ devāḥ praśaṃsanti
saṃ[ma] + + + + + + [*3,22 = 50][44]   samacaryāṃ ca yaś caret,
                                       iha cānindito bhavati
                                       pretya svarge ca modate. Uv 5,23

+ + + + (43:) kalagada bahujaṇa __   priyaṃ mṛtaṃ kālagataṃ
salohiṃda kaṃdida[45] drigharatro __   jñātayaḥ sahitāḥ sthitāḥ,
taṃ tadiśo viparinamo ñadina __
taṃ drigharatro .. + + + + + + + + +   śocanti dīrgham adhvānaṃ
(44:) driḍhavirya-nikramo ° [*3,23 = 51][46] duḥkho hi priyasaṃgamaḥ. Uv 5,7

bhave bhaya drisva [*3,24 = 52]   bhave cāhaṃ bhayaṃ dṛṣṭvā
                                         bhūyaś ca vibhavaṃ bhave,
                                       tasmād bhavaṃ nābhinande
                                       nandī ca vibhavena me. Uv 29,22

sa praṃñaṣavagho _   tatha-r-iva śamaṇā prabhūtapraṃñā
                                         ayirā ayirapathesu sicchamānā,
dukha hi jati-maraṇo   jāti-jarāmaraṇabhayāddittā dukkhāṭṭā
punapuna avi ṣa[ma]   vyāyamanti api prāpuṇema śāntiṃ.
.. + + + + + + + [*3,25 = 53][47]   Dhp-P 120

(45:) yasa rati-vavasena [48]___   yasa radi vivasiṇa
ayu-v-apadaro siya ___   ayu aparado si'a
apodago va matsana   apodake va matsaṇa
ki nu teṣa kumaleda _ [*3,26 = 54] ki teṣa u kumulaṇa.[49] Dhp-G^K 145

                                         yassa ratyā vivasane
                                         āyuṃ appataram siyā,
                                         appodake va macchānaṃ
                                         kin nu komārakaṃ tahiṃ. Ja VI 26, vs. 101

                                         yeṣāṃ rātridivāpāye
                                         hy āyur alpataraṃ bhavet,
                                         alpodake va matsyānāṃ
                                         kā nu teṣāṃ ratir bhavet. Uv 1,33

                                         yasyāṃ ratyāṃ vyatītāyāṃ

[44.] Pādas c+d) are definitely left unwritten.

[45.] *kaṃdida* probably absolutive for *kanditvā,* "having bewailed".

[46.] The parallelism with Uv does not reach very far. The metre is different and only a few notions are the same. It is even unclear if the text consists of one or two stanzas. Although the text could be scanned in many ways, the pronounced spaces suggest a mixture of 11 and 12 syllables per *pāda*.

[47.] The parallelism with Dhp-P is very faint, but a true equivalent could not be traced.

[48.] Skt *rātrivivāsena*. Brough (1962: 221) seems to have taken *radi* as an equivalent for *ratyā* in Ja. The possible metathesis *vavasane → vavasiṇa* can certainly be abandoned for the instrumental, likewise considered by Brough; cf. Mvu 3.387 *rātrivivāsāto*.

[49.] The Dhp-GS version does away with the difficulties Brough (1962: 221) encountered with *u kumulaṇa*. Obviously, the scribe of Dhp-G^K rather thought of Skt *kumuda* than of *kumāratā*. which is present in the parallel Mbh 13.134,57 appendix 15,4062f. For r→l cf. *jalayuga*, Skt *jarāyuja* at Wardak or *saleloa* (*saroruhaṃ*) in Lenz 2003: 42.

āyur alpataraṃ bhavet,
gādhodake matsya iva
kiṃ nu tasya kumāratā. Mbh 13, app.15,4062

yam eva pa[ḍh]· + + +
+ + + + + + + +
(46:) abhuṭhido so vrayati __
so gatva na nivatati __ [*3,27 = 55]

yam eva paḍhama radi
gabhi vasadi maṇavo
aviṭhidu so vayadi
so gachu na nivatadi. Dhp-Gᴷ 144

yam ekarattiṃ paṭhamaṃ
gabbhe vasati māṇavo,
abbhuṭṭhito va sayati
sa gacchaṃ na nivattati. Ja IV 494

yām eva prathamāṃ rātriṃ
garbhe vasati mānavaḥ,
aviṣṭhitaḥ sa vrajati
gataś ca na nivartate. Uv 1,6

sado vrayama anivatamana ____
diva ca rati ca palujamana __
me[ts]· + + + + + + + +
(47:) dukhana jatimaraṇeṇa phuṭha ___
          [*3,28 = 56]

sadā vrajanti hy anivartamānā
divā ca rātrau ca vilujyamānāḥ,
matsya ivātīva hi tapyamānā
duḥkhena jātimaraṇena yuktāḥ. Uv 1,31

tasva sada jaṇarada samahidaṃ
adavino jatikṣayatadaśa __
maro saseno abhi[bh]· + + +
(48:) bhavasa jatimaraṇa[sa paraga] ___
          [*3,29 = 57]

tasmā sadā jhānaratā samāhitā
ātāpino jātikhayantadassino,
māraṃ sasenaṃ abhibhuyya bhikkhavo
bhavatha jātimaraṇassa pāragā. It 40f.

tasmāt sadā dhyānaratāh samāhitā
hy ātāpino jātijarāntadarśinaḥ,
māraṃ sasainyaṃ hy abhibhūya bhikṣavo
bhaveta jātīmaraṇasya pāragāḥ. Uv 1,42

[20]-4-4-1

[29 stanzas of the *jarā-varga completed.]

asvajayamala maṃtra
aṇ[u]ṭhaṇa-mala ghara __
malo malosa kosi[jo]
+ + + + + + (49:) malo [*4,1 = 58]

asajjhāyamalā mantā
anuṭṭhānamalā gharā,
malaṃ vaṇṇassa kosajjaṃ
pamādo rakkhato malaṃ. Dhp 241

asajjhāyamalā vedā
anuṭṭhāṇamalā gharā,
malo vaṇṇassa kosajjaṃ
pramādo rakkhatāṃ malo. Dhp-P 157

malo ist[r]i ducarido __
matśariyo dadado malo
malo hi pavaga dhama °

mal’ itthiyā duccaritaṃ
maccheraṃ dadato malaṃ,
malā ve pāpakā dhammā

45

asvi loge parasvi ca _ [*4,2 = 59]	asmiṃ loke paramhi ca. Dhp 242
	malo istiye duccaritaṃ
	maccheraṃ dadatāṃ malo,
	malo pāpāni *kaṃ*māṇi
	assiṃ loke paramhi ca. Dhp-P 158
ado malo maladaro	tato malā malataraṃ
+ + + + + + + +	avijjā paramaṃ malaṃ,
(50:) **ede maṃla prahatvana**	etaṃ malaṃ pahatvāna
nimalaṃ bhoṣa bhikṣavo [*4,3 = 60]	nimmalā hotha bhikkhavo. Dhp 243
	tato malataraṃ brūmi
	avijjā maraṇaṃ malaṃ,
	ete male prahattāna
	niṃmalā caratha bhikkhavo. Dhp-P 159
ayasa hi malo samuṭhida	ayasā va malaṃ samuṭṭhitaṃ
tado uṭhaye-m-eva khayati	tatuṭṭhāya tam eva khādati,
eva aṇiśama .. + + +	evaṃ atidhonacārinaṃ
(51:) **svagani** [50] **nayati dugati** [*4,4 = 61]	sāni[51] kammāni nayanti duggatiṃ. Dhp 240
	ayaso hi malaḥ samutthitaḥ
	sa tadutthāya tam eva khādati,
	evaṃ hy *aniśāmyacāriṇaṃ*
	svāni karmāṇi nayanti durgatim. Uv 9,19
	ayasā tu malo *sa*muṭṭhito
	tato uṭṭhāya tam eva khādati,
	em eva vidhūnacāriyaṃ
	sakāni kaṃmāni nayanti doggatiṃ. Dhp-P 160
anupruvena mesavi	anupubbena medhāvī
stogostogo khanakhana	thokaṃthokaṃ[52] khaṇekhaṇe
kamaro rayidaṃs eva	kammāro rajatass' eva
nidhame ma[la] + + + [*4,5 = 62]	niddhame malam attano. Dhp 239
	anupūrveṇa medhāvī
	sto*kaṃ* stokaṃ kṣaṇe kṣaṇe,
	karmāro rajatasyaiva
	nirdhamen malam ātmanaḥ. Uv 2,10
	anupūrvveṇa medhāvī
	thokathokaṃ khaṇe khaṇe,
	kammāro rajatasseva

[50.] *karmani* was left out in haplography.

[51.] Von Hinüber & Norman (1994: 68) prefer *sakakammāni* over *sāni kammāni*, which is found in the Burmese and Thai mss and further supported by all our parallels.

[52.] Von Hinüber & Norman (1994: 68) prefer *thokathokaṃ* as in Patna over the *thokaṃthokaṃ* of the Thai mss. As I see *āmreḍita* compounds also the first nasal would be compulsory.

niddhame malam āttano. Dhp-P 163

+ + + + + + +
(52:) **yamapuruṣa vi ya de uṭhida** ___
uyodamuhe⁵⁴ va tiṭhasi
paseya pi ya de na vijadi [*4,6 = 63]

paṇḍupalāso va dāni si
yamapurisā pi ca te⁵³ upaṭṭhitā
uyyoga-mukhe ca tiṭṭhasi
pātheyyam pi ce te na vijjati. Dhp 235

pāṇḍupalāśo ca dāni si
yamapuruṣā pi ca *te* upaṭṭhitā,
uyyogamukhe ca tiṭhasi
pātheyaṃ pi ca te na vijjati. Dhp-P 161

u[y·m·] + + + + + + +
(53:) **kamaro rayidaṃ va nidhame** ___
nidhatamalo ana _ gano
diviya ariyabhumi eśasi [*4,7 = 64]

so karohi dīpam attano
khippaṃ vāyama paṇḍito bhava,
niddhantamalo anaṅgano
dibbaṃ ariyabhūmiṃ ehisi. Dhp 236

uyyamassa ghaṭassa āttanā
kammāro rajataṃ va niddhame,
niddhāntamalo anaṅgano
bitiyaṃ ayirabhūmiṃ e*si*. Dhp-P 162

uttiṣṭhata vyāyamata
kurudhvaṃ dvīpam ātmanaḥ,
karmāro rajatasyaiva
haradhvaṃ malam ātmanaḥ,
nirdhāntamalā hy anaṅgaṇā
na punar jātijarām upeṣyatha. Uv 16,3

ekamulo du .. + + +
+ + + + + + + +
(54:) **samudro badaśavaṭo**
padalo pa[dari mun]i [*4,8 = 65]

ekamūlaṃ dvirāvaṭṭaṃ
timalaṃ pañcapattharaṃ,
samuddaṃ dvādasāvaṭṭaṃ
pātālaṃ atarī isi. SN I 32/68, 147

pradur abhuṣi magadheṣu phurv·
[dha·o aśudho sama] .. + + + +
+ + + + + + + + + + (55:)
śunaṃtu dhaṃmo vimuleṇaṇubudhi ___
          [*4,9 = 66]

pātur ahosi magadhesu pubbe
dhammo asuddho samalehi cintito,
avāpuretaṃ amatassa dvāraṃ
suṇantu dhammaṃ vimalenānubuddhaṃ.
                    SN I 137⁵⁵

yasa ṣatriśati soda °
maṇoprasavaṇo bhuyo
vaha vahaṃti dru[dri] ..
+ + + + + + + + [*4,10 = 67]

yassa chattiṃsatī sotā
manāpassavanā bhusā,
vahā vahanti duddiṭṭhaṃ
saṃkappā rāganissitā. Dhp 339

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⁵³· Von Hinüber & Norman (1994: 67) prefer *taṃ* over *te* against the Burmese edition. As does Patna, our ms also speaks for *te*.

⁵⁴· The *d* in *uyodamuhe* is rather a misread *ga* than a *d* as hiatus bridger, although *sadi* in Dhp-Gᴷ 151 for expected *sai* (*sāyaṃ*) could be another case.

⁵⁵· The Pali stanza is found several times in the Majjhimanikāya and the Vinaya, but more adaptations from the SN are found in this *varga* and so this origin is the most likely.

yassa chattrīśatiṃ sotā
mānāphassamayā bhriśā,
vāhā vahanti dudriṣṭiṃ
saṃkappā ggredhaniśśitā. Dhp-P 237

srotāṃsi yasya ṣaṭtriṃśan
manaḥprasravaṇāni hi /
vahanti nityaṃ durdṛṣṭeḥ
saṃkalpair gredhaniḥśritaiḥ. Uv 31,29

(56:) raga doṣo ca moho ca	lobho doso ca moho ca
puruṣo pavacedaso	purisaṃ pāpacetasa,
hiṃsaṃti atmasabhuda	hiṃsanti attasambhūtā
tvayasara bha[56] **sva pha[la]** [*4,11 = 68]	tacasāraṃ va sam phalam.

SN I 98/219 no. 433 ≈ It 45

+ + + + + + + +	ki di jaḍa'i drumedha
(57:) ki ti ayinaśaḍiya	ki di ayiṇa-śaḍi'a
ataro gahana kitva	adara gahaṇa kitva
bahiro parimajasi [*4,12 = 69]	bahire parimajasi. Dhp-G^K 2

kin te jaṭāhi dummedha
kiṃ te ajinasāṭiyā,
abbhantaraṃ te gahanaṃ
bāhiraṃ parimajjasi. Dhp 394

ki*ṃ* te jaṭābhir durbuddhe
kiṃ cāpy ajinaśāṭibhiḥ,
abhyantaraṃ te gahanaṃ
bāhya*kaṃ* parimārjasi. Uv 33,6

10-1-1

[12 stanzas of the *malavarga* completed.**]**

yaṣa vi ruyido pupho	yatha vi ruyida puṣu
[vanavata] + + + +	vaṇamada agana'a
(58:) eva subhaṣido vaya _	emu subhaṣida vaya
aphalo [bh](o)[t](i a)[k](ur)[vado] °	apha*la* . . akuvad*u.* Dhp-G^K 290
[*5,1 = 70]	

yathāpi ruciram pupphaṃ
vaṇṇavantaṃ agandhakaṃ,
evaṃ subhāsitā vācā
aphalā hoti akubbato. Dhp 51 = ThG 323

yathāpi ruciraṃ puṣpaṃ
varṇavat syād agandhavat,
eva*ṃ* subhāṣitā vācā
*niṣphalā*sāv akurvataḥ. Uv 18,6

---

56. *bha* probably arose from a miscopied *va*.

yathā pi ruciraṃ puṣpaṃ
vannavantaṃ agandhakaṃ,
evaṃ subhāṣitā *vāc*ā
aphalā hoti akurvvato. Dhp-P 125

ya [57]

yasa vi ruyi[da p]u[ph]o _   yatha vi ruyida puṣu
vaṇavaṃto sugaṃdhiyo   vaṇamada sagana'a
eva subhaṣido va + + + +   emu subhaṣida vaya
(59:) bh[oti] kurvada [*5,2 = 71]   saphala bhodi kuvadu. Dhp-G^K 291

yathāpi ruciraṃ pupphaṃ
vaṇṇavantaṃ sagandhakaṃ,
evaṃ subhāsitā vācā
saphalā hoti sakubbato. Dhp 52 ≈ ThG 324

yathā pi ruciraṃ puṣpaṃ
vannavantaṃ sagaṃdhakaṃ,
evaṃ subhāṣitā vācā
saphalā hoti kurvvato. Dhp-P 126

Cf. Subaši 222a+b, 223a+b.

yasa vi pupharaśiyo   yada vi puṣpa-raśisa
ku[ya] malaguna bahu   kuya mala-guṇa baho
eva jadena mracana   emu jadeṇa maceṇa
katavo kuśalo [va→ba]h(u) [*5,3 = 72]   kata*v*i . . . . .   Dhp-G^K 293

yathā pi puppharāsimhā
kayirā mālāguṇe bahū,
evaṃ jātena maccena
kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ bahuṃ. Dhp 53

yathāpi puṣparāśibhyaḥ
kuryā*n* mālāguṇāṃ bahūn,
evaṃ jātena martyena
kartavyaṃ kuśalaṃ bahu. Uv 18,10

yathā pi puṣparāśimhā
kayirā mālāguṇe bahū,
evaṃ jātena māccena
kātavvaṃ kuśalaṃ bahum. Dhp-P 130

+ + + + + + + +   yatha vi bhamaru puṣpa
(60:) vaṇagaṃdho aheḍayo __   vaṇa-gana ah*e*ḍa'*i*
paredi rasam adaya __   paridi rasam ada'i
eva game muṇi cara ° [*5,4 = 73]   emu gami muṇi cara. Dhp-G^K 292

[57.] This letter is written on a rough part of the bark. To avoid a separation from the rest of the stanza it is
repeated further on.

yathāpi bhamaro pupphaṃ
vaṇṇagandhaṃ aheṭhayaṃ,
paleti rasam ādāya
evaṃ gāme munī care.   Dhp 49

yathā pi bhramaro puṣpā
vannagandham aheḍayaṃ
praḍeti rasam ādāya
evaṃ ggrāme *mu*nī care.   Dhp-P 127

yathāpi bhramaraḥ puṣpād
varṇagandhāv aheṭhayan,
paraiti rasam ādāya
tathā grāmaṃ muniś caret.   Uv 18,8

. . . .
. . . .
(parait)i rasam ādāya
evaṃ g(r)āme (m)u(n)i(ś) . . .   Subaši 224

ṇa pareṣu vilomaye
ṇa pareṣu krida[gid]·
+ + + + + + + +
(61:) **samaṇi viṣamaṇi ca** [*5,5 = 74]

na pareṣa vilomaṇi
na pareṣa kidakida
atvaṇo i samikṣe'a
samaṇi viṣamaṇi ca. Dhp-G^K 271

na paresaṃ vilomāni
na paresaṃ katākataṃ,
attano va avekkheyya
katāni akatāni ca. Dhp 50

na pareṣāṃ vilomāni
na pareṣāṃ kṛtākṛtam,
ātmanas tu samīkṣeta
samāni viṣamāni ca. Uv 18,9

na paresaṃ vilomāni
na paresam katā'kataṃ,
āttanā ye aveccheyā
katāni akatāni ca. Dhp-P 309

Cf. Subaši 225, only a) preserved.

yaṣa saṃkara-guḍasvi __
ujidasvi mahapase __
paduma tatra jayea __
suyigaṃdho mano .. + [*5,6 = 75]

yadha sagara-'uḍasa
ūjidasa maha-pathe
padumu tatra ja'e'a
suyigaña maṇoramu. Dhp-G^K 303

yathā saṃkāradhānasmiṃ
ujjhitasmiṃ mahāpathe
padumaṃ tattha jāyetha
sucigandhaṃ manoramaṃ. Dhp 58

50

yathā saṃkārakūṭe tu
vyujjhite hi mahāpathe,
padmaṃ tatra tu jāyeta
śucigandhi manoramam. Uv 18,12

yathā saṃkārakūṭamhi
ujjhitamhi mahāpathe
padumaṃ ubbhidaṃ assa
śucigandhaṃ manoramaṃ. Dhp-P 135

yath(ā) saṅkārakuṭasm(i)
ūjh(i)t(a)sm(i) m(ah)āpathe,
pa(dmaṃ) . . . jāyeta
śuci-g(a)n(dhaṃ) manorama. Subaši 226

+ + + + + + + +

(62:) **aṃdhahuda prusujana**
adiroyati (pa→pu)ñaya __
saṃme-saṃbudha-ṣavaya __ [*5,7 = 76]

e[*mu*] sag*h*asa-dhama'*u*
aña-hodi prudhijaṇe
abhi*r*oyadi praña'i
same-sabudha-ṣavaka. Dhp-G^K 304

evaṃ saṃkārabhūtesu
andhabhūte puthujjane,
atirocati paññāya
sammāsambuddhasāvako. Dhp 59

evaṃ saṃkārabhūte 'smin
andhabhūte pṛthagjane,
prajñayā vyatirocante
samyaksaṃbuddhaśrāvakāḥ. Uv 18,13

evaṃ saṃkārabhūtesu
an*dha*bhūte pṛthujjane,
atirocanti praṃñāya
saṃmasabuddhasāvakā. Dhp-P 136

ev(aṃ saṅ)k(ā)rabh(ū)t(asmi)
a(n)dha . . . . . .
. . (ro)cati prajāya
samyaksambuddhaśr(ā)va(ka)ḥ. Subaši 227

na puphagaṃdho pradivado va[ya] +
+ + + + + + + +
(63:) **satana gaṃdho pradivadaṃ vayati _**
sarva diśa sapuruṣo pravayadi °
                    [*5,8 = 77]

. . . . *pra*divada vayadi
na mali'a takar*a* canaṇa va
sadaṇa gano pradivada va'idi
sa*rva* diśa sapuruṣo pada'idi. Dhp-G^K 295

na pupphagandho paṭivātam eti
na candanaṃ tagaramallikā vā,
satañ ca gandho paṭivātam eti
sabbā disā sappuriso pavāti. Dhp 54

na puṣpagandhaḥ prativātam eti

51

na vāhnijāt tagarāe candanād vā,
satāṃ tu gandhaḥ prativātam eti
sarvā diśaḥ satpuruṣaḥ pravāti. Uv 6,16

na puṣpagandho paṭivātam eti
na candanaṃ tagaraṃ vāhlikaṃ vā,
satān tu gandho paṭivātam eti
sabbā diśā sappuruṣo pravāti. Dhp-P 121

tagara caṃdanaṃ ceva __   . . . . . . *ya vi*
upa(le→lo) adha var[ṣ]· + ...
+ + + + + + + +   . . . *gana-ja*[*da*]ṇa
(64:) śilagaṃdho anutaro ° [*5,9 = 78]   śila-gano ivutama. Dhp-G^K 296

candanaṃ tagaraṃ vā pi
uppalam atha vassikī,
etesaṃ gandhajātānaṃ
sīlagandho anuttaro. Dhp 55

tagarāc candanāc cāpi
vārṣikāyās tathotpalāt,
etebhyo gandhajātebhyaḥ
śīlagandhas tv anuttaraḥ. Uv 6,17

candanaṃ tagaraṃ cāpi
uppalam atha vāśśikiṃ
etesāṃ gandhajātānāṃ
śīlagandho anuttaro. Dhp-P 122

teṣaṃ saṃpanaśilaṇi __   . . . *baṇa*-śilaṇa
apramadavihariṇaṃ __   apramada-vihariṇa
samaṃdañavimutanaṃ __   samadaña-vimutaṇa
gati maro na vijati __ [*5,10 = 79]   gadi maro na vinadi. Dhp-G^K 297

tesaṃ sampannasīlānaṃ
appamādavihārinaṃ,
sammadaññāvimuttānaṃ
māro maggaṃ na vindati. Dhp 57

teṣāṃ viśuddhaśīlānāṃ
apramādavihāriṇām,
samyagājñāvimuktānāṃ
māro mārgaṃ na vindati. Uv 6,19

tesāṃ sampannaśīlānāṃ
apramādavihāriṇāṃ,
sammadaṃñavimuttānāṃ
māro māggaṃ na viṇḍati. Dhp-P 124

puphaṇi .. + + + +   puṣaṇi yeva payiṇadu
(65:) vasita-manasa nara __   vasita-maṇasa nara
suto gamo mahoho va __   sutu gamu mahoho va

aṃta[g adae] gachati __ [*5,11 = 80]　　　　ada . . . . . . 　Dhp-G^K 294

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　pupphāni h' eva pacinantaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vyāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahogho va
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　maccu ādāya gacchati. Dhp 47

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　puṣpāṇy eva pracinvantaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vyāsaktamanasaṃ naram,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　suptaṃ grāmaṃ mahaughaiva
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　mṛtyur ādāya gacchati. Uv 18,14

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　puṣpāṇi heva pracinantaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vyāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　suttaṃ ggrāmaṃ mahogho vā
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　maccu-r-ādāya gacchati. Dhp-P 128

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　taṃ putrapaśusaṃmattaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vyāsaktamanasaṃ naram,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　suptaṃ vyāghraṃ mahaugho vā
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　mṛtyur ādāya gacchati. Mbh 12.169,17

puphaṇi r-eva prayaṇaṃ[ta] __　　　　　pupphāni h' eva pacinantaṃ
vasita-manasa[58] ṇara __　　　　　　　vyāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ,
[a] .. + + + + + +　　　　　　　　　　atitaṃ yeva kāmesu
(66:) **mucu adaye gachati** __ [*5,12 = 81][59]　antako kurute vasaṃ. Dhp 48

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　puṣpāṇi heva pracinantaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vyāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*a*saṃpu66nnesu kāmesu (sic)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　antako kuru*te* vaśe. Dhp-P 129

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　puṣpāṇy eva pracinvantaṃ
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　vyāsaktamanasaṃ naram,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　atṛptam eva kāmeṣu
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tv an*ta*kaḥ kurute vaśam. Uv 18,15

phenoamo kayam idaṃ viditva __　　　　phenovamu kayam ida viditva
mariyudhamo avisaṃbasana __　　　　　mariyi . . . . bhuda'i
chetvana marasa pravośpu[ya?] ..　　　chetvana marasa papavuṣe'aṇa
.. + + + + + + + + + +　[*5,13 = 82]　　a . . . . 　Dhp-G^K 300

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　pheṇūpamaṃ kāyam imaṃ viditvā
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　marīcidhammaṃ abhisaṃbudhāno,
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　chetvāna mārassa papupphakāni
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　adassanaṃ maccurājassa gacche. Dhp 46

[58.] For the rare use of *na* alongside *ṇa* cf. § on palaeography, p. 57.

[59.] The scribe of the exemplar remembered the variance between *antaka* and *mṛtyu* in the two verses 5,11+12, also the differences in the pāda c), but not the differences in the verbal expression in the pāda d).

phenopamaṃ lokam imaṃ vidittā
marīcidhammaṃ abhisaṃbudhānāṃ,
chettāna mārassa prapuṣpakāni
assaṃśanaṃ maccurājassa gacche. Dhp-P 134

phenopamaṃ kāyaṃ imaṃ viditvā
marīcidharmaṃ paribudhya caiva,
chitveha mārasya tu puṣpakāṇi
tv adarśanaṃ mṛtyurājasya gacchet. Uv 18,18

(67:) **ko imo paḍhavi vieśeti** [60]   . . . .
(68:) **yamalogaṃ ca imo sadeva ..**   [yama-loka ji] ida sadevaka,
ko dhamapado sudeśido __   ko dhama-pada sudeśida
kuśalo[61] **p·mam [iva p· ye·i..]** [*5,14 = 83]   kuśala puṣa viva payeṣidi. Dhp-G^K 301

                                              ko imaṃ paṭhaviṃ vicessati
                                              yamalokaṃ ca imaṃ sadevakaṃ,
                                              ko dhammapadaṃ sudesitaṃ
                                              kusalo puppham iva-ppacessati. Dhp 44

                                              ko imaṃ pathaviṃ vijehiti
                                              yamalokaṃ va imaṃ sadevakaṃ,
                                              ko dhammapade sudeśite
                                              kuśalo puṣpam iva prajehiti. Dhp-P 131

                                              ko imāṃ pṛthivīṃ vijeṣyate
                                              yamalokaṃ ca tathā sadevakaṃ,
                                              ko dharmapadaṃ sudeśitaṃ
                                              kuśalaḥ puṣpam iva praceṣyate. Uv 18,1

_____ **budho paḍha .. + + + +**   budhu pradha . . . ṣidi
(69:) **yamalogaṃ ca imo sadevago _**   yamaloka ji ida sadevaka,
budha dhamapado sudeśida __   budhu dhamapada sudeśida
kuśali puphaṃm iva prayeśati [*5,15 = 84] kuśala puṣa viva payiṣidi. Dhp-G^K 302

                                              sekho paṭhaviṃ vijessati
                                              yamalokaṃ ca imaṃ sadevakaṃ,
                                              sekho dhammapadaṃ sudesitaṃ
                                              kusalo puppham iva-ppacessati. Dhp 45

                                              . . . . . (vi)c(e)ṣyati[62]
                                              yama-lo*ka*ñ (ca) imaṃ sadevakaṃ,
                                              so dharmma-pada(ṃ) sudeśitaṃ
                                              kuśalaḥ puṣpam ivaḥ praceṣyati. Subaši 218

[60.] In order to keep the following lines from further slanting this line was kept short on purpose.

[61.] The *i*-stroke in *kuśali*- is rubbed off in its upper part to change the vowel to *-o*.

[62.] Nakatani (1984: 146f.) explains why the old reading *vicessati*, as found in the old Thai mss, when softened to *vijessati* led to the elimination of the second stanza in some mss, and to the change from *sekho* to *buddho* in other traditions.

10-4-1

[15 stanzas of the *puṣpavarga* completed.]

sahaṃsam[o] + + + +
+ + + + + + + +
(70:) **eko vayapada ṣeyo** _
ya ṣutva uvaśamati ° _ [*6,1 = 85]

sahasa bi ya vayaṇa
aṇatha-pada-sahida,
eka vaya-pada ṣevha
ya ṣutva uvaśamadi. Dhp-G^K 306

sahassam api ce vācā
anatthapadasaṃhitā,
ekaṃ atthapadaṃ seyyo
yaṃ sutvā upasammati. Dhp 100

sahasram api ye vācā
anathapadasahida
ekaṃ atthapadaṃ
yaṃ śottā upaśāṃmati. Dhp-P 376

sahasram api vācānāṃ
anarthapadasaṃhitā,
ekā arthavatī śreyā
yāṃ śrutvā upaśāmyati. Mvu III 434:13+14

sahaṃsam eva vayaṇa °
anathapadasahiṇo _
eko dhamapado [ṣ]e +
+ + + + + [*6,2 = 86]

yac ca gāthāśataṃ bhāṣed
adharmapadasaṃhitaṃ,
ekaṃ dharmapadaṃ śreyo
yac chrutvā *hy upaśāmyati*. Uv 24,2

(71:) **sahaṃsam iva gasaṇa** __
aṇathapadasahida __
eko dhamapado ṣeyo _
ya ṣutva uvaśamati _ [*6,3 = 87]

. *ha*sa bi ya gadhaṇa
aṇatha-pada-sahida
eka gadha-pada ṣeho
ya ṣutva uvaśamadi. Dhp-G^K 308

sahasram api gāthānāṃ
anarthapadasaṃhitā,
ekā arthavatī śreyā
yāṃ śrutvā upaśāmyati. Mvu III 434:15+16

yo sahaṃso sa + + +
+ + + + + + + +
(72:) **ega ca jiṇa atvaṇo** _
so hu saṃgama utamo ° [*6,4 = 88]

yo *sa*hasa sahasaṇi
sagami maṇuṣa jiṇi
eka ji jiṇi atvaṇa
so ho sagamu utamu. Dhp-G^K 305

yo sahassaṃ sahassena
saṅgāme mānuse jine,
ekañ ca jeyya-m-attānaṃ
sa ve saṃgāmajuttamo. Dhp 103

yaḥ sahasraṃ sahasrāṇāṃ
saṃgrāme dviṣatāṃ jayet,
yaś cātmānaṃ jayed ekaṃ
saṃgrāmo durjayaḥ sa vai. Uv 13,3

yaḥ sahasra sahasrāṇaṃ
(saṃ)grāme mānuṣaṃ jayet,
ekañ ca jayam ātmānaṃ
sa vai saṃgrāmajin naraḥ. Subaši 298

yo śatāni sahasrāṇaṃ
saṃgrāme manujā jaye,
yo caikaṃ jaye ātmānaṃ
sa vai saṃgrāmajit* varaḥ. Mvu III 434: 17f.

atva hi saṃjido ṣeyo °
ya caṃña idaro praya _ [*6,5 = 89]

attā have jitaṃ seyyo
yā cāyaṃ itarā pajā,
attadantassa posassa
niccaṃ saññatacārino. Dhp 104

āttā hi varaṃ dānto
yacchāyam itarā prajā,
ātmadāntasya puruṣasya
nityaṃ saṃvṛtacāriṇaḥ. Dhp-P 319

ātmā hy asya jitaḥ śreyāṃ
yac ceyam itarāḥ prajāḥ,
ātmadāntasya puruṣasya
nityaṃ saṃvṛtacāriṇaḥ. Uv 23,4

ya ca vaṣa[śa] .. .. +
(73:) śpage pariyaṇe vaṇe

ya ja vaṣa-śada jadu
agi pariyara vaṇi
kṣireṇa sapi-teleṇa [63]
diva-ratra atadrido. Dhp-G^K 319

egaṃ ca bhavidatvaṇa __
mahuta vi puyae
sa yeva puyaṇaṃ ṣeyo _____
               [*6,6 = 90; end]

eka ji bhavidatvaṇa
muhuta viva puya'i
sameva puyaṇa ṣevha
ya ji vaṣa-śada hodu. Dhp-G^K 320

yo ca vassasataṃ jantu
aggiṃ paricare vane,
ekaṃ ca bhāvitattānaṃ
muhuttaṃ api pūjaye,
sā yeva pūjanā seyyo
yañ ce vassasataṃ hutaṃ. Dhp 107

yac ca varṣaśataṃ pūrṇaṃ
agniṃ paricared vane,
yac caikaṃ bhāvitātmānaṃ
muhūrtam api pūjayet,
sā tasya pūjanā śreṣṭhā

[63.] None of the Chinese translations contains the two additional pādas c) and d) as found in Dhp-G^K; cf. Mizuno 1981: 124f. no. 104.

na tad varṣaśataṃ hutam. Uv 24,16

yo ca vaśśaśataṃ jantu
aggiṃ paricare vane
ekaṃ ca bhavitāttānaṃ
muhuttaṃ api pūjaye
sā eva pūjanā śreyo
yac cha vaśśaśataṃ hutaṃ. Dhp-P 380

yo ca varṣaśataṃ jīve
agniparicaraṃ caret,
patrāhāro chavāvāsī
karonto vividhaṃ tapa,
yo caikaṃ bhāvitātmānaṃ
muhūrtam api pūjayet,
sa ekapūjanā śreyo
na ca varṣaśataṃ hutaṃ. Mvu III 435:21-24

Palaeography

The scribe wrote Kharoṣṭhī fluently and in an elegant hand. He must have had a clerical education before he copied these Dhp verses. On the other hand, mistakes, omissions and one interjection (see below), show that copying the Dhp may have been one of the earliest scribal exercises of the clerk in a new monastic ambiance. A man joining the order after a phase of extensive writing in the profane world would explain the evidence.

The letters he used already comprise diacritical enhancements, mainly horizontal strokes above or below the base letters, which are meant to indicate slight or significant differences in pronunciation. So far it is unknown when and where these diacritics were introduced. They are not found in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on rocks or coins before the end of the first century CE. The writer of the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript (Falk & Karashima 2012, 2013) with a radiocarbon date in the later first century CE does not use them.

Over-barred letters, so common in Dhp-G^K, are rare in Dhp-G^S.

j̄a: Over-barred *j̄a* is found in both texts and in most cases represents Skt *dhya*: *asva-j̄aya* (*asvādhyāya/asajjhāya*) Dhp-G^S 4,1; *buj̄ati* (*budhyate/bujjhati*) Dhp-G^S 3,15. However, Dhp-G^K shows a number of cases where our text drops the over-bar: *majima* (*madhyama/majjhima*) Dhp-G^S 3,19 vs. *maj̄ima* Dhp-G^K 146; *ujida* (*ujjhita*) Dhp-G^S 5,6 vs. *uj̄ida* Dhp-G^K 303. Only once in Dhp-G^K does *j̄a* represent Skt *hya*: *ḍaj̄amāṇa* Dhp-G^K 159 vs. *ḍaśamāṇena* (*dahyamāna*) in Dhp-G^S 3,9. Dhp-G^K thus treats *hya* as if it was *dhya*, while in Dhp-G^S it appears as *śa*. On the change from *hya* to *śa* and the phonetic similarity between *j̄a* and *śa* cf. Brough 1962: 105 § 61. In all other cases *j̄a* represents Skt *dhya*, P *jjha*. The difference to plain *ja* seems to be slight, as the non-overbarred form is used twice in Dhp-G^S instead. Initial *dhya* in *dhyānaratāḥ/jhānaratāḥ* also appears as plain *janarada* in Dhp-G^S 3,29.

s̄:   The over-bar stroke for *s̄* is used just once in Dhp-G^S and nowhere in Dhp-G^K. It occurs at the end of line 2 (Dhp-G^S 1,2) in the *s̄a* of *yas̄a* and seems to make clear that

the second *akṣara* is a *śa* with a flat roof and not another *ya*, which can look rather similar. In another case (Dhp-G^S 2,4 *bhadiya*, Dhp-G^K 229 *bhadi'a*) our scribe or his supervisor overwrites an angular *ya* with a decidedly pointed *ya*. That such clarity makes good sense becomes clear where it is missing, as in Dhp-G^S 4,10, where *bhusā* in Pali, Skt *bhṛśā*, appears to be written as *bhuyo*, a reading which probably arose from an exemplar where *ya* and *śa* looked alike and the more frequent *bhuyo* (*bhūyas*) came easier to mind than had the less frequent *bhṛśā*.

ñ: The over-barred *ña*, so frequent in Dhp-G^K, is missing as it represents a sound derived from Skt *ndh,* which is not used in Gandhara proper.

Under-barred letters are few, mainly *ga* in words like *bhagava*. The straight horizontal line is clearly different from the curved postconsonantal sign for -*ra*, but it seems as if a *gra* led to *ga* at times, as we have *ga* at Bajaur and plain *ga* at Khotan: *game* (*grāme*) Dhp-G^S 5,4, *gami* Kh-292; *gamo* (*grāmaṃ*) Dhp-G^S 5,11 vs. *gamu* Kh-294; *saṃgama* (*saṃgrāmaḥ*) Dhp-G^S 6,4 vs. *sagamu* Dhp-G^K 305; *gati* (*gatiṃ*) B-5,10 vs. *gadi* Dhp-G^K 297. In stanza 305 Dhp-G^K shows once *sagamu* and once *sagami* and in one case Dhp-G^K shows the under-bar and Dhp-G^S does not: *saṃgadi* (*saṃgatiḥ*) Dhp-G^S 2,3 vs. *sagadi* Dhp-G^K 228.

In one case *ga* in our text replaces an original *ka*, which is retained in Khotan: *egaśo* (*ekaśas*) Dhp-G^S 3,17 vs. *ekada* Dhp-G^K 152. In two cases *ga* in our text corresponds to a dropped velar in Dhp-G^K: *bhoga* (*bhoga-*) Dhp-G^S 1,2 vs. *bho'a-* Dhp-G^K 323; *saṃkaraguḍasvi_* *(saṃskārakūṭe)* Dhp-G^S 5,6 vs. *sagara-'uḍasa* Dhp-G^K 303.

ṣa   The under-barred regular *ṣa* is frequent in Bajaur and is used for a fricative derived from the aspirates *dha* or *tha.* In cases where both texts are preserved, Dhp-G^K retains the aspirated dental: *yatha* Dhp-G^K 290 vs. *yaṣa* (*yathā*) Dhp-G^S 5,1+6; *yadha* Dhp-G^K 303; *meṣavo* (*medhāvī*) Dhp-G^S 1,6; *vaṣido* (*vyādhito*) Dhp-G^S 3,5; *bhoṣa* (*bhavatha*) Dhp-G^S 4,3.

For the same fricative also a non-underbarred *sa* may be written: *yasa* (*yathā*) Dhp-G^S 5,2, 3,18 vs. *yatha* Dhp-G^K 291; *yadha* Dhp-G^K 147; *pase* (*pathe*) Dhp-G^S 5,6 vs. *pathe* Dhp-G^K 303; *tasa*++ (*tathāgata*) Dhp-G^S 2,11 vs. *tadhakada* Dhp-G^K 267; *asa* (*atha*) Dhp-G^S 3,2 vs. *adha* Dhp-G^K-160; *prusujana* (*pṛthagjana*) Dhp-G^S-5,7 vs. *prudhijaṇe* Dhp-G^K-304; *gasana* (*gāthānāṃ*) Dhp-G^S 6,3 vs. *gadhaṇa*+*gadha* Dhp-K 308.

The "modern" wavy *ṣa*, used throughout Dhp-G^K instead of *sa* (not for *si, se, so, su*!), is not found anywhere in Dhp-G^S.

ḍa: The *ḍa* does have a rather regular under-bar, but this only helps to distinguish the character from the very similar *ja*.

ṇa/na: Our scribe usually does not distinguish between dental **na** and cerebral **ṇa**. The form he uses is a straight vertical with a round head to the upper right, a direct descendant of the traditional *ṇa.* However, in a few cases, as in stanza 5,12b, end of line 65, we see both forms when reading *vasitamanasa ṇara*. The *na* is wavy and the *ṇa* is straight. For Khotan, Konow (1914: 87) found the rule, that *ṇa* is used commonly, and *na* only at the beginning of a word or where Sanskrit would have *nna* or *nda*. Here, in this singular case, we can only state that the position at the beginning or inside a word makes the

difference, although the use of both nasals with regard to the beginning of a word is just the opposite.

All paleagraphical features taken together speak for a date in the late first century CE or shortly later.

The writing process

Our ms is not simply the result of copying an older one. It shows clearly that several people were engaged in its production. This conclusion arises from several observations, one of which is most exceptional: After the second verse (1,2) we read *io* (wiped out: *ajihi*) *anutridiya ajihima katava*, which probably means "here, i.e. following the third, i.e. from the third verse onwards, it has to be made straight". For *anutṛtīyaṃ* parallels are scarce. One is *cānudaśamaṃ* in Vasiṣṭhasmṛti 17,43, which is translated by G. Bühler[64] as "and a tithe", modernized by P. Olivelle[65] to "and one tenth". The rule regulates the distribution of cows and horses among inheriting brothers. Rule 17,42 allots to the eldest brother two animals in every distribution cycle while his brothers take only one. In the following rule I read (with mss C, Bh and H) *vānudaśamaṃ*, which means not "and one tenth in addition", but "optionally following the tenth (animal)", that is "from the tenth animal onwards". After all brothers received at least 10 cows and horses, if their father bequeathed that many, the oldest son may optionally take two every time his brothers get one of the remaining animals. This gives the later-born brothers the chance to run their own farm on a sufficient basis and strengthens the oldest at the same time.[66]

The second questionable term is *ajihima,* Skt *ajihma,* which denotes something or someone not crooked, not bent or not twisted. With regard to scriptures the order seems to say that the text should be straightened, deprived of its crookedness. How did the text look in its crooked, "unstraightened" form? Telling from a number of mistakes it seems that an exemplar had to be copied which was missing some parts of its material and which may have been difficult to decipher in places. Particularly around the verses 3,22-24 the copyist was at a loss and certainly not in a position to emend the text. Also the abrupt end does not give the impression of an orderly closure.

This leads me to the thesis that this single sheet with verses from a Dhp is the result of a writing and emendation exercise, building on a older exemplar, written by a basically experienced writer, who may have been newly introduced to Buddhist poetry, made to use a common and not really sacrosanct text for the exercise. Without doubt, the order to do better was not written by the overall writer but by his supervisor.

Acknowledgment

[64.] Georg Bühler, *The Sacres Laws of the Âryas*, part II (Sacred Books of the East, 14). Oxford 1882: 88.

[65.] Patrick Olivelle, *Dharmasūtras.* Delhi 2000: 419.

[66.] This interpretation of *anu-* plus ordinal number may also apply to *anumadhyama*, "following the middle (aged) one", as found in the Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini 6.2,189.

clarifications. Working with Chinese and Japanese sources and secondary literature was greatly facilitated with their help. The owners allowed to work leisurely on their manuscripts maintaining their usual generosity and equanimity. Blair Silverlock made the English comprehensible. To all of them I am deeply beholden.

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The Circulation of Artefacts Engraved with '*Apramāda*' and Other Mottos in Southeast Asia and India: A Preliminary Report

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I present here a preliminary report on selected engraved or inscribed objects, most of them recently found in Southeast Asia. Foremost among them are those indited with the single word *apramāda*: 'careful', 'heedful', 'aware'. *Apramāda* artefacts have had a long and not especially dramatic history in South and Southeast Asian archaeology. Two *apramāda* seals collected by Alexander Cunningham entered the British Museum by 1892, and at the beginning of the 1900s *apramāda* inscriptions were noted in the excavation reports for Sarnath and Kasia in northern India (both in modern UP). Several types of *apramāda* artefacts were recovered by Louis Malleret at the Mekong delta site of Oc-Eo in southern Vietnam over sixty years ago. Since then, artefacts bearing the word *apramāda* have been reported at other sites in India, and, most recently, in Thailand and Burma. It will be seen that a variety of objects were inscribed with the word *apramāda* – not only seals and sealings but other objects the function of which is not clear to me. As a general if clumsy term, I will refer to '*apramāda* artefacts' or '*apramāda* objects'. In the same way, the mode writing differs, and will be referred to as 'inscription', 'motto', or 'legend'.

I. *APRAMĀDA* INSCRIPTIONS FROM THAILAND, BURMA AND INDIA

> *appamādo amatapadaṃ, pamādo maccuno padaṃ*
> *appamattā na mīyanti ye pamattā yathā matā*
>
> *Dhammapada 21 (Appamāda-vagga, 1)*[1]

[1] 'Awareness is the place of the deathless; unawareness is the place of death. The aware do not die; the unaware are as though dead already.' Translation Valerie J. Roebuck, *The Dhammapada*, London: Penguin Books, 2010, p. 7.

One of the most fascinating, and the most challenging, groups of artefacts are those inscribed with a single four-*akṣara* word, *apramāda*, almost always in the nominative case.

I.1. Two *Apramāda* inscriptions from Central Thailand

In the middle of 2014, Mr. Kittisak Tontah (กิตติศักดิ์ โทนทะ) found an inscribed seal at Khu Bua in Ratchaburi province (คูบัว, จังหวัดราชบุรี), Thailand (figs. 1, 2).[2] He found it by the footpath that leads to Nong Kesorn (หนองเกษร), on the west bank of the canal that runs through the centre of the ancient city, about 300 metres south of Wat Khlong Suwannaram (วัดโขลงสุวรรณาราม).[3] The rectangular seal measures 3 x 2 x 0.6 cm. It is made of ivory which has blackened with age. The recto has an etched monolinear frame, within which is engraved, in reverse, the single Sanskrit word *apramāda*. The letters are long and elegant, and the '*a*', the '*pra*' and the '*ma*' have long tails that turn back upward to form graceful loops. The back (fig. 3) is plain with several long scratches that run laterally the length of the seal. At each of the two upper corners there is a hole that runs from the side to the top edges (fig. 4), evidently to enable a string or cord to pass through. A straightforward conclusion is that the object was made to be suspended around the throat or arm, with the seal facing outwards. But it is, after all, a seal, written in reverse, and it is hard to determine what purpose this might have served. The holes are carefully bored, and would seem to have been done by a master carver from the beginning; they do not look as if they were done later by amateur carvers in order to appropriate a seal as an ornament. Needless to say, this is a subjective impression.

Earlier, in about 2008, an inscribed ivory object had been discovered in the same area by Mr. Ekasak Nilprapreut (เอกศักดิ์ นิลประพฤติ). It measures 2.8 x 1.2 x 0.2 cm. Both sides are engraved. One side (fig. 5) has four letters that read *apramādaḥ*. The second side (fig. 6) has a 'vase of plenty,' the ancient Indian symbol of fertility and prosperity.[4] This piece has no holes, and is two-sided. That is, it is not likely that is was meant to be suspended or worn.

Khu Bua is one of the important urbanized cultural complexes of early central Thailand;

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[2]   For Khu Bua, see Phatcharin Sukpramun, "La ville ancienne de Khu Bua," in Pierre Baptiste et Thierry Zéphir (ed.), *Dvāravatī – aux sources du bouddhisme en Thaïlande*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Établissement Public du Musée des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 2009, pp. 193–197. For examples of the masterful stucco work that decorated stūpas and other structures, see ibid., Cat. Nos. 83–110.

[3]   This is in about the centre of the ancient walled and moated city: see map of Khu Bua in Baptiste and Zéphir, *Dvāravatī*, Fig. 5, p. 40.

[4]   See Prithivi Kumar Agrawala, *Pūrṇa Kalaśa or the Vase of Plenty*, Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1965 (repr. 1985). For seals with the *pūrṇaghaṭa*, see, for example, Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Afghanistan (4th Century BC–11th Century AD), Local, Indian, Sasanian, Graeco-Persian, Sogdian, Roman*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale/Istituto Italiano per l/ Africa e l'Oriente, 1997, Cat. Nos. 3.17, 7.58, A and 7.59, A. The tin *apramāda* pendants from Oc-Eo have an eight-pronged double *vajra* on the verso (that is, a *vajra* with three of the prongs visibly depicted): see Louis Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient (Publications de l' École française d'Extrême-Orient Volume XLIII), II, *La civilization matérielle d'Oc-Éo* (Texte, Planches, 1960), Pl. CIX, 6, 8, 10.

it belongs to an area or period that we conventionally call 'Dvāravatī'.[5] The architectural remains, especially the stucco that decorated the many brick structures, reveal a prosperous and refined society. The style of the script on the two artefacts is very close; it is a calligraphic 'Southeast Asian Brāhmī,'[6] strongly resembling that that used in the stone epigraphs of Dvāravatī Thailand. The two objects were not found in any context, and therefore are difficult to date. One may cautiously, and broadly, suggest the fifth to sixth century.[7]

I.2. An *Apramāda* inscription from Burma

A single *apramāda* inscription has been reported from Burma (fig. 7).[8] It is part of a collection that was amassed by Tom and Danielle White during a diplomatic posting in Burma between 1985 and 1989; at present the collection belongs to François Mandeville (Hong Kong). Middleton's catalogue of the White collection describes 'about ninety five intaglios, five cameos, twenty five stamp-seals, fifteen rings (two set with intaglios) and a number of miscellaneous objects all of which are said to have come from Pyu sites in Burma.' They 'were mostly acquired in Rangoon. Unfortunately no more details of provenance are known.'[9]

The *apramāda* inscription is described as a 'glass tabloid, bright blue-green with gold inlay'. It measures 16 x 9.5 x 3 mm. 'The glass was analysed by XRF and its composition was found to be consistent with ancient glass'. The Sanskrit inscription is described as 'in the Deccan style of the 4th–5th century derived from the Brahmi script of the early Guptas – but in a version influenced by handwriting. The square head marks of the letters are also found in Vākaṭaka inscriptions.' In general, it is close to Southeast Asian Brāhmī.

The function of the small object is not clear. It is a positive inscription and not a seal, and it is probable that it was set in a ring or amulet. Indeed, at present it has been mounted in a gold ring (fig. 8).

Two other inscribed objects in the White collection read *nanditavyaṃ* (fig. 9) and *jīvadayā* (fig. 10).[10] Both are engraved on long ovals. The former is a negative, described as 'sardonyx (layered agate) ringstone; dark brown with several alternating thin layers of white'. Measuring 16.5 x 12 x 4.5 mm, it shows slight signs of wear on the face.[11] The second object

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[5.] For the problem of Dvāravatī in historical studies see Peter Skilling, "Dvāravatī: Recent Revelations and Research," in *Dedications to Her Royal Highness Princess Galyani Vadhana Krom Luang Naradhiwas Rajanagarindra on her 80th birthday*, Bangkok: The Siam Society, pp. 87–112.

[6.] The old classifications of Southeast Asian scripts are, from various perspectives, unsatisfactory. For what has commonly been called the 'Pallava script' (อักษรปัลลวะ), I use here 'Southeast Asian Brāhmī.' This script broadly resembles what in Indian epigraphy is usually called 'Southern Brāhmī.'

[7.] The two seals are preserved in the collection of the Suthiratana Foundation, Bangkok.

[8.] Sheila E. Hoey Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings and Related Objects from Burma and Java: The White Collection and a further small private collection* (BAR International Series 1405), Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005, Cat. no. 62, p. 92, and Colour Pl. II 62.

[9.] Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, p. 1.

[10.] Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, Cat. Nos. 60, 61.

[11.] Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, Cat. No. 60, p. 90; Colour Pl. II 60.

is an 'agate (layered) ringstone; a thin white opaque layer on numerous thin opaque golden yellowish-brown layers of different shades'. It measures 17 x 15 x 4 mm; the intaglio face measures 13.5 x 11 mm. It is in very good condition. The Sanskrit inscription reads *jīvadayā*.[12]

Another collection of intaglios and seals and other objects from Burma was acquired soon after the White collection in the early 1990s. It is said to have been purchased as a single lot from either a collector or a dealer in Prome.[13] One of these objects, which is now in the Mandeville Collection, reads *dayādānaṃ*, 'gift from or out of compassion' (fig. 11). It is a cornelian, with reverse lettering. It measures 14.5 x 12 x 4.5 mm overall. The intaglio face measures 11 x 9 mm.[14] In Burma the same inscription is found on an intaglio from Halin and an intaglio from Vesali in Arakan (fig. 12).[15] Another found at Oc-Eo has a similar script.[16]

I.3. Two *Apramāda* seals in the British Museum, Cunningham collection

The Cunningham collection of the British Museum possesses two *apramāda* seals. BM 1892, 1103.126 (fig. 13) is a 'flat oval seal of carnelian,' measuring 11 x 9 mm. BM 1892, 1103.127 (fig. 14) is an 'oval seal of carnelian, scaraboid in shape,' and has the same dimensions as the preceding.[17] There is no information about the provenance of the seals; '1892' only indicates the year that the seals arrived at the British Museum. Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893), British pioneer of colonial Indian archaeology, collected objects throughout his years in India, and bought items of interest in the market as they turned up.[18] Thus they could have come from anywhere. Both are seals, and the letters are written in reverse. The script resembles that used in Vākāṭaka records, and points to a possible central Indian origin.

I.4. *Apramāda* inscriptions from Oc-E.o in the Mekong delta

The other *apramāda* inscriptions published to date are from Oc-Eo in the Mekong delta, Vietnam, where Louis Malleret conducted excavations from 1938 to 1945. Malleret's meticulous report of the results of his excavations, the seven-volume 'Archaeology of the

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[12.] Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, Cat. No. 61, p. 91; Colour Pl. II 61.

[13.] Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, p. 148.

[14.] Middleton, *Intaglios, Cameos, Rings*, App. 23, p. 159. The reading is doubtful, but it is difficult to confirm because the letters are very fine.

[15.] For Arakan, see Pamela Gutman, *Burma's Lost Kingdom: Splendours of Arakan*, Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001, p. 7, fig. 4.

[16.] George Cœdès, "Fouilles en Cochinchine: le site de Go Oc Eo, ancien port du royaume de Fou-nan"[Excavations in Indochina: the site of Go Oc Eo, the ancient port of the Kingdom of Funan], *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1947), pp. 193–199: Pl. D 1, bottom right. Louis Malleret, "Aperçu de la glyptique d'Oc-Éo," *BEFEO* XLIV, 1, p. 199 and Pl. L, 13, 14; Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Tome troisième, Texte, p. 291, No. 1262; Planches, Pl. LXIII, 4, 5; LXIV, 10, 11.

[17.] These are reported in Dikshit, "Cunningham Collection of Seals in the British Museum," *JNSI* XXII (1960), pp. 123–130 and Pls. V–VI, 20–21. I regret that a photograph of 1103.127 is not available.

[18.] So, for example, the famous 'Oxus Treasure', a collection of about 170 objects, dating mainly from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the time of the Achaemenid empire, some of which were acquired by Cunningham in Rawalpindi or Peshawar about 1880.

Mekong River Delta', is one of the monuments of French colonial archaeology.[19] In the course of his work, Malleret found and reported several types of object bearing the legend *apramāda*.[20] The inscriptions were read and translated by George Cœdès.[21] I will present these in Part 2 of this article.

I.5. *Apramāda* seals from northern India

In addition to the two unprovenanced *apramāda* seals from the Cunningham collection, *apramāda* seals and seal-impressions have been recorded in India, mostly in the north but also in central and eastern India.[22] They were recovered from excavations at the sites of Kasia,[23] Sarnath,[24] and Nalanda[25] during the colonial period, and later from Mahurjhari or Mahurzari in Maharasthra (Dist. Nagpur)[26] and Ratnagiri in Orissa.[27] Mahurzari and the neighbouring (probably originally contiguous) Junapani probably have 'the largest number of stone circles in India'.[28] Numerous early historic antiquities, including seals and intaglios, were recovered and reported in 1933, but their exact find spots are not clear. The abundant number of beads led to the hypothesis that it was a bead-making centre. The artefacts included a seal reading *apumāda* or *apramāda*.[29]

The seals from India have been found in different contexts, some at Buddhist sites, and most seem to be centuries later than the objects studied here, up to the eleventh century. They are generally not well reported or illustrated. For this reason, we leave them for Part 2 of this article, when, I hope, we will have better documentation.

[19.] Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Volume XLIII, 7 tomes, Paris, 1959–1963.

[20.] Louis Malleret (1901–1970) came to Indochina in 1929. He became a member of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in 1942, and was Director of the École from 1949 to 1956.

[21.] Cœdès, "Fouilles en Cochinchine," pp. 193–199. George Cœdès (1886–1969) scarcely needs any introduction: the grand man of European studies of Southeast Asian history and archaeology, especially of Cambodia and Thailand, he was Director of the École française d'Extrême-Orient from 1929 to 1946.

[22.] I have benefited here from Thaplyal's detailed study: Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals. A Study of North Indian Seals and Sealings from circa Third Century B.C. to Mid-Seventh Century A.D*, Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1972, p. 326.

[23.] *ARASI* 1905-06; *ARASI* 1906–07.

[24.] Daya Ram Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, repr. Delhi: Indological Book House, 1972, p. 313, No. F(d) 54.

[25.] Hiranand Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 66), [1942] 1999, p. 59, No. 17.

[26.] M.M.V.V. Mirashi, "Some Seal-stamps from the Central Provinces," *JNSI* III, pp. 99–100, and Fig. 1. I owe the reference to Thaplyal, p. 326, and I thank Lilian Handlin and Barbara A. Burg (librarian, Widener Library, Harvard University) for their prompt help in tracking down and sending the article. For Mahurjhari or Mahurzari see Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *Mahurjhari Excavation (1970–72)*, Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1973, and idem in A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research/Munshiram Manoharlal, 1989, Vol. II, pp. 268–269.

[27.] Devala Mitra, *Ratnagiri (1958–61)* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 80), Vol. II, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1983.

[28.] S.B. Deo in Ghosh, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 268.

[29.] A detailed account of these antiquities was published by G.A.P. Hunter in the *Annual of the Sāradāśrama*, an institution located at Yeomal in Vidarbha. This is not accessible to me, and unfortunately no published photos of the seal are known to me.

II. *Bhaktavyaṃ* and *Dharmakartavyaṃ*:
inscribed tokens from the Malay peninsula

dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ, na naṃ duccaritaṃ care
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti asmiṃ loke paramhi ca

Dhammapada 169 (Loka-vagga 3)[30]

Two inscribed artefacts were retrieved by villagers at Ban Triam, Khuraburi District, Phang Nga Province (บ้านเตรียม, อำเภอคุระบุรี, จังหวัดพังงา) in the western Malay peninsula (figs. 15, 16). The villagers report that the objects were collected along with stone and glass beads at a hill on the Triam River (แม่น้ำเตรียม) along the Southern Phetkasem Highway, around 14 km. north of the Khuraburi district seat. They are engraved within distinct borders on carnelian that, as a result of being heated, turned into a greyish stone.[31] They are written in the same script, with elegant broad letters with square heads.

The smaller piece is about 15 mm long, and reads *bhaktavyaṃ*, 'one should be devoted' (fig. 15). Seals with this motto have been found elsewhere in the region, at Oc-Eo, where two *bhaktavyaṃ* seals were found.[32] The larger piece from Ban Triam, about 17 mm in length, reads *dharmakartavyaṃ*, 'Dharma is to be observed,' 'Act with justice,' 'May duty be done'[33] (fig. 16). This label is known from India: two 'magnetic bronze ring seals' and one 'bronze ring seal' in the Aman Ur Rahman collection bear the same motto.[34] They are by no means identical. Cat. No. 16.01.38 measures 21 x 12 x 16 mm; the first letter is missing, but it reads either (*dhar*)*ma-* or (*dha*)*ma-katavya* in Prakrit. Cat. No. 16.01.37 measures 27 x 16 x 10 mm; it is completely preserved, and reads *dharmakartavya*. Cat. No. 16.01.44 measures 17 x 24 x 22 mm. It reads *rdhamakartavya* for *dharmakartavya*.[35] Falk translates the motto as 'the law must be practised.'

The phrase is also reported on a terracotta seal in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, and on a

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[30.] 'You should practice the Dhamma well, not practice it badly. One who practices the Dhamma sleeps happily, in this world and the next.' Translated Roebuck, The *Dhammapada*, p. 35.

[31.] Prof. Chawalit Khaokhiew (ชวลิต เขาเขียว), Dean, Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, as reported to Bunchar Pongpanich, 9 February 2015. The artefacts are undergoing further tests.

[32.] Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Vol. 3, *La culture du Fou-nan*, Texte, Nos. 1255 (Pls. LXII and LXIV, 6); 1256 (Pls. LXII and LXIV, 5). Notes with hand-copy in Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, Fig. 18, B.1.

[33.] The polysemy of Dharma and the lack of context preclude any definitive understanding or translation. We need to take into account the fact that single-word passive participle mottos are relatively frequent on seals across India and into Southeast Asia: *bhaktavyaṃ* as here, and also *dātavyaṃ*, *yaṣṭavyaṃ*, *nanditavyaṃ*, etc. (None of the inscribed seals or sealings studied by Riccardo Garbini, 'The Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī Inscriptions', in Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West*, pp. 279–306, have any future passive participle legends, most of the inscriptions being genitive possessives.)

[34.] Rahman and Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens from Gandhāra*, p. 173. The significance of the distinction between 'magnetic bronze' and 'bronze' is not clear to me.

[35.] See Rahman and Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens*, Commentary § 4.2(1) and 4.2(4) for the engraving error. I do not reproduce Falk's word break (*dharma kartavya*, etc., in all cases), which seems unjustified.

seal in the Allahabad Museum,[36] as well as on six sealings from Sunet (Dist. Ludhiana, Punjab).[37] Sunet seems to have been an extremely important early historical site, but its passage into the modern era has been tragic. It was already being plundered when Alexander Cunningham visited in 1878–79; he reported that large bricks had been found and reused in such quantities that 'the Railway contractor obtained ballast sufficient for 18 miles of the Railway', and that 'the fort of Ludiana is said to have been built with them.'[38] Cunningham found upwards of one thousand coins, from the Indo-Greek period onward.[39] A century later, excavations conducted in 1983 to 84 uncovered numerous inscribed seals, sealings, coins, and coin moulds, but they were not followed up, and the site has now degraded.[40] Sunet 'lay on the trade route that connected Taxila with middle Gangetic valley … It was successively the capital of an independent state, came under the overlordship of the Indo-Greeks and later the Kuṣāṇas.'[41]

Thaplyal classifies *dharmakartavyaṃ* under 'non-sectarian mottos'. He points out that 'the observance of dharma … is held above everything else in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism', and that it 'forms the central theme of Aśokan edicts.'[42] In the case of the Ban Triam artefacts, there is no context, and the script appear to be foreign and to belong to the western Indian family. Buddhist usage prefers the root √*car* with Dharma, rather than √*kar*.

III. Brahaspatiśarma the Mariner:
A gold seal from Bang Kluay Nok, Thailand

A gold seal in the Suthiratana Foundation collection comes from Bang Kluay Nok in Ranong

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[36.] Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, p. 327. For the Kolkata and Allahabad seals see his Pl. XXVIII, 3a and 3b and 1a and 1b, respectively.

[37.] Thaplyal, loc. cit. The Sunet sealings are reported by J. Agrawal in *JNSI* XIX, pp. 71–72 (not seen). Thaplyal 1972, p. 328, and pl. XXVIII, 5 (Indian Museum Nos. A11463-NS9124 and A11462–NS9130).

[38.] If he means by this the original construction of the fort by the Lodi kings, who reigned in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, then the looting goes back a long way indeed. This is not impossible, or even unlikely.

[39.] Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878–79*, Archaeological Survey of India Vol. XIV, [1882], repr. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2000, 'Sunit', pp. 65–67.

[40.] *IAR* 1983–84, 67–70 and pls. 46–50. The website Ludhianadistrict.com (accessed 24 December 2014) carries an undated report from *The Tribune*, attributed to Jupinderjit Singh: Sunet village comprising of ancient mounds, some of which were excavated, is, sadly, passing into oblivion. Apathetic attitude of the residents and continuous ignorance of the place by the Department of Archaeology and Conservation, Punjab, has left it look like an eyesore to the surroundings. Only a junk-eaten board of the department around a large mound behind a gurdwara in BRS Nagar [Bhai Randhir Singh Nagar] declares it as a protected monument and a barbed wire has been laid around the mound to protect it! People throw garbage and litter over the barbed wire and pay tributes to the rich past of the abandoned place!' See also Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Sukhdev Saini, *The Problem of the Sarasvati River and Notes on the Archaeological Geography of Haryana and Indian Punjab*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009, p. 246, 'the ancient site is now almost destroyed by a modern housing colony in the outskirts of Ludhiana – only a small portion of the mound is now preserved within a park'.

[41.] Seema Bawa, *Gods, Men and Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Indian Art*, New Delhi: DK Printworld, 2013, p. 393.

[42.] For Asoka's Dharma, see Alf Hiltebeitel's handy (xiii + 188 pp.) *Dharma*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010, especially Chap. 2; or the same author's massive (xvii + 747 pp.) *Dharma: Its Early History in Law, Religion, and Narrative*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, especially Chap. 2). For the vast topic of Dharma in general, see Hiltebeitel's books and the nineteen essays in Patrick Olivelle (ed.), *Dharma: Studies in its Semantic, Cultural and Religious History*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2004.

Province (บางกล้วยนอก, จังหวัดระนอง), along the western coast of the central Malay peninsula (figs. 17, 18).[43] It bears a Prakrit legend, written in a circle from right to left, starting at 3 o'clock: *brahaspatiśarmasa nāvikasa*, 'of the mariner Brahaspati.'[44] At the centre of the composition is what might be interpreted as an 'auspicious seat' or 'auspicious throne', *bhadrāsana* or *bhadrapīṭha*, in a linear 'ḍamaru' or 'hourglass' profile, similar to that in Jaina representations of the eight auspicious things (*aṣṭa-maṅgala*), in Buddhist symbols of the feet of the Buddha (*buddha-pāda*), or on coins from Southeast Asia.[45] This is the second reference to a mariner (*nāvika*) to be found in Southeast Asia, after the celebrated Buddhagupta Mahānāvika whose name is inscribed on a stone slab from Kedah, published as long ago as 1835, and now kept in the Indian Museum, Kolkata.[46] Another *mahānāvika* inscription, that of the wife of the 'Great Mariner Sivaka' from Ghaṇṭaśāla, Andhra Pradesh, has been known for over sixty years,[47] and a '*mahānāvika*, a resident of Mahānāgaparvata', is mentioned in an inscription from the Buddhist site of Guntuppalli, also on the Andhra coast of the Indian Ocean.[48] At Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka, a Prakrit Brāhmī inscription on a rock

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[43]. For Bang Kluay, see Bunchar Pongpanich, *Roi lukpat/Beyond Beads*, Bangkok: Matichon Publishing House, 2552 [2009], pp. 162–175 [บัญชา พงษ์พานิช, รอยลูกปัด/*Beyond Beads*, กรุงเทพฯ : สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2552; หน้า 162–175] For the seal see pp. 174–175. See also Bellina et al., 'The Early Development of Coastal Polities in the Upper Thai-Malay Peninsula', in Nicolas Revire and Stephen A. Murphy (ed.), *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, Bangkok: River Books/The Siam Society, 2014, 84 and Fig. 7 (full article, pp. 69–89). Earlier discoveries of seals in the South are presented in numerous entries in the 'Encyclopaedia of Thai Culture: The South' (in Thai), for example, Kongkaew Veeraprajak, 'Tra-pratap: thi phop nai phak-tai' [Seals found in the South], in *Saranukrom watthana-tham thai phak-tai* [Encyclopaedia of Thai Culture: The South], Vol. 5, Bangkok: Munlanithi Saranukrom watthana-tham thai Thanakhan Thaiphanit, 2542, pp. 2505– 2511. [ก่องแก้ว วีระประจักษ์, "ตราประทับที่พบในภาคใต้" ใน สารานุกรมวัฒนธรรมไทย ภาคใต้, เล่ม *5*, กรุงเทพฯ: มูลนิธิสารานุกรมวัฒนธรรมไทย ธนาคารไทยพาณิชย์, 2542; หน้า 2505–2511] More recently, see Boonyarit Chaisuwan and Rarai Naiyawat, *Thung Tuk: Muang tha kan kha boran* [Thung Tuk, Ancient Entrepôt], Phuket: Fine Arts Department 15/Bangkok: Samnakphim Samaphan Chamkat, [Thai] Buddhist Era 2550 [2007] [บุณยฤทธิ์ ฉายสุวรรณ และ เรไร นัยวัฒน์ (เรียบเรียง), ทุ่งตึก*: เมืองท่าการค้าโบราณ*, ภูเก็ต: สำนักศิลปากรที่ 15 ภูเก็ต / กรุงเทพฯ: สำนักพิมพ์สมาพันธ์ จำกัด, 2550]; Boonyarit Chaisuwan and Rarai Naiyawat, *Thung Tuk: A Settlement Linking Together the Maritime Silk Route*, with English translation by Pajrapong Na Pombejra (Songkhla: Phangnga Province and The Fine Arts Department of Thailand/Trio Creation, 2009) [บุณยฤทธิ์ ฉายสุวรรณ และ เรไร นัยวัฒน์ (เรียบเรียง), ทุ่งตึก*: จุดเชื่อมโยงเส้นทางสายไหมทางทะเล*, สงขลา: จังหวัดพังงาร่วมกับกรมศิลปากร/Trio Creation, 2552]; Phuthorn Bhumadhara et al., *Pathomabot phra phutthasatsana nai phak tai prathet thai: lak tham lae lakthan boranakhadi* [Beginnings of Buddhism in South Thailand: Principles of Dhamma and Archaeological Evidence], Mahawithayalai Ratchaphat Nakhon Si Thammarat [Rajabhat University, Nakhon Si Thammarat], Nakhon Si Thammarat 2557 [2014]. [ภูธร ภูมะธน, ไพโรจน์ สิงบัน และ บัญชา พงษ์พานิช (บรรณาธิการ), ปฐมบทพุทธศาสนาในภาคใต้ประเทศไทย*:* หลักธรรมและหลักฐานโบราณคดี, นครศรีธรรมราช: ไทม์ พริ้นติ้ง จำกัด, 2557] These are all in Thai. For further English articles, see for example Revire and Murphy, *Before Siam*.

[44]. I am grateful to Oskar von Hinüber for his assistance in reading this.

[45]. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, Vol. 3, Plates, Pl. XLVI, right column (from Hmawza, Burma).

[46]. See P. Skilling, "An Untraced Buddhist Verse Inscription from (Pen)insular Southeast Asia," in D. Christian Lammerts (ed.), *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies), forthcoming, 2015, with reference to earlier literature.

[47]. *EI* XXVII, 1947-48, Delhi, 1956, no. 1, inscription E, line 1: *mahānavika sivaka* (Tsukamoto II Ghaṇṭaśāla 5, pp. 299–300. Cf. *EI* p. 2, and p. 2, n. 3 for *mahānāikan*, a possible parallel from early Tamil literature.

[48]. I.K. Sarma, *Studies in Early Buddhist Monuments and Brāhmī Inscriptions of Āndhra Dēśa*, Nagpur: Dattsons, 1988, pp. 73–73 and Pl. 22. First reported in I.K. Sarma, "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guntupalli," *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* V (1978), pp. 50–56 (not seen); also mentioned in B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, N.S. Ramachandra Murthy, B. Subrahmanyam, and E. Sivanagi Reddy, *Buddhist Inscriptions of Andhradesa*,

boulder in the Abhayagiri area refers to seats (aśana) in the 'terrace of the Tamil house-holders caused to be made by the Tamil Samaṇa of Ilubarata' by the names of what are, presumably, the donors. One is 'the seat of Kārava, the mariner.'[49] At Āṇḍiyāgala, also in Anuradhapura, there is a donative inscription recording 'The steps [donated by] the mariner from Bhojakaṭa.'[50] We do not know the location of Bhojakaṭa, but it is possible that donors at Bharhut – one a male called Agirakhita (Agnirakṣita), who gifted a rail around the stūpa, the other a nun named Diganagā (Diṅnāgā), who sponsored an archtitectural element, a rail or a pillar – hailed from the same place as the mariner who left his names at Anurādhapura.

Paranavitana interprets *navaka* as mariner in two other early inscriptions: the Tumbullegala Rock-inscription, he places in the reign of Bhātika Tissa ('*circa* 19 B.C. to 9 A.D.'),[51] and the Perimiyankulama rock-inscription of Vasabha, which he dates to the first century CE.[52] Whether these can be counted as *navika* instead of *navaka* is problematic, given the absence of any contextual indications.

Along the sea route, far to the north and the west of Laṅkādvīpa, three *nāvika* left records of their names as graffiti written in Brāhmī script deep in the Hoq cave on the island of Socotra (belonging to present-day Yemen) in the Indian Ocean at the mouth of the Red Sea.[53] These were 'Skandhabhūti *naviko*',[54] the '*nāvika* Viṣṇusena from Bhārukaccha' (Broach), who left his name several times,[55] and '*nāvika* Humiyakaputra.'[56]

The term *nāvika* occurs in Pali in a variety of narrative contexts in the *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*,[57] in other Buddhist texts like the *Avadānaśataka*,[58] and in lexicons like the

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Secunderabad: Ananda Buddha Vihara Trust, 1998, p. 110.

[49] S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume I, *Containing Cave Inscriptions from 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.C. and Other Inscriptions in the early Early Brāhmī Script*, Department of Archaeology Ceylon, 1970, No. 94 (ref. made to *JRASCB*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 54–56: not seen). This and the following inscription came to my attention in Osmund Bopearachchi, "Sri Lanka and Maritime Trade: Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as Protector of Mariners," in Upinder Singh and Parul Pandya Dhar (ed.), *Asian Encounters: Exploring Connected Histories*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 163 and p. 182, n. 4.

[50] *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume I, No. 105, *Bhojakaṭakasa nāvikasa padagaḍini*. As Paranavitana notes, two donors at Bharhut are called 'Bhoja-kaṭaka': see Heinrich Lüders (ed.), *Bharhut Inscriptions*, revised by E. Waldschmidt and M.A. Mehendale, Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, [1963] 1998 (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part II), A 23–24, pp. 22–23. For reasons that do not convince me, Paranavitana decides that Bhojakaṭa cannot be the donor's place of origin, and translates the record as 'the steps of the mariner (travelling to) to Bhojakaṭa'.

[51] S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume II, Part I, *Containing Rock and Other Inscriptions from the Reign of Kuṭakaṇṇa Abhaya (41 B.C.–19 B.C.) to Bhātiya II (140–164 A.D.),* Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, 1983, No. 11, pp. 12–14.

[52] Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume II, Part I, No. 45, pp. 63–67.

[53] Ingo Strauch (ed.), *Foreign Sailors on Socotra: The inscriptions and drawings from the cave Hoq*, Bremen: Hempen Verlag, 2012 (Vergleichende Studien zu Antike und Orient, Band 3), § 6.1, pp. 90–92.

[54] Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*, § 6.1.

[55] Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*, §§ 10.4, 11.1, 11.11. § 11.1 has a symbol very much like that on Brahaspatiśarma's seal.

[56] Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra*, § 14.15.

[57] For Pali references see Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pali*, Part II, Bristol: The Pali Text Society, 2010, p. 531.

[58] See *BHSD* p. 355, s.v. *pauruṣeya*, where *nāvika* is one of the members of a ship's crew (described as five, with only four enumerated, at *Avadānaśataka* I p. 200.5, II p. 61.5.

early ninth-century Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon Mahāvyutpatti and the Amarakośa.[59] At present, even in the light of the recent information cited here, Strauch's conclusion regarding the term still holds:

> As this short – and incomplete – survey shows, it is hardly possible to get a more precise definition on the basis of the available material. Summarising the evidence from the lexicographical sources it seems that both terms – *nāvika* and [another related term] *niryāmika* – can be used to designate either the 'captain' or the 'steersman' of a ship.'[60]

Although it has been convenient to translate Mahānāvika as 'master mariner' or 'captain,' these are just expedients. We do not yet know exactly what the term denotes, and whether, in the different epigraphical contexts, it denoted the same position or profession. What is clear is that mariners plied the waters of South and Southeast Asia during an age of booming regional sea trade, and that some of them left their marks in far-flung places as '*nāvika*.' One of these was Brahaspatiśarma, who left behind a rare gold seal.

IV. Envoi

IV.1. Thoughts on *apramāda*

What are we to make of this enigmatic group, or class, of objects that are stamped or inscribed with the single word *apramāda*? Is there any connection between objects from early Southeast Asia and those of (mostly) later North India? This article is based on limited source materials, on only a sampling of what may be available. Small objects like seals, sealings, and tokens too often go unreported or are poorly reported, as in the case of those from Sunet and Mahurjhari. Too often reports have no photographs, and the objects are left to slumber in remote museums. I do not much doubt that other objects bearing the inscription *apramāda* have been discovered, or wait to be discovered.

Here we have a single word: *apramāda*. Is it a statement, an exhortation? Why then is it in the nominative case rather than the instrumental, *apramādena*, with a verb, as in the Buddha's last words (see below)? What is this word doing on these seals, seal impressions, and other artefacts? We know its lexical meanings, but what was its cultural function, its functional meaning? *Apramāda* refers to a core Buddhist value and practice, but it is also a significant virtue in both Jainism and Brahmanism. The two-line Prakrit Inscription B of the

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[59]. *Mahāvyutpatti* §§ 3850–55 lists six, giving the Tibetan equivalent *gru pa* ('boatman') for *nāvika* (§3850). Here *nāvika* seems to be a sailor, but the term can be used for inland waterways and can also mean ferryman. *Amarakośa*, *karṇadhāras tu navikaḥ*, 1.10.12. For further literary and lexicographical references see Strauch, *Foreign Sailors on Socotra* 3.1.2, pp. 346–348; Dieter Schlingloff, "Ships and Seafaring," in idem, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings: Identifications and Interpretations*, Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1988, pp. 198–199. See Himanshu P. Ray, *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, [1994] 1998, pp. 36–40, for the organization of trade and the 'hierarchy of commercial transactions that figures prominently in the epigraphical records.'

[60]. Strauch, loc.cit.

Heliodorus *garuḍa* pillar at Besnagar, tentatively dated to the late second century BCE, states that '[These?] three steps to immortality, when correctly followed, lead to heaven: control, generosity, and care.'[61] Salomon dates the inscription to the late second century BCE, with a question mark; even without the question mark, this must be the earliest epigraphic record of the term. The *Mahābhārata* gives self-control, renunciation, and *apramāda* as the essentials for obtaining *amṛta*[62] — an idea that parallels the *Dhammapada* verse 21, cited at the beginning of this essay.

Mirashi states that the legend *apramāda* 'was probably a Buddhist motto.'[63] He cites the 'dying exhortation of the Buddha to his disciples', *vayadhammā saṃkhārā, appamādena sampādetha*,[64] and refers to the existence of the chapter on *appamāda* in the *Dhammapada* (Chap. 2, *Appamāda-vagga*). It is scarcely necessary to cite further examples to prove that *apramāda* is indeed a core concept in Buddhist spiritual training. Does this make the *apramāda* artefacts Buddhist, or does the phrase have other meanings? For that we have to investigate their function, and for this we have little to go on.

Several of the findspots are important Buddhist monastic sites: Sarnath, Kasia, Nalanda, and Ratnagiri. Three of these sites go back to the time of the Buddha. Sarnath, where the Buddha first 'turned the wheel of the Dharma', became the Saddharmacakra-vihāra. Kasia, where the Buddha passed away, became the site of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-vihāra.[65] The village of Nalanda was the birthplace of Śāriputra, one of the Buddha's foremost disciples; later it developed into a great Vihāra and centre of education. Ratnagiri as well was a Great Vihāra that flourished into the twelfth century.

One site, Mahurzar, has no evident Buddhist connections. It is a prehistoric site, but numerous historical period artefacts have also been found in the area, and there are other Buddhist sites in the region such as the Pauni stūpa. Even if *apramāda* artefacts have been found at some Buddhist sites, at others they have not. Seals have been found in some numbers at the Buddhist monastic sites Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā (Dist. Murshidbad, West Bengal) and at Antichak (Vikramaśila-mahāvihāra, Dist. Bhagalpur, Bihar),[66] but none bear the label *apramāda* or the other labels discussed above. Nor have they been noticed at Mainamati in Bangladesh.

How do we define or conceptualize a 'Buddhist site'? A monastic site was a locus, an entrepôt, for the creation and exchange of material culture, a channel for the passage of ideas and objects. It should be obvious that not all objects found at the monastic sites are Buddhist,

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[61] Noted at Thaplyal, 326, n. 11. See Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 265–267 (text *trini amutapād[ā]ni [i][me?] [su]anuṭhitāni /neyaṃti sva[gaṃ] dam[e[cāga apramāda*). This short text is on the other side of the pillar from the celebrated inscription of the Indo-Greek ambassador Hēliodōros from Taxila.

[62] Poona edition, V, 43, 14, *damas tyāgo'pramādaś ca eteṣv āmṛtam āhitam*, cited in Thaplyal, p. 326, n. 12. See also XI, 7.20 *damas tyāgo 'pramādaś ca te trayo brahmaṇo hayāḥ*, and references to *Mahābhārata* at Salomon, p. 267.

[63] 'Some seal-stamps', pp. 99–100.

[64] This is from the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, *Dīghanikāya* (Pali Text Society edition) II, p. 156.1.

[65] For this Vihāra and its seals, see Thaplyal, *Studies*, pp. 210–212.

[66] Sudhir Ranjan Das, *Rājbāḍīḍāṅgā: 1962*, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1968, pp. 51–67, 69–73 and pls. I–VI; B.S. Verma, *Antichak Excavations – 2 (1971–1981)*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India 2011 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 102), Chap. VIII.

and, of course, shrines to Hindu and Jain deities are found within and near the Vihāras. Non-Buddhist narratives are also found,[67] and at sites like the great mediaeval stūpas of Bengal, the tiles depict a panoply of animals, birds, humans, and deities.

IV.2. Thoughts on small objects

The wide diffusion of the *apramāda* motto and of several of the others presented here, the variety of supports and the range of scripts with which they are associated, for over half millennium – all of these things pose many questions. These small objects join with other small artefacts, such as the intaglios and ringstones that bear images of deities, animals, and symbols, and have been found in large numbers throughout the region. At present we know too little about the cultural and historical significance of their circulation.

One of the most difficult questions is context and association. The small seals were meant to be portable. The inscribed mottos are found over a wide area, and were produced for hundreds of years. They are sometimes associated with other mottos, with which they bear no inherent ideological or semantic relation, forming a complex intertexual landscape that is not easy to negotiate. Although some of the inscribed objects are certainly seals, *mudrā*, and some are certainly impressions of seals (that is, they are *mudrāṅkita*), others are independently crafted artefacts, and it is difficult to know what to call them. Both the seals and the tokens are often made of precious materials, and they are things of beauty.[68] Are they amulets, talismans, tokens, or reminders? Or are they simply ornaments?[69] We must face the fact that we do not know where, when, why, or by whom the objects were produced. Some are almost certainly imports that were 'made in India';[70] others, such as the *apramāda* artefacts from Khu Bua, are almost certainly the products of 'local genius'. Even the imported objects raise more questions. If the inscribed artefacts are imports, that does not cancel the fact that they are widely spread in Southeast Asia: they must have circulated for good reasons. If they are copies, if they are imitations produced for the local market, or if they were produced by migrant Indian craftsmen, they are examples of the transfer of technology and ideas in antiquity. They are more than bits of the flotsam and jetsam of the

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[67.] See Monika Zin, "Non-Buddhist Narrative Scenes at Nagarjunakonda," in Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Linda Lojda (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology and Art: Changing Forms and Cultural Identity: Religious and Secular Iconographies*, Vol. 1, Papers from the 20th conference of the European Association for South Asian Archaeology and Art held in Vienna from 4th to 9th of July 2010, Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, pp. 77–89.

[68.] For literature on Indian seals in general, see Callieri (1997), Dani ([1963] 1986), Salomon (1998, 123–124), Sircar ([1965] 1996). For Sonkh, see Härtel (1993, 303–307). For seals from the Northwest, see Callieri, *Seals and Sealings from the North-West* and Rahman and Falk, *Seals, Sealings and Tokens*. For seals from Thailand, see Kongkaew, 'Tra-pratap: thi phop nai phak-tai'; Anant Klinphoklab. *Tra-pratap tra-pracham-tua lae khreaun-rang yuk-boran* [Seals, personal seals, and amulets in antiquity], Bangkok: Muang Boran, 2550 [2007].

[69.] But there is nothing simple about ornaments, which go back to Harappan culture (see Jonathan M. Kenoyer, "Ornament Styles of the Indus Valley Tradition," in Shonaleeka Kaul (ed.), *Cultural History of Early South Asia: A Reader*, Hyderabad, Orient BlackSwan, 2014, pp. 89–116) and earlier, and are rich in social meaning: see for example Vidya Dehejia, *The Body Adorned: Sacred and Profane in Indian Art*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

[70.] But to say that something comes from 'India' tells us next to nothing about material, social or religious relations. I hope that sustained study will be able to precise (verb, as in French *préciser*) the idea of Indian origin.

centuries, and they deserve preservation, publication, and further study.

Abbreviations

ARASI	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta)
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*
IAR	*Indian Archaeology, A Review* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*

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Note: Thai names are given by the first name, in accordance with Thai custom.

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The *Brahmajāla* and the Early Buddhist Oral Tradition (2)[*]

ANĀLAYO

Introduction

With this article I continue studying the *Brahmajāla* from the viewpoint of oral transmission, following up a previous paper on the same topic published in this journal.[1] In the earlier study I took a close-up look at the significance of the introductory phrase "thus have I heard", followed by in a way zooming out, as it were, to take more distant shots of the opening narration of the *Brahmajāla* and of its exposition on morality. In the present paper I continue along the same trajectory by taking a further step back to look at the discourse as a whole, that is, at its positioning in the *Dīgha-nikāya* and *Dīrgha-āgama* collections.

In what follows I first survey the order of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and *Dīrgha-āgama* collections (1), followed by turning to the principle of concatenation in relation to the *Brahmajāla* (2). Then I take a further step back to examine the basic division of these three collections and their different positioning of the section containing discourses related to morality (3). In the final part of the paper I return to the early Buddhist oral transmission (4), considered from the viewpoint of modern day psychological research on the functioning of memory.

1. The Order of the Long Discourse Collections

One of the striking features of the early Buddhist discourse collections is the contrast between the considerable degree of similarity in terms of content between parallel versions of a discourse transmitted by different schools and the substantial degree of disagreement when it comes to the position of a discourse in different collections. In the case of the Long Discourse Collections this is particularly evident, since here three different versions can be compared with each other: the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*, DN, the Sarvāstivāda/ Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Sanskrit fragments, DĀ (Skt),[2] and the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* extant in Chinese translation as the first texts in the Taishō edition, DĀ (T 1).

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[*] I am indebted to Adam Clarke and sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā for commenting on a draft version of this article.
[1] Anālayo 2014a.
[2] Information on this collection is based on Hartmann and Wille 2014.

An impression of the degree of disparity can be gathered from the comparative chart below, which takes up only the discourses found in all three collections. The correlations are presented from the viewpoint of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. As the chart clearly shows, the disagreement in the placing of discourses is remarkable.

DN	DĀ (Skt)	DĀ (T 1)
1 *Brahmajāla-sutta*	47	21
2 *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*	44	27
3 *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*	35	20
4 *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*	33	22
5 *Kūṭadanta-sutta*	34	23
8 *Kassapasīhanāda-sutta*	46	25
9 *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta*	36	28
11 *Kevaddha-sutta*	29	24
12 *Lohicca-sutta*	28	29
13 *Tevijja-sutta*	45	26
14 *Mahāpadāna-sutta*	5	1
16 *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*[3]	6	2
18 *Janavasabha-sutta*	13	4
19 *Mahāgovinda-sutta*	14	3
20 *Mahāsamaya-sutta*	24	19
24 *Pāṭika-sutta*	9	15
28 *Sampasādanīya-sutta*	16	18
29 *Pāsādika-sutta*	15	17
33 *Saṅgīti-sutta*	3	9
34 *Dasuttara-sutta*	1	10

Only in one single instance do two discourses exactly follow each other in each of the three collections. This is the case for the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, DN 4, and the *Kūṭadanta-sutta*, DN 5, of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and their parallels, the *Śroṇatāṇḍya-sūtra*, DĀ (Skt) 33, and the *Kūṭatāṇḍya-sūtra*, DĀ (Skt) 34, as well as the *Zhǒngdé jīng* 種德經, DĀ (T 1) 22, and the *Jiūluótántóu jīng* 究羅檀頭經, DĀ (T 1) 23.[4] As the respective numbering shows, even this single pair occurs at different positions in the respective collections.

The differing position of single discourses is quite evident in the case of the *Brahmajāla*.

[3.] In the case of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the Mahāsudassana tale forms a separate discourse, DN 17.
[4.] Less than exact correspondences, however, can be seen on several occasions, showing groupings of discourses that did stay together in all three versions, albeit with minor variations in the positioning of the respective discourses vis-à-vis each other.

Whereas in the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* the *Brahmajāla-sutta* is the first of the thirty-four discourses,[5] the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* is the last discourse in what appears to have been a Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* collection of forty-seven discourses.[6] In the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* the corresponding *Fàndòng jīng* (梵動經) is the twenty-first of thirty discourses in this collection.[7]

2. Concatenation

A central dynamic that appears to have influenced the positioning of a discourse within a collection is the principle of concatenation. Such concatenation is a recurrent feature in the early Buddhist texts, evident, for example, in the *prātimokṣa*. Taking the case of the Theravāda *pātimokkha* as an example, the phenomenon of concatenation can be illustrated with the sequence of several *pācittiya* rules as follows:[8]

Pācittiya 4 prohibits teaching recitation word by word to someone who has not been "fully ordained".[9] *Pācittiya* 5 takes up the issue of "lying down" in the presence of someone who has not been "fully ordained".[10] Here the reference to someone who has not been fully

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[5]. Bodhi 1978/1992: 1 takes this placing to be due to doctrinal motives: "that the Brahmajāla was assigned to this strategic position – that of the first discourse of the first collection – is not a matter of chance or haphazard arrangement, but a deliberate design on the part of the Elders who compiled the canon and set it in its present form. Its placement reflects a ... keen awareness of the significance of the discourse both intrinsically and in relation to the Buddha's teaching as a whole. For just as our sutta, in terms of its position, stands at the entrance to the total collection of discourses spoken by the Buddha, so does its principal message provide a prolegomenon to the entire Dispensation itself. It is, so to speak, the sentry at the gateway to the Doctrine." Regarding the perceived doctrinal significance of the *Brahmajāla-sutta* in the Theravāda tradition, it is worth noting that the *Mahāvaṃsa* records its recitation as an important aspect of the conversion of Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Mhv 12.51; and the *Samantapāsādikā* reports that the monks to be excluded from the third *saṅgīti* misrepresented the teaching of the Buddha as corresponding to the type of views taken up in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* (i.e., eternalism, semi-eternalism, etc.), Sp I 60,18 (the list of views in the Chinese counterpart, T 1462 at T XXIV 684a29, is shorter and does not correspond as closely to the basic structure of the *Brahmajāla* as the presentation in the *Samantapāsādikā*).

[6]. The position of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* in the recently discovered Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* can be deduced from the *uddāna* provided in Hartmann 2004: 124f; for a more detailed discussion of this *uddāna* cf. Hartmann 2002. Confirmation comes from the indication in the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*, C *mngon pa, ju* 68a1, D *mngon pa, ju* 68a2, Q *mngon pa'i bstan bcos, tu* 76a1, or N *mngon pa, tu* 74a1: *tshul khrims kyi phung po'i zhabs su tshangs pa'i dra ba las bshad pa*; reconstructed by Honjō 1984: 19 (Up 2036) as *śīlaskandikāyāṃ paścime brahmajālasūtre uktam*.

[7]. Notably, the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 968b15, reports that the recitation of the discourses at the first *saṅgīti* began with Mahākāśyapa asking Ānanda where the *Fàndòng jīng* had been delivered, 大迦葉 即問阿難言: 梵動經在何處說? The fact that here the *Brahmajāla* is mentioned first, corresponding to the position of this discourse in the Theravāda collection as well as in the Theravāda account of the first *saṅgīti*, Vin II 287,16, has already been noted by Oldenberg 1898: 653; for a translation of this passage in T 1428 cf. Przyluski 1926: 193. Taking the listing of discourses in T 1428 to reflect a different and perhaps earlier ordering of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* would also entail, however, that the *Brahmajāla* was not part of the section on morality, as the discourses mentioned next in T 1428 do not belong to this section; cf. Anālayo 2014c: 36 note 68.

[8]. The following is based on von Hinüber 1999: 20.

[9]. Norman and Pruitt 2001: 46,12: *yo pana bhikkhu anupasampannaṃ padaso dhammaṃ vāceyya, pācittiyaṃ*.

[10]. Norman and Pruitt 2001: 46,15: *yo pana bhikkhu anupasampannena uttaridirattatirattaṃ sahaseyyaṃ kappeyya, pācittiyaṃ*.

ordained serves to connect otherwise unrelated rules. The same pattern continues with *pācittiya* 6, which turns to "lying down" in the presence of a "woman".[11] In this case it is the act of lying down that connects *pācittiya* rules 5 and 6. *Pācittiya* 7 then regulates teaching the Dharma to "women",[12] thereby providing a connection to the presence of a woman mentioned in the preceding *pācittiya* rule.

In this way, *pācittiya* rules that follow each other share a particular expression, such as "fully ordained", "lying down", or "woman". The way these particular rules are related to each other is peculiar to the Theravāda tradition, as the corresponding rules in other *Vinaya*s do not follow the same sequence.[13] In other words, such concatenation is not related to the original delivery of a particular textual item, but rather comes into being with the formation of textual collections or lists. The same principle can also be seen at work in the *Udāna* collection,[14] for example, or in other Pāli discourses.[15]

In the case of the first discourse in the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, the same basic principle provides connections to the next *Dīgha-nikāya* discourse in several ways. The *Brahmajāla-sutta* shares with the second discourse, the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, the giving of a detailed exposition on morality. In addition to this common theme of providing an account of the training in morality (*sīla*), shared among discourses in this section of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga*, the first two discourses are also related to each other by other forms of concatenation.

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* and the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* share the theme of providing a contrast between the Buddha's insightful understanding and the various views held by non-Buddhist teachers.[16] These take the form of sixty-two standpoints for views examined in the *Brahmajāla-sutta*,[17] whereas the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* presents six views attributed to well-known contemporary teachers.[18]

A formulaic parallelism occurs in the case of the fourth type of equivocation among the sixty-two standpoints for views in the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, whose description uses the same terms and expressions as the record of the position taken by the teacher Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta

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[11.] Norman and Pruitt 2001: 46,18: *yo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena sahaseyyaṃ kappeyya, pācittiyaṃ.*

[12.] Norman and Pruitt 2001: 46,21: *yo pana bhikkhu mātugāmassa uttarichappañcavācāhi dhammaṃ deseyya aññatra viññunā purisaviggahena, pācittiyaṃ.*

[13.] Cf. the survey in Pachow 1955: 6 (appendix I).

[14.] For a study of concatenation in the *Udāna* cf. Anālayo 2009a: 50–53.

[15.] Cf., e.g., Allon 2001: 18–22 and Anālayo 2011: 11–13.

[16.] My indications are based on Franke 1913c, who points out similar relations between other discourses in the *Dīgha-nikāya* as well. In view of the general lack of awareness of the nature of oral transmission it is perhaps not surprising that these findings led Franke to arrive at unconvincing conclusions regarding the authorship of the *Dīgha-nikāya* as well as the *Majjhima-nikāya*; cf. Franke 1913a: xff, 1913b, 1914 and 1915 as well as Sferra 2011. For critical replies to Franke cf. the references in Hartmann 2014: 149 note 15.

[17.] The examination of sixty-two standpoints for views shows considerable similarity in the different versions of the *Brahmajāla*, including a discourse quotation in T 1548 at T XXVIII 656b19 to 661a7; cf. Anālayo 2009b.

[18.] The parallel versions of this discourse differ considerably in regard to what particular view should be associated with which of these six teachers; cf. the studies by Bapat 1948, Basham 1951: 21–23, Vogel 1970, Meisig 1987, and MacQueen 1988.

in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*.[19] Another instance of formulaic parallelism can be found in the ways those who hold eternalist views in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* qualify the self and the world. These correspond to the qualifications used for the seven basic principles on which according to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* the teacher Pakudha Kaccāyana based his view.[20]

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* indicates that eternalist views can arise after one has achieved the ability to recollect one's former lives. The *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* describes this ability in recollection with the same standardized formula, differing only in so far as here such ability features as one of the fruits of living the life of a recluse.[21]

The third of the annihilationists in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* refers to a self of mind-made nature. The same terms recur in the description of another of the fruits of living the life of a recluse in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*.[22]

The proclamations of Nirvāṇa here and now in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* share the standard description of the four absorptions with the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, where these feature as other fruits of living the life of a recluse.[23]

In this way, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* as the first two discourses in the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya* are related to each other through thematic and formulaic concatenation.

Now in the Dharmaguptaka and the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* collections the corresponding two discourses do not occur together. Nevertheless, some degree of concatenation can be discerned in the case of the Dharmaguptaka counterpart to the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, the *Fàndòng jīng* (梵動經),[24] and its neighbours.

The twentieth discourse in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama*, the *Āmózhòu jīng* (阿摩晝經), DĀ (T 1) 20, shares with the next discourse, the *Fàndòng jīng* (梵動經), DĀ (T 1) 21, the fact that both of their introductory narrations involve a non-Buddhist teacher and his student. In both discourses one of these two behaves disrespectfully towards the Buddha: in the *Āmózhòu jīng* the student disparages the Buddha to his face, in the *Fàndòng jīng* the teacher

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[19.]   This parallelism involves a substantial portion of text: DN 1 at DN I 27,11 to 27,31 and DN 2 at DN I 58,24 to 59,8, which report in the same terms how someone refuses to give an answer to a series of questions, differing only in so far as in DN 1 this is worded in the third person singular, whereas in DN 2 Sañjaya is the speaker and thus the same comes in the first person singular.

[20.]   DN 1 at DN I 14,2 (again at 15,6, 16,1, and 16,22) and DN 2 at DN I 56,22.

[21.]   DN 1 at DN I 13,14 and DN 2 at DN I 81,12.

[22.]   DN 1 at DN I 34,24 and DN 2 at DN I 77,10.

[23.]   For the case of the first absorption cf. DN 1 at DN I 37,1 and DN 2 at DN I 73,23. Such elements found in the standard gradual path account recur in all the *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses that have this account. In all such discourses these particular elements could in principle have provided concatenation with DN 1. The fact that DN 2 follows DN 1 would thus be due to those shared elements that are not part of the standard gradual path account, a relationship then further strengthened during oral transmission by elements such as the present one.

[24.]   On the title cf. Karashima 2006: 361.

keeps speaking in dispraise of the Buddha while following him closely during a journey.[25]

The two discourses also share the standard description of the four absorptions, which in the *Āmózhòu jīng* is part of its account of the gradual path, whereas in the *Fàndòng jīng* the same description occurs in its exposition of views on Nirvāṇa here and now.[26] Again, the ability to create a mind-made body in the *Āmózhòu jīng* has a counterpart in the mind-made body as the ground for one of the views in the *Fàndòng jīng*.[27] The standard description of the ability to recollect one's past lives is also found in both discourses. In the *Āmózhòu jīng* this is part of the gradual path account, whereas in the *Fàndòng jīng* such ability leads to eternalist views.[28]

Another motif in common between the two discourses is the image of seeing fishes in water. In the *Āmózhòu jīng* this comes as part of a simile to illustrate the destruction of the influxes, whereas in the *Fàndòng jīng* this motif features in a simile that explains the function of the whole discourse to be comparable to a fisherman who completely spreads his net over a small pond, thereby being able to catch all the beings that dwell in its water.[29]

Turning from the discourse that precedes the *Fàndòng jīng* to the one that follows it, the topic of the Buddha's fame, broached at the outset of the *Fàndòng jīng* as something on account of which his disciples should not become elated, recurs at the outset of the next discourse in the same collection, the *Zhǒngdé jīng* (種德經), DĀ (T 1) 22. This discourse gives a detailed report of the fame of the Buddha and explains why even for a distinguished Brahmin it is appropriate to approach and visit him.[30]

The *Zhǒngdé jīng* also has the gradual path account and thus shares with the *Fàndòng jīng* the four absorptions, the mind-made body, and the recollection of one's past lives.[31]

In this way, reciters of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* would have found their work facilitated by memory aids through concatenation comparable to those available for the reciters of the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*. In other words, the needs of oral transmission appear to have influenced the final shape of the two collections in similar ways, albeit with different results.

In the case of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* collection the fragments that have been preserved of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* and the discourse that precedes it, the *Kāśyapa-sūtra*, are unfortunately not sufficient to enable a full study of correspondences

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[25.] DĀ 20 at T I 82b24 and DĀ 21 at T I 88b16.
[26.] For the case of the first absorption cf. DĀ 20 at T I 85b12 and DĀ 21 at T I 93b20.
[27.] DĀ 20 at T I 85c17 and DĀ 21 at T I 93b3.
[28.] DĀ 20 at T I 86b2 and DA 21 at T I 90a11; needless to say, elements found in the standard gradual path account recur in all the *Dīrgha-āgama* discourses that have this account. In all such discourses these particular elements could have provided concatenation with DĀ 21.
[29.] DĀ 20 at T I 86c9 and DĀ 21 at T I 93c28.
[30.] DĀ 21 at T I 88c13 and DĀ 22 at T I 95a1.
[31.] DĀ 22 at T I 96c5.

between these two discourses.[32] Nevertheless, both are in the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* and thus share an exposition of the theme of morality.

3a. The Section on Morality

The exposition on morality in the Mūlasarvāstivāda version of the *Brahmajāla* is rather short.[33] In addition to being much shorter than the exposition on morality as part of the gradual path account in the Theravāda *Brahmajāla-sutta* and the Dharmaguptaka *Fàndòng jīng*, it is also shorter than the exposition on morality in a version of the gradual path account preserved in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.[34] The section on morality in the *Fàndòng jīng* (梵 動經) is similar in length to the sections on morality in the discourses in the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* that have the gradual path account.[35] In the case of the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*, the exposition of morality in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* is longer than its counterparts in those *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses that have the gradual path.[36]

In view of these respective differences in length, it seems that the positioning of the *Brahmajāla* and its counterparts in the section on morality could have been influenced by length, in that the version with the longer exposition on this topic comes first, followed by the comparatively shorter exposition.

Following this rationale, the Theravāda *Brahmajāla-sutta* should indeed be the first in the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. On the same reasoning, the Sarvāstivāda/ Mūlasarvāstivāda *Brahmajāla-sūtra* should indeed be at the end of the chapter on morality, the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*, where it comes after all the discourses that share the longer exposition on morality as part of the gradual path, given in full or in abbreviation.[37]

[32.] For published fragments of the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* cf. Hartmann 1989: 48f and 54 (including SHT X 4189), Hartmann 1991 §§ 13 to 16 (for §14 cf. also Ye 2009: 240), Hartmann 2002: 135, SHT III 803 and 882b in Waldschmidt, Clawiter, and Sander-Holzmann 1971: 5–7 and 131f (for the latter cf. Skilling 1997: 470 note 8), SHT V 1571 in Sander and Waldschmidt 1985: 262f, and SHT VI 1248 and 1356 in Bechert and Wille 1989: 48 and 95. For published fragments of the *Kāśyapa-sūtra* cf. SHT VI 1296 in Bechert and Wille 1989: 70, Hartmann 1991 §§ 69–73 (including SHT V 1119 and SHT VIII 1874), perhaps Or. 15003/77 in Wille 2006: 89f, and SHT X 3656 in Wille 2008: 147f. I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of the as yet unpublished fragments of these two discourses from the recently discovered *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript.

[33.] Weller 1934: 12,6 to 12,30 (§§ 18 to 21); cf. the discussion in Anālayo 2014a: 47ff.

[34.] Cf. the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978: 232,9 to 240,17.

[35.] DĀ 20 at T I 83c14 to T I 84c13 and DĀ 21 at T I 88c19 to T I 89c18, thus in both versions the exposition on morality corresponds to one page in the Taishō edition.

[36.] The exposition on morality in DN 1 ranges from DN I 4,1 to 12,14, comprising over 8 pages in Eᵉ, whereas the same topic in DN 2 goes from DN I 63,13 to 69,31, less than 7 pages in the same edition. The difference appears to be mainly due to the fact that the similar exposition of each aspect of morality is followed by a different concluding statement in the two versions, where DN 1 keeps highlighting that a worlding might praise the Tathāgata for such conduct, whereas DN 2 just briefly notes that such is the conduct (of a monk).

[37.] Melzer 2006: 23 notes that the full account of the gradual path is only given in the 27th discourse, which is actually the 3rd discourse in the *Sīlaskandha-nipāta*. This alerts to the fact that other influences must additionally have shaped the final order in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* collection as now extant in the recently discovered fragments. Perhaps further relocations within this collection took place at a time when the requirements of oral transmission were no longer as prominent as during an earlier period, given that for one who embarks on memorizing the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta* it would have been natural and convenient if

Thus the opposite placing of the two discourses – the Theravāda *Brahmajāla-sutta* at the beginning of the entire collection and the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Brahmajāla-sūtra* at the end of the collection – could be following the same logic, according to which the longer account on morality is given precedence, and the shorter one comes after it. This comes combined with the fact that their sections on morality, the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* or *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*, are also found in different positions in the respective collections. I will return to the positioning of the sections on morality in the next part of this article.

In the case of the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama*, the *Fàndòng jīng* (梵動經), DĀ (T 1) 21), is the second discourse in the section on morality. The *Fàndòng jīng* is preceded by the *Āmózhòu jīng*, DĀ (T 1) 20, which gives the full account of the gradual path; it is followed by discourses that abbreviate their exposition on morality. It would perhaps have been more natural if the *Āmózhòu jīng* had been placed in second position, thereby functioning as the leader during oral recitation for the ensuing discourses that abbreviate not only its exposition on morality, but also its exposition of the remainder of the gradual path. Nevertheless, given that the expositions on morality in the *Fàndòng jīng* and the *Āmózhòu jīng* have the same length, any of the two could be taking the leading position, so that perhaps concatenation or still other considerations influenced the respective positioning of these two discourses.

Needless to say, the positioning of the *Brahmajāla* in the collections of long discourses preserved by the Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda, and Theravāda traditions does not carry any implications about the earliness or otherwise of its contents. If the shifting around of textual material results in a positioning that can be identified as comparatively later, this does not mean that the contents of the text in question must also be late.[38] It is perfectly well possible that a text was allocated to a different position without its contents being affected, just as a text that stays in its location can be affected by changes of its content during oral transmission.

3b. The Positioning of the Section on Morality

In an oral setting, the discourses in the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* that share an account of the gradual path of training are easily memorized as a group,[39] because of the substantial amount of text common to the discourses, which needs to be learned only once.

After the section on morality, the *Dīgha-nikāya* continues with a group of ten discourses, most of which begin with the qualification "great", *mahā°*. Probably the best known of these "great" discourses is the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (DN 16), which records the Buddha's last

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already the first discourse in this section gives the full account on morality.

[38.]   Anālayo 2010: 45.

[39.]   For studies of this gradual account cf., e.g., Franke 1917: 50–80, Eimer 1976: 26–34, Bucknell 1984, Meisig 1987: 35–80, Crangle 1994: 149–152, Ramers 1996, Freiberger 2000: 71–86, and Melzer 2006: 12–24. This gradual account has its counterpart in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* in three graded sections on morality: a short section, a middle length section, and a great section; for a discussion of which cf. Anālayo 2014a: 47ff.

days, decease, and funeral. Another discourse of similar hagiographic interest is the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (DN 14), which provides a description of former Buddhas. The third section in the *Dīgha-nikāya* then is the *Pāṭika-vagga*, which takes its name from its first discourse, the *Pāṭika-sutta* (DN 24).

Regarding the division of the *Dīgha-nikāya* into these three sections, the *Samantapāsādikā* advises that a beginner in recitation should first of all start with the middle section, entitled the *Mahā-vagga*. This is unlike the case of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, where the *Samantapāsādikā* recommends the first of its three sections to a neophyte reciter, the other two sections being for those whose have already memorized this first group of fifty discourses.[40]

Now, had the *Mahā-vagga* been considered the most important section to be memorized from the outset of the formation of the collection, it would have been natural for it to stand in first place. The fact that this is not the case suggests the possibility that the present order in the *Dīgha-nikāya* might still reflect a time when the expositions on morality were considered to be the material that reciters should learn first of all. These expositions on morality would in fact provide a reciter with basic instructions similar in kind to several of the discourses found among the first of the three sections of the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

With the passage of time, however, it could reasonably be expected that the inspiration provided by discourses like the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* acquired increasing importance. After the passing away of the Buddha, with the increase of disciples who never had had a chance to meet the master in person, or even meet someone who had been in his living presence, there would have been an increasing demand for such type of information in order to foster inspiration and strengthen faith. With the notion of several past Buddhas in place, such interest would naturally have included former Buddhas.[41] In this situation, it would indeed be preferable for a neophyte reciter of the *Dīgha-nikaya* to take up first the chapter that contains such inspirational material. If there should indeed have been such a shift of interest, it did not lead to a shifting of the *Mahā-vagga* to first position within the *Dīgha-nikāya*, but only influenced the commentarial recommendation.

The situation is different in the *Dīrgha-āgama* collections. The *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* are the fifth and sixth members of the first of the three sections of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama*, entitled the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta*. In addition to the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, another discourse in the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* that is similar to these two, in the sense of providing hagiographic information, is the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*.[42] This discourse gives an account of the coming into existence of the four assemblies of Buddhist disciples (monastic and lay, male and female). The *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* has its counterparts in other Buddhist schools in the respective *Vinaya*s, a situation that

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[40]. Sp IV 789,14: *sace majjhimabhāṇako hoti, mūlapaṇṇāsako uggahetabbo, dīghabhāṇakena mahāvaggo*.
[41]. The inspirational effect of the account of former Buddhas is in fact explicitly stated in the Chinese version of the discourse itself, DĀ 1 at T I 3c9: "who, being a wise one, would on hearing this [*Mahā*]-*avadāna* not be delighted and give rise to joyful affection in the mind?", 何有智者聞此因緣而不歡喜, 起愛樂心.
[42]. For a study of the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* cf. Waldschmidt 1951/1967; for a translation cf. Kloppenborg 1973.

suggests a process of textual movement between *Vinaya*s and discourse collections. In fact, even the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* may have originally been a *Vinaya* narrative that was subsequently shifted to the collection of long discourses.[43]

The *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* was at times handed down independently of the whole collection.[44] The importance accorded to the discourses in this set of six is in line with the indication in the *Samantapāsādikā* that the grouping of discourses that contains the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* should be learnt first.

The Chinese counterparts to the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* are the first two discourses in the *Dīrgha-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation, the *Dàběn jīng* (大本經) and the *Yóuxíng jīng* (遊行經).[45] In this way the Dharmaguptaka *Dīrgha-āgama* shares with the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Dīrgha-āgama* and the Theravāda commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā*, a giving pride of place to the grouping of discourses that contains these two discourses.

The overall situation could be summarized by showing the respective placement of the chapter that contains the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in the *Dīrgha-āgama/Dīgha-nikāya* collection of each of the three traditions – Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda, and Theravāda – followed by giving also the indication on the importance of this chapter according to the Theravāda commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā*.

	Mahā-section
Dharmaguptaka	1st in the collection
Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda	1st in the collection
Theravāda	2nd in the collection
Theravāda commentary	1st to be learned

Combining the pride of place given to the section that contains the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* with the patterns apparently at work within the sections on morality, the diametrically opposed positions of the *Brahmajāla* as the first discourse in the Theravāda collection and the last in the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda collection could be the results of similar influences:

In the case of the Theravāda *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* would stand in leading position in the section on morality because its treatment of this topic is longer than that given

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[43] Cf., e.g., Frauwallner 1956: 46 and the discussion in Hirakawa 1993/1998: 264. On the interrelation between *Vinaya* and discourse literature cf. also Anālayo 2014b.

[44] The popularity of this group of six discourses was already noted by Schlingloff 1962: 7; cf. also Skilling 1980: 30f, Hartmann 1994, and Hartmann 2014: 144–148.

[45] DĀ 1 has been translated by Jin 2011; DĀ 2 has been translated by Weller 1939 and 1940 and Jin 2013.

in other discourses in this section. Due to what might have been an emphasis on this topic of morality at an early stage in the formation of the whole discourse collection, the *Sīlakkhandha-vagga* is still the first of the three sections in the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

The Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda *Brahmajāla-sūtra* has an account of morality that is shorter than the coverage given to this topic in its version of the gradual path. Therefore the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* stands at the end of the *Śīlaskandha-nipāta*, which perhaps by yielding pride of place to the *Ṣaṭsūtraka-nipāta* has become the last of the three sections in this collection.

In sum, it seems that the requirements of oral transmission could have influenced the positioning of the *Brahmajāla* in these two collections of long discourses in similar ways, even though the net results of this influence are entirely different placements of the discourse.

Such different placing of the *Brahmajāla* reflects the circumstance that the order of the collection was clearly not seen as something fixed that needed to be kept at all cost, but rather as open to change in order to accommodate the particular needs of different reciter traditions. This stands in contrast to the contents of individual discourses, where accuracy in transmission was clearly an important concern.[46] In fact, had improvisation been characteristic for the contents of the discourses, one would expect parallel versions to be as different from each other as their order in the discourse collections. This is clearly not the case. Whereas the providing of a commentary on a discourse and its placing within a particular collection were relatively free at least during an early stage, the transmission of its actual contents were quite probably from the outset guided by a concern for accurate reproduction of what had been "thus heard" by successive generations of reciters.

4. The Issue of Memory

In order to appreciate how a concern for accurate reproduction of what had been "thus heard" could nevertheless result in the kind of differences we find between parallel versions of the early discourses in general and of the *Brahmajāla* in particular, modern day research on memory provides helpful indications.[47]

Such research has for quite some time made it clear that memory is of a constructive nature.[48] At the time of attempting to recall, the mind constructs the information anew. Moreover, already at the time of hearing something that one intends to remember, information is not simply taken in. Instead, the information received is combined with inferences. These inferences are stored in memory together with the material actually heard.

[46]. Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2014a.

[47]. For a more detailed discussion cf. Anālayo 2011: 855–891, where I discuss various features of the early Buddhist oral transmission in relation to memory.

[48]. This has already been pointed out by the pioneer in memory research, Bartlett 1932: 205, who explains that "if we consider evidence rather than presupposition, remembering appears to be far more decisively an affair of construction, rather than one of mere reproduction."

As a result, on recall one is at times not able to distinguish clearly between the original information and the inferences one has drawn.

As a general rule, a text will be better remembered if inferences are drawn.[49] Recent research has discovered an exception to this basic pattern, which is of importance for understanding the early Buddhist oral transmission in its ancient Indian historical setting. According to this finding, someone who does not understand a particular text at all could remember it with more precision than someone who understands this text. The experiment in question presented instructions about the use of Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel to three groups of readers, asking them to remember the text. Subsequently memory was tested through a recognition task in which the participants had to decide if a particular statement had been made in the original text. Of these participants, the first group had no experience with computer software at all, the second group had some experience, and the third group had advanced knowledge of computer software. Contrary to the expectations of the researchers, those who had no experience with computer software at all were more rapidly able to recognize sentences correctly than the other two groups.[50]

These recent findings on the workings of human memory help to appreciate the nature and limitations of the early Buddhist oral transmission. Situated in their historical and cultural context, the early Buddhist reciters would have had a precedent in the Vedic oral tradition. This oral transmission had acquired a high degree of precision based on a systematic training of reciters from their early youth onwards. The existence of young Brahmins who at the age of sixteen had already mastered the *Veda*s is in fact reflected in the *Assalāyana-sutta* and a Chinese parallel.[51] Notably, in the Vedic model young brahmin reciters trained in memorizing texts whose meaning they only learned later.[52]

The early Buddhist oral tradition differs in two basic respects. One is that Buddhist monastics would start training in recitation of the texts only after ordination, which in most cases can safely be assumed to have taken place when they were older than young Brahmins embarking on their training in Vedic lore.[53] Moreover, whereas for the Vedic reciters correct wording was of crucial importance, for their early Buddhist counterparts the content of the text to be transmitted was central.[54] This is neatly exemplified in the *Alagaddūpama-sutta* and a Chinese parallel, according to which the Buddha reckoned those who learn his teachings

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[49] Cf., e.g., Myers and Duffy 1990 as well as Mason and Just 2004.

[50] Caillies and Denhière 2002; on the need to distinguish between the bare information to be recalled and its relational processing when making sense of a text as a whole cf. also Long, Johns, and Jonathan 2012.

[51] MN 93 at MN II 147,10 reports that a sixteen year old Brahmin had acquired mastery of the three *Veda*s. The parallel T 71 at T I 876c10 also records his age to have been fifteen or sixteen, whereas another parallel, MĀ 151 at T I 663c8 (which also reports his ability, notably in terms of his knowledge of the *four Veda*s) does not specify his age.

[52] Cf. von Hinüber 1989: 67.

[53] Cf. von Hinüber 1989: 67f.

[54] In the words of Lopez 1995: 37, "the śrotriyas were concerned with the precise preservation of the sounds of the Vedas while the śrāvakas were concerned with the preservation of the meaning of the Buddha's word in the vernacular."

without endeavouring to understand them to be fools.[55]

Expressed in terms of modern research on memory, early Buddhist reciters were encouraged to draw inferences, unlike those memorizing the Vedas, who from early childhood were instead trained in memorizing precise textual recall without understanding and thus without drawing inferences. The reason why this worked so well for the Vedic reciters is precisely because they did not understand the text they were memorizing, as the experiment with Microsoft Word and Excel shows.

This makes it only natural that the early Buddhist oral transmission could not arrive at a level of precision comparable to the Vedic reciters. In fact the Buddhist discourses reflect the use of repetition and other mnemonic aids to a much greater extent,[56] pointing to the evident need of the Buddhist reciters to boost their ability to recall with precision in a way not required by their Vedic counterparts.

In view of all this, we would indeed expect variations to come into being during successive generations of Buddhist reciters, simply because their attempt to memorize with precision was hampered, if I may use this word, by their understanding. Moreover, the difficulty of distinguishing original text from inference on recall would have facilitated the intrusion of commentarial exegesis into the original discourse.

Conclusion

Studying the *Brahmajāla*, which I had chosen somewhat at random simply by dint of its being the first discourse in the Pāli canon, brings to light the degree to which, from the introductory phrase of the discourse all the way to its location within the long discourse collections, oral transmission is a key influence. This oral transmission is best understood as the result of an attempt at precise memorization that due to the vicissitudes of memory, combined with lack of training comparable to the Vedic tradition, inevitably resulted in a gradually change of the transmitted material. This manifests in variations due to the constructing nature of memory, loss of material due to memory failure, as well as the intrusion of what originally was only commentarial due to the inability to distinguish between original and inference. Such gradual change manifesting in different ways in the course of time is precisely what enables us to reconstruct early stages in the development of Buddhist thought through comparative study of parallel versions that have been affected in different ways by the vicissitudes of their oral transmission.

[55.] MN 22 at MN I 133,23 and MĀ 200 at T I 764a12. Lamotte 1949: 346 explains that "le religieux qui se borne à mémoriser les textes sans essayer de les comprendre manque à son devoir."
[56.] Cf. von Hinüber 1994: 6 and Allon 1997: 363.

Abbreviations

C	Cone edition
D	Derge edition
DĀ	*Dīrgha-āgama*
DN	*Dīgha-nikāya*
E^e	PTS edition
MĀ	*Madhyama-āgama*
Mhv	*Mahāvaṃsa*
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
N	Narthang edition
Q	Peking edition
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā*
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Up	*Abhidharmakośopāyikā-ṭīkā*
Vin	*Vinaya*

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Comparing Buddhist and Jaina Attitudes towards Warfare: Some Notes on Stories of King Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's War against the Vṛjis and Related Material[*]

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Abstract:

This paper compares Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards warfare as reflected in textual sources related, directly or indirectly, to King Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's war against the Vṛjis (or the Licchavis and their allies). It argues that while the Buddhists and Jainas, who composed or redacted those sources, shared the same unwillingness to apply the principle of *ahiṃsā* to political utilization of military forces at the national level, they nonetheless held different opinions on the reconcilability of military obligations with ethical–religious values at the individual level. In particular, a comparative reading of a set of three parallel *suttas* in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (IV 308–311) and Section 7.9 of the *Viyāhapannatti* shows that although both the Buddha and Mahāvīra refute the Brahmanical idea of heavenly rebirths of battle-slain soldiers, the Buddha stresses the incompatibility of the warrior ethic with Buddhist values, while Mahāvīra addresses the possibility of combining military obligations with Jaina values.

Buddhism and Jainism, as cousin traditions, emerged roughly at the same time (ca. 5th century BCE) from the same geographical milieu of northeastern India (ancient Magadha, present-day Bihar) where they confronted the same political-social realities including, *inter alia*, military violence. Meanwhile, both religions promote, in didactic terms, the ethical ideal of *ahiṃsā* (nonviolence), and both call for abstention from killing living beings. Given these commonalities, one may wonder: did Buddhists and Jainas in ancient India take the same approach to handling the tension between the reality of warfare and the ideal of *ahiṃsā*? If not, how did their approaches differ?

Questions of this kind, so far as I am aware, have not been seriously considered in previous studies. Nevertheless, they are arguably important for our understanding of the ideological priorities and preoccupations of ancient Buddhists and Jainas. As one step towards such an understanding—and thus also as a further step towards understanding their shared world of discourse— the present paper compares Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards

warfare through investigating narrative sources related to King Ajātaśatru's war against the Vṛjis found in both religious traditions.

It has long been observed that both ancient Buddhists and Jainas told stories about a war between the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru (named Kūṇika in Jainism) and the confederacy of the Vṛjis, of which the most important constituent is the Licchavi tribe of Vaiśālī.[1] In examining the Buddhist and Jaina accounts, previous scholars have mainly focused on the overall differences between the Buddhist and Jaina storylines, and on the similarities between certain narrative details (such as the causes of the war, and the intrigues used in the conquest of Vaiśālī).[2] To date, no specific study has been done to compare Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards warfare as reflected in the stories of King Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's war against the Vṛjis and related material.[3] This paper is an attempt to make such a comparison. In what follows, I will first look at the Buddhist attitude towards warfare in sources related, either directly or indirectly, to Ajātaśatru's war against the Vṛjis. After this, I will look at the Jaina attitude towards warfare in sources related to Kūṇika's war against a tribal confederacy formed by the Licchavis and their allies. Then, in the rest of the paper, taking into account both the Buddhist and Jaina sources, I will remark on the similarities and differences between the Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards war as discerned from those sources.

Buddhist Attitude towards Warfare in the Story of Ajātaśatru's War against the Vṛjis and Related Material

As is well known, the various versions of the non-Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (MPS) begin with an episode telling that King Ajātaśatru sends his minister Varṣākāra to seek advice

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[1] See earlier observations by Raychaudhuri (1996 [1923], 185–190); Jacobi (1970 [1930], 807–813); Basham (1951, 68–78; 1953, 37–41); Nagraj (1974, 59–71). The confederacy of the Vṛjis, as known from Buddhist sources, consisted mainly of the Licchavis, whose capital was at Vaiśālī, and the Videhas, whose capital was at Mithilā (see DBPN, 727, s.v. Vajjī; DPPN, ii. 813–815, s.v. Vajjī). The Jainas informed us that nine Mallai chiefs, nine Lecchai (= Licchavi) chiefs, and eighteen tribal kings of Kāsī and Kosala formed a confederacy in the fight against Kūṇiya (see Viy §7.9, *sutta* 299 [text in Doshi 1974–1982, i.304.1–2; summarized in Deleu 1970, 140; translated in Lalwani 1973–1985, iii.67], and Nir §1.19 [text in Deleu 1969, 110–111 = 1996, 50; translated in Wiles 2000, 139]). Abhayadeva (11th cent.) interpreted the confederacy as being formed by nine Mallai chiefs of Kāsī and nine Lecchai chiefs of Kosala (cf. Deleu 1970, 141), but this interpretation seems to be incorrect (cf. PrPN, ii.553, s.v. Mallai, n.2; cited in Wiles 2000, 139 n.111). On the correspondence between the Buddhist form Licchavi and the Jaina form Lecchai (Skt. *Lecchaki), see Jacobi 1884, 266 n.1.

[2] According to the Buddhists, Ajātasattu waged the war in order to obtain some fragrant material (*gandhabhaṇḍa*) near the Ganges (see Sv 516,21–517,12; Mp IV 15,11–16,4), and after sending his minister Vassakāra to sow dissension among the Vajjis, Ajātasattu eventually conquered Vesālī (see Sv 522,19–524,4; Mp IV 17,4–5). According to the Jainas, Kūṇika waged the war in order to obtain an elephant in the climax of must (*gandhahatthī*) and a priceless necklace (see Nir §§1.15–18 [text in Deleu 1969, 107–110 = 1996, 47–50; translated in Wiles 2000, 107–139]), and after sending the ascetic Kūlavālaka to deceive the people of Vaiśālī, Kūṇika finally captured the city (see ĀvC I 567.6–568.1, parallel to ĀvH 437a7–b8 and ĀvM 533a11–534b7; edited and translated in Koch 1990, 332–335). Basham (1951, 72–74) points out that the *gandhabhaṇḍa* in the Buddhist story corresponds to the *gandhahatthī* in the Jaina story, and that the deceiving role played by Vassakāra corresponds to that played by Kūlavālaka.

[3] So far as I know, only Jaini (2007, 160–167) and Appleton (2014, 66–67) have considered together Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards war. Since in their studies both scholars explore the issue of war for other purposes than providing a comparative survey of Buddhist and Jaina sources related to Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's campaign against the Vṛjis (or the Licchavis and their allies), their explorations are therefore different from what I will undertake below.

from the Buddha regarding the waging of war on the Vṛjis. Having heard Varṣākāra's report of Ajātaśatru's plan to destroy the Vṛjis, the Buddha says that the Vṛjis will be invincible as long as they stick to seven principles of non-decline. Taking note of the Buddha's words, Varṣākāra realizes that the Vṛjis cannot be easily conquered. In the Pāli version, Vassakāra concludes that Ajātasattu will not be able to defeat the Vajjis simply by war, without using intrigue or sowing internal dissension.[4]

In commenting on this episode, Lambert Schmithausen rightly points out that although the Buddha's response to Varṣākāra appears like an attempt to discourage Ajātaśatru from attacking the Vṛjis, within the context of the MPS the real purpose of this episode is not to show the Buddha's discouraging stance on war, but to provide "a stepping stone" for introducing the following sermon, where the Buddha teaches the monks seven principles that can prevent their community from declining.[5] Further, as a number of scholars have already noted,[6] in this episode, while the Buddha speaks of the (temporary) invincibility of the Vṛjis, he expresses no outright condemnation of Ajātaśatru's plan to wage war, nor does he remark on the immorality of war from a Buddhist ethical point of view. The absence of explicit condemnation of political warfare is not unique to the MPS, but typical of most of early Buddhist canonical scriptures.[7] The absence may well have been due to practical concerns of the Buddhist authors, for as both André Bareau and Lambert Schmithausen have suggested, those authors were almost certainly aware of the inevitability of warfare in the real world of ancient Indian politics, and the fact that any explicit condemnation of the utilization of military forces could have been interpreted by contemporary kings as an encroachment upon their political interests.[8]

While the Buddha is shown as making no condemnation of Ajātaśatru's plan to wage war in the MPS, elsewhere we find that he does make a clear rejection of the *kṣatradharma*, the duty of members of the warrior caste to fight in war.[9] For instance, in a set of three parallel *sutta*s found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, three military headmen ask the Buddha almost the same

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[4.] See DN II 76,2–4 (parallel to AN IV 20,29–21,1). This detail is only found in Pāli, not in the Sanskrit, Chinese or Tibetan versions of the episode (see Waldschmidt 1950–1951, ii.118–119, Vorgang 1.40; Bareau 1970, 23–24; Schmithausen 2014, 45 n.47). Note that the *Arthaśāstra* (XI.1.1–30), a classic Indian work on statecraft, recommends various "ways of [fermenting] dissension" (*bhedopādānāni*) as strategies for conquering confederacies (cf. Kangle 1960, 244.1–245.9 [text]; 1963, 526–529 [translation]; Olivelle 2013, 389–390 [translation]).

[5.] Schmithausen 2014, 45. For similar arguments, see Bareau 1993, 36; Collins 1998, 445.

[6.] Bareau 1993, 38; Schmithausen 1999, 49–51; Zimmermann 2000, 206–207; Shimoda 2002, 396–97.

[7.] Schmithausen (2014, 42) notes, "in the sermons of the early canon a straightforward *condemnation* of war and capital punishment is not easily found." (italics in original)

[8.] Bareau 1993, 38; Schmithausen 1999, 51; 2014, 44.

[9.] The most detailed studies to date of the notion of *kṣatradharma* are Hara (1968a; 1968b; 1969), which provide thorough examinations of all related evidence found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṃśa*. Hara (1968a, 2; 1968b, 1) clarifies that *kṣatradharma* as seen in the epic literature falls into two categories: when used in peaceful contexts, *kṣatradharma* is synonymous to *rājadharma*, referring to the duties of kings to protect their subjects, to rule in accordance with justice, and to honor brahmins; when used in the contexts of war, *kṣatradharma* refers specifically to the duty of warriors to fight bravely and to die heroic deaths on the battlefield.

questions (with only minor variations).[10] In the first of the three *sutta*s, the *Yodhājīvasutta*,[11] a soldier headman asks the Buddha:

sutam me bhante pubbakānam ācariyapācariyānaṃ yodhājīvānam bhāsamānānaṃ yo so yodhājīvo saṅgāme ussahati vāyamati ‖ tam enam ussahantaṃ vāyamantam pare hananti pariyāpādenti ‖ so kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā Sarañjitānaṃ[12] devānam sahavyatam

[10] See SN IV 308–311 (nos. 42.3–5); translated in Woodward 1927, 216–218; Bodhi 2000, ii.1334–36; Hattori et al. 2013, 673–679. Of the three *sutta*s, only the *Yodhājīvasutta* (no. 42.3) has full parallels in two Chinese versions of the SĀ (T. 99, 227b10–227c11 [*sūtra* 908]; T. 100, 420b10–420c9 [*sūtra* 123]; no Sanskrit parallel has survived [see Enomoto 1994, 10; Chung 2008, 191]). The *Hatthārohasutta* (no. 42.4) has no Chinese counterpart at all. The *Assārohasutta* (no. 42.5), strictly speaking, also finds no parallel in Chinese. Although both *sūtra* 909 of T. 99 and *sūtra* 124 of T.100 mention a horse–training leader corresponding to *assāroho gāmaṇi* in the *Assārohasutta*, the contents of the two Chinese *sūtra*s are in fact totally different from the Pāli *sutta*. For comments on the three Pāli *sutta*s as a whole, see Schmithausen 1999, 48; 2014, 45–46; Shimoda 2002, 397–98 [both scholars consider *sūtra* 909 of T. 99 and/or *sūtra* 124 of T. 100 to be parallel to the Pāli *sutta*s, with which I could not agree]. On the *Yodhājīvasutta* alone, see Upadhyaya 1971, 531; Jaini 2007: 160–161; Appleton 2014, 67.

[11] As Bodhi (2000, ii.1449 n.339) and Jaini (2007, 160 n.15) point out, according to Buddhaghosa, the word *yodhājīva* literally means "one making a living through warfare" (Spk III 103, 20–21: *yuddhena jīvikaṃ kappanako*), thus referring to a professional soldier.

[12] The Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai editions give different readings of this name. The sentence in question occurs four times in the *Yodhājīvasutta* and four times in the *Assārohasutta*. The table below provides an overview of different readings of this name in its eight occurrences (I thank Chris Clark of University of Sydney for helping me with identifying the readings in the Buddhajayantī [BJ] edition and King Chulalongkorn [KC] edition; the abbreviations S¹, S², S³, B¹ and B² separately refer to three Sinhalese and two Burmese manuscripts used by Léon Feer in producing the PTS edition of the SN):

Table 1   References and Readings of the Gods' Name in Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai Editions of the *Yodhājīvasutta* and the *Assārohasutta*

No.	PTS Reference	PTS Reading	BJ Reference (Sinhalese)	BJ Reading (Sinhalese)	KC Reference (Thai)	KC Reading (Thai)	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Reference (Burmese)	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Reading (Burmese)	Chinese Counterpart in T. 99	Chinese Counterpart in T. 100
1	SN IV 308,24	Sarañjitānaṃ (S¹ and S²) _____ Sarajitānaṃ (S³)	SN IV (BJ vol. 16) 562,8	Sarañjitānaṃ	377,18	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV (DPG vol. 26) 296, 25	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	箭降伏 "defeated by arrows" [*Sarǎjitānaṃ] (227b15)	箭莊嚴 "decorated by arrows" [*Sarañjitānaṃ] (420b16)
2	SN IV 308,33	Sarañjitānaṃ (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 562,15	Sarañjitānaṃ	378,6	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 297, 4	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	—	—
3	SN IV 309,13	Sarājitānam (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 562,26	Sarañjitānaṃ	378,17	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 297,13	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	箭降伏 (227b28)	—
4	SN IV 309,27	Sarañjitānaṃ (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 564,8	Sarañjitānaṃ	379,7	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 297,20	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹; B²: Parā°)	箭降伏 (227c6–8)	箭莊嚴 (420c6)
5	SN IV 310,13	Sarājitānam (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 564,24	Sarañjitānaṃ	379,17	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 298,9	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	—	—
6	SN IV 310,22	— [omission indicated by *pe*] (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 564,32	Sarañjitānaṃ	380,4	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 298,14	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	—	—
7	SN IV 311,9	Sarājitānam (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 566,10	Sarañjitānaṃ	380,14	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 298,22	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	—	—
8	SN IV 311,22	Sarañjitānaṃ (S¹, S², S³)	SN IV 566,20	Sarañjitānaṃ	381,4	Sarajitānaṃ	SN IV 299,5	Parajitānaṃ (= B¹, B²)	—	—

There are basically three types of readings of this name: 1) *Sarañjitānaṃ* (lit. "anointed with arrows", which may mean "decorated with arrows" in the present context), attested in the Buddhajayantī edition and in the three Sinhalese manuscripts used by Feer. In its two occurrences (Nos. 1 and 4), this reading, along with the following *devānam sahavyatam upapajjati*, matches the phrase 生箭莊嚴天 ("reborn in the Heaven Decorated

upapajjatīti ‖ ‖ *idha bhagavā kim āhā ti* ‖ ‖ (SN IV 308,20–25 [almost identical to 310,9–14]; see the Chinese counterparts at T. 99, 227b12–16, and T. 100, 420b13–16)

"O Venerable Sir, I have heard previous soldiers who were teachers and teachers of teachers saying, 'When a soldier strives and exerts himself in battle, [if] others kill him, finish him off, while he is striving and exerting himself, at the breaking up of his body, after his death, he is reborn into the company of Sarañjita–gods.' What does the Blessed One say in this case?"

The view that one who fights to death in battle is reborn in heaven seems to be very old and was arguably influential in the Brahmanical world. It has been suggested that the *Ṛgveda* 10.154.3 (cf. also *Atharvaveda* 18.2.17) may represent an early piece of evidence for this view.[13] The verse states, "Those who fight in battles, who as heroes abandon their bodies, or those who offer a thousand gifts [to brahmin officiants]—also straight to them let him [= a dead man] go."[14] P. V. Kane points out that this verse implies that "warriors losing life in battle reap the same rewards that those who make gifts of a thousand cows in sacrifices secure."[15] Moreover, in the *Bhagavadgītā* (2.37), in persuading Arjuna to fight, Kṛṣṇa says to him, "Either you are killed and will attain to heaven, or you triumph and will enjoy the earth.

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with Arrows") in one Chinese version of the SĀ (T. 100, 420b16 and c6). Bodhi (2000, ii.1335) translates *Sarañjitānaṃ* as "battle-slain", which appears problematic to me. Woodward (1927, 216) and Malalasekera (DPPN, ii.1068, s.v. Sarañjita) seem to understand *Sarañjita* as *sa-rañjita* (instead of a compound formed by *sara* [< Skt. *śara* "arrow"] and *añjita* "anointed") and translate it as "of Passionate Delight". Perhaps based on the same understanding, Hattori et al. (2013, 673) translate *Sarañjitānaṃ devānam* as "楽しみをともなう天 (倶樂天)" ["gods accompanied by delight"]. It is hard to say what *Sarañjita* really means, especially given that this word is a proper name and may have a non–Indic (for instance, Dravidian) origin. (2) **Sarǎjitānaṃ** ("defeated by arrows"), attested in the Thai edition and in three Sinhalese manuscripts used by Feer. In its three occurrences (Nos. 1, 3 and 4), this reading, together with the following *devānam sahavyatam upapajjati*, matches 生箭降伏天 ("reborn in the Heaven Conquered by Arrows") in another Chinese version of the SĀ (T. 99, 227b15, b28, and c6–8). Akanuma cites the rendition 箭降伏天 as a correspondent to *Sarañjitā* (DBPN, 593, s.v.). However, the Indic original of 箭降伏 must have been **Sarǎjitā* (or its derivative), and the correspondent to *Sarañjitā* should be the aforementioned 箭莊嚴 ("decorated with arrows"). (3) **Parajitānaṃ** ("defeated by others"), attested in the Burmese Sixth Council edition and in two Burmese manuscripts used by Feer. According to Norman (1969, i.134 [ad Th 49]), the *s/p* confusion seems to be very old, "which presumably dates from the time when the texts were first written down" in India, and "[t]he mistake arose from the similarity between the two letters in the Brahmī script, and can be seen in the Aśokan inscriptions". For examples of such confusion in others Pāli texts, see Norman 1969, 134 [ad Th 49]; 1971, 56 [ad Thī 6]; 2001, 234 [ad Sn 353] and 246 [ad Sn 418]. Since the Sinhalese tradition is, in general, more likely to preserve old readings (see von Hinüber 1971, 245) and in the present case the Sinhalese reading *Sarǎjitānaṃ* finds evidence in Chinese, it can be suggested that *Sarǎjitānaṃ* is older, whereas the Burmese reading *Parajitānaṃ* is a later error.

[13.] See Kane 1993 [1946], 58; Schmithausen 1992, 138 n.194; Feller Jatavallabhula 1999, 96.

[14.] RV 10.154.3a–d (Nooten and Holland 1994, 563): *yé yúdhyante pradhánesu ˈ śū́rāso yé tanūtyájaḥ ˈ yé vā sahásradakṣiṇās ˈ tā́ṃś cid evā́pi gachatāt* ‖ This verse forms part of a funeral hymn, the poet of which, according to the Anukramaṇī ("index"), is Yamī, sister of Yama (ruler of the dead). According to Jamison and Brereton (2014, iii.1638), in this hymn, "[e]ach verse describes the character and habits of the distinguished forefathers now resident in the other world, and ends with a refrain urging the dead man to go and join them there". There are different interpretations of *pradháneṣu* in 3a. *yé yúdhyante pradhánesu*. Geldner (2003 [1951], 385) translates 3a, along with *śū́rāso* in 3b, as "Die in den Kämpfen als Helden streiten". Doniger (1981, 54) also translates, "Those who fight in battles as heroes". Both understand *pradhána* in the sense of "Kämpf/battle", thus agreeing with the 14th-century commentator Sāyaṇa's explanation *pradhanāḥ saṃgrāmāḥ* (see Müller 1892, iv.474). Jamison and Brereton (2014, iii.1638), however, understand *pradhána* as "prize–contest" instead of "battle, war". They translate 3a as "Those who fight in prize-contests", and 3b as "who as champions abandon their bodies".

[15.] Kane 1993 [1946], 58.

Therefore rise up, Kaunteya [= Arjuna], resolved upon battle."[16] Also, in one section of the *Arthaśāstra* concerning how to rouse the courage of soldiers before a war, Kauṭilya recommends, "Bards and panegyrists should proclaim heaven for the brave and exclusion from heaven for the timid, and extol the castes, associations, families, deeds, and conduct of the soldiers."[17] In the *Mānava–Dharmaśāstra*, heavenly rebirths are promised to those kings who fight bravely in battles. As the text claims, "When kings fight each other in battles with all their strength, seeking to kill each other and refusing to turn back, they go to heaven."[18] Since works such as the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Arthaśāstra*, and the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* drew considerably on earlier sources, it is likely that the view of heavenly rebirths of battle-slain warriors had already became popular even before the composition of those works.[19] In the *Yodhājīvasutta* (as well as in the *Hatthārohasutta* and the *Assārohasutta*), however, such a popular view is utterly rejected by the Buddha who replies to the headman as follows:

yo so gāmaṇi yodhājīvo saṅgāme ussahati vāyamati ‖ tassa taṃ cittam pubbe hīnaṃ duggatam[20] duppaṇihitam ime sattā haññantu vā bajjhantu vā ucchijjantu vā vinassantu vā mā ahesuṃ iti vā ti ‖ tam enam ussahantaṃ vāyamantam pare hananti pariyāpādenti ‖ so kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā Sarājitā nāma niraya[21] tatthupapajjati ‖ (SN IV 309,4–9

[16.] BhG 2.37 (Belvalkar 1947, 122): *hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṃ jitvā vā bhokṣyase mahīm | tasmād uttiṣṭha Kaunteya yuddhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ ‖* Translation quoted from van Buitenen 1981, 77. On this verse, see also Jaini 1979, 314 n.62; 2000: 14–15; 2004, 57–58; 2007: 162–63. For a detailed discussion on the idea of heavenly rebirths of battle–slain soldiers as illustrated in the Sanskrit epic literature, see Hara 1968b, 5–30. As Hopkins (1889, 94, 185 and 200) notes, the *Mahābhārata* holds that not just warriors, but also slaves (*śūdra*s) attain heaven by fighting and dying in battles.

[17.] AŚ 10.3.43 (Kangle 1960, 237.10–11): *sūtamāgadhāḥ śūrāṇāṃ svargam asvargaṃ bhīrūṇāṃ jāti–saṃghakulakarmavṛttastavaṃ ca yodhānāṃ varṇayeyuḥ |* Translation quoted from Olivelle 2013, 379. See also an earlier translation in Kangle 1963, 510.

[18.] MDh 7.89 (Olivelle 2005, 628.3–4): *āhaveṣu mitho 'nyonyaṃ jighāṃsanto mahīkṣitaḥ | yudhyamānāḥ paraṃ śaktyā svargaṃ yānty aparāṅmukhāḥ ‖* Translation quoted from Olivelle 2005, 159.

[19.] On the composition dates of the MDh (ca. 2nd–3rd centuries CE) and the AŚ (ca. 175–300 CE), see respectively Olivelle 2005, 25, and 2013, 31. As for the BhG, Brockington (1998, 147–48) suggests the 1st century CE as its probable composition date on the basis of its linguistic and stylistic features.

[20.] The Burmese Sixth Council edition (DPG 26, 217.8) has *gahitaṃ dukkaṭaṃ* ("seized, misarranged") for *hīnaṃ duggatam*. *Dukkaṭaṃ* is also the reading preserved in Buddhaghosa's commentary (cf. Spk III 103,24 = DPG 31, 141.12: *dukkaṭan ti duṭṭhu kataṃ*, "'misarranged' means that it was badly arranged").

[21.] As in the case of *Sarañjitānaṃ/Sarajitānaṃ/Parajitānaṃ* (see above, note 12), the Sinhalese, Thai and Burmese editions also give different readings of the hell's name. The sentence in question occurs once in the *Yodhājīvasutta* and once in the *Assārohasutta*. The table below provides an overview of different readings of this name in its two occurrences:

Table 2 References and Readings of the Hell's Name in Sinhalese, Burmese and Thai Editions of the *Yodhājīvasutta* and the *Assārohasutta*

No.	PTS Reference	PTS Reading	BJ Reference (Sinhalese)	BJ Reading (Sinhalese)	KC Reference (Thai)	KC Reading (Thai)	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Reference (Burmese)	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Reading (Burmese)	Chinese Counterpart in T. 99	Chinese Counterpart in T. 100
1	SV IV 309,9	Sarājitā (S^1, S^2, S^3)	SN IV (BJ vol.16) 562,23	Sarañjito	378,13	Sarajito	SN IV (DPG vol.26) 297,10	Parajito (= B^1, B^2)	—	—
2	SV IV 311,5	Sarājito (S^1, S^2, S^3)	SN IV 566,7	Sarañjito	380,11	Sarajito	298,19	Parajito (= B^1, B^2)	—	—

There are two types of readings of this name: (1) **Sarājitā** or **Sarājito** ("defeated by arrows"), attested in the Thai edition and in three Sinhalese manuscripts used by Feer. Woodward (1927, 217) translates *Sarājitā nirayā* as "Purgatory of Quarrels" and Bodhi (2000, ii.1335) translates it as "Battle-Slain Hell", both of which seem

[almost identical to 310,27–311,5]; see the Chinese counterparts at T. 99, 227b18–25, and T. 100, 420b20–27)

"O Headman, when a soldier strives and exerts himself in battle, he must have had this low, depraved and misdirected thought beforehand: 'Let those beings be killed, be captivated, be destroyed, be exterminated.' Or, 'Let them not exist.' [If] others kill him, finish him off, while he is striving and exerting himself, at the breaking up of his body, after his death—there is a hell named Sarājitā ('Defeated by Arrows')—there he is reborn."

The Buddha goes on to clarify that the view that one fighting to death in battle is reborn in heaven is a "perverted view" (*micchādiṭṭhi*), and that anyone who holds such a view will be reborn either in hell or in the animal realm.[22] The Buddha's answer to the headman's question addresses the absolute incompatibility of the warrior ethic with the Buddhist ideology that promotes the cultivation of a mind free from any defilements. This incompatibility is also suggested by some other textual sources. For instance, as Rupert Gethin has amply shown, in both the Theravāda *Abhidhamma* and Sarvastivāda *Abhidharma* literature, it is consistently maintained that the intentional killing of a living being is, in all circumstances, motivated by hatred or aversion (Pāli *dosa*; Skt. *dveṣa*) and therefore can only be regarded as an unwholesome (Pāli *akusala*; Skt. *akuśala*) act leading to unpleasant karmic result.[23]

Thus, as far as we can discern from the Buddhist canonical sources, although the Buddhist authors, being aware of the inevitability of warfare in their days, made no attempt to morally criticize Ajātaśatru's war against the Vṛjis (or any other military affairs),[24] it is

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problematic. (2) **Parajito** ("defeated by others"), attested in the Burmese Sixth Council edition and in the two Burmese manuscripts used by Feer. According to Buddhaghosa's commentary (Spk III 103,24–104,2; DPG 31: 141.12–14), *Sarājitā nāma nirayā* [DPG: *parajito nāma nirayo*] *ti ayam pi na visuṃ eko nirayo. avīciyaṃ yeva* [DPG: *avīcisseva*] *pana ekasmiṃ koṭṭhāse pañcāvudha-sannaddhā phalaka-hatthā hatthi-assa-rathe āruyha saṅgāme yujjhantā viya paccanti. taṃ sandhāy' etaṃ vuttaṃ* ("As for 'a hell named Defeated-by-Arrows' [DPG: 'a hell named Defeated-by-Others'], this is not an individual hell on its own. Rather, within one division in the Avīci hell [DPG: of the Avīci hell], those armed with five weapons, with shields in their hands, having climbed onto elephants, horses and chariots, fighting in a battle, as it were, are boiled. With reference to this implication, this [= the hell's name] is said.") Compared with *Parajito nāma nirayo*, the reading *Sarājitā nāma nirayā* (or its variant *Sarājito nāma nirayo*) seems to fit better with Buddhaghosa's explanation, since he does not mention the defeat of those hell–beings by others, but he does mention that they were armed with weapons. Neither of the two Chinese versions of the SĀ mentions the name of the hell in which killed soldiers are reborn.

[22] SN IV 309,10–17 [almost identical to 311,6–13]; translated in Woodward 1927, 217; Bodhi 2000, ii.1335; Hattori et al. 2013, 674. See the Chinese counterparts at T. 99, 227b25–c1, and T. 100, 420b27–28. According to Jaini (2007: 162), this definition of *micchādiṭṭhi* may be applied to the same word that appears in the story of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXV 110). See also below note 60.

[23] Gethin 2004, 174–189; 2007, 70–71.

[24] To be sure, there is indeed some early textual evidence showing Buddhist disapproval of warfare. For instance, a *sutta* (no. 3.2.4) in the *Kosala–saṃyutta* (SN I 82,24–83,32) and its Chinese parallels (T. 99, 338b29–c20 [*sūtra* 1236]; T. 100, 395c7–19 [*sūtra* 63]) describe a battle between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit of Kosala. In commenting on Ajātaśatru's defeat of Prasenajit, the Buddha utters a verse to address the disadvantage of war for both the victor and the loser (SN I 83,31–32; DPG 23: 101.11–12: *jayaṃ veram pasavati dukkhaṃ seti parājito | upasanto sukhaṃ seti hitvā jayam parājayan* [DPG: *jayaparājayan*] *ti* ‖ "The Victorious one breeds enmity. The defeated one sleeps unhappily. The one at peace, having given up victory and defeat, sleeps happily"). See the Chinese counterparts at T. 99, 338c18–19 and T. 100, 395c17–18; parallel verses in Dhp 201, Avś I 57.10–11, and Uv XXX.1. See also earlier studies by Upadhyaya 1971, 535; Enomoto 1994, 51; Choong 2006, 25; Chung 2008, 218. The Buddha, however, does not mention the immoral nature of war as such. In fact, as Schmithausen (2014, 43) observes, "the sermons [in early Buddhist canonical literature] are, on the whole, remarkably reserved with respect to the moral evaluation of warfare" (parentheses added by the present author).

nonetheless clear that war in any form, whether aggressive or defensive, runs directly counter to and is therefore simply incompatible with the Buddhist values. In the Jaina story of King Kūṇika's war against the Licchavis and their allies, Mahāvīra also makes comments on the warrior ethic, and his opinion is somewhat different from the Buddha's. It is to the Jaina sources that we now turn.

Jaina Attitude towards Warfare in the Story of Kūṇika's War against the Licchavis and Their Allies

The fifth *Aṅga* of the Śvetāmbara canon, known as the *Viyāhapannatti* (Skt. *Vyākhyā-prajñapti*, "Proclamation of Explanations") or *Bhagavaī-sutta* (Skt. *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, "Holy Scripture"), whose nucleus may be dated between the 1st century BCE/1st century CE and the 3rd century CE,[25] is perhaps the oldest extant Jaina source on Kūṇika's military activities. In this text there is a conversation between Mahāvīra and his disciple Gautama regarding two battles that are said to have taken place between Kūṇika and his enemies (including the Mallas, the Licchavis, and their allies), namely, the "Battle of Great Stones" (Pkt. *mahāsilākaṇṭaga saṃgāma*) and the "Battle of the Chariot with the Mace" (*rahamusala saṃgāma*).[26] According to the text, Kūṇika won both battles, and in each battle hundreds of thousands of soldiers were killed. Being devoid of good conduct and not observing any religious vow, those who died in the first battle were reborn as hell beings or animals.[27] As for those who died in the second battle, Mahāvīra says, "Among them, ten thousands were reborn in the womb of a fish. One was reborn in heaven. One was reborn in a good family. The rest were generally reborn in hell or in the animal realm."[28] Having heard this, Gautama

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[25.] On this dating, see Ohira (1994, 1 and 22). In commenting on Ohira's chronological scheme of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canonical texts, Dundas (2006, 386) says, "While this model might at times be judged overschematic and mechanical (…), it is the most convincing available thus far..."

[26.] The story of the two battles in Viy 7.9 has been discussed by Ohira (1994, 170–171); Jaini (2000, 14–16; 2002, 145; 2004, 57–59; 2007, 163–167); Kawasaki (2004); Dundas (2006, 393; 2007, 47–48); Appleton (2014, 66–67). Only Jaini (2007) and Appleton (2014) have noted the connection of the Viy's account with the Buddhist *Yodhājīvasutta*.

[27.] Viy 7.9, *sutta* 299 (Doshi 1974–1982, i.306.6–8): *te ṇaṃ bhaṃte maṇuyā nissīlā jāva nippaccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsā sāruṭṭhā parikuviyā samaravahiyā aṇuvasaṃtā kālamāse kālaṃ kiccā kahiṃ gatā kahiṃ uvavannā? Goyamā osannaṃ naraga-tirikkhajoṇiesu uvavannā* | According to Doshi (306 n.1), *'jāva' padena 'niggunā nimmerā' ity evaṃ viśeṣaṇadvayam atra yojyam*, "Given the word *jāva* [< Skt. *yāvat*, 'up to'], a pair of adjectives are to be added here, i.e., 'devoid of virtues, without restraints'." So the passage may be translated as follows: "[Gautama asked,] 'O Venerable Sir, being devoid of good conduct, [devoid of virtues, unrestrained,] not observing any vow or fast, enraged, wrathful, killed in the battle, with passions unpacified, at the time of death, having finished their lives, where did those men go, where were they reborn?' [Mahāvīra said,] 'O Gautama, they were generally reborn in hell or as animals.'" Lalwani (1973–1985, iii.70) translates *nippaccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsā* as "devoid of confession and fast". This is incorrect, for *nippaccakkhāṇa* ("one who does not take the vow of *paccakkhāṇa* ['renouncement of certain foods or activities']") corresponds to Skt. **niṣpratyākhyāna* rather than **niṣpratikramaṇa* ("one who does not practice *pratikramaṇa* ['ritualized confession']"). Although both *pratyākhyāna* and *pratikramaṇa* are recommended practices for the Jaina laity, their meanings are different (see Jaini 1979, 189–190). On the compound *nippaccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsa* (or its variant *ṇippa°*) referring to "one who does not observe any vow or fast even on sacred days", see Ratnachandra 1923–1932, ii.958, s.v. *ṇippaccakkhāṇa*. On this passage, see also Jaini (2007: 164).

[28.] Viy 7.9, *sutta* 300 (Doshi 1974–1982, i.307.10–11): *tattha ṇaṃ dasa sāhassīo egāe macchiyāe kucchiṃsi uvavannāo, ege devalogesu uvavanne, ege sukule paccāyāte avasesā osannaṃ naraga-tirikkhajoṇiesu uvavannā.*

asks Mahāvīra as follows:

> *bahujaṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte annamannassa evam āikkhati jāva*[29] *parūveti evaṃ khalu bahave*
> *maṇussā annataresu uccāvaesu saṃgāmesu abhimuhā ceva pahayā samāṇā kālamāse*
> *kālaṃ kiccā annayaresu devaloesu devattāe uvavattāro bhavaṃti | se kaham etaṃ bhaṃte*
> *evaṃ |* (Viy 7.9, *sutta* 302)[30]
> "O Venerable Sir, many people talk thus to each other, [speak thus, declare thus,] expound
> thus, 'Indeed, many men who are killed while facing forward [i.e., facing their enemies][31]
> in various big and small battles, at the time of death, having finished their lives, are reborn
> as gods in various heavenly realms.' Then, O Venerable Sir, is this so?"[32]

This question is remarkably similar to the one the headman asks the Buddha in the
Yodhājīvasutta discussed above. The similarity suggests that both the Buddhists and Jainas
paid specific attention to the dominant Brahmanical idea that soldiers who fight to death on
the battlefield reap rewards in heaven.[33] While Mahāvīra, like the Buddha, also refutes such
an idea, saying, "Those who spoke in this way spoke a falsehood,"[34] his explanation is
different from that given by the Buddha. He clarifies that among those soldiers killed in the
"Battle of the Chariot with the Mace" only one was reborn in heaven. That one was a Jaina
layman called Varuṇa. According to Mahāvīra, "on one occasion, while practising the
ṣaṣṭabhakta fast, Varuṇa, grandson of Nāga, was commanded by the order of the king, by the
order of the assembly, by the order of the army [to join] in the Battle of the Chariot with the
Mace."[35] Before joining in the battle, he made a vow: "When I am fighting the Battle of the
Chariot with the Mace, if someone strikes [me] first, it is then fitting to strike [him] back.
Otherwise, it is not fitting [to strike]."[36] Having entered the battlefield, he encountered an

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[29.] Here *jāva* refers to a description of talk among people which is given in full in Uvav 38 (Leumann 1883,
49.11–12: *bahujaṇo aṇṇamaṇṇassa evam āikkhai evaṃ bhāsai evaṃ paṇṇavei evaṃ parūvei*); see also Deleu
1969, 92 [*jāva* no. 20] = 1996, 32. I include the whole description in my translation.

[30.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.307.20–308.2.

[31.] The word *abhimuha* (< *abhimukha*, "facing forward") implies that the soldiers did not flee but died bravely.
In discussing the warriors' death in the *Mahābhārata*, Feller Jatavallabhula (1999, 97) notes, "an important
precondition for their going to heaven is that they should die *abhimukha* (facing the enemy), that is, die a heroic
death, and not that of a coward struck in the back while attempting to flee."

[32.] Deleu (1970, 39) notes that in the Viy the discussions between Mahāvīra and Gautama regarding heretical
views follow a pattern: Gautama states such-and-such a view and asks Mahāvīra's opinion; Mahāvīra answers
that such-and-such a view is false and then proclaims such-and-such other view in this concern.

[33.] Dundas (2006, 393) suggests that the story of the two battles in the Viy actually refers to the marital world
portrayed in the *Mahābhārata* "where a glorious death in battle was reckoned to lead to heaven".

[34.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.308.3: *je te evam āhaṃsu micchaṃ te evam āhaṃsu*. Jaini (2007, 165) points out, "The
word *micchaṃ* used by Mahāvīra here to characterize the disputed assertion is reminiscent of the term
micchādiṭṭhi employed by the Buddha in the Yodhājīva-sutta."

[35.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.308.9–10: *Varuṇe Ṇāganattue annayā kayāi rāyābhiogeṇaṃ gaṇābhiogeṇaṃ*
balābhiogeṇaṃ rahamusale saṃgāme āṇatte samāṇe chaṭṭhabhattie. On *chaṭṭha-bhattia* (Skt. *ṣaṣṭa-bhaktika*)
referring to one who refuses to take food until the 6th meal (i.e., one spending 2½ days by fasting), see
Schubring 1935, 174, §156. On this sentence, see also a comment by Kawasaki (2004, 46) who notes that the
phrase *rāyābhiogeṇaṃ gaṇābhiogeṇaṃ balābhiogeṇaṃ* ("by the order of the king, by the order of the assembly,
by the order of the army") also appears in the *Uvāsagadasāo* 58 (Hoernle 1885–1888, i.23.13–14 [text], ii.35
[translation]) and in the *Āvassaya* 6.1 (Puṇyavijaya and Bhojak 1977, 350.8–9). In both texts, the phrase is used
to refer to a case where a Jaina layman is forced—rather than spontaneous—to pay homage or to make
donations to a heretical community.

[36.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.309.10–11: *kappati me rahamusalaṃ saṃgāmaṃ saṃgāmemāṇassa je puvviṃ*

enemy who challenged him to fight. Varuṇa said to that man, "O Beloved of the Gods, it is not fitting to strike you when I am not struck [by you]. Please strike [me] first!"[37] On hearing this, that man shot Varuṇa with an arrow. Varuṇa then reacted as follows:

> *tae ṇaṃ se Varuṇe Ṇāgaṇattue teṇaṃ puriseṇaṃ gāḍhappahārīkae samāṇe āsurutte jāva*[38] *misimisemāṇe dhaṇuṃ parāmusati dhaṇuṃ parāmusittā usuṃ parāmusati usuṃ parāmusittā āyatakaṇṇāyataṃ usuṃ kareti āyatakaṇṇāyataṃ usuṃ karettā taṃ purisaṃ egāhaccaṃ kūḍāhaccaṃ jīviyāto vavaroveti |* (Viy 7.9, *sutta* 302)[39]

Then Varuṇa, grandson of Nāga, severely injured by that man, immediately enraged, [furious, intemperate,] and gnashing his teeth with anger, took up his bow. Having taken up the bow, he fitted an arrow. Having fitted the arrow, he drew the arrow to his ear. Having drawn the arrow to his ear, he deprived that man at once[40] of his life.

Being mortally wounded, Varuṇa left the battlefield and retreated to a solitary place. He paid homage to Mahāvīra from afar, and then took both the five lay vows and the five mendicant vows as follows:

> *vaṃdittā namaṃsittā evaṃ vayāsī puvviṃ pi ṇaṃ mae samaṇassa bhagavato Mahāvīrassa aṃtiyaṃ thūlae pāṇātivāte paccakkhāe jāvajjīvāe evaṃ jāva*[41] *thūlae pariggahe paccakkhāe jāvajjīvāe iyāṇiṃ pi ṇaṃ ahaṃ tass' eva bhagavato Mahāvīrassa aṃtiyaṃ savvaṃ pāṇātivāyaṃ paccakkhāmi jāvajjīvāe evaṃ jahā Khaṃdao jāva*[42] *etaṃ pi ṇaṃ carimehiṃ ussāsaṇissāsehiṃ vosirissāmi tti kaṭṭu sannāhapaṭṭaṃ muyati sannāhapaṭṭaṃ muittā salluddharaṇaṃ kareti salluddharaṇaṃ karettā āloiyapaḍikkaṃte samāhipatte āṇupuvvīe kālagate* (Viy 7.9, *sutta* 302)[43]

Having venerated [Mahāvīra], having paid homage, he [= Varuṇa] said this, "I have formerly, in the presence of Lord Śramaṇa Mahāvīra, renounced gross killing [i.e., killing

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pahaṇati se paḍihaṇittae avasese no kappatīti. On the infinitive ending *-ittae*, see Pischel 1900, §578.

[37.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.309.18–19: *no khalu me kappati devāṇuppiyā puvviṃ ahayassa pahaṇittae tumaṃ ceva puvvaṃ pahaṇāhi.*

[38.] Here *jāva* refers to a phrase given in full in Viy 3.2, *sutta* 143 (cf. Doshi 1974–1982. i.146.15–16: *āsurutte ruṭṭhe kuvie caṃḍikkie misimisemāṇe*). See also Deleu 1969, 94 [*jāva* no. 60] = 1996, 35 (Deleu gives the *sutta* number as 144). I have included the entire phrase in my translation. On √*misimisa* ("to quash teeth with anger and to tremble") of onomatopoeic origin, see Ratnachandra 1923–1932, iv.178, s.v.; Pischel 1900, 380–381, §558.

[39.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.310.1–4.

[40.] The overall meaning of the adverbial stock phrase *egāhaccaṃ kūḍāhaccaṃ* is "at once". The word *egāhacca* (< *eka* + *āhatya/āhṛtya*) literally means "to be killed in one blow", and *kūḍāhacca* (< *kūṭa* + *āhatya/ āhṛtya*) means "to be killed by an iron hammer". Perhaps *kūḍāhaccaṃ* explains *egāhaccaṃ*. On the usage of this stock phrase in Jaina texts, see Bollée (1969, 43–45; 2002, 239). These two words may be classified under the category of rhyme and homoioteleuton (cf. Gonda, 1959, 201ff.; I thank Professor W. Bollée for directing my attention to J. Gonda's book [email 12 January 2015]).

[41.] Here *jāva* refers to a phrase given in full in Uvav 87 (cf. Leumann 1883, 72.34–36: *thūlae pāṇāivāe paccakkhāe jāvajjīvāe, musāvāe adiṇṇ'-ādāṇe paccakkhāe jāvajjīvāe, savve mehuṇe paccakkhāe jāvajjīvāe, thūlae pariggahe paccakkhāe jāvajjīvāe*). I have included the whole phrase in my translation. On this *jāva*, see also Bollée 2002, 173.

[42.] Here *jāva* refers to a long prayer spoken by the Jaina monk Khaṃdaa (Skt. Skandaka) before his death in Viy 2.1, *sutta* 94 (see Doshi 1974–1982, i.93.3–13; translated in Lalwani 1973–1985, i.176–177). On the story of Skandaka, see PrPN, i.211, s.v. 2. Khaṃdaa.

[43.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.310.16–22.

of higher form of life][44] as long as I live; [I have renounced lying and stealing as long as I live; I have renounced all illicit sexual activity as long as I live;] I have renounced vast possessions as long as I live.[45] Now, once again, in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra, I renounce all killing [of living beings] as long as I live—and so on, just as Skandaka said [in Viy 2.1][46]—up to: with my last breaths, I shall abandon it [= my body]." Having said this, he removed his armour. Having removed his armour, he took out the arrow [from his body]. Having taken out the arrow, he confessed his misdeeds and vowed to restrain from them. He attained concentration, and died in due course."[47]

Varuṇa was reborn in heaven.[48] Mahāvīra predicts that after finishing his life in heaven, Varuṇa will be reborn in the land of Mahāvideha and then attain liberation.[49] Mahāvīra also explains that because those gods living nearby, on knowing Varuṇa's death, rained down flowers and played divine music, people consequently (mistakenly) concluded that all soldiers killed in battles are reborn in heaven. Another soldier in the same battle, who was an old friend of Varuṇa and likewise severely injured, after having witnessed Varuṇa's actions, took the lay vows and also died a peaceful death.[50] Mahāvira says that after death this man was reborn in a good family, and that in his final life he will also attain liberation in the land of Mahāvideha.[51]

In commenting on this story, Paul Dundas points out, "Significantly, the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* conveys no outright condemnation of the waging of war as such; rather it makes clear that going into battle when commanded by one's leader is obligatory but also that to do so with

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[44.] This is a translation of the locative absolute *thūlae pāṇātivāte paccakkhāe* (Skt. *sthūlake prāṇātipāte pratyākhyāte*), which refers to the layman's *ahiṃsā-vrata* ("vow of non-injury"), the first *aṇuvrata* (see note below). In Jainism, while it is obligatory for the ascetics to renounce the killing of any life-forms, the laity are mainly required to renounce *sthūla-hiṃsā* ("gross injury"), i.e., the killing of higher life-forms with two to five sense organs (see Schubring 1935, 187–188, §170; Williams 1967, 65–66).

[45.] These are the five *aṇuvrata*s ("minor vows") to be undertaken by Jaina laymen, i.e., *ahiṃsā* ("non-injury"), *satya* ("truthfulness"), *asteya* ("not stealing"), *brahmacarya* ("sexual restraint"), and *aparigraha* ("non-possession"). For more details, see Schubring 1935, 187–189, §170; Jaini 1979, 170–178.

[46.] The statement of Skandaka (see above, note 42) contains the five *mahāvrata*s ("great vows") that are taken during initiation into mendicancy (*dīkṣā*). By making these five vows, Varuṇa became a Jaina monk. The five *mahāvrata*s also include *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya* and *aparigraha*, but are more restrictive in nature than the five *aṇuvrata*s of laymen. See Schubring 1935, 189–191, §171; Jaini 1979, 15 n.32 and 243 n.3.

[47.] See also translations by Lalwani (1973–1985, i.76) and Jaini (2004, 58–59; 2007, 166).

[48.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.311.18: *Goyamā sohamme kappe aruṇābhe vimāṇe devattāe uvavanne* | "Gautama! He [= Varuṇa] was reborn in the state of a god in the celestial abode named Aruṇābha in Saudharmakalpa [i.e., the first celestial region whose lord is Sakra]."

[49.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.311.21–23: *se ṇaṃ bhaṃte Varuṇe deve tāo devalogāto āukkhaeṇaṃ bhavakkhaeṇaṃ ṭhitikkhaeṇaṃ jāva Mahāvidehe vāse sijjhihiti jāva aṃtaṃ kāhiti* | "[Gautama asked,] 'Then, O Venerable Sir, the god Varuṇa, having died from there, from the heavenly realm, due to the exhaustion of his lifespan, the exhaustion of his existence, the exhaustion of his duration, (…) up to[1]: [Mahāvīra replied, 'O Gautama,] in the country of Mahāvideha he will attain enlightenment, (…) up to[2]: he will put an end [to all suffering].'" The first *jāva* ("up to[1]") refers to a formulaic question on the future rebirth of a god, which is given in full in Uvav 101 (see Leumann 1883, 75.21–23: *…deve tāo devalogāo āu-kkhaeṇaṃ bhavakkhaeṇaṃ ṭhiikkhaeṇaṃ aṇantaraṃ cayaṃ caittā kahiṃ gacchihiti, kahiṃ uvavajjihiti*; see also Deleu 1969, 93 [*jāva* no. 40] = 1996, 33). The second *jāva* ("up to[2]") refers to a formula about one's rebirth in Mahāvideha and final liberation, which is given in full in Uvav 102–116 (see Leumann 1883, 75.24–80.3; Deleu 1969, 93 [*jāva* no. 41] = 1996, 33). I cannot include this formula in my translation, due to its considerable length.

[50.] Doshi 1974–1982, i.310.23–311.7; paraphrased in Deleu 1970, 142; Jaini 2000, 15; 2004, 59; 2007, 166–167; translated in Lalwani 1973–1985, iii.77; Kawasaki 2004, 48.

[51.] Dosh 1974–1982, i.312.2–5; translated in Lalwani 1973–1985, iii.78–79.

the wrong, impassioned attitude, specifically not informed by Jaina values, leads to an ignominious rebirth."[52] In contrast to many other soldiers devoid of Jaina faith and fighting fervently to death on the battlefield, Varuṇa fought in conformity with Jaina values and prepared himself for a pious death. His rebirth in heaven may be seen as a result of a combination of three causes including, first, his identity as a devoted Jaina layman, second, his resolve not to be the first to strike but to fight only in self-defense, and third, his undertaking of both the lay vows and the mendicant vows before his death. The portrayal of Varuṇa in this story thus represents a Jaina approach to resolving the dilemma faced by some lay practitioners who have to fulfill their military obligations on the one hand, and to maintain the principle of *ahiṃsā* on the other. Indeed, as Padmanabh S. Jaini puts it, the story of Varuṇa shows that the Jainas, from the early times, "appear to have outlined a path of nonviolence that would allow a lay adherent to conduct his daily life with human dignity while permitting him to cope with the unavoidable reality of the world in which violence is all-pervasive".[53]

In the Jaina narrative tradition of Kūṇika's war with the Licchavis and their allies, there is also another person dead in the war and then reborn in heaven. He is the Jaina layman Ceṭaka, King of Vaiśālī. Although not mentioned in the *Viyāhapannatti*, he is featured in the *Nirayāvaliyāo* (Skt. *Nirayāvalikā*, "Sequence of Hells"), the eighth *Upāṅga* of the Śvetāmbara canon, which may have attained its current form sometime between 350 and 500 CE.[54] According to the *Nirayāvaliyāo*, Kūṇika together with his ten half-brothers wages a war (i.e., the afore-mentioned "Battle of the Chariot of the Mace") against Ceṭaka who is then forced to fight in defense of the city of Vaiśālī. During the war, Ceṭaka kills with his arrows Kūṇika's ten half-brothers who are all reborn in hell due to their unwholesome deeds in the battle.[55] The *Nirayāvaliyāo* does not tell us Ceṭaka's death or his next birth. In the *Āvassaya-cuṇṇi* (Skt. *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*) attributed to Jinadāsa (ca. 7th century CE) and the *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* written by Haribhadra (ca. 8th century),[56] we are told that when Kūṇika besieges Vaiśālī, being hugely humiliated, Ceṭaka jumps into water and is reborn in heaven after death.[57] In his *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* ("Lives of Sixty-three Illustrious Persons"), Hemacandra (1089–1172 CE) gives a more detailed account of the death of Ceṭaka, according to which Ceṭaka

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[52.] Dundas 2006, 393 = 2007, 48.

[53.] Jaini 2004, 60.

[54.] On this dating of the *Nirayāvaliyāo*, see Ohira 1994, 2–3; Wiles 2000, xiv.

[55.] The death and rebirths of Kūṇika's half-brother Kāla is related in detail in Nir 1.20–21. The same fates of his ten other half-brothers are abbreviated in Nir 2 and 3–10 (see Deleu 1969, 111 [text] and 113 [summary] = 1996, 51 [text] and 53 [summary]; Wiles 2000, 143–147 [translation]).

[56.] The *Āvassaya–cuṇṇi* is a Prākrit prose commentary on the *Āvassaya-nijjutti* (Skt. *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*) which itself is a Prākrit versified commentary on the *Āvassaya-sutta* (Skt. *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, "Discourse on Obligatory Duties"), one of the four *mūlasūtras* ("basic scriptures") of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon. Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā*, written in mixed Prākrit and Sanskrit, is also a prose commentary on the *Āvassaya-nijjutti*.

[57.] ĀvC II 174.10–12: *Koṇiko bhaṇai Ceḍaka kiṃ karomi. bhaṇati jāva pukkhariṇīto uṭṭhemi tāva nagarīṃ mā atīhi tti. teṇa paḍivaṇṇaṃ. Ceḍao savvaloham igaṃ paḍimaṃ gale baṃdhiuṃ otiṇṇo. dharaṇeṇaṃ sabhavaṇaṃ ṇīto. kālagato devatte gato |* "Kūṇika said, 'Ceṭaka, what should I do [with the city of Vaiśālī]?' He replied, 'Do not enter the city, until I rise from the lotus pond [after drowning myself in it].' He [= Kūṇika] agreed. Having tied a statue made entirely of copper to his own neck, Ceṭaka entered [the lotus pond]. Dharaṇa [i.e., king of Nāgakumāra-gods] brought him to his [Ceṭaka's?] own house. He [= Ceṭaka] died and attained the state of a god." See a parallel passage at ĀvH 685b3–5.

practices fasting before jumping into water, and at the moment of death, he concentrates on taking four refuges (i.e., taking refuge in Arhats, Siddhas, Sādhus and the Dharma), and on confessing his own guilt.[58] Although I have not been able to find the source(s) on which Hemacandra's account was based, there can be no doubt that in the eyes of Hemancandra and perhaps also his forerunners such as Jinadāsa and Haribhadra, it is very reasonable for a Jaina warrior such as Ceṭaka, who fights in self–defense and dies a pious death (even without taking the ascetic vows as Varuṇa did), to attain rebirth in heaven. Thus, as in the case of Varuṇa, the story of Ceṭaka also represents a Jaina attempt to reconcile one's military obligations with the principle of nonviolence that lies at the core of Jainism.

Comparative Remarks

Through comparing the Buddhist and Jaina sources examined above, we may identify the similarities and differences between Buddhist and Jaina attitudes towards warfare at national and individual levels respectively:

First, as far as the national utilization of military forces is concerned, neither the Buddhist nor Jaina texts convey any explicit condemnation of the immorality of King Ajātaśatru's/ Kūṇika's waging of war. In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, although stressing the temporary invincibility of the Vṛjis, the Buddha makes no moral judgment of Ajātaśatru's plan to start a war on them. In the *Viyāhapannatti* and the *Nirayāvaliyāo*, Mahāvīra does not criticize the practice of warfare either, but simply narrates it in a matter-of-fact manner. The absence of condemnation suggests that both the Buddhists and Jainas, who composed or transmitted those texts, were unwilling, or at least hesitant, to apply the ethical-religious principle of nonviolence to political affairs such as a king's obligation to expand his kingdom. Their unwillingness, in turn, suggests that both religious groups were clearly aware of the inevitability of warfare in the real political world in which they were living, and the impracticability of totally abandoning military forces for any kingdom intending to survive in such a violent world.

Second, as far as individual soldiers' participation in warfare is concerned, while both the Buddha and Mahāvīra are shown as refuting the influential Brahmanical idea that soldiers killed in battles are reborn in heaven, their arguments on this issue are different. As we have seen, in a set of three almost identical *sutta*s in the Pāli *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (IV 308–311) as well as their Chinese parallels, the Buddha explains that soldiers who die in battles are reborn in hell, due to their depraved mental status at the moment of death. The Buddha gives this explanation in reference to all types of killing in war, and does not make any exception for the case of self-defense. Such an explanation addresses the incompatibility of the warrior

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[58.] Śāha (1977, 378.5–379.2, verses 391–402): *atha mṛtyuśriyam iva baddhvā 'yaḥ putrikāṃ gale | Ceṭako 'naśanaṃ kṛtvā 'vikṣad astāghavāriṇi ǁ 391 ǁ…ǁ evam ārādhanāṃ kṛtvā namaskāraparāyaṇaḥ | vipadya Ceṭakaḥ svargasukhabhājanatāṃ yayau ǁ 402 ǁ* Johnson (1962, 330–331) translates, "Then tying an iron doll to his neck, like a sign of death, Ceṭaka fasted and jumped into deep water…After making final propitiation thus, engaged in reciting the namaskāra, Ceṭaka died and became a participant in the joys of heaven." On the four refuges (*catuḥ-śaraṇa*), see Jaini 1979, 164. Unlike in the story of Varuṇa, there is no mention of Ceṭaka's change into a Jaina monk through undertaking the five *mahāvrata*s before his death.

ethic with Buddhist values. In the *Viyāhapannatti*, while Mahāvīra also points out that many soldiers fighting to death in the "Battle of the Chariot with the Mace" underwent unpleasant rebirths due to their impassioned mental status and lack of religious piety, he further clarifies that there was indeed one soldier, the Jaina layman Varuṇa, reborn in heaven. Varuṇa's heavenly rebirth as a result of his dedication to Jaina religious practices (such as fast and taking both the five *aṇuvrata*s of a layman and the five *mahāvrata*s of an ascetic), his resolve to fight only in self-defense, and his pious mind at the moment of death, clearly shows that for the Jaina authors (or redactors) of the *Viyāhapannatti* it is absolutely possible to combine military obligations with Jaina values. The same may also be said of another Jaina warrior, King Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī, whose rebirth in heaven after fighting against Kūṇika likewise speaks of the compatibility of military actions with Jaina values.[59]

In sum, a comparative survey of the Buddhist and Jaina sources related, directly or indirectly, to King Ajātaśatru's/Kūṇika's war against the Vṛjis (or the Licchavis and their allies) suggests that while the Buddhists and Jainas, who composed or redacted those sources, shared the same unwillingness to apply the principle of nonviolence to warfare at the national level, they nonetheless held different opinions on the reconcilability of military obligations with ethical-religious values at the individual level. Given that the Buddhist sources (such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*) examined above are from the early canonical literature and the Jaina sources (such as the *Viyāhapannatti* and the *Nirayāvaliyāo*) are from the Śvetāmbara canon, the observations made in this paper are thus mainly applicable to the Buddhist and Śvetāmbara Jaina attitudes towards warfare at the early stages of the two religious traditions. As previous scholars have already shown, both within Buddhism and within Jainism, there have been dynamic and diverse attitudes towards military violence.[60] Since the sources I have utilized comprise just a small fraction of

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[59.] Dundas (1991, 174) notes, "In fact, Jainism has always been ambivalent about war." He gives two examples—first, a Jaina general (*senāpati*) contemporary with Mahāvīra, and second, Jaina soldiers in the armies of the Moghul emperors in the 16th century CE—which "testify to the existence of Jain practitioners of warfare at completely different period of Jain history". Jaini (2002, 145) also notes that while ancient Jainas made long lists of occupations that may involve violence and were therefore considered to be unsuitable for a Jaina layman (for such lists, see Williams 1967, 117–123), military service was not included in these lists, but regarded as a permissible occupation for Jaina laypeople.

[60.] On the dynamics of Indian Buddhist attitudes towards war, see Schmithausen 1999; Zimmermann 2004; Gethin 2007. On the dynamics of Jaina attitudes towards war, see Dundas 2007; Jaini 1979, 311–313; 2004. As Jaini (2007) shows, another Buddhist text that may be related to the story of the "Battle of the Chariot with the Mace" in the *Viyāhapannatti* is the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* (Mhv) written perhaps a little before 500 CE. There, in comforting King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi who feels guilty about the massacre he has committed during his war against the Damiḷa King Eḷāra, eight *arahant*s speak the following verses to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (Mhv XXV 109–110): *saggamaggantarāyo ca n'atthi te tena kammunā | diyaḍḍhamanujā v'ettha ghātitā manujādhipa || saraṇesu ṭhito eko pañcasīle pi cāparo | micchādiṭṭhī ca dussīlā sesā pasusamā matā ||* Geiger (1912, 178) translates, "From this deed arises no hindrance in thy way to heaven. Only one and a half human beings have been slain here by thee, O lord of Men. The one had come unto the (three) refuges; the other had taken on himself the five precepts. Unbelievers and men of evil life were the rest, not more to be esteemed than beasts." Jaini (2007, 165) notes that there is "a happy coincidence" between the two Buddhist soldiers mentioned in these verses and the two Jaina soldiers (Varuṇa and his friend) in the *Viyāhapannatti*. The Mhv does not tell us the ensuing rebirths of the two good soldiers. Even so, there can be doubt that for the author of the Mhv, military activities and Buddhist values can go hand in hand with each other. Such compatibility is more clearly shown in the destiny of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi himself who, as told later in the Mhv (XXXII 77ff.), attained rebirth in the Tusita heaven (see also Dīp XIX 23) due to his patronage of Buddhism (or more specifically, the

Buddhist and Jaina literature, the present survey therefore offers only a glimpse of a much larger picture. A systematic comparison of Buddhist and Jaina sources on war still needs to be done, in order to gain a fuller understanding of similarities and differences between the two Indian religions in their approaches to nonviolent ideal and violent reality.

Abbreviations

Unless otherwise stated, references to Pāli texts follow the standard system set out in V. Trenckner et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy; Bristol: The Pali Text Society, 1924–2011).

AŚ   R. P. Kangle (ed.). 1960. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. Part I. A Critical Edition with a Glossary. Bombay: University of Bombay.

ĀvC   *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa = Ānandasāgarasūri (ed.). 1928–1929. *Śrīmaj-Jinadāsa-gaṇimahattara-kṛtayā cūrṇyā sametaṃ śrīmad-Āvaśyakasūtram*. 2 vols. Ratlam: Śrīṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāṃbara saṃsthā.

ĀvH   *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* of Haribhadra = Āgamodaya Samiti (ed.). 1916–1917. *Śrīmad-bhavaviraha-Haribhadrasūri-sūtrita-vṛtty-alaṃkṛtaṃ śrīmad-Āvaśyakasūtram*. 2 vols. Bombay.

ĀvM   *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* of Malayagiri = Āgamodaya Samiti (ed.). 1928–1936. *Śrīman-Malayagiryācārya-kṛtavivaraṇa-yutaṃ śrī-Āvaśyakasūtram*. 3 vols. Bombay.

Avś   J. S. Speyer (ed.). 1902–1909. *Avadānaçataka: A Century of Edifying Tales, Belonging to the Hīnayāna*. 2 vols. St. Pétersbourg: Commissionnaires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences.

BhG   *Bhagavadgītā* (Belvalkar 1947, 74–203)

BJ   1960–1989. *Buddhajayantī Tripiṭakagranthamālā*. Colombo: Śrī Laṅkā Prajātāntrika Samājavādī Janarajaya.

DBPN   Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善. 1931. *Indo bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* 印度佛教固有名詞辞典 [Dictionary of Indian Buddhist Proper Names]. Reprint: Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1967.

Dhp   O. v. Hinüber and K. R. Norman (eds.). 1994. *Dhammapada, with a complete Word Index compiled by Shoko Tabata and Tetsuya Tabata*. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.

Dīp   Hermann Oldenberg (ed. and tr.). 1879. *The Dîpavaṃsa: An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record*. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

DPG   1993–1998. *Dhammagiri–Pāli–Ganthamālā*. Publication of the Burmese Sixth Council edition of the Pāli canon in Devanāgarī script. Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute.

DPPN   Malalasekera, Gunapala Piyasena. 1937–1938. *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. 2 vols. Reprint: London: The Pali Text Society, 1974.

KC   King Chulalongkorn edition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* = Ahiṃsakatthera Medhādhammarasa (ed.). 1893 (Rattanakosin sok 112). *Phraḥ Suttantapiṭaka Saṃyuttanikāya Saḷāyatanavagga*. Bangkok.

MDh   Patrick Olivelle (ed. and tr.). 2005. *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mhv   Wilhelm Geiger (ed.). 1908. The *Mahāvaṃsa*. Reprint: London: The Pali Text Society, 1958.

MPS   *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*

Nir   Jozef Deleu (ed.). 1969. "Nirayāvaliyāsuyakkhandha: Uvaṅga's 8–12 van de jaina Canon." *Orientalia Gandensia* 4: 77–150. Translated into English by J. W. de Jong and Royce Wiles. Philologica Asiatica. Monograph Series 10. Tokyo: The Chūō Academic Research Institute, 1996.

Pkt.   Prākrit

PrPN   Mohanlal Mehta and K. Rishabh Chandra. 1970–1972. *Prakrit Proper Names*. 2 vols. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology.

PTS   Pāli Text Society

RV   Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland (eds.). 1994. *Rig Veda: A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*. Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 50. Cambridge, MA: Dept. of Sanskrit and Indian

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Mahāvihāra sect), despite his appalling crime of massacre. In contrast, on the Jaina side, in the *Ādipurāṇa* written by the 8th-century Digambara poet Jinasena we see an almost total withdrawal from military violence in the story of Bāhubali's single combat (instead of a full-scale battle) with his half-brother Bharata for kingship, Bāhubali's subsequent abandonment of kingship to Bharata, and his eventual enlightenment as a Jaina monk. Dundas (2007, 49) comments that the story of Bāhubali "demonstrates, at least at an ideal level, how Jain writers felt the requirements of warfare could be balanced by non-violence." For a detailed analysis of this story, see Dundas (1991, 180–181).

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SĀ   *Saṃyuktāgama*

Skt.   Sanskrit

T.   *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經

Uv   Franz Bernhard (ed.). 1965. *Udānavarga*. Band I: Einleitung, Beschreibung der Handschriften, Textausgabe, Bibliographie. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfuden X. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Uvav   *Uvavāiyasutta* = Ernst Leumann (ed.). 1883. *Das Aupapâtika Sûtra, erstes Upânga der Jaina*. I. Einleitung, Text und Glossar. Reprint: Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd, 1966.

Viy   Bechardas J. Doshi (ed.). 1974–1982. *Viyāhapaṇṇattisuttaṃ*. Jaina-Āgama-Series No. 4. 3 Parts. Bombay: Shrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya.

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Who Composed the Mahāyāna Scriptures?
—— The Mahāsāṃghikas and *Vaitulya* Scriptures[*]

Seishi KARASHIMA

Prologue

Relying on the recent research of others and my own, I now assume that the shift of languages and ways of transmission of the so-called Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures took place as follows:

(1) Oral transmission in Prakrit (i.e. colloquial languages, including Gāndhārī): 1st century B.C.E.

(2) Oral transmission in Prakrit / writing of Prakrit texts in Kharoṣṭhī: 1st~3rd centuries C.E.

(3) Broken Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit (2nd~3rd centuries C.E.)

(4) (Buddhist) Sanskrit; writing in Brāhmī (3rd/4th century C.E. onwards)

It should be noted that it was as late as the 3rd or 4th century that the so-called Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures came to be translated or composed in Sanskrit and written in Brāhmī.

If we take these stages into account, studies on the origin and transformation (not development) of early Mahāyāna scriptures need the following three perspectives:

(1) Early Mahāyāna scriptures were originally in Prakrit not in Sanskrit

(2) In the beginning, these scriptures were transmitted orally

(3) Mahāyāna scriptures changed / transformed (not developed) from time to time

If one does not accept this point of view, one may think that the complete extant Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which date from the 11th century onwards and the modern editions of Sanskrit texts, made on the basis of such later Sanskrit manuscripts, are the "original texts" and regard readings in much earlier Chinese translations or Sanskrit (or Sanskrit-cum-Prakrit) fragments from Central Asia as "corrupted". An illustrative example of this sort of misunderstanding is *Avalokitasvara* and *Avalokiteśvara*. There are at least eight old Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia which bear the name *Avalokitasvara*, as well as one fragment from Kizil, which has *(Apa)lokidasvara*. These older forms agree with the early Chinese renderings "One, who observes sounds" and "One, who observes sounds of the world" (闚音, 現音聲, 光世音, 觀世音), which were made between the 2nd and 5th centuries,

while the newer form *Avalokiteśvara*, which first appears in a Mathurā inscription of the Gupta year 148 (467/468 C.E.)[1] and later in the Gilgit manuscript of the Lotus Sutra, dating back to the 7th century, agrees with the newer Chinese renderings "One who observes the sovereignty of the world" and "One who observes sovereignty" (觀世自在,觀自在) from the 6th century onwards. We cannot say for certain that the older forms are "corruptions" of the newer ones.[2]

More than 20 years ago, I demonstrated that the underlying text of Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra (286 C.E.) had been transmitted in Prakrit-cum-Sanskrit, by comparing the Chinese translation with other versions, including all the available Sanskrit manuscripts (Karashima 1992). I assumed further that many of the early Mahāyāna scriptures had been transmitted originally in Prakrit (Middle Indic) or in a mixed language of Prakrit with Sanskrit elements and later, "translated" gradually into (Buddhist) Sanskrit. This long cherished hypothesis has been proven by newly-discovered fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Falk/Karashima 2012, 2013), dating back with an 81.1% probability, based on the C14 test, to between 47~147 C.E. Even the oldest Sanskrit Buddhist texts, representing the form in which we usually have access to them, are, in other words, the result of constant Sanskritisation, wrong back-formations, reductions, additions and interpolations over the centuries. This means that when we attempt to understand the early Mahāyāna scriptures properly so as to draw nearer to their original features or trace their transmission, if we restrict ourselves only to extant Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which date from the 11th century onwards (as mentioned above), the explanatory value of such studies is rather limited. Therefore, in addition to Sanskrit texts, we should investigate all other available materials in order to flesh out this history. The Chinese translations, particularly those, which were made between the 2nd and 6th centuries, which thus antedate most of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts, are indispensable sources, as in most cases, the exact periods of their translations are known. By undertaking all this, we might be able to attain new perspectives on early Mahāyāna scriptures and hence, reconsider what we have understood through the "eyeglasses" of common sense, by removing them and looking afresh at primary materials. In this way, we may be able to draw nearer to the original features of early Mahāyāna scriptures.

One example of such "common sense" is the word "*mahāyāna*".

The belief that "Everybody can obtain Buddha-wisdom (*buddha-jñāna*) equally and should aim at obtaining it" is what all so-called Mahāyāna scriptures proclaim. It is so to speak the common-sense approach of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, in the second stratum

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[1] Cf. IBInsc I 686~687.

[2] The most recent example of this misunderstanding is found in Saitō 2015. I assume that, in the language (probably Gāndhārī), in which the verses of the *Samantamukha* Chapter of the Lotus Sutra had been composed originally, *svara* (or *śpara*) might have meant both "sound" and "thinking" (= Skt. *smara*), and the composer of the verses himself may have understood *Avalokitasvara (or *Avalokitaśpara*, *Olokitaśpara* or the like) as "One, who Observes Thinking". Much later, when this -*svara* (or -*śpara*) was no longer understood as meaning "thinking; memory", people probably began to regard it literally as "sound". Thus, the composer of the prose portion of the same chapter understood the Bodhisattva's name in this way, which was shared also by the early Chinese translators. I assume, also, that the Gāndhārī form *Avalokitaśpara* could have been incorrectly sanskritised later to *Avalokiteśvara* by somebody who knew the development Skt. *īśvara* > Gā *iśpara*. Cf. Karashima 1999 and 2014a.

of the Lotus Sutra, it describes how the "preachers of the Dharma" (*dharmabhāṇaka*), because of their proclaiming the Lotus Sutra, were harshly criticised, slandered for having composed the *kāvya*s (i.e. the Lotus Sutra itself) and for propagating a heresy. They, nonetheless, endured all such insults, persecution, expulsion from monasteries, and undauntedly proclaimed the Lotus Sutra, which had been entrusted to them by the Buddha, at the expense of their own lives. Thus, it is evident that their belief was a very dangerous heresy in the eyes of the Buddhist authorities of that time, which clearly indicates that the Lotus Sutra is one of the oldest texts among the so-called Mahāyāna scriptures, which proclaim everybody's possibility of becoming a *buddha*. If such a Mahāyāna doctrine had already spread extensively, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s of the Lotus Sutra would not have suffered such persecution or needed such strong endurance as repeatedly described in the second stratum of the text.

I assume as follows: "Buddha-wisdom" had been designated also as "great wisdom" (*mahājñāna*), which was pronounced colloquially as *mahājāna* at an earlier stage of the development of the Lotus Sutra. *Mahājāna* could have been understood as "great vehicle" as well, but later it was interpreted incorrectly as *mahāyāna* ("great vehicle"), which was then adopted also by the composers of other scriptures so as to define a new concept of "Mahāyāna Buddhism". Presumably, the wordplay on *yāna / jñāna*, through the use of the double-entendre word **jāna*, found in "The Parable of the Burning House" of the Lotus Sutra, may have given rise to this misinterpretation.[3]

In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (hereafter AsP), the word *mahāyāna* occurs 39 times, of which 36 appear in the first chapter. In the Sanskrit version, *mahāyāna* is found also once in Chapter VIII (AsP 95.13) and twice in Chapter XI (AsP 116.32, 118.5), but these three instances have no parallels in the Chinese translations between the 2nd and 7th centuries, which tells us that they were interpolated much later. The expression *mahāyānika* ("belonging to the great vehicle") occurs four times successively in Chapter XVI (AsP 159.7, 9, 11, 17). If the notion of *mahāyāna* were essential to AsP, the word would not have occurred in such an irregular way. Chapter I shows apparently a more developed philosophical phase than in other parts. As an introduction is usually written after the completion of an entire book, Chapter I of AsP is thought to have been composed at the very last stage of its compilation.

The following episode in this chapter indicates that the notion of *mahāyāna* had been originally heterogeneous to the main theme of this scripture (AsP[V] 12.25ff. = AsP[R] 24.18ff. = AsP[W] 108.209ff.).

> Having heard the dialogue between the Buddha and Subhūti on the definition of *mahāyāna*, the venerable Pūrṇa said to the Buddha: "Being asked about *prajñāpāramitā*, O Lord, this venerable Subhūti thinks that *mahāyāna* should be explained."
>
> Then, the venerable Subhūti said to the Buddha: "I, O Lord, did not speak of *mahāyāna* without regard for *prajñāpāramitā*."

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[3] Cf. Karashima 2001b: 215~217 and Karashima "Vehicle (*yāna*) and Wisdom (*jñāna*) in the Lotus Sutra —— the Origin of the Notion of *yāna* in Mahāyāna Buddhism" in this volume.

The Buddha said: "Yes, O Subhūti! You explained *mahāyāna* in line with *prajñāpāramitā*."

Pūrṇa's criticism that to relate *mahāyāna* with *prajñāpāramitā* was unreasonable, indicates that *mahāyāna* had been originally heterogeneous to *prajñāpāramitā* thought.

Another example of such "common sense" is the term "*mahāyāna-sūtra*". The *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures are usually quoted in modern works as "*Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*", but as far as I know, they are entitled " — *Prajñāpāramitā*" without the word *sūtra* in all the Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan translations. One might say that, in the Chinese translations, they are entitled *jing* 經, which is another trap of "common sense" in which even the late Prof. Akira Hirakawa was caught, when he considered *liu boluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經 and *daozhi da jing* 道智大經, found in the earliest Chinese translation of the Lager *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, as the "Six *Pāramitā sūtra*" and the "Mahāsūtra of the Path and Wisdom". He considered these two "*sūtra*s" to be the oldest "*mahāyāna-sūtra*" because they are referred to in one of the oldest Chinese translations made in the 2nd century. However, *jing* 經 is used predominantly to render *dharma* and sometimes also *dharmaparyāya* in the earliest Chinese translations. Thus, *jing* 經 of the *Banre jing* 般若經, *liu boluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經, *daozhi da jing* 道智大經 means not "*sūtra*" but "teaching".

As Fronsdal (1998: 126) points out, Mahāyāna scriptures were entitled *paripṛcchā*, *nirdeśa*, *samādhi*, *vyākaraṇa*, *vyūha* as well as *sūtra*. According to Yonezawa (2012), who doubted the authenticity of the commonly used titles in compounds with *sūtra*, such as *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, and investigated titles found in extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the Mahāyāna scriptures from Nepal and Tibet, written from the 11th century onwards, there are the following four types of titles:

(1) *dharmaparyāya* : *Arthaviniścaya-dharmaparyāya*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka~ dharmaparyāya~*, *āryaSaṃghāta~ dharmaparyāya~*

As Yonezawa (2012) points out, titles with *-dharmaparyāya* in them, occur more often also within a scripture itself in a phrase of the encouragement of copying, holding, reading and reciting the text. As the term *dhaṃmapaliyāya* occurs also in the Ashokan inscriptions, the usage of this term for a scripture is very old.

(2) *-sūtra* in compounds: *Daśabalasūtra, Laṅkāvatārasūtra, Ratnaketusūtra* etc.

(3) *-sūtrarāja*: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarājaḥ* etc.

(4) However, far the most common is ~ *nāma mahāyānasūtra*:

> *Ajitasenavyākaraṇanirdeśa nāma mahāyānasūtra*
> *Amoghapāśahṛdaya nāma mahāyānasūtra*
> *Maitreyavyākaraṇa nāma mahāyānasūtra*
> *Samādhirāja nāma mahāyānasūtra*
> *Sukhāvatīvyūha nāma mahāyānasūtra*
> *Lalitavistaro nāma mahāyānasūtra ratnarājaṃ* etc.

The title *nāma mahāyānasūtra* is also common wording in the Tibetan Kanjur. Those, who study the Mahāyāna scriptures on the basis of the "newer" Sanskrit manuscripts or the authorised Tibetan translations, which were made from ca. 800 C.E. onwards, may think that

these scriptures had been entitled *mahāyānasūtra* from the outset without raising any doubt. However, if we once pay attention to Chinese translations and the Chinese Buddhist catalogues, the aspect changes completely. By investigating them, we may be able to trace the transition from **vevulla* to *vaitulya*, and then to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyānasūtra*.

For more than twenty years, I have been investigating the relationship among *vaitulya*, *vaipulya* and *mahāyāna*, on which Peter Skilling has published an excellent, very detailed and stimulating article recently. I share many points with him (Skilling 2013).

(1) *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*)

There is an old so-called Mahāyāna scripture, called the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, which was retitled later as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, when it was regarded as part of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection. In the text itself, it is referred to as the *Ratnakūṭa(-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtrānta)*[4] and quoted as the *Ratnakūṭa* in Indian, Tibetan and Chinese commentaries until much later as well. Except for the Sanskrit manuscript and several fragments all from Central Asia, dating probably back to the 6th~8th centuries, there are four Chinese translations and a Tibetan one. The four Chinese ones, i.e. by Lokakṣema (abbr. Lk) made in 179 C.E., one in the Jin Dynasty (265~420 C.E.; probably at the beginning of the 5th century; abbr. Jin), another in the Qin Dynasty (351~431 C.E.; abbr. Qin), both by anonymous translators and lastly, by Dānapāla (abbr. Dp) at the beginning of the 11th century, are all very important, because through comparing them, word by word, we can see the gradual change (I do not want to use the word "development") of this text.

First, we shall consider the various titles. Unfortunately, the part at the end of the Sanskrit manuscript or fragments, which must have contained the scripture's title, has not been discovered yet.

Lk(179 C.E.). 遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經[5] (**vevulla-Maṇiratna-dharmaparyāya*)

Jin(265~420 C.E.). 摩訶衍寶嚴經[6] (**mahāyāna-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*)

Qin (351~431 C.E.) 《大寶積經・普明菩薩會》 (**Samantāloka[7]-bodhisatva-parivarta* in the **Mahāratnakūṭasūtra*)[8]

Dānapāla (施護 ?~1017 C.E.). 大迦葉問大寶積正法經[9] (**Mahākāśyapaparipṛcchā-Mahāratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*)

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[4] KP § 157 = KP(V-D), pp. 55~56: *Mahāratnakūṭo sūtrāntarā(j)[ñ]. ... ito Ratnakūṭaṃ sūtrāntarājñā-d-ekagāthām*. Also, passages from this text are quoted in various other texts, such as the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Prasannapadā*, *Bhāvanākrama* and so on: Śikṣ 52.12. *Ratnakūṭe*; Prasp. 45.1, 47.1, 156.1, 248.4, 336.3, 358.10. *ārya-Ratnakūṭasūtra*; Bhk(III) 20.11, 21.13, 27.13. *āryaRatnakūṭe*. When several Mahāyāna scriptures, including the text in question, were gathered together and the name *Ratnakūṭa* began to be used as the title of this collection, the name of this particular scripture came to be referred to as the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* "The Chapter of *Kāśyapa*". However, as this scripture continued to be called the *Ratnakūṭa* as an independent scripture, it was quoted as such in later texts.

[5] 194a19. Cf. KP § 166. In Sengyou 僧祐 (445~518)'s *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145, 6b17; 510~518 C.E.), Lokakṣema's translation is quoted as 寶積經 as well as 摩尼寶經, referring to Dao'an (道安)'s catalogue. The title 佛<說>遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經 appears in the *Chusanzangji ji* (29c17) as one of 460 scriptures which could not be found by Sengyou.

[6] T. 12, no. 351, 200c9.

[7] Cf. KP, p. xxiii, n. 27.

[8] T. 11.631c~15f.

[9] T. 12, no. 352, 216c29

Tib. (9th c.) *'phags pa dKon mchog brtsegs pa chen po'i chos kyi rnam grangs le'u stong phrag brgya pa las 'phags pa 'Od srung gi le'u zhes bya ste* (**āryaMahāratna-kūṭadharmaparyāyaśatasāhasrikagranthe āryaKāśyapaparivarta nāma*)[10]

As is mentioned above, the name of the text is referred to several times within it:

KP § 52 = KP(V-D), p. 23. (*iha*) *Mahāratnakūṭe dharmaparyāye*; Lk. 極大珍寶之積遺曰(←日)羅經[11] (**Mahāratnakūṭa vevulla-dharmaparyāya*); Jin. 寶嚴經; Qin. 寶積經; Dp. 大寶積正法

KP § 150 = KP(V-D) 53. (*iha*) *Mahāratnakūṭe dharmaparyāye*; Lk. -; Jin. -; Qin. 寶積經; Dp. 大寶積正法

KP § 160 = KP(V-D) 57. (*ayaṃ*) *Ratnakūṭo dharmaparyāyo*; Lk. -; Jin. 寶嚴經; Qin. -; Dp. 大寶積經典

KP § 157 = KP(V-D) 55~56: *Mahāratnakūṭo sūtrāntarā(j)[ñ]. ... (ito) Ratnakūṭaṃ sūtrāntarājñā-d-ekagāthām*; Lk. -; Jin. 寶嚴經 …寶嚴經; Qin. -; Dp. 大寶積經典 … 大寶積經典

The title of this scripture is quoted in the *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokā-laṃkāra* as follows:

大方廣寶積法門 (**mahāvaipulya-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*) in a Chinese translation by Dharmaruci in 501 C.E.; T. 12, no. 357, 239a23

無比寶頂修多羅 (**vaitulya-Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) in a Chinese translation by 僧伽婆羅 (Saṅghapāla or Saṅghavarman, fl. 506~520 CE.); T. 12, no. 358, 250a29f.

shin tu rgyas pa'i sde dKon mchog brtsegs pa'i mdo (**vaipulya-Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*) in the Tibetan translation by Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde in ca. 800: Tib(Pk), no. 768, mDo sna tshogs, *khu* 302a6; Tib(D), no. 100, mDo sde, *ga* 276a6

寶積方廣正法 (*Ratnakūṭa-vaipulya-dharmaparyāya*) in a Chinese translation by 法護 (Dharmarakṣa or Dharmapāla; fl. 1004~1058 C.E.); T. 12, no. 359, 254a8f.

Ratnakūṭavaipulyasūtra in a Sanskrit manuscript, written in the 12th or 13th century: JĀA 4.4[12]

In Lokakṣema's translation, both the transliteration 遺曰(←日)羅[13] (EH. źjwəi [wi][14] ɣjwat la > MC. jiwi jwɒt lâ) and its shorter form 遺曰(←日) appear, which are most probably those of **vevulla / *vevull(a)*[15], a vernacular corresponding to the sanskritised forms *vaitulya* and *vaipulya*. Thus, his original text might have been entitled **vevulla-Maṇiratna-*

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[10] Tib(Pk), no. 760 (No. 43).

[11] T. 12, no. 350, 190c14f.

[12] Unfortunately the corresponding part in the old Sanskrit fragmentary manuscript from Central Asia is broken off. Cf. BLSF I 196.

[13] Unrai Wogihara had suggested this emendation to von Staël-Holstein, the editor of the critical edition of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, about 90 years ago (see KP, ix), but this idea has been widely neglected or was unknown until nowadays. Wogihara considered 遺曰羅 to be an imperfect transliteration of *vaipulya* (*loc. cit*).

[14] Schuessler 2009: 312.

[15] Lokakṣema used 摩訶惟曰羅 (T. 8, no. 224, 468c12; EH. ma ha źjwəi ɣjwat la; Gā. **Maha-vevula < *Mahā-vevulla* < BHS. *Mahā-vaipulya*) in his translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*; cf. Krsh 2010: 324, Krsh 2011: 441; Karashima 2013: 176. 遺 and 惟 were used in the earliest Chinese translations to render the Indian *vi* (e.g. 遺摩羅涅 *Vimalanetra*, T. 15, no. 624, 363c1f. Cf. Coblin 1993: 907; 阿惟潘 [BHS. *Avṛha*, *Abṛha*, Pā. *Aviha*], 阿惟三佛 [Gā. *avisa(ṃ)bosi < abhisambodhi*], 阿惟越致 [BHS. *avivarti(ka)*; cf. Krsh 2010: 750), while 曰 was used to render *vu* + stop, such as *vut, vud, vul*, e.g. 泥曰 (EH. ni ɣjwat; Gā. *ṇivudi < nirvṛti*, Gā. *ṇivuda < nirvṛta*), 鬱單曰 (Gā. **Utaravuru < Uttarakuru*).

dharmaparyāya or **Mahāratnakūṭa vevulla-dharmaparyāya*. In the second Chinese translation of the same text from the Jin Dynasty, it is entitled **mahāyāna-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya* (or *-sūtra*). Thus the attributes changed from **vevulla* to *mahāyāna*. On the other hand, in various versions of the *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālaṃkāra*, this text in question is referred to as a *vaitulya-*, *mahāvaipulya-* or *vaipulya*-scripture. Here, we can see the shift from **vevulla* (i.e. *vaitulya* and *vaipulya*) to *mahāyāna*.[16]

(2) *Ratnakoṭi-sūtra*

There is another Chinese translation of a Buddhist scripture which has **vevulla* (遺日) in its title. T. 12, no. 356 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經 (**Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-bodhisatva-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) was also named as 遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 (**Vevulla-Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*), according to Sengyou (僧祐)'s *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集.[17] This Chinese translation was ascribed to An Shigao 安世高 ever since the catalogue, named *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.), but apparently it is not An Shigao's work[18]. Though further investigation is needed to determine its attribution, I assume that this translation was made by Lokakṣema or his group, because the vocabulary and style in this translation agree very well with his translations, especially the usage of 謂 ("says to [somebody]") and 用～故("because").

Thus, the oldest Chinese translation "had" the following title:

遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 (**Vevulla-Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*)

There are another Chinese translation and a Tibetan translation:

入法界體性經 (**Dharmadhātusvabhāvāvatārasūtra?*; T. 12, no. 355), translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多(523~c. 600 C.E.); in the text itself, it names itself "文殊師利童子所問 (**Mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta-paripṛcchā*)"

'phags pa Rin po che'i mtha' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (**ārya-Ratnakoṭir nāma mahāyānasūtra*) Pk. no. 786; D. no. 118

Thus, this might have been named a **vevulla* scripture, but later this word was deleted and much later it was changed to a *mahāyānasūtra*. In this scripture, the Buddha came out of a *samādhi*, *Ratnakoṭi* by name, then Mañjuśrī raised a series of questions to the Buddha, who answered him, and then Mañjuśrī asked Śāriputra another series of questions

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[16] The *Nikāyasaṅgrahawa*, a medieval Theravāda text written in Sinhala by Mahāthera Jayabāhu Devarakṣita in the 14th century, states that three classes of unorthodox literature, which were doctrinally close to the Vaitulya and Vājiriya schools, were brought to Sri Lanka, amongst which the *Ratnakūṭaśāstra*s were included. It also states that the *Ratnakūṭaśāstra*s were composed in the Āndhra school. In fact, 15 copper plaques, dating to the first half of the 9th century, on which brief extracts of the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* are engraved, have been discovered in Sri Lanka. Cf. Pagel 1995: 73f. with further references.

[17] This title appears in the *Chusanzangji ji* (T. 55, no. 2145, 30b20f. 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經一卷。或云遺曰[←日]寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經) as one of 460 scriptures which Sengyou could not find. Fei Changfang 費長房, while copying the description in the *Chusanzangji ji*, ascribed this translation wrongly to An Shigao in his *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.): T. 49, no. 2034, 52b10f. Since then, this credit has been inherited by later catalogues and the Canons: This description was copied by later cataloguers: e.g. T. 55, no. 2153, 373b18f., T. 55, no. 2154, 479b12f., 684c4f., no. 2157, 776b19.

[18] Cf. Fang/Gao 2012: 87~100, in which the authors demonstrated that its vocabulary differs from that of the corpus of An Shigao's translations.

concerning *dharmadhātu* etc. and the latter answered. Therefore, this is entitled as quoted above. Please remember that this scripture consists of many series of questions and answers, whose meaning we shall see later.

(3) *Sarvavaitulyasaṃgraha-dharmaparyāya, -sūtra*

As we have noted already, **vevulla* has variant forms, Pāli *vedalla, vetulla, vetulya*, Buddhist Sanskrit *vaidalya, vaitulya, vaipulya*. The etymology is still not clear (cf. Norman CP II 44).

As we have seen above, this term was transliterated in the earliest Chinese translations as 遺日羅 / 遺日, whose original form must have been **vevulla / *vevull(a)*. In later Chinese translations, this term was translated as *fangdeng* 方等, a compound, consisting of two Chinese characters, both of which are synonymous[19], meaning "equal to; well-balanced"[20], based apparently on the association of *vaitulya* with Skt. *tulya* ("equal to"). Thus, the underlying Indian form of *fangdeng* 方等 must have been *vaitulya, vetulla* or the like. There is a similar expression, namely *fangguang* 方廣, which began to appear later than *fangdeng* 方等, as we shall see later. While *fangdeng* 方等, meaning "equal to", is natural as a Chinese compound, *fangguang* 方廣 (literally "square and broad" or less plausibly "equal and broad") is very awkward. I assume that *fangguang* 方廣 was coined unskilfully by replacing *deng* 等 ("equal to") with *guang* 廣 ("broad"), in accordance with the shift from *vaitulya / vetulla* to *vaipulya* ("greatness, great extent").

There is a scripture, demonstrating this shift from *vaitulya / vetulla* to *vaipulya*-cum-*mahāyāna*,[21] namely the *Sarvavaitulyasaṃgraha-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra* ("Scripture which is a Compendium of all the *Vaitulya*"). There are two Chinese translations, two Sanskrit fragments probably both from Khādalik, now preserved in the British Library and one Tibetan translation, the titles of which are as follows:

> 濟諸方等學經 (**Sarvavaitulyasaṃgraha-dharmaparyāya*?) by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (ca. 233~311 C.E.), T. 9, no. 274
>
> *Sarvvavaitulyasaṃgrah. .. + + +* : Or.15010/43 verso3 (BLSF II.1. 401; 5ᵗʰ~6ᵗʰ centuries C.E.)
>
> *Sarvvavaitulyasaṃgrahadharmaparyāyaṃ ... Sarvvavaitulyasaṃgrahe sūtre*: IOL San 1457 recto 2f.[22]; 5ᵗʰ~6ᵗʰ centuries C.E.
>
> 大乘方廣總持經 (**Sarvavaipulyasaṃgraha-mahāyānasūtra*) by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 (582 C.E.), T. 9, no. 275
>
> *'phags pa rNam par 'thag pa thams cad bsdus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*āryaSarvavaidalyasaṃgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*): Tib(Pk), no. 893, Tib(D), no. 227

This scripture is quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (abbr. Śikṣ) by Śāntideva (ca. 650~750), in the *Bhāvanākrama* (abbr. Bhk) by Kamalaśīla (ca. 740~795) and in Prajñākaramati (fl. 10ᵗʰ century)'s Commentary to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva (abbr.

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[19] Cf. GH 986c, (20) 方, 齊也; (21) 方, 齊等也; (22) 方, 猶等也.
[20] Cf. Karashima 1992: 278, note on 63b-5; Krsh 1998: 133~134.
[21] Skilling has already dealt with this scripture concerning the topic in question; see Skilling 2013: 90f.
[22] Cf. Matsuda 1988: 69.

Bca-P), where it is referred to as:

Sarvadharmavaipulyasaṃgrahasūtra~: Śikṣ 95.11

Sarvadharmasaṃgrahavaipulya~: Bhk(I) 195.18

Sarvadharmavaipulya~: Bhk(III) 26.9f.

Chos thams cad shin tu rgyas pa bsdus pa (**Sarvadharmavaipulyasaṃgraha*): Bhk(II) 61.1.

Sarvadharmavaipulyasaṃgraha~: Bca-P 147.8

We can see that, in the earliest Chinese translation and the old Sanskrit fragments from Khādalik, this text is entitled *vaitulya*, while in the second Chinese translation made in 582 C.E. and in the quotations in Indian works from the 7th or 8th century onwards, it is *vaipulya*. From the title of the second Chinese translation, we may assume its original text was entitled *mahāyāna-sūtra* as well.

As a whole, the Tibetan translation agrees quite well with the first Chinese one, while the second one expounds the contents in more detail. The archaism of the Tibetan translation is ascertained also by the Sanskrit title *Sarvavaidalyasaṃgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* found within it[23].

In this text, there is an interesting story about two Dharma-preachers: According to Dharmarakṣa's oldest Chinese translation, it goes as follows: A monk, Dharma by name, held thousands of *fangdeng* scriptures, while another monk, "Pure-Life", held a hundred and forty millions of *fangdeng* scriptures and six million scriptures of other genres[24]. However, in the Tibetan version, it reads as follows: A monk, Dharma by name, held a thousand *vaidalya*-scriptures, while another monk, "Pure-Life", held a hundred million (other) scriptures and sixty thousand *vaidalya*-scriptures[25]. The second Chinese has: A monk, "Pure-Life", held a hundred and forty million scriptures and six million *mahāyāna* scriptures, while another monk, Dharma by name, received and held thousands of *mahāyāna-vaipulya-dharmaparyāya*s[26].

Thus, we can see the transition of *vaitulya* to *vaipulya*-cum-*mahāyāna* in various versions of this scripture.

(4) *Avaivartikacakra-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*

There is another example, showing the shift from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahājñāna* (!), namely the *Avaivartikacakrasūtra,* of which there are three Chinese translations and a Tibetan one:

阿惟越致遮經 (**Avaivarti(ka)ca(kra)-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護

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[23] Tib(Pk), vol. 35, p. 121, 187a2. This title is found as well in the *Mahāvyutpatti*: Mvy. 1385. *Sarvavaidalya-saṃgrahaḥ*.

[24] T. 9, no. 274, 375c29f. 時有比丘名曰為法 … 奉持方等千餘經卷。… 淨命比丘學方等經十四億卷, 及修餘經六百萬卷。

[25] Tib(Pk), vol. 35, p. 121, 190b7f. *dge slong Chos zhes bya ba phyin te // des rnam par 'thag pa'i mdo stong bzung ngo // bsam gtan bzhi yang thob par gyur to // dge slong 'Tsho ba yongs su dag par ni mdo sde bye ba phrag bcu dang // rnam par 'thag pa'i mdo sdug khri bzung par gyur to.*

[26] T. 9, no. 275, 380a18ff. 有一比丘名曰淨命, 總持諸經十四億部大乘經典六百萬部為大法師。… (380b2f.) 復有比丘名曰達摩。於大乘經方廣正典受持千部。

(284 C.E.[27]), T. 9, no. 266 (abbr. Dr)

廣博嚴淨不退轉輪經 (*Avaivartikacakra-*vaipulya*-vyūha-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) by
      Zhiyan 智嚴 in 427 C.E., T. 9, no. 268 (abbr. Zy)

不退轉法輪經 (*Avaivartikacakra-dharmaparyāya* or *-sūtra*) by an anonymous translator
      in the *Beiliang* 北涼 Period (401~439)[28], T. 9, no. 267 (abbr. Bl)

'phags pa Phyir mi ldog pa'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg_pa chen po'i mdo (*ārya-*
      *Avaivartacakra-nāma-*mahāyāna-sūtra), Tib(Pk), no. 906; Tib(D), no. 240 (abbr.
      Tib)

      In the text itself, the title is referred to as follows:

Dr (284 C.E.) 不退轉輪方等之法(*Avaivartikacakra-*vaitulya*-dharmaparyāya*)[29]

Zy (427 C.E.) 廣大不退轉輪(*Avaivartikacakra-*vaipulya*), 廣博嚴淨不退轉輪(*Avaiva-*
      *rtikacakra*vaipulya*-vyūha*)[30]

Bl (427~? C.E.) 不退轉法輪廣博嚴淨(*Avaivartikacakra-*vaipulya*-vyūha*)[31]

Tib. *Phyir mi ldog pa'i 'khor lo* ye shes chen po *bstan pa* (*Avaivartikacakra-*mahājñāna-
      nirdeśa)[32]

The word *ye shes chen po* (*mahājñāna*) in the title of the Tibetan translation might be reminiscent of the confusion of *mahāyāna* / *mahājñāna* — I have demonstrated elsewhere that the term *mahāyāna* was originally *mahājñāna* ("great wisdom"), basically meaning *buddha-jñāna* ("buddha-wisdom")[33]. It should be noted that none of these three Chinese translations is entitled as a *mahāyāna*-scripture.

      Thus, we can see the transition of *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahājñāna* / *mahāyāna* in the various versions of this scripture.

(5) *Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya*

      Two Chinese translations and a Tibetan one of the *Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya* also illustrate the shift from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyāna*.

大方等如來藏經 (*Mahāvaitulya*-*Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya*), translated by
      Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (359~429 C.E.) in 420 C.E.; T. 16, no. 666[34]

大方廣如來藏經 (*Mahāvaipulya*-*Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya*), translated by
      Amoghavajra (705~774); T. 16, no. 667

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[27] T. 55, no. 2145, 7c2. 《阿惟越致遮經》四卷 —— 太康五年十月十四日出。

[28] Although we need to investigate this further, I assume that this translation was made by Daotai 道泰 (fl. 427~), as its title is cited in the Chinese translation of the *Mahāyānāvatāra* 入大乘論 by Sthiramati 堅意, which was translated between 437~439 C.E. by Daotai as well: T. 32, no. 1634, 45b21f. 如《不退轉法輪經》中廣說.

[29] T. 9, no. 266, 226a3.

[30] T. 9, no. 268, 285a25f.

[31] T. 9, no. 267, 254b2f.

[32] Tib(Pk), vol. 36, no. 906, 320a7f.; Tib(D), no. 240, mDo sde, *zha* 301a2. Cf. Apple 2014: 161, n. 11.

[33] Karashima 2001a: 170, n. 115; 2001b: § 2.7, 215~217 and Karashima "Vehicle (*yāna*) and Wisdom (*jñāna*) in the Lotus Sutra —— the Origin of the Notion of *yāna* in Mahāyāna Buddhism" in this volume.

[34] According to *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (510~518 C.E.; T. 55, no. 2145), Faju 法炬 (fl. beginning of the 4th century) translated a text, which had the same title, namely the *Dafangdeng Rulaizang jing* 大方等如來藏經, but it was already lost by the beginning of the 6th century: T. 55, no. 2145, 11c15. 《大方等如來藏經》一卷 —— 或云《如來藏》。今闕; 14b12. 《大方等如來藏經》 —— 釋法炬出《大方等如來藏》一卷。佛馱跋陀出《大方等如來藏》一卷.

'phags pa De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes bya ba <u>*theg pa chen po'i mdo*</u> (*ārya-Tathāgatagarbha-nāma-*<u>*mahāyāna-sūtra*</u>), translated by Śakyaprabha and Ye shes sde in ca. 800; Tib(Pk), no. 924; Tib(D), no. 258

In the text itself, the scripture is referred to as the *Tathāgatagarbha-dharmaparyāya* (*De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i chos kyi rnam grangs* or - *chos kyi gzhung*[35]).

(6) *Lalitavistara*

According to Kiyoshi Okano's meticulous studies, the *Lalitavistara* was composed probably in ca. 150 C.E. in Gandhāra by a monk of the Mahāsāṃghikas.[36] There are two Chinese translations.

普曜經 (**Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*) alias 方等本起 (**<u>Vaitulya</u>-nidāna*[37]), translated by Dharmarakṣa in 308 C.E.[38]; T. 3, no. 186 (abbr. Dr)

方廣大莊嚴經 (**<u>Vaipulya</u>-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*) alias 神通遊戲 (**Vikrīḍ-ita*), translated by Divākara 地婆訶羅 (614~688 C.E.); T. 3, no. 187 (abbr. Dv)

The Sanskrit version (abbr. LV): *śrīLalitavistaro nāma* <u>*mahāyānasūtraṃ*</u> *ratnarājaṃ* (LV 444.18) = *'phags pa rGya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, Tib(Pk), no. 763, Tib(D), no. 95

In the text itself, the title is referred to as follows:

Dr. 483b18. 普曜大方等典(**Lalitavistara-*<u>*mahāvaitulya*</u>*-dharmaparyāya*) (= 483c24), 484a3. 普曜經典大方等法(**Lalitavistara-sūtra mahāvaitulya-dharmaparyāya*); 530c12. 普曜大方等法(**Lalitavistara-*<u>*mahāvaitulya*</u>*-dharmaparyāya*)

Dv. 539b23f. 有經名為《方廣神通遊戲大莊嚴法門》(**<u>Vaipulya</u>vikrīḍita-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*); 540a10. 神通遊戲大嚴(*v.l.* 莊嚴)經典(**Vikrīḍita-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*); 540a15f. 方廣神通遊戲大嚴(*v.l.* 莊嚴)經典 (**<u>Vaipulya</u>-vikrīḍita-mahā-Lalitavistara-dharmaparyāya*); cf. 588a9. 方廣神通遊戲大嚴之定

LV 4.17f. = LV(H) 274.10. *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ sūtrānto* <u>*mahāvaipulya*</u>*-nicayo*; 6.16 = LV(H) 276.28f. *Lalitavistaraṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ*; 7.20f. = LV(H) 282.3. *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ sūtrānto* <u>*mahāvaipulyaḥ*</u>; 438.20f. *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyasūtrānto* <u>*mahāvaipulya*</u>*bodhisattva-vikrīḍitaḥ*; cf. LV 7.9 = LV(H) 278.25f. *idaṃ ...* <u>*vaipulyasūtraṃ*</u> *hi mahānidānam*; 7.15 = LV(H) 280.9f. *tad ...* <u>*vaipulyasūtraṃ*</u> *hi mahānidānam*

Thus, this text also illustrates the shift from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya* and finally to *mahāyāna*.

(7) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*

As I have demonstrated elsewhere[39], there are many instances of the variation of

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[35] Cf. Zimmermann 2002: 354.1f, 355.1f.
[36] Cf. Okano 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990; de Jong 1998: 252f.; cf. also LV(H) 82~116.
[37] Cf. LV 7.9. *idaṃ ... vaipulyasūtraṃ hi mahānidānam*; 7.15. *tad ... vaipulyasūtraṃ hi mahānidānam*.
[38] Cf. *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu* 開元釋教録 (730~ C.E.) : "《普曜經》八卷: 一名《方等本起》。安公云'出方等部'。永嘉二年五月於天水寺出。第二譯。……" (T. 55, no. 2154, 494a19f.) = *Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu* 貞元新定釋教目録 (800 C.E.), T. 55, no. 2157, 791b7f.
[39] Karashima 1992: 29 (63b-5), 37 (66a-12), 51(70b7), 80(79c9), 80(79c-11), 102(86c-7), 114(91c-6), 120(93c4), 278, note on 63b-5; Krsh 1998: 133~134.

vaitulya / vaipulya among the Sanskrit manuscripts and Chinese translations of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.

Where the Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments from Central Asia (abbr. O, SIP, H_6, Wille 2000), dating between the 5th~8th centuries, generally read *vaitulya*, the Gilgit (the 7th or 8th century) and the Nepalese manuscripts (from the 11th century onwards; abbr. KN[40]) have *vaipulya* instead[41]. The readings *shin tu rgyas* and *rab rgyas* in the Tibetan translation agree with the latter. Dharmarakṣa's translation (abbr. Dr; T. 9, no. 263) in 286 C.E. reads *fangdeng* (= *vaitulya*), while Kumārajīva's translation (abbr. Kj; T. 9, no. 262) in 406 C.E. has *dasheng* 大乘 (= *mahāyāna*) / *dashengjing* 大乘經 ("teaching of *mahāyāna*"):

Dr. 63b25. 方等; KN. 5.8. *mahāvaipulya~* (= O etc.); SIP/11, no. 40[42]. *mahāvaitulya~*; Kj. 2b8. 大乘經

Dr. 66a18. 方等正經; KN. 19.12. *mahāvaipulya~*; O. *mahāvaitulya~*; Kj. 4a9. 大乘經

Dr. 70b12. 方等經; KN. 46.8. *vaipulya-sūtra~*; O. *vaitulya-sūtra~*; Kj. 8a14. 大乘

Dr. 79c9. 方等; KN. 98.3. *vaipulya-*; O, H_6(302)[43], Wille 2000: 47. *vaitulya-*; Kj. 16a21. 大乘

Dr. 79c19. 方等經; KN. 98.11. *vaipulya-sūtra~*; O. *vaitulya-sūtra~*; Kj. 16a28. 大乘

Dr. 81a19. 方等; KN. 110.6. -; Kj. 17c6. 大乘

Dr. 86c23. 方等經; KN. 146.8. *vaipulya-sūtrānta-*; O. *vaitulya-sūtrānta-*; Kj. 20c22. 大乘經典

A very important claim in the Lotus Sutra is that the *vaipulya- / vaitulya-sūtra*s are the true teachings, while the traditional nine categories of teachings (e.g. *sūtra, gāthā, itivṛttaka* etc.) are none other than expedient means. For example, in verses 45~50 of the *Upāyakauśalya-parivarta*, the Buddha says, "I have preached the nine categories of teachings as expedient means to lead people, in accordance to their abilities, to the Buddha's wisdom. Now, here are pure, clever, gentle sons of the Buddha, who have given service to many millions of *buddha*s. I shall then preach to them the *vaipulya- / vaitulya-sūtra*s (Dr. 70b7. 方等經 = O, Wille 1998: 245. *vaitulya-sūtra~*; KN. 46.4. *vaipulya-sūtra~*; Kj. 8a10. 大乘經)."

What is very important here to note is the fact that this scripture is called (*mahā-*)*vaitulya / -vaipulya* in the text itself.

Dr. 66b2. 《正法華》方等; KN. 21.1. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ*; O. *Sad° nāma dha° sūtraṃ mahāvaitulyaṃ*; Kj. 4a24. 大乘經名《妙法蓮華》

Dr. 66b7. 《法華方等正經》; KN. 21.6. *Sad° dharmaparyāya~ sūtrānta~ mahāvaipulya~*; O. *Sad° dharma° sūtra~ mahāvaitulya~*; Kj. 4a29. 是經

Dr. 91c24. 《正法華方等經典》; KN. 181.5f. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtrānta~ mahāvaipulya~*; O. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtra~ mahāvaitulya~*; Kj. 25a28. 大乘經名《妙法蓮華》

Dr. 124b3. 《正法華經》方等典詔; KN. 389.7f. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtrānta~*

[40] When the reading in the Gilgit manuscripts is different from that in the Kern-Nanjio edition, which is mainly based on the Nepalese manuscripts, it is noted.

[41] The occurrences of *vaitulya* and its more Middle Indic form *vetulya* in the Central Asian MSS. were investigated in Toda 1974: 68~69.

[42] A reading of a fragment from the Petrovsky Collection, found in Bongard-Levin/Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1985: 127.

[43] A reading of a fragment at the British Library: Toda 1983: 302.2.

mahāvaipulya~; O. *Sad° nāma dharma° sūtra~ mahāvaipulya~* (*sic*); Kj. 52a5. 大乘經名《妙法蓮華》

Dr. 93c3f. 斯《正法華》… 大方等經; KN. 193.7. *Sad° vaipulyasūtra~*; O. <*Sad°*> *vaitupulyasūtra~*; Kj. 26c10. 《法華經》

Also, at the end of each chapter of the scripture, the Gilgit-Nepalese manuscripts read *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka~ dharmaparyāya~*, while the so-called Kashgar manuscript (O) and another Central Asian manuscript, discovered in Farhād-Bēg Yailaki, now kept in the British Library, read instead *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka~ mahāvaipulyasūtraratna~* and *Saddharma-poṇḍarīka~ mahāvaitulyasūtraratna~*, respectively. The latter agrees with the reading in a Khotanese summary of this scripture: *Sadharmapuṇḍarī~ sūttra~ ... mahāvittūlyasūtrīnai raṃnä*[44]. Moreover, the earliest Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra by Dharmarakṣa in 286 C.E. is now called the *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 but, according to Sengyou (445~518)'s *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145, 7b14; 510~518 C.E.), it was called the *Fangdeng zhengfahua jing* 方等正法華經[45]. According to the Chinese catalogues, there was another Chinese translation, consisting of 5 *juan*s, namely the *Fangdeng fahua jing* 方等法華經 by Zhi Daogen in 335 C.E., which is now lost[46].

Presumably, the title of the original text of Dharmarakṣa's translation contained the word *vaitulya* or the like as do the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts. The original text of Kumārajīva's translation might have had the same reading, but he translated it as *dasheng* 大乘 by regarding *vaitulya* as a synonym of *mahāyāna*. It is highly unlikely that the original text had read *mahāyāna* instead of *vaitulya* in all occurrences. This latter form was replaced later by *vaipulya*. In this connection, it is remarkable that in the so-called Kashgar manuscript, we find peculiar forms, namely *vaitupulyasūtraṃ* (186 *verso* 1; cf. KN. 193.7. *vaipulyasūtram*) and *mahāvaitupulyasūtra-* (211 *recto* 6; cf. KN. 223.3. -), which hint at the vacillation of the transmission between *vaitulya* and *vaipulya*, and probably the scribe was at a loss which to choose and thus made an amalgamated form.

It should be noted also that, in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra, the expression, meaning "*mahāyāna* scripture", never occurs, which indicates that it had not been common at that time, while it became popular in Kumārajīva's time.

(8) **vevulla-, vaitulya-, vaipulya-* and *mahāyāna*-scriptures in Chinese catalogues
(8.1) **vevulla-* and *vaitulya*-scriptures in Dao'an's catalogue

Sengyou (僧祐 445~518)'s *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145; 510~518 C.E.) is the oldest existing catalogue of Buddhist scriptures. In its third *juan*, a much earlier catalogue, namely the *Zongli Zhongjing Mulu* 綜理衆經目録 (374~385 C.E.?)[47], compiled by Dao'an (道安; 312~385 C.E.), is partially quoted (T. 55, 15b~19c). By investigating Dao'an's catalogue, though far from complete, we are able to know which of the three, i.e.

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[44] See Bailey 1971: 53. Cf. Norman, CP II 44f.
[45] T. 55, no. 2145, 7b14. 《正法華經》十卷 —— 二十七品。舊錄云《正法華經》或云《方等正法華經》太康七年八月十日出。
[46] *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.) by Fei Changfang 費長房, T. 49, no. 2034, 69a26f. 《方等法華經》五卷。咸康元年譯 …… 成帝世，沙門支道根出。Cf. also T. 49, no. 2035, 339c22; T. 55, 2149, 244c13.
[47] Cf. Hayashiya 1941: 351ff.

vaitulya / vaipulya / mahāyana had been used in underlying Indian texts of the Chinese translations made by the end of the 4ᵗʰ century.

A text, namely the *Dazhenbaoji Weiri jing* 大珍寶積惟日經 is referred to (19b19), which presumably is a scribal error for the *Dazhenbaoji Weiyue jing* 大珍寶積惟曰經, a translation of the **Mahāratnakūṭa vevulla-dharmaparyāya.*

There are two texts which bear the title *fangdeng* 方等 (= *vaitulya*): 內藏大方等經[48] (one *juan*; 18a15), 方等決經[49] (one *juan*; 19c3). There are five texts which Dao'an had classified as the *fangdengbu* 方等部 or *vaitulya* category, namely 菩薩道地經 (one *juan*; 15b24), 颰披陀菩薩經 (one *juan*; 15b22), 內外六波羅蜜經 (one *juan*; 17c25), 目佉經 (one *juan*; 18a23), 放鉢經 (one *juan*; 18b13).

Thus, there are scriptures which bear the title **vevulla* or *vaitulya*, or are classified as *vaitulya*, while there is no text which bears *vaipulya* or *mahāyāna* in Dao'an's catalogue.

(8.2) **vevulla-, vaitulya-, vaipulya-* and *mahāyāna*-scriptures in the *Chusanzangji ji*

Apart from Buddhist scriptures listed in Dao'an's old catalogue, 910 titles of Buddhist scriptures are referred to in Sengyou (445~518)'s *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (518 C.E.; T. 55, no. 2145).

Except for 遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經 (29c17; **vevulla-Maṇiratna-dharmaparyāya*) and 遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 (**vevulla-Ratnakoṭisamādhi-Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā-dharmadhātu-dharmaparyāya*), which we have investigated above, there had been 遺曰(←日)說般若經 (**vevulla-Prajñāpāramitā*?), an old *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture of the *vaitulya* category, translated by Lokakṣema, but already lost by the time of Sengyou.[50] Also, there are two titles which seem to be **vevulla* scriptures: 惟曰(←日)雜難經 (29a6; T. 17, no. 760, translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 [fl. 222~252 C.E.]) and 惟曰(←日)三昧經 (36c23; now lost).

There are 12 scriptures which bear (*da*)*fangdeng* (= [*mahā*]-*vaitulya*) in their titles: 十二門大方等經 (one *juan*; 7a21; lost; trans. by ZQ); 方等正法華經 (7b14; trans. by Dr in 286 C.E.); 濟諸方等經 alias 濟諸方等學經 (7c20; trans. by Dr); 方等泥洹經 (2 *juan*s; 8a10; trans. by Dr in 269 C.E.); 大方等頂王經 (8a15; trans. by Dr); 大方等如來藏經 (9c20, 14b12 by Buddhabhadra in 420 C.E.); 大方等如來藏經 (11c15, 14b12 by Faju 法炬 at the beginning of the 4ᵗʰ century; lost); 方等大集經 (29 *juan*s; 11b12; trans. by Dharmakṣema [fl. 412~433 C.E.]); 方等王虛空藏經 (5 *juan*s; 11b13, 14c14; trans. by Dharmakṣema); 方等大雲經 alias 方等無想大雲經 (4 or 6 *juan*s; 11b16; trans. by Dharmakṣema); 方等泥洹經 (2 *juan*s; 11c26; lost; trans. by Faxian 法顯 at the beginning of the 5ᵗʰ century); 方等檀特陀羅尼經 alias 大方等陀羅尼 (4 *juan*s; 12a15; trans. by Fazhong 法衆 sometime between 397~418 C.E.).

Except for these, there is another text which bears both *fangdeng* and *dasheng* (*mahāyāna*) in its title, namely 大乘方等要慧經 alias 方等慧經 alias 要慧經 (one *juan*; 29c16; T. 12, no. 348). Fei Changfang (費長房)'s *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.) mistakenly ascribed this text to An Shigao, but the use of the expressions 吾 ("I"), 汝 ("you"), 敢 ("all"), 大佳 ("very good"), 善權 ("expedient means") and 大乘 ("Great Vehicle")

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[48] Cf. Hayashiya 1941: 520f.
[49] Cf. Hayashiya 1941: 1146f.
[50] T. 55, no. 2145, 6b14. 方等部古品{曰}《遺曰(←日)說般若經》一卷今闕; 14a1. 《般若經》── 支讖出《般若道行品經》十卷, 出古品《遺曰(←日)說般若》一卷.

indicate that it was translated by Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa or their contemporaries. Presumably, the word *dasheng* 大乘 (= *mahāyāna*) was later added to the title.

There are seven texts which Dao'an had classified as part of the *fangdengbu* 方等部, or *vaitulya* category, namely 問署經 alias 文殊問菩薩署經 (one *juan*; 6b18; trans. by Lk), 內藏百品經 (one *juan*; 6b23; trans. by Lk), 法鏡經 (one *juan*; 6c3; trans. by An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in 181 C.E.), 普耀經 (8 *juan*s; 7b15; trans. by Dr in 308 C.E.), 頂王經 (one *juan*; 8a15; this is another title of the above-quoted 大方等頂王經[51]; trans. by Dr), 樓炭經 (5 *juan*s; 8c20; trans. by Dr) and 內外六波羅蜜經 alias 內六波羅蜜經 (one *juan*; 17c25; trans. by Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in 188 C.E.; T. 17, no. 778. 菩薩內習六波羅蜜經). Except for these, the *Lidai Sanbao ji* lists 賴吒和羅經 (one *juan*; the *Rāṣṭrapāla-sūtra*), which had been classified as *fangdengbu* 方等部 by Dao'an.[52]

There are three scriptures, which bear *dafangguang* (= *mahā-vaipulya*) in their titles: 大方廣佛華嚴經 (50 *juan*s; 11c10; trans. by Buddhabhadra in 420 C.E.; T. 9, no. 278); 大方廣如來性起微密藏經 alias 如來性起經 (2 *juan*s; 21c18; an excerpt of the chapter of *Xingqi* 性起品 [*Tathāgatotpattisambhavanirdeśa*] in the preceding translation[53]), 大方廣菩薩十地經 (one *juan*; 22c24; trans. by Jijiaye 吉迦夜 [*Kiṃkārya?; fl. ca. 472~ C.E.]; T. 10, no. 308). It is remarkable that these three scriptures are translations of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*.

There are four titles which bear *dasheng* 大乘 or *mohesheng* 摩訶乘 (= *mahāyāna*) in their titles: 大乘方便經 (2 *juan*s; 21c27; trans. by Nandi [竺難提; fl. 419~ C.E.]; T. 11, no. 310-38); the above-mentioned 大乘方等要慧經 of which *dasheng* 大乘 is perhaps a later addition; 摩訶乘寶嚴經 (one *juan*; 29b25; trans. by an anonymous translator in the Jin Dynasty [265~420 C.E.]; i.e. 摩訶衍寶嚴經 *mahāyāna-Ratnakūṭa-dharmaparyāya*); 摩訶乘經[54] (14 *juan*s; 32a8; *mahāyāna-sūtra*; lost). The last one is dubious for a title of a single scripture.

Thus, among the titles of scriptures quoted in the *Chusanzangji ji*, there are 4 *vevulla*-scriptures, 12 *(mahā)vaitulya*-ones, 3 *mahāvaipulya*-ones and 3 *mahāyāna*-scriptures. As we have seen above, the *vevulla*- and *(mahā)vaitulya*-scriptures were renamed later as *mahāyāna-sūtra*s. Therefore, we can conclude that the scriptures, which were later and are presently called *mahāyāna-sūtra*s, had been originally labelled as *vevulla*- / *vaitulya*-. Only translations of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* were labelled *vaipulya*. Most probably 大乘方便經 or 摩訶乘(= 衍)寶嚴經 is the *very first mahāyāna*-scripture which was named as such and it appeared as late as the beginning of the fifth century.

(8.3) *mahāvaitulya*- / *mahāvaipulya*- / *mahāyāna*- scriptures in the *Lidai Sanbao ji*

The *Lidai Sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (597? C.E.; T. 49, no. 2034) by Fei Changfang 費長房 is the second oldest extant catalogue of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. It was compiled about eighty years after the *Chusanzangji ji* and many of the titles in it, are merely

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[51] T. 55, no. 2145, 8a15. 《頂王經》一卷 —— 一名《維詰子問經》。安公云出方等部或云《大方等頂王經》.
[52] T. 49, no. 2034, 53c18.《賴吒和羅經》一卷 —— 初出道安云: "出方等部".
[53] Kimura 1999: 678f.; Kawano 2006: 238f.
[54] Sengyou commented as follows: 《摩訶乘經》十四卷 —— 改字訓曰(←日)"乘", which means that he changed the transliteration *yan* 衍 of 摩訶衍經 to the translation *sheng* 乘.

copied from the latter catalogue. Therefore, we are able to regard only the following as newly-added titles:

There are 12 scriptures which bear (da)fangdeng (= [mahā]-vaitulya) in their titles: 方等首楞嚴經 (2 *juan*s; 57b7; trans. by ZQ in 223 C.E.); 大方等無相經 alias 方等大雲經 alias 方等無相大雲經 alias 大雲無相經 alias 大雲密藏經 (4, 5 or 6 *juan*s; 77a19, 84b2, 109c26; = T. 12, no. 387. 大方等無想經 trans. by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 in 426 C.E.); 佛藏大方等經 (one *juan*; 94a3; trans. by Daoyan 道嚴 in the Song Dynasty [420~479 C.E.]; lost); 大方等修多羅王經 (one *juan*; 111b18; trans. by Bodhiruci 菩提流支 in 535 C.E.); 大方等日藏經 (15 *juan*s; 102c10; trans. by Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E.).

There are two scriptures, which bear dafangguang (= mahā-vaipulya) in their titles: 大方廣如來祕密藏經 (one *juan*; 112c4; trans. by an anonymous translator during the Three Qin Dynasties [351~431 C.E.]; T. 17, no. 821) and 大方廣寶篋經 (3 *juan*s; 91b4; trans. by Guṇabhadra in 443 C.E.; T. 14, no. 462).

There are five scriptures, which bear mahāyāna in their titles: 大乘瓔珞莊嚴經 alias 樂瓔珞莊嚴方便經 (one *juan*; 94a14; trans. by Dharmayaśa 曇摩耶舍 [fl. 405~]; T. 14, no. 566); 大乘寶雲經 (8 *juan*s; 88b26; trans. by *Maṇḍalasena 曼陀羅仙 and *Saṅghabhara? 僧伽婆羅 in the Liang Dynasty [502~557 C.E.]; the Ratnamegha-sūtra; T. 16, no. 659); 大乘頂王經 (one *juan*; 98c17; trans. by *Upaśūnya 月婆首那 in 538~541 C.E.; T. 14, no. 478); 大乘同性經 (2 or 4 *juan*s; 100b13, 110b6; trans. by *Jinayaśa or *Jñānayaśa 闍那耶舍 in 570 C.E.; T. 16, no. 673); 大乘方廣總持經 (one *juan*; 102c2, 112a16; trans. by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E.; T. 9, no. 275; see above [3]).

There are also two dubious scriptures, bearing mahāyāna in their titles: 摩訶衍優波提舍經 (5 *juan*s; 60a28; *Mahāyāna-upadeśa; lost); 大乘蓮華馬頭羅刹經 (one *juan*; 113c7; *Mahāyāna-Padmāśvagrīvarakṣa-sūtra; lost)

Thus, in this catalogue compiled by ca. 597 C.E., 12 vaitulya-scriptures, two mahā-vaipulya-ones, seven mahāyāna-scriptures, including dubious ones, are found in addition to those in the Chusanzangji ji.

We can recognise that vaitulya-scriptures were still thriving at that time, though mahāyāna-scriptures were on the rise during the 6th century.

(8.4) The disappearance of *vaitulya*-scriptures and the rise of *mahāyāna*-scriptures during the Tang and Song Dynasties

We have seen above, the titles of scriptures found in various catalogues, quite a few of which have been lost. Following are the titles of existent scriptures which bear *vevulla, fangdeng* (*vaitulya*) / *dafangdeng* (*mahāvaitulya*) in them:

No. 350. 遺曰(←日)摩尼寶經 trans. by Lokakṣema in 179 C.E.; see above (1)

No. 356. 寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經 alias 遺曰(←日)寶積三昧文殊師利問法身經 trans. by Lokakṣema?; see above (2)

No. 348. {大乘}方等要慧經 alias 方等慧經, mistakenly ascribed this text to An Shigao; probably trans. by Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa or their contemporaries; see (8.2)

No. 274. 濟諸方等學經 by Dharmarakṣa (ca. 233~311 C.E.); see (3)

No. 378. 方等般泥經 by Dharmarakṣa

No. 477. 大方等頂王經 by Dharmarakṣa

No. 1339. 大方等陀羅尼經 trans. by Fazhong 法衆 sometime between 397~418 C.E.

No. 666. 大方等如來藏經 by Buddhabhadra in 420 C.E.

No. 387. 大方等無想經: trans. by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 in 426 C.E.

No. 575. 大方等修多羅王經 trans. by Bodhiruci in 535 C.E.

No. 992. 大方等大雲經請雨品 trans. by *Jinayaśa or *Jñānayaśa 闍那耶舍 in the Beizhou Dynasty 北周 (557~581 C.E.)

No. 397-14: 日藏分 alias 大乘大方等日藏經 trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E.

No. 397-15: 月藏分 alias 大方等大集月藏經 trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E.

No. 397. 大方等大集經: the first half was trans. mainly by Dharmakṣema between 414~426 C.E. while the latter half by Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E., and compiled as one collection by Sengjiu 僧就 in 586 C.E.

No. 416. 大方等大集經賢護分, translated by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 in 594/595 C.E.

No. 310-36. 善住意天子會 alias 大方等住意天子所問經 trans. by Dharmagupta 達摩笈多 in the Sui 隋 Dynasty sometime between 605~616 C.E. (大業).

No. 415. 大方等大集經菩薩念佛三昧分 trans. by Dharmagupta sometime between 605~616 C.E.

Thus, there are 17 *vevulla* / *vaitulya-* / *mahāvaitulya*-scriptures, spanning from **the 2ⁿᵈ to the beginning of the 7ᵗʰ century**. It should be also noted that in the beginning, *vevulla* and *vaitulya-* were used but later only the term *mahāvaitulya* was utilised. The last scriptures of this genre were translated at the beginning of the 7ᵗʰ century, after which it disappeared.

The following are the titles of existent scriptures, which bear the titles *fangguang* (*vaipulya*) / *dafangguang* (*mahāvaipulya*) in them:

No. 1489. 清淨毘尼方廣經 by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the 5ᵗʰ century

No. 278. 大方廣佛華嚴經 trans. by Buddhabhadra 佛馱跋陀羅 in 420 C.E.

No. 821. 大方廣如來祕密藏經 trans. by an anonymous translator probably during the Three Qin Dynasties (351~431 C.E.)

No. 311. 大方廣三戒經 trans. by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 in the Beiliang 北涼 Dynasty (401~439 C.E.)

No. 410. 大方廣十輪經 trans. by an anonymous translator probably in the Beiliang 北涼 Dynasty (401~439 C.E.)

No. 353. 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 trans. by Guṇabhadra in the Song Dynasty (420~479 C.E.)

No. 462. 大方廣寶篋經 trans. by Guṇabhadra in the Song Dynasty (420~479 C.E.)

No. 308. 大方廣菩薩十地經 trans. by Jijiaye 吉迦夜 *Kiṃkārya? (fl. ca. 472~ C.E.)

No. 275. 大乘方廣總持經 trans. by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E.

No. 187. 方廣大莊嚴經 trans. by Divākara 地婆訶羅 (614~688 C.E.)

No. 295. 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品 trans. by Divākara (614~688 C.E.)

No. 836. 大方廣師子吼經 trans. by 地婆訶羅 Divākara in 680 C.E.

No. 1181. 大方廣菩薩藏經中文殊師利根本一字陀羅尼經 trans. by Baosiwei 寶思惟 *Maṇicinta(na)? in 702 C.E.

No. 279. 大方廣佛華嚴經 trans. by 實叉難陀 Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)

No. 298. 大方廣普賢所説經 trans. by Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)

No. 301. 大方廣如來不思議境界經 trans. by Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)

No. 304. 大方廣入如來智徳不思議經 trans. by Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)

No. 300. 大方廣華嚴經不思議佛境界分 trans. by 提雲般若 Devaprajñā (or Devendra-prajñā) (fl. 689?~741? C.E.)

No. 306. 大方廣佛花嚴經修慈分 trans. by Devaprajñā

No. 667. 大方廣如來藏經 trans. by 不空 Amoghavajra (705~774 C.E.)

No. 1019. 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品四十二字觀門 trans. by Amoghavajra

No. 1101. 大方廣曼殊室利經 trans. by Amoghavajra

No. 1215. 方廣曼殊室利菩薩華嚴本教閻曼徳迦忿怒王眞言大威徳儀軌品 trans. by an anonymous translator or by Amoghavajra

No. 1216. 大方廣曼殊室利童眞菩薩華嚴本教讚閻曼徳迦忿怒王眞言阿毘遮嚕迦儀軌品 trans. by an anonymous translator or Amoghavajra

No. 293. 大方廣佛華嚴經 trans. by Prajña 般若 (fl. ca. 800 C.E.)

No. 1191. 大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經 trans. by 天息災 alias 法賢 (fl. 980~1000 C.E.)

No. 299. 大方廣總持寶光明經 trans. by 法天 alias 法賢 (fl. 973~1001/1002 C.E.)

No. 346. 佛説大方廣善巧方便經 trans. by Shihu 施護 Dānapāla (~1017/1018 C.E.)

No. 844. 佛説大方廣未曾有經善巧方便品 trans. by Dānapāla (~1017/1018 C.E.)

No. 438. 佛説大乘大方廣佛冠經 trans. by Fahu 法護 Dharmapāla (963~1058/59 C.E.)

Thus, there are 30 **_vaipulya-_ / _mahāvaipulya_-scriptures, spanning from the beginning of the 5ᵗʰ to the 11ᵗʰ century**. Also, it should be noted that these titles were used often for Vajrayāna scriptures as well as those in the _Avataṃsaka_ collection. Apart from these, it is remarkable that, while the _(mahā)vaitulya_ disappeared in the 7ᵗʰ century, _(mahā)vaipulya_ continued to flourish even more —— 21 out of the 30 _(mahā)vaipulya_-scriptures appeared from the 7ᵗʰ century onwards. Actually, the former title was replaced with the latter one in many scriptures as we have seen above.

The following are the titles of existent scriptures, bearing _mahāyāna_ in them:

No. 348. {大乘}方等要慧經 alias 方等慧經, mistakenly ascribed to An Shigao, but probably trans. by Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa or their contemporaries; presumably, the term _dasheng_ 大乘 (= _mahāyāna_) was added later to the title. (See [8.2])

No. 351. 摩訶衍寶嚴經 trans. by an anonymous translator in the Jin Dynasty (265~420 C.E.); probably translated at the beginning of the 5ᵗʰ century

No. 566. 大乘瓔珞莊嚴經 alias 樂瓔珞莊嚴方便經 trans. by Dharmayaśa 曇摩耶舍 (fl. 405~ C.E.)

No. 310-38. 大乘方便會 alias 大乘方便經 trans. by Nandi 竺難提 (fl. 419~ C.E.)

No. 158. 大乘悲分陀利經 trans. by an anonymous translator probably in the Qin Dynasty (351~431 C.E.)

No. 310-9. 十法經 alias 大乘十法會 trans. by Buddhaśānta 佛陀扇多 in 539 C.E.

No. 478. 大乘頂王經 trans. by *Upaśūnya 月婆首那 between 538~541 C.E.

No. 659. 大乘寶雲經 trans. by *Maṇḍalasena 曼陀羅仙 and *Saṅghabhara? 僧伽婆羅 in

the Liang Dynasty (502~557 C.E.)

No. 314. 佛説大乗十法經 trans. by *Saṅghabhara? 僧伽婆羅 in the Liang Dynasty (502~557 C.E.)

No. 673. 大乗同性經 trans. by *Jinayaśa or *Jñānayaśa 闍那耶舍 in 570 C.E.

No. 275. 大乗方廣總持經 trans. by Vinītaruci 毘尼多流支 in 582 C.E.

No. 397-14: 日藏分 alias 大乗大方等日藏經 trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E.

No. 158. 大乗悲分陀利經; No. 1493. 大乗三聚懺悔經 both trans. by Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 (523~601 C.E.)

No. 411. 大乗大集地藏十輪經 trans. by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602~664 C.E.)

No. 347. 大乗顯識經; No. 661. 大乗百福相經; No. 662. 大乗百福莊嚴相經; No. 674. 證契大乗經; No. 681. 大乗密嚴經; No. 772. 大乗四法經; No. 829. 大乗離文字普光明藏經; No. 830. 大乗遍照光明藏無字法門經 all trans. by 地婆訶羅 Divākara (614~688 C.E.)

No. 467. 大乗伽耶山頂經; No. 568. 有德女所問大乗經; No. 1130. 大乗金剛髻珠菩薩修行分 all trans. by 菩提流志 Bodhiruci in ca. 693 C.E.

No. 672. 大乗入楞伽經; No. 774. 大乗四法經 both trans. by 實叉難陀 Śikṣānanda (fl. 695~710 C.E.)

No. 577. 大乗流轉諸有經 trans. by 義淨 (635~713 C.E.)

No. 694. 大乗造像功德經 trans. by 提雲般若 Devaprajñā, Devendraprajñā (fl. 689?~741? C.E.)

No. 682. 大乗密嚴經; No. 710. 慈氏菩薩所說大乗緣生稻蘳喻經; No. 1177A. 大乗瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經; No. 1215. 大乗方廣曼殊室利菩薩華嚴本教閻曼德迦忿怒王真言大威德儀軌品; No. 1253. 大吉祥天女十二契一百八名無垢大乗經 all trans. by 不空 Amoghavajra (705~774 C.E.)

No. 159. 大乗本生心地觀經; No. 261. 大乗理趣六波羅蜜多經 trans. by 般若 Prajña (fl. ca. 800 C.E.)

No. 936 大乗無量壽經 alias 無量壽宗要經 trans. by Facheng 法成 (8th ~ the first half of the 9th century)

No. 363. 大乗無量壽莊嚴經; No. 472. 大乗善見變化文殊師利問法經; No. 473. 妙吉祥菩薩所問大乗法螺經; No. 939. 大乗觀想曼拏羅淨諸惡趣經; No. 1050. 大乗莊嚴寶王經; No. 1168A. 大乗八大曼拏羅經 all trans. by 天息災 alias 法賢 (fl. 980~1000 C.E.)

No. 333. 大乗日子王所問經; No. 937. 大乗聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經; No. 1128. 最上大乗金剛大教寶王經; No. 1164. 大乗聖吉祥持世陀羅尼經 all trans. by 法天 alias 法賢 (fl. 973~1001/1002 C.E.)

No. 316. 大乗菩薩藏正法經; No. 321. 護國尊者所問大乗經; No. 331. 無畏授所問大乗經; No. 437. 大乗寶月童子問法經; No. 711. 大乗舍黎娑擔摩經; No. 843. 大乗不思議神通境界經; No. 1497. 大乗戒經 all trans. by 施護 Dānapāla (~1017/1018 C.E.)

No. 652. 大乗隨轉宣說諸法經 trans. by 紹德 (fl. the first half of the 11th century)

No. 312. 如來不思議祕密大乗經; No. 316. 大乗菩薩藏正法經; No. 359. 大乗入諸佛境界智光明莊嚴經; No. 438. 大乗大方廣佛冠經 all trans. by 法護 Dharmapāla

(963~1058/1059 C.E.)

No. 543. 巨力長者所問大乘經; No. 634. 大乘智印經 both trans. by 智吉祥 Jñānaśrī (fl. 1053~ C.E.)

Thus, there are 61 ***mahāyāna*-scriptures, spanning from the beginning of the 5th to the 11th century**. It should be noted that many *mahāyāna*-scriptures started appearing from the 6th century onwards. Also, it should be pointed out that many of these translators quoted here, namely *Jinayaśa (or *Jñānayaśa), Jñānagupta, Divākara, Śikṣānanda, Devaprajñā (or Devendraprajñā), Amoghavajra, Prajña, Tianxizai 天息災, Fatian 法天 and Dānapāla, translated both *mahā-vaipulya-* and *mahāyāna*-scriptures. It is clear that these two types of titles flourished side by side.

The following is a table of the frequency of the three types of titles in each century:

	vevulla *vaitulya* *mahāvaitulya*	*vaipulya* *mahāvaipulya*	*mahāyāna*
2nd century	2 *vevulla*		
3rd~4th	4		
5th	3	8	4
6th	6	1	9
7th	2 (~616 C.E.)	3	12
8th		13	9
9th		1	3
10th~11th		5	24

From this table, it is clear that the older title *(mahā)vaitulya* was used only until the beginning of the 7th century, while the newer title *(mahā)vaipulya* remained popular even after that, and that the title *mahāyāna* was used more and more frequently.

(9) Etymology and Meaning of *vaitulya*

Although there have been many explanations[55], the etymology and meaning of the Pāli *vedalla, vetulla, vetulya,* Buddhist Sanskrit *vaitulya, vaipulya, vaidalya,* Old Khotanese *vittūlya* still remain obscure.[56]

Egaku Maeda has investigated thoroughly the conventional explanations of

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[55] E.g. Burnouf 1852: 754; Wogihara 1938: 406~412; Bailey 1955: 20; Maeda 1964: 389f.; Norman 1978 = Norman CP II 44f.; *ibid.* 1983: 16, n. 8; Karashima 1992: 278 (on 63b-5); von Hinüber 1994: 134f. = 2009: 172f.; Anālayo 2012: 61, n. 54; Skilling 2013: 84ff. (with detailed references). The following are the etymologies of *vedalla*, assumed by various scholars: *veda + lla* (= *lya*) (Buddhaghosa, Kaccāyana); *veda + lla*-suffix (Wogihara); *vedalla < vaidalya < vi-√dal* (Burnouf); *vedalla < veda-ariya* (PTSD); *vedalla < vaidārya < vi-√tṝ* (Jayawickrama 1962: 102, n. 31.9).

[56] Norman (CP II 44) writes: "*Vaitulya* and *Vaipulya* must be back-formations from Prakrit *ve(y)ulla*, and *vevulla*, which are presumably merely variants of the same word with -*y*-/-*v*- glide consonant alternation. There is no way of telling which, if either, of the forms with -*t*- or -*p*- is historically correct." von Hinüber (1994 = 134f. = 2009: 172f.) also writes: "Der Sinn des letzten Wortes (9) *vedalla*- bleibt ganz dunkel. Im Anschluß an Sp 29,1 denkt Aggavaṃsa an eine Verbindung mit *veda*-. Unmöglich ist diese Analyse als *veda-lla*- nicht, da -*lla*-Suffixe durchaus zur ältesten Sprache des Buddhismus zählen. Wenn die Sanskrit-Entsprechung *vaipulya*-, die in Mppś V (p. 2301) nur durch den Hinweis auf die Aussprache des Wortes und auf die Titel einiger *vaipulya-sūtra*s erklärt wird, auf dasselbe Wort wie *vedalla*- zurückgeht, müßte *veyalla*- zugrundeliegen. Für die Aufhellung der Bedeutung des Wortes ist das wenig hilfreich."

meanings of *vedalla* and *vaipulya* from Pāli and Chinese sources (1964: 390~428[57]) and classified them into three groups: (1) Buddhaghosa's explanation, which we shall see below; (2) the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Satyasiddhiśāstra* (成實論 or *Tattvasiddhi*) and the *Mahāyānāvatāra* 入大乘論 explain *vaipulya* as extensively detailed scriptures; (3) the Mahāyāna texts, such as the *Da zhidu lun* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*) and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* identify *vaipulya* as *mahāyāna*-scriptures. Maeda concludes that Buddhaghosa's explanation is older than the latter two, with which I agree.

Buddhaghosa (5th century) explains *vedalla* as follows: "All the suttantas requested to be preached in accordance with repeated attainment of wisdom and delight, such as *Cullavedalla*, *Mahāvedalla*, *Sammādiṭṭhi*, *Sakkapañha*, *Saṅkhārabhājanīya*, and *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta*s and others should be known as *vedalla*."[58] What is meant by this is presumably as follows: person A raises a question and B answers it, then A, being pleased with the answer, raises a further question, then B again answers it.[59] Maeda demonstrates that the scriptures which Buddhaghosa referred to as examples of the *vedalla* genre have the following common features:

(1) It consists of questions and answers between disciples or between the Buddha and a disciple or the god Sakka. The inferior one raises questions and the superior one answers.

(2) In several of the quoted examples, the term *veyyākaraṇa* occurs, which shows that this genre is a variety of another genre *veyyākaraṇa* ("explanation").

(3) The most characteristic feature of *vedalla* and *veyyākaraṇa*, which differentiate them from other genres, is the repeated occurrences of the following set phrase: *sādh' ayye** (or *bhante* etc.) (B) *ti kho* A (nom.) B (gen.) *bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā* B (acc.) *uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi* ("After rejoicing and gladly receiving what B had said, saying 'Very good! O venerable B', A raised another question to B.") In this way, questions and answers continue.

(4) Contents of questions are varied but mainly concern the principal Buddhist doctrines.

Maeda concludes that, according to Buddhaghosa, one may define *vedalla* as a genre of scriptures consisting of repeated questions and answers, concerning the principal doctrines of Buddhism between an inferior and a superior person, such as the Buddha or one of his great disciples.[60] According to him, scriptures of this type are rare, though the following belong to it: Sn III. 6 *Sabhiyasutta = Mahāvastu* III 389~401 = *Fobenxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 T. 3, no. 190, 833a1~837c20; AN II 177~179 = Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, no. 172, T. 1, no. 26, 709a~c = *Yi jing* 意經, T. 1, no. 82. MN, no. 112 *Cabbisodhanasutta =*

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[57] A summary in English is found in Maeda 1964: (31)~(32).
[58] Cf. Jayawickrama 1962: 26. Sp 28.27ff. *Cūḷavedalla-Mahāvedalla-Sammādiṭṭhi-Sakkapañha-Saṅkhāra-bhājaniya-Mahāpuṇṇamasuttādayo sabbe pi vedaṃ ca tuṭṭhiṃ ca laddhā laddhāpucchitasuttanta vedallan ti veditabbaṃ*. It should be noted that the titles *Cūḷavedalla* (MN, no. 44) and *Mahāvedalla* (MN, no. 43), whose Chinese parallels have completely different titles, namely *Dharmadinnāsūtra* (法樂比丘尼經, MĀ, no. 210) and *Mahākauṣṭhila-sūtra* (大拘絺羅經, MĀ, no. 211), respectively (cf. Maeda 1964: 396ff.; Anālayo 2011: 268~286; Chung / Fukita 2011: 176f.; Anālayo 2012: 60f.; Schmithausen 2014: 97, n. 389; Honjō 2014: 74, 657, 889), are most probably later renaming. As we shall see below, *Cūḷavedalla* and *Mahāvedalla* may mean "Smaller Irregular (Scripture)" and "Larger Irregular (Scripture)", respectively.
[59] Cf. Wogihara 1938: 408f.; Maeda 1964: 391; Ui 1965: 161.
[60] Maeda 1964: 395f.

Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, no. 187 is also a variety of this genre.

In the Pāli Canon, except for the name of one of the nine genres of scriptures, the word *vedalla* rarely occurs, which makes it more difficult to define its meaning or etymology. The sole exception is the form *vedalla-kathā*, which occurs in the following description concerning the future danger, which Buddhism might encounter: AN III 107.1~7[61]:

> "Again, in the future there will be bhikkhus who are undeveloped in body, virtuous behavior, mind, and wisdom. While engaged in <u>talk pertaining to Dhamma, in questions-and-answers</u>, they will slide down into a dark Dhamma but will not recognize it. Thus, bhikkhus, through corruption of the Dhamma comes corruption of the discipline, and from corruption of the discipline comes corruption of the Dhamma. This is the third future peril as yet unarisen that will arise in the future. You should recognize it and make an effort to abandon it." (AN[tr] 714)

This description has been investigated already by Maeda (1964: 416f.) and Skilling (2013: 87f.). I agree with the latter's argument that this description "could refer to delusions arising from unprincipled speculations about Abhidhamma or Vedalla – a warning against, or a reaction to, excessive ontological or metaphysical speculations or currents of thought or practice that we would eventually know as Mahāyāna." Here, *vedalla* is used apparently in a negative meaning.[62] In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, immediately after the above-quoted description, the following danger is described: AN III 107.14~22.[63]

> "When those discourses spoken by the Tathagata are being recited that are deep, deep in meaning, world-transcending, connected with emptiness, they will not want to listen to them, will not lend an ear to them, or apply their minds to understand them; they will not think those teachings should be studied and learned. But when those discourses are being recited that are mere poetry composed by poets, beautiful in words and phrases, created by outsiders, spoken by disciples, they will want to listen to them, lend an ear to them, and apply their minds to understand them; they will think those teachings should be studied and learned." (AN[tr] 714)

The phrases "poetry composed by poets", "beautiful in words and phrases" are stock phrases used to show abuse towards Mahāyāna texts[64]. Also, there are Mahāyāna scriptures preached

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[61] *puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhavissanti bhikkhū anāgatam addhānaṃ abhāvitakāyā abhāvitasīlā abhāvitacittā abhāvitapaññā. te abhāvitakāyā samānā abhāvitasīlā abhāvitacittā abhāvitapaññā* <u>abhidhammakathaṃ vedallakathaṃ</u> *kathentā kaṇhadhammaṃ okkamamānā na bujjhissanti. iti kho bhikkhave dhammasandosā vinayasandoso, vinayasandosā dhammasandoso. idaṃ bhikkhave tatiyaṃ anāgatabhayaṃ etarahi asamuppannaṃ āyatiṃ samuppajjissati. taṃ vo paṭibujjhitabbaṃ, paṭibujjhitvā ca tassa pahānāya vāyamitabbaṃ.*

[62] Cf. Th-a III 85.8~11, where these sentences are quoted in order to explain the word *dummati* ("ignorant").

[63] *ye te suttantā tathāgatabhāsitā gambhīrā gambhīratthā lokuttarā suññatāppaṭisaṃyuttā, tesu bhaññamānesu na sussusissanti, na sotaṃ odahissanti, na aññācittaṃ upaṭṭhapessanti, na ca te dhamme uggahetabbaṃ pariyāpuṇitabbaṃ maññissanti. ye pana te suttantā kavikatā kāveyyā cittakkharā cittavyañjanā bāhirakā sāvakabhāsitā, tesu bhaññamānesu sussusissanti, sotaṃ odahissanti, aññācittaṃ upaṭṭhapessanti, te ca dhamme uggahetabbaṃ pariyāpuṇitabbaṃ maññissanti.* Cf. SN II 267.6~18 = AN I 72.25~73.23 = T. 2, no. 99(1258), 345b12~19 (My thanks to Kiyotaka Goshima for this information); Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 760, n. 7.

[64] Cf. AsP(V) 163.29 = AsP(R) 328.16 = AsP(W) 674.25. *yad etat tvayêdānīṃ śrutaṃ nâitad buddhavacanaṃ kavikṛtaṃ kāvyam etat. yat punar idam ahaṃ bhāṣe etad buddhabhāṣitam etad buddhavacanam* ("What you heard just now, that is not the word of the Buddha. It is a composition, invented by a poet. What I am talking to you about, that is the teaching of the Buddha, that is the word of the Buddha."); RP 28.15. *kavitāni hâiva*

by disciples as well.

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, the terms *vetulla / vetulya-vāda*, *-vādin* and *vetullaka* appear, which were used to condemn the Abhayagirivāsins, who introduced unorthodox doctrines, presumed to be Mahāyāna Buddhism, from the mainland.[65] Also, the words *vedalla-piṭaka / vetulla-piṭaka*, the canon of the *vetulla-vādin*s, regarded as being heretical (*a-buddhavacana*), appear in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* and *Sāratthappakāsinī*, both written by Buddhaghosa.[66]

Therefore, the words *vedalla* in *vedalla-kathā* and *vetulla/vetulya* are used thus with a negative meaning.[67]

As we have seen above, the words **vevulla* and *fangdeng* (*vaitulya*) started appearing in Chinese translations from the 2nd century onwards, while *fangguang* (*vaipulya*) began to be used first in the 5th century. On the other hand, the form *vaidalya* appears only in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*[68] by Asaṅga (ca. 395~470 C.E.)[69]*,* in the reconstructed form of the

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svamatāni pāpamataiḥ kutīrthkamataiś ca ("Invented, imagined by the evil-minded and by those who think like heretical teachers [are the Mahāyāna teachings]" [RP(tr) 137]); KN 272.10. *tīrthikā vat' ime bhikṣū svāni kāvyāni deśayuḥ* ("For sure, these monks are heretics! They preach their own compositions!"; cf. Karashima 2001a: 163). Cf. also MacQueen 1981, 1982; Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 760f.

[65] Both the Abhayagiri school and its rival, the Mahāvihara, received royal support until the time of King Vohārikatissa (214~236 C.E.), who, then, suppressed the *Vetulya*-doctrine. Cf. Dīp 22.43~45, Mhv 36.41, 111f.; Adikaram 1946: 90f.; Lamotte 1976: 202, 590 = 1988: 184, 534; Mori 1999: 12ff. Nonetheless, the Mahāyāna-oriented Abhayagiri school continued to flourish at least until the 11th century; cf. Adikaram 1946: 91~95.

[66] Cf. Sp 742.31. *Vedaḷha-piṭaka* (*sic*; read *Vedalla-p°*; cf. Sp 232.9); Spk 202.1. *Vetulla-piṭaka* (*v.l. Vedalla-p°*); Sv 566.33. *Vedalla-p°*; cf. Adikaram 1946: 98; Collins 1990: 112; von Hinüber 1996: 202.

[67] Cf. Skilling 2013: 88.

[68] However, this ascription is doubted: cf. Bayer 2010: 37.

[69] **Jinaputra's commentary (Bhāṣya) to Asaṅga's Abhidharmasamuccaya quotes the word vaidalya: Abhidh-sam-bh 96.3 (§ 118). "vaipulyaṃ vaidalyaṃ vaitulyam" ity ete mahāyānasya paryāyāḥ. The Chinese translation of the Abhidharmasamuccaya reads as follows: T. 31, no. 1605, 686b16~20. 何等方廣？謂菩薩藏相應言説。如名方廣 (vaipulya)，亦名廣破 (vaidalya)，亦名無比 (vaitulya)。爲何義故名爲方廣？一切有情利益安樂所依處故。宣説廣大甚深法故。爲何義故名爲廣破(vaidalya)？以能廣破一切障故。爲何義故名爲無比？無有諸法能比類故。 Pradhan's Sanskrit reconstruction, based on the Chinese translation by Xuanzang, reads as follows: Abhidh-sam 79.1~5. vaipulyaṃ katamat? bodhisattvapiṭakasamprayuktaṃ bhāṣitam. yad ucyate vaipulyaṃ tad vaidalyam apy ucyate vaitulyam apy ucyate. kimarthaṃ vaipulyam ucyate? sarvasattvānāṃ hitasukhādhiṣṭhānataḥ udāragambhīradharmadeśanātaś ca. kimartham ucyate vaidalyam? sarvāvaraṇavidalanataḥ. kimartham ucyate vaitulyam? upamānadharmāṇām tulanābhāvataḥ ("What is vaipulya? It is a collective designation of the Bodhisattva-piṭaka. Vaipulya is called vaidalya and vaitulya as well. Why is it called vaipulya? Because [the Bodhisattva-piṭaka] is the basis for the benefit and happiness of all sentient beings and also because it is [a collection of] the exalted and profound teachings of the Dharma. Why is it called vaidalya? Because it breaks down obstructions. Why is it called vaitulya? Because the comparison with any other object is impossible."). Cf. T. 31, no. 1606, 743c21ff.; Abhidh-sam(E), III 610~611. Similar passages are found also in the Vyākhyāyukti by Vasubandhu: Lee 2001a: 160~161, esp. 161.12~21. ji ltar na ming du chags pas she na / theg pa chen po de nyid la shin tu rgyas pa'i sde zhes bya ba'i ming 'di chags so // mtshungs pa med pa'i sde zhes kyang bya ste / mtshungs pa dang bral ba'i phyir ro // sde pa gzhan dag las ni "rnam par 'joms pa'i gtsug phud kyi sde" dang / "rnam par 'joms pa chen po'i sde" ste / de ni bag chags dang bcas pa'i nyon mongs pa rnam par 'joms pa'i phyir ro // yang 'dir / rgyas pa'i phyir na shin tu rgyas pa'i sde // mtshungs bral de phyir mtshungs med sde yang yin // lta ba thams cad rnam par 'joms pa'i phyir // rnam par 'joms pa'i sder yang shes par bya / ("How is [mahāyāna] called? Mahāyāna is called vaipulya. It is called vaitulya as well, because any comparison is impossible. Other schools call it "*vaidalyacūḍa" [?] or "mahāvaidalya" [?], because it destroys kleśas together with vāsanā. [A verse] says: Because it is extensive, it is vaipulya. Because there is no comparison, it is vaitulya. Because it annihilates all [heretical] views, it should be known as vaidalya."; cf. Lee 2001b71~73; my thanks to Genkai Hayashi for checking the transliteration of the Tibetan text); cf. also the Nyāyānusāra by Saṃghabhadra (fl. 5c.): T. 29, no. 1562, 595a22~26. 言方廣 (vaipulya)者，謂以正理廣辯諸*

title of the *Sarva*<u>*vaidalya*</u>*saṃgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*, which is apparently a hypersankritism of *vaitulya* as we have seen above, and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* 1385 *Sarvavaidalya-saṃgrahaḥ*. Also, as Skilling points out (2013: 90), in the Tibetan translation (early 8th century) of the *Buddhapiṭaka*, the title *mahāyānavaidalyasūtra* appears as one of the epithets of the text together with *sūtrāntapravicaya*, *buddhapiṭaka* and *duḥśīlanigraha*. However, in the Chinese translation by Kumārajīva (early 5th century), only this epithet is lacking: T. 15, no. 653, 803b17f. 此經名爲佛藏 (*buddhapiṭaka*), 亦名發起精進 (?*vīrya*), 亦名降伏破戒 (*duḥśīlanigraha*), 亦名選擇諸法 (*dharmavicaya*?). Therefore, the form *vaidalya* is rather late and rare. There is the *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa* by Nāgārjuna (2nd~3rd centuries), preserved in Tibetan, whose *vaidalya* is nothing to do with the *vaidalya* in question.[70]

The older forms *vevulla / *veulla*, *vaitulya* and Old Khotanese, *vittūlya* all indicate that *vaitulya* is a more original form, while *vaipulya* and *vaidalya* are secondary forms.

I assume that the most original form of these variants could have been *vedulla*, a Middle Indic form corresponding to *vaitulya* (> *vetulla* >[71] *vedulla*[72]), which might mean "not" (*vi*) "of the same kind" (*tulya*, MW, s.v.), i.e. "unusual, irregular". Scriptures, consisting of repeated questions and answers, not always between the Buddha and another person, but rather between two disciples, might have been labelled as *vedulla*, because they were "unusual, irregular". This form presumably changed in the Pāli tradition to *vedalla*, probably in association with *vidala* ("split; separating"), which also fits the designation of these "irregular" scriptures. On the other hand, in Northwest India, *vedulla* was changed probably into *veulla* in Gāndhārī, from which the form *vevulla*[73] was coined, using *v* as a sandhi-consonant. Much later, when the Middle Indic scriptures were sanskritised, probably from the 3rd century onwards, *vedulla* or *veulla* was also sanskritised to *vaitulya* by those who understood its original meaning. Moreover, later on, probably in the 4th century — as the Chinese *fangguang* first appeared in the 5th century ——, the new form *vaipulya* was coined from Gāndhārī *veulla* or *vevulla*.
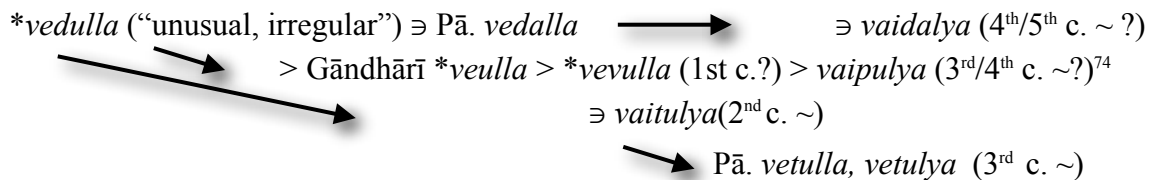

法。以一切法性相眾多，非廣言詞不能辯故。亦名廣破 (*vaidalya*)。由此廣言能破極堅無智闇故。或名無比 (*vaitulya*)。由此廣言理趣幽博餘無比故。有說此廣辯大菩提資糧。(≒ T. 29, no. 1563, 892a2~6).

[70] In the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which was composed presumably more than 150 years after Nāgārjuna, it says: "After the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, in the future, at Vedalī in the South, there will be a renowned monk, named Nāga, who will destroy the one-sided views as to whether (the *dharma*s are) existent or non-existent, and having proclaimed the unsurpassed Mahāyāna and attained the stage of "Joy", will be reborn in Sukhāvatī."(Lāv 286, Ch. 10 [*Sagāthaka*], vs. 164~166; T. 16, no. 671, 569a22~27). Vedalī (a place name) might have been coined from Nāgārjuna's work *Vaidalyaprakaraṇa*. In this connection, it should be mentioned that Pā. *Vepulla*, a name of the highest of the five mountains surrounding Rājagaha, was sanskritised as *Vaipulya* (cf. BHSD, s.v.), *Vaidalya* (cf. BHSD, s.v.) or *Vaiḍūrya* in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Daśa-bh[K] 201.8).

[71] For -*t*- > -*d*- in Pāli, cf. Geiger § 38.3. *udāhu* = Skt. *utāho*; *niyyādeti*, *paṭiyādeti* = Skt. *yātayati*; *pasada* = Skt. *pṛṣata*; *saṃghādisesa* = *saṃgha* + *atiśeṣa*; Lüders 1954 § 96. *uppāda* = Skt. *utpāta*, § 98. *ruda* = *ruta*; von Hinüber 2001: § 189 *surada* = Skt. *surata*; cf. also op. cit. § 177.

[72] Wogihara (1938: 411) assumes that *weitouli* 爲頭離 (T. 25, no. 1509, 246c27; EH. ɣjwei dou ljei > MC. jwe dəu lje) was a transliteration of *vedulla*, but its original form was presumably *vedulya* or *vaidulya*. Lamotte incorrectly rendered it as *vaipulya* (Mppś III 1622).

[73] For the change from *vedulla* (through *veulla*) to *vevulla*, cf. Karashima 1994: 19, § 2.3.7. 布和 (pwo- ɣwâ; *Pova*) = Skt, Pā. *Potana*, Pā. *Pota*; Pkt. *Poyaṇa*; ib. § 2.3.8. 嗚婆提 (?wo bwâ diei; *Ovade*) = Skt. *Avadāta*, Pā. *Odāta*; Skt. *Jeta* > Kho. *Jīva*; Skt. *udāra* > Kho. *uvāra*; Skt. *lokadhātu* > Kho. *lovadāva*.

*vedulla ("unusual, irregular") ∋ Pā. vedalla ⟶ ∋ vaidalya (4th/5th c. ~ ?)

⟶ > Gāndhārī *veulla > *vevulla (1st c.?) > vaipulya (3rd/4th c. ~?)[74]

∋ vaitulya(2nd c. ~)

⟶ Pā. vetulla, vetulya (3rd c. ~)

Presumably, those who had composed the new scriptures, bearing the titles *vevulla, vaitulya, did not consider them negatively but rather regarded them in a positive sense, such as "incomparable, peerless", as is seen in the definition of the term in the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*: "Why is *vaitulya* called so? Because it cannot be compared with comparable things."[75] The newly-coined form *vaipulya* has more of a positive meaning, namely "full development, abundance, plenty, fullness". Thus, *vaitulya* and *vaipulya* were used in a positive sense in the freshly-composed scriptures, which were later called *mahāyāna* scriptures. Probably, the composers thought that they were composing unique texts, whose contents and forms were not found in orthodox scriptures. Also, it should be noted that many of the *(mahā)vaitulya* scriptures consist of questions and answers between the Buddha and disciples or among his disciples themselves —— not only *paripṛcchā*-type scriptures but also the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and the Lotus Sutra contain many series of questions and answers[76]. This feature agrees with Buddhaghosa's definition of *vedalla*-scriptures.

As we have seen above, many scriptures, which had been entitled *vaitulya*, were later renamed *vaipulya* or *mahāyāna*. Now, in Sanskrit texts and Tibetan translations, most of the so-called *mahāyāna* scriptures are entitled as such, but these titles are the result of later renaming. As we have noted already, the title *dasheng* (= *mahāyāna*) for scriptures first appeared around 400 C.E. —— also Kumārajīva interpreted *(mahā)vaitulya* as 大乘經 *dashengjing* ("*mahāyāna* scripture) in 406 C.E. as we have seen above (7). This probably means that the title *mahāyāna* for these scriptures came to be used as late as the 4th century in North and/or Northwest India. In this connection, it is significant to quote the following passages from the *Da Zhidu lun*, *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, a commentary on the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, in which the genre *vaipulya* among the 12 genres of the Buddha's teachings is explained in the following way: "'Expounded scriptures' (*vaipulya*) is a designation of *mahāyāna*. As immeasurable, countless scriptures such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Scripture of the Six *Pāramitā*s, Scripture of the Hand of Flower (*Padmahasta*; T. 16, no. 657), Scripture of the Lotus, Scripture of the Buddha's Origin and Cause, Scripture of Cloud, Scripture of Dharma-Cloud, Scripture of Great Cloud etc. were (preached) for the purpose of (people's) attaining *anuttara samyaksaṃbodhi*, therefore it is called *vaipulya*."[77] This part of the *Da*

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[74] Cf. Gā. vehulla (written as vehula) < *veulla < *vevulla < vaipulya; Nasim Khan 81.12: /// aṇatara[ha]ṇae ∘ vurdhie vehulae ∘ aṣamoṣae (i.e. *anantaradhānāya vṛddhaye vaipulyāya asaṃmoṣāya).

[75] The *Vyākhyāyukti* by Vasubandhu says the same: "*Mahāyāna* is ... called *vaitulya* as well, because the comparison is impossible." Cf. note 69.

[76] The *Prajñāpāramitā* contains hundreds of questions and answers between the Buddha and Subhūti, the Buddha and Indra and between Subhūti and Śāriputra and so on. Throughout the entire first chapter of the Lotus Sutra, the Buddha remained in meditation, uttering no words. In his meditation, the Buddha manifested miracles. Marvelling at these, Maitreya asked Mañjuśrī about their meaning, which the latter explained.

[77] T. 25, no. 1509, 308a4~8. 廣經者名摩訶衍，所謂《般若波羅蜜經》、《六波羅蜜經》、《華手(←首)經》、《法華經》、《佛本起因緣經》、《雲經》、《法雲經》、《大雲經》如是等無量阿僧祇諸經，

Zhidu lun was perhaps composed not by its Indian author but by Kumārajīva himself[78]. Important to note is that by the time of Kumārajīva, both *vaitulya-* and *vaipulya*-scriptures had been regarded as *mahāyāna*-scriptures.

I assume that the earlier composers of the so-called "Mahāyāna" *sūtra*s had named their texts **vevulla / vaitulya / vaipulya* (cf. Pāli *vedalla, vetulla, vetulya,* Buddhist Sanskrit *vaidalya*), and only later were these titles changed to *mahāyānasūtra*. There are also some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, which are never labelled as such, for example various texts of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

(10) Who composed the *vaitulya*-scriptures?
— The Mahāsāṃghikas and *vaitulya- /vaipulya- /mahāyāna*-scriptures

In the collection of *vaitulya*-scriptures, namely the *Da Fangdeng Daji jing* 大方等大集經 (**Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta*; T. 13, no. 397), which was mainly translated by Dharmakṣema between 414~426 C.E. and Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍 in 585 C.E., and compiled as one collection by Sengjiu 僧就 in 586 C.E, the term *dasheng* 大乘 (*mahāyāna*) occurs 198 times and is praised greatly. Also, some texts in this collection are called *mahāyāna*-scriptures (*dasheng jing* 大乘經)[79], which are apparently *vaitulya*-cum-*mahāyāna*-scriptures. In this collection, it is said that the crime of those who revile the *vaitulya*-scriptures is equal to "the five rebellious crimes" (namely, killing one's mother or father, or a saint, causing the Buddha's body to bleed, and causing dissension in the Buddhist order)[80]. It is thus apparent that there were antagonists who did not accept these scriptures as the Buddha's teachings.

It is very significant that in the 10th scripture of the **Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta*, namely the *Xukongmu fen* 虛空目分, translated by Dharmakṣema, we find the following important sentences, which reveal the relationship between this *vaitulya*-scripture and a particular school:

> After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, there will be disciples, who will receive, hold, copy, read and recite the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings, interpret their meanings in a distorted way and proclaim them wrongly. By explaining (the teachings) in a distorted way, they will conceal the basket of the Dharma. Because they conceal (√*gup*) the Dharma, therefore they will be called Dharmagupta(ka)s.
>
> After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will also read, recite, copy and speak about non-Buddhist texts (外典), receive (the

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為得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提故說"毘佛略"(呂夜反). In the second chapter of his *Vyākhyāyukti*, Vasubandhu also maintains that the genre *vaipulya* amongst the 12 genres of the Buddha's teachings is a designation of *mahāyāna*. Cf. Lee 2001a: 159~161; 2001b: 69~73.

[78] Cf. Hikata 1958: LVf. I doubt that this text was composed by the author of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*. On this, see below p. 142.

[79] E.g. No. 397-14: 日藏分 alias 大乘大方等日藏經 and No. 394-16. 須彌藏分 alias 大乘大集經須彌藏分(cf. T. 55, no. 2154, 543c14, 681b24, 702b17) both trans. by Narendrayaśa in 585 C.E. Cf. also T. 13, no. 397, 64c17. 何況取是大乘經典 ("this *mahāyāna*-scripture")一品二品; 212c13. 是大乘經 ("this *mahāyāna*-scripture")不從他聞而能分別.

[80] T. 13, no. 397, 59a14. 見有誹謗方等經者不與同止; 218c5. 惟除五逆謗方等經毀呰聖人; 220a24f. 除五逆罪謗方等經毀呰聖人犯四重禁; 243c11. 若有眾生造作五逆謗方等經; cf. also *ib.* 219a5, 220b1.

doctrine) concerning the existence of (the *dharma*s) of the three time periods (past, present and future) and of internal and external (*dharma*s). They will refute heretics, be good at arguing, maintain that all kinds of beings are able to receive the precepts. They will be able to answer (√*vad*) correctly all (*sarva*) intricate questions. Therefore, they will be called the Sarvāstivādins.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, copy, read and recite the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will say that there is no self (*ātman* or *pudgala*) nor receiver. Like corpses, (they) will change (轉) *kleśa*s. Therefore, they will be called the Kāśyapīyas.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will not admit (? 作) to the features of earth, features of water and fire, features of sky and recognition. Therefore, they will be called the Mahīśāsakas.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. 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.

After my *parinirvāṇa*, O Kauṇḍinya, (there will be) my disciples, who will receive, hold, read, recite and copy the twelve categories of the Tathāgata's teachings. They will read all the five categories of scriptures extensively. Therefore, they will be called the Mahāsāṃghikas.[81]

Thus, the description concerning the Mahāsāṃghikas appears at the end and it is expressed in a positive way, while other schools are described negatively. We may assume that the composer of this *vaitulya*-scripture belonged to the school of the Mahāsāṃghikas.

The close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra* and *Daśabhūmikasūtra* has been already pointed out.[82] Among them, the *Prajñāpāramitā* and

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[81] T. 13, no. 397, Dhk. 159a14ff. 憍陳如！我涅槃後，有諸弟子，受持如來十二部經，書寫、讀誦，顛倒解義，顛倒宣說。以倒解說，覆隱法藏。以覆法故，名曇摩毱多(Dharmaguptaka)。憍陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，讀誦、書寫。而復讀誦、書、說外典，受有三世及以內外。破壞外道，善解論義，說一切性悉得受戒。凡所問難悉能答對，是故名為薩婆帝婆(Sarvāstivādin)。憍陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，書寫讀誦。說無有我及以受者，轉諸煩惱，猶如死屍。是故名為迦葉毘部(Kāśyapīya)。憍陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，讀誦書寫，不作地相、水、火、風相、虛空、識相，是故名為彌沙塞部(Mahīśāsaka)。憍陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子，受持如來十二部經，讀誦書寫，皆說有我，不說空相，猶如小兒。是故名為婆嗟富羅(Vātsīputrīya)。憍陳如！我涅槃後，我諸弟子受持如來十二部經，讀誦書寫，廣博遍覽五部經書，是故名為摩訶僧祇(Mahāsāṃghika)。These sentences are quoted in later Chinese texts repeatedly; e.g. T. 50, no. 2059 (*Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳), 403a22ff.; T. 54, no. 2131 (*Fanyi Mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集), 1113a29ff.; T. 55, no. 2145 (*Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集), 20a22f., b23f., c23f., 21a12f., b3f. etc.

[82] Concerning the Mahāsāṃghikas' close association with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, see Kajiyama 1976: 103f. = 2012: 85f.; Conze 1978: 1f.; Sander 2000: 100; Watanabe 1995: 46f., 165f., 170f.; *ibid.* 2009: 20f.; Guang Xing 2005: 65~66; Nishimura 2006; Skilling 2013b; Karashima 2012: III, 560~561 = 2014: 85~86; with the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, see Iwai 2014: 34~39; with the *Samādhirājasūtra*, see Skilling 2013a; with the *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra*, see Shimoda 1997: 254~256, 290, 381, 386~387, Hodge 2006. Kuno (1930: esp. 64, 70f., 130f.) and others assume that the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* is based on the *Daśabhūmika* in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu I 63~193). In his *Prajñāpradīpa-ṭīkā*, Avalokitavrata (fl. 700 C.E. ca.) says that these two texts

the Lotus Sutra are listed as *vaipulya*-scripptures in the *Da Zhidu lun* as we have seen above. The Lotus Sutra calls itself *vaitulya / vaipulya* in the text. Narendrayaśa 那連提耶舍, the translator of the latter half of the collection of *vaitulya*-scriptures, namely the *Da Fangdeng Daji jing* (*Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta), translated the *Samādhirājasūtra* in 557 C.E. The Chinese translation is entitled *Yuedeng Sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經, which is called the *Da Fangdeng Daji Yuedeng jing* 大方等大集月燈經 (*Mahāvaitulya-Mahāsannipāta-Candradīpa-sūtra) as well. Hence, this scripture is one of the *vaitulya*-scriptures.

In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and *Samādhi-rājasūtra*, the notion of *pudgala* and the existence of all dharmas in the past, present and future are criticised explicitly. According to various sources, the coexistence of multiple *buddha*s at the same time[83], the Buddha's preaching in one voice[84] and preaching by magically-produced *buddha*s[85] were denounced by both the Sthaviravādins and Sarvāstivādins, while the Mahāsāṃghikas affirmed them. In fact, the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* says that those who affirmed preaching by the magically-produced Buddha are called the *Vetulyaka / Vetullaka*.[86] However, coexistence of plural *buddha*s, preaching in one voice[87], and preaching by magically-produced *buddha*s are common features of Mahāyāna scriptures.[88]

The close relationship between the Mahāsāṃghikas and the Mahāyāna is illustrated by the fact that Faxian 法顯 copied a manuscript of the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* in a Mahāyāna monastery called Devarāja (Tianwang Jingshe 天王精舍), where Mahāyāna monks were living. As Faxian wrote, this Vinaya manuscript was brought from Jetavana to Pāṭaliputra in order to re-establish the order of the Buddhist community there. From this, we can conclude that the Mahāyāna monks in this monastery belonged to the Mahāsāṃghika school and that the said Devarāja monastery was thus a Mahāsāṃghika-cum-Mahāyāna one.[89]

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are related: "... the Mahāyāna is included in the *Mahāvastu* of the *Mahāsāṃghika Piṭaka*, because it contains characteristically [Mahāyāna material] like the "Sūtra on the Ten Stages" (Daśabhūmika-sūtra) and the Perfections (*pāramitā*). ..." (quoted from Skilling 2013b: 202).

[83] Cf. Bareau 1955: 60f. (16), 238 (201).

[84] Cf. the following verses found in the *Mahāvastu*, an *Avadāna* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins: Mvu I 171.12~15 = Mvu(tr) I 135: "The sweet voice of the Daśabalas pervades a whole assembly. It makes a whole assembly understand, even though *nayuta*s of worlds are gathered there. Though it speak in one language, this utterance becomes current everywhere, even in the barbaric assemblies of the Scythians, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Ramaṭhas, the Persians, and the Daradas." Cf. Bareau 1955: 58(4), 145(55). This topic is discussed, in detail, in Iwagami 2011: 119~125.

[85] Cf. Kv 560f.

[86] See Kv-a(M) 171.24. *Vetulyaka*; Kv-a(J) 173.2. *Vetullaka*.

[87] E.g. Vkn 1.10, v. 10. *ekāṃ ca vācaṃ bhagavān pramuñcase nānārutaṃ ca pariṣad vijānati | yathāsvakaṃ cârtha vijānate jano jinasya āveṇikabuddhalakṣaṇam ||*; Samādh(D) I 198.7~10. *ekasvarā tu tava lokahitā nānādhimukti svaru niścarati | ekaiku manyi mama bhāṣi jino [brūhi smitaṃ ta kṛ]tu kasya kṛte ||* (≒ Prasp 368.2f.); for further occurences, cf. Iwagami 2011: 111~141.

[88] In the *Da Zhidu lun*, the author says that the scripture of the *Prajñāpāramitā* on which he comments is only a tiny piece of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture, consisting of thousands of billions of verses, preserved in the palaces of the kings of *nāga*s and *asura*s and gods. As the Buddha not only himself preached but also produced countless bodies in innumerable worlds by his supernatural powers, his teachings are immeasurable. 摩訶衍甚多無量無限，如此中《般若波羅蜜品》，有二萬二千偈；《大般若品》，有十萬偈；諸龍王、阿修羅王、諸天宮中，有千億萬偈等。所以者何？此諸天、龍、神壽命長久，識念力強故。今此世人，壽命短促，識念力薄，《小般若波羅蜜品》尚不能讀，何況多者！諸餘大菩薩所知般若波羅蜜，無量無限。何以故？佛非但一身所說，無量世中或變化作無數身，是故所說無量。(756a29~b6).

[89] T. 22, no. 1425, 548a29~b25; T. 51, no. 2085, 864b16~23; cf. Abhis III 567~574.

It is also significant that Faxian received a copy of the *Vaitulya-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (i.e. the *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra*) from a lay follower of this monastery.[90]

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 *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 as the basis of the five schools (五部; *pañca nikāyāḥ*)."[91]

(11) Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Madhyamikas, Yogācāras and Sarvāstivādins
(11.1) Texts which quote Mahāyāna scriptures

To my surprise, throughout the whole Abhidharma section of the Taishō Edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vols. 26~29, 3,644 pages in all, neither the *Prajñāpāramitā* as the name of a scripture nor the Lotus Sutra, *Avataṃsakasūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha* or any Mahāyāna scripture is referred to. Most probably, this means that the Abhidharmists of the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptakas[92] did not read (or dared not quote) Mahāyāna scriptures. On the other hand, the authors of the texts, in which Mahāyāna scriptures are quoted, seem to have been monks, belonging to the Mahāsāṃghikas or at least related to this school.

The relationship between the Pūrvaśailas, a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas, and Nāgārjuna has been pointed out already.[93] I assume also that he belonged to the Mahāsāṃghikas for the following reasons:

(1) Nāgārjuna seems to have been active in the Andhaka/Āndhraka region, where the Andhaka shool, which was a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas, was thriving.[94] From Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (meaning "Nāgārjuna Hill"), which was named after Nāgārjuna, 11 inscriptions, dating back to the 3rd century C.E., of the Aparaśailas, Pūrvaśailas and Bahuśrutīyas, all of which were sub-schools of the Mahāsāṃghikas, were discovered, apart from one inscription of the Mahīśāsakas and two of the Vibhajyavādin.[95] It is clear that the Mahāsāṃghikas school and its sub-schools were popular there at that time.

(2) The *Lokānuvartanā-sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170~190 CE), entitled *Neicang Baibao jing* 内藏百寶經 (T. 17, no. 807) and is called a *mahāyānasūtra* in the Tibetan translation.[96] As has been pointed out already[97], a part of

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[90] T. 51, no. 2085, 864b27; T. 55, no. 2145, 60b2~11; cf. Abhis III 570~572.

[91] 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.

[92] Bareau (1950) and Mizuno (1966 = 1996: 319~340) assume that T. 28, no. 1548, the *Shelifu Apitanlun* 舍利弗阿毘曇論 (*Śāriputrābhidharma*) is a Dharmaguptaka text. I agree with their assumption on the basis of my own research of this text in comparison with the Chinese translation of the *Daśottarasūtra* in the *Dīrghāgama* of the same school (cf. Karashima 2000: 5, 157~215).

[93] Cf. Walser 2005: 88: "… Nāgārjuna probably lived in a Pūrvaśailya, Aparaśailya, or Caityaka monastery during the time he wrote the Ratnāvalī." Mitrikeski (2009) has demonstrated also the relationship between Nāgārjuna and the Pūrvaśaila school. Cf. also Mabbett 1998.

[94] Cf. Tsukamoto 1980: 461~462.

[95] Cf. Tsukamoto 1980: 500~502; IBInsc I 313~352.

[96] Tib(Pk) 866, Tib(D) 200. *'phags pa 'Jig rten gyi rjes su 'thun par 'jug pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*ārya-Lokānuvartana nāma mahāyānasūtra*).

[97] Takahara 1969; Shizutani 1974: 282~283, 315~318; Harrison 1982, 1995; Shimoda 1997: 254~256; Guang Xing 2006; Mitrikeski 2009: 155~157.

this scripture corresponds well to a portion of the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu I 167.15~170.10), an *Avadāna* text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, another sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Therefore, it is quite probable that the **Lokānuvartanā-sūtra* was composed by somebody, belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika school or its sub-school. As Harrison has pointed out, verses 19 and 20 of Nāgārjuna's *Niraupamyastava* are based on this scripture.[98] From this, we may assume that Nāgārjuna was well versed in texts of this particular school.

In the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, which is ascribed to Nāgārjuna, there are many quotations from various Mahāyāna scriptures,[99] though this is now doubted.[100] Similarly, in the *Da zhidu lun* (**Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*; hereafter Mppś), a commentary on the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, ascribed also to Nāgārjuna and preserved only in a Chinese translation by Kumārajīva, not only the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture but also a variety of Mahāyāna scriptures are quoted frequently[101] —— the Lotus Sutra is quoted 22 times! However, it is doubtful that this text was composed by the same Nāgārjuna (the author of the *Madhyamakaśāstra*), whom we are discussing.[102] This text is based apparently on the Sarvāstivādin tradition[103], therefore, I agree with Étienne Lamotte's assumption that this work was composed at the beginning of the 4th century by a North Indian monk of the Sarvāstivāda school, who converted to the Mahāyāna Buddhism (as did Vasubandhu, as we shall see later).[104] However, as has been pointed out already[105], quite a few parts of the text were added by the translator, Kumārajīva, or his disciples in China.

In his *Prasannapadā*, *Madhyamakāvatāra* and the *Śūnyatāsaptativṛtti*, Candrakīrti (ca. 570~650 or ca. 560~640 C.E.) quotes many Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* etc.[106] In these texts, he also quotes verses from the above-mentioned *Lokānuvartanā-sūtra*.[107] In addition to this, in his *Madhyamakāvatāra*, he quotes the same verses, referring to them as "verses of the Pūrvaśailas" (MAv 134.1), again a sub-school of the Mahāsāṃghikas, while in his *Prasannapadā*, he quotes the same verses, saying they are from the *Āgama*(s) (Prasp 548.5. *āgamasūtreṣu*). In his works, he criticised the Vijñānavāda, Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, all of which seem to have been related to the Sarvāstivāda school, and the Sammitīyas.[108] From these facts, one may assume that Candrakīrti belonged to the Mahāsāṃghika school.

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[98] Tucci 1932: 318, vs. 19~20. Cf. Harrison 1982: 224; Mitrikeski 2009: 156~157.
[99] Cf. Pāsādika 1989; Ichishima 1990: 16(271)~24(263).
[100] Ichishima 2000: 289; Harrison 2007.
[101] Cf. Mppś III, pp. XXXII~XXXVII.
[102] Except for the *Ratnāvalī*, Nāgārjuna hardly used the word *mahāyāna*, cf. Warder 1973; Fronsdal 1998: 96, n. 7. The ascription of the *Ratnāvalī* to Nāgārjuna, in which the term *mahāyāna* frequently occurs, is doubted by some scholars (Fronsdal *loc. cit.*), while Walser defends its authorship; cf. Walser 2005: 271ff.
[103] Cf. Mppś III, pp. XVII~XVIII.
[104] Cf. Mppś III, pp. V~L, esp. pp. XIV, L. I do not agree with Yinshun (1990), who assumes that this text was composed by Nāgārjuna of the Mahāsāṃghika school, nor with Junshō Katō, who maintains that Mppś is a composition by Kumārajīva. Cf. also Takeda 2005: 105~107, 178~198.
[105] Hikata 1958: LII~LXXV.
[106] Cf. Prasp 625~629; MAv(tr.J) 6~7; Śsv(tr.G) 286~301.
[107] Cf. Harrison 1982: 225~227; Shimoda 1997: 254~255; Śsv(tr.G) 41, 130, n. 268.
[108] Cf. YṢV(tr.F) 224, n. 407.

In his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Śāntideva (fl. 685~763[109]) quotes a variety of Mahāyāna scriptures as well, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* etc.[110] Moreover, he is said to have worshipped Mañjuśrī Bodhisatva.[111] In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, a Vinaya text, *Bhikṣuprakīrṇaka* by name, is quoted without referring to the name of its school (Śikṣ 154:17), and the cited sentences agree with those in the Vinaya text of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins.[112] Probably, he did not feel the necessity of referring to the school's name, because it was of his own school. On the other hand, when he quotes the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivāda school, he refers to the school's name, e.g. "*Sarvāstivādin*", "*Sarvāstivādaka*". Thus, one may assume that he was a monk of the Mahāsāṃghikas or its sub-school.[113]

Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (also known as Atiśa; 982~1054 C.E.) was born in Southeast Bengal, ordained into the Mahāsāṃghika tradition at the age of 28 and went to Gugé in West Tibet where he died. In his *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*, he quotes 83 sorts of scriptures, including many Mahāyāna ones[114].

Thus, Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva and Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, who quote Mahāyāna scriptures in their texts, were probably monks of the Mahāsāṃghika tradition.

(11.2) Vasubandhu —a *vaitulika* and "dropout" from the Sarvāstivāda

However, some may say that the famous Mahāyanist, Vasubandhu (ca. 350~430 or 400~480 C.E.), was a Sarvāstivāda monk, who is said to have been ordained into the Sarvāstivāda tradition, studied the Abhidharma philosophy of that school and composed the *Abhidharmakośa*, a summary of the tenets of that school, and its auto-commentary, namely the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Later, he converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism under the influence of his elder brother, Asaṅga, and wrote commentaries on the Mahāyāna scriptures.

There is another Abhidharma text, namely the *Abhidharmadīpa* by Dīpakāra (ca. 450~550 C.E.?), an orthodox Sarvāstivādin, which follows Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* in its structure. In this text, the Vaitulikas and Vasubandhu are criticised harshly.

> "The Sarvāstivādins think that the three times (of the present, past, and future) exist, three sorts of unchangeable things. However, the Vibhajyavādins and the Dārṣṭāntikas admit that only the present exists. The Vaitulikas, who are illogical *śūnyatāvādin*s, think that nothing exists. The Pudgalavādins, who proclaim the existence of the indeterminate, also assert that *pudgala* exists as substance. ... Only the Sarvāstivādins, conforming to reasoning and the *Āgama*s, are correct. The Dārṣṭāntikas, Vaitulikas and Pudgalavādins, not conforming to reasoning or the *Āgama*s, are erroneous philosophers." (Abhidh-d 257.4~258.8)

> "The Vaitulikas fancy that what originates in dependence (on something else), does not exist, since its self-nature (is wanting). ... (They fancy): 'Because the self-nature is

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[109] Bca(tr) viii.

[110] Śikṣ 367~371.

[111] Bca(tr) viii, 191.

[112] Ishida 1993: 2.

[113] Enomoto 2004: 674, n. 51.

[114] According to Mochizuki (2013: 729f.), in the *Mahāsūtrasamuccaya*, 83 different scriptures are quoted at 273 places, while in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 88 are quoted at 360 places. However, the quoted sentences do not overlap. Therefore, Atiśa did not take these quotations from the pre-existing *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

wanting, all *dharma*s are void of self (*nir-ātman*) like a wheel of fire.'" (Abhidh-d 276.5~11)

"(As Vasubandhu maintains,) if the Lord, by the power of meditation, would, at will, produce a new sentient being, who is equipped with consciousness and faculties, or would prolong his (i.e. the Lord's) own life, which had not been prolonged before, by means of his previous *karman* and the power of *yoga*, then, the Buddha, the Lord would become (the same as) Nārāyaṇa (= Viṣṇu), because (it would mean that) he would have produced a completely new sentient being magically. Moreover, (Vasubandhu maintains,) he (i.e. the Buddha), out of compassion, would never enter *parinirvāṇa*, (and thus) he would eliminate the dangers of confusion of his teachings. These views should be ignored, because this "Venerable" (bhadanta, i.e. Vasubandhu) is trying to lead (people) towards the texts of the Vaitulikas (*vaitulikaśāstra*)." (Abhidh-d 101.3~8[115])

What the Vaitulikas, who were labelled "illogical *śūnyatāvādin*s", are said to have maintained, is none other than what the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Samādhirājasūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa mahāsūtra* state. Thus, it is clear that the so-called Mahāyāna texts were completely irreconcilable with the orthodox Sarvāstivādins.

Moreover, in the *Abhidharmadīpa*, Vasubandhu, who converted from the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma standpoint to Mahāyāna Buddhism, is called disdainfully "a *vaitulika*, who dropped out of the Sarvāstivāda (school)" (*Sarvāstivāda-vibhraṣṭi-vaitulika*).[116]

If Mahāyāna Buddhism had originated from the Sarvāstivāda school, the *Abhidharmadīpa* would not have criticised the Vaitulikas or Vasubandhu so harshly. It is, thus, clear that the Sarvāstivāda school was irreconcilable with Mahāyāna Buddhism, which originated from the Mahāsāṃghika school, which was antagonistic towards the Sarvāstivāda school. Therefore, Vasubandhu had to "*convert*" to Mahāyāna Buddhism, which was considered as "dropping out".

(11.3) The Sarvāstivādins did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhism

The following facts also indicate that the Sarvāstivāda school originally did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhism.

(1) From several places on the northern route of the Silk Road, such as in Qizil, Kucha and Turfan, more than ten thousand Sanskrit fragments have been discovered, now preserved in Berlin, London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Beijing etc. Amongst them, there are more than one thousand fragments of Vinaya texts, which belong to the Sarvāstivādins or the so-called Mūlasarvāstivādins apart from a few exceptions. This reflects the historical fact that the Sarvāstivāda tradition was predominant in the regions along the northern edge of the Tarim Basin. Apart from these Vinaya fragments, there are many thousands of fragments of canonical *sūtra*s, *Avadāna*s and Abhidharma texts of so-called Nikāya-Buddhism, which,

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[115] *tathâpi tu yuktimaduttaram ucyate. yadi bhagavān samādhibalena svecchayā (')pūrvaṃ sattvaṃ savijñānakaṃ sendriyam utpādayet, svātmano vā jīvitam anākṣiptaṃ prākkarmabhir yogabalenâkṣipet, tato buddho bhagavān Nārāyaṇīkṛtaḥ syāt apūrvasattvanirmāṇāt. sa ca kāruṇikatvān n' eva pariṇirvāyāt, śāsana{ṃ}sambhedasaṃdehāṃś ca cchindyāt. tasmād Vaitulikaśāstrapraveśadvāram ārabdhaṃ tena bhadantenêty adhyupekṣyam etat.* Cf. Jaini 1958a: 550f. = 2001: 196; Mitomo 2007: 397.

[116] Abhidh-d 282.1. *Sarvāstivāda-vibhraṣṭir vaituliko*; cf. Jaini 1958: 52f. = 2001: 187f.; Mitomo 2007: 208, 615. According to Mitomo 2007: 615, n. 215, the manuscript reads "°*vāda-vibhraṣṭi-vaituliko*".

most probably, belong mainly to the above-mentioned tradition. Compared to the huge number of these fragments of Nikāya-Buddhist texts, there are much fewer than one hundred fragments of Mahāyāna scriptures, amongst which quite a few are written in South Turkestan Brāhmī and are assumed to have been brought from Khotan.[117] If Mahāyāna Buddhism had originated from the Sarvāstivāda tradition or this school had accepted Mahāyāna Buddhism, many more Mahāyāna fragments would have been expected.[118] Probably, this fact reflects that the Sarvāstivāda school did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhism until much later in those peripheral regions of Nikāya-Buddhism —— it is well known that peripheral areas are often more conservative than the centre.

(2) Moreover, themes of the mural paintings of the above-mentioned regions, such as Kizil and Bezeklik, are of previous *buddha*s, Śākyamuni Buddha and Maitreya, as the next Buddha of the future, as well as the *Jātaka* stories of Śākyamuni Buddha. There are no images of the manifestation of multiple *buddha*s as seen in Gandhāra nor two Buddhas' sitting together beside a *stūpa* as described in the Lotus Sutra and depicted in Gilgit[119]. The Mahāsāṃghikas held the notion of the existence of many contemporaneous *buddha*s of the ten directions.[120] They also held that the Buddha could produce multiple physical manifestations (*nirmāṇakāya*) in order to preach to many sentient beings. Those notions were viewed as heretical by the Sarvāstivādins and other Sthaviravāda schools. However, multiple *buddha*s of the ten directions and magically-manifested *buddha*s, who preach to people, are commonly depicted in Mahāyāna scriptures. The lack of such depictions in Northern Silk Road paintings indicates that the dominant Sarvāstivādins, there, did not accept Mahāyāna Buddhist views, which originated from their antagonists, the Mahāsāṃghikas.

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

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[117] Cf. BLSF II 29f.; Wille 2014, 2014a; Hartmann / Wille 2014, 2014a. I should like to thank Klaus Wille for providing me with this information.

[118] In contrast to this feature of Sanskrit fragments discovered in the Northern Silk Road, the situation of Buddhist manuscripts and fragments discovered in Bamiyan, Afghanistan is completely different. The Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang reported the existence of monasteries of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda school there. The manuscripts and fragments discovered in the last two decades in Bamiyan and now located in the Schøyen Collection in Norway include a large number of Mahāyāna scriptures as well as Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya texts. Some fragments are in Gāndhārī written in Kharoṣṭhī script, dating 2nd~4th centuries, while others are in Sanskrit written in Brāhmī scripts, dating 2nd~8th centuries. The same scripts were used for writing Mahāyāna scriptures and the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya texts. These facts indicate the close relationship between Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Mahāsāṃghika school. Cf. Braarvig 2014.

[119] Hauptmann 2008: 353, 357.

[120] Guang 2005: 57 with further references.

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 the above-mentioned Vasubandhu and his elder brother Asaṅga, who is said to have received teachings from Bodhisatva Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven[121] —— hence, some works of the Yogācāra school are ascribed to a mythical author named Maitreya. Also, one should not forget that, though these two brothers had converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism, they remained Sarvāstivādin monks all their lives, because they had been ordained into that school, held its Vinaya rules and had to recite the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, belonging to this school, every fortnight at the *Poṣadha* ceremony —— there was no Mahāyāna *Prātimokṣasūtra* nor a monk who was ordained as a Mahāyāna monk in India. This is often misunderstood by modern scholars. It is also pointed out that the Yogācāra school masters, who were also Sarvāstivādin monks, in Gandhāra, e.g. Saṃgharakṣa, Vasumitra etc., wished to be reborn in Tuṣita Heaven in order to meet Bodhisatva Maitreya and so finally become *buddha*s after him.[122]

Another illustrative example of the conversion from Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma to Mahāyāna thought is Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什 350~409 or 344~413 C.E.; a contemporary of Vasubandhu). According to the *Chusanzangji ji* 出三藏記集 (T. 55, no. 2145, 100b~c), he studied the *Āgama*s of the Sarvāstivāda school in Kashmir and the *Ekottarāgama* and Abhidharma texts of the same school in Kashgar. Having returned to Kucha and reaching the age of 20, he was fully ordained and received the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins from Vimalākṣa from Kashmir. Around this time, he met Sūryasoma and learned Mahāyāna Buddhism from him and, being amazed at its thought, he further read the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* and the *Śataśāstra*. He found a manuscript of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* at New Temple in Kucha but while reading it, Māra came and made the letters disappear. Knowing it was the action of Māra, he held fast to his resolve, then Māra left him and the letters reappeared. Again, while Kumārajīva was reading Mahāyāna scriptures at Great Temple of Queli (雀梨大寺) later on, a voice from the sky suddenly said: "You are an intelligent person. Why are you reading these?" He replied: "You must be a little Māra. Go away! My mind is unshakable like the Earth." Kumārajīva stayed there and continued to read Mahāyāna scriptures and *śāstra*s extensively, all of which he mastered. The legend about his being hindered by Māra, while reading the Mahāyāna scriptures, indicates that his commitment to Mahāyāna thought was criticised by his fellow monks in Sarvāstivada-dominant Kucha.

(11.4) The Adoption of Mahāyāna Buddhism by the Sarvāstivādins and Abhayagirivāsins

As the Sarvāstivādin monks, Vasubandhu and Kumārajīva had converted from the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma standpoint to Mahāyāna thought, even though being criticised by

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[121] Cf. e.g. T. 51, no. 2049, *Posupandou fashi zhuan* 婆蘇槃豆法師傳 [The Bibliography of Vasubandhu], 188c = Li / Dalia 2002: 40.

[122] Cf. Uchimoto 2012. It should be noted that, if any Sarvāstivādin desired to become a *buddha*, his wish would be fulfilled only by meeting the future Buddha, Maitreya, and receiving a prediction of becoming a *buddha* from him. Thus, the notion of becoming a future *buddha* in this school did not contradict its tenets, which differed from those of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mahāyāna Buddhism.

their colleagues, there must have been more and more Sarvāstivādins, probably from the fourth century onwards, who gradually adopted the latter way of thinking, while remaining monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. Thus, at the time of Yijing 義淨 (635~713 C.E.), who was a Mūlasarvāstivadin monk and stayed in India from 673 to 687 C.E., there were Mahāyāna Buddhists in all the Buddhist schools. He wrote: "In the four *nikāya*s, or principal schools[123], there are no clear distinctions between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. In Northern India and on the islands of the Southern Sea, there is only Hīnayāna. In China, (monks) are inclined to Mahāyāna. In other regions, both practise side by side. If we look at the reality of the situation, there is no difference concerning their disciplines — the five chapters (of Vinaya rules) are commonly enacted and the Four (Noble) Truths are also commonly practised. Those, who worship *bodhisatva*s and read Mahāyāna scriptures are called Mahāyanists, while those, who do not perform these are called Hīnayanists.[124]"

In this connection, it should be noted that the "Gilgit manuscripts", discovered in 1931, in the village of Naupur, several miles west of Gilgit, are assumed to have been a part of a library, belonging to a small community of monks of the 7th or 8th century. The collection contains a variety of Mahāyāna scriptures as well as various Vinaya and Avadāna texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, though the scripts of these two groups differ from one another.[125] This fact indicates that the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin monks there also collected Mahāyāna scriptures and probably read them.

Moreover, we find the following expression in an inscription from Eastern India, dating back to the 9th or 10th century: *deyadhammo yaṃ pravara-<u>mahājāna-jāyinaḥ</u> Śākya-bhikṣor āryamūlasarvāstivādaparṣadā-Vaṅga-viṣayika-sthavira-Dharmmamittrasya* ("This is the pious gift of Dharmamitra, a follower of the excellent Mahāyāna, an elderly Buddhist monk from the Vaṅga region, belonging to the assembly of the Mūlasarvāstivādins")[126].

There was also a group of Theravādins, who adopted Mahāyāna Buddhism. In Xuanzang's *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (646 C.E.), the expression *dasheng shangzuobu* 大乘上座部 (*Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda) occurs five times in the descriptions concerning Magadha, Kaliṅga, Siṃhala, Bhārukaccha, and Surāṣṭra.[127] *Datang Xiyuji* says: "In Sri Lanka, there are several hundred monasteries with twenty thousand monks, following the Dharma of the Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādins. 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

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[123] According to Yijing, in India there were only four principal schools (*nikāya*), namely the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-nikāya, Ārya-Sthavira-nikāya, Ārya-Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya and Ārya-Saṃmitīya-nikāya. They were subdivided into 7, 3, 4 and 4 schools, respectively. Thus, 18 schools existed in all. Cf. NHJ 205a25~b4, NHJ(tr) 7f.

[124] NHJ 205c9~14; cf. NHJ(tr) 14f. Cf. also what Faxian wrote concerning the situation in Mathurā: "The masters of the *Abhidharma* make their offerings to it; those of the *Vinaya* make theirs to it. Once a year, they make offerings and each group has its own day for it. Followers of Mahāyāna present offerings to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Mañjuśrī and Avalokitasvara (觀世音)." (T. 51, no. 2085, 859b25~28).

[125] Cf. von Hinüber 2014.

[126] Mitra 1998: 285.

[127] T. 51, no. 2087, 918b14, 929a4, 934a15, 935c2, 936c16, respectively.

and proclaims the *Tripiṭaka*s."[128] The Mahābodhi monastery of the *Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda school in Magadha was built by a king of Sri Lanka. Kaliṅga and Bhārukaccha, both of which had more than ten monasteries of this school, were not only geographically, but also culturally related closely to Sri Lanka. Surāṣṭra, located in Western India, which flourished due to overseas commerce, had more than fifty monasteries of this school with over three thousand monks and it is not impossible that the Buddhism there was influenced by the Sri Lankan school. Therefore, Sasaki and Ji Xianlin assume that the expression *Mahāyāna-Sthaviravāda designated the Abhayagirivāsins, a sub-school of Theravāda in Sri Lanka, which adopted Mahāyāna Buddhism during the reign of King Vohārikatissa (214~236 C.E.) but was denounced because of this by the orthodox Mahāvihāravāsins. I agree with this assumption.[129]

Thus, Mahāyāna Buddhism, which originated from the Mahāsāṃghikas, was later adopted by other schools as well.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I assume that members of the Mahāsāṃghikas composed new scriptures, often consisting of questions and answers, thus condemning the conservative thoughts on Buddhist doctrines and called these newly-composed texts *vedulla / vaitulya*, meaning that they were "irregular" as Buddha's scriptures but "incomparable, peerless". Later, they came to be called, in a more positive way, *vaipulya* "full development, abundance, plenty, fullness". Much later still, they came to be called *mahāyāna-sūtra* as well. Those who composed, recited, copied, read or proclaimed these "new scriptures", did not call themselves "mahāyanists" in the beginning, as after all, they were members of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Therefore, it is quite natural that the name *mahāyāna* does not occur in early Indian inscriptions. However, that does not mean at all that Mahāyāna Buddhism was a "minority movement", as Schopen maintains[130]. Its followers produced a great number of new scriptures, as we can see from the early Chinese translations and recent discoveries of Gāndhārī manuscripts. As time went by, and these Mahāyāna scriptures and doctrines became much more popular, members of other schools began to acknowledge and absorb them as well. Thus, Mahāyāna-cum-Sarvāstivāda and Mahāyāna-cum-Sthaviravāda came into existence. I assume, further, that the original background of the Madhyamaka school, founded by Nāgārjuna, might have been the Mahāsāṃghikas, while that of the Yogācāra school, founded by Vasubandhu and Asaṅga may have been the Sarvāstivādins.[131]

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[128] T. 51, no. 2087, 934a14~18. Eight granite tablets, dating back to the ninth century, on which a Mahāyāna text, the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya* is engraved, have been discovered in the ancient Abhayagiri monastery. They show testimony to the fact that Mahāyāna Buddhism was present in ninth-century Sri Lanka. Cf. Schopen 1982 = 2005: 306~313.

[129] Sasaki 1964, 1985: 132~134, Ji 1981 = 1998: 52~73. Cf. also Bechert 1973: 13f.

[130] Schopen 2005: 268. Cf. Skilling 2013: 98~106.

[131] It is interesting that Yijing wrote about the real situation of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India as follows: "There are but two kinds of so-called Mahāyāna. First, the Mādhyamika; second, the Yoga. The former professes that what is commonly called existence is, *in reality*, non-existence, and every object is but an empty show, like an illusion, whereas the latter affirms that there exist no outer things *in reality*, but only inward thoughts, and all things exist only in the mind." (cf. NHJ[tr] 15); NHJ. 205c14~16. 所云大乘無過二種。一則中觀，二乃瑜伽。中觀則俗有真空，體虛如幻。瑜伽則外無內有，事皆唯識。Later, the two traditions were fused

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together, and hence, the Yogācāra-Svatantrika-Mādhyamika school was founded by Śāntarakṣita (725~788). In China, the Madhyamaka school was called 空宗 ("School of Emptiness"), while the Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra = Vijñānavāda schools were named 有宗 ("School of Existence"). The latter designation for the Yogācāra = Vijñānavāda school shows its origin clearly.

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Kv = *Kathāvatthu*, edited by Arnold C. Taylor, Oxford 1894~1897: PTS / Henry Frowde; repr. London 1979: PTS (Pali Text Society, nos. 48, 49).

Kv-a(J) = *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. N. A. Jayawicrama, London 1979: PTS.

MAv = *Madhyamakāvatāra par Candrakīrti: Traduction tibétaine*, par Louis de la Vallée Poussin, St.-Petersburg, 1907~12 (Bibliotheca Buddhica IX).

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MAv(tr.J) = Uryūzu Ryūshin 瓜生津隆真 and Nakazawa Mitsuru 中沢中, *Zen'yaku Chandorakīruti Nyūchūron* 全訳チャンドラキールティ入中論 [A Japanese Translation of the *Madhyamakāvatāra*], Urayasu 浦安: Kishin Shobō 起心書房.

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Mvu = *Le Mahâvastu*, ed. Émile Senart, 3 vols., Paris 1882~1897: Imprimerie nationale; repr.: Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.

Mvu(tr) = *The Mahāvastu*, translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J. J. Jones, 3 vols., London [1]1949-1956; [2]1973-1978, [3]1987, PTS (Sacred Books of the Buddhists; v. 16, 18, 19).

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~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharma~*

° = 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. Gā. *masu* < Skt. *madhu*

- = absence of the parallel(s)

≒ = α ≒ β: β is almost the same as α

{} = superfluous Chinese character (or *akṣara*)

< > = omitted Chinese character(s) (or *akṣara*[s])

On *buddha* / Buddha: In this article, "*buddha*" applies to any unspecified one, while "Buddha" is conferred on an particular individual (e.g. the Buddha Śākyamuni)

Vehicle (*yāna*) and Wisdom (*jñāna*) in the Lotus Sutra
—— the Origin of the Notion of *yāna* in Mahāyāna Buddhism[*]

Seishi KARASHIMA

Prologue

Relying on the studies of other scholars (especially Fuse 1934), the present author 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). This stratum consists of the following two layers.

> **(A) The first layer**: the *Triṣṭubh* (or *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī*) verses in the aforementioned 8 chapters. I also assume that most of these had been composed originally in the colloquial language of that time, namely Prakrit, and then transmitted orally, being rendered in Sanskrit later on.

> **(B) The second layer**: the *Śloka* verses and prose in the aforementioned 8 chapters, except for the latter half of "Plant" (V).

(C) 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.[1]

(D) The third stratum: all other SP chapters (XXI~XXVI) (KN 395~483) and the latter half of the "*Stūpasaṃdarśana*" (XI) —— , where stories about Devadatta's previous life and a daughter of a dragon king are found (KN 256~266)[2].

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). However, it is unclear whether the prose in B or the verses and prose in C appeared earlier. The former might have been composed earlier, but, because it was easy to add or alter sentences in it, there is no guarantee that this is in its original form.

There are also exceptions. A part of the *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* verses, which occur here

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[1] Cf. note 4, (9).

[2] Kumārajīva's translation (406 C.E.) had not contained this part originally, but after it was translated into Chinese later in 490 C.E., it was interpolated into the former's translation in the 6th century (cf. Krsh 1992: 332 with references). An old fragmentary Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript from Farhād-Bēg Yailaki, dating back probably to the 5th or 6th century, lacks this part as well.

and there in C, could be as old as A. Also, the verses in the *Samantamukha* (XXIV) had been transmitted originally as independent hymns in praise of Bodhisattva Avalokitasvara/ Avalokiteśvara, but were integrated into the Lotus Sutra in the fourth or fifth century C.E. Although this integration was thus late, they had been composed assumedly much earlier.

As I have demonstrated elsewhere[3], the text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* took shape in Northern India, though we can never exclude the possibility that the basis of *Prajñāpāramitā* thought was created in Southern India, such as in the Āndhra region where the Mahāsāṃghika school, with which this scripture is closely related, predominated, as is often maintained. On the other hand, from a linguistic point of view, I assume that the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra was probably composed elsewhere other than Northern India. The influence of *Prajñāpāramitā* thought is not seen in this, though it is evident in the later strata. Presumably, this sutra was transmitted to the Gandhāra region where it encountered *Prajñāpāramitā* thought and under its influence, the second stratum (C) was added. Much later on, when the holders of the Lotus Sutra met the beliefs in Avalokitasvara (an earlier form of Avalokiteśvara), Amitābha, Samantabhadra and in *dhāraṇī*s, the third stratum (D) was further included.[4]

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[3] Karashima 2013.

[4] The following nine discrepancies between the first stratum and the later strata of the Lotus Sutra indicate that the former was not influenced by *Prajñāpāramitā* thought, though the later ones were composed under its influence.

(1) *caitya* vs. *stūpa*

    The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (abbr. AsP) proclaims the worship of a *caitya*, containing a copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture, while denouncing the worship of *stūpa*s, which hold relics of the Buddha. Similarly, in the second stratum of the Lotus Sutra, the worship of a *caitya*, with a copy of the Lotus Sutra inside it, is exhorted, while *stūpa*-worship is condemned. In contrast to this, in the first stratum of the same text, erecting *stūpa*s and worshipping them, is described in positive terms, while the word *caitya* does not occur at all! Cf. Fuse 1934: 173ff., 274ff.

(2) "writing the scripture"

    Throughout AsP, copying the scripture is exhorted as a meritorious practice —— the expression "writing the scripture" occurs more than 90 times in the oldest Chinese translation (179 C.E.), whose original text might have dated back to the first century C.E. and composed probably in Gāndhārī. In the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra, however, the expression "writing" does not occur, while "writing the scripture" does repeatedly from the second one onwards. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the word √*likh* ("to draw; to write") occurs 137 times throughout AsP. In the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra, however, it is used to in the meaning "draw (the Buddha-image)" in Chapter II, vv. 86, 89 and "(an employee of a rich man) writes (bills)" in Chapter IV, v. 15. Except for these, 45 other instances all occur in the meaning "copy (the scripture)" in the second and third strata. Also, the word *pustaka* ("book") occurs 60 times throughout AsP. In the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra, it never occurs — the word *pustakarman* ("plastering") appears in Chapter II, v. 85 —, while, in the second stratum, the words *pusta* and *pustaka*, both meaning "book", occur 20 times. It is apparent, therefore, that the first stratum was originally *only* transmitted orally, while the second and third ones were written down. Cf. Fuse 1934: 144f.

(3) imaginary persons as the Buddha's interlocutors

    In AsP, Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya appear frequently as the Buddha's interlocutors throughout the text. The former appears only in Mahāyāna texts. Though the latter is referred to in the *Dīghanikāya* as Metteya as well, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Karashima 2013: 178), this occurrence must be an interpolation, made long after the formation of the Canon. In the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra, the Buddha's interlocutors are his disciples, in other words, historical individuals, while in the second and third strata, imaginary persons, such as Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, appear in such roles.

(4) *kulaputra* and *kuladuhitṛ*

Thus, when we compare the present texts of the Lotus Sutra and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* as a whole, the former is apparently of a later composition than the latter.

In AsP, the Mahāyāna terms *kulaputra* and *kuladuhitṛ*, literally meaning "son of good family" and "daughter of good family", respectively, which designate lay followers of the Mahāyāna teachings, appears numerous times throughout the text —— *kulaputra* 463 times, *kuladuhitṛ* 259 times. Both occur 264 times and 61 times in the Lotus Sutra as well. The latter term never appears in the first stratum. The word *kulaputra* occurs only once in a verse of "The Parable of the Burning House" in Chapter III, when the father addresses his sons — it has, therefore, no Mahāyānistic meaning —, while the reading in a Central Asian manuscript (O) differs completely: "*iha saṃti*" (KN 86.9; cf. Karashima 1992: 73~74). The term *kulaputra* with the Mahāyānistic meaning appears 6 times in two prose parts in the first stratum (Chapter VII, KN 183.8, 11; Chapter IX, KN. 218.8, 10, 219.1~2 [twice]). Thus, it occurs 6 times *only* in 11 lines (KN 183.8~11 and 218.8~219.2) out of 195 pages of the first stratum (KN. 29~223), which makes me wonder whether this is a later interpolation or not. Except for these 6, 258 other occurrences are found in the second and third strata.

(5) *dharmabhāṇaka*

The term *dharmabhāṇaka* ("preacher of the Dharma") is characteristic of Mahāyāna Buddhism, though it appears *only* three times in Pali commentaries (Sp 925; Spk I 189, 297) and a few times in the extended version of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. A *dharmabhāṇaka*, which was probably a self-proclaimed title, should not be confused with *bhāṇaka* ("reciter-*cum*-holder [of the traditional *āgama*s or *sutta*s]"), *dharmakathika* ("an [authorised] preacher of the teachings"), *dharmadeśaka* (*do.*) or *dharmadhara*, *-dharaka* ("an [authorised] holder of the teachings"). I assume that *dharmabhāṇaka*s composed and proclaimed the early Mahāyāna scriptures. This word appears 37 times in AsP. In the Lotus Sutra, it occurs in one verse in the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra, Chapter II, v. 14 (KN 32.6), though a Central Asian manuscript (O) has *dharmadeśaka* instead. This word *dharmabhāṇaka* occurs once in the prose of the same stratum (Chapter VII, 184.4) as well. Except for these two instances, 58 other instances are all found in the later strata.

(6) *prajñāpāramitā*

The expressions *prajñāpāramitā* (KN 3.2, 333.1, 457.12) and "the six *pāramitā*s" (KN 18.13, 142.7, 256.10 etc.) occur only in the later strata of the Lotus Sutra. In the older verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre, i.e. vv. 75~76 in Chapter II, the six virtues, namely *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhāyna* and *prajñā*, are listed. However, such a list is found also in Nikāya-Buddhist literature, e.g. the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu) III 226.3. In AsP, *prajñāpāramitā* is described as transcending the other five *pāramitā*s, providing a basis for them, controlling, guiding and supporting them. This main idea of AsP is found in the second stratum in the Lotus Sutra (Chapter XVI, KN 332.11 f.) as well.

(7) *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*

The notion and expressions of *anutpattikeṣu dharmeṣu kṣānti / anutpattikadharmakṣānti* ("the acceptance of [the principle of] non-arising *dharma*s"), which is thought to be a characteristic of *Prajñāpāramitā* thought, appear repeatedly in AsP (AsP[V] 139.29, 155.3, 169.13, 182.4, 202.12, 223.19, 255.20 = AsP[R] 280.17, 310.2, 339.18, 368.14, 408.8, 451.16, 517.13 = AsP[W] 575.8, 644.2, 692.8, 747.20, 799.3, 856.26, 978.9). The oldest (179 C.E.) and the later Chinese translations of AsP have parallel expressions as well (cf. Krsh 2010: 513). In the Lotus Sutra, the expression *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* occurs *only* in the second and third strata (KN 266.1, 327.4, 403.7, 419.6, 7, 437.1) and a similar expression *anutpattikī~ dharmakṣānti~* (*v.l.* *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*) occurs in the latter half of Chapter V "Plant" (KN 136.10), which belongs to the second stratum.

(8) *dhāraṇī*

The notion and expression of *dhāraṇī* appeared probably at first in Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures (cf. Mppś IV 1854~1864; Braarvig 1985). In AsP, the word occurs twice in the story of *Sadāprarudita* (AsP[V] 244.10, 252.6 = AsP[R] 494.9, 510.22 = AsP[W] 943.29, 959.8), which lacks parallels in the older three Chinese translations in both cases, while Kumārajīva's one (408 C.E.) has its transliteration (T. 8, no. 227, 582a12. 陀羅尼); cf. Krsh 2011: 481, n. 380; 501, n. 589. In the Lotus Sutra, this word occurs 31 times, all of which are *only* from the second and third strata (e.g. KN 2.11, 263.4, 270.8, 327.5, 8, 330.3, 4 etc.).

(9) *punar aparam*

The expressions *khalu punar* and *punar eva*, both meaning "further, moreover", occur throughout the Lotus Sutra, 149 times and 9 times, respectively. Their synonym *punar aparam*, which appears repeatedly in AsP (166 times), occurs in the Lotus Sutra only 12 times, all of which are found in the second and third strata, including the latter half of Chapter V "Plant" (KN 131.13) which belongs to the second stratum.

However, it does not mean that the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra came into existence after the *Prajñāpāramitā* text.

In my opinion, the twofold meaning of *yāna*, as we shall see later, in the Lotus Sutra quite possibly demonstrates that its language was not Sanskrit but Prakrit, which shows its antiquity.

Based on my own and other scholars' research, I now assume that many of the Buddhist sutras in the Northern tradition of both so-called Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, created to be preached to common people and ordinary monks, were composed and transmitted in a colloquial language, namely Prakrit, until around the 3rd century C.E. and later, they were translated gradually into a more refined language, namely Sanskrit, probably from the third century onwards. This shift can be reflected very clearly in the Chinese translations, in which most of the early ones show that their original languages were colloquial, while the translations, made by Kumārajīva (early 5th century), demonstrate that their original language was Buddhist Sanskrit mixed with colloquial elements. The underlying language of the Chinese translations made by Xuan Zang in the 7th century was apparently (Buddhist) Sanskrit, though probably containing atypical colloquial elements. The extant (Buddhist) Sanskrit texts are, in other words, the result of constant sanskritisation, wrong back-formations, additions and interpolations over the centuries. This transition from Prakrit to Sanskrit has not been taken into serious account when doing research on Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures. Once we acknowledge that the earlier Mahāyāna texts were composed originally in colloquial languages, transmitted orally and not written down until afterwards, we may be able to uncover the true meanings of Buddhist expressions, which have been obscured by the sanskritisation of such texts.

The Lotus Sutra is one such early Mahāyāna scripture. By analysing discrepancies among readings in different Sanskrit manuscripts and the Sanskrit versions and Chinese translations by Dharmarakṣa (translated in 286 C.E.) and Kumārajīva (translated in 406 C.E.), I realised that the earlier the version was, the more colloquialisms they contained (or reflected as in the case of the Chinese translations). Also, the oldest layer (A) seems to have contained more colloquial elements than the later layer (B) and strata (C and D). The above-stated discrepancies probably resulted from different interpretations of colloquial forms, e.g. while a Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript reads *bho* ("you!"), others have *khalu* ("indeed"), both of which go back to the common Prakrit equivalent *ho*[5]. Another example is where the Sanskrit manuscripts read *bhavati* ("exists, is") or its colloquial form *bhoti*, Dharmarakṣa's translation reads 正覺 ("perfect enlightenment"), 佛道 ("Buddha's enlightenment; enlightenment") etc.[6], indicating that the underlying text of this old Chinese translation was *bhodi*, a Gāndhārī equivalent to the colloquial word *bhoti* (< *bhavati*), which the Chinese translator understood

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[5] E.g. KN 189.8. *khalu* / O bho; KN 457.8. *khalu* / O *bhoḥ* / H₁(261). *ho*; KN 457.9. *khalu* / O *bhoḥ*; KN 469.9. *khalu* / O *bho*; KN 483.5. *khalu* / O *bhoḥ* etc. Cf. also Karashima 2001a: 212.

[6] E.g. KN 45.9. *bhonti* / Dr 70a23. 正覺 ("perfect enlightenment"); KN 46.3. *bhavanti* (O *bhonti*) / Dr 70b4. 佛道 ("Buddha's enlightenment; enlightenment"); KN 57.15. *utpādu* (*v.l.* °*da*) *bhoti* (Mss. °*tī*; O *bhonti*) / Dr 72c27. 興發聖道 ("produces divine enlightenment"); KN 63.2. *bhoti tatra* (O *tatra bhoti*) / Dr 73c26. 因斯覺了 ("therefore [he] was enlightened"); KN 99.4. *bhonti gocarās* / Dr 79c26. 行佛道 ("practises Buddha's enlightenment") etc. Cf. Krsh 1998: 144f.

mistakenly for *bodhi* ("enlightenment").

Broadly speaking, there are two groups of Sanskrit manuscripts of the Lotus Sutra.

(I) The Gilgit manuscripts (D1, D2, D3, etc.), dating back to the 7th or 8th century, which, though not complete, still cover eighty percent of the entire text, and the manuscripts from Nepal and Tibet, of which the oldest ones date back to the middle of the eleventh century. These I call, as a whole, the Gilgit-Nepalese recension (abbr. **G-N rec.**).

(II) The second group consists of Central Asian manuscripts and fragments, dating probably between the 5th and 8th centuries, namely: (1) the so-called Kashgar manuscript (abbr. O), though purchased there, was actually discovered in Khādaliq, dating probably back to the 8th century; (2) a fragmentary manuscript, discovered in Farhād-Bēg Yailaki, now kept in the Oriental and India Office Collections in the British Library (abbr. F), dating probably back to the 5th or 6th century; (3) fragments from various collections, such as Petrovsky (abbr. R), Otani (abbr. Lü), British Library (abbr. Or), Turfansammulung etc. These I call, as a whole, the Central Asian recension (abbr. **CA rec.**).

There are many cases, where the Gilgit-Nepalese recension reads *jñāna* ("wisdom"), while the Central Asian manuscripts have *yāna* ("vehicle"). Interestingly enough, this discrepancy is found frequently between the Sanskrit version and the Chinese translations as well. In this paper, we shall examine such instances, try to clarify the reason why these two completely different words interchanged and, further, consider the origin and development of the notion of *yāna* in the Lotus Sutra.

Also, in this paper, I shall quote from the Kern-Nanjio edition (abbr. KN), the *editio princeps*, which is still the best *even* a hundred years after its publication, although, strictly speaking, it is not a critical version, as it is based mainly on the collation of the six Nepalese manuscripts, to which Kern inserted readings of the so-called "Kashgar" manuscript (O) in a very arbitrary way.

(1) The *yāna / jñāna* confusion among the Sanskrit recensions
(1.1) *yāna / jñāna* in verse

KN 12.2. *buddhajñāna* / O *buddhayānā* (= Dr 64c11. 佛乘，Kj 3a21. 佛道)

KN 45.11. *bauddhasya jñānasya* (= Dr 70a26. 佛慧, Kj 8a2. 佛慧)
        / O *bodhasmi yānasmi*

KN 46.2. *varadasya jñāne* (= Dr 70b2. 佛以聖慧)
        / O *varabuddhayāne* (= Kj 8a7. 大乘)

KN 46.13. *bauddhasya jñānasya* (= Dr 70b18. 佛之深慧, Kj 8a20. 佛智慧)
        / O *boddhasya yānasya*

KN 49.2. *yāna* (= O) (= Kj 8c1. 乘) / C3 *jñāna*; cf. Dr 71a2. 慧乘(*jñāna* and *yāna*)

KN 53.2. *bauddhasmi jñānasmi* (≒ Dr 71c24. 禪定智慧, Kj 9b2. 佛[無漏]智)
        / O *boddhasmi yānasmi*

KN 90.12. *buddhāna jñānaṃ* (= Dr 78a13. 諸正覺慧)
        / O *buddhāna yānaṃ* (= Kj 15a7. 成得佛道　是乘)

KN 147.10. *buddhajñānaṃ* (= Kj 21a10. 佛無上慧, Dr 87a12. 決)
        / O, H₅(298). *buddhayānaṃ*

KN 152.7. *jñānaṃ* (= Kj 21c9. 佛智慧) / O *yānaṃ* Cf. Dr 87c23. 人民 (*jana*)

KN 198.6. *sarvajña-jñānasya* (= Dr 94b13. 一切敏慧, Kj 27b4. 佛一切智)

      / O *sarvajña-yānasya*

KN 198.7. *sarvajñajñānā* (= Dr 94b14. 諸通慧, Kj 27b5. 一切智)

      / O, R₂(No. 55, p. 133) *sarvajñayānaṃ*

KN 198.10. *sarvajñajñāne* (= Dr 94b19. 諸通慧, Kj 27b8. 佛慧)

      / O *sarvajñayānam*; R₂(No. 55, p. 133) *(sarvajña)yāna*

(1.2) *yāna / jñāna* in prose

KN 42.7. *sarvajñatā- ... tathāgatajñāna-*; O *sarvajñajñāna- ... tathāgatajñāna-* (Kj 7b11.
  一切種智)

 / Or.15010/132 *recto* 3. *(tathāga)tayānaṃ sarvvajñayānaṃ* (Dr 69c12. 諸通慧乘)[7]

KN 43.8. *buddhayāna-* (= O; Dr 69c22. 佛乘)

      / Or.15010/132 *verso* 4. *buddhajñā[na]-*[8]; Kj 7b28. -

KN 66.8. *buddhajñāna-* (= Dr 74b16.佛慧, Kj 11c2.佛慧) / O *buddhayāna-*

KN 78.8. *buddhajñāna-* (= Lü. B2 *verso* 1) (= Dr 75c26. 諸佛正慧, Kj 13a28. 佛智慧) /
  O, H₅(283). *buddhayāna-*

KN 189.1. *ekam eva buddhajñānaṃ*

      / O *eka eva buddhayānam* (= Dr 92c14. 一乘, Kj 26a15. 一佛乘)

KN 189.2. *buddhajñānaṃ* (= Dr 92c15. 道慧)

      / O *buddhayānaṃ* (= Kj 26a17. 佛道)

KN 189.9. *tathāgatajñānaṃ* (= Dr 92c28. 如來慧, Kj 26a21. 佛慧)

      / O, H₆(306) *tathāgatayānaṃ*

(1.3) *yāna / jñāna* in the Sanskrit recensions of the Lotus Sutra

      The above-quoted instances tell us the following:

    (1) Except for KN 12.2, all instances of this confusion are found in the first stratum of chapters, while there are no examples of this in the second and third strata. This is probably due to the fact that *yāna* and *jñāna* are not mentioned very much there, but another reason could be for example, differences of language between these two strata.

    (2) Except for KN 49.2, all instances of the *yāna / jñāna* confusion occur between the Gilgit-Nepalese recension (G-N rec.) and the Central Asian one (CA rec.). Also, it is noteworthy that all the cases are of *jñāna* in the G-N rec. as opposed to *yāna* in the CA rec., while there are no examples of *yāna* in the G-N rec. as opposed to *jñāna* in the CA rec. ——At present, I cannot think of a reason for this.

      The two Chinese translations (Dr and Kj) agree at times with the G-N rec., while at other times with the CA rec. The readings of the two translations also differ from one another. In the next section, we shall see the *yāna / jñāna* confusion, focussing on the readings in the Chinese translations.

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[7] Cf. BLSF II.1, p. 496.
[8] Cf. BLSF II.1, p. 497.

(2) The *yāna / jñāna* confusion between the Chinese translations and the Sanskrit recensions

　　We have seen instances of the *yāna / jñāna* confusion in the Sanskrit recensions. Apart from the above-quoted cases, there are no examples of this in the Sanskrit version, while there are cases, in which the readings in question in the Sanskrit version differ from those in the Chinese translations.

(2.1) The *yāna / jñāna* confusion in verse

(2.1.1) *yāna /* "wisdom"

　　There are two instances, where the Sanskrit version reads *yāna*, while Kj has "wisdom".

　　KN 91.12. *bauddhaṃ tu yānaṃ* / Kj 15a20. 佛智慧 ("the Buddha-wisdom"); Dr 78b7. -

　　KN 203.6. *udīra-yāne* / Kj 28a11. 大智 ("great wisdom"); Dr 96a15. 微妙寂静 (cf. § 4.4)

(2.1.2) *jñāna /* "path" (= *yāna*) in verse

　　There are many cases, where the Sanskrit version reads *jñāna*, while the Chinese translations have *dào* 道, which is used as a rendering of *yāna* elsewhere[9]. Therefore, the original word of *dào* 道 in the following cases could have been also *yāna*.

　　KN 116.12. *jinasya jñānaṃ* / Dr 82c1. 最勝 ⋯ 道誼; cf. Kj 18b23. 佛法寶藏

　　KN 117.5. *bauddhasya jñānasya* (= Kj 18c1. 佛智慧) / Dr 82c7. 諸佛道誼

　　KN 145.10. *bauddhasya jñānasya* (= Kj 20c14. 佛智慧) / Dr 86c10. 佛道

　　KN 145.11. *jñānam idaṃ anuttaram* (= Kj 20c16. 無上之慧) / Dr 86c12. 無上大道

　　KN 149.8. *jñānasya* / Dr 87b11. 佛之要道, Kj 21b4. 大道

　　KN 154.7. *bauddhaṃ ... jñāna* / Dr 88a21. 諸佛道, Kj 22a3. 佛道

　　KN 255.8 (in *Śloka* metre). *buddha-jñānasya* (= Dr 105a11. 佛慧) / Kj 34b10. 佛道

　　KN 330.5. *uttamabuddhajñāne* / Kj 44b21. 佛道; cf. Dr 115c23. 并越度生(?)

　　KN 334.3 (in *Śloka* metre). *buddhajñānam anuttaram* (= Kj 45a1. 佛慧)
　　　　/ Dr 116b12. 佛上道

　　KN 334.13 (in *Śloka* metre). *buddhajñānasya* (= Dr 116b22. 佛慧) / Kj 45a10. 無上道

　　KN 335.2 (in *Śloka* metre). *buddhajñānasya* / Dr 116b26. 佛道; cf. Kj 45a14. -

(2.1.3) *jñāna, yāna /* "vehicle"-*cum*-"wisdom" in verse

　　The Chinese renderings *huìshèng* 慧乘 ("vehicle-*cum*-wisdom") and *dàohuì* 道慧 ("wisdom of the path") in Dr are probably cases of "double translations", in which an Indic word was rendered twice in close proximity[10].

　　KN 49.2. *yāna* (= Kj 8c1. 乘), C3 *jñāna* / Dr 71a2. 慧乘 ("vehicle-*cum*-wisdom")

　　KN 49.7. *yāne* (= Kj 8c7. 佛道) / Dr 71a9. 道慧 ("wisdom of the path" or "path-*cum*-wisdom")

Zhì 智 ("wisdom") and *dàdào* 大道 ("the great path") in the following sentence in Kj are

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[9] E.g. KN 46.11. *yānaṃ* / Dr 70b15. 佛道; KN 81.4. O *tathāgatayānam* / Dr 76a24. 如來道; KN 49.7. *yāna* / Kj 8c7. 佛道.

[10] A well-known example of a double translation is *yuányījué* 緣一覺 ("those, who perceive causation and oneness"), occurring throughout Zhi Qian's translations, which indicates that either the original texts had read *pracea-buddha*, an attested Gāndhārī form of *pratyeka-buddha / pratyaya-buddha*, and that he understood *pracea* as having two meanings namely "one, single" (*pratyeka*) and "causation" (*pratyaya*), or that he misunderstood it in this way, when somebody else recited Indian texts to him.

presumably also a "double translation":

> KN 294.10. *anuttaraṃ .... jñānam* (= Dr 110a22. 無上眞慧) / Kj 39c2. 無量智　佛之大
> 道 ("infinite wisdom, [that is] the Buddha's great path")

(2.2) The *yāna / jñāna* confusion in prose
(2.2.1) *yāna / "wisdom"*

There is no instance in which the Sanskrit version reads *yāna* in prose, while its Chinese parallels have "wisdom".

(2.2.2) *jñāna / "vehicle" "path"* (= *yāna*)

> KN 41.5. *sarvajñatā-* / O *sarvajñajñāna-*[11] / Dr 69c12. 諸通慧乘 ("the vehicle of the
> wisdom of penetration")

Here, *zhūtōnghuì* 諸通慧 in Dr is a rendering of *sarvajña*, while *shèng* 乘 ("vehicle" = *yāna*) corresponds to *jñāna* in O. In all other instances, the Sanskrit version reads *jñāna*, while its parallel in the Chinese translations is *dào* 道 ("path"):

> KN 29.2. *buddhajñānaṃ* (= Kj 5b25. 諸佛智慧) / Dr 68a1. 佛道 ("the Buddha-path")
> KN 312.1. *buddhajñāne* (= Dr 112c8. 道慧[12]) / Kj 41c17. 佛道 ("the Buddha-path")
> KN 323.9. *bauddhasmi jñānasmi* (= Dr 114c6. 佛道慧[13]) / Kj 43b15. 佛道 ("the Buddha-
> path")

(2.3) The *yāna / jñāna* confusion between the Chinese translations and the Sanskrit version

As we have seen above (§ 1.3), the *yāna / jñāna* confusion among the Sanskrit recensions occurs almost only in the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra, while the same confusion between the Sanskrit version and the Chinese translations is seen also in the second and third strata as well. Also, among the Sanskrit recensions, there is no instance of *yāna* in the G-N rec. as opposed to *jñāna* in the CA rec., though there are two cases in which the Sanskrit version reads *yāna*, while its Chinese parallel in Kj is *zhìhuì* 智慧 ("wisdom") (§ 2.1.1). Instances of "double translations" in which the Chinese translators rendered an Indic word as "vehicle-*cum*-wisdom" are noteworthy and their backgrounds will be discussed later.

From this, a question naturally arises namely, why and how did *yāna* and *jñāna* become mixed up among the Sanskrit versions and between the Sanskrit version and the Chinese translations? Did the editors or scribes intentionally change *yāna* to *jñāna* or vice versa? If so, their intention to change these is unclear. Also, the instances of this confusion are quite widespread in the Lotus Sutra. I assume, therefore, they were not changed intentionally but confused due to the similarity of their pronunciation.

(3) The *yāna / jñāna* confusion caused by phonetic development in Prakrit
(3.1) *yāna, jñāna* > Pkt. **jāna/jāṇa*

OIA. *yāna* (= Pā; Gāndhārī *yaṇa*) becomes *jāṇa* in Prakrit (Pkt.), while OIA. *jñāna* (> Pā. *ñāṇa*, Gāndhārī *ñaṇa*) develops into *ṇāṇa, nāṇa* or *jāṇa*.[14] Though Turner (CDIAL 5281 *jñāna-*) assumes that the development *jñāna* > Pkt. *jāṇa* took place under the influence

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[11] = Kj 7b7. 一切種智 ("the wisdom embracing all modes, *i.e.* the wisdom of a *buddha*").

[12] *Dào* 道 ("path") of 道慧 corresponds to *buddha*. Dharmarakṣa translated *bodhi* and *buddha* as *dào* 道.

[13] *Fódào* 佛道 of 佛道慧 corresponds to *bauddha*. Cf. the preceding note.

[14] Cf. Pischel: § 276.

of the verb *jānāti*, I assume the development *jñ-* > Pkt. *j(j)* might have occurred by itself.[15] There are traces of OIA. *jñāna* > Pkt. **jāna/jāṇa*, found in medieval and modern dialects, such as: Old Marathi *jāṇa* (see DOM, s.v.), Sindhī *jāṇu*, Panjābī *jāṇ*, Gujarātī *jāṇ*, Kashmiri *zān*, Newāli, Bengali, Hindī *jān* etc. (Turner, loc. cit.). To sum up, both *yāna* and *jñāna* became **jāna/jāṇa* in Prakrit.[16]

(3.2) The reason for the *yāna / jñāna* confusion in the Lotus Sutra

At § 1.1, I have listed all the occurrences of this confusion in the verse section. These verses are presumed to belong to the oldest layer of the Lotus Sutra, and were, therefore, probably transmitted in Prakrit or in Sanskrit-*cum*-Prakrit. Except for KN 147.10 which is in Śloka metre, all other instances are verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre (⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ or ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑), in which the third, sixth, seventh and ninth syllables are required to be short. Except for KN 49.2, in all other instances, the word *jñāna* in question appears immediately after the third or ninth syllable, which means that as *jñ-* does not make metrical position, it must have been read as a single consonant, namely either *ñāṇa/ṇāṇa* or **jāna/jāṇa*. If we suppose that *ñāṇa* or *ṇāṇa* stood in those verses, it is difficult to explain why it was confused with *yāna*. However, if we surmise that **jāna* (or *jāṇa*) stood there, it is easy to explain the *yāna / jñāna* confusion, because **jāna* (or *jāṇa*) is also a Prakrit form of OIA. *yāna*. We may assume, then, in the earliest stage of the transmission of the Lotus Sutra, the Prakrit form **jāna* or *jāṇa* (< OIA. *jñāna*, *yāna*), which could mean both "vehicle" and "wisdom", had stood in these places and that later, somebody back-formed it to *jñāna* ("wisdom"), while other redactors sanskritised it to *yāna* ("vehicle").

The same applies to the *yāna / jñāna* confusion, which is found in the verses of the Sanskrit version and those in the Chinese translations, as we have seen above (§ 2.1). This confusion between the Sanskrit and Chinese versions also occurred in the prose section as well as in the chapters of the second stratum, as we have seen above (§§ 1.2, 2.2, 2.1.2, 2.1.3), which may indicate that the common Prakrit form **jāna* (or *jāṇa*) of *yāna* and *jñāna* was used until much later.

As in Gāndhārī, *yāna* became *yaṇa*, while *jñāna* became *ñaṇa*, the *yāna / jñāna* confusion could not have taken place in this Northwestern Indian dialect. Therefore, the old stratum of the Lotus Sutra, where this confusion is found, may not have originated in that region.

We have noted (§ 2.1.3) a few instances in which the Chinese translators rendered one word with a double meaning, such as "vehicle" and "wisdom". Also, these examples

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[15] Cf. *ājñā* > Pkt. *ajja*, *prajñā* > Pkt. *pajjā abhijñā* > *ahijja*; *vijña* > *vijja* ; *sarvajña* > *savvajja*; *sujñāna* > *sujjāṇa* (cf. Pischel § 276); *jñānin* > *jāṇi*; *saṃjñā* > *saṃjā*. Cf. also *Siddhahemacandram Adhyāna* VIII, II 83. || *jño ñaḥ* || 83 || *jñaḥ saṃbandhino ñasya lug vā bhavati / jāṇaṃ / ṇāṇaṃ / savvajjo / savvaṇṇū / appajjo / appaṇṇū / daivajjo / daivaṇṇū / iṃgiajjo / iṃgiaṇṇū / maṇojjaṃ / maṇoṇṇaṃ / ahijjo / ahiṇṇū / pajjā / paṇṇā / ajjā / āṇā / saṃjā / saṇṇā* || *kvacin na bhavati / viṇṇāṇaṃ /* (Pischel 1877: 53); BHSD, *a-jānaka*, *jānaka*; KN 115.5. *rājāna so naigama-* / O *sa rājināṃ jjātina* (< *jñātin~*) *naigama-*. In the Jain text *Mahānisīha*, whose language is essentially Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī though blended with Ardhamāgadhī, we find a part, where *ṇāṇa* and *jāṇa*, both Pkt forms of Skt. *jñāna*, occur repeatedly side by side (Deleu / Schubring 1963: 51; translation 120f.).

[16] In the Jaina text *Sūyagaḍa*, § 1.1.1.18, there is a word *jāṇayā*, which is said to mean "Buddhists" (cf. MW, s.v. ²*jānaka* "pl. the Buddhists"). Some relate this form to *yāna*, while others to *jñānaka*. Cf. Bollée 1977: 75.

indicate that in the underlying Indian texts, *jāna* (or *jāṇa*) had stood there, which could have meant both "vehicle" (Skt. *yāna*) and "wisdom" (Skt. *jñāna*). There are also quite a few instances in the Chinese translations, which indicate the translators' confusion over these words and thus, show traces of the form *jāna* (or *jāṇa*) as originating from both OIA. *yāna* and *jñāna*. We shall see such examples in the next chapter.

(4) Traces of Pkt. *jāna* ("wisdom") in the Chinese translations
(4.1) *jñāna* / *-jāna*

  Dharmarakṣa often confused the genitive plural forms *-jāna*, *-jānaṃ*, *-jānām* of *-ja* with *jñāna*.

  KN 23.4 (v). <u>*prajāna*</u> *uttamaś* (Kj 4b22.人中尊) / Dr 66b28. <u>智慧</u>無上 ("<u>wisdom</u> is unsurpassed")

  KN 23.5 (v). *prajāna nāyako*; O <u>*prajāna*</u> *uttamo* (Kj 4b23.世尊) / Dr 66c1. <u>聖達</u>無極 ("<u>divine intelligence</u> is infinite")

  KN 28.12 (v). *ātmajānāṃ* (Kj -[5b23]) / Dr 67c28. 吾我之<u>想</u> ("<u>notion</u> of the self")

  KN 116.10 (v). *jinātmajānāṃ* (Kj 18b20. 爲菩薩) / Dr 82b27. 最勝<u>慧</u>誼 ("<u>the meaning of wisdom</u> of the Jina")

  KN 117.9 (v). *jinātmajānāṃ* (Kj 18c6. 爲諸佛子等) / Dr 82c13. 最勝所演　經身之<u>慧</u> ("<u>wisdom</u> of the scripture which the Jina preaches")

  KN 193.1 (v). Mss. *sarva-*<u>*prajānam*</u> *uttama*[17] (Kj 26c4. 皆當成佛道) / Dr 93b24. 皆得上<u>慧</u> ("All attain the foremost <u>wisdom</u>")

He most probably misunderstood *-jāna*, *-jānaṃ*, *-jānām* as Prakrit forms of *jñāna* and so rendered them as *zhìhuì* 智慧("wisdom"), *shèngdá* 聖達 ("divine penetration, divine intelligence"), *xiǎng* 想 ("notion"), *huì* 慧("wisdom"). Such examples indicate that he knew the Prakrit development *jāna* (or *jāṇa*) < *jñāna*[18].

(4.2) *jñāna* / *jana*

  There is one instance in which Dharmarakṣa rendered *jñāna* as "people" (= Skt. *jana*):

  KN 23.6 (v). O, D1, N2. *koṭi-sahasra* <u>*jñāne*</u>[19] (Kj 4b24. 億 ... 佛<u>智慧</u>) / Dr 66c3. 億百千<u>人</u> ("hundreds of billions of <u>people</u>")

Jñāne stands immediately after the ninth syllable in the verse in *Triṣṭubh* metre and therefore, *jñ* does not make metrical position and must have been read as a single consonant. In the underlying text of Dr, therefore, *jāne* instead of *jñāne* might have stood here, and Dharmarakṣa could have misunderstood its stemming from Skt. *jana* ("people").

(4.3) *jñāna* > *jāna* / *jhāna* < *dhyāna*

  There are some instances in which *jñāna* and *dhyāna* were confused in the Sanskrit manuscripts and Dr:

  KN 206.1 (v). *dhyāna-* (= O, R₄[No.64], D[Toda 1988]; Kj 28b18. 禪) / Nepalese Mss.

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[17] KN reads *sarvajinānam uttama* (≠ Mss.).

[18] All the above-quoted instances are from the verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī*, and *-jāna*, *-jānaṃ* and *-jānām* stand immediately after the seventh or ninth syllable, which is required to be short. Dharmarakṣa, therefore, might have understood that *jñāna~* had become *-jāna* etc. for metrical reasons.

[19] The other manuscripts read *uttami buddhajñāne* instead.

jñāna- (= Tib. *mngon shes* [*v.l. par*])

> KN 82.2 (prose). *dhyāna-* (Kj 13c9. 禪定) / Dr 76b6. 慧 ("wisdom")

> KN 194.2 (v). *jñānam* (Kj 26c14. 慧) / Dr 93c10. 禪定 ("*dhyāna*-meditation")

> KN 287.2 (v). *jñānam* (Kj 38b24. 得佛) / Dr 109a27. 定 ("meditation")

OIA. *dhyāna* became Pā. *jhāna*, Pkt. *jhāṇa*, Gā. *jaṇa*, *jana* (cf. Khotanese *jāna*). The above-quoted instances of the confusion between *jñāna* ("wisdom") and *dhyāna* ("meditation") indicate that they were pronounced **jāna* and *jhāna*, respectively, resembling each other, in the early stages of the transmission of the Lotus Sutra.

(4.4) *yāna* / *jana* / *jñāna* / *dhyāna*

The following examples also indicate that, in the early stages of the transmission, the Prakrit form **jāna* had stood, which was later sanskritised to *yāna* and *jñāna*:

> KN 53.2 (v). *jñānasmi* (= Kj 9b2. 佛[無漏]智) / O *yānasmi* / Dr 71c24. 禪定智慧
> ("*dhyāna*-meditation [and] wisdom" = *dhyāna* + *jñāna*)

> KN 152.7 (v). *jñānaṃ* (= Kj 21c9. 智慧) / O *yānaṃ* / Dr 87c23. 人民 ("people" = *jana*)

In these cases, *jñāna* stands immediately after the third and ninth syllables (⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑) respectively, in the verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre. As *jñ-* does not make metrical position there, the original form must have been pronounced as **jāna* (or *jāṇa*), from which the redactor of the Central Asian version sanskritised it to *yāna*, while Dharmarakṣa, interpreting **jāna* (or *jāṇa*) in the first case as coming from both *jñāna* and *dhyāna*, rendered it with two meanings *chándìng zhìhuì* 禪定智慧 "*dhyāna*-meditation [and] wisdom". In the second case, he seems to have confused **jāna* with *jana* ("people")[20].

> KN 203.6 (v). *udāra-yāne* / Dr 96a15. 微妙寂静 ("subtle tranquillity") / Kj 28a11. 大智
> ("great wisdom")

In this instance, *-yāne* stands immediately after the third syllable in a verse in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre, namely at the position where a single consonant is required. Therefore, one may assume that, in the earlier stages of the transmission, the Prakrit form **jāna* (or *jāṇa*) had stood here, which the Sanskrit redactor sanskritised to *yāna*, while Dharmarakṣa and Kumārajīva understood it as coming from *dhyāna* ("meditation") and *jñāna* ("wisdom"), respectively.

If *jñāna* or its colloquial form *ñāṇa* (or *ṇāṇa*) had stood here, it is impossible to explain the above-quoted confusions. However, if we assume that the colloquial form **jāna* (or *jāṇa*), which meant both "wisdom" and "vehicle", had stood here, then these confusions can be resolved simply.

(4.5) **jāna* (< *jñāna* and *yāna*) in the earliest stage of the transmission of the Lotus Sutra

To sum up, in the earliest stage of the transmission of the Lotus Sutra, to which the Gilgit-Nepalese Sanskrit recension, the Central Asian one as well as the Chinese translations

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[20] A similar misunderstanding by Dharmarakṣa is found in his translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. Where the Sanskrit version reads *pratyekabuddha-yāna* (Daśa-bh[K] 116.3), Śīladharma's translation (T. 10, no. 287, 556b4; in the Tang Dynasty) has *dújué shèng* 獨覺乘 ("the <u>vehicle</u> of self-enlightened ones") and Kumārajīva's translation (T. 10, no. 286, 517c9; 408 C.E.) reads *bìzhīfózhìhuì* 辟支佛智慧 ("*pratyekabuddha*'s <u>wisdom</u>"), which was adopted by Buddhabhadra (T. 9, no. 278, 561b15; 418~420 C.E.), while Dharmarakṣa's translation (T. 10, no. 285, 479a29) has *yuánjuézhīzhòng* 緣覺之眾 ("a <u>multitude</u> of those who are enlightened through causation"), of which *zhòng* 眾 indicates that he understood *-yāna* as *jana* ("people").

go back, the Prakrit form *jāna (or jāṇa) must have stood in place of jñāna and yāna, which must have caused the later confusion of jñāna ("wisdom") and yāna ("vehicle").

(5) An instance of wordplay based on the Prakrit form *jāna (< jñāna and yāna) —— Chapter III "Parable" of the Lotus Sutra

We have seen above that jñāna and yāna were pronounced as *jāna in the earliest stage of the transmission of the Lotus Sutra. There are also traces of wordplay of this double-meaning Prakrit form *jāna in the well-known "Parable of the Burning House" in Chapter III "Parable" (Aupamya-parivarta) of the Lotus Sutra.

(5.1) "The Parable of the Burning House" in verse

I summarise here the parable described in these verses (KN 87.7f., vv. 71~84):
[21]"As expedient means for saving his children from the burning house, the father says to them: 'Listen my sons, I have carts (yānaka)[22] of different sorts, yoked with deer, goats, and excellent oxen, lofty, great, and completely furnished' (v. 71)[23]. On hearing of such carts (yāna), his children immediately rush out of the house, pushing each other out of the way (v. 73). The children ask their father for those vehicles of three kinds as he had promised (vv. 77, 78). As he possesses[24] a mighty treasury of gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, and numerous servants, he prepares vehicles (yāna) of one and the same kind[25] (v. 79). The carts (ratha) are made of precious substances, yoked with oxen[26], most excellent, with benches and a row of tinkling bells, decorated with umbrellas and banners, and adorned with a network of gems and pearls, embellished with gold, covered all around with excellent cloth and fine

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[21] I have modified H. Kern's translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (SP[tr.K] 86ff.)

[22] Kumārajīva translated this word as 珍玩之具 妙寶好車 (Kj 14b20; "precious toys, wonderful carriages adorned with beautiful jewels"), which indicates that he understood that the "carts" which the father has promised are not real ones but just toys. In fact, in the corresponding prose part of the Sanskrit text, he has promised his children various toys (krīḍanaka) such as ox-carts, goat-carts and deer-carts (KN 74.3f.). His children, on hearing of these (KN 74.8), rush out of the house and ask him for the toys (krīḍanaka), namely the promised ox-carts, goat-carts and deer-carts (KN 75.3f.). Probably what the father has promised, are toys, but being overjoyed with the rescue of his children, he gives them real ox-carts — this disparity between toys and real ox-carts makes this story all the more interesting.

[23] KN v. 71cd. mṛgair ajair goṇavaraiś ca yuktā uccā mahantā samalaṃkṛtā ca. Cf. O ajārathā mṛgarathāś ca yuktā uccā mahātā atha guṇayuktā; H₆(301) /// thā mṛgarathakā /// ; Lü A-5. verso 4. /// (ha)[ntā] 'tha goṇayukta. Kj 14b21. 羊車鹿車 大牛之車 ("carts yoked with sheep, deer and big oxen") is rather nearer to the Central Asian recension. Dr 77b14. 諸童瑕猥 .... 免濟大牆 ("My children are carefree and absent-minded, … I shall rescue them [over?] the big wall") is completely different from other versions.

[24] KN 88.11. bhaveta, while O reads viditvā ("Having realised [his being wealthy, he prepared vehicles of one and the same kind.]").

[25] The reading KN 88.12. upasthāyakā nekavidhānayānā is not supported by the manuscripts. Here, I quote readings in some older manuscripts: K upasthape ekavidhāṃ sahāyān; Bj upasthape-n-aikavidhān sa yānān; D1 upasthahe-d-aikavidhān sa yānān; D2 upasthape ekavidhān sa yānān; O upasthapesy ekavidhā sa yānam; R₂(No.47). /// sa yānam. For the hiatus-bridgers -n- (Bj) and -d- (D1), cf. BHSG §§ 4.64~65, RgsGr § 4.158, von Hinüber 2001: § 273. Cf. Tib. bshon pa de yang rnam pa sna cig (v.l. gcig) byin. For the meaning of upasthape, cf. BHSD, s.v. upasthāpayati; CPD, s.v. upaṭṭhāpeti.

[26] KN 89.1. ratnāmayā (v.l. °ān) goṇarathā viśiṣṭāḥ (v.l. °ān); O, R₂(No.47). ratnāmaya (R₂ °as) so ratha kārayitvā ("Having had a cart [or "carts"] of precious stones made, he ...") = Kj 14c8. 以衆寶物 造諸大車 ("Using many precious substances, he had large carts made")

white muslin. The jewelled carts (*ratha*) are yoked with white oxen, well fed, strong, of great size, very fine, and are attended by numerous persons. (vv. 80-83). When he gives those exalted (*viśiṣṭa*) carts (*ratha*)[27] to all his sons, they become excited, and go and play with them everywhere (v. 84)."

The parable ends here, after which the Buddha's deeds, which are likened to those of this father, are described (KN 89.11f. vv. 85~95):

"In the same manner, I am the protector and father of all beings, and all creatures who, are captivated by the pleasures of the triple world, are my sons. This triple world is as dreadful as that house. This triple world is my domain, and those who are suffering in it from burning heat are my sons (vv. 85~87). As expedient means for saving (people) from numerous evils of the triple world, I tell them[28] of the three vehicles (*yāna*) (v. 89). Here are my sons who are endowed with the three kinds of knowledge and six transcendent powers (i.e. *śrāvaka*s), *pratyekabuddha*s, and *bodhisattva*s, who do not retrogress (*avaivartika*) (v. 90). I am now showing the single Buddha-vehicle (*eka~ buddhayāna*) to them, who are equally my sons, by means of this excellent parable. Receive it! You shall all become *jina*s (v. 91). That (*tad*) is the wisdom (G-N rec. *jñāna* = Dr; O *yāna* = Kj)[29] of the *buddha*s, being the most excellent (*variṣṭha*), attractive, exalted (*viśiṣṭa*) in the world, sublime and to be revered (v. 92). (There are) powers, meditations, emancipation and many hundreds of *koṭi*s of self-concentration, namely the exalted (*variṣṭha*) vehicle (*ratha*) with which the sons of the Buddha constantly enjoy. In playing with it they pass days and nights, fortnights, months, seasons, years, intermediate *kalpa*s, nay, thousands of *koṭi*s of *kalpa*s (v. 94). This is the most excellent (*variṣṭha*) jewelled vehicle by which many *bodhisattva*s and disciples, who listen to the Sugata, go to the terrace of enlightenment, while enjoying themselves (v. 95)."

It is evident that the exalted (*viśiṣṭa*) carts (*ratha*), yoked with white oxen, which are described in verses 80~84, are likened to the most excellent (*variṣṭha*) Buddha-vehicle (*buddhayāna*), described in verses 91 and 93~95. Then, why does the expression "that (*tad*) is the wisdom of the *buddha*s (*buddhāna jñāna*), being the most excellent (*variṣṭha*) and exalted (*viśiṣṭa*)" in verse 92 suddenly occur? This comes immediately after the sentence "I am now showing the single Buddha-vehicle (*buddhayāna*)", and thus "the Buddha-vehicle (*buddhayāna*)" is identified with "the wisdom of the *buddha*s (*buddhāna jñāna*)". Where the G-N rec. (= KN) and Dr read "the wisdom of the *buddha*s" (*buddhāna jñāna*, Dr 諸正覺慧), O and Kj have "the vehicle of the *buddha*s" (*buddhāna yāna*, Kj 乘) instead. The latter reading, being consistent with the context, is seemingly better and more original. However, even the oldest Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa (286 C.E.) reads "wisdom of the perfectly enlightened ones" (*zhūzhèngjué huì* 諸正覺慧) here, which agrees, therefore, with the G-N rec., hence we cannot conclude that the reading of *buddhāna jñāna* is a later

[27] KN (89.9) reads *varān*, while the older manuscripts O, D1, D2, K, Bj etc. have *rathān* instead. I adopt the latter.

[28] KN 90.5. *câ̂iṣām*; O *prāṇinām* = Dr 78a5. 衆生 ("sentient beings"), Kj 15a1. 諸衆生 ("sentient beings").

[29] KN 90.12. *buddhāna jñānaṃ* (= G-N rec.; = Tib) = Dr 78a13. 諸正覺慧 ("wisdom of the perfectly enlightened ones") / O *buddhāna yānaṃ* = Kj 15a7. 乘 ("vehicle").

corruption.

The above-quoted verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre, which are assumed to be the oldest layer of the Lotus Sutra from the point of view of the development of Buddhist thought as well, must have been transmitted either in Prakrit or in Prakrit-*cum*-Sanskrit. *Jñ* in the phrase *buddhāna jñāna* in question in verse 92 stands immediately after the third syllable in the verse in *Triṣṭubh* metre and therefore, does not make metrical position and must have been read as a single consonant, that is to say that *buddhāna *jāna* (or *jāṇa*) in place of *buddhāna jñāna* may have stood here originally. The redactor of an earlier text of the Gilgit-Nepalese recension might have sanskritised it to *buddhāna jñāna*, while that of the Central Asian recension sanskritised it to *buddhāna yāna*.

Then, which of the phrases "the wisdom of the *buddha*s" and "the vehicle of the *buddha*s" was originally meant by the expression *buddhāna *jāna*? If we suppose that the former (namely *jñāna*) was meant by **jāna*, then it is out of context, as we have seen above. If we presume, however, the latter (namely *yāna*) was meant, it does not correlate very well with "powers, meditations, emancipation and many hundreds of *koṭi*s of self-concentration" in the next verse, especially as "wisdom" is not listed with these attributes[30]. To sum up, neither *jñāna* or *yāna* fits the context very well. I assume that the above-quoted phrase *buddhāna *jāna* in verse 92, which can mean both "the wisdom of the *buddha*s" and "the vehicle of the *buddha*s", is an example of a double-entendre.

In Indian literature, "double-entendre", a figure of speech, which can be understood in two different ways, is often employed. In Prakrit, where different Sanskrit word forms are combined in one and the same form, double-entendre is easier to utilise than in Sanskrit.[31] One of the most illustrative examples of a double-entendre in Buddhist literature could well be *attadīpa* and *dhammadīpa* in the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*[32]. The Buddha, having fallen sick and realising that death was not far off, said to Ānanda "*tasmāt ih' Ānanda! attadīpā viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā dhammadīpā dhammasaraṇā anañña-saraṇā*" ("Therefore, Ānanda, dwell with yourselves as your own island, with yourselves as your own refuge, with no other refuge; dwell with the Dhamma as your island, with the Dhamma as your refuge, with no other refuge.")[33]. The word *dīpa* is understood as "lamp" in Sanskrit, while it means both "lamp" and "island" (Skt. *dvīpa*) in Pali. In fact, this word of the Buddha is interpreted as "lamp" generally in Northern Buddhism, while it is understood

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[30] Cf. Kj 15a10. 諸力解脱 禪定智慧 ("powers and emancipations, meditations and wisdom"). Kumārajīva thus added "wisdom" here, which has no parallels in the Sanskrit versions nor in Dharmarakṣa's translation either.

[31] For example, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (3.3.137ff.) relates the following story: Long ago, there was a great sage namely Gautama, whose wife was more beautiful than any *apsara*. One day, Indra, being captivated by her beauty, seduced her, and she willing succumbed. After discovering this through his magical powers, Gautama arrived on the scene. Being terrified, Indra immediately transformed himself into a cat (Skt. *mārjāra*, Pkt. *majjāra*). Gautama then asked his wife who was there. In colloquial language, she answered: "Here is just a cat (Pkt. *majjāra*)." Then, the sage, laughing, said, "Indeed it is your lover (*tvaj-jāra*)!" and put a curse on his unfaithful (*pāpaśīlā*) wife, condemning her to become a stone (*śilā*). He also placed a curse on Indra, saying "You are greedy for a vulva, so you shall have a thousand of them on your body!" The amusing part of this story lies in the word *majjāra*, which the wife used, meaning "cat" in Prakrit but, at the same time, means "my (*maj*) lover (*jāra*)" in both Sanskrit and Prakrit. Therefore, the sage said "your (*tvaj*) lover (*jāra*)."

[32] DN II 100.20f. = SN V 163.10f.

[33] SN(tr) 1644.

as "island" as a figurative expression for "footing, refuge"[34], in Theravāda Buddhism, the *Mahāvastu*[35] and *(Mūla)Sarvāstivādin*s texts[36]. Which of the two interpretations did the Buddha mean by *dīpa* has been long debated. I assume that he used this word as a double-entendre, namely "lamp" and "island" and Ānanda, hearing this word, must have understood this as such. Later, when the transmitters of Buddhist texts sanskritised them, they had to choose between either Skt. *dīpa* ("lamp") or *dvīpa* ("lamp"), relying on their understanding of the word. Thus, the double-entendre word *dīpa* was no more regarded as such.

In the Lotus Sutra, which has been one of the most popular Buddhist texts throughout Buddhist history, double-entendre and wordplay must have been used to attract ordinary people. I assume that **jāna* in verse 92 was originally intended as such.

A more significant matter is that, if a double-entendre of **jāna* is intended here, the whole "Parable of the Burning House" might originally have been based on this wordplay, namely: As the father gives the carts (**jāna < yāna*) of one and the same kind to his sons who have asked him for three kinds of carts (**jāna < yāna*); the Buddha teaches "the wisdom of the *buddha*s" (**jāna < jñāna*) to *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s who have been seeking the three kinds of wisdom (**jāna < jñāna*). We shall next examine this assumption in the same parable found in the prose portion.

(5.2) "The Parable of the Burning House" in the prose portion

The prose portion of Chapter III "Parable" (*Aupamya-parivarta*) was composed assumedly later than the verses in the same chapter. Therefore, it is not clear whether *jñāna* and *yāna* still remained there in the same colloquial form, namely **jāna* (or *jāṇa*), or were phonetically similar enough for wordplay. However, if wordplay was really employed in the verse section, there must be traces of such in the prose portion as well, as it reiterates, in detail, the content of the verses.

(5.2.1) Desiring *yāna* is likened to desiring *jñāna*

At KN 80.5ff., *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s are likened to the children who ask their father for the three kinds of carts:

> "Amongst them, there are those who, desiring to follow what they hear from others[37], apply themselves to the teaching of the Tathāgata in order to comprehend the Four Noble Truths, and for the sake of their own *parinirvāṇa*. They are said to be those who, desiring the vehicle of the *śrāvaka*s (*śrāvaka-yāna*), escape from the threefold world, just as some of the boys escaped from that burning house, desiring a cart

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[34] Cf. MW, s.v. *dvīpa* "place of refuge, shelter, protection or protector"; cf. also Āyār § I 6.5.4. *se aṇāsāyae aṇāsāyamāṇe vajjhamāṇāṇaṃ pāṇāṇaṃ bhūyāṇaṃ jīvāṇaṃ sattāṇaṃ, jahā se <u>dīve</u> asaṃdīṇe, evaṃ se bhavati saraṇaṃ mahāmuṇī* ("But a great sage, neither injuring nor injured, becomes a shelter for all sorts of afflicted creatures, even as <u>an island</u>, which is never covered with water." [Jacobi 1884: 61])

[35] Mvu I 334.12. *ātmadvīpā bhikṣavo viharatha ananyadvīpāḥ ātmaśaraṇāḥ ananyaśaraṇāḥ; dharmadvīpā ananyadvīpāḥ dharmaśaraṇā ananyaśaraṇāḥ.*

[36] Cf. MPS § 14.22. *(tasmād) Ānandâtarhi mam(a vâ)tyayād ātmadvīpair vihartavyam ātmaśaraṇair dharmadvīpair dha(rmaśaraṇair ananyadvīpair ananyaśaraṇaiḥ).* The parallel phrases in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin*s read "island" here as well. Cf. MPS, *loc. cit.*

[37] KN 80.6. *paraghoṣaśravānugamanam ākāṅkṣamāṇā* (= Tib); Burnouf translated as follows: "désirant suivre les directions qu'on entend de la bouche d'un autre" (SP[tr.B] 51); O reads *paramaghoṣaśravādhimuktā*; the Chinese translations read differently from the Sanskrit version (Dr 76a14f.; Kj 13b18f.).

yoked with deer (*mṛga-ratha*[38]).

There are other people, who, desiring wisdom without a teacher (*anācāryaka jñāna*), with self-restraint and tranquillity (*dama-śamatha*), apply themselves to the teaching of the Tathāgata in order to understand cause and effect for the sake of their own *parinirvāṇa*. They are said to be those who, desiring the vehicle of the *pratyekabuddha* (*pratyekabuddha-yāna*), escape from the threefold world, just as some of the boys escaped from that burning house, desiring a cart yoked with goats (*aja-ratha*).

There are other people, who, desiring the wisdom of the Omniscient One (*sarvajña-jñāna*), the wisdom of the *buddha*s (*buddha-jñāna*), the wisdom of the Self-generated One (*svayaṃbhu-jñāna*), wisdom without a teacher (*anācāryaka jñāna*), apply themselves to the teaching of the Tathāgata in order to understand the wisdom, powers and confidence of the Tathāgata (*tathāgata-jñāna*[39]-*bala-vaiśāradya*), for the sake of the welfare and happiness of many people, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, welfare and happiness of many people, both gods and men, for the sake of the *parinirvāṇa* of all beings. They are said to be those who, desiring the great vehicle (*mahāyāna*; O *tathāgatayāna*)[40], escape from the threefold world. Therefore, they are called *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s. They are just like some of the boys, who escaped from that burning house, desiring a cart yoked with oxen (*go-ratha*)."

Thus, the three groups of boys, who desire carts (*ratha*) yoked with deer, goats and oxen, respectively, are likened to *śrāvaka*s, who follow what they hear from others, to *pratyekabuddha*s, who desire wisdom without a teacher (*anācāryaka jñāna*) and to *bodhisattva*s, who seek the wisdom of the *buddha*s (*buddha-jñāna*). Also, the latter three are designated as those, who desire the vehicle of the *śrāvaka*s (*śrāvaka-yāna*); those, who desire the vehicle of the *pratyekabuddha*s (*pratyekabuddha-yāna*); and those, who desire the great vehicle or the vehicle of the Tathāgata (*mahāyāna*; O *tathāgatayāna*) as well. As can be seen clearly in the descriptions of the *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s, desiring *yāna* (or *ratha*)

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[38] In the following portion and KN 74.4, *mṛga-ratha*, *aja-ratha* and *go-ratha* are listed in this order in the G-N rec. (= KN), while, in O, the order differs, namely *paśu-ratha* (once *aja-ratha*), *mṛga-ratha*, *go-ratha*. Kumārajīva's translation agrees with O: Kj 12c9, 13b21f. 羊車 ... 鹿車 ... 牛車. Dharmarakṣa translated "carts yoked with goats, horses and elephants" (Dr 76a18, 75b17. 羊車、馬車、象車), which probably agrees also with the reading of O. Skt. *mṛga* means "any wild animal" as well as "deer". The translator might have understood it as a wild horse, and, at times, he mistranslated Skt. *go* as "elephant": e.g. KN 89.7. *goṇā* / Dr 77c17. 象. The same parable is found also in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, *Xiuxingdaodi jing* 修行道地經 by name (T. 15, no. 606; 284 C.E.), where "elephants, horses and carts" are listed (226c2. 象、馬、車乘).

[39] KN 81.3. *tathāgatajñāna-*; O *tathāgatajñānadarśana-* = Dr 76a24. 大聖普見之慧 ("the great sage's wisdom of universal insight"), Kj 13b26. 如來知見 ("the knowledge and insight of the Thus Come One").

[40] KN 81.4. *mahāyānām* (= Kj 13b27. 大乘 "great vehicle"); O *tathāgatayānam* (= Dr 76a24. 如來道 "the path of the Thus Come One").

is likened to desiring *jñāna*[41].

(5.2.2) *Mahāyāna* **likened to** *buddhajñāna*

At KN 78.6f., the father's decision to give great vehicles (*mahāyānāni*) to his children is likened to the Buddha's resolution:

"I am the father of these beings. I must save them from this mass of evil, and bestow on them the immense, inconceivable bliss of the Buddha-wisdom (G-N rec. *buddhajñāna*-; O *buddhayāna*-)[42], with which they shall sport, play, and enjoy themselves."

It is thus evident that the great vehicles (*mahāyānāni*), given by the father, are likened to "the Buddha-wisdom" (*buddhajñāna*) bestowed by the Buddha.

Also, KN 81.7f. relates as follows:

"As the father, considering that he possesses great wealth, finally gives his children one single superb cart (*udāra yāna*; singular!), so also the Buddha, considering that he possesses a great wealth of wisdom, power, and confidence (*mahājñānabala-vaiśāradyakośa*), and that all beings are his children, leads them to *parinirvāṇa* by means of nothing other than the Buddha-vehicle (*buddha-yāna*)."

This action of the Buddha is paraphrased more concretely as "he teaches all beings the Dharma which is connected with the wisdom of the Omniscient One (*sarvajña-jñāna*)"[43] and "he preaches the one single great vehicle (*mahāyāna*; O *buddhayāna*)"[44]. It is thus evident that the Buddha-wisdom (*sarvajña-jñāna*, i.e. *buddha-jñāna*), the Buddha-vehicle (*buddha-yāna*) and the great vehicle (*mahāyāna*) are used synonymously.

(5.3) *buddha-jāna, **meaning "Buddha-wisdom", was sanskritised to** *buddha-yāna*

To sum up, in the prose portion of Chapter III "Parable" (*Aupamya-parivarta*), a clear comparison is made between the father's giving *mahāyāna* to all his children, who desire the three kinds of *yāna*, and the Buddha's bestowing one single *buddha-jñāna* to all beings, children of the Buddha, who desire the three kinds of *jñāna*.[45] This comparison between *yāna* and *jñāna* agrees with the double-entendre of *jāna, meaning both "vehicle" and "wisdom" as assumed in verse. Also, the confusion of *yāna* and *jñāna* occurs not only in verse (v. 92), but also in prose (see notes 42 and 43).

From the investigation, which we have carried out above, we may assume that there had been a double-entendre of *jāna, meaning both "vehicle" (*yāna*) and "wisdom" (*jñāna*),

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[41] Here, as the words *jñāna* and *yāna* are used in nearly the same way, we could replace *śrāvaka-yāna*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna*, *mahāyāna* (*tathāgata-yāna*) with *śrāvaka-jñāna, **pratyekabuddha-jñāna*, *mahājñāna* (*tathāgatajñāna*), respectively. A similar list is found in the *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*: Sv 100.10ff. *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāna, paccekabuddha-ñāna, sabbaññuta-ñāna*.

[42] KN 78.8. *buddha-jñāna*- (= G-N rec., Lü B-2 verso 1; Tib, Dr 75c26. 諸佛正慧, Kj 13a28. 佛智慧); O, H₅(283). *buddha-yāna*-.

[43] KN 82.9. *sarvajñajñāna-sahagataṃ dharmam* (= Dr 76b12); cf. Kj 13c16. 大乘之法 ("the Dharma of the great vehicle").

[44] KN 82.10. *mahāyāna*; O *buddhayāna* = Dr 76b14. 佛乘 ("the Buddha-vehicle"), Kj 13c17. 佛乘 (*do.*).

[45] In the parable, the father is said to be very rich and possesses such "great vehicles" (*mahāyānāni*) (KN 75.10ff.) and likened to the Buddha, who possesses rich wisdom (read *me jñāna* instead of *mahājñāna* [≠ Mss.]), powers and confidence (KN 81.12f.). The parallelism between the "vehicle" of the father and "wisdom" of the Buddha, also indicates a double-entendre of *jāna in this parable.

in the verse portion of this chapter, but later, when *jāna* was sanskritised to *yāna* and *jñāna*, this wordplay became incomprehensible. Some traces of this double-entendre can, however, be seen in the confusion of *yāna* and *jñāna* as well as in the comparison between *yāna* and *jñāna*, described in the prose portion.

A significant fact is that the expression *buddha-yāna*, which was often interchanged with *buddha-jñāna* (cf. §1.1f.), does not explicitly mean a "vehicle" in the Lotus Sutra.[46] I assume, then, that the expression *buddha-jāna*, meaning "Buddha-wisdom" (*buddha-jñāna*) originally, was sanskritised to *buddha-yāna* similar to *mahājāna* ("geat wisdom"), which became *mahāyāna*. This, we shall examine later.

(6) On *yāna* and *jñāna* used synonymously
(6.1) Verses in Chapter II "Expedient Means"

The words *yāna* and *jñāna* are used synonymously in verses 54 and 55 (KN 46.11f.) in Chapter II "Expedient Means" (*Upāyakauśalya-parivarta*)

ekaṃ hi <u>yānaṃ</u> dvitiyaṃ na vidyate tṛtīyaṃ hi nâivâsti kadāci loke /
anyatr(ʾ) upāyā puruṣottamānāṃ yad <u>yānanānātv</u>(ʾ) upadarśayanti //54//
<u>bauddhasya jñānasya</u> prakāśanārthaṃ (O <u>boddhasya yānasya</u> pravedhanārthaṃ[47])
loke samutpadyati lokanātha (O lokasmi utpadyati lokanāyaka)/
ekaṃ hi kāryaṃ dvitiyaṃ na (O na dvitīya) vidyate
na <u>hīnayānena</u> nayanti buddhā (O prāṇina) //55//

> "There is, indeed, just one <u>vehicle</u>; there is neither a second nor a third anywhere in the world, apart from the case in which the highest of men (i.e. the Buddha) uses expedient means to show that there is <u>a variety of vehicles</u>.
>
> The Protector (O "the Leader") of the world appears in the world to proclaim <u>the Buddha-wisdom</u> (O "to make <u>the Buddha-vehicle</u> known"). He has but one purpose, indeed, no second; the *buddha*s do not lead (living beings) (O [*Buddha*s] do not lead living beings) <u>with an inferior vehicle</u>."

Probably, the colloquial form *jāna* stood here originally in place of *yāna* and *jñāna*, as in the instances we have seen above and presumably, all occurrences of *jāna* initially meant "wisdom" here, except in the case of *hīnajāna* (> *hīnayāna*), which could have been intended, at first, as a double-entendre of "inferior wisdom" and "an inferior vehicle".

(6.2) A verse and the prose part in Chapter VIII "Prediction of Buddhahood for Five Hundred Disciples"

At the beginning of the prose part in Chapter VIII, it is said that Pūrṇa received a prediction of Buddhahood from the Buddha. In a corresponding verse in *Triṣṭubh* metre in the

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[46] Other than Chapter III "Parable" (*Aupamya-parivarta*), *yāna* explicitly means a "vehicle" *only* in verses 14~17 in the first chapter, which belongs to the second stratum of the Lotus Sutra (KN :10.11~11.4): "Thinking that 'We wish to gain the vehicle. The best and most excellent vehicle in the threefold world is the Buddha-vehicle (*buddhayāna*)', they donate horses, goats, palanquins adorned with jewels, carriages harnessed with four horses or those made of precious stones, wishing to attain enlightenment by doing so." Here, it is said that the metaphysical *yāna* (a synonym of enlightenment) is to be obtained by physical *yāna* (carts, carriages, palanquins, horses or goats).

[47] *pravedhanārthaṃ* : A hyperform of *pravedanā°*.

same chapter, the following is said of Pūrṇa's past and future lives:

> "By preaching the most eminent and righteous Dharma, he brought thousands of *koṭi*s of sentient beings to full ripeness (*pari√pac*) for <u>this supreme, foremost vehicle</u> (*anuttara agra-yāna*), whilst purifying his own excellent field." (KN 204.13f.: v. 11)

> "(In future), he will always preach the Dharma confidently by means of thousands of *koṭi*s of expedient means, and bring many beings to full ripeness (*pari√pac*) for <u>the wisdom of the Omniscient One</u> (*sarvajña-jñāna*), which is free from depravities." (KN 205.3f.: v. 13)

It is evident that *anuttara agra-yāna* and *sarvajña-jñāna* are used synonymously. Here again *-yāna* and *-jñāna* stand where a double consonant (*jñ*) does not make metrical position. Therefore, probably **-jāna* stood originally here in place of *-yāna* and *-jñāna* and meant "wisdom".

(6.3) Chapter VII "The Parable of the Phantom City"

The words *yāna* and *jñāna* are used synonymously also in both the verse and prose portions of Chapter VII "The Parable of the Phantom City".

(6.3.1) Verses of Chapter VII "The Parable of the Phantom City"

In the concluding part of this chapter, the Buddha proclaims that:

> "It is (simply) as expedient means of the *buddha*s that great sages teach the three vehicles (*yad yāna deśenti trayo maharṣī*). There is only one single vehicle, no second (*ekaṃ hi yānaṃ na dvitīyam asti*); but in order to make (sentient beings) feel relaxed, two vehicles are taught (*viśrāmaṇārthaṃ tu dvi yāna deśitā*). (v. 106)[48]

> Therefore, I now tell you, O monks, call forth your utmost efforts in order to attain the wisdom of the Omniscient One (G-N rec. *sarvajña-jñāna*; O *sarvajña-yāna*)[49]; it is not time for rest (*nirvṛti*). (v. 107)

> But when you have attained the wisdom of the Omniscient One (*sarvajña-jñāna*; O, R₂ *sarvajña-yāna*)[50] and the ten powers of the *jina*s, you will become *buddha*s, endowed with the thirty-two characteristic signs and have (true) rest. (v. 108)

> Such is the teaching of the Leaders: in order to relieve (you), they speak of rest (*nirvṛti*); (but), having known[51] that (you) have become relaxed by the (provisional) rest, they lead all onwards to the wisdom of the Omniscient One (*sarvajña-jñāna*; O, R₂ *sarvajña-yāna*)[52]." (v. 109)

These verses reveal that two forms of *yāna*, namely *śrāvaka-yāna* and *pratyekabuddha-yāna*, do not really exist but are merely devised by the *buddha*s as expedient means. The true *yāna* is one and single, namely *jñāna* of the Omniscient One. Thus, *yāna* and *jñāna* are used synonymously here. It is all the more evident from the fact that the Central Asian manuscripts read *sarvajña-yāna* instead of *sarvajña-jñāna* throughout these verses.

These verses in *Triṣṭubh* metre in Chapter VII belong to the oldest stratum like those in Chapter III, which we examined at § 5.1. The word *sarvajña-jñāna-* in verses 107c,

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[48] KN 198.4. *tu dvi yāna deśitā* (= Dr 94b11. 故分別説, Kj 27b2. 説二); O *dvaya ekā hi yānau*.
[49] KN 198.6. *sarvajña-jñāna* (= Dr 94b13. 一切敏慧, Kj 27b4. 佛一切智); O *sarvajña-yāna*.
[50] KN 198.7. *sarvajña-jñāna* (= Dr 94b14. 諸通慧, Kj 27b5. 一切智); O, R₂(No. 55, p. 133) *sarvajña-yāna*.
[51] Read *jñātvāna* instead of KN 198.10. *jñātvā na*.
[52] KN 198.10. *sarvajñajñāne* (= Dr 94b19. 諸通慧, Kj 27b8. 佛慧); O, R₂(No. 55, p. 133) *sarvajñayānam*.

108a, 109d stands at the beginning of the pada, which is scanned as ⏔ – ⏑ – –. Therefore, *sarvajña-jāna-* had probably stood here previously, and it was later sanskritised to *sarvajña-jñāna-* (= G-N rec.) and *sarvajña-yāna-* (= CA rec.). Also, *yāna* in the expressions *ekaṃ hi yānaṃ* and *dvi yāna deśitā* in verse 106, stands where a double consonant (*jñ*) does not make metrical position. Therefore, probably **jāna* had stood here originally in place of *jñāna* and it was later sanskritised to *yāna* incorrectly.

To sum up, *yāna* and *jñāna* are used synonymously in these verses, which may indicate that they were interchanged through their common colloquial form **jāna*. Next, we shall examine the corresponding prose portion of the same chapter.

(6.3.2) Prose portion of Chapter VII "The Parable of the Phantom City"

At KN 188.11f., the Buddha is likened to the leader of treasure hunters, who magically conjures up a city in the distance in order to enable his exhausted party to rest there and thus encourage them to keep going:

"In the same manner, the Tathāgata, the guide of all sentient beings, thinks thus: This expansive wilderness of defilements must be crossed. But, on hearing that the wisdom/vehicle of the Buddha (*buddha-jñāna*; O *buddha-yāna*)[53] is one and only, sentient beings will suddenly turn back and not proceed to the end with the thought that it is too difficult to attain the wisdom/vehicle of the Buddha (*buddha-jñāna*; O *buddha-yāna*)[54].[55] Then, the Tathāgata, like the leader of the treasure hunters, knowing that they are weak-willed, in order to make them feel relaxed, teaches and proclaims expediently two stages (*bhūmi*) of *nirvāṇa*, namely the stage of the disciples (*śrāvaka-bhūmi*) and that of the *pratyekabuddha*s (*pratyekabuddha-bhūmi*). When sentient beings remain there, the Tathāgata will say (to them): 'You have not accomplished your task; you have not done what had to be done. But behold, O monks, you are near the wisdom/vehicle of the Tathāgata (*tathāgata-jñāna*; O, H₆ *tathāgata-yāna*)[56]. See and consider that your *nirvāṇa* is not the true one. The three vehicles (*yānāni*) are expounded simply as the expedient means of the Tathāgatas.'"

If we interpret verse 106 in the light of its corresponding prose, we see that "The three vehicles are taught simply as the expedient means of the *buddha*s. Wisdom is one and only, that is the Buddha-wisdom. Simply in order to make people feel relaxed, the *buddha*s teach the stage of the disciples and that of the *pratyekabuddha*s." Thus "the one single vehicle" (*eka yāna*) in verse 106 is replaced by "the one and only Buddha-wisdom" (*eka buddhajñāna*; O *eka buddhayāna*). It is, therefore, evident that *yāna* and *jñāna* were used synonymously, which is supported by the confusion of these two words between the readings in the G-N rec. and the CA rec. I assume that **jāna*, meaning "wisdom", had stood originally also in the above-quoted places in Chapter VII, and it was later sanskritised to *yāna*

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[53] KN 189.1. *buddha-jñāna*; O *buddha-yāna* (= Dr 92c14. 一乘, Kj 26a15. 一佛乘).

[54] KN 189.2. *buddha-jñāna*; O *buddha-yāna* (= Kj 26a17. 佛道). Dr 92c15. 道慧 ("wisdom of the path" or "path-*cum*-wisdom") is probably an example of a "double translation".

[55] In the Central Asian manuscripts, there is an interpolated sentence: O *tena vaya(m a)pratibalaṃ buddhajñānam abhisaṃboddhum*, H₅(285). /// *m abhisaṃbo* ///; ≒ Kj 26a17. 乃可得成佛 ("Ultimately one can attain Buddhahood.").

[56] KN 189.9. *tathāga-jñāna* (= Dr 92c28. 如來慧, Kj 26a21. 佛慧); O, H₆(306) *tathāgata-yāna*.

incorrectly in several cases.

(6.4) *jāna > jñāna, yāna

As we have seen above, in Chapters II, VII and VIII of the Lotus Sutra, there are quite a few instances, which indicate that the words *yāna* and *jñāna* were interchangeable. Probably, the colloquial form **jāna* (< *jñāna* "wisdom") originally stood in these examples, and presumably it was later sanskritised to *jñāna* but also incorrectly to *yāna* in several cases.

(7) *Mahāyāna* < *mahājāna* (i.e. *mahājñāna*)

(7.1) "One single *jñāna*. The three forms of *jñāna* are devised as expedient means."

As we have seen above, the *leitmotif* in the verses of the oldest stratum of the Lotus Sutra is "There is only one single *buddha-jñāna* / *buddha-yāna*, but the Buddha has explained it in a threefold way as expedient means." The same can be said about enlightenment (*bodhi*) in the verses in *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* metre:

"Remembering the former *buddha*s and their expedient means, (I thought): 'I also shall explain this Buddha-enlightenment (*buddha-bodhi*) in the threefold way'." (Chapter II, v. 118)

"The Tathāgata, who is fully aware of the deeds of all beings and individuals, preaches various forms of the Dharma, while indicating this best enlightenment (*agrabodhi*)." (Chapter IV, v. 62)

Thus, *yāna* and *bodhi* are used synonymously in the Lotus Sutra. The synonymity of *yāna* and *bodhi* in this scripture is confirmed by the fact that the latter verse quoted above was translated by Kumārajīva as "(The Buddha) preaches the one and sole Vehicle and Path as being three in accord with what the situation demands" (Kj 19a11. 於一乗道　隨宜説三) and also by the fact that *agrabodhim* in Chapter II, v. 104 (KN 53.12) has a variant reading *agrayānaṃ* (= O, D2, Bj, C3 etc. = Tib)[57].

Also, from the following sentences, it is clear that *yāna* is used as a synonym of *parinirvāṇa*: in Chapter II, v. 105 (KN 53.14), the Buddha says "*Buddha*s preach the one *yāna*, that is the supreme tranquil state (*śāntabhūmi*)", also in the prose of Chapter VII (KN 186.7f., 12f.), the Buddha says: "The *parinirvāṇa* of *tathāgata*s is *only* one; there is no second one other than *nirvāṇa* of *tathāgata*s", "In this world, there is no second *yāna*, no second *parinirvāṇa*, needless to say a third. It is an expedient means that the Buddha teaches sentient beings such *nirvāṇa*."

The word *yāna*, appearing in the old verses in the first stratum, does not mean "vehicle" nor "path", which is confirmed also by the fact that this word is not combined with verbs such as "ride", "go", "proceed" etc., while, in the *Upaniṣad*s and in Pali scriptures, the word *yāna*, meaning "path" in metaphysical contexts, is connected with verbs such as √*yā* ("to go"), √*ruh* ("to ride"), √*yuj* ("to yoke")[58].

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[57] Cf. Karashima 1992: 58.

[58] E.g. *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* 3, 1, 2, 10. *sugair no yānair* *upayātāṃ* *yajñam*; *Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa* 5, 10, 2. *atha yadāsyâyuktāni yānāni pravartante*; Sn, v. 139. *so devayānam* *āruhya* (*v.l.* *abhiruyha*), *virajaṃ so mahāpathaṃ, kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokūpago ahu*; Thī, v. 389. *sâhaṃ sugatassasāvikā maggaṭṭhaṅgikayānayāyinī*; SN V 4.26f. *brahmaṃ vata bho yānam brahmayānarūpaṃ vata hoti ...* (5.7) *setā sudaṃ assā* *yuttā* *honti ...* (5.15f.) *ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa adhivacanam brahmayānaṃ iti pi dhammayānaṃ iti pi ...* (6.16) *niyyanti*

Thus, it is clear that *yāna* (or rather **jāna*), found in the old verses in the first stratum, is neither "a vehicle (by which one can attain enlightenment)" nor "a path (to enlightenment)", but is enlightenment itself, namely "(Buddha-)wisdom". In other words, it is not a means to arrive somewhere or attain something, but the purpose itself. In conclusion, I assume that such *yāna* (or rather **jāna*) did not mean "vehicle" but "wisdom" (= *jñāna*).

Therefore, the *leitmotif* of the Lotus Sutra must have been originally "There is only one single Buddha-wisdom, but the Buddha has explained it in the threefold way as expedient means."

(7.2) *Mahājāna* meant originally "great wisdom" (*mahājñāna*)

In the verses of the first stratum, the expression *mahāyāna* does not occur, though it was not impossible to incorporate this word ($\smile – – \smile$) in a verse. Instead of this expression, *buddha-yāna* (Chapter III, v. 91), *agra-yāna* (Chapter III, v. 1; VIII, v. 11), *udāra-yāna* ("excellent *yāna*"; Chapter VIII, v. 2) are used in those verses. We have already examined the expression *buddha-yāna* in "The Parable of the Burning House" (see § 5.1). *Agra-yāna* in VIII, v. 11 is paraphrased as *sarvajña-jñāna* ("the wisdom of the Omniscient One") in a subsequent verse (Chapter VIII, v. 13). *Udāra-yāna* appears as an antonym of *hīna-yāna* ("inferior *yāna*") — this contrast is replaced with that between *tathāgata-jñāna*, *sarvajña-jñāna* versus *parītta jñāna* ("limited wisdom"). Also, where the Sanskrit version reads *udāra-yāna*, the Chinese translation by Kumārajīva has 大智 ("great wisdom"; 28a11) (see above § 2.1.1). Therefore, we may assume that *buddha-yāna*, *agra-yāna* and *udāra-yāna* were pronounced originally as **buddha-jāna*, **agga-jāna* and **udāra-jāna*, respectively, and could be understood both as "Buddha-wisdom", "foremost wisdom", "excellent wisdom" and as "Buddha-vehicle", "foremost vehicle" and "excellent vehicle".

As stated above, the word *mahāyāna* does not occur in the verses of the first stratum. The Buddhist term *mahāyāna* occurs first in the prose portion of "The Parable of the Burning House" in Chapter III, KN 81.4 (= Kj; ≠ O *tathāgata-yāna* [= Dr]), 82.7 (= O, Dr, Kj) and 82.10 (≠ O *buddha-yāna* [= Dr, Kj]). Thus, there is only one instance (KN 82.7), where all versions read *mahāyāna*, while the same word, designating grand cart, which the father gives to his children, occurs several times in the same prose portion (KN 76.2, 3, 4, 6, 77.2, 79.3, 82.4). We may, therefore, assume that this Buddhist term was not well established in the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra.

As we have seen above (§ 5.3), there is a clear comparison between the father's giving *mahāyāna* to all his children, who desire the three kinds of *yāna*, and the Buddha's giving one single *buddha-jñāna* to all beings, children of the Buddha, who desire the three kinds of *jñāna*. From this fact, we may assume that the word *mahāyāna* was pronounced originally as *mahājāna* —— this form does occur in later Buddhist inscriptions in the 9th to 12th centuries in East and Central India[59] ——, and could be understood both as "great

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dhīrā lokamhā; Mil 276.30. *iddhiyānam abhiruyha*. Cf. Gonda 1965: 59ff.

[59] IBInsc I, p. 150, Bodh-Gayā 36 (1157/1230 C.E.), l. 2. *parama-mahajānānuyāyinaḥ* ("a follower of the excellent *mahāyāna*"); *ibid.* p. 159, Chaṇḍimau 1 (10th~11th centuries), l. 1. *do.*; *ibid.* p. 215, Tetrawan 1 (1073 C.E.), l. 1. *do.*; *ibid.* p. 611, Gopālpur (Jabalpur) 1 (11th~12th centuries), l. 1. *do.*; IBInsc I, p. 917, Sārnāth 111 (1058 C.E.), l. 8, 10. *mahājānānujāyī*, l. 10. *mahājānā[nu]jāina*; Mitra 1998: 285 (9th~10th c. C.E.), l. 1. *pravara-mahājāna-jāyinaḥ Śākya-bhikṣor āryamūlasarvāstivādaparṣadā-Vaṅga-viṣayika-sthavira-Dharmmamittrasya*;

vehicle" and "great wisdom", which made it possible to use this word as a double-entendre for the parable.

(7.3) The Lotus Sutra elucidates "the equality of the great wisdom" (*mahājñāna-samatā*)

In fact, the expression *mahājñāna* ("great wisdom") does occur in Chapter XI in the Central Asian Mss. and the Chinese translations of this sutra, which proclaims: "This sutra is a scripture which shows equality of the great wisdom (*mahājñāna*)." This very important fact has remained unnoticed, because this phrase lacks in the Nepalese manuscripts and, consequently, in modern editions which rely on them.

At the beginning of Chapter XI (*Stūpasaṃdarśana*), it describes how a *stūpa*, made of the seven precious stones, arose from the earth. It says that a voice, praising Śākyamuni for having expounded the Lotus Sutra, issued from that *stūpa*. In the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and Tibet read here as follows —— this part in the Gilgit manuscripts has not been discovered yet:

> KN 240.3f. *sādhu sādhu bhagavañ Śākyamune subhāṣitas te 'yaṃ Saddharmapuṇḍarīko dharmaparyāyaḥ* ("Excellent, excellent, Lord Śākyamuni! You have well expounded this religious discourse of the Lotus of the True Dharma.")

In contrast to this, in the Central Asian manuscript from Khādaliq, dating probably back to the 8th century, and a fragment dating back to the 5th century, the Lotus Sutra is defined as "an elucidation of the equality of the great wisdom".

> O *sādhu sādhu bhagavāṃ cChākyamune{r} yad imaṃ bodhisatvasaṃgrrahaṃ mahājñāna-samatā-nirdeśaṃ sarvabuddha-parigṛhītaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ deśayasi saṃprakāśayanti* (read °*kāśayasi*) ("It is excellent, excellent, Lord Śākyamuni, that you show and expound this religious discourse which is a compendium for *bodhisattva*s, an elucidation of the equality of the great wisdom, and which all *buddha*s embrace.")

> Lü(B-11.Recto 7) /// *[v]āṃ Śākyamuniṃ ya imaṃ bo[dhi]satva[ḥ suṃ]grahaṃ mahājñāna-samata[ni](rde)* /// ("[It is excellent], O Lord Śākyamuni, [that you show and expound this religious discourse which] is a compendium for *bodhisattva*s, an elucidation of the equality of the great wisdom, ...")

There are parallels in the Chinese translations:

> Dr 102c3f. 善哉！善哉！世尊、安住！審如所言。道德玄妙，超絕無侶、慧平等一，猶如虛空，實無有異 ("Excellent! Excellent, O Śākyamuni, O Sugata! All what you have said is correct. The virtues of the [Buddha-]Path are deep, subtle and surpass all. Like the sky, (the) wisdom is impartial and alone, completely free from differentiation.")

> Kj 32b28f. 善哉！善哉！釋迦牟尼世尊！能以平等大慧教菩薩法，佛所護念《妙法華經》為大眾說 ("Excellent! Excellent, O Śākyamuni, O World-Honoured One, that you teach the *bodhisattvadharma* with impartial great wisdom, [and] preach the Lotus Sutra, which the *buddha*s keep in mind, to the great assembly.")

From the third-century Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa to the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript of the 8th or early 9th century, the phrase "an elucidation of the equality of

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Gupta 1965: 131, no. 30 (11th century). *pravara-mahājāna-jāyinaḥ*, *ibid.* p. 156, no. 166 (10th century), *do*.

the great wisdom" exists, while this is wanting in the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and Tibet, dating from the middle of the eleventh century onwards. We may assume that this phrase existed from the beginning and it was deleted later.

I assume that *mahājñāna* ("great wisdom") in this passage is none other than the repeatedly proclaimed *buddha-jñāna* ("Buddha-wisdom"), and that the term *mahāyāna* probably originated from *mahājñāna*.[60]

The most important fact, which we can deduce from this phrase, is that those, who composed and transmitted the Lotus Sutra, regarded this scripture as being "an elucidation of the equality of the great wisdom" (*mahājñāna-samatā-nirdeśaṃ*).

In the *Suttanipāta*, which is regarded as retaining Śākyamuni's teachings, not only he, himself, but also his disciples, such as Sāriputta/Śāriputra, are designated as *buddha*s. Śākyamuni proclaimed that anybody, who follows his teachings and his practices together with his mode of living, can become a *buddha*. However, much later, when he was deified, Buddhists came to think: "It was only Śākyamuni who could attain Buddha-wisdom. Nobody except for him can attain it, can become a *buddha*" and thus, the hierarchy of lay

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[60] It is remarkable that Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (355~434 C.E.), a disciple of Kumārajīva, wrote, in his commentary on the Lotus Sutra, concerning the meaning of *mahāyāna*, the following: "The theme of the scripture is 'great vehicle'. 'Great vehicle' means impartial great wisdom. One begins with one good (deed) and attains supreme wisdom ultimately." (X[1] 150, 396d18f. = X[2] 27, no. 577, 1b24f. 此經以大乘為宗。大乘者，謂平等大慧。始於一善，終乎極慧).

We find traces of the interpretation of *mahāyāna* as coming from *mahājñāna* in other texts as well: e.g. SuPP 19.18f. = SuPP(V) 10.26f. *katamac ca mahāyānaṃ? sarvaṃ jñānaṃ mahāyānaṃ* ("What is *mahāyāna*? Entire wisdom is *mahāyāna*."); *Yogaratnamālā* 105.7f. *mahājñānāni mahāyānapraṇītā dharmāḥ* ("Great wisdom is produced from *mahāyāna*."). Cf. Wangchuk 2007: 118.

The confusion of *mahāyāna / mahājñāna* is found also in other scriptures as well. Where the Sanskrit version of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* reads *mahāyāna* (Daśa-bh[K] 21.6; 145.2; = Śikṣānanda's translation, T. 10, no. 279, 182a20, 200c19. 大乘; Śīladharma's translation, T. 10, no. 287, 539a25, 561c10. 大乘; both in the Tang Dynasty), Dharmarakṣa's translation has 大聖慧 ("great, sacred wisdom"; T. 10, no 285, 462c8) and 無極大慧 ("supreme, great wisdom"; *do.* 484a10), and Kumārajīva's translation reads 大智慧 ("great wisdom"; T. 10, no. 286, 501b29, 522c1; T. 9, no. 278, 545c27, 566a11). On the contrary, where the Sanskrit version of the same text has *mahājñāna* (Daśa-bh[K] 184.6), most Chinese translations read correspondingly 大慧 ("great wisdom") and 大智慧 (*do.*), while Śīladharma's translation has 大乘 ("the great vehicle"; T. 10, no. 287, 568c7). Also, in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, where the Sanskrit version reads *mahājñāna-* (Gv 187.3, 473.2; Gv[V] 143.21, 372.4), the Chinese translations have 大乘 ("the great vehicle"; Buddhabhadra's translation, T. 9, no. 278, 713c21; Śikṣānanda's translation, T. 10, no. 279, 424a15).

According to Tenshō Miyazaki's study (2012: 79~80), the confusion of *mahāyāna / mahājñāna* is found also among the Chinese translations by Lokakṣema (T. 15, no. 626, abbr. Lk), by Dharmarakṣa (T. 15, no. 627, abbr. Dr) and the Tibetan one (Peking Kanjur [Pk], no. 882, Derge Kanjur, no. 216; abbr. Tib) of the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanasūtra:

Lk 389b4. 無極智慧 ("supreme wisdom") / Dr 406c16. 大乘 ("the great vehicle") / Tib, Pk, mdo Tsu 221a3. *ye shes chen po* ("great wisdom")

Lk 389b9.- / Dr 406c23. 大乘 / Tib, Pk. mdo Tsu 221a7. *ye shes chen po*

Lk 389c1. - / Dr 407a20. 大乘 / Tib, Pk. mdo Tsu 222a6. *ye shes chen po*

Lk 389c17. 無極慧 ("supreme wisdom") / Dr 407b5. 大乘 ("the great vehicle") / Tib, Pk. mdo Tsu 222b8. *ye shes chen po*

Lk 398b22f. 摩訶若那——摩訶若那者無極慧 ("*mahānāna —— *mahānāna* is supreme wisdom") / Dr 418b17. 大乘 ("the great vehicle") / Tib, Pk, mdo Tsu 253b5. *theg pa chen po* ("the great vehicle").

Moreover, Apple (2014: 161, n. 11) points out that towards the end of the *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* (Peking Kanjur, no. 906; Derge Kanjur, no. 240), the Buddha declares to Ānanda an alternative title to the sutra as "the teaching on great knowledge" (*ye shes chen po bstan pa* = *mahājñāna-nirdeśa*).

Buddhists, disciples, *pratyekabuddha*s and Śākyamuni Buddha was formed. This was the common-sense approach of the Buddhists —— so-called Nikāya-Buddhism —— at the time of the composition of the Lotus Sutra, and this belief is still held in Theravāda Buddhism.

Accordingly, in Abhidharma literature, wisdom is classified in a threefold way, namely the wisdom of disciples, of *pratyekabuddha*s and of the Buddha[61]; also the three classes of wisdom, namely the inferior, medial and superior, are identified with the threefold enlightenment, namely that of disciples, of *pratyekabuddha*s and of the Buddha[62]. Thus, in Nikāya Buddhism, wisdom was graded rigidly. As a complete antithesis to this doctrine, what the Lotus Sutra proclaimed originally was "There is only one single Buddha-wisdom, but the Buddha has explained it in the threefold way as expedient means." In other words, "Everybody can obtain Buddha-wisdom equally and should aim at obtaining it." This slogan was so to say a renaissance of the teaching of everybody's possibility of becoming a *buddha*, which Nikāya Buddhism denounced.

The belief that "Everybody can obtain Buddha-wisdom equally and should aim at obtaining it" is what all so-called Mahāyāna scriptures proclaim. It is so to speak the commonsense approach of Mahāyāna Buddhism. However, in the second stratum of the Lotus Sutra, it describes how the "preachers of the Dharma" (*dharmabhāṇaka*), because of their proclaiming the Lotus Sutra, were harshly blamed, slandered for having composed *kāvya*s (i.e. the Lotus Sutra itself) and for propagating a heresy[63]. They, nonetheless, forbore all such insults, persecution, expulsion from monasteries, and undauntedly proclaimed the Lotus Sutra, which had been entrusted to them by the Buddha, without caring for their lives. Thus, it is evident that their belief was a very dangerous heresy in the eyes of the Buddhist authority of that time, which clearly indicates that the Lotus Sutra is the oldest text among the so-called Mahāyāna scriptures, which proclaim everybody's possibility of becoming a *buddha*. If such a Mahāyāna doctrine had already spread widely, the *dharmabhāṇaka*s of the Lotus Sutra would not have suffered such persecution nor needed such strong forbearance as repeatedly described in the second stratum of the text.

In conclusion, I assume that "Buddha-wisdom" had been designated also as "great wisdom" which was pronounced as *mahājāna* in a colloquial way at an earlier stage of the

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[61] E.g. *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, T. 27, no. 1545, 516a4f. 佛智 ··· 獨覺智 ··· 聲聞智 ("the wisdom of the Buddha, of *pratyekabuddha*s and of voice-hearers"); *Vibhāṣāśāstra* T. 28, no. 1547, 448b5. 堪受聲聞智，非佛智 ("[Śāriputra] was able to attain the wisdom of voice-hearers but not that of the Buddha"); cf. Sv 100.10ff. *sāvaka-pāramī-ñāṇa ... paccekabuddha-ñāṇa ... sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*.

[62] E.g. *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, T. 27, no. 1545, 662c11~21. 若以上智觀察彼者，··· 證得無上正等菩提。若以中智觀察彼者，··· 證得中品獨覺菩提。若以下智觀察彼者，··· 證得下品聲聞菩提 ("One, who observes those [i.e. the great elements, *mahābhūta*s] with superior wisdom, ... realises unsurpassed, perfect enlightenment. One, who observes those with mediocre wisdom, ... realises the medium enlightenment of *pratyekabuddha*s. One, who observes those with inferior wisdom, ... realises the inferior enlightenment of voice-hearers"; ≒ *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, T. 28, no. 1546, 218c27~29. 若以上智觀於緣相，名佛菩提。若以中智，名辟支佛菩提。若以下智，名聲聞菩提). This idea is referred to also in the Lotus Sutra: Chapter V ("Plants"), vv. 61~62: "As an able teacher he shows the true law; he reveals supreme Buddha-enlightenment to him who is most advanced. To those of middling wisdom the Leader preaches a middling enlightenment; again another enlightenment he recommends to him who is afraid of the mundane whirl." (SP[tr.K] 138).

[63] Chapter XII, the *Utsāha-parivarta*, KN 271~274; cf. Karashima 2001b.

development of the Lotus Sutra, and *mahājāna* could have been understood as "great vehicle" as well, and later it was interpreted incorrectly as *mahāyāna* ("great vehicle"), which was then adopted also by the composers of other scriptures so as to define a new concept of "Mahāyāna Buddhism". Presumably, the wordplay on *yāna / jñāna*, through the use of the double-entendre word **jāna*, found in "The Parable of the Burning House", may have given rise to this misinterpretation.

(8) The meaning of *mahāyāna* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*
(8.1) The difference between *mahāyāna* and *bodhisattvayāna*

The term *bodhisattva-yāna* appears first also in the prose portion of "The Parable of the Burning House" in Chapter III: "As the father, having saved his children from the burning house, using expedient means, gives them great vehicles (*mahāyānāni*), in like manner, the Tathāgata, in order to liberate sentient beings from the triple world, shows the three vehicles, namely *śrāvaka-yāna*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna* and *bodhisattva-yāna*." (KN 79.1ff.). Following this, at KN 80.5ff., *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s, who seek *śrāvaka-yāna*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna* and *mahāyāna* (= Kj; O *tathāgata-yāna* = Dr), respectively, are likened to those children, who ask their father for three kinds of carts (see § 5.2.1); and at KN 82.6f., it is said that the Tathāgata first displays the three vehicles as expedient means and afterwards, leads sentient beings to *parinirvāṇa* by means of *mahāyāna*.

Then, what is the difference between *mahāyāna* and *bodhisattva-yāna*? From the first sentence quoted above, it is clear that the latter is an expedient means. The second sentence tells us that what *bodhisattva*s seek is not *bodhisattva-yāna* but *mahāyāna*. In the prose portion of "The Parable of the Burning House", the three vehicles are likened to the three kinds of carts, which the father promises to his sons, while *mahāyāna* is the one single, absolute, great vehicle. Therefore, *bodhisattva-yāna* and *mahāyāna* are completely different. As we have seen above, *yāna* of *śrāvaka-yāna*, *pratyekabuddha-yana* and *mahā-yāna* was originally **jāna*, meaning "wisdom", and the prose portion of the parable states that *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s seek the wisdom of *śrāvaka*s, wisdom of *pratyekabuddha*s and wisdom of *buddha*s. However, *yāna* of *bodhisattva-yāna* cannot be understood as "the wisdom of *bodhisattva*s", because what they seek is not that but the wisdom of *buddha*s. The word *bodhisattva-yāna*, however, means "path, vehicle or practice of *bodhisattva*s". For example, in Chapter XXII of the Lotus Sutra, "*Bhaiṣajyarāja*'s Former Lives", those, who have set out in the *bodhisattva-yāna* and seek supreme enlightenment, are exhorted to follow the practice of Bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarśana (the previous incarnation of Bhaiṣajyarāja), who ate and drank various kinds of incense and burnt his own body in order to revere the Tathāgata and the Lotus Sutra while, in his following life, burnt his arms so as to worship the Tathāgata's *stūpa* (KN.414.10ff.). I assume that the term *bodhisattva-yāna* was formed, when *yāna* was no longer understood as "wisdom" but as "path, vehicle or practice (leading to enlightenment)".

Also, with the advent of the term *bodhisattva-yāna*, the notion of the three *yāna*s changed. As we have seen above, the *leitmotif* in the verses of the oldest stratum of the Lotus Sutra is "There is only one single *buddha-yāna* (or rather **jāna*), but the Buddha has

explained it in a threefold way as expedient means", and the three *yāna*s (or rather **jāna*s) are the wisdom of *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *buddha*s. However, once *yāna* came to be understood as "path or vehicle (leading to enlightenment)" or "practices (for attaining enlightenment)", the three *yāna*s were accordingly seen as the three kinds of paths / vehicles / practices of *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s.

(8.2) The meaning of *mahāyāna* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (AsP), which is one of the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures, the term *mahāyāna* appears. However, unlike in the case of the Lotus Sutra, it is used there in the meaning of "vehicle, leading to Buddhahood" there, which is evident from the following sentences in Chapter I (AsP[V] 11.31~12.24 = AsP[R] 23.5~24.17 = AsP[W] 94.2~108.14):

> [64]Subhūti asked the Lord: "Thus, O Lord, a *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* is armed with the great armour, has set out in the *mahāyāna*, and has mounted the great vehicle. However, what is that *mahāyāna*? How is one, who has set out in it, known? From where will that *mahāyāna* go forth? To where has it set out? Where will it stay? Who will go forth by means of this *mahāyāna*?" Then, the Lord replied: "'*Mahāyāna*' is a synonym of immeasurableness. It is immeasurable because of the infinitude (of its virtues). By means of the (six) *pāramitā*s, one has set out in it. From the triple world, it will go forth. It has set out to where there are no objects (of the senses)[65]. It will stay in omniscience (*sarvajñatā*). A *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* will go forth."
>
> The Lord further said: "Thus a *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* is armed with the great armour and has mounted the *mahāyāna*."
>
> As the Lord explained thus, Subhūti said to him: "Because the *mahāyāna* is greatly vast as space, it will go forth, surpassing the world with its gods, men and *asura*s. As in space, so in this vehicle (*yāna*) there is room for immeasurable and incalculable beings. So is this *mahāyāna* for *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s. Neither its coming nor going is not seen, nor its staying is not perceived. Thus one cannot recognise the beginning, end nor the middle of this *mahāyāna*. This vehicle is (constantly) identical. Therefore, the *mahāyāna* is called '*mahāyāna*'."
>
> Then, the Lord praised Subhūti: "So it is, O Subhūti! Thus is the great vehicle of *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s. Having trained (*śikṣitvā*) therein, *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s (of the past, present and future) have attained, do attain, will attain omniscience (*sarvajñatā*)."

Thus, in AsP, the term *mahāyāna* is defined as "vehicle, which go forth from the triple world" and "a means, leading to Buddhahood", and means virtually all practices of *bodhisattva*s.

As in the Lotus Sutra, the expression "the one and single *yāna*" (*eka~ yāna~*) is found in Chapter XVI of AsP as well (AsP[V] 159.1ff. = AsP[R] 319.11ff. = AsP[W] 657.8ff.):

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[64] I have modified Conze's translation of AsP (AsP.tr 9f. = AsP.tr.II 91).

[65] Read *yena nârambaṇaṃ* (= Tib. *mi dmigs pa gang yin pas*; T. 8, no. 228, 590b24. 彼無所著故) instead of *yena ārambaṇaṃ* (AsP[V] 12.8 = AsP[R] 23.16 = AsP[W] 104.17).

[66]Venerable Śāriputra criticised Venerable Subhūti, who maintained that there is no *dharma* which turns back from perfect enlightenment, in the following way: "According to Venerable Subhūti's inference concerning *dharma*s, there is no *dharma* which turns back from perfect enlightenment. The Tathāgata defined three kinds of persons (i.e. *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattva*s) who belong to the '*bodhisattva*-vehicle' (*bodhisattvayānika*). However, O Venerable Subhūti, there is no longer such distinction of these three, because according to your exposition, <u>there should be only the one and single vehicle (for all of them), i.e. the *buddha-yāna*, the *bodhisattva-yāna*</u>."

In replying to this criticism, Subhūti said: "In terms of (ultimate) truth and constant nature, no *dharma* of a *bodhisattva* can be apprehended. Where do you, then, get the idea that 'this one belongs to the vehicle of the disciples, that one to the vehicle of the *pratyekabuddha*s, that one to the great vehicle (*mahāyānika*)'? …"

This utterance of Subhūti was applauded by the Lord.

Thus, in AsP, *buddhayāna* is equated with *bodhisattva-yāna*. Both the Lotus Sutra and AsP state: "There is only the one and single *yāna*", but the latter says that "the means which leads to Buddhahood" is one and single, while the Lotus Sutra talks about the single Buddha-wisdom.

To sum up, *yāna* is used in the meaning of "vehicle, means, practises, leading to Buddhahood" in AsP. As we have seen above, in the Lotus Sutra, such meanings first occur in the prose part of the first stratum, explicitly in the case of *bodhisattva-yāna*. In other words, the usage of *yāna* in AsP is newer than that in the old verses in the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra.

In AsP, the word *mahāyāna* occurs 39 times, of which 36 appear in Chapter I. In the Sanskrit version, *mahāyāna* is found also once in Chapter VIII (AsP 95.13) and twice in Chapter XI (AsP 116.32, 118.5), but these three instances have no parallels in the Chinese translations between the 2nd and 7th centuries, which tells us that they were interpolated much later. The expression *mahāyānika* ("belonging to the great vehicle") occurs four times successively in Chapter XVI (AsP 159.7, 9, 11, 17), as quoted above. If the notion of *mahāyāna* were essential to AsP, the word would not have occurred in such an irregular way. Chapter I shows apparently a more developed philosophical phase than in other parts. As an introduction is usually written after the completion of an entire book, Chapter I of AsP is thought to have been composed at the very last stage of its compilation.

The following episode in this chapter demonstrates that the notion of *mahāyāna* had been originally heterogeneous to this scripture (AsP[V] 12.25ff. = AsP[R] 24.18ff. = AsP[W] 108.209ff.).

Having heard the dialogue between the Buddha and Subhūti on the definition of *mahāyāna* quoted above, the venerable Pūrṇa said to the Buddha: "Being asked about *prajñāpāramitā*, O Lord, this venerable Subhūti thinks that *mahāyāna* should be explained."

Then, the venerable Subhūti said to the Buddha: "I, O Lord, did not speak of

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[66] I have modified Conze's translation of AsP (AsP.tr 118f. = AsP.tr.II 198f.).

mahāyāna without regard for *prajñāpāramitā*.''

The Buddha said: "Yes, O Subhūti! You explained *mahāyāna* in line with *prajñāpāramitā*.''

Pūrṇa's criticism that to relate *mahāyāna* with *prajñāpāramitā* was unreasonable, indicates that *mahāyāna* had been originally heterogeneous to *Prajñāpāramitā* thought.

On the other hand, the terms *bodhisattva-yāna* and its adjective *bodhisattva-yānika* occur 47 times throughout AsP, namely Chapters VI, VIII, X, XI, XVI, XXI, XIV, XXVI, XXVII. Therefore, this word was used more often than *mahāyāna/mahāyānika*, which appears virtually only in Chapters I and XVI.

Probably, the catchphrase of the oldest stratum of the Lotus Sutra that "Everybody can obtain Buddha-wisdom equally and should aim at obtaining it" gave rise to the terms **buddha-jāna*, **mahājāna* and so on, which originally had meant "Buddha-wisdom, great wisdom", and when **jāna* was sanskritised to *yāna* and *yāna* came to be understood as "vehicle, means, practises, leading to Buddhahood", the new term *bodhisattva-yāna* was formed. I assume AsP adopted the notion of *yāna* with this meaning.

I assume that the text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* took shape in Northern India[67], while the first stratum of the Lotus Sutra was composed elsewhere. Later, the Lotus Sutra was transmitted to the Gandhāra region where it encountered *Prajñāpāramitā* thought and under its influence, the second stratum was added, while the notion of *mahāyāna* was adopted from the Lotus Sutra in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY, ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

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 Nationalities (民族文化宮圖書館), Beijing (written in 1082 C.E.). A photographic edition: Minzu Wenhuagong 1984; transliteration: Jiang 1988; Toda 1989~1991.

C3 = Ms. kept in the Cambridge University Library, Add. No. 1682

D1, D2, D3 = Gilgit Mss. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* kept in the National Archives of India (New Delhi), the British Museum (London), and in the possession of Mr. M. A. Shah (Lahore). Facsimile edition and transliteration: Watanabe 1972~1975; Toda 1979; new facsimile edition: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram: Gilgit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the National Archives of India: Facsimile Edition*, Tokyo 2012: Soka Gakkai, Institute of Oriental Philosophy; New Delhi: National Archives of India (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series, 12)

D(Toda 1988) = Gilgit Ms. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* in the Tucci Collection. Facsimile edition: Gnoli 1987; transliteration: Toda 1988.

F = the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, discovered in Farhād-Bēg Yailaki, now kept under F.xii.7 in the Oriental and India Office Collections in the British Library; romanised in Toda 1983: 229~258.

$H_{1~6}$ = Readings of the Central Asian Manuscript fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, romanised in Toda 1983: 261~320. They are classified into 6 groups according to the possessor of the fragments, i.e. :
(1) the Otani Collection. (H_1 in this study)
(2) the Petrovsky Collection (H_2 in this study)
(3) the Stein Collection. (H_3 in this study)

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[67] Cf. Karashima 2013.

(4) the Stein and Le Coq Collections. (H$_4$ in this study)

(5) the Stein and Hoernle Collections, the India Office Library. (H$_5$ in this study)

(6) the India Office Library. (H$_6$ in this study)

(7) miscellaneous: the Petrovsky, the Turfansammulung, and the Hoernle Collections. (H$_7$ in this study)

Here in this study, numbers in small type, refer to the above-mentioned groups, while numbers in parentheses, refer to the pages in Toda 1983, e.g. H$_1$(263), H$_7$(319).

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N2 = Mss. kept in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, No. 3–678.

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R$_{1-7}$ = Readings of the fragments from the Petrovsky Collection found in Bongard-Levin 1985. These consist of 85 folios (including fragments), belonging to 7 different manuscripts of the SP. Here in this study, numbers in small type refer to these 7, while numbers in parentheses refer to the folios, e.g. R$_1$(No. 2), R$_7$(No. 85).

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ARIRIAB = *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*

AsP = *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

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    1988 "Gilgit Manuscript (Tucci's Collection) Group C", in: TDKR 15, pp.1~19.
    1989~1991 "Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Nepalese Manuscript (北京民族文化宮圖書館蔵)", in: TDKR 17(1989), 18(1990), 19(1990), 20(1991), 21(1991).

TDKR = *Tokushima Daigaku Kyōyōbu Rinri Gakka Kiyō* 徳島大学教養部倫理学科紀要 [Bulletin of the Department of Ethics, the Faculty of Liberal Arts, the University of Tokushima]

v. / vv. = verse / verses

Wangchuk, Dorji
    2007 *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, Tokyo 2007: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies (Studia philologica Buddhica; Monograph Series 23).

Watanabe, Shōkō
    1972~1975 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts Found in Gilgit*, ed. Shoko Watanabe; pt. 1, photographic reproduction; pt. 2, romanized text, Tokyo: The Reiyukai.

X(1) = *Wan Xuzang* 卍續藏 = *Dainippon Zoku Zōkyō* 大日本續藏經, ed. Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, 750 vols. in 150 cases, Kyoto 1905~1912: Zōkyō Shoin 藏經書院; repr. Taipei 1975: Xinwenfeng Chubanshe 新文豐出版社, 150 vols.

X(2) = *Wan Xinzuan Xuzang* 卍新纂續藏 = *Shinsan Dainippon Zoku Zōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經, ed. Koshō Kawamura 河村孝照 *et al.*, Tokyo 1975~1989: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 90 vols.

Yogaratnamālā = *Yogaratnamālā*, in: David L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study*, London 1959, 1980: Oxford University Press; 2nd edition, Bangkok 2010: Orchid Press, part 2, pp. 103~159.

~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharma*~

° = 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. Gā. *masu* < OIA. *madhu*

/// = beginning or end of a fragment when broken

- = absence of the parallel(s)

≑ = α ≑ β: β is almost the same as α

On *buddha* / Buddha etc.: In this article, "*buddha*" and "*jina*" apply to any unspecified one, while "Buddha" and "Jina" are conferred on an particular individual (e.g. the Buddha Śākyamuni)

Gilgit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* Manuscript
in the British Library, Or.11878B–G

Noriyuki KUDO

At present, the British Library preserves a part of the Buddhist manuscripts found at an old stūpa[1] of Naupūr village near Gilgit[2]. It is deposited under the shelf-mark Or. 11878 consisting of two different manuscripts: one is of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* [Or. 11878A][3] (= Folios 43r–53v; FE 6.686–707)[4] and the other is of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* [Or. 11878B–G]. The former corresponds to two sections of the Vinaya, i.e., a latter part of the *Pravrajyāvastu* and the beginning part of the *Poṣadhavastu*. These folios belong to the same manuscript now deposited at the National Archives of India (Serial No. 1).

Although classified under same shelf-mark, the second set of folios, Or.11878B–G, were firstly acquired by J. Hackin and previously deposited in Musée Guimet. Later seven folios were transferred to the British Museum (again transferred to the British Library).[5] These belong to the same manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra,* Serial No. 48[6] in the National Archives of India (= Group C [Watanabe]). According to the present numbering of the folios, Or.11878B–G contains seven folios: B_A, B_B, C, D, E, F and G. These folios were studied several times in the past:

[1.]   It is problematic whether it was 'old stūpa' or 'library' from where the Buddhist manuscripts were found. See the following recent studies in this topic, Fussman 2004, Schopen 2009, von Hinüber 2014a/b.

[2.]   It was Sir Marc Aurel Stein who brought these folios in 1931: "Meanwhile I have sent some well preserved leaves of two mss. which had been secured from the hands of villagers to Dr. Barnett at the British Museum as a temporary deposit. I have left it to him either to examine them himself or to pass them into competent hands. Kindly put yourself into touch with him, in case you thought it desirable to take up this limited task" [Lévi 1932: 22, quoted from Stein's letter, dated 9 Nov. 1931].

[3.]   For details, see Näther, Vogel/Wille 1996: 247; also Clarke 2014:1–2, fn. 12.

[4.]   These eleven folios were published in GBM 6.686–707 by using black/white negatives. As to studies on these folios, see Clarke 2014, pp. 1–2 with fn. 12 and p. 18.

[5.]   Baruch 1938: 13: "Auch das dem British Museum eingesandte Material wurde Herrn Lévi vorübergehend im Original zur Verfügung gestellt." Tsukamoko 1986: Introduction, p. 14 [left column]: "Eight (not seven) folios of the above-mentined Sanskrit manuscripts of the Lotus Sūtra unearthed in Gilgit were collected by J. Hackin and were once preserved in the Musée Guimet in Paris. Two of these folios promptly made public in facsimile with romanized text by S Lévi (sic.) Seven of the eight folios were later transferred to the British Museum." (Tsukamoto refers to J. Losty, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the British Museum,* vol. II. [unpublished typescript], p. 22, No. 431 as a source of this transfer but this catalogue is inaccessible to the present writer.)

[6.]   A new facsimile edition of the Lotus Sūtra manucripts in the National Archives of India is published: *Gilgit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition* (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 法華経写本シリーズ, 12). New Delhi and Tokyo: The National Archives of India, the Soka Gakkai, and the Institute of Oriental Philosophy, 2012.

Lévi, Sylvain 1932: "Note sur des manuscrits sanscrits provenient de Bamiyan (Afganistan), et de Gilgit (Cachemire)," in: *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Mars 1932, pp. 1–45.

[photograph & transliteration of the SP, text 6 (p. 45) = Or. 11878G verso][7]

Baruch, W. 1938: *Beiträge zum Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

[photographs & transliteration: I, II, III (= both sides of B_A, B_B, and C respectively)]

Honda, Giei and Jōjun Deguchi 1949: 本田義英, 出口常順『西域出土梵本法華經』本田博士 還曆記念梵本法華經刊行會, 京都 (*Sanskrit Manuscripts of Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *excavated by Sir Aurel Stein and the Citroën Central Asiatic Expedition of France at Eastern Turkestan and Gilgit*, photographed by Dr. Giei Honda and the Right Reverend Jōjun Deguchi, Kyoto: Indological Seminary, Kyoto University.)

[photographs 225–236 = B~G except F]

Kojima, Fumiyasu (小島文保) 1954: "A Note on the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, the sanskrit manuscript unearthed in Gilgit in Kashmir, India," in: *Ryūkoku Daigaku Ronshū* 龍谷大学論 集, No. 347, 1954, pp. 29-38.

[transliteraion: plates 225–234 = B–E]

Watanabe, Shōkō (渡辺照宏) 1972–75: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra Manuscripts found in Gilgit*. Part I (1972), part II (1975). Tokyo: The Reiyukai.

[photographs: Part two. I–VII; transliteration: pp. 297–307]

H/D: Honda/Deguchi, KN: Kern-Nanjio edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.
Numbers in boldface indicate the facsimiles followed by page numbers of transliteration.

Or.11878	Watanabe		Baruch		H/D;	Kojima	Lévi		KN
B_A recto	**Ia**	297–298.6	**Ia**	16-17	**225**	29–30			251.2-3
B_A verso	**Ib**	298.6–299.3	**Ib**	17-20	**226**	30–31			252.9-253.16
B_B recto	**IIa**	299.3–29	**IIa**	20-22	**227**	31–32			254.1-255.13
B_B verso	**IIb**	299.29–300.15	**IIb**	22-23	**228**	32–33			255.13-257.2
C recto	**IIIa**	301.1–19	**IIIa**	24-25	**229**	33–34			272.6-273.12
C verso	**IIIb**	301.19–302.5	**IIIb**	25-27	**230**	34–35			273.12-275.4
D recto	**IVa**	303.1–304.1			**231**	35–36			436.3-438.1
D verso	**IVb**	304.1–17			**232**	36–37			438.1-439.6
E recto	**Va**	304.17–305.6			**233**	37			443.2-444.7
E verso	**Vb**	305.6–20			**234**	37–38			444.7-445.7
F recto	**VIa**	306.1–10							480.8-482.3
F verso	**VIb**	306.10–307.3							482.4-484.3
G recto	**VIIa**	307.3–18			**235**	—			487.1-5
G verso[8]	**VIIb**	307.18–28			**236**	—	**6a**	45	colophon

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[7] Lévi gives a transliteration of 'text 4'(p. 21) but this folio is not included in Or.11878. Later Toda made a new transliteration of Lévi's 'text 4' (Toda 1979: 271–2).

[8] The verso side of G is published in Zwalf 1985, p. 62, no. 70 with a caption: "From a stūpa at Gilgit, Pakistan. 6th–7th century AD. Pothi manuscript of Saddharmapuṇḍarīksūtra. Cursive Gupta script. Ink on paper. 7 folios. 7.5x27cm. OMPB Or.11878B."

TRANSLITERATION:

Or.11878B_A = KN 251.2–252.8: Watanabe Ia, 297–298.6; Kojima 225, 29–30.

recto

1   mu sarvalokaṃ paryaṇṭatī [s]. + + + + + + + .. + + + + + + [āt]m[abh]āv. + + + + + + +
     + +

2   bālikāḥ te dharmakṛtyasya kṛt(e)n(a) āgatāḥ parinirvṛtaṃ ca imu draṣṭu nātha • //
     cchoritva kṣetrāṇi svak[a]sva

3   kāni tatha śrāvakā naramarutāṃś ca sarvān* saddharmasaṃrakṣaṇahetu sarve kathaṃ
     ciraṃ tiṣṭhiya dharmanetrī • //

4   eteṣu buddhāna niṣīd anārthaṃ ba◯hulokadhātūna sahasrakoṭyaḥ saṃkrāmitā me tatha
     sarvasatvā ṛ

5   [ddh]ībalena pariśodhitaṃ ca • // e◯tādṛśī utsukatā iyaṃ me kathaṃ prakāśed iya
     dharmanetrīm* i

6   me ca buddhā sthita aprameyā drumāṇa mūle yathā padmarāśi • // drumamūlakoṭīya
     analpikāyo siṃhāsa

7   nasthehi vināyakehi • śo(bha)[nt]i tiṣṭhanti {tiṣṭhanti} ca nityakālaṃ hutāśanenaiva
     yathāndhakāram* // gandho manojño

8   daśasu-d-diśāsu pravāyat[e l]okavināyakānām* yeno ime mūrcchita sarvasatvā vāte
     pravānte iha nityakā

9   laṃ • // mayi nirvṛtasya yo etaṃ dharmaparyāyu dhārayet* kṣipraṃ vyāharatāṃ vācaṃ
     lokanāthāna saṃmukham* // pari

10   nirvṛto (')pi saṃbuddho prabhūtaratano muniḥ siṃhanādaṃ śruṇet tasya vyavasāyaṃ
     karenta yo • // ahaṃ dvitīyo ba

11   + + + .[e] .. .[e] .[o] .[i] .[o⁹ ā]g[a]t[a] nāyakānāṃ • vyavasāya śroṣyāma jinasya putrād
     ya utsahe dha

SP. (KN ed.) 251.2–252.8:

praṇidhānam etasya vināyakasya niṣevitaṃ pūrvabhave yadāsīt /
parinirvṛto 'pi imu sarvalokaṃ paryesatī sarvadaśaddiśāsu // 3 //
ime ca sarve mama ātmabhāvāḥ sahasrakoṭyo yatha gaṅgavālikāḥ /
te dharmakṛtyasya kṛtena āgatāḥ parinirvṛtaṃ ca imu draṣṭu nāthaṃ // 4 //
choritva kṣetrāṇi svakasvakāni tatha śrāvakāntara marutaś ca sarvān /
saddharmasaṃrakṣaṇahetu sarve yathā ciraṃ tiṣṭhiya dharmanetrī // 5 //
eteṣu buddhāna niṣīd anārthaṃ bahulokadhātūna sahasrakoṭyah /
saṃkrāmitā me tatha sarvasattvā ṛddhībalena pariśodhitāś ca // 6 //
etādṛśī utsukatā iyam me katham prakāśed iya dharmanetrī /
ime ca buddhā sthita aprameyā drumāna mūle yatha padmarāśiḥ // 7 //
drumamūlakoṭīya analpakāyo siṃhāsanasthehi vināyakehi /
śobhanti tiṣṭhanti ca nityakālaṃ hutāśaneneva yathāndhakāram // 8 //
[Kn 252] gandho manojño daśasū diśāsu pravāyate lokavināyakānām /
yenā ime mūrcchita sarvasattvā vāte pravāte iha nityakālam // 9 //
mayi nirvṛte yo etam dharmaparyāyu dhārayet /
kṣipraṃ vyāharatāṃ vācaṃ lokanāthāna saṃmukham // 10 //

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⁹·   Restore to: *ba(havo im)[e] (ca y)[e] (k)[o](ṭ)[i](y)[o]*

parinirvṛto hi sambuddhaḥ prabhūtaratano muniḥ /
siṃhanādaṃ śruṇe tasya vyavasāyaṃ karoti yaḥ // 11 //
ahaṃ dvitīyo bahavo ime ca ye koṭiyo āgata nāyakānām /
vyavasāya śroṣyāmi jinasya putrāt yo utsahed dharmam imaṃ prakāśitum // 12 //

Or.11878B_A = KN. 252.8–254.1: Watanabe Ib, 298.6–299.3; Kojima 226, 30-31.

verso

1   + + + + ... [t]u .. .. [ah].(ṃ) .. [t]. [n]. [bh]. [v]. [p]ūj. taḥ¹⁰ sadā prabhūtaratnaś ca jina svayaṃbhūḥ yo icchate diśavidiśāsu ni

2   tya(ṃ) śruṇanārtha dharmaṃ imam evarūpam* ime ca ye āgata lokanāthā vicitritā yair iyaṃ śobhate bhūḥ teṣāṃ pi

3   pūjā vipulā analpakā kṛtā bhavet sūtraprakāśanena • // ahaṃ ca dṛṣṭa iha āsanesmin bhagavāṃś ca yo (')yaṃ sthita

4   stūpamadhye • ime ca anye bahu(l)okanāthāye āgatā kṣetraśatair anekai • // ciṃtetha yūyaṃ kulaputrāḥ sarvasatvā

5   [nu]kaṃpayā suduṣkaram idaṃ sthān[a]m utsahati nāyakaḥ • // bahusūtrasahasrāṇi yathā gaṃgāya bālikāḥ tāni

6   .. ścit prakāśeta na taṃ bhavati duṣkaram* // sumeruṃ yaś ca hastena adhyālaṃbetva muṣṭinā • kṣipeta kṣetrakoṭīyo na

7   + bhavati duṣkaram* // yaś cemāṃ tṛsa◯hasrīṃ pādāṅguṣṭhena kaṃpayet kṣipeta kṣetrakoṭīyo na taṃ bhavati du

8   [ṣka]raṃ • // yaś ca bhavāgre sthitvāna dharmaṃ bhāṣe naro iha • anyatsūtrasahasrāṇi na taṃ bhavati duṣkaraṃ • // nirvṛtesmi

9   [t]u lokendre paścātkāle sudāruṇe • ya iman dhārayet sūtraṃ bhāṣed vā taṃ suduṣkaram* // ākāśadhātuṃ yaḥ

10   sarvām ekamuṣṭismi prakṣipe .. ... .i[p]itvā ca gaccheta na taṃ bhavati duṣkaram* // yas tu īd[ṛ]śaṃ s[ū]traṃ nirv[ṛ]

11   .. smiṃ tadā mayi • paśc. + + + + + + .. + + + + + [ṣ]. [ram]* [// p]. .i + + + + + +¹¹
     SP. (KN ed.) 252.8–254.1:
     vyavasāya śroṣyāmi jinasya putrāt yo utsahed dharmam imaṃ prakāśituṃ // 12 //
     ahaṃ ca tena bhavi pūjitaḥ sadā prabhūtaratnaś ca jinaḥ svayaṃbhūḥ /
     yo gacchate diśavidiśāsu nityaṃ śravaṇāya dharmaṃ imam evarūpam // 13 //
     ime ca ye āgata lokanāthā vicitritā yair iya śobhitā bhūḥ /
     teṣāṃ pi pūjā vipulā analpakā kṛtā bhavet sūtraprakāśanena // 14 //
     ahaṃ ca dṛṣṭo iha āsanasmim bhagavāṃś ca yo 'yaṃ sthitu stūpamadhye /
     ime ca anye bahulokanāthā ye āgatāḥ kṣetrasahasrakoṭibhiḥ // 15 //
     [KN. 253] *cintetha kulaputrāho sarvasatvānukampayā /*
     suduṣkaram idaṃ sthānam utsahanti vināyakāḥ // 16 //
     bahusūtrasahasrāṇi yathā gaṅgāya vālikāḥ /
     tāni kaścit prakāśeta na tad bhavati duṣkaram // 17 //
     sumeruṃ yaś ca hastena adhyālambitva muṣṭinā /
     kṣipeta kṣetrakoṭīyo na tad bhavati duṣkaram // 18 //

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10.   Restore to: *dha(rmam imaṃ prakāśi)[t]u(m* //) [ah](aṃ ca) [t](e)[n](a) [bh](a)[v](i) [p]ūj(i)taḥ*
11.   Restore to: *paśc(ātkāle likhec cāpi idaṃ bhavati du)[ṣ](ka)[ram // p](ṛth)[i](vīdhātuṃ ca yaḥ sa)*

yaś ca imām trisāhasrīm pādāṅguṣṭhena kampayet /
kṣipeta kṣetrakoṭīyo na tad bhavati duṣkaram // 19 //
bhavāgre yaś ca tiṣṭhitvā dharmam bhāsen naro iha /
anyasūtrasahasrāṇi na tad bhavati duṣkaram // 20 //
nirvṛtasmiṃs tu lokendre paścātkāle sudāruṇe /
ya idaṃ dhārayet sūtraṃ bhāsed vā tat suduṣkaram // 21 //
ākāśadhātuṃ yaḥ sarvām ekamuṣṭiṃ tu nikṣipet /
prakṣipitvā ca gaccheta na tad bhavati duṣkaram // 22 //
yas tu īdṛśakaṃ sūtraṃ nirvṛtasmiṃs tadā mayi /
paścātkāle likhec cāpi idaṃ bhavati duṣkaram // 23 //
[KN. 254] *pṛthivīdhātuṃ ca yaḥ sarvāṃ nakhāgre saṃpraveśayet /*

Or.11878B_B = KN 254.1–255.13: Watanabe IIa, 299.3–29; Kojima 227, 31-32.

recto

1   (r)[vā](ṃ) nakhāgre saṃprakāśa[ye] + + + + + + + .[ch]. .. + + + + + [ā]ru[h]. [t](*) + + .[u] .[k]. + + + + + + + + + +

2   tāttakaṃ • taṃ duṣkaraṃ karitvāna [s](a)[rv](a)[lo]kasmi (')hāgrataḥ // ato (')pi duṣkarataraṃ nirvṛtasya tadā mama • pāścātkāle idaṃ

3   sūtraṃ vadeyā yo muhūrtakaṃ • // na duṣkaram idaṃ loke kalpadāhesmi yo naraḥ madhye gacched adahyanto tṛṇabhāraṃ vaheta

4   [c]a • // ato (')pi duṣkarataraṃ nirvṛta◯sya tadā mama • dhārayitvā imaṃ sūtram ekasatvaṃ pi śrāvayet* // dharmaskandha

5   [sa]hasrāṇi caturaśīti dhāraye◯t* sopadeśān yathāproktān deśayet prāṇakoṭinām • // na hy eta duṣkaraṃ bho

6   ti tasmin kālesmi bhikṣuṇāṃ • vinaye◯c chrāvakān mahyaṃ paṃcābhijñāsu sthāpayet* // tasyaidaṃ duṣkarataraṃ yo imaṃ

7   sūtru dhārayet* śraddadhed adhimucyed vā bhāṣed vāpi punaḥ punaḥ // koṭīsahasrā bahavo (')rhatve yo hi sthāpaye[t*]

8   ṣaḍabhijñān mahābhāgān yathā [g](aṃ)gāya bālikāḥ ato bahutaraṃ karma : sa karoti narottamaḥ nirvṛtasya hi yo

9   mahyaṃ sūtraṃ dhāraye varaṃ • lokadhātusahasreṣu bahu me dharma bhāṣitā adyāpi cāhaṃ bhāṣāmi buddhajñānasya

10   kāraṇāt* // idaṃ tu sarvasūtreṣu sūtram agraṃ pravuccati • dhāreti yo idaṃ sūtraṃ sa dhāreti jinavigrahaṃ • bhāṣadhvaṃ

11   .. .. [p]. [trāh]o [sa]ṃ[m]. kh[a]ṃ .o¹² [ta]thāgataḥ ya-d-utsahati vaḥ kaścit paścātkālesmi dhāraṇam* // mahat priyaṃ kṛtaṃ

SP. (KN ed.) 254.1–255.13:

pṛthivīdhātuṃ ca yaḥ sarvāṃ nakhāgre saṃpraveśayet /
prakṣipitvā ca gaccheta brahmalokaṃ pi āruhet // 24 //
na duṣkaraṃ hi so kuryān na ca vīryasya tattakam /
taṃ duṣkaraṃ karitvāna sarvalokasy ihāgrataḥ // 25 //
ato 'pi duṣkarataraṃ nirvṛtasya tadā mama /
paścātkāle idaṃ sūtraṃ vadeyā yo muhūrtakam // 26 //

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¹².   Restore to: *(kula)[p](u)[trāh]o [sa]ṃ[m](u)kh[a]ṃ (v)o*

na duṣkaram idaṃ loke kalpadāhasmi yo naraḥ /
madhye gacched adahyantas tṛṇabhāraṃ vaheta ca // 27 //
ato 'pi duṣkarataraṃ nirvṛtasya tadā mama /
dhārayitvā idaṃ sūtram ekasattvaṃ pi śrāvayet // 28 //
dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi caturaśīti dhārayet /
sopadeśān yathāproktān deśayet prāṇikotinām // 29 //
na hy etaṃ duṣkaraṃ bhoti tasmin kālasmi bhikṣuṇām /
vinayec chrāvakān mahyaṃ pañcābhijñāsu sthāpayet // 30 //
[KN. 255] *tasyedaṃ duṣkarataraṃ idaṃ sūtraṃ ca dhārayet /*
śraddadhed adhimucyed vā bhāṣed vāpi punaḥ punaḥ // 31 //
koṭīsahasrān bahavaḥ arhattve yo 'pi sthāpayet /
sadabhijñān mahābhāgān yathā gaṅgāya vālikāḥ // 32 //
ato bahutaraṃ karma karoti sa narottamaḥ /
nirvṛtasya hi yo mahyaṃ sūtraṃ dhārayate varam // 33 //
lokadhātusahasreṣu bahu me dharma bhāṣitāḥ /
adyāpi cāhaṃ bhāṣāmi buddhajñānasya kāraṇāt // 34 //
idaṃ tu sarvasūtreṣu sūtram agraṃ pravucyate /
dhāreti yo idaṃ sūtraṃ sa dhāre jinavigraham // 35 //
bhāṣadhvaṃ kulaputrāho saṃmukhaṃ vas tathāgataḥ /
ya utsahati vaḥ kaścit paścātkālasmi dhāraṇam // 36 //
mahatpriyaṃ kṛtaṃ bhoti lokanāthāna sarvaśaḥ /

Or.11878B_B = KN 255.13–257.2: Watanabe IIb, 299.29–300.15; Kojima 228, 32-33.

verso

1   + + + + + + + + + + .u .. [dh]. [r]. [m]. d.[13] [s]ūtra(ṃ) dhāray(e)d y[o] muhūrtakam* // saṃvarṇitaś ca so bhoti lokanāthehi sarvadā : śū

2   .. ś[au]tīravāṃś caiva kṣiprābhijñaś ca bodhaye • // durābahaś ca so bhoti lokanāthāna auraso • dāntabhūmir anuprāpto sūtraṃ dhāreti

3   yo imaṃ • // cakṣubhūtaś ca so bhoti loke sāmaramānuṣe • imaṃ sūtraṃ prakāśitvā nirvṛte naranāyake • // vandanīyaś ca so bho

4   ti sarvasatvāna paṇḍitaḥ paści[m]e kāli yo bhāṣet sūtram etan muhūrtakam iti • // atha khalu bhagavān kṛtsnaṃ bodhisatvagaṇiṃ

5   sasurāsuraṃ ca lokam āma[nt]ryai[t]ad avocat* bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo (')tīte (')dhvany aham aprameyāsaṃkhyeyān kalpān saddharmapu

6   ṇ(ḍa)rīkaṃ sūtraṃ paryeṣitavānn akhinno (')viśrāntaḥ pūrvaṃ cāham anekān kalpān anekāni kalpaśatasahasrāṇi rājābhūva

7   + ttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau kṛtapra◯ṇidhāno na ca me cittavyāvṛttir abhūt* ṣaṇṇāṃ pāramitānāṃ pāripūryai udyukto

8   + .ūva prameyadānapradaḥ suvarṇa◯maṇimuktāvaiḍūryaśaṅkhaśilāpravāḍajātarūpa-rajatāśmagarbhamu

9   [s]āragalvalohitamuktāgrāmanagaranigamajanapadarāṣṭrarājadhānībhāryaputraduhitṛ-dāsīdā{{sa}}saha

10   styaśvaratha yāvad ātmaśarīraparityāge karacaraṇaśiroṅgapratyaṃgajīvitadātā na ca [m]e kadācit [ka]rhacid ā

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13.   Restore to: *(d)u(rā)[dh](ā)[r](a)[m] (i)d(aṃ)*

11   [gra]hacittam utpannaṃ tena ca .. + + + [ya]ṃ [l]o[k]o [d]ī .. + + + [t]* anekav[a]r[ṣa]ś.
      .. + + + + + + + + + +

SP. (KN ed.) 255.13–257.2:

mahatpriyaṃ kṛtaṃ bhoti lokanāthāna sarvaśaḥ /
durādhāraṃ idaṃ sūtraṃ dhārayed yo muhūrtakam // 37 //
saṃvarnitaś ca so bhoti lokanāthehi sarvadā /
śūraḥ śauṭīryavāṃś cāpi kṣiprābhijñaś ca bodhaye // 38 //
[KN. 256] dhurāvāhaś ca so bhoti lokanāthāna aurasaḥ /
dāntabhūmim anuprāptaḥ sūtraṃ dhāreti yo idam // 39 //
cakṣubhūtaś ca so bhoti loke sāmaramānuṣe /
idaṃ sūtraṃ prakāśitvā nirvṛte naranāyake // 40 //
vandanīyaś ca so bhoti sarvasattvāna panditaḥ /
paścime kāli yo bhāṣet sūtram ekaṃ muhūrtakam // 41 //
atha khalu bhagavān kṛtsnaṃ bodhisattvagaṇaṃ sasurāsuraṃ ca lokam āmantrayetad avocat /
bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo 'tīte 'dhvani aham aprameyāsaṃkhyeyān kalpān saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ
sūtraṃ paryeṣitavān akhinno 'viśrāntaḥ | pūrvaṃ ca aham anekān kalpān anekāni kalpaśata-
sahasrāṇi rājābhūvam / anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau kṛtapraṇidhāno na ca me cittavyāvṛttir
abhūt | ṣaṇṇāṃ ca pāramitānāṃ paripūryā udyukto 'bhūvam aprameyadānapradaḥ suvarṇamaṇi-
muktāvaidūryaśaṅkhaśilāpravāḍajātarūparajatāśmagarbhaṃ   usāragalvalohitamuktāgrāma-
nagaranigamajanapadarāṣṭrarājadhānībhāryāputraduhitṛdāsīdāsakarmakarapauruṣeyahastyaśvar
athaṃ yāvad ātmaśarīraparityāgī karacaranaśi[KN. 257]rottamāṅgapratyaṅgajīvitadātā | na ca
me kadācid āgrahacittam utpannam | tena ca samayenāyaṃ loko dīrghāyur abhūd anekavarṣaśata-
sahasrajīvitena cāhaṃ kālena dharmārthaṃ rājyaṃ kāritavān na viṣayārtham |

Or.11878C = KN 272.6–273.12: Watanabe IIIa,301.1–19; Kojima 229, 33-34.

Folio no. [112]

recto

1   .kṛtāś ca bhaviṣyanti [ṣ]aḍa .[i] + + + + + + [r]. .r. [c]. .t. [ś] c. .. duṣṭā[ś] c. gṛ[h]. .. .t. ..
     [c]. nt. .. ..[14] araṇya

2   guptiṃ praviśitvā asmāka(ṃ) parivā{{ḍa}}dakāḥ // {{..}} asmāṃś ca evaṃ vakṣyanti
     lābhasatkāraniśritās tīrthi

3   kā vatame bhikṣūḥ svāni kāvyāni deśayuḥ // svayaṃ sūtrāṇi gaṇṭhitvā
     lābhasatkārahetavaḥ pari

4   ṣāya madhye bhāṣante asmā◯ka{{ta}}m anukuṭṭanām* • // rājeṣu rājaputreṣu
     rājāmātyeṣu vā tathā vi

5   prāṇāṃ gṛhapatīnāṃ ca anye◯ṣāṃ cāpi bhikṣuṇāṃ • // vakṣyanty avarṇam asmākaṃ
     tīrthavādaṃ ca cārayet sa

6   rvaṃ vayaṃ kṣamiṣyamo gauraveṇa maharṣiṇar ye cāsmān kutsayiṣyanti tasmin
     kālesmi durmatī ime bu

7   ddhā bhaviṣyanti kṣamiṣyāmatha sarvaśa • // kalpasaṃkṣo{{..}}bhabhīṣmasmiṃ
     dāruṇasmiṃ mahābhaye yakṣa

8   rūpā bahu bhikṣū asmākaṃ paribhāṣakā // gauraveṇa ti lokendra utsahāma suduṣkaram*
     kṣāntīya

[14.] Restore to: *sada(bh)[i](jñā yathā tathā //) [r](aud)r(a)[c](it)t(ā)ś c(a) .. duṣṭā[ś] c(a)*
grh(acin)t(āvi)[c](i)nt(akāḥ)

9   .. kṣ(y)āṃ bandhitvā sūtram etat prakāśayī anarthikā sma kāyena jīvitena ca nāyaka • arthi

SP. (KN ed.) 272.6–273.12

raseṣu gṛddha saktāś ca gṛhīṇāṃ dharma deśayī /
satkṛtāś ca bhaviṣyanti sadabhijñā yathā tathā // 6 //
raudracittāś ca duṣṭāś ca gṛhacintāvicintakāḥ /
aranyaguptiṃ praviśitvā asmākaṃ parivādakāḥ // 7 //
asmākaṃ caiva vakṣyanti lābhasatkāraniśritāḥ /
tīrthikā batime bhikṣū svāni kāvyāni deśayuḥ // 8 //
svayaṃ sūtrāni granthitvā lābhasatkārahetavaḥ /
parṣāya madhye bhāṣante asmākam anukuṭṭakāḥ // 9 //
[KN. 273] *rājesu rājaputreṣu rājāmātyeṣu vā tathā /*
viprānāṃ grhapatīnāṃ ca anyeṣāṃ cāpi bhikṣuṇām // 10 //
vakṣyanty avarṇam asmākaṃ tīrthyavādaṃ ca cārayī /
sarvaṃ vayaṃ kṣamiṣyāmo gauravena maharṣiṇām // 11 //
ye cāsmān kutsayiṣyanti tasmin kālasmi durmatī /
ime buddhā bhaviṣyanti kṣamiṣyāmatha sarvaśaḥ // 12 //
kalpasaṃkṣobhabhīṣmasmin dāruṇasmi mahābhaye /
yakṣarūpā bahū bhikṣū asmākaṃ paribhāṣakāḥ // 13 //
gauraveṇeha lokendre utsahāma suduṣkaram /
kṣāntīya kakṣyāṃ bandhitvā sūtram etaṃ prakāśaye // 14 //
anarthikā sma kāyena jīvitena ca nāyaka /
arthikāś ca sma bodhīya tava nikṣepadhārakāḥ // 15 //

Or.11878C = KN 273.12–275.4: Watanabe IIIb, 301.19–302.5; Kojima 230, 34-35.

verso

1   + + [kāy]. na [jī]v[i]t[e]na ca nāyaka[15] • arthikā cāsm. b[o]dhāya tava nikṣ[e]padhārakāḥ bhagavān eva jānīte yādṛśā pā

2   + [bh]. kṣavaḥ paścime kāli bheṣyanti sandhābhāṣyam ajānakāḥ // bhṛkuṭyā sarvi soḍhavyā aprajñaptiḥ punaḥ punaḥ niṣkāsa

3   naṃ vihārebhyo baddhrakuṭṭā bahūvidhā : ājñaptir lokanāthasya smarantā kāli paścime bhāṣiṣyāma idaṃ sūtraṃ parṣan*

4   madhye viśāradāḥ // nagareṣv atha grāmeṣu ye bheṣyanti ihārthikāḥ gatvā gatvāsya dāsyāmo nikṣepaṃ tava nā

5   yaka : // preṣaṇaṃ tava lokendra kariṣyāmo mahāmune : alpotsuko bhava {{jā}} tvaṃ hi śāntaprāpta sunirvṛtaḥ // sa

6   rve ca lokapradyotā āgatā ye-d-da◯śa-d-diśāḥ satyaṃ vācaṃ prabhāṣāma adhimuktī na jānasīti • // ◎ // utsa

7   hanaparivarto nāma dvādaśamaḥ // ◎ // atha khalu maṃjuśrīḥ kumārabhūto bhagavantam etad avocat* duṣkaraṃ

8   bhagavan* suduṣkaram ebhir bodhisatvair mahāsatvair utsoḍhaṃ bhagavato garuraveṇa : kathaṃ bhagavaṃn ebhir bodhisa

9   tvair mahāsatvair ayan dharmapar[y]āyaḥ paścime kāle paścime samaye saṃprakāśayitavyaḥ // evam u

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15.   This half verse appears twice.

10   .. bhagavān maṃjuśriyaṃ ku + + + .. e .. .. .o .. [t*] .. [tu]rṣ[u] maṃj[u]ś[r]ī dhar[m]e
      .. .. .[i] .[i] .[ena[16] b]o

SP. (KN ed.) 273.12–275.4:

anarthikā sma k̲ā̲y̲e̲n̲a̲ jīvitena ca nāyaka /
arthik̲ā̲ś̲ c̲a̲ sma bodh̲ī̲y̲a̲ tava nikṣepadhārak̲ā̲ḥ̲ // 15 //
bhagavān eva jānīte yādṛśāḥ pāpabhikṣavaḥ /
paścime kāli bheṣyanti saṃdhābhāṣyam ajānakāḥ // 16 //
[KN. 274] *bh̲ṛ̲k̲u̲ṭ̲ī̲ sarva sodhavyā aprajñaptiḥ punaḥ punaḥ /*
niṣkāsanaṃ vihārebhyo bandhak̲u̲ṭ̲ṭ̲ī̲ bahūvidhā // 17 //
ājñaptiṃ lokanāthasya smarantā kāli paścime /
bhāṣiṣyāma idaṃ sūtraṃ parṣanmadhye viśāradāḥ // 18 //
nagareṣu ca grāmeṣu ye bheṣyanti ih̲ā̲r̲t̲h̲i̲k̲ā̲ḥ̲ /
gatvā gatvāsya dāsyāmo nikṣepaṃ tubhya n̲ā̲y̲a̲k̲a̲ // 19 //
preṣaṇaṃ tava lokendra kariṣyāmo mahāmune /
alpotsuko bhava tvaṃ hi śāntiprāpto sunirvṛtaḥ // 20 //
sarve ca lokapradyotā āgatā ye diśo daśa /
satyāṃ vācaṃ prabhāṣāmo adhimuktiṃ vijānasi // 21 //
ity āryasaddharmapuṇḍarīke dharmaparyāya u̲t̲s̲ā̲h̲a̲p̲a̲r̲i̲v̲a̲r̲t̲o̲ nāma dvādaśamaḥ ||
[KN. 275] *atha khalu M̲a̲ñ̲j̲u̲ś̲r̲ī̲ḥ̲ k̲u̲m̲ā̲r̲a̲b̲h̲ū̲t̲o̲ B̲h̲a̲g̲a̲v̲a̲n̲t̲a̲m̲ etad avocat / d̲u̲ṣ̲k̲a̲r̲a̲ṃ̲ Bhagavan paramaduṣkaram ebhir bodhisattvair mahāsattvair utsodhaṃ Bhagavato g̲a̲u̲r̲a̲v̲e̲ṇ̲a̲ / kathaṃ Bhagavann ebhir bodhisattvair mahāsattvair ayaṃ dharmaparyāyaḥ paścime kāle paścime samaye saṃprakāśayitavyaḥ / evam ukte B̲h̲a̲g̲a̲v̲ā̲n̲ ̲M̲a̲ñ̲j̲u̲ś̲r̲i̲y̲a̲ṃ̲ ̲k̲u̲m̲ā̲r̲a̲b̲h̲ū̲t̲a̲m̲ e̲t̲a̲d̲ a̲v̲o̲c̲a̲t̲ / c̲a̲t̲u̲r̲ṣ̲u̲ M̲a̲ñ̲j̲u̲ś̲r̲ī̲r̲ ̲d̲h̲a̲r̲m̲e̲ṣ̲u̲ ̲p̲r̲a̲t̲i̲ṣ̲ṭ̲h̲i̲t̲e̲n̲a̲ ̲b̲o̲d̲h̲i̲s̲a̲t̲t̲v̲e̲n̲a̲ mahāsattvenāyaṃ dharmaparyāyaḥ paścime kāle paścime samaye saṃprakāśayitavyaḥ /*

Or.11878D = KN 436.3–438.1: Watanabe IVa, 303.1–304.1 ; Kojima 231, 35-36.

folio no. 1xx

recto

1   .bh.[ḥ] kṣ[e]tr.ḥ[17] pravarṣa[d]bhiḥ p[a]dm.[ḥ] [p]r. vādyamān. r yāva tūryak[o]ṭīniyuta-
      śatasahasr. ḥ sā[r]dh. t. ś cat[u]raśī ..[18]

2   bhir bodhisatvakoṭīniyutaśatasahasraiḥ parivṛtaḥ puraskṛta punar api svakaṃ buddha-
      kṣetram abhiga[to] (')bhi[ga]

3   mya tat* bhagavantaṃ kamaladalavimalanakṣatrarājasaṃkusumitaṃ tathāgatam
      arhantaṃ samyaksaṃbuddham etad avo ..[19]

4   kṛto me bhagavan sahāyāṃ lokadhātau satvārthas tasya ca bhagavataḥ prabhūtaratnasya
      tathāgatasyārhataḥ samy[a] ..[20]

5   buddhasya dhātū stūpo dṛṣṭo vandita◯ś ca • sa ca bhagavāṃ cchākyamunis tathāgato
      dṛṣṭaḥ sa ca maṃjuśrīḥ kumā[rabhū]

6   taḥ sa ca bhaiṣajyarājo bodhisa◯tvo mahāsatvo vīryabalavegaprāptaḥ sa ca
      pradānaśūro bodhisa[tvo ma] ..

7   satvo dṛṣṭaḥ sarveṣāṃ caturaśītīnāṃ bodhisatvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇāṃ
      sarvarūpasandarśa[nasya sa]

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16.   Restore to: *ku(mārabhūtam) e(tad av)o(ca)[t] (/ ca)turṣu Mañjuśrīr dharme(ṣu prat)[i](ṣṭh)[i](t)[ena]*
17.   Restore to: *(prakampad)bh(i)[ḥ] kṣ[e]tr(ai)ḥ.*
18.   Restore to: *sā[r]dh(aṃ) t(ai)ś cat[u]raśī(ti)bhir.*
19.   Here a part of fragment is folded.
20.   Here a part of fragment is folded.

8   mādheḥ pratilaṃbho (')bhūt // asmiṃś ca khalu punar gadgadasvarasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya gamanāgamana

9   parivarte bhaṣyamāne dvācatvāriṃśatāṃ bodhisatvasahasrāṇām anutpttikeṣu dharmeṣu kṣāntipratilaṃbho (')bhūt*

10   padmaśriyasya ca bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya saddharmapuṇḍarīkasya samādheḥ pratilāṃbho (')bhūt* // ◎ //ga

11   .. das[v]araparivartas trayoviṃśatimaḥ // ◎ // atha khalv ayamatir bodhisatvo [m]. + .. [tv]. utthāyā

SP. (KN ed.) 436.3–438.1:

atha khalu Gadgadasvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo Bhagavataḥ Śākyamunes tathāgatasyārhataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya tasya ca Bhagavataḥ Prabhūtaratnasya tathāgatasyārhataḥ samyak-saṃbuddhasya dhātustūpe vipulāṃ vistīrṇāṃ pūjāṃ kṛtvā punar api saptaratnamaye kūṭāgāre 'bhiruhya prakampadbhiḥ kṣetraiḥ pravarṣadbhiḥ padmaiḥ pravādyamānais tūryakoṭīnayutaśata-sahasraiḥ sārdhaṃ taiś caturaśītibodhisattvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasraiḥ parivṛtaḥ puraskṛtaḥ punar api svaṃ buddhakṣetram abhigataḥ | samabhigamya ca taṃ Bhagavantaṃ kamaladalavimala-nakṣatrarājasaṃkusumitābhijñaṃ tathāgatam arhantaṃ samyaksaṃbuddham etad avocat | kṛto me Bhagavan sahāyāṃ lokadhātau sattvārthas tasya ca Bhagavataḥ Prabhūtaratnasya tathāgata-syārhataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya dhātustūpo dṛṣṭaḥ vanditaś ca sa ca Bhagavān Śākyamunis tathāgato dṛṣṭo vanditaś ca sa ca Mañjuśrīḥ kumārabhūto dṛṣṭaḥ sa ca Bhaiṣajyarājo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo vīryabalavegaprāptaḥ sa ca Pradānaśūro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo dṛṣṭaḥ sarveṣāṃ ca teṣāṃ caturaśītibodhisattvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇāṃ sarvarūpasaṃdarśanasya samādheḥ pratilambho 'bhūt ||

asmin khalu punar Gadgadasvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya gamanāgamanaparivarte bhāṣya[KN. 437]*māne dvācatvāriṃśatāṃ bodhisattvasahasrāṇām anutpattikadharmakṣānti-pratilambho 'bhūt | Padmaśriyaś ca bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya saddharmapuṇḍarīkasya samādheḥ pratilambho 'bhūt ||*

iti śrīsaddharmapuṇḍarīke dharmaparyāye Gadgadasvaraparivarto nāma trayoviṃśatimaḥ ||

[KN. 438] *atha khalv Akṣayamatir bodhisattvo mahāsattva utthāyāsanād ekāṃ samuttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yena bhagavāṃs tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya Bhagavantam etad avocat |*

Or.11878D = KN 438.1–439.6: Watanabe IVb, 304.1–17; Kojima 232, 36-37.

verso

1   + + [d]. kā(ṃ)sam uttarāsaṃgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yena bhagavā[ṃ]s t. .. .. ..[21] praṇamayya bha

2   .. vantam etad avocat* kena kāraṇena bhagavann avalokiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvo (')valokiteśvara ity ucyate •

3   evam ukte bhagavānn akṣayamatiṃ bodhisatvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat* iha kulaputra yāvanti satvak[o]ṭīniyu

4   taśatasahasrāṇi yāni duḥkhāni pratyanubhavanti • te sacedd avalokiteśvarasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya

5   nāmadheyaṃ śṛṇuyus te sarve tasmād duḥkhaskandhāt parimucyeyu ye ca kulaputra satvā avalokiteśvarasya bodhi

6   satvasya mahāsatvasya nāmadheyaṃ ◯ dhārayanti • sacet te mahaty agniskandhe

---

[21.]   Restore to: *t(enāñjaliṃ)*

prapateyuḥ sarve te (')valokiteśvara

7 sya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya ◯ tejasā tasmān mahato (')gniskandhāt parimucyeyuḥ sacet punaḥ kulaputra [na] +

8 [dī]bhir uhyamānā (')valokiteśvarasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasyākrandaṃ kuryuḥ sarvās tā nadyas teṣāṃ satvānāṃ gā[dha](ṃ)

9 da[d]yuḥ sacet kulaputra sāgaramadhye bahanābhirūḍhānāṃ satvakoṭīniyutaśata-sahasrāṇāṃ hiraṇyasuva

10 rṇamaṇimuktāvaiḍūryaśaṃkhaśilāpravāḍāśmagarbhamusāragalvalohitamuktādīnāṃś ca kṛtaśo gatānāṃ sa +

11 + ..ṃ potaḥ kālikāvātena rāk[ṣa]d[v]īpaṃ kṣiptaḥ syāt tasmiṃś ca kaś[c]id evaikaḥ sat[v]a s[y]ād .o (')valokite[ś].. .. +

SP. (KN ed.) 438.1–439.6:

[KN. 438] atha khalv Akṣayamatir bodhisattvo mahāsattva utthāyāsanād ekāṃ samuttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yena bhagavāṃs tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya Bhagavantam etad avocat /
kena kāraṇena Bhagavan Avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'valokiteśvara ity ucyate / evam ukte Bhagavān Akṣayamatiṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat / iha kulaputra yāvanti sattvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇi yāni duḥkhāni pratyanubhavanti tāni saced Avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya nāmadheyaṃ śṛnuyus te sarve tasmād duḥkhaskandhāt pari-mucyeran / ye ca kulaputra sattvā Avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya nāmadheyaṃ dhārayiṣyanti sacet te mahaty agniskandhe prapateyuḥ sarve te 'valokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya tejasā tasmān mahato [KN. 439] 'gniskandhāt parimucyeran / sacet punaḥ kulaputra sattvā nadībhir uhyamānā Avalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyākrandaṃ kuryuḥ sarvās tā nadyas teṣāṃ sattvānāṃ gādhaṃ dadyuḥ / sacet punaḥ kulaputra sāgaramadhye vahanābhirūḍhānāṃ sattvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇāṃ hiraṇyasuvarṇamaṇimuktāvajravaiḍūrya-śaṅkhaśilāpravālāśmagarbhamusāragalvalohitamuktādīnāṃ kṛtanidhīnāṃ sa potas teṣāṃ kālikāvātena rākṣasīdvīpe kṣiptah syāt tasmiṃś ca kaścid evaikah sattvaḥ syād yo 'valokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyākrandaṃ kuryāt sarve te parimucyeraṃs tasmād rākṣasīdvīpāt /

Or.11878E = KN 443.2–444.7: Watanabe Va, 304.17–305.6; Kojima 233, 37.

recto

1 .[r]. sav[e]t[*] evam ukt. (')kṣay. m. t. b. dh. satv. mahāsatv. bhag[a]vant. m .t. d .v[o]cat* bahu bh. g. v. [n] b. .u[22] [s]ugata : [sa kula]

2 putro vā kuladuhitā vā puṇyābhisaṃskāraṃ prasavet* bhagavān āha • yaś ca kulaputra tāvatāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagava[tāṃ] sa[tkāraṃ]

3 kṛtvā puṇyābhisaṃskāro yaś cāvalokiteśvarasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya antaśa ekam api namaskāraṃ kuryā nā

4 madheyaṃ ca dhārayet samo (')nadhika-r-anatireka puṇyābhisaṃskāram ubhayato bhavet* yaś ca teṣāṃ dvāṣaṣṭīnāṃ gaṃgānadībā

5 lukopamānāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ ◯ satkāraṃ kuryān nāmadheyaṃ ca dhārayet* yaś cāvalokiteśvarasya bodhisatvasya

6 mahāsatvasya namaskāraṃ kuryān nā◯madheyaṃ ca dhārayet* // etāv ubhau puṇyaskandhau na sukarau kṣapayituṃ kalpako

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22. Restore to: *evam ukt(e ')kṣay(a)m(a)t(ir) b(o)dh(i)satv(o) mahāsatv(o) Bh[a]g[a]vant(a)m et(a)d (a)vocat / bahu(ṃ) Bh(a)g(a)v(a)n b(ah)u(ṃ)*

7   ṭīniyutaśatasahasrair api evam aprameyaṃ kulaputrāvalokiteśvarasya bodhisatvasya mahā[sa]tvasya nāma

8   dheyadhāraṇāt puṇyam* // atha khalv akṣayamatir bodhisatvo mahāsatvo bhagavantam etad avocat* kathaṃ bhagavann avalo

9   kiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvo (')syāṃ sahāyāṃ lokadhātau pravicarati • kathaṃ satvānān dharmaṃ deśayati [•] kīdṛśaś cā

10   rasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasyopāyakauśalyaviṣayaḥ evam ukte bhagavānn akṣayamatiṃ bodhisatvaṃ mahā

11   [s]. tvam etad avocat* santi kulaputra lokadhātavo yeṣv avalokiteśvaro bodhisatvo [m]a[h]āsattvo buddharūpe

SP. (KN ed.) 443.2–444.7:

tat kiṃ manyase kulaputra kiyan taṃ sa kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā tato nidānaṃ puṇyābhisaṃskāraṃ prasavet | evam ukte Akṣayamatir bodhisatvo mahāsatvo Bhagavantam etud avocat | bahuṃ Bhagavan bahuṃ sugata sa kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā tato nidānaṃ bahuṃ puṇyābhisaṃskāraṃ prasavet | Bhagavān āha | yaś ca kulaputra tāvatāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ satkāraṃ kṛtvā puṇyābhisaṃskāro yaś cĀvalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyāntaśa ekam api namaskāraṃ kuryān nāmadheyaṃ ca dhārayet samo 'nadhiko 'natirekaḥ puṇyābhisaṃskāra ubhayato bhavet | yaś ca teṣāṃ dvāṣaṣṭīnāṃ gaṅgānadīvālikāsamānāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ satkāraṃ kuryān nāmadheyāni ca dhārayet | yaś cĀvalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya namaskāraṃ kuryān nāmadheyaṃ ca dhārayet | etāv ubhau puṇyaskandhau na sukarau kṣapayituṃ kalpakoṭīnayutaśata[KN. 444]*sahasrair api | evam aprameyaṃ kulaputrĀvalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya nāmadhāranāt punyam //*
atha khalv Akṣayamatir bodhisattvo mahāsattvo Bhagavantam etad avocat | kathaṃ Bhagavann Avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'syāṃ sahāyāṃ lokadhātau pravicarati | kathaṃ sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | kīdṛśaś cĀvalokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyopāyakauśalya-viṣayaḥ | evam ukte Bhagavān Akṣayamatiṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvam etad avocat | santi kulaputra lokadhātavo yesv Avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo buddharūpeṇa 1 sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati |

Or.11878E = KN 444.7–445.7: Watanabe Vb, 305.6–20; Kojima 234, 37-38.

verso

1   + .. [t]v[ā]nān dharman deśayati • santi lokadhātavo yeṣv avalokiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvo bodhisa[t]v[a]rūpeṇa satvānāṃ

2   + rman deśayati • keṣāṃcit pratyekabuddharūpeṇāvalokiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ satvānān dharman deśayati • ke

3   ṣā(ṃ)cic chrāvakarūpeṇa • keṣāṃcid brahmarūpeṇāvalokiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ satvānān dharman deśayati • ke

4   ṣāṃcic chakrarūpeṇāvalokiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ satvānān dharman deśayati • keṣāṃcid gandha[rva]rūpeṇā

5   valokiteśvaro bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ satvānān dharman deśayati • yakṣavaineyānāṃ satvānāṃ yakṣarūpeṇa dharman de

6   śayati • īśvaravaineyānāṃ sa◯tvānām īśvararūpeṇa dharman deśayati • maheśvaravaineyānāṃ maheśvara

7   rūpeṇa dharman deśayati • cakrava◯rtirājavaineyānāṃ satvānāṃ cakravartirūpeṇa dharman deśayati • pi[śā]cavai

8   neyānāṃ satvānāṃ piśācarūpeṇa dharman deśayati • ucchrepavaineyānāṃ satvānāṃ ucchreparūpeṇa dharman deśa

9　yati • senāpativaineyānāṃ satvānāṃ senāpatirūpeṇa dharman deśayati • brahmaṇa-
vaineyānā(ṃ) satvānāṃ brā

10　hmaṇarūpeṇa dharman deśayati • vajrapāṇivaineyānāṃ satvānāṃ vajrapāṇirūpeṇa
dharman deśayati (•) e

11　+ .. [c]in[tya]g[u]ṇasaman.āg[ataḥ] k[u]lap(u)t[r]āva[l]okiteś[v]a[r]o [b]o[dh]isat[v]o
[m]. .ā .. .. [ḥ] tas.ā[t tarhi]²³

SP. (KN ed.) 444.7–445.7:

santi kulaputra lokadhātavo yeṣv Avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo buddharūpeṇa 1
sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | santi lokadhātavah yesv Avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo
bodhisattvarūpeṇa 2 sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | keṣāṃcit pratyekabuddharūpenĀvalokiteśvaro
3 bodhisattvo mahāsattvah sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | keṣāṃcic chrāvakarūpenĀvalokiteśvaro
4 bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | keṣāṃcid brahmarūpenĀvalokiteśvaro 5
bodhisattvo mahāsattvah sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | keṣāṃcic chakrarūpenĀvalokiteśvaro 6
bodhisattvo mahāsattvah dharmaṃ deśayati | keṣāṃcid gandharvarūpenĀvalokiteśvaro 7 bodhi-
sattvo mahāsattvah sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | yakṣavaine[KN. 445]yānāṃ sattvānāṃ yakṣa-
rūpeṇa 8 dharmaṃ deśayati | īśvaravaineyānāṃ sattvānām īśvararūpeṇa 9 dharmaṃ deśayati |
maheśvaravaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ maheśvararūpeṇa 10 dharmaṃ deśayati | cakravartirāja-
vaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ cakravartirājarūpeṇa 11 dharmaṃ deśayati | piśācavaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ
piśācarūpeṇa 12 dharmaṃ deśayati | vaiśravaṇavaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ vaiśravaṇarūpeṇa 13
dharmaṃ deśayati | senāpativaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ senāpatirūpeṇa 14 dharmaṃ deśayati |
brāhmanavaineyānāṃ sattvānāṃ brāhmaṇarūpeṇa 15 dharmam deśayati | vajrapāṇivaineyānāṃ
sattvānāṃ vajrapāṇirūpeṇa 16 dharmaṃ deśayati | evam acintyagunasamanvāgatah kulaputrĀva-
lokiteśvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ | tasmāt tarhi kulaputrĀvalokiteśvaraṃ bodhisattvaṃ
mahāsattvaṃ pūjayadhvam |

Or.11878F =KN 480.8–482.3: Watanabe VIa, 306.1–10; Kojima, — .

recto

1　/// + [vi]ṣyanti • na nṛttakā nna jhallā na mallā na sūnikaurabhṛk[ā] .. + + ///

2　/// + īdṛśāṃś ca sūtrāntāṃ cchrutvā likhitvā dhārayitvā na teṣām a .. + ///

3　/// [ta]vyā • pratyātmikaś ca teṣaṃ yoniśo manaskāro bhaviṣyati • sva + ///

4　/// [sa]tvānāṃ evaṃ sūtrāntadhārakāś ca te bhikṣavo bhaviṣyanti • na teṣ[ā]ṃ ///

5　/// + no nā◯dhimāno na mithyāmāna svalābhasantuṣṭāś ca te sa[ma] + ///

6　/// + pa◯ścime samaye paścimāyāṃ paṃcāśatyāṃ asya sa + ///

7　/// + [ci]ttam utpādayitavyaṃ • gamiṣyaty ayaṃ kulaputro bodhimaṇḍaṃ .. + ///

8　/// + [c]akraṃ • parāhaniṣyaty ayaṃ dharmadundubhim* prapūrayiṣyaty [a] + ///

9　/// + [ya]ṃ dharmasiṅhāsanaṃ • ya iman dharmaparyāyaṃ paścime k[ā] + ///

10　/// + [te] bhikṣavo lubdhā bhaviṣyanti • na cīvaragṛddhā na pātragṛddhā [bh].+ ///

11　/// + + + .. + .. + [ṇa] .[ā] .. .i[ṣya]n[t]i²⁴ • d[ṛ]ṣ[t]adhārmikaṃ c[a t]e + + ///

SP. (KN ed.) 480.8–482.3:

na ca teṣāṃ lokāyate rucir bhaviṣyati na kāvyaprasṛtāḥ sattvās teṣām abhirucitā bhaviṣyanti na
nṛttakā na mallā narllakā na śauṇḍikaurabhrikakaukkuṭikasaukarikastrīpoṣakāḥ sattvās teṣām
abhirucitā bhaviṣyanti | īdṛśāṃś ca sūtrāntāñ śrutvā likhitvā dhārayitvā vāca[KN. 481]yitvā vā na
teṣām anyad abhirucitaṃ bhaviṣyati | svabhāvadharmasamanvāgatāś ca te sattvā veditavyāḥ |

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²³·　Restore to : *[m](ah)ā(satva)[ḥ] tas(m)ā[t tarhi]*

²⁴·　Restore to: *(te dharmabhā)[ṇa](k)[ā] (bhav)i[ṣya]n[t]i*

pratyātmikaś ca teṣāṃ yoniśo manasikāro bhaviṣyati | svapuṇyabalādhārāś ca te sattvā bhaviṣyanti priyadarśanāś ca te bhaviṣyanti sattvānām | evaṃ sūtrāntadhārakāś ca ye bhikṣavo bhaviṣyanti | na teṣāṃ rāgo vyābādhiṣyati na dveṣo na moho nerṣyā na mātsaryaṃ na mrakṣo na māno nādhimāno na mithyāmānaḥ | svalābhasaṃtuṣṭāś ca te samantabhadra dharmabhāṇakā bhaviṣyanti | yaḥ samantabhadra paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ vartamānāyām asya saddharmapuṇḍarīkasya dharmaparyāyasya dhārakaṃ bhikṣuṃ paśyet evaṃ cittam utpādayi- tavyam | gamiṣyaty ayaṃ kulaputro bodhimaṇḍaṃ nirjeṣyaty ayaṃ kulaputro mārakalicakraṃ pravartayiṣyaty ayaṃ dharmacakraṃ parāhaniṣyaty ayaṃ dharmadundubhiṃ prapūrayiṣyaty ayaṃ dharmaśaṅkhaṃ pravarṣayiṣyaty ayaṃ dharmavarṣam abhirokṣyaty ayaṃ dharmasiṃhāsanam | ya imam dharmaparyāyam paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ vartamā[KN. 482]nāyāṃ dhārayiṣyanti na te bhikṣavo lubdhā bhaviṣyanti na cīvaragṛddhā na pātragṛddhā bhaviṣyanti | ṛjukāś ca te dharmabhāṇakā bhaviṣyanti trivimokṣalābhinaś ca te dharmabhāṇakā bhaviṣyanti | dṛṣṭadhārmikaṃ ca teṣāṃ sāmparāyikaṃ nirvartiṣyati | ya evaṃ sūtrāntadhārakāṇāṃ

Or.11878F = KN 482.4–484.3: Watanabe VIb, 306.10–307.3; Kojima, — .

verso

1   /// + + + + + .[v]. [bh]. [viṣy]. [nt]. + [c]. [v].[25] rū[pā]ṇā(ṃ) sūtrā[n]t. [dhāra] + ///

2   /// + bhaviṣyati • ya evaṃ sūtrāntalekhakānāṃ uccagghanaṃ kari + ///

3   /// + ṭṭhāś ca bhaviṣyanti • cibvanāsāś ca bhaviṣyanti • viparītaha[s]. ///

4   /// .. kadadrukaṇḍvākīrṇaśarīrāś ca bhaviṣyanti • ya īdṛś[ā] + ///

5   /// + [m a]priyāṃ vācāṃ bhūtāvāṃm abhūtāṃ vā śrāvayed idam āgā + ///

6   /// + [ya]◯sya dhārakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ dūrata eva pratyutthā[t]. + ///

7   /// + [dhāra]◯kā{ṃ}nāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ gauravaṃ kartavyam* // asmin khalu + ///

8   /// likāsamānāṃ bodhisatvānāṃ mahāsatvānāṃ koṭīśatasa[ha] ///

9   /// + [va]rto nāma ṣaḍviṃśatimaḥ // ◎ // atha khalu bhagavāṃ cchāk[ya] + ///

10   /// + .. [vāṃ]s tān bodhisatvān piṇḍīkṛtvā dakṣiṇena pāṇinā ṛ .. + ///

11   /// + + lāyām etad avocat* imā[m] ahaṃ kulaputrā .. + + ///

SP. (KN ed.) 482.4–484.3:

ya evaṃ sūtrāntadhārakāṇāṃ dharmabhāṇakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ mohaṃ dāsyanti jātyandhās te sattvā bhaviṣyanti | ye caivaṃrūpānāṃ sūtrāntadhārakāṇāṃ bhikṣūṇām avarṇaṃ saṃśrāvayiṣyanti teṣāṃ dṛṣṭa eva dharme kāyaś citro bhaviṣyati | ya evaṃ sūtrāntalekhakānām uccagghanaṃ kariṣyanty ullapiṣyanti te khaṇḍadantāś ca bhaviṣyanti varaladantāś ca bhaviṣyanti bībhatsoṣṭhāś ca bhaviṣyanti cipiṭanāsāś ca bhaviṣyanti viparītahastapādāś ca bhaviṣyanti viparītanetrāś ca bhaviṣyanti durgandhikāyāś ca bhaviṣyanti gaṇḍapiṭakavicarcidadrukaṇḍvākīrṇaśarīrāś ca bhaviṣyanti | ya īdṛśānāṃ sūtrāntalekhakānāṃ sūtrāntavācakānāṃ ca [KN. 483] sūtrānta- dhārakāṇāṃ ca sūtrāntadeśakānāṃ cāpriyāṃ vācam bhūtām abhūtāṃ vā saṃśrāvayiṣyanti teṣām idam āgāḍhataraṃ pāpakaṃ karma veditavyam | tasmāt tarhi samantabhadrāsya dharmaparyāya- sya dhārakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ dūrata eva pratyutthātavyaṃ yathā tathāgatasyāntike gauravaṃ kartavyaṃ tathā teṣām eva sūtrāntadhārakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ evaṃ gauravaṃ kartavyam ||
asmin khalu punaḥ samantabhadrotsāhanaparivarte nirdiśyamāne gaṅgānadīvālikāsamānāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānāṃ koṭīśatasahasrāvartāyā dhāraṇyāḥ pratilambho 'bhūt || iti śrīsaddharmapuṇḍarīke dharmaparyāye samantabhadrotsāhanaparivarto nāma ṣaḍviṃśatimaḥ ||
[KN. 484] atha khalu Bhagavāñ Śākyamunis tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddha utthāya tasmād dharmāsanāt sarvāṃs tān bodhisattvān piṇḍīkṛtya dakṣiṇena pāṇinarddhayabhisaṃskāra- pariniṣpannena dakṣiṇahasteṣv adhyālambya tasyāṃ velāyām etad avocat | imām ahaṃ kulaputrā asaṃkhyeyakalpakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrasamudānītāmanuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhiṃ yuṣmākaṃ haste parindāmy anuparindāmi nikṣipāmi upanikṣipāmi |

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25.   Restore to: *(sat)[v](ā) [bh](a)[viṣy](a)[nt](i ye) [c](ai)[v](aṃ)-*.

Or.11878G = KN 487.1–5: Watanabe VIIa, 307.3–18; Kojima 235, —.

recto

1   + .y. .s. [b]u[d]dhānyalokadhātvā + + + .[n]. .[ṛ] .[ṣ]. [m]ū[l]. [ṣ]u [s]. [ṅ]h. [sa]neṣūpaviṣṭāḥ²⁶ prabhūtaratnaś c[a] tathāgat[o] (')rhan samyaksaṃ

2   buddhaḥ sa ca sarvān bodhisa[t]vaganas te ca viśiṣṭacāritrapramukhā aprameyā saṃkhyeyā bodhisatvā mahāsatvā :

3   ye pṛrthivīvivarebhyo (')bhyudgatās te ca mahāśrāvakā sā ca catuṣparṣat sadeva-mānuṣāsuragandharvaś ca loko bhagava

4   to bhāṣitam abhyanandam* // ◎ // ²⁷samāptaṃ ca saddharmapuṇḍarīkan dharma-paryāyaṃ sūtrāntaṃ mahāvaipulyaṃ bodhisatvā

5   vavādaṃ • sarvabuddhaparigrahaṃ • ◯ sarvabuddharahasyaṃ • sarvabuddhanigūḍhaṃ • sarvabuddhajñātiḥ sarvabuddhaguhyasthā

6   naṃ • sarvabuddhabodhimaṇḍam* sarvabuddhadharmacakrapravartanaṃ sarva-buddhaikaghanaśarīraṃ • mahopāyakauśalya

7   mekayānanirdeśaṃ • paramārthanirhāranirdeśam iti • // ◎ // aṅgārakarṣūṅ gāhitvā ākramya kṣurasaṃstaraṃ • //

8   gantavyaṃ kulaputreṇa yatra sūtram ida bhavet* // devadharme ya mahāsraddhopāsaka lerakṣiṇena / tathā sārdhaṃ śiri

9   yena • tathā śuśureṇa • tathā mahāśiriyena • tathā cchāḍipuruṣe sithusighena • tathā sārdhaṃ putraena • tathā vā

10   śāsiyena leranihelapatinā • tathā jīvasidhiyena • tathā v[u]pharṇena • sidhasighena •

SP. (KN ed.) 487.1-5:

idam avocad Bhagavān āttamanās te cāprameyā asaṃkhyeyās tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhā anyalokadhātvāgatā ratnavṛkṣamūleṣu siṃhāsanopaviṣṭāḥ prabhutaratnaś ca tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ sa ca sarvāvān bodhisattvaganas te ca viśiṣṭacāritrapramukhā aprameyā asaṃkhyeyā bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ye pṛthivīvivarebhyo 'bhyudgatās te ca mahāśrāvakāḥ tāś ca catasraḥ parṣadaḥ sadevamānuṣāsuragandharvaś ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti ||

iti śrīsaddharmapuṇḍarīke dharmaparyāye 'nuparīndanāparivarto nāma saptaviṃśatimaḥ samāptaḥ ||

* * * * * *

ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat |
teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||

Or.11878G = KN colophon: Watanabe VIIb, 307.18–28; Kojima 236, —.

verso

1   tathā sārdhaṃ mahādharmabhāṇaka ācārya bhikṣu krayādhana kalyā«ṇa»trāt(e)[n]a • tathā sārdhaṃ mahādharmabhāṇaka bhidṣu dhrarme

2   dramatinā • tathā sārdhaṃ aṣṭauliyena saṃcavamena • tathā sārdhaṃ bhikṣuṇā kṣemaena • tathā cikirirṣeṇa • tathā sārdhaṃ

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²⁶.   Restore to: *(rat)[n](av)[r](k)[ṣ](a)[m]ū[l](e)[ṣ]u [s](i)[ṅ]h(ā)[sa]neṣūpaviṣṭāḥ*

²⁷.   On the colophon of this manuscript, see von Hinüber 2004, pp. 81–82; again discussed in von Hinüber 2012.

3   purīsukhena • tathā sārdhaṃ sāitāpuruṣe vargasighena • tathā mātumena • jīvakṣiṇena •
     tathā maṅgalaśiriyena

4   tathā burikṣiṇena • tathā sārdhaṃ cvavaśiriyena • tathā kulācīna aparṣikena • tathā
     khukhuphanena • tathā pevoṭhi

5   yena • tathā daśiyena • tathā śa◯raśriyena • tathā mulāriyena • tathā utrupharṇena •
     tathā kararatsena •

6   tathā kālagatena pitunā cikirirṣeṇa • kālagata vālosenana • kālagata sagarkaena •
     kālagata vā

7   sathulena • kālagata khukhathūlena • kālagata khukhiyena • kālagata pharṇena •
     kālagata cvarmakṣiṇena •

8   kālagata lerapukrena • [k]ālagata putreṇaṇa śūlaphanana • kālagata minapharṇena •
     kā[l]agata khukha

9   .. [ṇ]e[na] • nā / [k]ā[l]agata si + + .[e] + .ā[lagat]. .[ā] .. [si]gheraṇa[28] •

Symbols used in the Transliteration

( )   restored *akṣara*(s)
[ ]   *akṣara*(s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain
{ }   superfluous *akṣara*(s) or a *daṇḍa*
{{ }}   erased *akṣara*(s) 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
ʼ   *avagraha*; if not written in the manuscript, it is added in brackets in the transliteration
◯   string hole
◎   double circle

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28.   Cf. von Hinüber 2012: xli, *(kālagata vālo)sighena*.

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Three *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* Manuscripts from Khotan and Their Donors

Oskar von HINÜBER

The manuscript donated by Jalapuṇya, Suviprabhā and their family.

In 2013 the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Soka Gakkai, and the Institute of Oriental Philosophy at Hachioji/Tokyo jointly published a facsimile edition of various *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscripts preserved in St. Petersburg today, among them the voluminous "Khotan Manuscript" (ex "Kashgar Manuscript")[1] donated by Jalapuṇya, Suviprabhā and their family. The colophons attached to the individual chapters of the text were discussed in the introduction to this facsimile edition and in a revised form again in an article contributed to the Journal of Oriental Studies published by the Institute of Oriental Philosophy of Soka Gakkai (Hachioji/Tokyo).[2] Only after the introduction to the facsimile edition was printed and the revised version was in print, a fragment from the British Library collection published by P. O. Skjærvø could be identified in Hachioji on 23rd July 2013 as part of the missing left half of the last folio of the manuscript containing a long colophon in Khotanese Saka[3] (figure 1a,b). By combining the text of the facsimile edition of 2013 with the newly identified fragment it is now possible to estimate the length of the missing part of the folio preserving the colophon, to reconstruct the text to a certain extent and to reach at a better understanding of the overall structure of this important

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[1] A survey of the content of this facsimile edition, which contains only those folios preserved in St. Petersburg today, is given in Appendix II. A complete facsimile of the Jalapuṇya/Suviprabhā manuscript can be found in Lokesh Chandra: *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra. Kashgar Manuscript* (foreword by Heinz Bechert). Tokyo 1977.

[2] For details, provenance of and research on this and other fragmentary manuscripts from the Khotan area see O. v. Hinüber, "A *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* Manuscript from Khotan. The gift of a pious family," in: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram. Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SI P/5, etc.)*. Facsimile Edition [Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 13]. Soka Gakkai, Institute of Oriental Philosophy. Hachioji 2013, pp. CXXIII–CXL, and the revised version under the same title in *The Journal of Oriental Studies* (JOrSt) 24. 2014, pp. 134–156 = "Hōtan shutsudo bonbun Hokekyō shahon – Hōtan no tokushin ikka karano okurimono" (in Japanese). *Tōyō Gakujutsu Kenkyū [The Journal of Oriental Studies]*. 52, no. 2, 2013, pp. 223 (30)–198 (55).

[3] Prods Oktor Skjærvø: *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library*. London 2002 [rev.: V. Hansen, *JAOS* 124. 2004/2005, pp. 380–382; L. Sander, *OLZ* 100. 2005, col. 557–561; O. v. Hinüber, "Ein Meilenstein in der Erforschung des zentralasiatischen Buddhismus. Zu einem neuen Katalog khotansakischer Handschriften," *ZDMG* 157. 2007, pp. 385–394; cf. also Huaiyu Chen, "Newly identified Khotanese Fragments in the British Library and their Chinese Parallels," *JRAS* 22. 2012, pp. 265–279], p. 354 foll., no. IOL Khot 158/3. See also notes 27 and 54 in the revised version of the introduction to the facsimile edition as mentioned in the previous note.

colophon,[4] although a considerable gap still yawns in the middle.

The key to determine the length of the gap between the London and the St. Petersburg fragments is the end of the Sanskrit text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* on the recto of folio 459, where the following text is preserved:

Folio 459a

/1/]utpāda[ṃ] sarvabuddha[idam avo]cad bhagavāñ cchākaymuni ātta-

/2/ manasas tena[   ]anyalokadhātukoṭinayutaśatasaha-

/3/ sr[e]bhyaḥ āgat(ā) [ratnavṛkṣamūleṣu siṃ]hāsanopaviṣṭāḥ prabhūtaratnaś ca ta-

/4/ thāgataḥ sa[myaksambuddhaḥ sa ca sarvāvān bodhisatvagaṇas te ca]viśiṣṭacāritra-
    pramukhā aprame-

/5/ yā asaṃ[khyeyā bodhisatvā mahāsatvā ye pṛthivī]vivarāntarā{d a}bhyugatās te ca ma-

/6/ (h)āś[r]āva[kās tāś ca catasraḥ parṣadaḥ] sadevagandharvamānuṣāsuraś ca

/7/ [loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +][5]

The missing *akṣara*s between the far left (London fragment) and the far right part (St. Petersburg fragment) of folio 459a can be filled in after determining two parameters: The number of *akṣara*s and the length of the line in cm. The latter is fixed by the scribe by the help of a grit of red lines still visible on many folios, as, e.g., on folio 189 (p. 376 of the facsimile edition [FE]). The average length of the grit is 54cm according to the scale shown on all folios in the facsimile edition.[6] The rather regular formal script used by the scribe for the main body of the texts fills the space of 54cm with about 35 *akṣara*s.[7]

Luckly the very first and the very last *akṣara*s of the individual lines are preserved, which is clear immediately, because the text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* continues from one line to the next without any interruption. It is, however, bad luck that the partly destroyed text of the Khotan version, which is known only from this one manuscript, differs from the wording found in the Gilgit/Nepalese tradition.

For, in the first line of the Gilgit/Nepalese version before *idam avocad* there is no correspondence to neither *utpāda* (or *utpādaṃ*) nor *sarvabuddha[*. In line 2 the wording of

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[4.] For sake of convenience, the complete colophon is discussed here again and some relevant parts from the article mentioned in note 2 above are repeated in slightly abbreviated form and occasionally corrected in the light of additional material. — Some colophons from manuscripts found in the Khotan area are discussed by L. Sander, "Auftraggeber, Schreiber und Schreibeigenheiten im Spiegel khotansakischer Handschriften in formaler Brāhmī," in: *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica. Festgabe für Werner Thomas*. München 1988, pp. 533–549, cf. also R. E. Emmerick, *IIJ* 20. 1978, p. 254. Four colophons are preserved at the end of chapters of the *Survarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*: Prods Oktor Skjærvø: *The Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sūtras. The Khotanese Survarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 60. Central Asian Sources V. Vol. I. Cambridge/Mass. 2004, pp. 82, 180, 198, 254. It is my pleasure to thank S. Karashima for drawing my attention to Shigeo Mori "Kōtan go butten no okugaki no bunkashiteki igi," in: *Chūtō Isuramubunka no Shosō to Genkokenkyū* [*Studies in Languages and Cultural Aspects of Islam and the Middle East: In Honor of Professor Osamu Ikeda*]. Osaka 1998, pp. 23–46, where some additional Khotanese colophons are discussed.

[5.] Very faint traces of the top of some very few *akṣara*s of this line are still visible. The *akṣara* {da} is omitted by the scribe.

[6.] On some folios the lines seem to be considerably shorter, possibly because the photos are not always true to the scale.

[7.] It should be kept in mind, however, that the number of *akṣara*s in a line may vary between 28 and 35 throughout the manuscript, cf. the pertinent remarks at the end of Appendix I with note 44.

the Khotan version is obviously shorter and again the text continues differently after *āttamanasas* with *tena* against *te ca*.

If the gaps lines 3–6 are filled with text borrowed from the Gilgit/Nepalese version this results in about 26 *akṣara*s in line 3, 33 *akṣara*s in line 4, and 30 *akṣara*s in line 5. Line 6 is definitely too short with only 24 *akṣara*s. Consequently the wording in the Khotan version was longer and again different. Therefore, using the text of the Gilgit/Nepalese version can result only in a rough approximation. However, in line 4 the number of *akṣara*s necessary to fill the gap is reached when the Gilgit/Nepalese text is used, which seems to indicate that only here both versions were identical.

This evidence can be checked against the measurement of the fragments. The length of the left (London) fragment is 6cm and that of the right (St. Petersburg) fragment is 18cm resulting in a gap of 30cm in the middle in line 4. Of the 35 *akṣara*s needed to fill an average line, 4 *akṣara*s are preserved on the left fragment and 12 *akṣara*s on the right fragment. Consequently, 19 *akṣara*s seem to be lost and should be supplemented to fill the gap of 30cm by the help of the Gilgit/Nepalese version, where, however, only 17 *akṣara*s are available here. This seems to be 2 *akṣara*s short of the 35 *akṣara*s needed. However, line 4 is everywhere about 2 *akṣara*s shorter because of the space used in this line around the hole for the string that holds the book together. Therefore, only about 17 *akṣara*s are lost in line 4 and 19 *akṣara*s in all other lines. In spite of many uncertainties the measurements in *akṣara*s and in centimetres usually concur with an average width of one *akṣara* of about 1,5cm. Therefore, about half of the Sanskrit text on folio 459a is lost.

From this estimate the length of the gap in the Khotanese colophon on folio 459b can now be inferred to be also 30cm wide, while the number of lost *akṣara*s of folio 459b is quite different from folio 459a and still more difficult to estimate because of the irregularity of the cursive Khotanese script used in the colophon.

On folio 459a lines 1–6 are preserved and only very few traces of line 7. Consequently, line 1 on folio 459b is entirely lost together with the better part of line 2. The end of line 2 and the end of the formal script are extant on the right side (St. Petersburg) fragment, while there are traces of the bottom of the first three *akṣara*s visible on the left side (London) fragment. This results in a total loss of altogether up to 80 *akṣara*s in formal script in lines 459a7–459b2.[8] The text lost may have been similar to one of the usual explicits found in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscripts from Gilgit or Nepal.[9]

The Khotanese colophon runs from folio 459b2 to 459b11. It ends somewhere in the middle of line 11, because there is an empty space at the end of this line on the right side fragment, which is expected following the fairly safe reconstruction of the last sentence of the colophon.

[8.] In 459a7 approximately 35 *akṣara*s are lost, of which 14 can be reconstructed. In 459b1 about 33–35 *akṣara*s are irretrievably lost and about 23 *akṣara*s in 459b2. Because of the rosette about 14 *akṣara*s must be subtracted (indicated by { }) from the average figure leaving only about 42–44 lost *akṣara*s in 459b1 and b2 resulting in a total of up to 80 *akṣara*s missing in the last three lines of the text.

[9.] The relevant material is collected in an unpublished contribution to the "Interdisciplinary Conference on Colophons." Hamburg 3rd to 5th December 2009: "Aus der Welt der buddhistischen Kolophone von Gilgit bis Lān2 Nā" (in press).

Starting point for a calculation of the number of missing *akṣara*s is the rosette adorning the folio. From the visible part of the outer circle the radius can be determined as 5cm. The minimum distance of this circle from the right margin of the fragment is 16cm, which shows that the rosette is not situated in the centre of the folio in the same way as some circles marking the end of the individual chapters of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* are (folios 36a, 101b, etc.).

As expected, the text at the ends of the lines of the right side (St. Petersburg) fragment connects without interruption to the beginning of the lines of the left side (London) fragment as on the recto. The five shorter lines of the St. Petersburg fragment contain about 20 *akṣara*s on 16cm. Consequently, the complete lines of 54cm (lines 8–10) running underneath the rosette would have about 60 to 65 and the shorter lines (lines 3–7) about 50 *akṣara*s each because of the space taken by the rosette. The range of uncertainty is rather wide given the fairly irregular width of the *akṣara*s in the cursive script in contrast to the more regular shape of the formal script used for the text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīksūtra* itself. In spite of the risks resulting from these shortcomings it is necessary to calculate the length of the missing text in order to reach at a better understanding of the structure of the colophon and to get an idea of the number of persons who were originally included in the merit made by the donation.

The following text is preserved on the fragmentary last folio 459b of the Khotan *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* including for the first time the recently identified London fragment. The gaps are tentatively calculated with 60 *akṣara*s in the long and 50 *akṣara*s in the shorter lines:

Folio 459b

/1/ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + {+ + + + + +} + + + + + + + + + + + +

/2/ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + {+ + + + + + + ||}]800: | | *ttu namo saddharmapu[ṇḍarī]*

/3/ *dā*[10] *mijṣe' su[viprabha parstā pīḍi. uysānye jsīñi paderāṣci kiḍina. u tti ru puña haṃjsa] meri jsa haṃbrīhyä u pyaräna cu parilo tsuāṃdä u kṣā'dai jala-*

/4/ *puñänaṃ*[11] *hambrīhy[ä u + u tti ru] puña pharṣaja+(na) haṃbrīhyä u jaraukulina cu pari-*

/5/ *lo tsuāṃdä u haṃtsa + [+ +] jsa u tti ru puña hīvī brātarä braṃgalaina cu parilo tsue u haṃ-*

/6/ *tsa*[12] *brātarä ṣkāṃcäna cu [parilo tsue +] u tti ru puña haṃtsa hvārakä saṃduṣṭi jsa haṃbrīhyä cu pa-*

/7/ *rilo tsuā u haṃtsa āśik[ä jsa cu parilo tsuā. u tti ru puña haṃtsa dvīrä duvākä jsa] haṃbrīhyä u dvīrä jalottamä jsa u dvīrä śikṣamāñä cu parilo*

/8/ *tsuā*[13] *haṃtsa pūrä śparadattä[na u pūrä jalarrjunäna + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + haṃtsa] budasaṃgäna u haṃtsa vinayä jsa u haṃtsa pūrä nerä jalārrjunāṃñä jsa*

[10.] So read instead of *rrā* as suggested in Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts*, as note 3 above.
[11.] So read instead of *ysañau naṃ.*
[12.] So read instead of *ys.*
[13.] So read instead of *-ä.*

/9/ *[haṃbrī](y)[ä]*[14] *cu parilo tsuā u haṃ[tsa +*
  brā]tarä dattakäna u haṃtsa brātarä vikrraṃna u hvārakä dhaṃrmakä jsa u hvā-
/10/ *rakä māṃḍakä jsa u phattañä [jsa + u tti*
  ru puña biśyau hayū]nyau jsa u biśyau busvāryau jsa u haṃbrīhyä biśyau ysanyau jsa
/11/ *haṃbrīyä u biśyau sarvasattvau u[ysnauryau jsa]*

Translation of the colophon:

"… 800. Lady Suviprabhā had this venerable *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Dharmaparyāya* (or: -Sūtra) written to support her own life. And the merit I share with (my) mother and with (my) father, who have gone to the world beyond, and (with my) husband Jalapuṇya I share [and + and] I share the merit (with) Pharṣaja+ and Jaraukula, who have gone to the world beyond, and with [+ +] with and then the merit with (my) own brother Braṃgala(ka), who has gone to the world beyond, and with (my) brother Ṣkāṃca, who [has gone to the world beyond, + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +] and then I share the merit together with (my) sister Saṃduṣṭi (Sanskrit Santuṣṭi), who has gone to the world beyond, and with Āśikă̆ [, who has gone to the world beyond, and then the merit together with (my) daughter Dūvakā] I share and with (my) daughter Jalottamā and (my) daughter Śikṣamāṇā, who has gone to the world beyond, and with (my) son Śparadatta[and with (my) son) Jalārjuna + + + + + + + + + + + + + + with] Buddhasaṃgha and with Vinayā and together with the son's wife Jalārjunānā I share, who has gone to the world beyond and with [+ bro]ther Dattaka and together with brother Vikrama and sister Dharmakā and sister Māṃḍakā and [with] Phattană̆ [+ and then the merit with all frie]nds and with all members of the household I share, with all relatives, [and] I share with all beings (Sanskrit) beings (Khotanese)."

Commentary:

The colophon in formal script is almost completely lost. The brief extant part begins with a figure, which is certainly to be read as 800, and not as 8000 as erroneously assumed previously,[15] when also various rather unlikely interpretations were discussed (date, length of

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14. So read instead of *x*. Only the subscript *-y-* of *haṃbrīhyä*, which is expected here, is clearly visible. The first two *akṣara*s might have been written at the end of the preceding or at the beginning of this line on either margin, because there is no space within the lines. Therefore, it is not impossible that *haṃbrī* was left out.

15. A table with numerals from 1 to 100,000 is found on plate 129 in R. E. Emmerick & M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg Collections*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. V. Saka. London 1993 [rev.: A. Degener, *JRAS* 3rd Series 5. 1995, p. 119 foll.; H. Kumamoto, *IIJ* 38. 1995, pp. 371–376 (also on the text volume); G. Canevascini, *BSOAS* 59. 1996, p. 163 foll.; M. Maggi, *OLZ* 92. 1997, col. 589 foll.; R. Schmitt, *Kratylos* 42. 1997, pp. 175–177]. The transcription is given by R. E. Emmerick & M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg Collections*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. V. Saka. London 1995 [rev.: A. Degener, *JRAS* 3rd Series 6. 1996, p. 439 foll.; M. Maggi, *IIJ* 41. 1998, pp. 282–288; Y. Yoshida, *BSOAS* 60. 1997, pp. 567–569; H. Kumamoto, *OLZ* 92. 1997, col. 239–245], p. 165 with a commentary p. 169, cf. the syllabary IOL Khot S. 16 in Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts*, as note 3 above, p. 516 (without plate). The shape of various high numerals in formal Khotanese Brāhmī can be seen in document no. 322 (p. 165), which is a writing exercise including numerals up to 100,000; moreover, various thousands are found in the documents such as no. 146 (p. 105), no. 287 (p. 142) or no. 288 (p. 143) etc. The numerals that occur in the documents clearly show that 8000 would look quite differently from the figure in the colophon, which is a combination of the numeral 100 with a subscript 8.

the text, price of copying).[16] A way to a possible solution of this problem is perhaps indicated by the text written on the wooden covers of the manuscript of the Book of Zambasta discussed by Ernst Leumann (1859–1931) long ago and again by R. E. Emmerick (1937–2001) in volume III of "Saka Documents."[17] Here a number of Elders are enumerated, who are venerated. All formulas end in a high figure such as 200, 300 … 1500. At the very end it is said: "Beginning with Buddha Śākyamuni I worship (and) revere all of them. 1600." These figures are interpreted by R. E. Emmerick as "1600 (times)." Similarly, the colophon in formal script might have ended in a wording like [… *aysä namasūṃ vanūṃ*] 800 "… I worship and revere 800 (times)." This, however, remains speculation.[18]

The structure of the colophon, which begins with a very brief section in formal script ending with *saddharmapu[ṇḍarī]* at the end of line 2, now becomes much clearer by the help of the London fragment. The beginning of line 3 points to an abrupt transition from formal to cursive script almost in the middle of a word, which, at the same time, indicates that the same scribe continued to write, but in a different script.[19]

For, the first word in cursive script *dā* (Old Khotanese *dāta-*) "*dharma*" at the beginning of line 2 most likely translates here *dharmaparyāya* in *saddharmapuṇḍarīkadharmaparyāya*, which is regularly used at the end of individual chapters in the Gilgit/Nepalese version, while the Khotan manuscript has *saddharmapuṇḍarīke mahāvaitulyasūtraratne* instead. Although, *dāta-* / *dā-* usually translates *dharmaparyāya* in the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, e.g. *ne hautāre ttä ttū dātu pyūṣṭe : na śakyaṃ tair ayan dharmaparyāyaḥ śrotuṃ*, Sgh § 92.3 or *ttū saṃghāṭu dātu vätä rraṣṭo pīrātetu yande : saṃghāṭaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ yathābhūtaṃ śraddadhanti*, Sgh § 93.3, it stands occasionally also for *sūtra*: *ttu saṃghāṭu dātu pyāvā'ṇa : idaṃ sūtraṃ … śrotuṃ*, Sgh § 91.1.[20]

The beginning of the fragmentary first sentence *ttū namau saddharmapuṇḍarī dā mijṣei' s[* corresponds closely to colophon of Parivarta V, which begins with *ttū namau saddharma-*

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[16]. In O. v. Hinüber, "Pious family" (*JOrSt* 24), as note 2 above, pp. 137 foll.

[17]. Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Saka Documents Text*. Volume III, as note 15 above, no. 4, pp. 34 foll.

[18]. It is a strange coincidence that 800 Buddhas called Suprabhāsa (*suprribhāsa*) are worshiped in the "*namo* text" IOL Khot S. 12, line 16, cf. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts*, as note 3 above, p. 502, if the name of the principal donor of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Suviprabhā, is recalled. The figure 800 is attached only to this Buddha among the many others mentioned in that text.

[19]. Cursive script is also used for the colophon to the Jātakastava, which is written in formal script. Here, however, the transition from one script to the other coincides with the end of the text. For a facsimile of this colophon see H. W. Bailey: *Codices Khotanenses. Monumenta Linguarum Asiæ Maioris*. Vol. II. Copenhagen 1938, p. 183, folio 39. The colophon is edited and translated by Mark J. Dresden: "The Jātakastava or "Praise of the Buddha's Former Births."" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* NS 45,5. Philadelphia 1955 [rev.: H. W. Bailey, *JRAS* 1958, pp. 104 foll.], p. 445 foll. – A comparable change of script can be observed in a colophon of a *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscript from Gilgit (no. 10 in O. v. Hinüber: *Die Palola Ṣāhis. Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber*. Antiquities of Northern Pakistan 5. Mainz 2004 [rev.: R. Salomon, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* NS 17. 2003, pp. 185–188; H. Falk, *OLZ* 100. 2005, col. 696–698; G. Fussman, *JAs* 293. 2005, pp. 734–742; A. Nayyar, *J. of Asian Studies* 65. 2006, pp. 453 foll.; R. Schmitt, *ZDMG* 157. 2007, pp. 500–502; A. M. Cacopardo, *EW* 58. 2008, pp. 474–477]), where the names of a group of donors is added in cursive script after the date.

[20]. G. Canevascini: *The Khotanese Saṃghāṭasūtra*. Beiträge zur Iranistik Band 14. Wiesbaden 1993 [rev.: C. Scherrer-Schaub *Ast/EAs* 50. 1996, pp. 217–225; M. Maggi, *EW* 45. 1995, pp. 432 foll., cf. also M. Maggi, *BSOAS* 59. 1996, pp. 116–119]. Strangely, in the index of Sanskrit-Khotanese Correspondences the important word *dharmaparyāya* occurring frequently in Sgh is missing.

puṇḍarī mijṣei' jalapuñāna parstā pīḍi. Therefore, the first part of the gap in line 3 can be closed.[21] The remaining space can be filled tentatively by text borrowed from the colohon of Partivarta XV *(mijṣei' jalapuñāna parstā pīḍi) uysānye jsīñi paderāṣci kiḍina*. The formula *u tti ru puña haṃtsa* can be neatly inserted to complete the line. This conjectural restoration of the text is moreover likely, because no personal name could have been mentioned before the reference to the deceased parents. The total number of reconstructed *akṣara*s in line 3 now amounts to 51, which corresponds perfectly to the space available.

The following groups of persons included in the merit made and shared are introduced by the formula *u tti ru puña* which corresponds to *yad atra puṇyam*.

Here, the principal donor is lady (*mijṣei'*) Suviprabhā,[22] who is also called Jalapuṇyānā "the wife of Jalapuṇya"[23] in the same way as later in this colophon Jalārjunānā is "the wife of Jalārjuna" or, similarly, in a Khotanese document Budarśa'nāṃña is "Budarśa's wife."[24] The Khotanese suffix *-āna-* (*-āña-*) used here marks an affiliation as the suffix *-ānī* does, e.g., in Sanskrit Indrāṇī "Indra's wife."[25]

[21.] The wording *ttū namau saddharmapuṇḍarī dā* occurs also in the Khotanese introduction to the manuscript: on *ttū namo saddharmapuṇḍarī parstā pīḍi* cf. R. E. Emmerick, "Some Khotanese Donors," in: *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*. Leuven 1974, pp. 388; cf. also the colophon to one of the Khotanese *Saṃghāṭasūtra* manuscripts: *…] + yä nāma || 0 || ttū namau saṃghātu dā dāṃna[va …*, Canevascini, Sgh (as preceding note), p. 254 (MS 27), p. 160 (§ 261). The peculiar use of the Sanskrit loan *namo* in Khotanese is discussed by Mauro Maggi: *Pelliot Chinois 2928. A Khotanese Love Story*. Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente LXXX. Rome 1997 [rev.: O. v. Hinüber, *OLZ* 95. 2000, col. 207 foll.], p. 38 foll. without reference to the colophons; cf. also *ttā pyaṃtsāṣṭä ttye namau pārṣä ūvārä bhadrai kalpä panamāre*, Bhadrakalpikasūtra, P 2949,7 = Ch.c.001, 205 (H. W. Bailey: *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*. Revised Edition. Cambridge 1981 [rev.: R. E. Emmerick, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39. 1982, col. 478–481; N. Sims-Williams, *BSOAS* 46. 1983, pp. 359 foll.; P. O. Skjærvø, *JRAS* 1983, pp. 120 foll.; O. v. Hinüber, *OLZ* 80. 1985, col. 467 foll.], pp. 75, 76) "in front of this venerable (*namau*, Sanskrit) venerable (*pārṣä*) exalted Bhadrakalpa they rise," and *namau āryāmātrai gyastä balysä panamāte* "the venerable Buddha Maitreya will arise" in the Khotanese introduction, see Appendix I.

[22.] When carefully discussing the very few colophons accessible at the time, R. E. Emmerick erroneously took Jalapuṇya and Suviprabhă as two names of the husband. This error is now easily mended, cf. Emmerick, "Donors," as note 21, pp. 383–388 and for details of the correction O. v. Hinüber, "Pious Family" (*JOrSt* 24. 2104), as note 2, pp. 144 foll. The error was already tacitly corrected in L. Sander: Auftraggeber, as note 4 above, p. 545, note 58.

[23.] Similar names are *puñārjāṃ* and *puñargaṃ*, in *Saka Documents*. Text Volume III, as note 15 above, no. 305,3.5 (p. 150)

[24.] So read in *Saka Documents*, Text Volume III, as note 15 above, p. 115, no. 181 line 4 for *budarśa' nāṃ ña* following a correction of text and translation by R. E. Emmerick himself in his own copy presently preserved in the library of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University in Hachioji / Tokyo. The husband Budarśaṃ' is mentioned in no. 274,7 (p. 136), no. 302,2 (p. 149), no. 321,1 (p. 159), no. 404 (p. 236). Most likely *khattīnāṃ(ña)* "wife of Khattīnaa" should be read in no. 291,5 (p. 144), cf. *khattīnai nāri* "Khattīnaa's wife" (ibidem); Khattīnaa occurs again in no. 299,9.11 (p. 147).

[25.] Almuth Degener: *Khotanische Suffixe*. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 39. Stuttgart 1979 [rev.: P. O. Skjærvø, *Kratylos* 35. 1990, pp. 99–102; B. Tikkanen, *Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki 67. 1991, pp. 213–215; D. Weber, *ZDMG* 143. 1993, pp. 421–425; O. v. Hinüber, *IIJ* 36. 1993, p. 372 foll.], pp. 83 § 10.B.14.3 and p. 86 on *budasaṃgāna*, cf. Emmerick: Donors, as note 21, p. 386 and for the Sanskrit evidence Jacob Wackernagel: *Altindische Grammatik*. Band II,2 Die Nominalsuffixe von Albert Debrunner. Göttingen 1954 [rev:. F. Edgerton, *JAOS* 75. 1955, pp. 55–66; P. Thieme, *GGA* 209. 1955, pp. 182–216 = Kleine Schriften. ²1984, pp. 661–695; M. Mayrhofer, OLZ 51. 1956, col. 5–15; K. Hoffmann, ZDMG 110. 1960, pp. 175–182 = Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik. 1973, pp. 130–137], p. 280 § 1164b, cf. Jeremy Rau: The Origin of Indic and Iranian Feminines in *-ānī-*[d]. *JAOS* 127. 2007, pp. 57–66. — In Budarśa'nāṃña the suffix seems to be *-āña-* rather, cf. Degener, as above, pp. 71–73 § 7.B.11–7.B.19. — Naming women after their husband (gamonym) is otherwise known (only?) from literary texts (Rigveda), cf. Rüdiger Schmitt, "Alt- und mittelindoarische Namen," in: Ernst Eichler *et alii* (ed.): *Namenforschung / Name Studies / Les noms propres. Ein internationales Handbuch zur*

Next to the principal donor the closest relatives, mother, father (according to the Indian sequence as in *mātāpitarau*) and the husband are mentioned.

The following group comprises a couple of persons, among them an official, if *pharṣa* is to be understood with H. W. Bailey as "judge." This, however, would result in a very short name of only two syllables, which is rather unlikely.[26] As no title is given for the deceased Jaraukula it seems better to understand Pharṣaja+ as a personal name. Although H. W. Bailey read the second name as *jaraukulīna* and took it to be Jaraukulī, the superscript above *-la-* seems to point to *jaraukulina* with a short *-i-*, the regular instrumental of Jaraukula.[27]

As the first brother of Suviprabhā is introduced as *hīvī brātarä* "her own brother," it is not entirely impossible that the preceding names may be the brothers of her husband. Moreover, both follow the name of the husband, just as later in this colophon the brothers and sisters of the daughter-in-law follow the name of Jalārjunas wife.

The gap in line 4 allows for about two names of deceased persons or perhaps of three or more of living persons. They could all be sisters or brothers of the husband (cf. Appendix I). Perhaps this group continues in the gap of line 5 with two deceased or three to four living sisters or brothers of the husband. With two male names extant and perhaps twice up to three names lost this group could comprise as many as eight persons, whoever they were.

The structure of the lines 5–7 is clear: Suviprabhā had at least two deceased brothers, Braṃgala(ka)[28] and Ṣkāṃca. The ending of the first name is not entirely clear, because *braṃgalaina* could be a late Khotanese instrumental of Braṃgala or rather of *braṃgalaa*, i.e. Braṃgalaka.[29] It is possible that the names of a third deceased or of two living brothers are lost in line 6.

The first sister of Suviprabhā, Santuṣṭi, is deceased, and so is probably the second person, most likely also a sister named Āśikā, although a male name cannot be ruled out, because *āśikä[na]* (masc.) is also a possible restoration. The gap following her (his) name could be neatly filled by *jsa cu parilo tsuā (tsue)*.

The children of Suviprabhā and Jalapuṇya are enumerated next as one group beginning with the daughters. The daughter Dūvakā is mentioned in the colophon to Parivarta XII as *duhitā (dūvaka)sya*, cf. Parivarta XV.[30] Therefore she was still alive and should be included

Onomastik / An International Handbook on Onomastics / Manuel international d'onomastique. Berlin 1995, pp. 645–657, § 2.4.4, p. 652. The names in colophons and documents show that this custom was a widely spread in ancient Khotan.

26. Without referring to this colophon the word *pharṣa* is discussed by Ela Filippone, "Is the Judge a Questioning Man? Notes in the Margin of Khotanese *pharṣavata-*," in: *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, ed. by Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi & Werner Sundermann. Iranica Band 13, Wiesbaden 2007 [rev.: O. v. Hinüber, *IIJ* 55. 2012, pp. 97–100], pp. 75–86.

27. The *akṣara lī* looks different in the cursive script, cf. *Saka Documents*, as note 15 above, p. 111, no. 170, line 3 *salī* (plate 85d).

28. Cf. the name Braṃgula, *Saka Documents* III, as note 15 above, no. 201,4 (p. 121), no. 297,3 (p. 147), no. 305,6 (p. 150), and of similar structure, Daṃgulaa no. 305,4 (p. 150).

29. For the instrumental see R. E. Emmerick: *Saka Grammatical Studies*. London Oriental Series Volume 20. London 1968 [rev.: J. Gonda, *CAJ* 13. 1969, pp. 78 foll.; G. Morgenstierne, *BSOAS* 32. 1970, pp. 395–397; R. Schmitt, *Sprache* 17. 1971, pp. 50–60; H. Humbach *ZDMG* 121. 1971, pp. 394–396; M. J. Dresden, *IIJ* 14. 1973, pp. 106–112; O. v. Hinüber, *OLZ* 68. 1973, col. 182–185], p. 257 § 10 (iii), 298 § 68 (iv).

30. That Dūvakā is a female name is confirmed by *haṃtsa hvari dūvaki jsa* "together with the sister Dūvakä" in the colophon to the Jñānolkadhāraṇī donated by lady Tamaksana, Ernst Leumann: *Buddhistische Literatur*

in the colophon at the end as well, which is only possible here in line 7. Consequently the gap can be closed tentatively. All together there are three daughters, Dūvakā, Jalottamā and the deceased Śikṣamāṇā, who is consequently not mentioned in any Parivarta colophon, where only living members of the family are listed.

Two sons, Śparadatta and Jalārjuna, occur in the Parivarta colophons. Therefore, the name of the second son is lost in the colophon at the end in the first part of the gap in line 8, which can be filled with some confidence, while the second half remains open.

Nothing can be said about the identity of Buddhasaṃgha and Vinayā except that they were members of the larger family of Suviprabhā and Jalapuṇya.

The enumeration now proceeds with the relatives connected by marriage. Only the son Jalārjuna seems to have been married. His wife is described as Jalārjunānā as her mother-in-law is occasionally as Jalapuṇyānā. After the London fragment was discovered, it became clear that the daughter-in-law was deceased at the time of the donation. Therefore she cannot figure in any Parivarta colophon.

The long gap in line 9 prevents any safe conclusion, whose brothers Dattaka and Vikrama and whose sisters Dharmakā und Māṇḍakā are. The last person named is *phattañä[jsa* or *na]*, who may be a third sister Phattanā or, less likely, a brother Phattana, because either *jsa* (fem.) or *na* (masc.) can be inserted at the beginning of a long gap in line 10. Both these gaps in lines 9 and 10 would allow inserting perhaps about two or three names each of persons alive.

The names of the following persons are enumerated in the colophon at the end:

1. Lady Suviprabhā (Jalapuṇyānā), the principal donor
2. mother (of Suviprabhā) †
3. father (of Suviprabhā) †
4. husband Jalapuṇya
5. 2–3 names lost (line 4)
6. (Pharṣaja+; not clear) †
7. Jaraukula †
8. 2–3 names lost (line 5)
9. brother Braṃgala(ka) †
10. brother Ṣkāṃca †
11. 2–3 names lost (line 6)
12. sister Santuṣṭi †
13. sister (?) Āśikă (†?)
14. [daughter Dūvakā]
15. daughter Jalottamā
16. daughter Śikṣamāṇā †
17. son Śparadatta
18. [son Jalārjuna]
19. names lost? (line 8)
20. Buddhasaṃgha

Nordarisch und Deutsch. I. Teil: Nebenstücke. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XV.2. Leipzig 1920 (repr. Nendeln 1966), p. 164 and R. E. Emmerick, "Donors," as note 21 above, p. 386.

21. Vinayā
22. son's wife (daughter-in-law) Jalārjunānā †
23. 2–3 names lost (line 9)
24. brother Dattaka
25. brother Vikrama
26. sister Dharmakā (†?)
27. sister Māṃḍakā (†?)
28. sister (?) Phattană (†?)
29. 2–3 names lost (line 10)
30. friends (*mitra*)
32. family (*bāndhava*)
33. kinsmen (*jñāti*)

Therefore, besides the 23 names enumerated in the colophon (including the "anonymous" parents, the daughter-in-law and two reconstructed names), there may have been up to two or three names lost in each of the five or six lines 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 (and perhaps line 8) adding up to perhaps 12–18 persons missing. Therefore, a maximum of about 40 and a minimum of about 35 persons (among them at least 8 deceased persons) most likely all members of a joint family, were involved in the donation and in addition unspecified friends etc.[31]

Whether the inclusion of all beings in the merit made was the end of the colophon, or if other pious wishes followed as in the colophons of two manuscripts of the Jñānolkadharaṇī, one donated by lady Khilaha and the other by lady Tamaksana, is impossible to tell.[32]

The family of Suviprabhā and Jalapuṇya can be reconstructed tentatively. A question mark is used in the following table, wherever it is impossible to determine the exact relation of a person to the family.

It makes sense that only living members of the family who were able to assist immediately in the donation are also mentioned in the Parivarta colophons. However, even though not all Parivarta colophons survive and although there are empty spaces provided at the end of all Parivartas in the second quarter of the text, which are not filled in, not all living persons were involved in the donation, but only the immediate family of Jalapuṇya and Suviprabhā (see Appendix I).

No children of the widowed son Jalārjuna seem to be mentioned, which may point to a childless marriage and an early demise of his wife. All brothers and sisters of Suviprabhā and both brothers of her husband seem to have died childless, perhaps unmarried and early. The only child of Suviprabhā that was certainly married is her son Jalārjuna.

The relation of Buddhasaṃgha and Vinayā to Suviprabhā's family remains obscure.

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[31] Comparable numbers of donors are named in two colophons and one inscription from Gilgit, cf. *Palola Ṣāhis*, as note 19 above: I. 28 persons (including perhaps 6 deceased persons, p. 19) in no. 6 (pp. 17 foll.) *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*; II. 43 persons (including 14 deceased persons, p. 83) in no. 41B (pp. 81 foll.) *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (cf. O. v. Hinüber, "The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* at Gilgit. Manuscripts, Worshippers and Artists," *JOrSt* 22. 2012, pp. 52–67, particularly pp. 55 foll.); III. 33 persons (including perhaps 4 deceased persons, p. 36) in no. 12 (pp. 31 foll.), inscription on the pedestal of the bronze (year 82) of Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi.

[32] Nebenstücke, as note 30 above, pp. 163 foll. and with corrections *Saka Documents* III, as note 15 above, no. 2 (p. 24), folio 6,5.

(† parents of Suviprabhā)

Jalapuṇya ∞ Suviprabhā (Jalapuṇyānā)

↗   ↖

brothers (?): †Pharṣaja+   **brothers**: †Braṃgala(ka)

               †Jaraukula   †Ṣkāṃca

                                             (2 or 3 brothers?)

                                       sisters: †Santuṣṭā

             ↙   ↘   (†?) Āśikă

           daughters   **sons**

           Jalottamā   Jalārjuna ∞ †Jalārjunānā

           Dūvakā   Śparadatta   ↖

           †Śikṣamāṇā   **brothers**: Dattaka

                                              Vikrama

                                       sisters: Dharmakā

                                               Māṇḍakā

                                               (Phattană?)

(Buddhasaṃgha?) (Vinayā?)

— — — — —
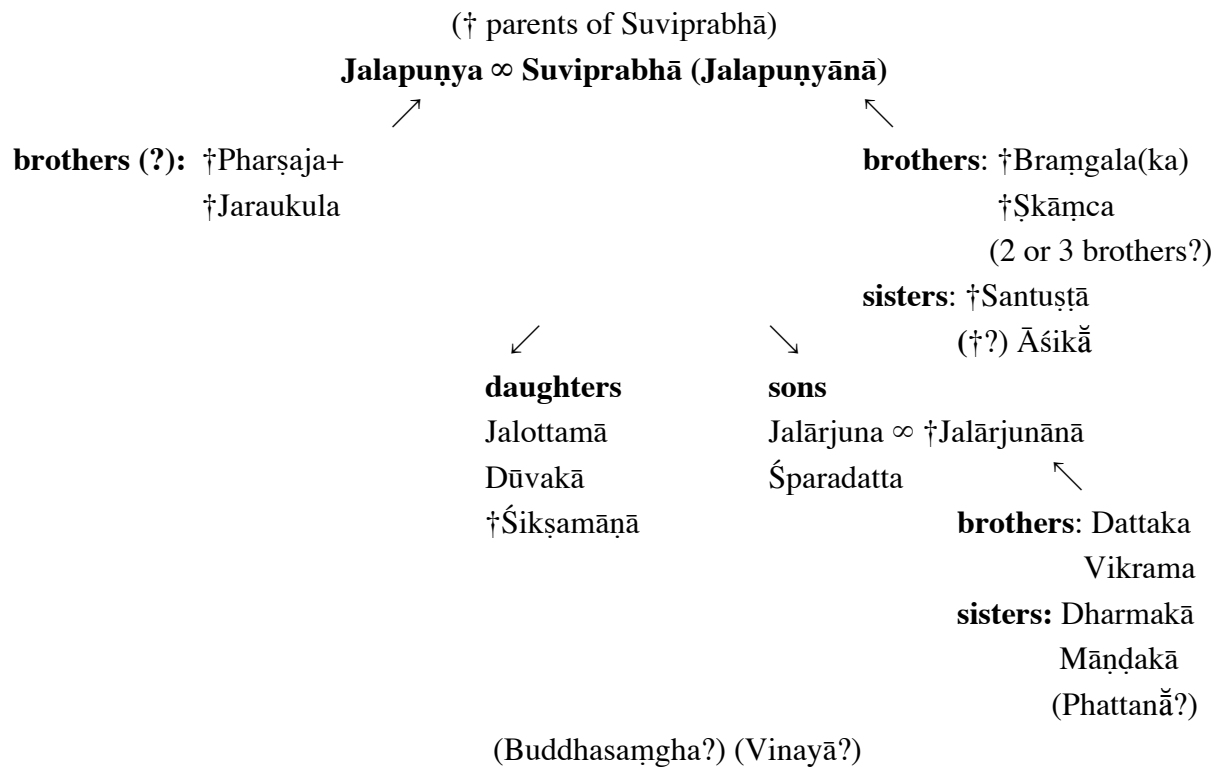
The manuscript donated by Inkula (Intula):

The colophon at the very end of a second manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* copied at Khotan is lost.[33] However, some information on the donor(s) is preserved in the extant colophons to the Parivartas V, VI, VII, and X.

COLOPHON AT THE END OF PARIVARTA V, folio 206a [not 240 as in *Pamjatniki*], lines 2–5

     SI P/11 (SIS 1939, inv. 1939), FE p. 963, *Pamjatniki*, p. 133:

     … *nirvā*/3/*ṇam amṛtaṃ śivaṃ* // *37 saddharmapuṇḍarīke mahāvaitulya*/4/*sūtraratne oṣadhiparivarto nāma pañcamaḥ samāptaḥ 5* || *pratha*/5/*maś caturbhāgaḥ* || *intulasya* || *atha khalu bhagavān* ….

Below the name *intulasya* written in formal script there is a remark in cursive script on the lower margin of the folio:

     ttū parivarttä inkulä parste pīḍe "Inkula had this Parivarta written."

Only in this colophon in formal script the name is clearly written Intula, while elsewhere Inkula seems to prevail.[34]

     The center of this folio is decorated by a slightly damaged circular miniature painting

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[33.] The fragments are edited with facsimiles in Grigorij Maksimovič Bongard-Levin & M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Central'noj Azii*. Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie i kommentarij. Vypusk 1. Pamjatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka LXXIII,1 = Bibliotheca Buddhica XXXIII. Moscow 1985 [rev.: J. W. de Jong, *IIJ* 30. 1987, pp. 215–221; D. Seyfort Ruegg, *BSOAS* 51. 1988, pp. 576–578; L. Sander, *OLZ* 84. 1989, col. 92–97] and again as a facsimile in FE, see the survey in Appendix II.

[34.] The form Inkula, which is also suggested by Bongard-Levin & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Pamjatniki*, is preferred by L. Sander, "Auftraggeber," as note 4 above, p. 539. It is remarkable that this name is written *inkula* instead of **iṃkula* thus avoiding a dental -*n*- before a guttural if *inkula* is the correct form.

showing a teaching Buddha flanked by two monks on either side (figure 2). The grey hair of those two sitting in front obviously indicates *sthavira*s in contrast to the younger monks with black hair. There does not seem to be any immediate connection between text and image. Parivarta V is addressed to Mahākāśyapa and other *sthavira*s and Parivarta VI Śrāvaka-vyākaraṇaparivarta continues the discourse on Mahākāśyapa.

COLOPHON AT THE END OF PARIVARTA VI, folio 146b, lines 1–2

SI P/12+13 (SIS 1940, inv. 1940), FE p. 968, *Pamjatniki*, p. 103:

/1/ *ca caryī [śṛ]ṇotha (10) // saddharmapuṇḍar[ī]k[e mahāvaitul]y[asūtraratne śrāvaka-vyākaraṇaparivarto] /2/ nāma ṣaṣṭaḥ samāptaḥ 6 // de(ya)dharm(o) [yaṃ dā]na(pa)ti inkulasya • // bhū[tapū](rva bhikṣa)/3/vo …*

Below the last line there is a remark in cursive script on the lower margin of the folio:[35]

// *ttū […pari](var)[ttä] i[nku]lä parste pīḍä p[ū]rakä vi.äla(k)ä dastina c[u] par[i]lo tse*

"Inkula had this … Parivarta written for the benefit of his son Vi.älaka, who has gone to the world beyond."

The length of the gap indicates that a word is lost between *ttū* and *parivarttä*, perhaps a short form of the Parivarta title. The second *akṣara* of the name of the deceased son is a damaged ligature, which so far resisted reading. The word *dastina* occurs also elsewhere in colophons: … *pyarä dastäna suläśä ce parilo tsve. hvari dastäna* … "for the benefit of (my) father Suläśa, who has gone to the world beyond, for the benefit of (my) sister …" (R. E. Emmerick).[36]

The folio is decorated by a slightly damaged circular miniature painting similar to the one found between Parivarta V/VI and VII/VIII. Here, however, all four monks are drawn in a uniform way (figure 3).

COLOPHON AT THE END OF PARIVARTA VII, folio 198b, line 2–3

SI P/7 (SIS 1933, inv. 1933), FE p. 804, *Pamjatniki*, p. 134:

… *nirvṛtīyānam upanenti sarve 50 // saddharma[puṇḍarīke mahāvaitulyasūtra/3/ratne pūrvayogaparivarto nā]ma samāptaḥ* {image} *atha khalvāyuṣmā[n pūrṇo maitrāyaṇī-putro* …

Below the last line there is a remark in cursive script on the lower margin of the folio:

inkula pars[t]ä pīḍä.

"Inkula had (this) written."

The folio is decorated by a slightly damaged circular miniature painting similar to the one found between Parivarta V/VI and VI/VII. Only two monks are shown sitting to the right side of the teaching Buddha (figure 4).

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[35] It is my pleasure to thank P. O. Skjærvø, Harvard University, for deciphering part of this Khotanese colophon.

[36] Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Saka Documents*. Text Volume III, as note 15 above, no. 393, p. 232, where the word *dastäna* is discussed, cf. also the fragmentary colophon in a manuscript of the Book of Zambasta no. 39, p. 70 *]dānava suhadattä par[st]e [pīḍe …]dastäna u pūrä c[u parilo tsue* …. and the colophon to Tamaksanā's *Jñānolkadhāraṇī* manuscript … *merä dastäna mäjṣei' mahāttuñä cu parälo tsuā*, Nebenstücke, as note 30 above, p. 164.

COLOPHON AT THE END OF PARIVARTA X, folio 287b, lines 2–4

SI P/10 (SIS 1937, inv. 1937), FE p. 854, *Pamjatniki*, p. 103:

… gaṃgāvālikāḥ 21 // saddharmapuṇḍarīke mahāvaitu/3/lyasūtraratne dharmabhāṇaka-parivarto nāma daśama samāptaḥ 10 dvitīyaś caturbhāgaḥ 2 deyadharmau yaṃ dānapati inkulasya /4/ atha khalu …

The folio is decorated by a slightly damaged circular miniature painting showing the appearance of the Buddha Prabhūtaratna in a *stūpa* and the Buddha Śākyamuni sitting to the left side of this *stūpa*, while two laymen are shown to its right side. One of them, most likely the person in the background, should be the donor Inkula wearing a heavy hat. The identity of the second slightly smaller person in the foreground is difficult to guess. The headdress is different and looks like a diadem. Perhaps this is the wife of Inkula. However, because only four ends of Parivartas are preserved, nothing can be known about other persons that could have been mentioned in various colophons. The only person to be ruled out is Inkula's deceased son. From this evidence it is clear that at least three persons were included in this act of merit making: Inkula, his wife (?), and his (or their) deceased son Vi.älaka.

The image clearly refers to the subsequent chapter XI *Stūpasaṃdarśanaparivarta* (figure 5).[37]

Because of the miniatures inserted at the beginning of various Parivartas, this is a particularly rich donation.

The manuscript donated by Ilānta:

COLOPHON AT THE END OF PARIVARTA XXI, folio 166a, lines 9–10

SI L/1 (SIS 3330, inv. 3354), FE p. 999, *Pamjatniki*, p. 159 (folio 166 only; extant folios: folios 40 [Kern 105,10–107,9], 166 [Kern 402,14–405,1], 1 fragment without pagination [Kern 16,5–18,8] (figure 6):

… saparivārayā rakṣitavyaṃ (i)[masmiṃ khalu punar dhāraṇi]/9/parivartte nirdi[śya]-māne aṣṭāṣaṣṭinā[ṃ] prāṇasahasrāṇāṃm anutpattikadharmakṣāntipratilā[bh]o babhūva: saddharmapau[ṇḍarīke dharmaparyāye] /10/ dhāraṇipari[vartta nām]aikaviṃśatimaḥ samāptaḥ 21 ‖ i(lā)ntasya deyadharma ‖ (the rest of the line is lost)

The second *akṣara* of the name Ilānta is not entirely clear, because there may be faintly visible traces of script below *lā* which might point to a subscript *-va-*.

The Jalapuṇya/Suviprabhā Manuscript counts the Dharaṇīparivarta as the 22nd chapter because it contains the Devadattaparivarta as a separate Parivarta XII and not as the second part of XI. Stūpasaṃdarśanaparivarta as the Gilgit/Nepalese version does. Therefore, Ilānta's manuscript either does not have the Devadattaparivarta as the Farhād-Bēg manuscript or, perhaps less likely, follows the text division of the Gilgit/Nepalese tradition with the Dharaṇīparivarta being counted as chapter XXI.[38]

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[37]. A corresponding image drawn on a rock was discovered at Hodur (North Pakistan) a few years ago: O. v. Hinüber, "The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* at Gilgit," as note 31 above, p. 60.

[38]. Cf. Heinz Bechert: *Über die Marburger Fragmente des Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1972, Nr. 1 [rev.: C. Vogel,

Appendix I
The Parivarta-Colophons of the Jalapuṇya/Suviprabhā Manuscript

The following table shows the state of preservation of the colophons at the end of the introduction and of the individual Parivartas. The symbol ⊕ is used to mark space covered by the circle at the end of a Parivarta. There is only one circle interrupting the text of several lines in the manuscript.

The first two folios of the Jalapuṇya/Suviprabhā manuscript are not contained in the facsimile edition, although they are also preserved in St. Petersburg. They are edited with facsimile and translation by R. E. Emmerick.[39] Folio 1 begins with *siddham̠*, which is written in exactly the same ornamental way as the *siddham̠* at the beginning of the text itself on folio 6b4 with the superscript *-i* forming a semicircle in front and touching the bottom of the *akṣara*.

The only person named in this introduction is Jalapuṇya. After invoking all Buddhas and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (*ttū namau saddharmapuṇḍārī dā*, 1b3, cf. note 21 above), he pronounces the wish to be reborn at the time of Maitreya together with his parents and his wife (*namau āryā mätrai gyastä balysä panamāte avaśśä aysä jalapuñä vara hīsīṇä haṃtsa merijsa haṃsta pyaräna haṃtsa nerä jsa*, 2a1–2) "… the venerable Ārya Maitreya, the Buddha, will arise,[40] surely, I, Jalapuṇya, wish to come there together with (my) mother and (my) father (and) together with (my) wife" (after R. E. Emmerick). Then Jalapuṇya continues "together with (my) sisters, together with (my) brothers,[41] together with all (my) sons, and together with all (my) daughters, together with all (my) relatives, together with all (my)

ZDMG 125. 1975, pp. 445–448; Jacques May, *IIJ* 17. 1975, pp. 270–273], p. 15. The end of Parivarta XI Stūpasaṃdarśana- and the beginning of Parivarta XII Utsāhaparivarta are preserved in the Farhād-Bēg Manuscript: Hirofumi Toda: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra. Central Asian Manuscripts. Romanized Texts, Edited With an Introduction, Tables and Indices.* Tokushima 1981(reprinted 1983) [rev.: O. v. Hinüber, *IIJ* 28. 1985, pp. 137–139], pp. 233 foll. The pagination of this manuscript begins with folio 1 at the beginning of Parivarta XI Stūpasaṃdarśanaparivarta, because this is, at the same time, the beginning of the second "quarter" (*caturbhāga*). — A facsimile of folios 5–10 is given together with a new transcription by S. Karashima, "The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* Manuscript from Farhād Bēg in the Stein Collection (I)," in: Seishi Karashima & Klaus Wille: *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia. The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vomule I. Tokyo 2006 [rev.: R. Salomon, *JAOS* 128. 2008, p, 809; Chen Ming, *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 10. 2007, pp. 421–426 (in Chinese)], pp. 155–172, plates 95–100.

[39.] Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Saka Documents* VII, as note 15 above, plates 49a, 50a,b and Emmerick & Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Saka Documents. Text Volume III*, as note 15 above, nos. 37, 38, pp. 68 foll., cf. also O. v. Hinüber, "Pious family" (*JOrSt* 24), as note 2 above, pp. 146 foll.

[40.] The conjunctive is used to express the future tense: Leonard Georgievič Gercenberg: *Chotano-sakskij jazyk. Jazyki Azii i Afriki.* Moscow 1965 [rev.: Manu Leumann, *Kratylos* 12. 1967, pp. 94 foll.] § 127.2, p. 123.

[41.] This sequence is the same as in the colophon of the Jñānolkadhāraṇī donated by Khilaha, cf. note 32 above. In the only Bactrian colophon of an unknown Buddhist text the sequence is mother, father, daughters, sons, sisters, brothers and deceased relatives (παραλωγο-σιγο): Nicolas Sims-Williams: *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan II: Letters and Buddhist Texts.* Studies in the Khalili Collection Vol. III = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. III: Bactrian. London 2007 [rev.: D. Weber, *Kratylos* 55. 2010, pp. 228–231], p. 176 foll., cf. N. Sims-Williams in Jens Braarvig (ed.): *Manucripts in the Schøyen Collection I.* Buddhist Manuscripts Vol. I. Oslo 2000 [rev.: D. Boucher, *IIJ* 45. 2002, pp. 245–249; D. Seyfort Ruegg, *BSOAS* 65. 2002, pp. 181–191], p. 275–277.

kinsfolk" (after R. E. Emmerick) (*haṃtsa hvaryau haṃtsa brātaryau haṃtsa biśyau pūryau u haṃtsa biśyau dvaryau haṃtsa biśyau ysanyau haṃtsa biśyau busvāryau jsa*, 2a2–3). The names of some of these family members occur in the colophon at the end or in various Parivarta colophons such as the name of his wife, Suviprabhā. The unspecified names Pharṣaja+ and Jaraukula mentioned in Suviprabhā's colophon are most likely brothers of Jalapuṇya, once colophon and "preface" are compared. If so, the names of his sisters were mentioned in the gap in line 4 of the colophon. The daughters and sons are enumerated in this sequence in Suviprabhā's colophon, after she had referred to her brothers and sisters. Thus the preface of Jalapuṇya corresponds to the colophon of Suviprabhā and consequently, both elucidate each other to a certain extent. It becomes clear from both these texts that this manuscript was a joint donation by two principal donors, the married couple Jalapuṇya and Suviprabhā (Jalapuṇyānā).

01. At the end of the introductory Stotra, which follows the Khotanese preface, the author of these twenty verses is named (4b4):

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkamahāyānasūtrarājastotraṃ kṛtir ācārya-**Rāhulabhadrrasya**

02. At the end of the introduction (6b2–4):

namaḥ sarvajñāya ⊕ nama āryasamantabhadrāya bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya ‖ ayaṃ **de⊕yadharmaṃ dānapati Jalapuñasya** siddhaṃ namaḥ sarvabuddhabo⊕dhi-satvebhyaḥ ‖ evaṃ mayā śrutam … (Beginning of the text of the *sūtra*)

I. Parivarta (36a1)

… samāpta 1 ‖ ayaṃ **deyadharmaṃ dānapati Jalapuñasya** ⊕ atha khalu …

II. Parivarta (64a6 foll.)

…. samāptaḥ 2 ‖ miṣjei' **jalapuñāṃna** parstā pīḍi saha **jalārrjunasya** ⊕ atha khalu …

III. Parivarta (101b5 foll.):

… samāpta 3 ‖ deyadharmo yaṃ dānapati **Suviprabhasya** ‖ ⊕ atha khalv āyuṣmān …

IV. Parivarta (121a5):

… ⊕ samāptaḥ 4 deyadharmau yaṃ **jalottamasya** ‖ atha khalv …

V. Parivarta (140a6):

… samāptaḥ 5 ‖ *prathamacaturbhāga⊕ḥ samāptaḥ* ‖ 1 ttū namau saddharmapuṇḍarī miṣjei' **jalapuñāna** parstā pīḍi. haṃtsa pūri **śparadattina** ‖ atha khalv …

The figure "1" refers to the end of the first quarter of the text (see below). No donor is mentioned at the end of the Parivartas of the second quarter of the text:

VI. Parivarta (150a5):

… samāptaḥ ‖ 6 ‖ ⊕ (empty space after the circle up to the end of the line, ca. 14 *akṣara*s)

VII. Parivarta (189b4):

… samāpta ⊕ (no figure; empty space after the circle up to the end of line 3 and the first part of line 4, ca. 13 *akṣara*s)

VIII. Parivarta (203a7):

… samāptaḥ (no figure; empty space up to the end of the last line of 203a, ca. 7 *akṣara*s; circle in the middle of 203b, not at the end of the Parivarta; folio 203b1 begins: *atha khalu* …)

IX. Parivarta (211a7):

… samāpta 9 : (empty space up to the end of the last line of 211a, ca. 6 *akṣara*s¸ circle in the middle of 211b, not at the end of the Parivarta; folio 211b1 begins: *atha khalu* …)

X. Parivarta (226a6):

… samā⊕pta ‖ (no figure; empty space up to the end of line 6 and the end of line 7, ca. 27 *akṣara*s; text continues in line 7: *atha khalu bhagavataḥ* /226b1/…)

Here ends the second quarter, which explains the long empty space that would accommodate not only the name of the donor, cf. the end of the first quarter at the end of Parivarta V above, but in addition the text dvitīyacaturbhāgaḥ samāptaḥ *(cf. also the end of Parivarta X in the Inkula manuscript).*

XI. Parivarta (246a4):

… samāptaḥ 11 ⊕ (empty space up to the end of line 4, ca. 5 *akṣara*s; text continues at the beginning of line 5: *atha khalu* …)

The end of Parivarta XI is preserved in the Trinkler Fragments (= Marburger Fragmente) and therefore not included in the facsimile edition. A facsimile is, however, available in Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra. Kashgar Manuscript, *as note 1 above.*

The empty space is not marked in Toda: Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, *as note 38 above.*

XII. Parivarta (255b7):

](samā)pta. 12 deya[dharmo yaṃ dānapati suviprabhasya] (saha) duhitā (**dūvaka**)sya (end of folio 255b; beginning of folio 256a1: *atha khalu* …)

The reconstruction [jalotama]sya *as suggested in Toda:* Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, *as note 38 above, does not match the rather clear traces of the name. There is no circle at the end of this Parivarta.*

XIII. Parivarta (262b7):

… samāptaḥ ‖ atha khalu … (neither figure nor empty space; the chapter ends with 262b7; 263a1 begins *atha khalu* …; circle in the center of 263a)

XIV. End of Parivarta (283a2):

… samāptaḥ ‖ (d)][e]yadharmau yaṃ **suviprab**(!)**asya** saha duhitā **jalotamasya** ⊕ atha khalv anyalokadhātvāgatānāṃ …

XV. Parivarta (302a7–302b2):

… samāptaḥ 15 ‖ /302b1/ (m)[i]jṣei' **jalapuñāna** parstā pīḍi uysānye jsīñi paderāṣci kiḍina. haṃtsa kṣā'dai **jalapuñina** u pūri **jalārrjāṃna** dvīrä **jalotamä** jsa u pūrä **śparadatäna** u **dūvakä** jsa ⊕ atha khalu …

(Because of a lack of space at the end of line 302a7 the numeral 5 is written below the numeral 10.)

XVI. Parivarta (311b7):

(The end of the Parivarta is lost)

XVII. Parivarta (331a1):

/331a1/ rivarto nāma ‖ saptāda[śamaḥ + kṣā']d[ai] **jalapuñäna** /331a2/ atha khalu …

The end of Parivartas XVII, XVIII, XIX is preserved in the Stein Collection and therefore not included in the facsimile edition. Facsimiles are, however, available in Saddharma-

puṇḍarīkasūtra. Kashgar Manuscript, *as note 1 above. The first line of 331a is almost completely lost. The circle in the centre of the folio covers lines 2–6.*

XVIII. Parivarta (340b3):

… aṣṭādaśamaḥ ⊕ samāptaḥ ǁ deyadharma **su**/340b4/**viprabhasya** saha putrā **jalārrjunasya** ⊕ atha khalu …

(There is no figure)

XIX. Parivarta (360b3):

… samāptaḥ 19 ⊕ tṛtīyaś caturbhāgaḥ samāpta ǁ /360a4/ ayaṃ deyadharma **suviprabhasya** : ⊕ atha khalu …

XX. Parivarta (371b6):

371b5]varto nāma /371b6 / + +…

(The text of the colophon is lost.)

In Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra. Kashgar Manuscript, *as note 1 above, this folio is found on p. 362 numbered folio 257 by mistake.*

XXI. Parivarta (380b1):

… samāpta 21 deyadharmo yaṃ dānapati / 380b2/ **jalapuñasya** saha putrā **jalārrjunasya.** ⊕ atha khalu …

The end of Parivarta XXI is preserved in the St. Petersburg and Stein Collections and therefore only the left half of the folio is included in the facsimile edition. A facsimile of the right half is available in the facsimile edition Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra. Kashgar Manuscript, *as note 1 above.*

XXII. Parivarta (387a7):

+ **ja]lapuñasya** saha **suvipra[bha**…]

(The text at the end of this Parivarta and the beginning of the next of the Parivarta is lost.)

XXIII. Parivarta (407b1):

2]3 ǁ deyadharma **suviprabhasya**

(Most likely, the complete colophon is extant at the end of line 1. The beginning of line 2 is lost.)

XXIV. Parivarta (421a1):

caturviṅśa]timaḥ samāptaḥ 24 deyadharmo yaṃ /421a2/ [+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +] sya ⊕ atha khalu …

XXV. Parivarta (432b1f.):

… samāpta. **jalapuñasya** [

(Most likely, the complete colophon is extant at the end of line 1. Although the beginning of line 2 is lost, the length of the gap seems to match only the number of *akṣara*s required at the beginning of Parivarta XXVI without leaving any room for a continuation of the colophon. There is no figure. The circle is inserted in lines 2–6.)

XXVI. Parivarta (445a4):

]samāptaḥ deya[

(There is neither figure nor any trace of a circle, because only these very few *akṣara*s of the colophon are preserved on a tiny fragment.)

XXVII. Parivarta (455b7):

… samāptaḥ ⊕ ‖ atha khalu …

(There is neither figure nor colophon.)

XXVIII. Parivarta (459a6):

(This colophon at the end of the text is discussed in detail above.)

The colophons show that the text is divided into four quarters in the same way as the Inkula and the Farhād Bēg manuscripts are with the first two quarters comprising 5 and the last two quarters 9 Parivartas each, and with Parivartas 1 & 3 and 2 & 4 being approximately of the same length in terms of folios. This method of text division does not seem to be attested elsewhere so far:[42]

1st quarter: 5 Parivartas (I–V) (folios 7–140 = 133 folios),

2nd quarter: 5 Parivartas (VI–X) (folios 140–226 = 86),

3rd quarter: 9 Parivartas (XI–XIX) (folios 226–360 = 134 folios),

4th quarter: 9 Parivartas (XX–XXVIII) (folios 361–458 = 97 folios).

As the occasionally stretched (95b, 122b[43] etc.) or compressed *akṣara*s (107b, 159b etc.) at the end of the last line of some folios suggest, the copyist seems to have had before him a manuscript divided in the same way and, therefore, tried to reproduce the copy folio by folio.[44]

Not all of the 28 Parivartas are furnished with a colophon: There is no colophon at the end of Parivartas XIII and XXVII. Moreover, the colophons of the Parivartas XX, XXIV and XXVI are completely lost and those of Parivartas XII and XXII are damaged. Strangely, there are no colophons at all in the second quarter and at the end of Parivarta X, the first chapter of the third quarter in spite of the fact that there are empty spaces, where names could have been filled in. It is still more puzzling that these spaces are not of equal length but seem to be tailored to accommodate a certain number of *akṣara*s fixed before creating these spaces.

Only three colophons are completely lost with no traces of names left. Therefore, it is unlikely that all names of living persons mentioned in Suviprabhā's colophon were originally repeated in the Parivarta colophons as immediate participants of the donation. Six persons are mentioned by name: Jalapuṇya (7 times), Suviprabhā (9 or 10 times), son Jalārjuna (4 times), daughter Jalottamā (3 times), son Śparadatta (twice) and daughter Dūvakā (twice). This is the complete immediate family of Jalapuṇya and Suviprabhā, which is united in the colophon to Parivarta XV. Consequently, this *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* manuscript was donated jointly by all members of the immediate family while the merit was transferred to more distant or deceased relatives, who are enumerated by name, and to the anonymous friends and members of the household.

At the same time Suviprabhā's colophon allows a rare glimpse of the size of a family in 8th or 9th century Central Asia[45], because obviously the complete family is included. The

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[42.] No example is quoted in Louis Renou: Les divisions dans les textes sanskrits. *IIJ* 1. 1957, pp. 1–32.

[43.] If the scribe had not left out a word which is added written by a different hand below the last line the text would have fit perfectly into this line.

[44.] The same conclusion can be drawn when the scribe of Inkula's manuscript stretches (folios 296, 297, FE pp. 859, 861) or compresses (folio 299, FE p. 865) the script at the end of a folio.

[45.] This date is given following to M. Maggi, cf. O.v.Hinüber, "Pious Family" (*JOrSt* 24), as note 2 above, p. 137 with note 26.

couple Jalapuṇya and Suviprabhā originally had five children, of whom one daughter had died. Only the probably eldest son Jalārjuna was married. For in the Parivarta colophons he is mentioned first (Parivarta II), followed by daughter Jalottamā (Parivarta IV), by son Śparadatta (Parivarta V) and daughter Dūvakā (Parivarta XII). Because the sequence of names is exactly the same in the colophon to Parivarta XV, the children are most likely enumerated according to their age.

It is interesting to note that the names of the presumably eldest children, Jala-arjuna and Jala-uttamā are Indian and derived from the name of their father Jala-puṇya.

Only the eldest son was married, and his wife seems to have died early and childless. Three children seem to have been still unmarried. Therefore, it is a likely guess that Jalārjuna may have been about twenty years of age at the time of the donation and Jalapuṇya and Suviprabhā were married for a corresponding period and perhaps 35 to 40 years of age.

Similarly, an image from the Adhālaka Cetiya at Kanaganahalli presents a family with four men and their wives in 3rd century Śātavāhana India,[46] though much less information can be drawn from this evidence. One couple should be the donor and head of the "Toḍa family" together with his wife, most likely the layman on the upper panel sitting in front with a *bhṛṅgāra* before him and the laywoman on the lower panel facing a group of three women. The remaining three men and three women could be either, brothers and sisters of the donors, or married couples, their brothers with their wives or sisters with their husbands etc. The latter, married couples, is perhaps more likely given the equal number of men and women. Either, these four couples had altogether five children, two boys and three girls among them a young grown up woman, or all five children were offspring of the couple that made the donation etc. Because of the size of the children shown, the couple(s) probably were still young at the time of the donation. The inscription, which mentions only the donation by the "Toḍa family" as such, neither tells us anything about the names of the individual persons and thus leaves open many possible relationships, nor anything about deceased family members.[47]

The number of the members of the families mentioned here is: Jalapuṇya's family with the parents and five children, Suviprabhā's family with up to five brothers and two sisters of Suviprabhā, who were perhaps all deceased at the time of the donation, the family of the anonymous wife of Jalārjuna with two brothers and three sisters, and the Toḍa family with up to four couples and altogether only five children.

Thus colophons and images can be used, if only rarely and at the smallest scale, as sources on "demography." However, as otherwise next to nothing is known about families, even this scanty information is welcome.

[46.] O. v. Hinüber with M. Nakanishi, *Kanaganahalli Inscriptions*. *ARIRIAB* XVII. Supplement. Tokyo 2014, p. 67, no. II.4,23.

[47.] Finally, it is also conceivable, but not very likely that a couple is shown with their three grown up sons or daughters together with wives or husbands and with their grand-children.

Appendix II
Table of content of
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram.

Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SI p/5, etc.). Facsimile Edition [Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 13].

SI P/5 (SI 1925/1927), pp. 1–802; Khotan [Kashgar] Manuscript; Jalapuṇya/Suviprabhā Manuscript

This manuscript is also published as a black and white facsimile in *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra. Kashgar Manuscript*. 1977 (see note 1 above).

The following fragmentary manuscripts are published in *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Central'noj Azii*. 1985 (see note 33 above) with the exception of those folios enclosed in square brackets [ ]:

SI P/7 (SIS 1933, inv. 1933), pp. 803–804; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 133–136; no. 55; Inkula manuscript

SI P/8 (SIS 1934, inv. 1934), pp. 805–810; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 137–139; no. 56–58

SI P/9 (SIS 1935, inv. 1935), pp. 811–850; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 140–149; no. 59–77

SI P/10 (SIS 1937, inv. 1937), pp. 851–916; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 103–123; no. 2–33; Inkula manuscript

SI P/11 (SIS 1939, inv. 1939), pp. 917–926; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 150–153; no. 78–82

SI P/11 (SIS 1939, inv. 1939), pp. 927–966; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 124–133; no. 34–54; Inkula manuscript

SI P/12+13 (SIS 1940, inv. 1940), pp. 967–968; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 102–103; no. 1; Inkula manuscript

[SI P/20 (SIS 1941, inv. 1941), pp. 969–972]

[SIS 2077 (inv. 2077), pp. 973–974]

[SI P/67,3d,v,g,a,b (SIS 2093, inv. 2093, fr. 4,5,3,N 90,N 91), pp. 975–984]

[SI P/67,8a,b (SIS 2098, inv. 2098, fr.1,2), pp. 985–988]

[SI P/68 (SIS 3013, inv. 3013), pp. 989–990]; cf. *ARIRIAB* X. 2007, p. 58 with plate

[SI P/79,1,2 (SIS 3030, inv. 3030), pp. 991–994]

SI P/90b1,a (SIS 3044, inv. 3044), pp. 995–998; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 154–158; no. 83-84

SI L/1 (SIS 3330, inv. 3354), pp. 999–1000; *Pamjatniki*, pp. 159–160; no. 85; Ilānta manuscript

[SI P/151 (SI 3693, inv. 3749), pp. 1001–1002]

[SI P/151 (SI 3694, inv. 3750), pp. 1003–1004]

A Preliminary Report
on Some New Sources of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (1)

LI Can

As Gāndhārī and Sanskrit fragments have come to light within the past few years, there has been an increasing interest in the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra (= BKS)*. Surveys of the primary and secondary materials have previously been provided by Inokuchi Taijun, Jan Nattier, Daniel Boucher and Peter Skilling[1]. However, they overlooked some materials of great significance, and other new sources have been discovered since then. The present paper, in addition to the papers mentioned above, is intended to offer several new primary source documents to the study of this sūtra[2].

Some of the previously published primary materials include:

1. The fragment BD 14741/I, unearthed from Kara-Khoja 高昌故城 and preserved in the National Library of China (NLC) at present, was identified as Kumārajīva's long-lost translation of *BKS* by the editorial team of GTDY and was published in 2010[3]. However, due to some inaccuracies in the book, a new attempt of a re-transcription and a comparative study is called for.

2. Some Sanskrit names of thousand Bhadrakalpika Buddhas corresponding to those in *BKS* were ignored, such as the name list in the following sources: Sanskrit manuscript *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyikā Sarvavajrodaya*, the fragments SHT III 840 and 840a preserved now in Berlin and the fragment BH4-33 in NLC[4]. These materials contain important versions of the name of thousand Buddhas other than those in *Xianjie qianfo hao* 賢劫千佛號 and Khotanese "*Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*"[5].

3. Many icons of the thousand Bhadrakalpika Buddhas with their names alongside have been reported or made known to the public, and some of them have special value due to their early date, such as those on the wall of the Ambulatory of Tabo Monastery and the four ceiling pillars of Thunder Sound Cave 雷音洞 of Yunju Monastery 雲居寺[6].

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[1]. Cf. Inokuchi 1960, Nattier 1991: 21–14, Boucher 1996: 261, Skilling 1992, 2010, and 2014.
[2]. For more secondary sources, cf. Li forthcoming.
[3]. Cf. GTDY 2010: 42 and Cat. 7–8.
[4]. Cf. Mitsutoshi 1989, SHT III, XMNLC: 135–136.
[5]. For the transcription and facsimile of *Xianjie qianfohao* 賢劫千佛號, cf. Weller 1928, Chandra 1980: 1819–1946 and1996. For the Sanskrit Bhadrakalpika Buddha names in Khotanese "Bhadrakalpika-sūtra", cf. Bailey 1951: 75–99; Takubo Shūyo 1975:133-159; Huang 1988, 1993a and 1993b. The literature review of the research on Khotanese section, cf. *Guide 1979*, pp. 18–19 (revised edition 1992, pp.20-22).
[6]. For the inscription of Bhadrakalpika Buddha names in Tabo Monastery, cf. Luczanits 1999: 163–177. On

4. Apart from the fragments translated by Wang Jingru 王静如, some new manuscripts of Tangut translations of *Pratyutpannabhadrakalpasahasrabuddhanāma-sūtra* 現在賢劫千佛名經 (T. no. 447a) have been published[7].

Although more secondary materials have not been taken into account, these are out of the scope of the present paper.

Beyond mentioning these previously published primary sources, this paper aims to introduce several important newly discovered or previously unrecognized manuscripts and printed editions. These include:

1. A Sanskrit fragment Or.8212/1695 preserved in the Stein collection is identified as the *BKS* which belongs to the same folio with BH4-11 of the NLC collection.

2. *Sarvadharmanayaviniścayanirdeśa-sūtra* 觀察諸法行經 translated by Jinagupta[8] 闍那崛多 in Sui Dynasty is actually an independent translation of the Samādhi section of *BKS*. And to my knowledge, this is a new identification[9].

3. A manuscript with the chapter title *Xianjie jiubaifo pin dijiu* 賢劫九百佛品第九 dated 399 C.E. is preserved in Anhui Museum 安徽博物院[10], the content of which, mainly Buddha names, is very close to Dharmarakṣa's translation, while completely different from that of *Pratyutpannabhadrakalpasahasrabuddhanāma-sūtra* 現在賢劫千佛名經 T. no. 447. We have found recently that the manuscript probably belongs to Tan Wulan's 曇無蘭 lost digest *Xianjie qianfoming jing* 賢劫千佛名經, adapted from the Dharmarakṣa's translation, according to Tan Wulan's *Qianfo minghao xu* 千佛名號序, which though with similar title, is totally different from T. nos. 447a and b[11].

4. Some hitherto neglected quotations are found in the Tibetan and Chinese Tripiṭaka, such as *'Phags pa thams cad yod par smra ba'i rtsa ba'i dge slong ma'i so sor thar pa'i*

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the four ceiling pillars of Thunder Sound Cave, cf. Ledderose 2003.

[7.] Cf. Grinstead 1972: 1996–2024, ZCXW vol. 3: 187–218 & vol. 13: 10–13, RCXW(1): 383, Cat.: 15, YGTCHW: 337 and Shi 2010. The connection bewteen *Pratyutpannabhadrakalpasahasrabuddhanāma-sūtra* and *BKS* can be confirmed not only by their parallel of the names of Buddhas, but also by the dialogue between Buddha and Bodhisattva Prāmodyarāja. In addition, there is evidence to show that the two versions in the Taisho Tripiṭaka (T. nos. 447a and 447b) and most Dunhuang manuscripts have undergone a variety of adaptations. Accordingly, few of them are able to represent the original appearance of *Pratyutpannabhadra-kalpasahasrabuddhanāma-sūtra*, which, to my knowledge, is well preserved on the wall of the Thunder Sound Cave雷音洞. For further discussion, Cf. Li, forthcoming.

[8.] Research on Jinagupta's biography and his life during exile to Dongyue 東越, cf. Chavannes 1905, Wang Rongguo 1997 and 2007, Wang Yarong 2005.

[9.] There are, as far as I know, only a few very brief discussions on this sūtra, cf. Ono 1933, Yamada 1968: 154-155, Murakami 1970, Mou 1976, Skilton 2012 and Matsuda 2013. But no scholar so far has found the sūtra parallel to *BKS*, except *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄 (ZFKZ) claims that 觀察諸法行經 has a paralleled "Fanben" 蕃本, but no further information is provided. Cf. ZFKZ vol. 3, p. 354. 蕃本 here was usually understood as "Tibetan version". However, Shi Faxian 釋法賢 recently claims that the hypothesis is probably not reliable. She believes that "Fanben" is more likely Tangut or other version but not Tibetan, as so many "mistakes" in ZFKZ is hard to explain if we accept the "Fan-Tibetan" assumption. Cf. Shi 2005.

[10.] A vague facsimile of a small portion of the manuscript was first published in 1959 and some scholars have transcribed the colophon and discussed its value to the research of history of papermaking, cf. Shi 1959, Pan 1979, Ikeda 1990. Recently some clear photographs came into light, and brief discussions of the manuscript have been offered particularly by Wang Ding, yet Wang neglected the most complete photograph published so far in *Shufa congkan* 書法叢刊. Instead he made use of the plate in *Guji minglu* II 2010, which corresponds to only a small section of the the former one, cf. *Shufa congkan* 2002, *Guji minglu* II 2010, Wang 2010.

[11.] Cf. Li, forthcoming.

mdo'i 'grel pa (D.4112, P.5614)[12], Jinaputra's *De bzhin gshegs pa'i mtshan brjod bskal bzang rgyan gyi phreng ba zhes bya ba* (D.2058, P.2911), dPal brtsegs/Śrīkūṭa's *gSung rab rin po che'i gtam rgyud śākya'i rabs rgyud*(D.4357, P.5844) and Bandhuprabha's **Buddhabhūmyupadeśa* 佛地經論 (T. no. 1530). In addition, *BKS* was widely quoted in other Tibetan and Chinese literature, but it is beyond the scope of the present paper.

5. According to the pūrva-praṇidhāna section of *BKS* in the Tibetan version, each Bhadrakalpika Buddha aspired to awakening in front of one Buddha of the past. Recently we have found that these Buddhas are in close agreement to the name list of Vyūhakalpika Buddhas in the **Atītavyūhakalpasahasrabuddhanāma-sūtra* 過去莊嚴劫千佛名經, of which no parallel in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka had been previously discovered. However, the pūrva-praṇidhāna section is far from complete in Dharmarakṣa's version, therefore only the Tibetan version of *BKS* and **Atītavyūhakalpasahasrabuddhanāma-sūtra* T. no. 446 preserved the full name list of Vyūhakalpika Buddhas. Moreover most of those Buddhas of the past could also be found in both the Tibetan and Chinese version of *Buddhanāmasahasrapañcaśatacatur-tripañcadaśa*.

6. Some idiosyncratic paragraphs in Dharmarakṣa's translation are probably borrowed from other sūtra, such as *Śūraṃgamasamādhi-sūtra*.

1. A New Sanskrit Fragment of *BKS* acquired by Stein in his Third Expedition

In 2009 Duan Qing published the first Sanskrit fragment of *BKS* from Central Asia which later was purchased by NLC from private collection and stored as BH4-11[13]. After that, Duan continues her discussion in several Chinese papers[14].

Due to the particularity of the calligraphy of the script, I have attempted to look for more manuscripts of similar style of writing on IDP and was thus able to identify the fragment Or.8212/1695 (Khad.042) as belonging to the same folio as BH4-11.

The fragment presented here was first transcribed in 1928 by F. E. Pargiter in his *Inventory List of Manuscript Remains mainly in Sanskrit* included in Stein's famous report of his third expedition *Innermost Asia*. Nevertheless, his transcription has some small errors and the author made no identification to the fragment[15]. Recently Klaus Wille mentioned the Or.8212/1696 is a fragment of *BKS* in his recent paper[16], However, I have checked the photo on the website of IDP website, and believe that the fragment Or.8212/1696 is unlikely to be *BKS*. In fact, the corresponding manuscript should be Or.8212/1695, which could have been written down as "Or.8212/1696" by mistake[17]. As no correct information has been provided so far, we still deem the identification of Or.8212/1695 as *BKS* to be a new one.

The present paper attempts to present a new transliteration of the two fragments, while a

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[12] Although Peter Skilling has noticed that this text mentions one thousand Bhadrakalpika Buddhas, it seems that he fails to find the quotation of *BKS* in the same text. Cf. Skilling 2010: 205.
[13] Cf. Duan 2009.
[14] Cf. Duan 2010; 2013: 1–44; XMNLC: 121-134.
[15] Cf. Pargiter 1928: 1022.
[16] Cf. Wille 2014: 226.
[17] Recently Professor Wille confirms in his email that Or.8212/1696 is a typo and he actually means Or.8212/1695, and I am greatly indebted to him for kindly reminding me of Pargiter's transcription in *Innermost Asia*.

fully annotated edition will be published elsewhere.

Symbols Used in the Transliteration

( ) restored *akṣara*(s)

[ ] damaged *akṣara*(s)

< > omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s)

{ } superfluous *akṣara*(s)

* *virāma*

+ one lost *akṣara*

. . one illegible *akṣara*

. illegible part of an *akṣara*

/// beginning or end of a fragment when broken

× blank space(approximately equivalent to one *akṣara*)

• punctuation mark

‖ double *daṇḍa*

Or.8212/1695 + BH4-11 (Or.8212/1695 in **bold**; BH4-11 in *italics*)

Recto

1. ///**ramita**[18] **ṣaṭ* ‖ tattra kata**[19] /// + + + + + + + + + + + + ///*[p]āramita ṣaṭ* (•)* × *ya a[p]ram. .y. + + gr. + + + +*[20] ///

2. ///**.[ā]nti**[21] × **ya irddhipādaparigra(h)e**[22]/// **+ + + + + + + +** ///*ryya*[23]× *ya dhyānaparigrahītasamādhi a + + + ///*

3. ///**[p]āramita ṣaṭ* • × ya prajña-in[d]ri[ya]***parigraheta aya dāna* × *ya prajñabala-parig[r]aheta .. + + ///*

4. /// **hetaprajña**[24] **aya dhyāna** × *yā prajñadaśabalaparigraheta aya prajña* × *ime prajña +///*

5. /// **[na]ṃ**[25] × **ya ganavāsādo**[26] **[na]** *pārihāni aya śīla* × *ya ākīrṇṇavihārida-apārih[ā]*[27]///

6. /// **dajñānavāsanāpagata**[28] **aya pra***jña* × *ime [v]imukti-apārihānapāramita ṣṭa ‖ tattra ka*[29]///

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[18] *ramita* : restored to *(pā)ramita* = Tib. *pha rol tu phyin pa*.

[19] *kata* : restored to *kata(maḥ)* = Tib. *gang zhe na* = Ch. 何謂.

[20] *a[p]ram. .y. + + gr. + + + +: restored* to *apram(āṇ)y(a-pari)gr(aheta-samādhi)* = Tib. *tshad med pa yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin:* = Ch. 受四等心慈悲喜護，定意正受..

[21] *[ā]nti: restored* to *(kṣ)ānti* = Tib. *bzod pa* = Ch. 忍辱

[22] *irddhipādaparigra(h)e* : restored to *irddhipādaparigra(h)e(ta-samādhi)* = Tib. *rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin* = Ch.以逮神足，飛到十方，教化一切.

[23] *ryya* : restored to *(vī)ryya*=Tib. *brtson 'grus* = Ch. 精進.

[24] *hetaprajña* : restored to *(parigra)hetaprajña* = Tib. *yongs su 'dzin pa'i shes rab* = Ch. 逮分別解.

[25] *[na]ṃ* : restored to *(dā)[na]ṃ* = Tib. *sbyin pa* = Ch. 布施.

[26] Cf. Edgerton 1936, pp. 73–74.

[27] *ākīrṇṇa-* = Ch. 擾慣眾閙 (*ākīrṇa-) ≠ Tib. *ma 'dres pa* (*akīrṇa-). *apārih[ā]* : restored to *apārihā(ni)* = Tib. *yongs su nyams pa med pa* = Ch. 不迷誤.

[28] *dajñānavāsanāpagata* : restored to *(anutapā)dajñānavāsanāpagata* = Tib. *mi skye ba shes pas bag chags dang bral ba* = Ch. 以無生慧，消去處所.

[29] *kata(maḥ)* : restored to *kata(maḥ)* = Tib. *gang zhe na* = Ch. 何謂.

7. /// **ya asaṃkāradarśana**[30] **aya śīlada** ✕ *ya kamanīyadarśana aya kṣānti* ✕ *[y]*. + + +///

8. ///**r..[ta]pariharamāna**[31]**-apārihāniprajñāvimukti aya** *prajña* ✕ *ime vimuktijñāna-darśana-apār[i] .. n*.[32]///

9. /// **ya dāna** ✕ **ya kāyakarmmanīyata [aya] śī(la** ✕**)** *[y]a vāsana-avikārada aya kṣānti* ✕ *ya ekānta*///

10. /// **jña** ✕ **ima kāyakarmmajñānān[u]pari** + + + **[p]ā**/// + + + +[33] /// ‖ *tattra katamaḥ vacīkarmmajñānānuparivarttanapā*[34] ///

BKS(Tib.) D no. 94, mDo sde, Ka 87b2–88b2; Pk no. 762, mDo sna tshogs, I 95b8–97a2; S no. 34, vol. 52, mDo sde, Ka 120b1–121b7; Dharma Publishing Staff 1986: 443–449.

de la dran pa yongs su nyams pa med pa'i pha rol tu[1] phyin pa drug gang zhe na |

dran pa la rnyog pa[2] med pa'i dran pa gang yin pa[3] de ni sbyin pa'i'o ‖

thag ring po dran pa gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ‖

rigs pa ji lta ba bzhin dran pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o ‖

mos pa ji lta ba bzhin[4] dran pa gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ‖

'jug par byed pa'i dran pa gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ‖

yongs su gcod pa'i dran pa gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni dran pa yongs su nyams pa med pa'i **pha rol tu**[5] **phyin pa drug go** ‖

   [1] tu Pk: du [2] pa S: ba [3] pa S: ba [4] ji lta ba bzhin S: la [5] tu Pk: du

de la ting nge 'dzin yongs su nyams pa med pa'i *pha rol tu*[1] *phyin pa drug* **gang zhe na |**
tshad med pa yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o ‖ (R1)

yang dag pa'i spong ba yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ‖

dran pa nye bar gzhag pa yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin gang yin pa **de ni bzod pa'i'o** ‖

rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin gang yin pa *de ni*[2] *brtson 'grus kyi'o* ‖ (R2)

bsam gtan yongs su 'dzin pa'i ting nge 'dzin gang yin pa de ni[3] *bsam gtan gyi'o* ‖

bden pa yongs su 'dzin pa'i[4] ting nge 'dzin gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni ting nge 'dzin yongs su nyams pa med pa'i pha rol tu[5] phyin pa drug go ‖

   [1] tu Pk: du [2] ni S: ni | [3] ni S: ni | [4] pa'i S: ba'i [5] tu Pk: du

de la shes rab yongs su nyams pa med pa'i **pha rol tu**[1] **phyin pa drug** gang zhe na |
dbang po *yongs su 'dzin pa'i* **shes rab** gang yin pa *de ni sbyin pa'i'o* ‖

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[30] *asaṃkāra* ≠ Ch. 無為 (*asaṃskāra) ≠ Tib. *sdom pa med pa* (*asaṃvara?). saṃskāra- > saṃkāra-, cf. Gāndhārī: *saṃkara-*.

[31] *r..[ta]pariharamāna* : restored to *(cīva)r(ān)tapariharamāna* = Tib. *chos gos kyi tha mas khyer ba na* = Ch. 若著衣被加之在臂.

[32] *vimuktijñānadarśana-apār[i]* : restored to *vimuktijñānadarśana-apāri(hānapāramita)* = Tib. *rnam par grol ba ye shes mthong ba yongs su nyams ba med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

[33] *kāyakarmmajñānān[u]pari* + + + *[p]ā*/// + + + + : restored to *kāyakarmmajñānānupari(varttana)-[p]ā(ramita ṣṭa)* = Tib. *lus kyi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug*.

[34] *vacīkarmmajñānānuparivarttanapā* : restored to *vacīkarmmajñānānuparivarttanapā(ramita)* = Tib. *ngag gi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa* = Ch. 口行轉進聖慧度無極.

stobs[2] yongs su 'dzin pa'i shes rab gang yin pa de ni[3] (R3) tshul khrims kyi'o ǁ

byang chub kyi yan lag yongs su 'dzin pa'i shes rab gang yin pa de ni[4] bzod pa'i'o ǁ

lam yongs su 'dzin pa'i shes rab gang yin pa de ni[5] brtson 'grus kyi'o ǁ

rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba **yongs su 'dzin pa'i shes rab gang yin pa de ni[6] bsam gtan gyi'o** ǁ

stobs bcu yongs su 'dzin pa'i shes rab gang yin pa de ni[7] shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni shes rab (R4) yongs su nyams pa med pa'i pha rol tu[8] phyin pa drug go ǁ

[1] tu: Pk. du [2] stobs: S stob [3] ni: S ni | [4] ni: S ni | [5] ni: S ni | [6] ni: S ni | [7] ni: S ni | [8] tu: Pk. du

de la rnam par grol ba yongs su nyams pa med pa'i pha rol tu[1] phyin pa drug gang zhe na |

lus nyam[2] chung ba yongs su nyams pa med pa gang yin pa de ni **sbyin pa'i'o** ǁ

tshogs kyi nang na gnas pas *yongs su nyams pa* **med pa** *gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o* ǁ

ma 'dres par gnas pas yongs su nyams pa med pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o[3] ǁ (R5)

gzhan gyi gnas thob par byed pa gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ǁ

zad ba[4] shes pas legs par[5] byas pa gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ǁ

mi skye ba shes pas bag chags dang bral ba gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni rnam par grol pa[6] yongs su nyams pa med pa'i pha rol tu[7] phyin pa drug go ǁ

[1] tu Pk: du [2] nyam S: nyams [3] pa'i'o S: ba'i'o [4] ba Pk S: pa [5] par S: bar [6] pa Pk: S ba [7] tu Pk: du

de la rnam par grol ba'i[1] ye shes mthong ba nyams pa med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na | (R6)

bsam pa ji lta ba bzhin rnam par grol ba ye shes mthong ba gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o[2] ǁ

sdom pa med par mthong ba gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ǁ

'dod par 'gyur ba mthong ba[3] gang yin pa[4] de ni bzod pa'i'o ǁ (R7)

sa dang sa ma yin pa'i 'bras bu rnam par gzhag pa gang yin pa de ni[5] brtson 'grus kyi'o ǁ

skye ba rnam par gzhag pa la mi slob ba[6] gang yin pa de ni[7] bsam gtan gyi'o ǁ

chos gos kyi **tha mas khyer ba na yongs su nyams pa med pa'i[8] shes rab rnam par grol ba** gang yin pa de ni *shes rab kyi ste |*

'di dag ni rnam par grol ba ye shes mthong ba yongs su nyams ba[9] med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go ǁ (R8)

[1] ba'i: S ba [2] pa'i'o: S ba'i'o [3] ba: S pa [4] pa: Pk ba [5] ni: S ni | [6] ba: Pk S pa [7] ni: S ni | [8] pa'i: S ba'i [9] ba: Pk S pa

de la lus kyi las ye shes kyi[1] rjes su 'jug pa'i[2] pha rol tu[3] phyin pa drug gang zhe na |

lus kyi las ma 'khrul pa[4] gang yin pa **de ni sbyin pa'i'o** ǁ

lus kyi las nges pa gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ǁ

bag chags kyis 'gyur ba med pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o ǁ

gcig tu (R9) dge[5] ba gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ǁ

skye bo mang po la rnam par smin pa gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ǁ

lus kyi rdzu 'phrul gyis gdams ngag ston pa gang yin pa de ni **shes rab kyi ste |**

'di dag ni lus kyi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go ǁ

de la ngag gi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gang zhe na | (R10)

¹ kyi S: - ² pa'i S: ba'i ³ tu Pk: du ⁴ pa S: ba ⁵ dge Pk: dga

BKS(Ch.) T.14, no. 425, 40c22–41b08.

何謂無有失意度無極有六事？

意所識念，乃知前世，無數億劫，而無邊底，是曰布施；所憶迴遠，無央數劫，積功累德，是曰持戒；若以察知，如審清淨，永無垢濁，是曰忍辱；識了所好，從初發意古今所行，是曰精進；心入所念，念一切法，進退本末，是曰一心；斷一切想各各不同，憶念宿世，分別曾所更歷，是曰智慧。**是為六。**

何謂不失定意度無極眾行有六事？

受四等心慈悲喜護，<u>定意正受(R1)，</u>是曰布施；設能[1]咸受，立四意止，無身痛想法，是曰持戒；奉行至德，修四意斷，斷無所斷。是曰**忍辱；以逮神足，** 飛到十方，教化一切，是曰**精進**；<u>若行禪思，受得威三昧定，是曰一心</u>(R2)；若以聖明諮受道慧，而不虛妄，是曰智慧；是為六。

何謂不失慧**度無極有六事**？

若受**慧根**，智不可量，知眾生元，<u>是曰布施</u>；力勢堅強，<u>獲致慧力(R3)，</u>乃至佛十力，是曰持戒；逮得覺意，悟化導示，諸不覺者，令得達明，是曰忍辱；以曉了心，啟受道義，行不可計，是曰精進；**逮分別解**十二緣起，知因牽連，由不覺故，**是曰一心；以斯聖明，致十種力**、四無所畏、十八不共諸佛之法，是曰智慧；是為六。(R4)

何謂不失解脫度無極有六事？

身力堅固，心若金剛，不失至要，是曰**布施；處在大眾，** 若在獨處，心常如一，<u>無所忘失，是曰持戒</u>；遊于擾憒眾閙之中而不迷誤(R5)，是曰忍辱；解知他人眾生性行所念善惡，是曰精進；安諦建立無上大道，不滅盡慧。是曰一心；**以無生慧，消去處所，** 使無所存，唯志經典。**是曰智慧；是為六。**

何謂(R6)解度知見度無極有六事？

所行至實，不為虛偽，輒得如願，是曰布施；**其所觀覩，唯見無為，** 度眾有為生死之難，**是曰持戒；**察欲之穢，覩其本末從因緣起。<u>是曰忍辱</u>(R7)；從地至地，備具諸住，建立果處十住之業，是曰精進；禪思行道，心之所生以逮住處，是曰一心；**若著**衣被加之在臂，方便副除一切眾惡，無所[*]忘失，**不違解脫，**是曰智慧；是為六。(R8)

何謂知身行慧明所轉度無極有六事？

身行勤修一心正行。守身口意不以為厭。**是曰布施；導化其體，** 不殺盜婬，而無所犯。**是曰持戒；**奉修十住，<u>不使所住有罣礙業，</u>是曰忍辱；專精一心(R9)，立眾德本，以施一切，是曰精進；令無數人得其報應十方福報，是曰一心；以身造教而顯神足，飛到一切，見諸佛說，是曰**智慧；是為六。**

<u>何謂口行轉進聖慧度無極有六事？(R10)</u>

Verso

1. ///**ya nada**[35] **aya kṣānti × ya samanta[na]** /// + + + + + + /// *ryya*[36]× *ya adhimukti-niścāraṇa ayaṃ dhyāna yaḥ* ///

2. ///**rmajñānānuparivarttanapāramita**[37]　　**ṣaṭ***　•　**ya**　**ma[no]**　**+**　**..**　**[m].***sya*[38] *prakṛti{saṃ}saṃttata ayaṃ dāna × ya anuna*[39] ///

3. ///**[ya] vīryya × ya mohavigamaṃ aya dhyāna × [ya] apra***mānavihārida aya prajña ×* *ime mano{ḥ}(ka)rm(ma)*[40] ///

4. ///**parikṣa**[41] **aya dānada × ya skandhaparikṣa a***ya śīla × ya āyatanaparikṣa a[y](a kṣā)nti* ///

5. ///**pratihatajñānadarśanapāramita**[42] **ṣaṭ*** ‖ *tattra katamaḥ anāgati-adhvi-apratihata*[43] ///

6. ///**śīlada × ya pudgalasaṃbheda***parikṣa aya kṣānti × ya prayogasaṃbhedapari*[44] ///

7. /// **gati-adveḥ**[45] **aprati***hatajñānadarśanapāramita ṣaṭ** ‖ *tattra katamaḥ praty[o] ..*[46] ///

8. ///**ya kṣ[ā]nti × ya nirodhapa**[*ś*]*yana aya vīryya × ya sākṣīkriyapaśyana aya dhyān[a] (×)* ///

9. ///**r[ś]anapāramita**[47] **ṣaṭ*** • ‖ *tattra ka[ta](maḥ)* (*k*)*auśalyapāramita ṣaṭ** • *ya upāya-kauśalyamī[māṃ]* +[48] ///

10. ///**tihatana**[49] **ayaṃ vīryya × ya** /// + + + + + ///*ktisaṃgrahaṇa*[50] *aya dhyāna × ya a* + + + ///

11. ///+ + + + + + + [?]r[?]+ + + + /// + + + + + + +.[i]+ .. + + + + + + + + + + + ///

BKS(Tib.) D no. 94, mDo sde, Ka 88b2–89a7; Pk no. 762, mDo sna tshogs, I 97a2–98a1;

35. 　Chen Ruixuan suggests that here may read "*yanada*", and restored to *-(nanda)yanada = -(nanda)yanatā=* Tib. *dga' bar 'gyur ba*.

36. 　*ya samanta[na]* /// + + + + + + /// *ryya* : restored to *ya samantana(danatā aya vī)ryya* = Tib. *kun tu sgrogs ba gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o* = Ch. 所演法訓，其聲周遍，徹于十方，是曰精進.

37. 　*rmajñānānuparivarttanapāramita* : restored to *(manoḥka)rmajñānānuparivarttanapāramita* = Tib. *yid kyi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa* = Ch. 意行轉進度無極.

38. 　*ma[no]* + .. *[m].sya* : restored to *mano(karm)[m](a)sya* =Tib. *yid kyi las*.

39. 　*anuna* : restored to *anuna(ya)* = Tib. *rjes su chags pa* = Ch. 所著.

40. 　*mano{ḥ}(ka)rm(ma)* : restored to *manoḥ(ka)rm(majñānānuparivarttanapāramita)* = Tib. *yid kyi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

41. 　Restored to *(ya dhātu)parikṣa*.

42. 　*pratihatajñānadarśanapāramita* : restored to *(a)pratihatajñānadarśanapāramita* = Tib. *ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

43. 　*anāgati-adhvi-apratihata* : restored to *anāgati-adhvi-apratihata(jñānadarśanapāramita)* = Tib. *ma 'ongs pa'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa* = Ch. 見於當來本末所有無罣礙慧度無極.

44. 　*prayogasaṃbhedapari* : restored to *prayogasaṃbhedapari(kṣa)* = Tib. *sbyor pa tha dad par rtog pa* ≠ Ch. 察於眾生當以何藥而療治之.

45. 　*gati-adveḥ* : restored to *(anā)gati-adveḥ* = Tib. *ma 'ongs pa'i dus la*. Cf. V5: *anāgati-adhvi°*.

46. 　*praty[o]* : restored to *pratyo(tpanna-adhvi-apratihatajñānadarśanpāramita)* = Tib. *da ltar byung ba'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa* = Ch. 知現在不可限礙度無極.

47. 　*r[ś]anapāramita* : restored to *(pratyopanna-adhvi-apratihatajñānada)rśanapāramita* = Tib. *da ltar byung ba'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

48. 　*upāyakauśalyamīm[āṃ]* : restored to *upāyakauśalyamīmāṃ(sā)* = Tib. *thabs mkhas pas dpyod pa* = Ch.若能專精善權方便.

49. 　*tihatana* : restored to *(apra)tihatana* = Tib. *thogs pa med pa* = Ch. 無礙.

50. 　*ktisaṃgrahaṇa* : restored to *ya (sattva-adhimu)ktisaṃgrahaṇa* = Tib. *sems can rnams kyi mos pa 'dzin pa* = Ch. 志以好喜教誨眾生，用四恩濟.

S no. 34, vol. 52, mDo sde, Ka 121b7–123a3; Dharma Publishing Staff 1986: 449–453.

ngag[1] 'khrul pa[2] med par 'byung ba gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o ||

thams cad du song ba'i dbyangs gang yin pa de ni[3] tshul khrims kyi'o ||

'khor **dga' bar 'gyur ba gang yin pa de ni[4] bzod pa'i'o ||**

kun tu[5] sgrogs pa gang yin pa de ni *brtson 'grus kyi'o ||*

mos par 'byung ba gang yin[6] pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || (V1)

re ba la ston pa gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni ngag gi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu[7] phyin pa drug go ||

> [1] ngag Pk: dag [2] pa Pk.:ba [3] ni S: ni | [4] ni S: ni | [5] tu Pk: du [6] yin Pk: yan [7] tu Pk: du

de la **yid kyi las ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu[1] phyin pa drug** gang zhe na |

yid kyi las *rang bzhin gyis rgyun mi 'chad pa gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o ||*

rjes su chags pa (V2) dang[2] khong khro ba spong[3] ba gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ||

so sor brtags pa sgrub[4] pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o ||

nga'o snyam pa'i nga rgyal spong[5] ba gang yin pa **de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ||**

gti mug dang bral ba gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ||

tshad med pas[6] gnas pa gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni yid kyi[7] las (V3) ye shes kyi rjes su 'jug pa'i pha rol tu[8] phyin pa drug go ||

> [1] tu Pk: du [2] dang Pk.: S dang | [3] spong Pk: sbong [4] sgrub S: bsgrub [5] spong Pk: sbong [6] pas S: bar [7] kyi S: kyis [8] tu Pk: du

de la 'das pa'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu[1] phyin pa drug gang zhe na |

khams la **rtog pa gang yin pa de ni[2] sbyin pa'i'o ||**

phung po la rtog pa[3] gang yin pa de ni *tshul khrims kyi'o ||*

skye mched la rtog pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || (V4)

las la rtog pa gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ||

nyon mongs pa la rtog pa gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ||

sems can[4] la rtog pa gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni 'das pa'i dus la **ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu[5] phyin pa drug go ||**

> [1] tu Pk: du [2] de ni S: de ni | [3] rtog pa S: rtog ba [4] can Pk:- [5] tu Pk: du

de la ma 'ongs pa'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu[1] phyin pa drug gang zhe na | (V5)

'gro ba[2] tha dad par rtog pa gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o ||

lta ba tha dad par rtog pa gang yin pa de ni **tshul khrims kyi'o |/**

gang zag tha dad par *rtog pa gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o ||*

sbyor pa tha dad par rtog pa gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o || (V6)

skye ba tha dad par rtog pa gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ||

rnam par smin pa tha dad par rtog pa gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni **ma 'ongs pa'i dus la** *ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go ||*

> [1] tu: Pk. du [2] ba: Pk.bar

de la da ltar byung ba'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes mthong ba'i pha rol tu¹ phyin pa drug *gang zhe na* | (V7)

da² ltar byung ba'i dus kyi bya ba shes pa gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o ‖

mya ngan las 'das pa mthong ba gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ‖

'dod chags dang bral bar mthong ba gang yin pa **de ni bzod pa'i'o ‖**

'gog pa *mthong ba gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ‖*

mngon sum du bya ba mthong ba gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ‖ (V8)

'dus byas dang 'dus ma byas la chud za ba med par mthong ba gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi ste |

'di dag ni da ltar byung ba'i dus la ma thogs pa'i ye shes **mthong ba'i pha rol tu³ phyin pa drug go ‖**

¹ tu Pk: du ² da S: de ³ tu Pk: du

de la *mkhas pa'i pha rol tu¹ phyin pa drug gang zhe na |*

thabs mkhas pas dpyod pa gang yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o ‖ (V9)

skyon dang bral bar sbyor ba gang yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ‖

yongs su bsngo² ba gang yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o ‖

thams cad du **thogs pa med pa gang yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ‖**

sems can rnams kyi *mos pa 'dzin pa gang yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o ‖*

bde ba tshad med pa (V10) la 'jug pa thob par byed pa gang yin pa de ni shes rab kyi pha rol tu³ phyin pa'i ste |

'di dag ni mkhas pa'i pha rol tu⁴ phyin pa drug go ‖

¹ tu Pk: du ² bsngo Pk: sngo ³ tu Pk: du ⁴ tu Pk: du

BKS(Ch.) T.14, no. 425, 41b8–c26.

口所班宣，說無上法，曾所更歷，解決諸法，未曾厭倦，是曰布施；其音普至，入一切心，令行清徹，是曰持戒；**開化**眾會，悉令通暢無上正真，**是曰忍辱；**所演法訓，其聲**周遍，**徹于十方，是曰精進；常憶至行，不為虛損，至真專精，篤信思惟，是曰一心(V1)；所可班宣，未曾虛妄，多所安隱一切眾生，是曰智慧；是為六。

何謂意行轉進度無極有六事？

若意心正，思不在邪，心存行念，常本清淨，是曰布施；其以聞法，御導愚冥(V2)，化諸所著，是曰持戒；其能導利有無之業，立平等行，是曰忍辱；假使學法，棄捐吾我，不以自大，**是曰精進；釋離愚癡**，志存大明，無有闇蔽，**是曰一心；**其行深妙，卓然有異而無限量，是曰智慧；是為六。(V3)

何謂知過去世所見無礙度無極有六事？

觀其諸果，眾種四大，了之本無，**是曰布施；察諸陰**入色痛想行識，本無處所，**是曰持戒；**視諸六衰，根元甚微，緣對而生，是曰忍辱(V4)；觀其善惡禍福所由，皆因貪身，是曰精進；斷眾塵勞，常行清淨，無有諸垢，是曰一心；察眾生盡，十二牽連本無所生，是曰智慧；是為六。

何謂見於當來本末所有無罣礙慧度無極有六事？(V5)

其見過去五趣合散，猶如春秋，熾衰成敗，是曰布施；若能分別諸所邪見六十二事，不墮顛倒，**是曰持戒；**觀于人元分別合散，本無有本，是曰忍辱；察於眾生"當以何藥而療治之"(V6)，是曰精進；覩其所生，邦畔進退，各有緣行，是曰一心；曉了報應，

目覩可化，而往開度，使發道意，是曰智慧；是為<u>六。</u>

<u>何謂知現在</u>(V7)不可限礙度無極有六事？

覩其所造，因緣之對，訓化群生，興立功德，是曰布施；見其所由，因解三脫，奉六度無極而致成就，是曰持戒；所奉行訓，悉離貪欲，志慕道法，以法為樂，**是曰忍辱**；**觀**一切形微妙儱細，悉**滅盡**無常存者，<u>是曰精進</u>；<u>見於證明</u>三界如幻，一切本無，無所違失，<u>是曰一心</u>(V8)；若覩生死無為之元，有數、無數心不處二，是曰智慧；是為<u>六。</u>

《方便品第十八》

佛告喜王菩薩：**何謂曉了方便度無極有六事？**

<u>若能專精善權方便</u>(V9)，隨時而入，是曰布施；其於瑕穢，因而開化，使悉清淨，是曰持戒；所作功德，則用勸助一切眾生，是曰忍辱；在所遊至，**無所傷害**，亦無有失，**是曰精進；**志以好喜教誨眾生，<u>用四恩濟，是曰一心</u>；入<u>無量門</u>(V10)，宣總持要而導利之，化于三界，使入大道，是曰智慧；是為六。

2. Fragment of Kumārajīva's lost translation (BD14741/ I，新0941)

As mentioned above, the editorial team of *GTDY* identified recently BD14741/ I to be a fragment of the long-lost Kumārajīva's translation of *BKS*.

According to *GTDY*'s report, the fragment was packed with other 11 fragments in one volume, at the end of which there is an colophon by Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, dated 1915. From the colophon, we can learn that these fragments, might originally found in Kara-Khoja 高昌故城, had belonged to Fang Yaoyu Collection 方藥雨舊藏.

According to the description of *GTDY*, the fragment, in the shape of scroll, measures (16.3+1.5+8.3)×26.5cm. It has 16 columns, with black column-line (烏絲欄) serving to divide the row, and the characters in each column are different in number. And based on the paleographical analysis, the manuscript may date back to the 5th century.

Their identification of the fragment derives mainly from the account of *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, according to which *BKS* is recorded to have been translated into Chinese merely twice: one translated by Dharmarakṣa, soundly preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the other by Kumārajīva, no longer available today. The fragment at hand is obviously different from the Dharmarakṣa's edition, so we may have reason to believe it belongs to Kumārajīva's lost translation.

Nevertheless, the imperfections of the aforementioned research evident. Firstly, the transcription is inaccurate, for example, 波羅蜜→設負家; 三昧→波羅蜜; 形色→行色. Secondly, only Dharmarakṣa's translation was consulted. But many disagreements between the fragment and Dharmarakṣa's translation cannot be explained, except making use of the Tibetan version at the same time. Third, their conclusion was reached mainly by external evidence, such as catalogues &c., without discussing in detail the language style of the fragment, which is similar to the translation of Kumārajīva. Yet their use of catalogues is not without carelessness, for example, it is *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 that records for the first time the loss of Kumārajīva's translation, not *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄. The former book was written by Sengyou (445–518), and, considering the author's date, we should say

that the *terminus ante quem* of the fragment is 518 A.D..

Besides, the quotation of *BKS* in **Buddhabhūmyupadeśa* 佛地經論 T. no. 1530 happens to have come from this section. Yet there is something interesting: the quotation there is in greater agreement to Dharmarakṣa's version, whereas the corresponding passages from this fragment are closer to the Tibetan version.

Moreover, the passage of Brāhma's request to Buddha presumably derives from the same story in Buddha's biography. An analogous story and parallel passage can be found in most accounts of Buddha's life, such as *Mahāpadāna-sutta*[51], *Pāsarāsisutta*[52], *Bodhirājakumāra-sutta*[53], *Brahmāyācanasutta*[54], *Mahāvagga* of Pāli Vinaya[55], *Saṅghabhedavastu* of (Mūla-)-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya[56], *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*[57].

Editorial Signs

[ ]:　　damaged character

<< >>:　interlinear inserted character

□:　　　one lost character

壬:　　　restored character(s)

⎯⎯:　corrupt passage

1. 名八千四百[波][羅][蜜][58]。///
2. 百諸三昧[59]，入千[空]///
3. 四千波羅蜜，為八[万][60]///
4. 四千三昧，為自饒益。///
5. 益他。喜王，是名諸佛[薩?]□□[61]阿耨多羅
6. 三藐三[菩提]。喜<<王>>，我坐[道場]、[破]魔軍，得是/
7. 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，以是法喜，結跏趺[62]/
8. ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯□□□梵王來請："□[今]是世間，則為/
9. ⎯⎯實[63]。世尊得如是妙法，樂[在]嘿然，不樂說/
10. 法[64]。"我爾時猶在道場，諸淨居天見我無量/

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51. Cf. DN 2.38.
52. Cf. MN 1.169.
53. Cf. MN 2.93.
54. Cf. SN 1.137.
55. Cf. Pāli Vinaya, Mahāvagga 1.5.
56. Cf. Gnoli 1977: 128–129.
57. Cf. Waldschmidt 1952–1962: §8.1.
58. =Tib. *pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong bzhi brgya*.
59. Restored to 八千四百諸三昧 = Tib. *ting nge 'dzin kyang brgyad stong bzhi brgya*.
60. Ms: [万]→[萬].
61. Restored to [薩?]婆若 = Tib. *thams cad mkhyen pa nyid*(?).
62. Restored to 結跏趺坐 = Tib. *skyil mo krung*.
63. 不實= Tib. *chab 'tshal*(?)
64. Similar expression can be found in other Kumārajīva's translation. Cf. 《摩訶般若波羅蜜經》："以是義故，佛初成道時，心樂默然，不樂說法。" (T.8, no. 223, 335a2–3) 《大智度論》："以是義故，佛初成道時，心樂嘿然，不樂說法。"(T.25, no. 1509, 562b26–27) "[今]是世間，則為/□實。世尊得如是妙法，樂[在]嘿然，不樂說/法。"Pāli parallel: *"nassati vata bho loko, vinassati vata bho loko, yatra hi nāma tathāgatassa arahato sammāsambuddhassa appossukkatāya cittaṃ namati, no dhammadesanāyā" ti*. Cf. SN

11. 威[神]功德，形色清淨，威儀光明，容貌端直，/
12. □[相]明顯[65]，衆[所][奉]仰，周[遍]清淨，微妙莊/
13. 嚴，過出[世]間，[衆]所愛樂，慧?力無量，光明名/
14. <u>稱?，流?</u>布廣大，難可得觀，威德無邊，無[與?][66]/
15. <u>等?者?。</u>[以]恭敬心，於我前立，說是偈言：/
16. <u>隆魔</u>[消]塵勞，震動三千界，滅衆惡趣[67]患，坐道場殊勝。/

BKS(Tib.) **D no. 94, vol. 45, mDo sde, Ka 94a4–94b6; Pk no. 762, vol. 27, mDo sna tshogs, I 103a4–b7; S no. 34, vol. 52, mDo sde, Ka 129b1–130a6; Dharma Publishing Staff 1986: 477–481.**

de dag las pha rol tu phyin pa nyis stong chig[1] brgya ni 'dod chags spyod pa rnams la chos ston[2] pa'o ‖ pha rol tu phyin pa nyis stong chig[3] brgya ni zhe sdang spyod[4] pa rnams la chos ston[5] pa'o ‖[6] pha rol tu phyin pa nyis stong chig[7] brgya ni gti mug spyod[8] pa rnams la chos ston[9] pa'o ‖ pha rol tu phyin pa nyis stong chig[10] brgya ni cha mnyam par spyod pa rnams la chos ston[11] pa ste | de dag ni <u>pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong bzhi brgya'o</u> ‖ de dag gi <u>ting nge 'dzin</u> kyang brgyad stong bzhi <u>brgya'o</u> ‖ de dag gi <u>rnam pa la 'jug pa yang stong stong</u> ste | rnam pa brgya brgya po re re'i stong stong po des na[12] de dag ni[13] <u>pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad khri bzhi stong zhes bya'o</u> ‖ de dag gi <u>ting nge 'dzin</u> brgyad khri <u>bzhi stong</u> sgrub par byed pa ni <u>bdag la phan par brtson pa zhes bya'o</u> [14] ‖ gzungs brgyad khri bzhi stong ni <u>gzhan la phan par brtson pa</u> ste | thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyi phyir de ni sangs rgyas kyi byang chub bo ‖ mchog tu dga' ba'i rgyal po ngas byang chub kyi snying por bdud btul te | byang chub mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas nas[15] nga chos la dga' ba'i rnam par smin pas zhag bdun gyi bar du skyil[16] mo krung[17] ma bshig par 'dug pa la tshangs pas kye ma'o 'jig rten 'di ni[18] chab 'tshal te | <u>'di ltar</u>[19] de bzhin gshegs pas ni chos rgya chen po 'di lta bu mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas kyang thugs las chung[20] du la thugs mngon par gzhol bar mdzad kyi | chos bstan pa'i slad du ni ma lags so zhes gsol ba btab bo ‖ de nas nga byang chub kyi snying po la 'dug pa'i[21] dpal[22] dang gzi brjid dag gnas[23] gtsang ma'i ris kyi lha rnams kyis mthong ngo ‖ kha dog dang tshul bzang po dang |[24] kha dog du ma[25] snang ba dang | sku drang por bzhugs pa dang | bkra shis pa dang | thad[26] du 'gro bar 'os pa dang | kun nas mdzes pa dang | legs par gnas pa dang | 'od kyi kha dog mchog[27] dang ldan pa dang | blta na sdug pa dang | bkod pa khyad par du 'phags pa[28] dang | 'jig rten thams cad las mngon par 'phags pa dang |

1.137, DN 2.38, Pāli Vinaya Mahāvagga(1.5) . Sanskrit parallel (*Saṅghabhedavastu/ Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*): *"tatra bhagavata alpotsukavihāratāyāṃ cittaṃ krāmati, na dharmadeśanāyām; atha brahmaṇaḥ sabhāpater etad abhavat: vinaśyati batāyaṃ lokaṃ; praṇaśyati batāyaṃ lokah, yatredānīṃ kadācit karhicit tathāgatā arhantah samyaksaṣaṃbuddhā loke utpadyante, tadyathā udumbarapuṣpaṃ; tasya cādya bhagavata alpotsuka-vihāratāyāṃ cittaṃ krāmati, na dharmadeśanāyām:"* Cf. Gnoli 1977: 128–129., Waldschmidt 1952–1962: §8.1.
[65] 德?[相]明顯 = Tib. *bkra shis pa* = Ch.吉祥之業 = Skt. *svastika*(?). Here *svastika* or *śrīvatsa* refers to the Buddhist auspicious symbol 卍 which is called 德相 or 德字 by Kumārjīva. 云何為八十隨形好？一者無見頂；……八十者手足有德相。須菩提！是為八十隨形好佛身成就。 (T.8, no. 223, 395c27–396b10).
[66] Ms: 与→與.
[67] There is a small "guo" 過on the right side of "qu" 趣 which conventionally is a interlinear correction. However, this verse actually copies from D (= 滅眾惡趣患), so here 趣 is probably the correct reading. It can be further confirmed by Tib. *ngan song sa yi sdug* which is closer to 惡趣患 instead of 惡過患. Thus we prefer "qu" 趣 to "guo" 過 in the transcription although 惡過患 appear much more frequently than 惡趣患 in Chinese Tripiṭaka.

bkod pa yid du 'ong ba dang | ye shes kyi bdag nyid chen po dang | blta na dkon pa dang | gzi
byin mtha' yas pa[29] dang | snyan par grags pa dang | mkhyen bzhin du kha dog mdzes par
snang ba dag kyang mthong nas | de'i tshe spyan sngar 'khod de[30] zhe sa dang bcas pas tshigs
su bcad pa 'di dag gsol to ||

bdud btul nyon mongs pa[31] dag rnam bcom zhing ||

stong gsum po yi[32] sa gzhi g.yo mdzad la |

ngan song sa yi[33] sdug bsngal spangs nas kyang ||

byang chub shing drung bzhugs pa kun du[34] mdzes ||

[1] chig Pk: cig [2] ston Pk S: bstan [3] chig Pk: cig [4] spyod Pk:sbyod [5] ston Pk:bstan [6] - S: pha rol tu phyin pa
nyis stong cig brgya ni zhe sdang spyod pa rnams la chos bstan pa'o || [7] chig Pk:cig [8] spyod Pk:sbyod [9] ston
Pk S:bstan [10] chig Pk S:cig [11] ston Pk S:bstan [12] na S: na | [13] Pk:gi [14] brtson pa zhes bya'o S: brtson pa'o [15]
nas S: nas | [16] skyil Pk:dkyil [17] Pk:dkrung [18] Pk:na [19] | 'di ltar S: 'di ltar | [20] chung: chu [2] 'dug pa'i Pk: 'jug
pa'i, S: 'dug ba'i [22] dpal: S dbal [23] gnas S: | gnas [24] dang | S: dang [25] du ma S: tu [26] thad Pk: tha dad [27] mchog
S: mdog [28] pa Pk: ba [29] pa S: ba [30] de S: de | [31] pa S: ba [32] po yi S: bo'i [33] sa yi S: sa'i [34] du S: tu

BKS(Ch.) T.14, no. 425, 44c17–45a24.

佛告喜王菩薩："是二千一百諸度無極說法教化諸貪淫種；二千一百諸度無極說法開化
諸瞋恚種；二千一百諸度無極說法開覺諸愚痴種；二千一百諸度無極說法訓誨化等分
種；是合八千四百諸度無極。一變為十，合八萬四千諸度無極。佛則醫王，法為眾生
一切三界無上良藥，療治三毒，陰蓋得消，等分返逆，無返複人，因見化導，靡不解
脫。不奉行斯八萬四千諸度無極，欲為百千種人除八萬四千眾垢塵勞，逮八萬四千諸
三昧門，終不能成。由是修立八萬四千空行法義，以是化導百千種人，消除八萬四千
眾垢塵勞，逮八萬四千諸三昧門，是謂佛道，深入無極，致一切智。
佛言："喜王，吾以是法，坐佛樹下，降魔官屬，成最正覺。因是解法，建立平等。在
于地上，結跏趺坐，便致巍巍神妙。"梵王恭敬，忽下稽首，歸命求哀："往古誓願為
一切眾生，今悉集會，咸欲聞經。"梵王垂泪，而勤勸助："唯濟一切未度迷惑！佛成
如斯微妙大聖，逮最正覺，寂然安坐，而自靜默，心惟此意：'五濁惡世，九十六徑、
六十二見，迷惑卒暴，多無返複，不受道教，不如默然，取般泥洹。'"佛坐樹下，光
明巍巍，普照十方，淨居身天，遙見威光，顏貌功勛，靡不晃昱，道德灼灼，吉祥之
業，應當流布，諸天眾會，皆共悅豫，建立大光，寂寞正真，聖達無際，曜明煒煒，
威德普顯，無上清淨，三世最尊，周遍一切十方佛界，其心解徹，動三千國，道慧廣
遠，難得見聞，超絕無底，名稱通暢，睹此威神，妙光無量，顏容盛德，智如虛空，
殊特無喻。于時梵王複重啓佛，悚息一心，恭恪自歸，說此頌曰：

道場演大光　　降魔消塵勞
震動三千國　　滅眾惡趣患
正身安隱坐　　不傾猶須彌
振曜照佛土　　處樹莫不蒙

Quotation of BKS in *Buddhabhūmyupadeśa 佛地經論 T.26, no. 1530, 320a22–29.

如《賢劫經》廣說其相，所謂："最初修習行法波羅蜜多，乃至最後分布佛體波羅
蜜多，三百五十一一皆具六到彼岸，如是總有二千一百；對治貪瞋癡及等分有情心
行八千四百；除四大種及六無義所生過失，十轉合數八萬四千。修習此故，復得成
就八萬四千陀羅尼門、三摩地等。"此猶略說，廣則無量。

Abbreviation:

DN *Dīgha-nikāya* (ed. PTS)

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.

Guji minglu II 2010 Zhan Furui 詹福瑞 ed., *Di'er pi guojia zhengui guji minglu tulu* 第二批國家珍貴古籍名錄圖錄, 10 vols. Beijing: Guojia Tushuguan Chubanshe 國家圖書館出版社, 2010.

MN *Majjhima-nikāya* (ed. PTS)

RCXW Wu Yulin 武宇林 & Shintaro Arakawa 荒川慎太郎主編 (eds.), *Riben Cang Xixia Wenxian* 日本藏西夏文文獻, 2 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2011.

SN *Samyutta-nikāya* (ed. PTS)

XMNLC Duan Qing 段晴 & Zhang Zhiqing 張志清 (eds.), *Xinjiang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library of China: Sanskrit Fragments and Kharoṣṭhī Documents* 中國國家圖書館藏西域文書: 梵文・佉盧文卷, Shanghai: Zhongxi Shuju, 2013.

YCHW Xie Yujie 謝玉杰 & Frances Wood 吳芳思 (eds.), *Yingguo Guojia Tushuguan Cang Heishuicheng Wenxian* 英國國家圖書館藏黑水城文獻, Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.

ZFKZ Qing Jixiang慶吉祥 et al.(eds.), *Dayuan Zhiyuan Fabao Kantong Zonglu* 大元至元法寶勘同總錄, in *Qisha Dazangjing* 磧砂大藏經, vol. 119, Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju 線裝書局, 2005.

ZCXW Shi Jinbo 史金波 & Chen Yuning 陳育寧 (eds.), *Zhongguo Cang Xixia Wenxian* 中國藏西夏文獻, 20 vols., Lanzhou: Gansu Renmin Chubanshe & Dunhuang Wenyi Chubanshe, 2005.

Conventions for editions of Tibetan texts:

Pk Peking edition of bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gur, *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, ed. D. T. Suzuki, 168 vols., Kyoto 1955–61.

D Derge blockprint edition of the bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur

S sTog Palace manuscript version of the bKa' 'gyur.

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Newly Identified Manuscripts in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*:
*Avadāna*s and *Dhāraṇī*s

Noriyuki KUDO

Some of the folios in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts* are identified by the present writer[1]. Here I would like to present the transliterations of some folios, especially the *avadāna*s and the *dhāraṇī*s[2].

FE: Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (Facsimile edition)*, Śatapiṭaka Series volume X (in 10 parts), New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959–1974.
　[reprinted in three volumes as *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts: Revised and enlarged compact facsimile edition*, Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series 150, 151, 152, New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1995.]

1. *Avadāna*s.
1.1. *Avadānaśataka* § 72 Supriyā
No. 51e, FE nos. 3281–82. Gilgit/Bamiyan type II or Proto-Śāradā, 6–7 lines.
Parallel: *Avadānaśataka*, § Supriyā, II. 8.6–10.4.

FE		*Avadānaśataka* [Aś]
3281	recto	Aś. II. 8.6-9.6
3282	verso	Aś. II. 9.6-10.5

　J. S. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka. A Century of Edifying Tales belonging to the Hīnayāna.* (Bibliotheca Buddhica. III) [Rep. Meicho-Fukyū-kai, 1977].

FE3281, recto, 7 lines.
1　/// + + + ..mvṛttā tadā mātāpitarām anujñātavyāsane pravraj[i]tā sā sarvā«sāṃ» bhikṣuṇīnām iṣṭāṃ kāṃtā priyā manāpā y. ///

2　/// + + .. .[r]. [ṇ]. annaviyogāt kālaṃ {{ku}}kurvaṃtti tatra bahgavān āyuṣmaṃntam ānandam āmaṃtrayate sma{{ṃ}} gacchānanda madvacanā [su] ///

3　/// .[ā]sanāglānapratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāraiḥ pratipādayitavyā iti ta • āyuṣmān ānanda supriyāṃ gatvovaca bhaga[vā] .. .. ///

---

4   ///   ..   tyayabhaiṣajya{{pi}}pariṣkāraiḥ   pratipāda◯yitavyāḥ   supriyāṃ   kṛtakarṇa-
puṭā{{ṃ}} bhagavataḥ [ā] + + + + + + ///

5   /// + .. lokanārthaṃ yāvad e{{na}}ṣā pravṛtir anāthapiṇḍa{{ke}}dena śrutvā sa{kvari-
ta}tvaritaṃ supriyāyā agra[t]. + + + + + ///

6   /// + .. ttakaṃ karmmāṇi niyukteti anā{{tha}}thapiṇḍada uvāca alposukhā bhava ahaṃ
te sa + + + + + ///

7   /// + + ṣṭa satyaḥ p[r]avārayatīti samantato (')nta{ni}rhitāni nidhānāny abhisamīkṣya
ahaṃ tu da .i + + + + + + ///

Avadānaśataka § Supriyā, II. 8.6–9.6:

     yāvad asau dārikā krameṇa saptavarṣā [3281.1] *saṃvṛttā, mātāpitarāv anujñāpya Bhagavacchāsane
pravrajitā | sā sarvāsāṃ bhikṣuṇīnām iṣṭā kāntā priyā manāpā ||*

*yāvat tatra kālena mahādurbhikṣaṃ prādurbhūtaṃ durbhikṣāntarakalpasadṛśaṃ, yatrānekāni prāṇiśatasa-
ha*[3281.2]*srāṇi annapānaviyogāt kālaṃ kurvanti |*

*tatra Bhagavān āyuṣmantam Ānandam āmantrayate sma | "gaccha Ānanda, madvacanāt Supriyāṃ vada:
'catasras te parṣadas traimāsyaṃ cīvarapiṇḍapātaśaya*[3281.3]*nāsanaglānapratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāraih
pratipādayitavyā'" iti |*

*tata āyuṣmān Ānandaḥ Supriyāṃ gatvovāca | "Bhagavān āha: 'catasras te parṣadas traimāsyaṃ cīvara-
piṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapra*[3281.4]*tyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāraih pratipādayitavyā'" iti |*

tataḥ Supriyā kṛtakaraputā Bhagavata ājñāṃ śirasikṛtvā kathayati: "evam astv" iti ||

     [Aś. p. 9] *Supriyā Śrāvastīm abhisaṃprasthitā gocaravyava*[3281.5]*lokanārtham* | yāvad eṣā pravṛt-
tir Anāthapindadena śrutā | satvaritaṃ supriyāyā agrato bhūtaḥ kathayati: "Supriye kva gacchasī"ti |*

sā kathayat | "Bhagavān āha: 'traimāsyaṃ vaiyā[3281.6]*vṛtyakarmaṇi niyukte'"ti |*

Anāthapiṇḍada uvāca | "alpotsukā bhava, ahaṃ tvām sarveṇa pravārayāmī"ti |

Supriyā kathayati | "kim atrāścaryaṃ yadi tāto dṛ[3281.7]*stasatyaḥ pravārayati samantato 'ntarhitāni nid-
hānāny abhisamīkṣya | ahaṃ tu daridrajanasyānugrahaṃ karomī"ti ||*

FE 3282, verso, 6 lines.

1   /// + + [l]. kāyā devyā varṣākārayā kṣatryāya riṣidattapurāṇābhyāṃ viśākhāy. + + + + +
///

2   /// + + r mmanuṣyaveṣadhāribhiḥ pravāryate tayā tayā evaṃ pravāryamāṇāyā bhagavāṃ
saśr. + + + ///

3   /// + + ri{{skā}}ṣkāreḥ tathaiva ca ttraimāsye ◯ yujyamānāyā ghaṭamānāyā vyāya
.[ch]. + + + ///

4   ///   ..   ragatīḥ   śatanapatanavikiraṇavidhvaṃsanadharmmatayā   parāhatya   sarva-
kleśaprahāṇad arhatvaṃ sā[k]ṣ. .[r] .. ///

5   /// [kā]ṣapāṇisamacitā vāsīcandanakalpāḥ vidyāvidāritāṇḍakośaḥ vidyābhijñāprati-
saṃvitprāptā bhava ///

6   /// mānyābhivādyā ca saṃvṛttā : [*here ends text*]

Avadānaśataka § Supriyā, II.9.6–10.5:

tathā pañcabhir upāsakaśatair alpotsukā kriyate | mā[3282.1]*likayā devyā, varṣākārayā kṣatriyayā, ṛṣi-
dattapurāṇābhyāṃ sthapatibhyāṃ, viśākhayā mṛgāramātrā, rājñā Prasenajitā | aṭavīgatā tatrāpy
amanuṣyai*[3282.2]*r manuṣyaveṣadhāribhih pravāryate | tayā evaṃ pravāryamāṇayā Bhagavān saśrā-
vakasaṃghas traimāsyam upasthitaś cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaiṣajyapa*[3282.3]*ri-
ṣkāraih | tatraiva ca traimāsye yujyamānaghaṭamānavyāyacchamānayā idam eva pañcagaṇḍakaṃ
saṃsā*[Aś. p. 10]*racakraṃ calācalaṃ viditvā sarvasaṃskā*[3282.4]*ragatīḥ śatanapatana<vi>kirana-*

vidhvaṃsanadharmatayā parāhatya sarvakleśaprahāṇād arhatvaṃ sākṣātkṛtam | *arhantī saṃvṛttā trai-*
dhātukavītarāgā samaloṣṭakāñcanā ā[3282.5]*kāśapāṇitalasamacittā vāsīcandanakalpā vidyāvidāritāṇḍa-*
kośā vidyābhijñāpratisaṃvitprāptā bhavalābhalobhasatkāraparāṅmukhā | *sendropendrāṇāṃ devānāṃ*
pūjyā [3282.6] *mānyābhivādyā ca saṃvṛttā* ||

1.2. *Sudhanakumāra-avadāna*

No. 51e, FE 3300–3301. Gilgit/Bamiyan type II or Proto-Śāradā. 6–7 lines.

Parallels: *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, GBM, FE 1020–1021, 176r5–176v4 [=
Vinaya Texts, plate 85]; Dutt, III.1, 130.12-132.5; also *Divyāvadāna*. XXX. Sudhanāvadāna,
esp. 440.4–441.6.

FE		FE	Folio (Bhaiṣajyavastu)	Dutt	Divy.
3300	recto	1020	176r5–8	III.i, 130.12–22	440.4–15
3301	verso	1020	176r8–1021.176v4.	III.i, 130.22–132.5	440.15–441.6

Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*. Vol. III.1. Srinagar, 1947.

E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, *Divyāvadāna. A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, Cambridge: The
Cambridge University Press, 1886.

Shayne Clarke, *Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition*. Vol. I: *Vinaya
Texts*. New Delhi/Tokyo: The National Archives of India and The International Research Institute
for Advanced Buddhology, Soka Uninversity, 2014.

FE 3300, recto, 6 lines.

1   /// + + + + + + + + + ... dāyaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya paṃ ..[3] sv abhijñāsu pratiṣṭhāni tāni • tac
chrūyatā(ṃ) bhūtapūrva(ṃ) bhi[kṣ]. .. t. t[e] dhvani[4] vārāṇāsyāṃ nagaryāṃ brahmā[da]
.[t]. + + + + +

2   /// + + + + + + + + .. . praśāṃtakalikalaha ..[5] mbaḍamarataskararogāpagataṃ prγam
ivaikaputrakaṃ rājñaṃ pālitavān* brahmādasya khalu rājño brahmāvatī [n]. + +

3   /// + + + + + ◯ bhinandī śivavaruṇakube ..[6] śakrabrahmādī devatān āyācate • tadyathā
ārāmadevatā vanadevatā catvaradevatā śṛmgāṭakadevatā ba[l]i

4   /// + + + + + ◯ api devatā āyāca ..[7] sti caiṣa loke pravāda yad āyācanahetoḥ putrāś ca
jāyaṃte duhitaraś ca tac ca naivaṃ saced evam abhaviṣyad e

5   /// + + .[ca]kravarttinaḥ api tu ttrayāṇāṃ sthānānāṃ saṃmukhībhāvān mātuḥ kukṣau
garbhasyāvakrāntir bhavati[8] • katameṣāṃ trayāṇāṃ mātāpitaro rakto bhavataḥ sanni

6   /// ..rdharvaś ca pratyupasthito bhavati eṣāṃ trāyāṇāṃ sthānānāṃ saṃmukhībhāvāt
putrā jāyaṃte duhitaraś ca sa caivam āyacaparas tiṣṭhati • anyatamaś ca

MSV. Bhaiṣajyavastu: III.i, 130.12–22; GBM 1020, 176r5–8 (cf. Yao[9], p. 349.21–350.8)

[3.]   Here is folded.

[4.]   Read *bhiks(avo ')t(ī)te (')dhvani*.

[5.]   Folded. Read: ... *praśāntakalikalaha(ḍi)mbaḍamarataskararogāpagataṃ*.

[6.]   Folded. Read: *-kubera-*.

[7.]   Folded. Read: *āyāca(te ')sti*.

[8.]   This sentence (*mātuḥ ...bhavati*) corresponds to neither the MSV nor the Divy.

[9.]   An annotated Japanese translation of the Tibetan *Bhaiṣajyavastu*: Fumi Yao, 『根本説一切有部律薬

yāvad apareṇa samayena Dhano rājā devyā sārdhaṃ krīḍati ramate paricāryati / tasya krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayato na putro na duhitā / sa kare kapolaṃ datvā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ / "aneka-dhanasamuditaṃ me gṛhaṃ na me putro na duhitā / mamātyayāt svakulavaṃsacchede rāṣṭrāpahāraḥ / sarvaṃ ca svāpateyam aputrakam iti kṛtvā rājavidheyaṃ bhaviṣyatī"ti /

sa śramaṇabrāhmaṇasuhṛtsaṃbandhibāndhavair ucyate / "deva kim asi ci[176r5]ntāpara" iti /

sa etat prakaraṇaṃ teṣāṃ vistareṇārocayati / te kathayanti / "devatārādhanaṃ kuru putras te bhaviṣyatī"ti /

so 'putraḥ putrā[3300.3]<u>*bhinandī śivavaruṇakubera*</u>**<u>śakrabrahmādī</u>***n*[10] *anyāṃś ca* <u>*devatāviśeṣāṇ āyācate tadyathā ārāma*</u>[176r6]<u>*devatā vanadevatāś catvaradevatāḥ śṛṅgāṭakadevatā balipratigrāhikā devatāḥ sahajāḥ sahadharmikā nityānubaddhā* [3300r.4] *api devatā āyācate /*</u>

<u>*asti caiṣa loke pravādo yadāyācanahetoḥ putrā jāyante duhitaraś ca /*</u> [176r7] <u>*tac ca naivam* / yady evam abhaviṣyad ekaikasya putrasahasram abhaviṣyat tadyathā rājñaś* [3300.5] *cakravartinaḥ / api tu trayāṇāṃ sthānānāṃ sammukhībhāvāt putrā jāyante duhitaraś ca / katameṣāṃ trayāṇām** </u>/ 1) <u>*mātāpitarau raktau bhavataḥ saṃnipatitau* /</u> 2) [176r8] <u>*mātā ca kalyā bhavati ritumatī /* </u>3) *gandha*[3300.6]<u>*rvaś* **ca** *pratyupasthito bhavati / eṣām trayāṇām sthānānāṃ sammukhībhāvāt putrā jāyante duhitaraś ca /*</u>

<u>*sa caivam āyācanaparas tiṣṭhati / anyatamaś ca*</u> *bhadrakalpiko* (MSV I 131) *bodhisatvas tasyā agramahiṣyāḥ kukṣim avakrāntaḥ /*

Divy. 440.4–15: (cf. Hiraoka[11], II. 215.9–16)

yāvad apareṇa samayena Dhano rājā devyā sārdhaṃ krīḍati ramate paricārayati / tasya krīḍato ramamāṇasya paricārayato na putro na duhitā / sa kare kapolaṃ dattvā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ / "anekadhanasamuditaṃ me gṛham / na me putro na duhitā / mamātyayāt svakulavaṃsacchede rāṣṭrāpahāraḥ sarvasantasvāpateyam [p. 440] *aputram iti kṛtvā anyarājavidheyo bhaviṣyatī"ti /*

sa śramaṇabrāhmaṇasuhṛtsambandhibāndhavair ucyate "deva, kim asi cintāparaḥ" /

sa etat prakaraṇaṃ vistareṇārocayati / te kathayati "devatārādhanaṃ kuru, putras te bhaviṣyatī"ti /

440.4~: *so 'putraḥ putrā*[3300.3]<u>*bhinandī śivavaruṇakubera*</u>*vāsavādīn anyāṃś ca* <u>*devatāviśeṣāṇ āyācate, tadyathārāmadevatā vanadevatā catvaradevatā śṛṅgāṭakadevatā balipratigrāhikā sahajā sahadharmikā nityāvubaddhā* [3300.4] *api devatā āyācate /*</u>

<u>*asti caiṣa loke pravādo yad āyācanahetoḥ putrā jāyante duhitaraś ceti* / *tac ca naivaṃ, yady* </u><u>*evam abhaviṣyad ekaikasya putrasahasram abhaviṣyat, tadyathā rājñaś* [3300.5] *cakravartinaḥ / api tu trayāṇāṃ sthānānāṃ sammukhībhāvāt putrā jāyante duhitaraś ca / katameṣāṃ trayāṇām* /</u> 1) <u>*mātāpitarau raktau bhavataḥ saṃnipatitau* /</u> 2) *mātā cāsya kalyā bhavati ṛtumatī ca /* 3) *gandha*[3300.6]<u>*rvapratyupasthitā bhavati / eṣāṃ trayāṇāṃ sthānānāṃ sammukhībhāvāt putrā jāyante duhitaraś ca /*</u>

<u>*sa caivam āyācanaparas tiṣṭhaty anyatamaś ca*</u> *bhadrakalpiko bodhisattvas tasyāgramahiṣyāḥ kukṣim avakrāntaḥ /*

FE 3301, verso, 7 lines.

1 /// .. dhāno dṛḍhapratijñaḥ narakāc cyutvā brahmāvatyādevyāḥ kukṣim avakrāntaḥ pa(ṃ)cāveṇayā dharmā ekatye paṇḍitajāttīye mātṛgrāme saṃvidyante katame paṃca raktaṃ puruṣaṃ jānīte viraktaṃ jānī

事』 *(Konpon-setsuissaiubu-ritsu Yakuji).* 東京: 連合出版 [The *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, Tokyo: Rengō shuppan], 2013.

10. Text in boldface shows that Gilgit text corresponds only to the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*.

11. An annotated Japanese translation of the *Divyāvadāna*: Satoshi Hiraoka, 『ブッダが謎解く三世の物語・「ディヴィヤ・アヴァダーナ」全訳』*(Budda ga nazo toku sanze no monogatari: 'Diviya-avadāna' zen'yaku).* 東京: 大蔵出版 [The Story of Buddha's Solving of the Mysteries of the Three Time Periods: A Complete Translation of the *Divyāvadāna*. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan], 2 vols., 2007.

2 /// + + .. [n]ī .[e] yasya sakāśād garbham avakrāmati taṃ jānīt[e] dārakaṃ jānīte dārikāṃ jānīte saced dārako bhavati dakṣiṇāṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati sace dārikā bhavati vāmaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya

3 /// + + + + + + ttra vardha◯sve āpannasatvāsmi s[a]ṃvṛttā yāva[d]. dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati nna namayaṃ dārakā bhaviṣyati so (')py āttamanāttamanā udānam udānayati apy evāhaṃ cirakālābhila

4 /// + + + + + + + + + ◯ taḥ pratibibhṛyā .. yādya pratiyadyeta kulavaṃś ca me cirasthitika syād asmākaṃ cāpy atītakālagatānām alpaṃ vā prabhūtaṃ vā dānāni datvā puṇyāni kṛtvā nāmnā dakṣiṇā

5 /// + + + + + + + + + ◯ ti āpannasa[tvā]ṃ .. nām viditvopari prasādatalagatām ayantritān dhārayati śīte śītopakaṇo uṣṇe uṣṇopakaraṇair vaidyaprajñaptair āhārair nātiśītair nā ..

6 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .. .[ai]r nātikaṣāyais [ti]ktāmlavaṇamadhurakaṭukakaṣāyavivarjitair āhārair hārārdshahāravibhūṣitagāttrī apsarasa iva nandanavanāvanāriṇī maṃcān maṃca .ī + +

7 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ... [r]. pākāya • a .[ā]pareṇa samayena brahmāvatyā davyā ayam evaṃ bhūyo dohada utpanna • aho vata deva pūrveṇa nagarasya dārā .i .ī + + + + + +

MSV. *Bhaiṣajyavastu*: III.i, 130.22–132.5, GBM 1020, 176r8–1021, 176v4. (cf. Yao, p. 350.8–30)

anyatamaś ca bhadrakalpiko (MSV I 131) *bodhisatvas tasyā agramahiṣyāḥ* [3301.1] <u>kukṣim</u> <u>avakrāntaḥ</u> /

<u>paṃcāveni</u>[176r9]<u>kā dharmāḥ ekataḥ paṇḍitajātīye mātṛgrāme / katame paṃca /</u> 1) <u>raktaṃ puruṣaṃ</u> <u>jānāti</u> / 2) <u>kālaṃ jānāti / ṛtuṃ jānāti /</u> 3) <u>garbham avakrāntaṃ</u> [3301.2] <u>jānāti /</u> 4) <u>yasya sakāśād garbho</u> <u>'vakrāmati taṃ jānāti /</u> 5) <u>dārakaṃ jānāti / dārikāṃ jānāti / saced dārako</u> **bhava**[176r10]**ti** <u>dakṣiṇaṃ</u> <u>kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati / saced dārikā bhavati vāmaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati /</u>

sā āttamanāttamanāḥ svāminārocayati / "diṣṭyā āryapu[3301.3]**tra** <u>vardhase / āpannasatvāsmi</u> <u>saṃvṛttā</u> / *yathā ca me* <u>dakṣiṇakukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati</u> *niyataṃ* <u>dārako bhaviṣya</u>[176v1; 1021]<u>tī"ti</u> /

<u>so 'py āttamanāttamanāḥ</u> *pūrvaṃ kāyam abhyunnamayya dakṣiṇabāhum abhiprasāryodānam* <u>udānayati</u> / "<u>apy evāhaṃ cirakālābhilaṣitaṃ</u> putramukhaṃ paśyeyam* / samajāto me syān nāvajātaḥ / kṛtyāni me kurvīta / bhṛ[3301.4]<u>taḥ pratibibhṛyāt</u>* / *dāyādyaṃ pratipadyeta / kulavaṃśo me* [176v2] <u>cirasthitikaḥ syāt</u>* / <u>asmākaṃ cāpy atītakālagatānām alpaṃ vā prabhūtaṃ vā dānāni datvā puṇyāni kṛtvā</u> *asmākaṃ* <u>nāmnā dakṣiṇām</u> *ādekṣyate / 'idaṃ tayor yatra tatropapannayor gacchator anugacchatv'"* i[3301.5]<u>ti</u> /

<u>āpannasatvāṃ</u> *cai*<u>nāṃ viditvā upari prāsādatalagatām ayantritāṃ dhāraya</u>[176v3]<u>ti</u> **śīte** **śītopakaraṇair uṣṇe uṣṇopakaraṇair vaidyaprajñaptair** (MSV I 132) **āhārair** *nātitiktair nātyamlair nātilavaṇair nātimadhurakair nātikaṭuk*[3301.6]**air** **nātikaṣāyais**[12] *tiktāmlalavaṇamadhurakaṭukakaṣāya-* <u>vivarjitair āhārair hārārdhahāravibhūṣitagātrīm a</u>[176v4]*psarasam iva nandanavanavihāriṇīṃ mañcān* <u>mañcaṃ pīṭhāt pīṭham</u> *avatarantīm adharimāṃ bhūmim* / *na cāsyāḥ kiṃcid amanojñaśabdaśravaṇaṃ yāvad eva garbhasya pa*[3301.7]<u>ripākāya</u> /

sā aṣṭānāṃ vā navānāṃ vā māsānām atyayāt prasūtā / dāra[176v5]*ko jātaḥ / abhirūpo darśanīyaḥ prāsādiko gauraḥ kanakavarṇaś chatrākāraśirāḥ pralambabāhur vistīrṇalalāṭaḥ uccaghoṣaḥ saṃgatabrūs tuṅganāsaḥ sarvāṅgapratyaṅgopetaḥ /*

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12. Here, Gilgit text corresponds only to the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*.

Divy. 440.15–441.6: (cf. Hiraoka, II. 215.16–216.13)

anyatamaś ca bhadrakalpiko bodhisattvastasyāgramahiṣyāḥ [3301.1] kukṣim avakrāntaḥ /

pañcāveṇīyā dharmā ekatye paṇḍitajātīye mātṛgrāme / katame pañca / 1) raktaṃ puruṣaṃ jānāti

viraktaṃ jānāti,[13] 2) kālaṃ jānāti ṛtuṃ jānāti, 3) garbham avakrāntaṃ [3301.2] jānāti 4) yasya sakāśād

garbham avakrāmati tam api jānāti 5) dārakaṃ jānāti, dārikāṃ jānāti / saced dārako dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ

niśritya tiṣṭhati, saced dārikā bhavati, vāmaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati /

sāttamanāḥ svāmina ārocayati / diṣṭyā [3301.3] vardhasvāryaputra āpannasattvāsmi saṃvṛttā yathā

ca me dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati niyatam dārako bhaviṣyatīti /

so 'py āttamanāttamanā pūrvaṃ kāyam unnamayya dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum abhiprasāryodānam udānayati /

"apy evāhaṃ cirakālābhilaṣitaṃ putramukhaṃ paśyeyaṃ jāto me syān nāvajātaḥ / kṛtyāni me kurvīta

bhṛ[3301.4]taḥ pratibhared dāyādyaṃ me pratipadyeta kulavaṃśo me cirasthitikaḥ syād asmākaṃ

cātyatītakālagatānām alpaṃ vā prabhūtaṃ vā dānāni dattvā puṇyāni kṛtvāsmākaṃ nāmnā dakṣiṇām

ādekṣyati 'idaṃ tayor yatra[p. 441]tatropapannayor gacchator anugacchatv'" i[3301.5]ti /

āpannasattvāṃ viditvā upariprāsādatalagatām ayantritām dhārayati [3301.6] tiktāmlalavaṇamadhura-

kaṭukaṣāyavivarjitair āhāraiḥ hārārdhahāravibhūṣitagātrīm apsarasam iva nandanavanacāriṇīm mañcān

mañcam pīṭhāt pīṭham avatarantīm adharimāṃ bhūmiṃ na cāsyāḥ kiṃcid amanojñaśabdaśravaṇam yāvad

eva garbhasya pari[3301.7]pākāya /

sāṣṭānāṃ vā navānāṃ vā māsānām atyayāt prasūtā / dārako jāto 'bhirūpo darśanīyaḥ prāsādiko

gauraḥ kaṇakavarṇaś chattrākāraśirāḥ pralambabāhur vistīrṇalalāṭa uccaghoṇaḥ saṃgatabhrūs

tuṅganāsaḥ sarvāṅgapratyaṅgopetaḥ /

Gēnběnshuōyīqièyǒubù Pínàiyē Yàoshì『根本説一切有部毘奈耶藥事』卷第十三

T 1448, vol. 24, 60b26-c13:

其王為求子故。即求林神園神。四衢道神。受祭祀神。隨生神。諸天善神等。願當有子。

佛言。「若由此事。而求得者。人人並有千子。要由三事和合。方有其子。何者[60c]為三。一父。

二母。三貪愛現前。乃當有子。其王至求子故。

時有賢劫菩薩。遂於國大夫人腹内受胎。智慧女人有五種智。云何為五。

一知丈夫有欲心等。如上廣説。」既知得胎。

歡喜白王。「我今懷妊。在左腋邊。必知是男。」

大王聞已。甚大歡喜。

夫人作念。『十月滿已。當誕子。彼能建立宗族。我捨壽後。為我隨分行施。修諸福業。供養乞

者。生在之時。能隨我後。』

妃欲產時。散放遊行。寒供煖具。熱給涼資。衣服所須。問醫方食。六味和可。衆寶瓔珞。以莊嚴

身。猶如天女。亦如諸天遊歡喜園。常以床座輦輿將行。香美之處。聞樂悦聲。至妃月滿。

2. Dhāraṇīs.

2.1. Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī

(1) Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī (= Mp.)

No. 47, FE 3119/3120. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type II. 8 lines.

FE no.		Hidas	Iwamoto
3120	recto	[13].14-20 [p. 47]	Mp 6 [Hidas, p. 112]
3119	verso	[13].21-26 [p. 47]	Mp 6 [Hidas, p. 113]

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13. Here the text in boldface corresponds only to the Divy.

Yutaka Iwamoto, *Mahāpratisarā Pañcarakṣā II*, (Beiträge zur Indologie, 3) Kyoto 1937.

Gergely Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī, the Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells: Introduction, Critical Editions and Annotated Translation*. (Śata-piṭaka series: Indo-Asian literatures: v. 636), New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture/Aditya Prakashan, 2012.

FE 3120, recto

1   /// + + + + + + + .. śayaḥ śaklaś ca tridaśaiḥ sārdhaṃ .. ///

2   /// + + + + + .[t]. kayaṃ ca mahākālaṃ nandikeśvaraṃ kā .i .. ///

3   /// ndikeśvaraṃ sarve mātrigaṇā tasya tathānye mārak[ā] + + ///

4   /// ◯ jā devā caiva madhardhikā te sarve rakṣāṃ kari .. + ///

5   /// ◯ vai : bauddhā caiva mahātmāno vidyādevyo mahā .. + ///

6   /// + .. [k]ī .. .. ṭī tārāṃkuśī vajraśaṃkalā

7   /// + + + + + + + ... supāśī vajrapāś. + ///

8   /// + + + + + + + + + + + takuṇḍalī a ///

FE 3119, verso

1   /// + + + + + + + + + + + .[m]. kuṇḍalī • puṣpa .. ///

2   /// + + + + + + + [hā]t. jā tathā dhanyā vidyumā .. ///

3   /// + .. • tathā buddhā kṣitika nāmnā ca kāpālinī va .. + ///

4   /// ◯ pi bahuvidhās tathā • te sarve tasya rakṣanti + ///

5   /// ◯ gatā bhavet* hārītī pāṃcikaś caiva śaṃkhi + ///

6   /// ca sarasvatī nityānubaddhā rakṣārthe pratisarā[dh]. + ///

7   /// + + + .. d[y]ā rājā mahābalāḥ sarvasiddhi sadā ///

8   /// + + + + + + rbhāṇi ca dhatte sukhaṃ prasūya .. ///

Gilgit version: Hidas [13], p. 47. G4 = Ser. No. 17, FE 1157–1165. G/B type II, 6 lines.

(1157L.1)[14] *maṇicūḍā ca svaraṇakeśī piṃgalā ca ma*

(1157L.2) *.. nī ekajaṭā ca mahārākṣasī • tathā buddhā*

(1157L.3) ◯ *varā • tathā laṃkeśvarī dhanyā anye (')pi bahu*

(1157L.4) [3119.4] <u>*raksanti yasyeyaṃ mahāvidyā hastagatā*</u>

(1157L.5) [3119.5] *(hārītī pāṃci)*<u>*kaś caiva śaṃkhinī kūṭadantī śrīyā devī ca*</u>

(1157L.6) [3119.6] <u>*baddhārakṣārthe pratisarādh*</u>*āraṇasya ṇīstraṃ ya dhāraya*

(1157R.1) [3119.7] <u>*[hā]balāḥ sarvasiddhi sadā*</u> *tasya putragarbhe su*

(1157R.2) [3119.8] <u>*dhatte sukha*</u> <u>*sū*</u>*yati gurviṇī sarvavyāṃdhisu a*

(1157R.3) *..ḥ* ◯ *puṇyavāṃ balavān nityaṃ dhanadhānyapravardhanaṃ*

(1157R.4) *de*◯*yavacanatānityaṃ pūjanīyaṃ bhaviṣyati •*

(1157R.5) *[pu]ruṣo (')pi vāsa nityaṃ sarvasatvānāṃ mokṣaṇārtha*

(1157R.6) *nitya sarvavyādhivivarjita rājāno vaśagā tasya sā*

Eastern India & Nepal version:

Iwamoto: *Mahāpratisarā*, 6 = Hidas [14]. 13–26 (pp. 112-3):

śrāvakāḥ sarvabuddhānāṃ vidyādevyo mahābalāḥ /

rakṣāṃ kurvanti satataṃ pratisarādhārakasya vai // (= Hidas [14].13)

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14.   1157L–R (= Hidas: 1157a–b) correspond only to FE 3119.

vajrapāṇiś ca yakṣendro rājānaś caturas tathā /

tasya rakṣāṃ kariṣyanti divā rātrau na saṃ[3120.1]*śayaḥ* // (= Hidas [14].14)

śakraś ca trideśaih sārdhaṃ brahmā viṣṇur maheśvarāḥ /

nandikeśo [3120.2] *mahākālaḥ kārtikeyo gaṇe*[3120.3]*śvaraḥ* // (= Hidas [14].15)

sarve mātṛgaṇās tasya tathānye mārakāyikāḥ /

ṛṣayaś ca mahāte[3120.4]*jā devāś caiva maharddhikāḥ* // (= Hidas [14].16)

nityaṃ rakṣāṃ kariṣyanti pratisarādhārakasya [3120.5] *vai /*

buddhāś caiva mahātmāno vidyādevyo mahābalāḥ // (= Hidas [14].17)

mahāvīryā mahātejā mahābalaparākramāḥ /[15]

māma[3120.6]*kī bhṛkuṭī caiva tārādevī tathāṅkuśī //*

vajrasaṃkalayā śvetā mahāśvetā tathaiva ca / (= Hidas [14].18)

mahākālī ca dūtyaś ca vajradūtyas tathāparāḥ //

[3120.7]*supāśī vajrapāśī ca cakrapāṇir mahābalāḥ /* (= Hidas [14].19)

vajramālā mahāvidyā tathaivāmṛ[3120.8]*takuṇḍaliḥ //*

aparājitā mahādevī kālakarṇī mahābalāḥ / (= Hidas [14].20)

tathā dhanyā mahābhāgā pa[3119.1]*dmakuṇḍalir eva ca //*

puṣpadantī maṇicūḍā svarṇakeśī ca piṅgalā / (= Hidas [14].21)

ma[3119.2]*hātejā mahādevī dhanyā ca vidyunmālinī //*

rākṣasy aikajaṭā caiva [3119.3] *buddhākṣitikanāyikā /* (= Hidas [14].22)

kāpālinī mahābhāgā dhanyā laṅkeśvarī tathā //

anyāś ca [3119.4] *bahavo vidyāsatvānugrahakārikāḥ /* (= Hidas [14].23)

tasya rakṣāṃ kariṣyanti yasya vidyā kare sthitā //

[3119.5] *hārītī pāñcikaś caiva śaṅkhinī kūṭadantinī /* (= Hidas [14].24)

śrīdevī [3119.6] *sarasvatī caiva taṃ rakṣanti sadānugāḥ //*

mahāpratisarāṃ etāṃ yā strī dhārayate [3119.7] *sadā /* (= Hidas [14].25)

sarvasiddhir bhavet tasyāḥ putragarbhā nityaśaḥ //

sukhaṃ ga[3119.8]*rbhāṇi vardhante sukham prasūyati gurviṇī /* (= Hidas [14].26)

vyādhayaś cāpi naśyanti sarvapāpā na saṃśayaḥ //

2.2. Mahāpratisāra Pañcarakṣā

No. 52d, FE 3320, 3322. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I.

FE 3320: only two lines remain; FE 3322: only three lines.

FE no.		Iwamoto
3320 left	recto	16
3320 right	verso	16
3322 right	recto	17
3322 left	verso	17

3322R [= recto] is a lefthand part of 1109 L R3-5 (serial no. 6); 3322L [= verso] is that of 1109L1-3.

FE 3320left (= recto)

a   /// .. miṃgilaiḥ pota ///

b   /// [śa]bdaṃ kartum ārabdhā .. ///

FE 3320right (= verso)

a   /// .. [•] [a] .. v[o] mo .. ///

b   /// .. to vīrama[n]. ///

Cf. Iwamoto, *Mahāpratisāra Pañcarakṣā* 16:

tatas te vaṇijo mahatā duḥkhenābhyāhatacittās taṃ mahāntaṃ nāgasaṃkṣobhaṃ vidyudulkāṃ vajrāśaniṃ cotsṛjanti taiś ca ti<u>miṅgilaiḥ pota</u>m avastabdhaṃ dṛṣṭvā mahāntam utkrośanaṃ <u>śabdaṃ kartum ārabdhaḥ</u> / te viśeṣair nāyācayanti / tatas te sārthavāhasyopagamya karuṇam idaṃ vacanam abruvan / paritrāyasva tvaṃ mahāsatva mocayāsmān mahābhayāt / atha khalu mahāsārthavāho dṛḍhacitto mahāmatiḥ vaṇijo viklavībhūtān idaṃ vacanam abruvat / mā bhair mā bhair vaṇijo bhavanto vīratāṃ vrajata / a<u>haṃ</u> <u>vo mo-</u>cayiṣyāmy ato duḥkhamahārṇavāt / ta<u>ta vīramā</u>naso bhūtā vaṇija idaṃ vacanam abruvan /

FE 3322right (= recto)

3   + ... ///

4   kim iti ///

5   gadhaviṣa ///

FE 3322left (= verso).

1   ko babhūva .. ///

2   .. .[ena] rājñ. ///

FE 1109R [= recto]:

1   /// thā tathā samṛdhyate • putrārthī labhate putraṃ ga ..

2   /// [ṇ]ī praramā śubhāṃ • sukhena vardhate garbhaṃ sukhena

3   /// yate • kālena vardhate garbhaṃ kālena parimucyate •

4   /// mahābrāhmaṇa pūrvavat tac chrūyatāṃ • ihaiva [m].

5   /// ye rājā prasāritapāṇi nāmnā • sa cāp. +

FE 1109L [= verso]:

1   /// .. kim iti prasāritapāṇir iti khyāpitav.

2   /// .ā jātamātreṇa pāṇiprasārya mātusthana g.

3   /// vad āptaṃ kṣīraṃ pītaṃ • te ca stanau saha sparśa

4   /// .. suvarṇavarṇau saṃvṛttau • nityakālaṃ ca ma

5   /// [ṇ]a pravatā • tena kāreṇena sa rājā prasāri[t].

Combined text of *recto*. FE 3322R + **1109R (here in bold):**

1   **+ + + thā tathā samṛdhyate • putrārthī labhate putraṃ ga ..**

2   **+ + + [ṇ]ī praramā śubhāṃ • sukhena vardhate garbhaṃ sukhena**

3   + ... **yate • kālena vardhate garbhaṃ kālena parimucyate •**

4   kim iti **mahābrāhmaṇa pūrvavat tac chrūyatāṃ • ihaiva [m].**

5   gadhaviṣa **ye rājā prasāritapāṇi nāmnā • sa cāp. +**

Combined text of *verso*. FE 3322L + **1109L (here in bold):**

1   ko babhūva **.. kim iti prasāritapāṇir iti khyāpitav.**

2   .. .[ena] rājñ**ā jātamātreṇa pāṇiprasārya mātusthana g.**

3   **+ + + vad āptaṃ kṣīraṃ pītaṃ • te ca stanau saha sparśa**

4   **+ + + .. suvarṇavarṇau saṃvṛttau • nityakālaṃ ca ma**

5   + + + [ṇ]a pravatā • tena kāreṇena sa rājā prasāri[t].

Cf. Iwamoto, *Mahāpratisāra Pañcarakṣā* 17:

*athavā yathāyathāvidhinā likhyate ta***[1109r1]***thātathā samṛdhyate / putrārthī labhate garbha-saṃdhāra***[1109r2]***ṇī parāḥ sukhena vardhate garbhaḥ sukhenaiva prasū***[1109r3]***yate / kālena vardhate garbhaḥ kālena parimucyate / *[3322r4] kim iti **[1109r4]** *mahābrāhmaṇa pūrvavac chrūyatām //*

ihaiva ma[3322r5]*gadhaviṣa***[1109r5]***ye rājā prasāritapāṇir nāma sa cāp*utra[3322v1]*ko 'bhūva /* **[1109v1]** *kim iti prasāritapāṇir iti khyātān* / [3322v2] *tena rājñ***[1109v2]***ā jātamātreṇa pāṇiṃ prasārya mātuḥ stanau gṛhītvā yāyā***[1109v3]***vad āptaṃ kṣīraṃ pītam / tau ca stanau saha sparśa*mātre**[1109v4]***na suvarṇavarṇau saṃvṛttau / nityakālaṃ ca mahatā kṣīre***[1109v5]***na pravardhataḥ / tena kāraṇena tasya rājñaḥ prasārit*apāṇir iti nāma sthāpitam /

Hidas: [28-29], p. 63.

(athavā){...5...}*vidhinā li*{...3...}**[1109r1]***[thā]tathā samṛdhyate /*

putrārthī labhate putraṃ ga{...3...}**[1109r2]***ṇī parā*mā śubhām /

sukhena vardhate garbhaṃ sukhena{...3...}**[1109r3]***yate /*

kālena vardhate garbhaṃ kālena parimucyate /

[3322r4] {...3...} **[1109r4]** *mahābrāhmaṇa pūrvava*t tac *chrūyatām //*

ihaiva [m]{...5...}[3322r5]**[1109r5]***ye rājā prasāritapāṇir nāma / sa cāp*{...5...}[3322v1]**[1109v1]** *kim iti prasāritapāṇi(r iti) khyātāv*{...4...}[3322v2]**[1109v2]** *jātamātreṇa pāṇiṃ (prasārya mātu stanau g)*{...3...}**[1109v3]***vad āptaṃ kṣīraṃ pītam / tau (ca stanau saha sparś)*{...4...}**[1109v4]** *suvarṇavarṇau saṃvṛ(ttau / nityakālaṃ ca ma)*{...4...}**[1109v5]***na prava*rdhate *tena kāraṇena tasya rājā prasāri*{...4...} *nāmnā sthāpitam /*

Symbols used in the Transliteration

( )	restored *akṣara*(s)
[ ]	*akṣara*(s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain
{{ }}	erased *akṣara*(s) 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

Siddham Script in the University of Tokyo Manuscript of the Chinese Version of the *Ārya-mahā-māyūrī Vidyā-rājñī*

Takako HASHIMOTO

In my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, which I presented to the Kobe City University of Foreign Studies in 2012, I studied the phonetic features of the Chinese and Sanskrit reflected in the Chinese transliteration of the *dhāraṇī* in the Chinese version of the *Ārya-mahā-māyūrī Vidyā-rājñī*, translated by Amoghavajra (705–774 A.D.).[1] The *dhāraṇī* parts of the manuscript I used in my study are written in Chinese and Siddham script. As part of my dissertation, I made a list of instances of Siddham script used in the *dhāraṇī* parts. In this paper, I present a modified version of this list. Here, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Seishi Karashima of Soka University for appreciating the value of this list and giving me an opportunity to make it public.

I used a facsimile edition of the University of Tokyo manuscript, which was presented in *Kokunten Shiryō Shū*, vol. 1,[2] pp. 1–208. The original of this manuscript resides in the Department of Japanese Linguistics within the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, the University of Tokyo. It consists of three scrolls copied in the late Heian period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) in Japan.[3] Although this manuscript is old, the scrolls are preserved in mostly perfect condition.

The Siddham script in the manuscript was not necessarily written alongside the Chinese transliterations but might instead have originally been an independent Sanskrit text, later inserted into a manuscript of the Chinese version.

The Sanskrit forms written in Siddham script are mostly but not always consistent with the Sanskrit forms transliterated into the Chinese. We cannot conclude that all of the discrepancies were caused by scribal errors in the Siddham script or errors of transliteration. A few of the discrepancies seem to indicate separate descents for the Sanskrit text written in

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[1.] The title of the Chinese version is 佛母大孔雀明王經 (Chinese: *Fómǔ Dà Kǒngquè Míngwáng Jīng*; Japanese: *Butsumo Dai Kujaku Myōō Kyō*).

[2.] 東京大学国語研究室（編）1986.『古訓点資料集』1. 東京大学国語研究室資料叢書15. 東京：汲古書院. [Tōkyō Daigaku Kokugo Kenkyūshitsu (ed.) 1986. *Kokunten Shiryō Shū*, vol. 1, Tōkyō Daigaku Kokugo Kenkyūshitsu Shiryō Sōsho, No. 15, Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin. (The Department of Japanese Linguistics, the University of Tokyo (ed.) 1986. *Collection of Ancient Kunten Materials*, vol. 1, Series of Materials in the Department of Japanese Linguistics, University of Tokyo, No. 15, Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin)]. This book contains some ancient Japanese materials with *kunten*, that is, guiding marks for reading classical Chinese in the Japanese way. I would like to thank the Department of Japanese Linguistics, University of Tokyo, for granting permission to reproduce the Siddham script of this book in my list.

[3.] See the bibliography written by Hiroshi Tsukishima, ibid., pp. 463–466.

Siddham script and the Sanskrit text that the Chinese transliteration is based on—although they are closely related.

In the manuscript, there are many scribal errors caused by the similarity of character forms and by omission or addition of diacritic marks. These errors are not included in the following list.

Akṣara List

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
—											
k											
kh											
g											
gh											
c											
j											
jh											
ṭ											
ḍ											

ḍh											
ṇ											
t											
th											
d											
dh											
n											
p											
ph											
b											

bh										
m										
y										
r										
l										
v										
ś										
ṣ										
s										
h										

Ligatures

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
k-											
kk											
kṣ											
kt											
kr											
g-											
gg											
gn											
gr											
ṅ-											
ṅg											
c-											
cch											
cy											
j-											

jj										
jñ										
jy										
jr										
jv										

t̤-										
ṭṭ										

ṇ-										
ṇṭ										
ṇḍ										
ṇy										

t-										
tk										
tt										

ttr										
tn										
ty										
tv										
d-										
ddh										
ddhy										
dbh										
dr										
dy										
dv										
dh-										
dhy										
n-										
nt										

ntr											
nd											
ndr											
ndh											

p-

pph											
pr											

b-

br											

m-

mb											
mbh											
my											
mv											

r-

rk											

rkk												
rgh												
rj												
rṇ												
rṇṇ												
rtt												
rth												
rdh												
rbh												
rm												
rmm												
ry												

rv											
rṣ											
rh											
l-											
lk											
ś-											
śc											
śy											
śr											
śv											
ṣ-											
ṣṭ											
ṣṭr											
ṣṇ											
s-											
sk											

st												
sty												
str												
sm												
sy												
sr												
sv												
h-												
hm												

Symbols

visarga	(*raḥ*)
anusvāra	(*ṇaṃ*)
daṇḍa	;
Number	(2, "two", directs the reader to repeat the word)

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Diplomatic Transcription of the Sanskrit Manuscript of the
Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā[*]
— Folios 2v4–8v4 —

LI Xuezhu

According to Chinese tradition, Sthiramati's *Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyā* (= *Vyākhyā*) is a text that combines Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (= *AS*) and its commentary *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (= *ASBh*).[1] The Sanskrit manuscript of the *Vyākhyā* has recently become available.[2] While the full Sanskrit text of the *Bhāṣya* had already been published,[3] only fragments of the Sanskrit text of the *AS* has been available.[4] Therefore, the *Vyākhyā* that contains the complete text of the *AS* is very valuable not only for restoring lacunae of the Sanskrit of the *AS*, but also for improving text portions already published.

I have already published the beginning portion of the *Vyākhyā*.[5] In the present paper, I shall provide a diplomatic transcription of folios 2v4–8v4 that follow after the beginning part. This part starts with *uddāna* (a summary verse) and ends with the explanation of *vedanā-skandhavyavasthāna*. In the present edition, words of the *AS* are bold-faced.

Conventions in the Diplomatic Transcription

I keep the reading as found in the manuscript and do not modify the standard orthography with regard to gemination/degemination before or after semi-vowels and sandhi. The sigla used in the transcription, edition and notes are as follows:

◯	string hole
+	one lost *akṣara*
..	one illegible *akṣara*
*	*virāma*
¦	gap filling sign before a string hole or end of a line
l	*daṇḍa*
‖	double *daṇḍa*
[ ]	unclear/damaged *akṣara*(s) in the manuscript

[1] For the details of the manuscript, see Li 2011.
[2] See Li 2011.
[3] Tatia 1976.
[4] Gokhale 1947; Li 2013 and 2014.
[5] See Li 2012.

« »	*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
(ˈ)	sic
< >	omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the manuscript
{}	superfluous *akṣara*(s) or a *daṇḍa*
///	A broken point at the right/left end of the palm leaf
AS	*Abhidharmasamuccaya* (Asaṅga)
ASBh	*Abhidharmasamuccaya-Bhāṣya*
Ch.	The Chinese translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, namely 大乗阿毘達磨集論, Taisho No. 1605
r	*recto*
Tib.	The Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, namely *Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa*, Peking No. 5550, Derge No. 4049
v	*verso*
add.	added in
om.	omitted in
Cf.	confer

Diplomatic Transcription

kati kasmād upādānaṃ lakṣa(ṇaṃ tadvyavasthi)(2v5)tiḥ[6]

kramārthaupamyabhedāś ca saṃgrahādicatuṣṭayaṃ ||

saṃgrahaḥ saṃprayoga◯ś ca samanvāgama eva ca |

viniścayaś caturbhedaḥ piṇḍoddānaṃ samuccaye ||

satyadharmmāptisāṃkathyavi(niścayavibhe)(2v6)dataḥ[7]

kimartham idaṃ śāstram ārabdhaṃ | skandhādīn ārabhya kati kasmād ity evamādiṣu cintāsthāneṣu kauśalyakaraṇārthaṃ | tathā hy anena kauśalyena dvividho anusaṃśo labhyate | mana(skārānu)(3r1)śaṃsaḥ[8] sāṃkathyaviniścayānuśaṃsaś ca | tatra manaskārānuśaṃsaḥ samathānukūlyād[9] vipaśyanāvṛddhyānukūlyāc ca veditavyaḥ | śamathānukūlyaṃ punar eṣu cintāsthāneṣu[10] kṛtakauśalyasya niḥsandehatayā (3r2) yātheṣṭam ālambane ekāgrayogena sukhaṃ cittasamādhānataḥ || vipaśya◯nāvṛddhyānukūlyaṃ bahubhiḥ prakārair jñeya-parīkṣaṇāt*[11] prajñāprakarṣagamanataḥ || sāṃkathyaviniścayānuśaṃ¦(3r3)saḥ | eṣu sthāneṣu kuśalasya sarvvapraśnavyākaraṇaśaktiyogād vaiśāra◯dyapratilaṃbhato draṣṭavyaḥ |

kati skandhāḥ kati dhātavaḥ katy āyatanāni | pañca skandhāḥ | rūpaskandho veda(3r4)nāskandhaḥ saṃjñāskandhaḥ saṃskāraskandho vijñānaskandhaś ca |

aṣṭādaśa dhā◯tavaḥ | cakṣurddhātu(ḥ) rūpadhātuś cakṣurvijñānadhātuḥ | śrotra-dhātuḥ śabdadhātuḥ śrotravijñānadhātuḥ | ghrā¦(3r5)ṇadhātur gandhadhatur ghrāṇavijñānadhātuḥ | jihvādhātū rasadhātur jihvāvi◯jñānadhātuḥ |{|} kāyadhatuḥ

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6. Cf. AS(Li 2013) Ms: *lakṣa///(2v5)tiḥ*
7. Cf. AS(Li 2013) Ms: *°vi///(2v6)dataḥ*
8. Cf. ASBh. Ms: *mana///(3r1)śaṃsaḥ*
9. Read: *śamatā°*
10. ASBh: *sthāneṣu*
11. ASBh: *°parīkṣayā*

spraṣṭavyadhātuḥ kāyavijñānadhātuḥ ǀ manodhātur ddharmmadhātur mmanovijñāna-
dhā(3r6)tuś ca ‖

dvādaśāyatanāni ǀ cakṣurāyatanaṃ rūpāyatanaṃ śrotrāyatanaṃ śabdāyatanaṃ
ghrāṇāyatanaṃ gandhāyatanaṃ jihvāyatanaṃ rasāyatanaṃ kāyāyatanaṃ spraṣṭa-
vyāyatanaṃ manaāyatanaṃ dharmāyatanañ ca ‖

kasmā(3v1)t* pañcaiva skandhāḥ pañcākārātmavastūdbhāvanatām upādāya ǀ
saparigrahadehātmavastūdbhāvanatām upādāya ǀ upabhogātmavastūdbhāvanatām
upādāya ǀ vyavahārātmavastūdbhāvana◯tām upādāya ǀ dharmmādharmmā(3v2)bhi-
saṃskārātmavastūdbhāvanatām upādāya ǀ tadāśrayātmavastūdbhāvanatāñ
co◯pādāya ǀ(ǀ)

pañcākārātmavastūdbhāvanatām upādāyety atra caturākāram ātmano vastv ity ǀ ātmavastu ǀ
pañca(3v3)maṃ tv ātmalakṣaṇam eva vastv ity ātmavastv iti veditavyam ǀ saparigraha-
dehagra⸽◯haṇena bāhyasyādhyātmikasya ca rūpaskandhasya grahaṇaṃ veditavyam ǀ
vedanādīnām upabhogādi(tta⸽)llakṣaṇa(3v4)nirdeśe[12] jñāpayiṣyate ǀ tadāśrayātmavastu
vijñānaṃ teṣāṃ saparigraha◯dehādīnām āśraya ātmalakṣaṇaṃ vastv ity arthaḥ ǀ tathā hi
lokasya prāyeṇa vijñāne ātmagrāhaḥ ǀ śe(3v5)ṣeṣv ātmīyagrāha iti ‖

kasmād aṣṭādaśaiva dhātavaḥ ǀ dehaparigrahā◯bhyāṃ ǀ ṣaḍākārātītavarttamānopa-
bhogadhāraṇatām upādāya ‖

dehaparigrahābhyām iti cakṣurādīndri(3v6)yaṣaṭkena rūpādiviṣayaṣaṭkena ca (ǀ) ṣaḍākāraḥ {ǀ}
atīto vartamānaś copabhogo vijñānaṣaṭkam (ǀ) tasya dhāraṇam āśrayālaṃbanabhāvaḥ ǀ ity
evan tāvad[13] dhāraṇatvena[14] dvādaśānām indriyavi(4r1)ṣayāṇāṃ dhātutvaṃ (ǀ) vijñānānāṃ
punar upabhogalakṣaṇadhāraṇatvena dhātutvaṃ veditavyam ǀ yathā 'tītapratyutpannāś
cakṣurādaya upabhogalakṣaṇadhārakā naivam anāgatāḥ ‖

kasmād dvādaśai(4r2)vāyatanāni ǀ dehaparigrahābhyām eva ṣaḍākārānāgatopa-
bho◯gāyadvāratām upādāya ‖

eṣām[15] āyadvāramātratvād indriyārthamātragrahaṇena dvādaśaivāyatanā(4r3)ni vyava-
sthāpitāni na tūpabhogalakṣaṇaṃ vijñānaṣaṭkam iti ‖ 1 ‖

ka◯smād upādānaskandhā ity ucyante (ǀ) upādānena yuktās tasmād upādānaskandhā
ity ucyante ‖ upādānaṃ ka⸽(4r4)tamat ǀ yo (')tra cchandarāgaḥ kena kāraṇena
cchandarāga evopādā◯naṃ ǀ anāgatavarttamānaskandhābhinirvṛtyaparityāgatām

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[12.] ASBh: *upabhogāditvaṃ tallakṣaṇa°*
[13.] ASBh: *tad*
[14.] Read: *dhāraṇatvena*
[15.] ASBh: om.

upādāya | anāgatābhilāṣato varttamānā(4r5)dhyavasānataś ca || 1 ||

upādānaṃ chando rāgaś ca | tatra chando (’bhil)āṣa◯naḥ | rāgo ’dhyavasānam | cchandenānāgatam ātmabhāvam abhilāṣamukhenopādatte | yenānāgatān* skandhā(4r6)n nirvarttayati[16] | rāgeṇa varttamānam ātmabhāvam adhyavasānamukhenopādatte | yena varttamānaskandhān na parityajati | tasmād etad eva dvayam upādānam ity ucyate || 1 ||

kena kāraṇena dhātavaḥ(4v1) āyatanāni ca | sopādānadharmmā ity ucyante | tatra skandhavan nirdeśaḥ || 1 ||

upādānena yuktās tasmāt sopādānadharmā iti veditavyam ||

kiṃlakṣaṇo rūpaskandhaḥ | (4v2) rūpaṇālakṣaṇaḥ | dvividhayā rūpaṇayā sparśa-rūpaṇayā deśarūpa◯ṇayā[17] ca | sparśirūpaṇā[18] katamā | pāṇisparśeṇāpi spṛṣṭo rūpyate | loṣṭasaṃsparśena | daṇḍasaṃsparśe(4v3)na śastrasaṃsparśena | śītenoṣṇena jighatsayā pipāsayā daṃśa◯maśakavātātapaśarīsṛpasaṃsparśaiḥ spṛṣṭo rūpyate || ||

saṃsparśena[19] rūpaṇā sparśarūpaṇā[20] ’(4v4)nyathābhāvo[21] veditavyaḥ || ||

deśarūpaṇā katamā | yā deśe | ◯ ida{ṃ}ñ cedañ ca rūpaṃ | evañ caivañ ca rūpam iti samāhitena manasā asamāhitena vā tarkasaṃprayu(4v5)ktena citrīkāratā || ||

yā deśe ity abhimukhapradeśe | idañ ce◯dañ cety asthiśaṃkalikādikaṃ[22] jñeyavastu-sabhāgapratibimbaṃ[23] | evañ caivañ ceti vastusaṃsthānabhedaiḥ(4v6)ś[24] citrīkārateti tathā-saṃjñānaṃ[25] ||

kiṃlakṣaṇā vedanā | anubhavalakṣaṇā[26] yadrūpeṇānubhavena[27] śubhāśubhānāṃ karmaṇāṃ phalavipākaṃ pratyanubhavati || ||

śubhānāṃ karmmaṇāṃ sukho (5r1) ’nu‹‹bha››vaḥ phalavipākaḥ | aśubhānāṃ duḥkhaḥ | ubhayeṣām aduḥkhāsukhaḥ | tathā hi śubhānām aśubhānāṃ vā vipāka ālayavijñānaṃ nityam upekṣayaiva saṃprayuktam bhavatīti[28] (|) saiva cātropekṣā(5r2) vipākaḥ | sukhaduḥkhayos tu

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[16.] ASBh: *abhinirvartayati*
[17.] AS(Li 2013): *deśanirūpa°*
[18.] AS(Li 2013): *sparśa°*
[19.] ASBh: *sparśa*
[20.] ASBh: om.
[21.] ASBh: *anyathībhāvo*
[22.] ASBh: *°kalādikaṃ*
[23.] ASBh: *°sabhāgaṃ pratibimbam*
[24.] ASBh: *varṇa°*
[25.] ASBh: *°saṃjñā*
[26.] AS(Li 2013): om. Ms.
[27.] AS(Li 2013): *yā rūpa°*
[28.] ASBh: *bhavati*

vipākajatvād vipākopacāraḥ ‖ ‖

kiṃ○lakṣaṇā saṃjñā (⎸) saṃjānanālakṣaṇā yadrūpeṇa nimittagrāheṇa citrīkāreṇa yathādṛṣṭaśrutama‹‹ta››vijñā⎸(5r3) tān arthān anuvyavaharati ‖ ‖

dṛṣṭaśrutamatavijñātān[29] arthān iti dṛṣṭaṃ ○ yaś[30] cakṣuṣā 'nubhūtaṃ ⎸ śrutaṃ yac chrotreṇānubhūtaṃ (⎸) mataṃ yat* svayam abhyūhitam evañ caivañ ca bhavitavyam i(5r4)ti ⎸ vijñātaṃ yat* pratyātmam anubhūtaṃ[31]⎸ vyavaharatīty abhilāpaiḥ prāpaya⎸○tīty arthaḥ ‖ ‖

kiṃlakṣaṇā(ḥ) saṃskārāḥ ⎸ abhisaṃskaraṇalakṣaṇāḥ ⎸ yadrūpeṇa cintābhisaṃskāreṇa kuśa(5r5)le (')pi cittaṃ prerayati ⎸ akuśale (')pi avyākṛte (')pi cittaṃ prerayati ○ nānāvasthāsu ca ‖ ‖

nānāvasthāsu ceti sukhaduḥkhādyavasthāsu[32] ‖ ‖

kiṃlakṣaṇaṃ vijñānaṃ (⎸) vijānanāla(5r6)kṣaṇaṃ ⎸ yadrūpayā vijānanayā rūpāṇy api vijānāti śabdān gandhān rasān spraṣṭavyān dharmmān api vijānāti ‖ ‖

cakṣurddhātulakṣaṇaṃ katamat* ⎸ yena cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi dṛṣṭavān* paśyati ca ya(5v1)ś[33] ca tadbījam upacitaṃ vaipākyam ālayavijñānaṃ tac cakṣurddhātilakṣaṇaṃ[34] ‖ ‖

yena cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi dṛṣṭavān iti ⎸ atītavijñānopabhogadhārakatvena dhātu ddarśayati[35] ⎸ paśyatīti varttamānavijñānopabhogadhāraka(5v2)tvena ⎸ yac ca tasya cakṣuṣo bījam upacitam ālayavijñānaṃ yata āyatyāṃ ○ cakṣur nnivarttiṣyate[36] ⎸ vaipākyañ ca yato nirvṛttaṃ tad api dvividhañ cakṣurddhātur ity ucyate cakṣuṣo hetutvāt* ‖ ‖

(5v3) yathā cakṣurdhātulakṣaṇaṃ ⎸ evaṃ śrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanodhātu-la○kṣaṇaṃ ‖ rūpadhātulakṣaṇaṃ katamat* ⎸ yāni cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi dṛṣṭāni dṛśyante ca yac ‹ca› cakṣurddhātos tatrādhipa(5v4)tyaṃ tad rūpadhātulakṣaṇaṃ ‖

yac cakṣurddhātos tatrādhipatyam[37] iti ⎸ i○ndriyādhipatyena[38] bāhyaviṣayanirvartanāt* ‖ ‖

yathā rūpadhātulakṣaṇaṃ ⎸ evaṃ śabdagandharasaspraṣṭavyadha(5v5)rmma-dhātulakṣaṇaṃ ‖ cakṣurvijñānadhātulakṣaṇaṅ katamat* ⎸ yā cakṣuṣā⎸○ āśrayeṇa

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29. ASBh: *dṛṣṭaśrutatama°*
30. ASBh: *yac*
31. ASBh: *°bhūtam iti*
32. ASBh: *°duḥkhādyāsu*
33. Read: *yac*
34. Read: *cakṣurdhātu°*
35. ASBh: *dhātutvaṃ darśayati*
36. Read: *nirvarttiṣyate*
37. ASBh: *rūpe ādhipatyam*
38. ASBh: *rūpīndriya°*

rūpeṇa cālambanena rūpapratibhāsā vijñaptiḥ | yac ca tadbījam upacita(ṃ) vaipākyam āla(5v6)yavijñānaṃ tac cakṣurvijñānadhātulakṣaṇam | yathā cakṣurvijñānadhātu-lakṣaṇam evaṃ śrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanovijñānadhātulakṣaṇam || āyatanalakṣaṇaṃ katamat* | tad dhātuvad draṣṭavyan ta(6r1)c ca yathāyogaṃ |

tad dhātuvad draṣṭavyan tac ca yathāyogam iti | yena cakṣuṣā rūpāṇi drakṣyati yac ca tadbījam ityevamādi yojyaṃ[39] || ||

rūpaskandhavyavasthānaṃ katamat* | yat kiñcid rūpan tat sarvañ catvāri mahā-bhūtāni catvāri (6r2) ca mahābhūtāny upādāya || ||

catvāri <ca>[40] mahābhūtāny upādāyeti katham upā◯dāyarūpañ catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya | jananasanniśrayapratiṣṭasavastambhopabṛmhaṇahetutvena[41] | jana(6r3)nādi-hetutvaṃ punar bhūtānām upādāyarūpe pañcavidhahetutvam adhikṛ◯tya | utpattihetutvaṃ tair vinā tadanutpatteḥ | vṛttihetutvaṃ bhūtāni pratyākhyāyopādāyarūpasya pṛtha(6r4)g-deśāvaṣṭambhasāmarthyābhāvāt* | anuvṛttihetutvaṃ bhūtavikāreṇa ta◯tpratiṣṭhitopādāya-rūpavikriyāgamāt*[42] | sthitihetutvaṃ sadṛśotpattikāle bhūtair upādāyarūpa{rūpa}|(6r5)-santānasyānucchedayogena sandhāraṇāt* | upacayahetutvaṃ vṛddhikā◯labhūtair upādāya-rūpāpyāyanād iti || ||

catvāri mahābhūtāni katamāni | pṛthivīdhātur abdhātu|(6r6)s tejodhātur vāyudhātuḥ | pṛthivīdhātuḥ katamaḥ | kakkhyaṭatvaṃ[43] | abdhātuḥ katamaḥ | dravatvaṃ | tejodhātuḥ katama(ḥ |) uṣṇatvaṃ | vāyudhātuḥ katamaḥ (|) laghusamudīraṇatvaṃ | upādāyarū(6v1)paṅ katamat* | cakṣurindriyaṃ śrotrendriyaṃ ghrāṇendriyaṃ jihvendriyaṃ kāyendriyaṃ | rūpaṃ śabdo gandho rasaḥ spraṣṭavyaikadeśo dhārmmāyatanādikañ ca rūpaṃ | cakṣurindriyaṃ katamat* | catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya cakṣuḥ(6v2)vijñānasanniśrayo rūpa{||}prasādaḥ | śrotrendriyaṃ katamat* | catvāri mahā◯bhūtāny upādāya śrotravijñānasanniśrayo rūpaprasādaḥ |{|} ghrāṇendriyaṃ katamat* | catvāri mahābhūtāny u|(6v3)pādāya ghrāṇavijñā(na)-sanniśrayo rūpaprasādaḥ |{|} jihvendriyaṃ katamat* ◯ | catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya (|) jihvāvijñānasanniśrayo rūpaprasādaḥ |{|} kāyendriyaṃ katamat* | catvāri ma(6v4)hābhūtāny upādāya kāyavijñānasanniśrayo rūpaprasādaḥ || rūpaṃ ka◯tamat* (|) catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya cakṣurindriyagocaro yo 'rthaḥ | tad yathā nīlam pītaṃ lohita(6v5)m avadātaṃ dīrghaṃ hrasvaṃ vṛttaṃ parimaṇḍalaṃ | aṇu(ṃ) sthūla(ṃ) sātaṃ visātam|◯ unnatam avanataṃ cchāyā ātapa āloko 'ndhakāram abhraṃ dhūmo rajo mahikā abhyavakāśaṃ vijñaptir nnabhaś cā(6v6)py ekavarṇṇan (|) tat punaḥ suvarṇṇaṃ durvvarṇṇan tadubhayāntarasthāpi[44]

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[39]. ASBh: *yojayitavyam*
[40]. ASBh: add. *ca*
[41]. Read: °*pratiṣṭhāvaṣṭambho*° (Cf. ASBh: °*pratiṣṭhopastaṃbho*°)
[42]. ASBh:°*gamanāt*
[43]. Read: *kakkhaṭatvaṃ*
[44]. Read: °*stham api*

varṇṇanibhaṃ |

nīlādīnāṃ pañcaviṃśatīnāṃ rūpāṇāṃ vyavasthānaṃ ṣaḍbhir ākārair veditavyaṃ (|) lakṣaṇataḥ sanniveśataḥ {|} anugrahopaghātataḥ {|} (7r1) kriyāsanniśrayataḥ kriyā-lakṣaṇataḥ {|} maṇḍalataś[45] ca | caturṇṇān daśānām aṣṭānām ekasyaikasyaikasya ca yathākramaṃ | tatrābhyavakāśaḥ | tadanyaprativārakaspraṣṭavyarahito yo deśa upalabhyate[46] | nabho ya(7r2)d upariṣṭān nīlaṃ dṛśyate ‖

śabdaḥ katamaś (|) catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya śro◯trendriyagrāhyo yo 'rthaḥ | mano<vi>jño vā amano<vi>jño vā nobhayo vā | upāttamahābhūtahetuko vā anupātta-(7r3)mahābhūtahetuko vā tadubhayo vā | lokaprasiddho vā siddhopanīto◯ vā | parikalpito vā | āryavyavahāriko[47] vā | anāryavyavahāriko[48] vā ‖

śabdaḥ vyavasthānaṃ (|) lakṣaṇataḥ {|} (7r4) anugrāhopaghātataḥ[49] {|} hetuprabhedataḥ {|} deśanāprabhedataḥ {|} vyava◯hāraprabhedataś ca | lakṣaṇataḥ śrotrendriyagrāhyo yo 'rtha iti | deśanāprabhedato lokaprasiddhā(7r5)dayo[50] yathāyogam veditavyāḥ | tatropātta-mahābhūtahetukaḥ {|}◯tadyathā vākchabdaḥ | anupāttamahābhūtahetukas tadyathā vṛkṣa-śabdaḥ | {s}tadubhayo[51] hastamṛdaṅgaśabdaḥ | (7r6) lokaprasiddho laukikabhāsāsaṃgṛhītaḥ[52] | siddhopanīta āryair ddeśitaḥ | parikalpitas tīrthyair ddeśitaḥ | āryānāryavyavahārikau[53] tu dṛṣṭādīn aṣṭau vyavahārān adhikṛtya veditavyau ‖ ‖

(7v1)gandhaḥ katamaḥ | catvāri mahābhūtāny upā<dā>ya ghrāṇendriyagrāhyo yo 'rthaḥ| sugandho vā durgandho vā sahajo vā sāṃyogiko vā pāriṇāmiko vā ‖ ‖

gandhavyavasthānaṃ lakṣaṇataḥ | anugrahopaghā(7v2)tataḥ (|) prabhedataś ca | tatra sahajo yo gandhaś candanād{{i}}īnāṃ | sāṃyogi◯ko dhūpayuktyādīnāṃ pāriṇāmikaḥ pakva-phalādīnām iti |

rasaḥ katamaḥ (|) catvāri mahābhūtāny u(7v3)pādāya jihvendriyagrāhyo yo 'rthaḥ | sa punas tiktāmlakaṭukaṣā{yā}ya ◯ lavaṇamadhuraḥ | manaāpiko vā| amanaāpi vā | tad ubhayavinirmukto vā sahājo vā sāṃyo(7v4)giko vā pāriṇāmiko vā ‖ ‖

rasavyavasthānaṅ gandhavad veditavyaṃ ‖ ◯

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[45]. Read: *maṇḍanataḥ*
[46]. ASBh: om.
[47]. Read: *āryavyāvahāriko*
[48]. Read: *anāryavyāvahāriko*
[49]. Read: *anugraho°*
[50]. ASBh: *°siddhādayas trayaḥ śeṣāṃ*; Cf. *'jig rten pas rab tu rtogs pa la sogs pa gsum mo* T; 世所共成等三 Ch.
[51]. ASBh: *tadubhayas tadyathā*
[52]. Read: *°bhāṣā°*
[53]. Read: *°vyāvahārikau*

spraṣṭavyaikadeśaḥ katamaḥ | catvāri mahābhūtāny upādāya (kāyendriya grāhyo 'rthaḥ |)[54] ślakṣṇatvaṃ karkkasatvaṃ gurutvaṃ laghutvaṃ mṛdutvaṃ(7v5) ślathāślathatvaṃ śītaṃ[55] jighatsā pipāsā tṛptir balyaṃ durbalyaṃ[56] mūrcchā kāṇḍuḥ ◯ picchilatvaṃ vyādhir jarāmaraṇaṃ śramo viśrama ūrjjā ca |

spaṣṭavyaikadeśavyavasthānaṃ (|) āmarśanataḥ {|} (7v6) ātulanataḥ sparśanataḥ {|} ‹‹āpīḍanataḥ›› saṃsarkṛtaḥ {|} dhātuvaiṣamyasāmyataś ca | abvāyusaṃsargāt* śītaṃ | appṛthivīsaṃsargāt* picchilaṃ[57] | viśrāmo balam ūrjā ca dhātusāmyāt | ūrjā punar vvaiśāradyaṃ veditavyam*(8r1) | tṛptir ubhayathā | śeṣā ji{r}ghatsā[58] pipāsādayo dhātu-vaisamyād[59] veditavyāḥ ||

dhārmmāyatanikaṃ rūpa{ṃ}ṅ katamat* | tat* pañcavidhaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ | ābhi-saṃkṣepikam ābhyavakāśikaṃ sāmādānikaṃ pārikalpikaṃ (8r2) vaibhutvikañ ca || ||

ābhisāṃ{{khe}}‹‹kṣe››pikaṃ paramāṇurūpaṃ (|) ābhyavakāśikan ta◯d eva tadanya-prativārakaspraṣṭavyarahitaṃ | sāmādānikaṃ avijñaptirūpaṃ | parikalpitaṃ pratibimba-rūpaṃ | (8r3) vaibhutvikaṃ vimokṣadhyāyigocaro yad rūpaṃ || ||

vedanāskandhavyavasthā◯naṃ katamat* | ṣaḍ vedanākāyāḥ | cakṣussaṃsparśajā vedanā sukhāpi duḥkhāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhāpi | śro(8r4)traghrāṇajivhākāyamanaḥ-saṃsparśajā vedanā sukhāpi duḥkhāpi {|} ◯ aduḥkhāsukhāpi | sukhāpi kāyikī duḥkhāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhāpi kāyikī | sukhāpi caitasi(8r5)kī duḥkhāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhā caitasikī | sukhāpi sāmiṣā duḥ◯khāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhāpi sāmiṣā | sukāpi nirāmiṣā duḥkhāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhāpi nirāmi(8r6)ṣā | sukhāpi garddhāśritā duḥkhāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhāpi garddhāśritā | sukhāpi naiṣkramyāśritā duḥkhāpi {|} aduḥkhāsukhāpi naiṣkramyāśritā || kāyikī katamā (|) pañcavijñānakāya(8v1)saṃ-prayuktā | caitasikī katamā (|) manovijñānakāyasaṃprayuktā | sāmiṣā katamā | ātmabhāvatṛṣṇāsaṃprayuktā (|) nirāmiṣā katamā | tattṛṣṇāviprayuktā || garddhāśritā katamā | pañcakāmagauṇikatṛṣṭṇā(8v2)saṃprayuktā || naiṣkramyāśritā katamā | tatviprayuktā ||

vedanāskandhavyavasthā◯nam (|) āśrayataḥ svabhāvataḥ {|} āśrayasaṃkalanataḥ saṃkleśavyavadānataś ca || tatra rūpyāśrayasaṃkalanataḥ(8v3) kāyikīvedanāvyavasthānam | ārūpyāśrayasaṃkalanataś caitasikīveda◯nāvyavasthānam | saṃkleśataḥ sāmiṣādīnāṃ vyavadānato nirāmiṣādīnāṃ vyavasthānam veditavyaṃ | tattṛṣṇā(8v4)viprayukteti visaṃyuktā visaṃyogyānukūlā ca veditavyā|| ||

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54. A reconstruction by the present editor. Cf. *lus kyi dbang po'i gzung ba'i don* T; 身根所取義 Ch. Ms. om.
55. Read: *śītatvaṃ*
56. Read: *daurbalyaṃ*
57. ASBh: *picchalam*
58. Read: *jighatsā*
59. Read: *vaiṣamyād*

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Printing, Designing and Binding Books in Buddhist Asia:
A Reattempt to Seek for the Place Where and the Date When
The *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* in Blockprint
Recovered in the Turfan Area Was Produced

Akira YUYAMA

0.0. **Introductory** — In September 1979 I travelled extensively in China with a group of scholars led by Professor Osamu Takada (高田修: 1907-2006). Then, together with a few of them I had a chance to visit the Turfan Exhibition Hall (吐魯番展示館, now named Turfan Museum 吐魯番博物館). I was extremely excited to find just by chance a small torn fragment of the rare blockprint text of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (abbreviated hereinafter: *Rgs*). Until recently, however, I have overlooked some deeper problems of typesetting, printing, designing and binding the books of Buddhist Sanskrit literature in blockprint particularly those produced in the Central Asian area. This important query had caught me in the first place in an urge when I began to wonder over again about the date when and the place where this rare *Rgs* blockprint text was produced. This text, though very fragmentary, does no doubt represent a different version, if not a recension. Before then I thought there was not the slightest room for doubt regarding the date and place of production. — I had simply thought almost automatically that such block-print texts were printed in the capital city of Peking in pre-modern period (Cf. e.g. among others, Heissig 1954, p. 154) — most probably in the Temple Sung-chu-ssǔ [Sōng-zhù-sì: 嵩祝寺] at its printing house, as it is called *par-khaṅ* in Tibetan. Furthermore, therefore, I had simply doubted the place of discovery at the Bezeklik caves (Bäzäklik・伯孜克里克千佛洞), explained in the exhibiting caption. — In this connection mention may be made to the fact that there is an *Rgs* text printed most probably here at the Temple Sung-chu-ssǔ (see Yuyama 1976, p. xxvii, for further details with bibliographical notes). I must confess that I have overlooked the meaning of the fact that the block-print fragment of the *Rgs* recovered in the Turfan area was a book of accordion-type binding. It is therefore necessary now to look into the matter of printing, binding and designing books in this region (see an enlightening and everlasting work by Gabain 1967 among others). — Regrettably, this extremely important Indic *Rgs* fragment in question is not mentioned, but Chinese, Sogdian, Uighur fragments in colour in the recently published otherwise very informative guide book for the people at large (Tan 2012).

0.0a. When I found the *Rgs* blockprint fragment at Turfan, I was so glad that I asked the staff to

permit me to take a photo for further careful study. I was immediately refused to do so. I begged again, saying that my research result should be published by them. When I had given up my idea to study it, I saw a photo of the fragment on browsing the library stacks (Seki 1979). But I received no response to my request to let me have a copy from the photographer, for I could not read the small letters. Thanks to this photo, however, I could then study it for the most part (Yuyama 1986). Only recently I could obtain a beautiful photocopy (for further details see Yuyama 2014 with Plate 12).

0.1. The reason why I had thought that the very *Rgs* block-print text was produced in Peking was simply as I had seen the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* text in blockprint in the Hsü Ti-shan Collection (see §0.1a below), which bore a handwritten note on the title page, i.e. 北京 嵩祝寺版 十六年九月許地山置, "A copy printed at the Temple Sung-chu-ssŭ in Peking — placed by Hsü Ti-shan in the Ninth Month of the Year 16 (= September 1927 CE)" (cf. Yuyama 1967, p. 61; also Harrison 2010, p. 207). A similar-type bilingual *Rgs* text was also among the collection. This print was used by E. Obermiller for his edition, which I call Recension B (Obermiller 1937). Incidentally, those texts are printed in the *Rañjana, or Lañ-tsha*, script for the Indic text and its transliteration underneath in the Tibetan *dBu-can* script, and further the third line is the Tibetan translation printed in the *dBu-can* script. — Since the nineteenth century CE there have appeared a number of works on the Indic scripts and their allied alphabets (see Yuyama 1967, p. 95-103, 105f., 114-116). Among the Indian scholars I still appreciate a classical work on the subject published for the first time by Gaurīśaṅkar Hīrācandra Ojhā in 1918 (Ojhā 1959, cf. Yuyama 1967, p. 96).

0.1a. Among the Collection Hsü Ti-shan [= Xu Dishan (許地山), or 落花生 in his pen name (Taiwan 1893-Hong Kong 1941)], in the Australian National University Library in Canberra there are several Indo-Tibetan blockprint texts, including the *Rgs*. This famed private collection consisting of about 20,000 volumes was bought for the A. N. U. Library in December 1950 from Hong Kong by Charles Patrick FitzGerald (London 1902-Sydney 1992), the then Professor of Far Eastern History in the Institute of Advanced Studies, A.N.U. They are now kept in the Rare Book Room in the Menzies Library, the main library of the University. It was named in honour of the twelfth Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Robert Gordon Menzies (1894-1966). — Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II officially opened the R. G. Menzies Library on 13 March 1963. On the acquisition of this famed collection one may refer to the homepage of the Australian National University Library, re: *Library home ⇒ Celebrating R.G. Menzies Library 50th Anniversary ⇒ Collection 1950 ⇒ The Xu Dishan [許地山] acquisition*.

0.1b. Just incidentally, this famous temple has existed until today at the Eastern Capital Ward (北京市 東城區嵩祝北路), eastward of the North Sea Park (北海公園), or northeastward of the Forbidden City (紫禁城). It was completed in the year 1733 (i.e. in the eleventh year of the Yung-chêng Era in the Ch'ing dynasty: 雍正十一年). On the west was the Temple Fa-yüan-ssŭ (法淵寺), and on the east Temple Chih-chu-ssŭ (智珠寺). Both of them have been well known in history. Both Temples Sung-chu and Chih-chu have been recognized as a unit of the cultural properties of the City of Peking since 2012 (北京市文物保護單位). — It is said that the temple Sung-chu-ssŭ has partly been altered to a three-star gorgeous western restaurant for the wealthy, and that some intelligent citizens regret it very much. I have no idea how the invaluable cultural heritage of this area is now preserved.

0.2. This Hsü's description about the printing house leads us to conclude that the printing may *not* go back before 1712 [康熙五十一年] — around the year the temple was begun to construct. Thereafter it has become a famed printing house of Buddhist texts, particularly Tibetan texts, if not Indo-Tibetan texts in the main. And there may have existed more Indo-

Tibetan bilingual texts than we have now at our disposal. The Temple Sung-chu-ssǔ (嵩祝寺) belonged to the dGe-lugs-pa School [格鲁派]. It is also to be noted that it printed the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* under the imperial license of Emperor Yung-chêng 雍 正 (1678-1735, r. 1722-1735). It took six years to complete it.

0.3. Further in this connection, I would like to make a note that Hsü Ti-shan was not just a renowned writer but also a prominent philologist specializing in Indian philosophy. Among his works I appreciate his bibliographical work. It is a pity that this has not been received widely in the scholarly circle probably due to the uneasy state of political affairs in those days. Until some time ago or probably even at present, I believe, that this has offered and still offers a good deal of useful bibliographical information of high standard (Hsü Ti-shan 1933). This fact tells us silently that Hsü Ti-shan knew what he was collecting — such invaluable materials. He was not just a maniacal antiquarian rare-book collector!

0.4. It is terribly difficult, needless to say, to judge if there were Indic or Indo-Tibetan materials printed at the Temple Sung-chu-ssǔ without having seen all such materials printed there. It seems, however, quite probable that the prints produced at the Temple Sung-chu-ssǔ were all block-plate prints (and no movable type printings) in *pustaka* (or *pothī*) form, many printed in red ink and no accordion-type books. It is to be noted here that there seem to be quite a few bilingual texts, Indic (Sanskrit) and Indic in Tibetan transliteration one after each line alternately. And they all seem to be rather modern like those in the Collection Hsü Ti-shan.

1.0. **Printing & Designing Books:** — In this paper it is not my basic aim to look for the oldest printed matter in Asia. But I should perhaps make rather a brief survey to see the historical background. As often confirmed, woodblock printing developed in Asia several centuries before it was introduced in the western world (see e.g. Helman-Waźny 2014, p. 116). It is well known that the oldest printed matter in our sense is the *Dhāraṇī*-texts enclosed inside the wooden miniature *stūpa*, called "One-Million-Stūpa *Dharaṇī*s (百萬塔陀羅尼)". The *stūpa* is about 20 cm high, and was distributed mostly to the then eminent temples in the capital city of Nara (奈良) and its vicinity like Settsu (摂津, or present Osaka 大阪), Ōmi (近江, or 滋賀 now) as well. It was printed most probably by imperial decree or prayer of Empress Shōtoku (稱德天皇: 718-770, r. 764-770 CE) in the first year of Hōki Era (寶龜元年, i.e. 770 CE). Every *stūpa* contains one of the four *dhāraṇī*s out of the **Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhādhāraṇī* (cf. Hōbōgirin No. 1024): 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Taisho No. 1024, XIX p. 717c-721b). Those four are 根本陀羅尼呪 (Taisho XIX, 718b5-16; cf. 721b13-22)・相輪橖中陀羅尼法 (719a10-16)・自心印陀羅尼法 (719c28-720a6) and 六波羅蜜陀羅尼 (721a1-4). After some long debates on the printing method, it was proved that these *Dhāraṇī*-texts enclosed therein were printed by wooden blocks (not bronze as often so considered). Furthermore, this method had continued for millennia at the Temple Tōdai-ji (東大寺) of Nara (Fujieda 1968b; Shiraishi 2007; etc.).

1.0a. It is said that the same *Dhāraṇī*-text, i.e. 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經: **Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī*, was uncovered at a Korean temple named Bul-guk-sa (佛國寺), when it was reconstructed in 1966. It has been dated the beginning of the eighth century CE — as the oldest printing. I would think

that further investigations by the specialists must be made before the both are compared. The temple began construction in the year 751 and completed in 774 CE. As far as I see both, I cannot judge which is more clearly printed technically (cf. also Ōuchida 1988, p. 46). Many multiple copies were printed in Japan, where as the number of the Bul-guk-sa printing is not known to me. At least one can say that both of them seem to have been produced almost at the same period, and perhaps almost in the similar manner. Let us wait for the scientific conclusion made by the historians and specialists in printing technology.

1.1. In this respect the most famous print is the well-known *Vajracchedikā* text in Chinese translation, dated 868 CE, brought back from Tunhuang by Aurel Stein (1862-1943) and now kept in the British Museum (Library) in London (see e.g. Stein 1928). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the whole blocks of the so-called Korean edition of the Tripiṭaka (高麗大藏經), carved most probably in the middle of the thirteenth century CE in the first instance are still preserved at the Temple Heyin-sa (伽耶山海印寺) in the southern part of the Korean peninsula (慶尚南道陜川郡). The history of this printing is rather complicated. I am not going to discuss such questions here to seek for the earliest printing by wooden blocks. My purpose of writing this paper is not to look into the history of printing Buddhist literature in Eastern Asia. Nevertheless, I cannot help but cite two everlasting classical works of importance in this respect (i.e. Demiéville 1953 & de Jong 1968).

1.2. As mentioned above, it is doubtlessly clear that Indo-Tibetan books were printed widely in Asia. From the graphical point of view, it is now clear that the farthest eastern remain of the *Rañjana* (or *Lañtsha*) script is to be found on the bell at the Temple Yeon-bog-sa (演福寺) in Kaesŏng (開城). Furthermore, it is to be noted that the inscription was cast on the bronze (or gold-bearing copper) bell by an artisan or craftsman sent from the Yüan authorities. It dates back no later than 1346 CE (= 高麗・忠穆王二年). This date is most probably just one year after the construction of the Chü-yung-kuan (居庸關) in 1345 (= 至正五年), if not earlier (cf. Yuyama 1985a & 1985b). Incidentally, it may also be emphasized here that the Korean (Goryeo) dynasty under the reign of the twenty-ninth King Chung-mok (忠穆王, or Padma rDo-rje in Tibeto-Mongol appellation: 1337-1348, r. 1344-1348) and further towards the end of the dynasty had already been more and more under the Mongolian political power and cultural influence. I must frankly confess that I had to attach more importance on this background in the past.

1.3. The script named *Rañja(na)*, or *Lañ-tsha* in Tibetan, is a kind of syllabarium or syllabary. And it is sometimes identified with the *Kuṭila* script, as it is curved: cf. Indic *kuṭ-*, "to bend, become crooked". This is why it is defined as an *abugida* system of writing. But I wonder if this describes or defines it correctly. In any case it was already in use in the eleventh century and is still used among the Indo-Tibetan cultural area today. It has reached wherever the Tāntric Buddhism became prosperous. Even at present we see a number of examples in the temples of Tibetan Buddhism, and furthermore among the Nepālī-Newārī area even as a writing tool on the sign boards of streets, shops, and so on. There is no doubt that the script had arrived in the Central Asian region, if not the kingdom of Hsi-hsia before they created the Hsi-hsia characters modeled certainly after the Chinese characters. The best example must be the six-script inscriptions at the Chü-yung-kuan (居庸關) as seen above. It may be worth noting that the Tibetans have produced many a guide-book of scripts,

syllabaria or alphabets, e.g. *Rgya-dkar-nag rgya-ser kasmi-ra bod hor-gyi yi-ge daṅ dpe-ris rnam-graṅs maṅ-ba*, of which the author is said to be Ārya Paṇḍita in the early 19th century CE (Yuyama 1967, p. 84-100 etc.; Nakano 1968 & 1971; Lokesh Chandra 1982). Furthermore, it is to be noted that a leading scholar in the related field of study has edited an interesting work, in which are included a number of texts including *Dhāraṇī*s in and with *Rañjana* script (cf. Saerji 2013). As mentioned above, the farthest eastern remain of the *Rañjana* script is on the bell at the Temple Yeon-bog-sa (演福寺) in Kaesǒng (開城) (cf. *supra* §1.2). — Regarding things Tangut or Hsi-hsia in archaeology in general, one finds quite a few introductory works, such as the one written by the Director of the Ning-hsia (= Níngxià 寧夏) Museum at Yin-ch'uan (= Yínchüan 銀川) (i.e. Li 2011, esp. on the inscriptions, p. 6f.; governmental seals and coinage, p. 7f.; literature & printing, p. 10f.).

1.4. It is generally emphasized in recent years that the movable printing types were invented by the famed agriculturist Wang Chên (王禎: 1295-1333 CE) in the Yüan dynasty (Ch'ien 2004, esp. p. 190f., Ch'ien 2007, esp. p 205-207), as he himself explains in his later works (cf. Britannica 2011, *s.v.* 王禎農書). On publishing his agricultural cyclopaedic work entitled *Nung-shu* (農書, either 36 or 22 volumes) in the second year of the Huang-Ch'ing era (皇慶二年: 1313 CE) he used the movable wooden block printing types. It is said that he had a craftsman carve more than 60,000 characters (*Britannica 2002*, under the article on the "History of printing origins in China"). The original text seems to have been lost by now (Watabe 2001-2003). This may explain why it is also said that those wooden types were actually unused for the *Nung-shu*. Here I must confess that I am rather confused if the tradition as to the invention of wooden types by Wang Chên is realistically true. On the other hand we can safely say that the wooden types were already in use in the Yüan dynasty, looking into the historical background either from the political and cultural state of affairs in those days. — Wang Chên's agricultural work *Nung-shu* (農書) is included in the famed encyclopaedic collection *Ssǔ-k'u-ch'üan-shu* (四庫全書), edited under the imperial order of Emperor Ch'in-lung (乾隆帝: 1711-1799) for the period of ten years since 1772. It is to be found in the group of agriculturalists (農家類・王氏農書). Without saying, it is not our concern how this edition was edited, destroyed by flames of wars and survived to date.   In this connection it may be worth mentioning a Japanese scholar named Takeshi Watabe (*1943), a specialist in Chinese agricultural tools in particular, describes on the website that this book is the most important work in the history of agricultural science and technology in China. He emphasizes moreover that the strict revision of such texts are needed.

2.0. Let me go back to the main question: looking into the printing history. I must without fail cite Akira Fujieda (藤枝晃: 1911-1998), who confirmed as early in 1958 with his highly experienced eyes that the Tanguts or Hsi-hsia had invented the so-called movable printing types in wood, and thereafter in clay (Fujieda 1958). In his enlightening article he proves how the prints were made, showing the material seen on the paper as well as its rear page, yes as if it were a shadow picture (beautifully demonstrated on the plate: *op.cit.*, between p. 488-489). Later on he has explicitly shown the evidence, say more systematically and persuasively in his enlightening work (Fujieda 1971, esp. p. 270-276, incl. plates 101-102). Fujieda thinks

that these materials were printed in the mainland of China as early as in the middle of the thirteenth century. It seems now believed that the woodblock printing goes back to the beginning of the twelfth century in the oasis cities on the silk road inhabited by the Chinese, Uighurs, Tanguts and others (Helman-Waźny 2014, p. 118f.). It is traditionally believed that their characters were invented, needless to say, with reference to the Chinese. — Regarding the history of printing in China, I should perhaps add an enlightening work with numerous illustrations (i.e. Yoneyama 2005, cf. also Ch'êng 2005; further interesting article full of illustrations by Huang 2011). — In this connection I find it a great pity that I have been unable to see Saliceti-Collins 2007 (MA thesis at the University of Washington, Seattle).

2.1. Regarding the printing in the Hsi-hsia kingdom, it may be necessary to see the development of the characters to record their language, i.e. Hsi-hsia characters. It is without doubt not irrelevant to the peculiarity of the Hsi-hsia characters. But it may not be the place for this question in this paper. I cannot nevertheless refer to some stimulating works (e.g. AA-TUFS 2014 (cf. Arakawa 1997 & 2004, 2008, Gorbačova-Kyčanov 1963, Laufer 1916／1987, esp. p. 107f.／p. 739f., Sung 2010, Wolfenden 1931). But I must frankly confess that some are rather disappointing in this regard (e.g. Nishino 1996). The founding ruler, Li Yüan-hao (李元昊, r. 1038-1048), either Ching-tsung (景宗 by temple name) or Wu-lieh (武烈帝 by posthumous name) had his attendant *Yeh-li-jên-yung (野利仁榮: *d.* 1042) develop the characters to record the language by imperial command. The characters 6,133 in number are said to be proclaimed already in 1036 and came into use during his time of reign. More precisely this period, say 1038-1227 CE under the rulership of Ching-tsung, is pointed in an enlightening article (i.e. Huan 2011, p. 135 & 136 cum n. 3, also Fig. 4.9 on p. 154).

2.2. It is also believed that the wooden types were invented in the year 1167 CE under the rule of Li Jên-hsiao (李仁孝, r. 1139-1193), named either Jên-tsung (仁宗) by temple name or Shêng-chêng (聖禎帝) by posthumous name. This ruler seems to have promoted their culture both of the ethnic tradition and the imported multiracial civilization, as indicated by various scholars specializing in the Hsi-hsia Empire (see e.g. Matsuzawa 1986). Furthermore, at the same time it is to be noted that the Mongol made the Tibetan Lamas administer printing such Buddhist texts. In our human history it is to be noted that the invaders ruled the invaded but often imported the superior culture or civilization from the invaded. — Contrary to my heightened expectation, it is a pity to find the printing by the use of movable wooden and/or clay block types invented or exploited by the Tanguts in the twelfth century is not touched by a leading specialist in his otherwise remarkably enlightening article (e.g. Lin 2010). In this article he concludes that the 'invention of using Chinese wood blocks for printing occurred in the early Tang Dynasty (618-713 A.D.)' (Lin 2010, p. 35).

2.3. It may well be worth mentioning here that a Japanese specialist in printing, or rather a leading printing engineer as well as a researcher in the history of printing, named Itaru Matsune (松根格: *1936) has published his travels to look for such materials as wooden and clay block types used in the Hsi-hsia kingdom. He has witnessed a number of printed literature (e.g. Matsune 2003, esp. p. 73-77). Incidentally, he runs a museum in the township of Miyagi, Saga prefecture in Kyūshū (九州佐賀県三養基／みやぎ), to exhibit his Matsune

Collection of Printed Matters. To my great regret, I have been unable to see his famed collection. Another Japanese who has shown his keen interest in the movable printing types is Susumu Saitō (斉藤進: *1938) by name (cf. Saitō 2007, p. 39 with a coloured photo on p. 41).

2.4. Finally, we are now given a boon on the wooden movable types, i.e. an enlightening article published very recently (P'êng 2014). Although he has treated the types for printing Uighur literature, it shows an extremely informative proofs of wooden movable printing types found in the Tunhuang caves. He shows the coloured photos of the real types kept in the Guimet Museum (or Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet) of Paris which were discovered by Paul Pelliot (P'êng 2014, p. 57a: fig. 1), and some types kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York, which was discovered by Thomas Francis Carter (*ibid*., p. 58a: b/w fig. 2) – (cf. Carter 1925 etc.). Six examples found there are also shown in colour (*ibid*., p. 59b: col. fig. 4). Most interesting facts are those discovered in the Tunhuang caves towards the end the twentieth century (*ibid*., p. 60b: figs. 5 & 6).

2.5. It goes without saying that I am no specialist in such subjects or topics on Central and East Asian history. I am much interested, though far beyond my capacity, to learn of the relations among the dynasties particularly during the Hsi-hsia kingdom, say from the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the thirteenth century CE, for such a background history may well reveal much clearer cultural aspects in these periods. In this respect I note the factual record of introduction of printing (see e.g. Diemberger-Clemente 2013, Ehrhard 2000a&b & 2013). Furthermore, I cannot overlook the influence of the Mongol, the conqueror of Hsi-hsia, upon the Tibetans, not to speak of the Tanguts (see e.g. among others a recent work by Everding 2013). Not just on the political pressure upon the conquered but also religious imports from the latter what the conqueror imported from the conquered was exported extensively to the other parts of the world.

2.6. Looking at the recent states of researches into the printing history in these areas, I must confess that I am really overwhelmed by a number of splendid stores of knowledge in this connection. Nevertheless, it seems to be universally accepted that the block-printing method was already in use among the Tanguts and such factual remains of documents have been unearthed there, that is to say, it must almost be certain that such printing methods were invented among the Tanguts in the twelfth century CE. In Khara-khoto a print dated 1153 CE was discovered (as cited Schaeffer 2009 by Diemberger 2012 cum n. 11; also Helman-Waźny 2014, p. 68 fig. 28, and p. 121 cum n. 16). This beautifully preserved print (a small prayer in Tibetan now kept in St. Petersburg) bears page 52 of the folded book. It is very important when we think over the printing Buddhist literature in Tibet (see e.g. Diemberger 2012, also Diemberger-Clemente 2013, Shen 2010, esp. p. 337f., further Shen 2013, esp. p. 222 cum n. 54-55). In this connection attention may have to be made to the fact that xylographic production took place among the Mongols (v.d. Kuijp 1993; also Helman-Waźny 2014, p. 122). Unfortunately, I have been unable to see Eliott-Diemberger-Clemente 2014. — With reference to the printing in the kingdom of Hsi-hsia I find it a great pity that I have been unable to see Saliceti-Collins 2007, which may well give an enlightening idea to consider the present questions.

2.6a. — In considering the Buddhist heritage in printed form I cannot help citing my dear friend's achievements and services (i.e. Smith 2001), which, I hope, every scholar would agree with me. At last he founded a great organ called 'Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center' in New York City. Belatedly, he had received a tribute (*Smith Volume 2007*). — Further in this connection, I wish to cite two projects based in Great Britain for their fantastic services: 'IDP = International Dunhuang Project' (British Library) and 'Tibetan-Mongolian Rare Books & Manuscripts Project', based at MIASU = Mongolia & Inner Asia Studies Unit (University of Cambridge). With regard to this paper of mine I am expecting the project MIASU will bring out something productive for the future research, because the unit founded basically on the hitherto less-known materials brought back by Col. Sir Francis Younghusband (1863-1942) as well as Col. Dr. Lawrence Austine Waddell (1854-1938). Needless to say, there are much more projects performing great service to the human knowledge. If one starts listing them, there will be no end. — No one will however disagree with me: the history of Tibetan *Tripiṭaka*s cannot be neglected when one discusses the printing Buddhist texts in Indo-Tibetan and perhaps Sinico-Tibetan cultural sphere. At least I feel obliged to cite the name of Helmut Eimer (*1936) of Bonn, who has paved the splendid highway with a great number of writings through his storehouse of knowledge till today (see e.g. Eimer 1992 and 1996 among very many others). Every scholar in the related fields of study may recall Eimer's careful investigation into the different printings of the same text in the course of transmissions. In this connection it is also to be noted that Tibetan savants have noticed such problems. This complicated and difficult problem has been discussed in detail by van der Kuijp in his enlightening article (v.d. Kuijp 2010). — Much more information on the varieties of prints, blockprints, printing houses and so on is available in the bibliographical treasure house now thoroughly revised (Sueki 2014).

2.7. After all, it can be concluded that the printing method in movable block types invented or exploited by the Tanguts in the kingdom of the Hsi-hsia Empire, and then had reached the Tunhuang area. It is important to note, therefore, that the printing method had doubtlessly reached various oasis cities in Central Asia before the decline of the Hsi-hsia Empire in 1227 CE. In this connection it can also be noted that there have survived some printed matters among the so-called Turfan collection of Sanskrit blockprint texts in *Lañ-tsha* script containing Hsi-hsia characters, e.g. SHT Nos. 646 (I p. 290f., cum Tafel 40: b/w fig.). On its first report it has escaped the attention of the very specialist (Gabain 1967, p. 33f/, esp. p. 34). This fragment, discovered at Qara-hoja (髙昌) by the second German expedition to Turfan (1904-1905), is described as a blockprint in red colour in *Pāla* script. This 'ungewöhnliches' format may well confirm that it is a portion of an accordion-type print, certainly not a *pothī*-format, as there seems to exist a pleat or crease made after it was folded, and further the rear side of the paper was not printed. Incidentally, it is not really an essential matter to pinpoint the place where such texts were discovered by the early twentieth-century expeditions. But it is naturally interesting to note that there have appeared interesting works on such detailed geographical investigations (e.g. Nishimura-Kitamoto 2014).

2.7a. *Some notes on the Turfan Sanskrit fragments:* SHT, I, p. 291 n. 3: "Fünf chinesische, wohl phonetisch verwandte Zeichen"! But as a matter of fact, they are nothing but Hsi-hsia characters, most probably the name of the *dhāraṇī*-text. I have however been unable to decipher them! This is the reason why I had hesitated to point it out in my review of this extremely important catalogue (Yuyama 1970). Incidentally, this fragment is shown in colour as two separate fragments clearly on the website of the IDP (= International Dunhuang Project, based in the British Library, London) (cf. also Chinnery-Li). IDP also offers a database catalogue on the website.

2.8. In this connection it is to be noted that there is a Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*-fragment with Hsi-hsia characters found in Khara-khoto (see e.g. Sung 2010, also Yuyama 2014). I am afraid that I cannot decipher or judge these characters how they are pronounced. But it seems that they are the names (or titles) of certain *dhāraṇī*s, as they are all found after the Sanskrit word *svāhā* (T'a-Tu-Kao 2013, page 251 - Ill. 232: 西夏文・梵文・陀羅尼集／M1・232 F13:W83: 16.1 x 11.5 cm.). It is however quite clear that the fragment looks like a *pustaka*-form print. At the same time one notices a certain size of blank, which divides the text as if it was folded. This may also explain that it is the so-called 'pouch-binding' (袋綴), as is often seen in East Asia (cf. Yasue 2014；also Ōuchida 2007). It is difficult to judge, for the rear side of the fragment is not shown. I am not sure, furthermore, if it was printed in red or in black ink, probably the latter, for it has been blurred or soiled and stained a little brownish. Nevertheless, it is very important to learn that the Hsi-hsia people could print at least such Indic scripts with wooden blocks, if not yet with movable printing types.

3.0. **Book Binding:** — Binding of books is needless to say closely connected with the printing and designing. Almost from the beginning of the book making there appeared a variety of binding methods. Starting with the seals on clay and/or stones, the charms or scriptures on cliff or rock faces, writing or carving longer texts even on slates needed to arrange in order. Writing scriptures on palm-leaves in South and Southeast Asia necessitate seeking for setting pagination — a method of a drawstring casing square space was devised to bundle leaves for arranging in correct order of the written text. The position of the holes is different from each writing system to another, say, whether the text is written vertically or horizontally. This binding method is still used in such areas where they write on palmleaves (貝葉／貝多羅葉, i.e. Skt. *tāla-pattra*; cf. Pkt. *tāḍa-*, etc.). The Tibetan cultural area follows this system, but normally without using a drawstring. In order to keep regular sequence the writer or printer records pagination on each folio, either on recto or verso, either on the right- or left-end space.

3.1. There must certainly have been those who found it more convenient to make a scroll — paper without making a break or juncture of text (巻子本). Either vertical or horizontal writing depends on the character of the language. However, some used a scroll to write texts column by column, say, for example Tibetan writings on a scroll. This method is convenient for not only writing a text but also paintings with or without poems or explanations (掛軸).

3.2. The next one is a method that has become most popular in modern times, i.e. book(let), pamphlet, brochure, whichever one may call it (冊子／冊子裝). One needs no worry about scattering folios and thus confusing paginations. Almost all the books nowadays must be bound in this way. Whether this method of binding has originated in the West or in the East is another question here. Research works on such subjects or topics have recently developed more and more deeply and precisely. We learn a lot on these problems systematically for example from an enlightening article by an archivist scholar (e.g. esp. Yasue 2013b).

3.3. The method which seems to go back early days is an accordion or concertina book making, i.e. folded books (折本). In China this method has been also named in the same meaning (摺本・摺巻・摺葉). This naturally makes a different method of printing,

depended upon the nature of scripts. Accordion-type book making has become popular, for not only it is convenient to carry but also beautiful for its good appearance. It has thus become rather popular even today — not just for book making but also at a dinner table particularly for guests to find a napkin folded into pleated fan shape, or a fan-shaped table napkin or serviette. This seems to be a popular art of book making. Needless to say, this accordion-type design mounts up to a larger sum of costs. It consumes the considerable amount of paper at least twice as much. But this book binding, 'folded book', is defined simply as a book in a scroll without a shaft or axis, and has become popular in the early eleventh century CE in China, and its typical example is named Chi-sha edition (磧沙版) of the Chinese canon (Yamamoto 2004, p. 54; further on the Chi-sha edition see Yuyama 1976, p. xxxix-xl; incidentally a beautiful photocopy is given with a simple but rich bibliography as an example in Aitani 2012, p. 13, cum fig. 9). On this rather complicated matter we find short but enlightening articles by specialists (e.g. Ōuchida 1993, Mori 1999, Yasue 2013a).

3.4. In order to avoid the time-consuming scriptural recitation method there appeared at some stage of transmission of scriptures or scriptural edification they invented a method of reciting the beginning and end title of a long scripture written or printed on a scroll. After the appearance of accordion-type books for scriptural texts the so-called convenient way of recitation was devised — flipping through the pages by skipping the contents in reading, and just reading the titles and the like (轉讀). This has been particularly convenient for reading such large texts like the great *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, the so-called 大般若經, in 600 fascicles (Taisho No. 220, which occupy three large volumes: covering Taisho Vols. V-VII, more than 4,000 pages in toto), translated by Hsüan-tsang (玄奘: 602-664 CE) (see e.g. Hōbōgirin 1978, p. 33).

3.5. As mentioned above, this kind of book making has become popular throughout the world. Specialists think it a bookbinding method placed between a modern sewn book and an ancient scroll (e.g. Weston 2008, p. 54). On the same page Weston defines the method by a lucid illuminating explanation: "The concertina is made by the repeated counter-folding of a sheet of paper — the flat surfaces between the folds constitute the pages …" (Weston 2008, *ibid*.). Furthermore, this accordion-type printing is somewhat scientifically studied and explained with illustrations as an art by graphic designers (e.g. Rowe-Will- Linton 2010, esp. p. 69 with 4 figs.). Needless to add, a musical instrument concertina in the original form was patented in 1829 in the first place by Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802-1875), a well-known physicist in London. He was also recognized as such in France. — Incidentally, a variety of concertina-type prints are seen today not only for arts but for daily commercial matters.

3.6. From above, it is quite clear that the time when the Tunhuang or Turfan areas enjoyed their golden ages for propagating Buddhism there had been popularly used variety of printing, binding, and after all designing books. Regarding the accordion-type bindings one can refer to another extremely cultivating and illuminating article by the well-known specialist (e.g. among others Drège 1984, also Drège 1986, 1991, 1999). Here again one cannot forget his precedent scholar — rather a grand savant in the relevant field (see esp. Fujieda 1967b, 1968a-d — reference can also be made further to his varied works: Fujieda 1972, 1977, 1987 & 1999).

3.7. Further in this connection one cannot forget the invention of paper in China. Its spread is nothing but the paper road transport cultural heritage and legacy (see esp. Chin 1994, Fujieda 1967a). It is generally said that paper was invented in around 105 CE by the eunuch named Ts'ai Lun (蔡倫: ca. 50-121 CE) in the Late Han dynasty. Whether this tradition is true or not, papermaking technique had most probably become known to the other world as early as the twelfth century CE. In his book mentioned above Chin has passionately and convincingly demonstrated this historical background. It is most important now to learn of the dates of papers, which have survived to date, say e.g. the fibre-scopic, micro-° or electron micro-° analysis, carbon-14 dating technique or more sophisticated technical methods, if any others. In the case of the blockprint *Rgs* text found in the Turfan area in question it is desirable to learn if it is the paper made within a couple of hundred years ago or more than a millennium back to the past. This can be applied to date the ink, in which the text was printed. With this regard it was already in the late 1960s when I was excited to learn of such advanced technological idea to apply for dating such materials (e.g. Bernhard etc. 1966). Needless to say, paper must without doubt have been a sumptuous item. It was never used as a sheer waste. It was thus often reused skillfully (cf. e.g. Iwao 2014). The backside of the paper was often used for other purposes, if not just for a memorandum or else (Yuyama 1985c). It is to be noted that the Tibetan-ruled Tunhuang area around the period 786-848 CE varied kinds of paper were already in use. Although paper was quite valuable, but at the same time it was in a way wasted for scribbles and at the same time to record some historical documents (Takeuchi 2013, p. 103 et al.). I am much interested to learn that in the same period there was a kind of scriptorium in Tunhuang, therefore Chinese scriveners hired by the Tibetan rulers. A number of written matters, either in pothī or scroll, were made to distribute to other regions. It is also believed that the documents arrived there from Tibet, e.g. Bsam-yas (Samye) (see Iwao 2013 for further details). I note that this cultural intercourse or transmissions from Tibet to Tunhuang and then to other parts of Central Asia. — Just incidentally, papermaking method reached Japan around 610 CE via Korea. Regarding the papermaking technique, I am most interested to find that a plant species 'mulberry' family is widely used in Asia, for example Japanese *Kōzo* (楮; a euphonized form of 紙麻, '*Kamiso*'; or '*Kazo*' in short), 'paper mulberry', or *Broussoneia kazinoki* (梶), belongs to the family *Morus bombycis* and its related family (桑科). On his visit to Narthang Sir Charles Bell has witnessed the printing on paper, which was made from the Daphne plant (*Edgeworthia Gardneri*), the so-called Indian paper tree or Nepalese paper bush (or perhaps 滇結香 in Chinese, and possibly a kind of Japanese 沈丁花), and, as a matter of my great interest, says that it comes from Bhutan (Bell 1924, p. 86). And now Agnieszka Helman-Waźny has made a thorough investigation into the paper making in Tibet en rout to the paper-road in Asia with numerous illustrations sparing a chapter 'A Survey of Tibetan Paper' (see esp. Helman-Waźny 2014, p. 179-200 with col. figs. 109-111 and b/w figs. 112-116). After all her book is full of information. It is noteworthy to see the appearance of paper connected with the history of writing and the script – characters (Fujieda 1967a, etc. — further Fujieda 1977).

3.8. As we have seen above, the accordion-type binding became known to exist in the ancient times in the Central Asian region. One finds quite a few examples of this type, e.g. among the

manuscripts and blockprints brought back by the German expeditions to Turfan on three occasions: the first expedition headed by Albert Grünwedel from December 1902 to April 1903, the second by Albert von Le Coq from November 1904 to December 1905, and the third by A. Grünwedel from December 1905 to April 1907, jointly with the second until June 1906 (no record of this type has been reported from the materials brought back by the fourth expedition headed by A. v. Le Coq from June 1913 to February 1914): — yes, "Sanskrithandschriften aus Turfanfunden". Thanks to the painstaking efforts of the IDP (= International Dunhuang Project), one can easily list up those SHT texts in concertina-form, or accordion-type prints: SHT 575 (discovered at Chotscho, Xočo = Qara-hoja /高昌; SHT, I, p. 254: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*: cf. ed. Nobel 1937, p. 25f.), 580a & 580b (brought back by the 3rd expedition from Murtuq: SHT, I, p. 256 & Tafel 35; SHT, VII, p. 256f.: *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra:* cf. ed. Waldschmidt, p. 47, 366-368), 617/a *to* c (concertina, scroll: 4 fragments brought back from Sengim = Sängim / 勝金 by the 2nd expedition; SHT, I, p. 273f., SHT, II, Tafel 134 & 135; SHT, VII, p. 258f.: *Nidānasaṃyuktasūtra*: cf. ed. Tripāṭhī, p. 76, 68, 102-104), 627 (brought back by the 1st expedition from Qara-hoja), 631a *to* s (16 fragments brought back from Qara-hoja by the 1st expedition; SHT, I, p. 283f. & Tafel 32: *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitāpatrā-nāma Aparājita-mahāpratyāṅgirāvidyārāja*), 1173a & b (brought back from Qara-hoja by the 2nd expedition; SHT, V, p. 168: possibly an accordion?), 1190a & b (brought back from Murtuq by the 3rd expedition; SHT, V, p. 184f. & Tafel 79: *Sitāpatrahṛdaya* & °*mantra* and 'Strophe des Aśvajit'), 3817 (brought back from Qara-hoja by the first expedition; SHT, X, p. 186f., for further details see Wille 2004: *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitāpatrā-nāma Aparājitamahāpratyāṅgirāvidyārājñī*), 4352a *to* c (3 fragments from Sängim 2; SHT, X, p. 390f.), 6733 (scroll – 'Fundort nicht zu ermitteln!'; cf. Wille 2004). — For the above information I owe much to Dr. Klaus Wille of Göttingen.

3.8a. Incidentally, in his invaluable work Albert von Le Coq (1860-1930) showed a map of the Turfan area after the sketch made by Ellsworth Huntington (1876-1947) (see Le Coq 1913, p. 67). Huntington was a renowned Yale geographer (Huntington 1924; cf. Yuyama-Toda 1980, p. 1 cum n. 1 & 2), who himself made a journey to Central Asia and offered exact and nice maps (Huntington 1907, p. 297: 'Basin of Turfan', and folded coloured map). In this connection it is perhaps to be noted that A. von Le Coq has given many invaluable photographs of Sängim (Sengim・勝金), Bäzäklik (Bezeklik・伯孜克里克) and their environment (Le Coq 1913, Tafeln 72-74). One may perhaps add the maps shown by Ernst Waldschmidt in his invaluable catalogue of Indic materials from Turfan (see e.g. Waldschmidt 1965, p. XI, 8, 237, all of which are taken from von Le Coq 1926; also Waldschmidt 1925, Tafel 66 'Ostturkistan nach Hermanns & von Le Coq'). Many useful maps are now before us (e.g. von Le Coq 1913, map on p. 10: 'Übersicht über die hauptsächlichsten Fundstätten der buddhistischen Antike Zentalasiens': von Le Coq 1926, map after p. 19; cf. von Le Coq 1913, p.10). After all one cannot forget the scientific orographic maps, presented by the geologist-geographer von Richthofen, who is said to have named the 'Seidenstraße – silk road' (e.g. Richthofen 1877 & 1885-1912; see among others Richthofen 1877, Tafel 2). Among those explorers in these periods one may refer to another work (e.g. Huan 1954, Map No. 1 & Huan 1958, Map No. 5: cf. further Yuyama 1970, p. 267 n. 1). More recent states of the sites are available subtly and nicely (e.g. Whitfield 2010). Needless to add, there is no end of citing such materials. It can be said that there have been a number of enlightening works in the topic concerned — say, on things Central Asian. Many of them have, however, borrowed the maps from the then leading scholars on the areas (e.g. Waldschmidt 1925, Tafel 66 'Ostturkistan', nach Hermanns & von Le Coq). — We can naturally

witness the present-day picturesque landscapes of many ancient oasis towns and cities in the books published in the past decades and now on the Internet. — And in these days there seem to be many 'geographic' photos taken from the artificial space satellites and real maps based on these photos. Some may have not appeared before us as military secret materials.

3.9. In this connection after all I am very much looking forward to see the proceedings of a conference appear sooner in the nearest future (i.e. Khyentse 2013). In this conference Tsuguhito Takeuchi (武内紹人) presented a paper (Takeuchi 2015?), of which an abstract has appeared on the website as follows: 'Although the Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs housed in the Stein and Kozlov collections have not been paid due attention, they are extremely rich in variety. Their dates range from the late 11th to the 20th centuries. Some are written in the Old Tibetan style, some in the Classical Tibetan style, some include Mongolian texts (bilingual texts), and some are prints. Their forms also vary, including *potḥī*, scroll, <u>concertina</u>, and codex. In this paper, I wish to introduce these manuscripts and xylographs and discuss their periodical characteristics.' (*underlined in the quoted passage by the present writer*). — Such problems on printing, designing and binding books can be seen briefly in certain publications (e.g. Inokuchi 1979, Li 2010, further Fujieda 1995, p. 206; also Fujieda 2005). Further in this regard one may not overlook the importance of certain other methods of binding, such as the so-called stitched books as discussed convincingly in detail recently (esp. Stoddard 2010; numerous examples by Chinnery-Li). I must however confess that I am becoming rather confused as to how I could make a historical stemma of these binding and designing methods among the Buddhists in Central Asia! But at the same time I am becoming convinced that various ways or methods may have existed. It is very possible and cannot be ruled out to believe that the *Rgs* blockprint from the Turfan area in question was produced around there and *not in Peking*, as I mistakenly believed for the past decades since I discovered it excitedly at the Turfan museum. — It is eagerly hoped that the remaining portion of the *Rgs* blockprint appears before us. So that many queries raised above may well be cleared with satisfactory solutions.

3.9a. **Linguistic Affiliation of the Tangut Language** — It may be out of place to discuss the position of the language of the Tanguts (黨項), or Hsi-hsia (西夏), in this paper. At the same time, it may well be necessary to learn of the state of affairs in this respect (cf. also *supra* §2.1). Needless to say, I am no specialist in such languages and the question looks very complicated to me. It is to be noted here that specialists in Sino-Tibetan linguistics pay attention to the fact that there are four languages among the classical Sino-Tibetan systems, say, Archaic Chinese, Tibetan, Burman and Tangut (e.g. Kung 2011, also Matisoff 2004, esp. p. 327f.). The question is so complicated that no real universal conclusion seems to have yet been found among the specialists. The celebrated specialist expresses how difficult it is and shows how complicated it is (see e.g. Nishida 1989; see also *supra* §2.1). After the painstaking efforts of a number of linguists till today, however, it seems generally accepted by most specialists that the Tangut language belongs to the Tangut-Qiang languages (黨項羌), a branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages among the Sino-Tibetan family. For me it is good enough at the moment to learn that the Tangut language must have come from the area around Tibet and Sichuan (四川). No wonder there was once a strong cultural tie between the Tibetans and the people of Hsi-hsia. Among very many articles on these problems I have found some enlightening works by Kung Huang-ch'êng (or Gong Hwang-cheng: 龔煌城: 1934-2010) from Taiwan (see among others Gong 2003, p. 602, with a rich bibliography, p. 619-622). His papers on purely linguistic problems are to be

found in his collected works (i.e. Kung Volume 2002 & 2005).

4.0. **To sum up** —In a word my intention to write this humble paper has been just to trace how the *Rgs* in blockprint found in the Turfan area was produced. It seems probable that the printing by wooden (or clay, and later bronze) block types was invented or exploited by the Tanguts and had soon be distributed or transmitted into other oasis cultivated cities among the Central Asian area. A canonical text *Rgs* had reached the kingdom of Hsi-hsia and was printed in their own language (cf. Tuan 2009, Su 2010). Whether the Indic text was known to them or whether it was printed there is not yet known. As attested above, however, it is clear that they could print Indic texts with movable printing types. Whether the movable printing technique had come into wide use in the Central Asian oasis cities of the then leading culture must still be reviewed and verified. At least it is clear that a number of texts either in Indic, bi-lingual or otherwise have been found in various places, such as Khara-khoto, Turfan, Tunhuang and elsewhere. A high standard Buddhist thought and literature must thus have reached among the Tanguts by the twelfth century CE.

4.1. It is particularly noteworthy that the national preceptor (國師), named 捯也阿難捺 (Jayânanda), had come from Kashmir via Tibet and became active there briskly (v. d. Kuijp 1993, Nishida 2006, esp. p. 249). It is no wonder, therefore, that there have been recovered a Tangut text with a Tibetan interlinear transliteration (Stein 1928, I, Plate CXXXIV: both original and Romanized Tibetan transliteration), which was discovered at the site K.K. II outside of Khara-khoto: numbered Or. 12380-1842: K.K. II.0234.k. This is the place where Pjotr Kuzmič Kozlov (1863-1935) had spotted during his expeditions (Kozlov 2003; cf. Gorbačova-Kyčanov 1963). The Tibetan transliteration form was furnished in Roman script by Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) for Stein (Stein 1928, I, p. 449; further Ikeda 2014). This fragment is now available beautifully in colour on the IDP website. It may be worth noting here that Stein had recovered a Brāhmī-Chinese prints (Stein, *ibid*., K.K.II.0293.a: Plate CXXV). Though described as rolls and leaves, a variety of Hsi-hsia texts from Khara-khoto are shown to us (Stein 19028, III, Plate CXXXVII). Some of them may well be accordion-type texts (see e.g. Stein 1928, *ibid*., Texts: K.K.V.b.04.b, K.K.II.0301.a).

4.2. Apart from a number of leading scholars who came to Tibet (and elsewhere) and propagated Buddhist thought in those areas, such teachers-propagators like Jayānanda among others had come from India to Tibet and then further northward to Central and/or Eastern parts of Asia may not be rare. In particular with regard to the *Rgs* it is noteworthy here that (Pha-)dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas (Paramabuddha?) from South India arrived in southern Tibet early in the twelfth century CE and propagated the so-called Źi-byed-pa doctrine on the basis of the *Rgs* XXVII.3 (see esp. Yuyama 1997). It is to be further noted that its doctrinal text has been published critically by specialists (e.g. Kaschewsky 1973). In 1092 Pha-dam-pa seems to have established the residence at Diṅ-ri-rdzoṅ (定日縣), just north of Mt. Everest (or Jo-mo-glaṅ-ma) and westward of Sa-skya (Kaschewsky 1973, p. 172, Dowman 1988, p. 281). Further in connection with the Źi-byed-pa school it is noteworthy that an itinerant priest was witnessed in Mongolia even before the Second World War (Hashimoto 1942, p. 65 with a photo). For more reference I must have missed more publications of importance (e.g. Aziz

1979). Just incidentally, from the linguistic point there have appeared interesting observations (Takeuchi 1979, Hermann 1989). — Furthermore, it is extremely important to learn that there exists a hitherto unknown Mongolian version of the *Rgs* (Higuchi 1987 & 1991). This may tell us that there were certainly some so far undetected routes transmitting Buddhist thought and literature. Just incidentally, I note here that the Chinese version (Taisho 229) was translated by Fa-hsien (法賢), or alias T'ien-hsi-tsai (天息災) in 991 CE in the Sung period (Yuyama 1976, p. xxxvix-xliii; cf. Yuyama 2004, p. 277f.: §8 on Yang-i 楊億: 974-1020 CE). — As a working hypothesis, one could perhaps look for more cosmopolitan propagandists for Buddhist thoughts in their own and local languages.

4.3. More and more Buddhist materials are thus being brought out to see the light of day. In this regard one cannot overlook the publications of those materials preserved in Russia, China and Japan (cf. Yuyama 2014, p. 824f. 'Reference works'). Such texts show us not only just Buddhist literature itself but also its routes how it had diffused. This means that they reveal linguistic features and then Indic-Sinic or Indic-Tibetic-Sinic-Burmic language family comparison, and thus finally clarify the phonological development and the spread of Buddhist thought and literature. After all in this connection one cannot forget the enlightening works of pioneering scholars in the Sinic languages in the main, just for example Bernhard Karlgren (高本漢: 1889-1978: see e.g. Karlgren 1915-1919, 1919, 1922, 1923, 1954, 1957), Lo Ch'ang-p'ei (羅常培: 1899-1958: see e.g. Lo 1933, 1963, 2004, also Lo-Ts'ai 1959) in the first place, and many others since then until today. – In treating sacred texts it may not be easy to trace their glottochronological diffusion, for each of them must have made a different linguistic evolution. Moreover, they have often made mixture or hybridity on the way with one to another. This specific phenomenon was pointed out in early days of Gāndhārī since its earliest stage of research (e.g. Bernhard 1970; cf. Yuyama 1976a, 1980 & 1992).

4.4. Regarding the transmission of Buddhism in Asia as a whole, there must have been more than a single route — plural and complex. In the case of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī* text, for example, the version on the temple bell in Korea known to us could certainly go back to or must be identified with the Chü-yung-kuan version (cf. further Bonaparte 1895, Planche II, Murata-Fujieda 1955, Tokiwa-Sekino 1976, p. 64, Yuyama 1985a). And the latter must further go more than a century back to the version printed in the kingdom of Hsi-hsia (Yuyama 2014). After all, we are now to learn of the varied ways how Buddhism, either thought or literature, has spread from one region to another or others.

4.5. By now we have noted that the Buddhists under the imperial mandate in the Yüan dynasty transmitted Buddhist thought and literature to the other parts of Asia playing the rôle of transmission as seen above (see e.g. *supra* §1.2-3 & §4.2-4). The Mongols must have imported Buddhism from their conquered Hsi-hsia kingdom. This may also explain a hitherto unknown route of transmission such as the *Rgs* in the Mongolian translation (cf. *supra* §4.2: Higuchi 1987 & 1991). This kind of interesting facts have also been made clear not only of the canonical texts but also epistemological literature (see e.g. v.d. Kuijp 1993a). It is also of much interest that the word for the Mongolian printing matter, i.e. blockprints or xylographs, is called *Hor par mar* (cf. Tibetan *par-pa, par-khaṅ, par-du 'debs-pa, śiṅ-par,* etc.). This thirteenth-century blockprint has not escaped the attention of a serious scholar in the relevant

field of study (e.g. Helman-Waźny 2014, p. 122 cum n. 17).

4.6. There is now no room to doubt that the *Rgs* uncovered in the Turfan area was most probably produced in one of these fortress oasis cities of Central Asia. I have no reason to believe any more that such a text like the *Rgs* in question should be printed in Peking, say, at the Temple Sung-chu-ssŭ (嵩祝寺) like many Indic texts in the *Rañjana* (or *Lañ-tsha*) script (see Yuyama 1986, 2007a-b, 2010, 2014). This fragment should therefore be placed several centuries backward in history. This is exactly the point of my reattempt in this paper by a long-winded devious means as done above. To cut a long testification short after varied evidences as shown above, I must here conclude that it is extremely important to review the preconception of spreading routes of Buddhism. After all I have tried to seek for various routes of introducing Buddhism and thus transmitting the literature in varied ways from one region to another or to the others. This route of transmission had not just been a single point and line as has long been thought in the past. There must have been more complex and plural routes than we have thought till today (cf. e.g. Yuyama 2010, Yuyama 2014).

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'ランジャナ文字', p. 040 (incl. 1 col. fig.); '西夏文字', p. 088-091 (incl. 6 figs.; cf. p. 073 (1 fig. of a page from the '番漢合時掌中珠', published 1190 CE).

Arakawa 1997 = 荒川慎太郎 [Shintaro Arakawa], "西夏語通韻字典", 言語学研究 [*(Kyoto University) Linguistic Research {= KULR}*], XVI (Kyoto 1997), p. 1-151 (cf. also *infra* Arakawa 2004):

(Appendix I): 'サンスクリット音対応西夏文字一覧表', p. 110-115 (cf. p. 2f.: §3.1).

(Appendix II): '真言注文字一覧', p. 116-118.

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Bibliographical epilogue: — To confess frankly, I regret very much that I must certainly have missed a number of important works on the relevant problems. In particular many fruits of research into the history of printing, designing and binding books may have escaped my memory — particularly among others those works done by leading specialists in Mainland China. For example, I have been unable to see the papers by Hsü Chuang (徐莊／Xú Zhuāng) on the Hsi-hsia printing by carving characters: e.g. 徐莊, "略談西夏雕版印刷在中國出版史中的地位", 寧夏社會科學,1994年第二期. This seems to be the paper read at the second conference on the Chinese printing techniques (第二屆中国印刷術研討會) held in August 1990.

Addenda et Corrigenda II
as of 1 January 2015
ad A. Yuyama, 'A List of Writings with Brief Bibliographical Notes

Appendix: Curriculum Viate — A Succinct Autobiographical Record', *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 343-390, and *ibid*., XVII: 2013 (2014), p. 443-447

.

<u>*ARIRIAB*</u>, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 377:

Item No. 108: "元代流布佛頂尊勝陀羅尼考 — 新出西夏流傳本に関連して — ":

Reprinted in: 中国関係論説資料・第五十四号 (平成二十四年分), 第一分冊 (哲学・宗教・文化, 上巻) (東京・論説資料保存会, 2013.11.30), p. 114-117.

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<u>*ARIRIAB*</u>, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 378:

 Item No. 113 – *to be corrected as follows*: "西夏流伝佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 — 黒水城・北京・開城間の伝播考 — ", 奥田聖應先生頌寿記念・インド学仏教学論集／*Indian and Buddhist Studies In Honor of President Dr. Shouou (Kiyoaki) Okuda in Recognition of His Lifelong Scholarship* [大阪・四天王寺・奥田聖應先生頌寿記念論集刊行会編] (東京・佼成出版社, 2014), p. 818-826.

<u>*ARIRIAB*</u>, XVII: 2013 (2014), in which have appeared the following items: —

1. "Reviewing *Rgs* XIV 2 & 7: How One Can Rescue Oneself When Shipwrecked in the Ocean — With Some Reference to Haribhadra's Commentary [海難から自らを救う術・寶德藏般若譬喩品の原典理解再検]", p. 129-146, Plates 11 & 12.— *Dedicated to the memory of Tilmann Vetter (1937-2012)* —

 遊余白・XVII-1: 各種大藏經對照目録の刊行を慶ぶ (p. 146).

2. "A Brief Revisit to *Rgs* XXII.6 Quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Pras*", p. 147-156.

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3. "Supplement to 'A List of Writings with Brief Bibliographical Notes. Appendix: Curriculum Vitae — *A Succinct Autobiographical Record*', *ARIRIAB*, XVI: 2012 (2013), p. 343-390: Addenda et Corrigenda (as of a January 2014)", p. 443-447.

4. "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica: Marginal Anecdotage (VI): 新刊書紹介／Introducing Some Recent Publications", p. 497-516:

◎ サンターニ博士頌寿記念論集の公刊を慶んで (p. 497-500). — [N. H. Samtani (*1924)].

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◎ 熊本裕教授退官記念論集刊行を慶ぶ (p. 503-504). — [Hiroshi Kumamoto (*1948)].

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◎ 北京のインド学仏教学に瞠目 (p. 506-512):

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 — 梵文貝葉經與佛教文獻系列叢書・*Series of Sanskrit Manuscripts & Buddhist Literature*, III:

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◎ 南米から仏教哲学の真髄を説く (p. 514-516)

 — [Fernando Tola (*1915) & Carmen Dragonetti (*1937) on Śūnyatā, etc.].

 遊余白・XVII-2: महायानसूत्रालंकारः — 『大乗莊嚴經論』の瞠目すべき協同研究 (p. 513).

 遊余白・XVII-3: 重要な近刊書の数行紹介をあきらめて略覚書 (p. 516).

 — {*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* — Two recent Japanese and Chinese translations from the Sanskrit}

Faxian's (法顯) Worship of Guanshiyin (觀世音) and the *Lotus Sūtra* of 286 (正法華經)[1]

Haiyan HU–VON HINÜBER

§1.1. Introductory Remarks

Faxian 法顯 (approx. 342–423), the Buddhist monk and pilgrim from China, took an oath with four of his fellow monks in 399 to travel together to Buddha's native country in search of authentic scriptures about Buddhist monastic discipline (Vinaya 律藏). According to the rules of Buddhist canon law, a religious order (Saṃgha) can only be formed by a minimum of five monks. Faxian's small Saṃgha had set itself a far off, unknown travel destination which seemed just about impossible to reach. No traveler had ever managed to advance into the center of Indian culture to the extent that Faxian did,[2] not even the two Han–Dynasty envoys Zhang Qian 張騫 and Gan Ying 甘英 sent off by the Emperor to travel the Western territories of China.[3]

During his six year long trip, Faixian lost three of his four companions. The first, a young monk (Huiwei 慧嵬), had to turn back to Turfan (then under Chinese control) during the early stages of the journey due to a lack of supplies. Another monk (Huiying 慧應) lost his life in Puruṣapura (Gandhāra), while the third (Huijing 慧景) did not survive the passage of a snow–covered mountain between Nagarahāra and Luoyi.[4] Only Faxian and Daozheng 道整 finally arrived in Central India, which they called "*Zhongguo*" 中國 (Country in the Center) in accordance with the Buddhist tradition. Elated, the two monks visited all Buddhist pilgrimage sites; they were the first Chinese to come into direct contact with Indian society and with the local Buddhists. Initially, they were ashamed of their country of origin, which the Buddhist tradition situates at the periphery or "*Biandi*" 邊地, and in which one is reborn

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[1] This paper is based on a lecture given on 24 September 2013 at the 32nd Conference of German Orientalists in Münster. It is part of a series of papers on Faxian and his *Foguoji* (佛國記), see Hu–von Hinüber 2010, 2011, 2013 and 2014.

[2] In the 3rd century, very few travelers before Faxian had made it until the Chinese border town of Dunhuang 敦煌 and the Turfan oasis (高昌 Gaochang), even until the kingdom Shanshan 鄯善 or the Mahāyāna Center Khotan 和闐 in Central Asia. Among them was Zhu Shixing 朱士行 (203–282), who travelled to Khotan in 260 in search of Mahāyāna scriptures.

[3] On Zhang Qian, who travelled the Western territories of China twice in 138 und 119 B.C. on the orders of the Emperor, and on Gan Ying, who undertook a similar mission in 97 A.D., cf. Geng 1991: 2f. 《史記•西南夷列傳•大宛列傳》 and 《後漢書•西域傳•安息傳》; cf. also Mather 1992 and Hu–von Hinüber 2010: 422.

[4] On the fate of these three companions of Faxian, Huiwei, Huiying und Huijing, cf. Hu–von Hinüber 2014 §2.1.b, §3.2, §4.1 and §4.3.

only because of the bad Karma of a previous birth.[5]

Faxian spent three years learning Sanskrit in Central India and acquired a series of scriptures of various Buddhist schools, which he translated upon his return to China. His compatriot Daozheng 道整, however, decided to stay forever in the land of the Buddha, in order to achieve the buddhahood in *Zhongguo* through rebirth. Faxian therefore faced the daunting journey back home to China alone, with his aim of making the authentic Sūtras available to Chinese Buddhist communities.

He decided to venture home by ship. Even though Faxian did not explain his preference for the maritime route on his homeward journey, the description of his travels through the desert, over the Pamir mountains and across the Indus made it clear that surviving such a journey alone would be a near impossible feat. Yet the voyage over the "boundless" ocean (大海無邊) was perhaps no less dangerous, despite the fact that China and South Asia had been engaged in maritime trading since the 2nd century. Faxian completed his journey in four stages:[6]

(1) Pāṭaliputra → Gaṅgā → Tāmralipti (pause of two years)

(2) Tāmralipti →14 days → Siṃhaladvīpa/Ceylon (pause of two years)

(3) Ceylon → 2+13+90 = 105 days → Sumātra (pause of five months)

(4) Sumātra → 70+12 = 82 days → Qingzhou 青州 (China)

During the third and fourth stages of his journey in between Ceylon and China, the merchant ship (*yānapatra*),[7] which the old Chinese monk had boarded, found itself in difficulty. During this moment of distress, Faxian prayed to the Buddhist divinity Guanshiyin 觀世音 (Avalokiteśvara) asking for protection and blessing. The present study attempts to analyze which canonical scriptures provided the foundation or the influence for his prayers. This analysis involves four elements:

(a) Faxian's description of his first and second incident of distress at sea (§2):

– text analysis and translation;

(b) On the two translations of the Lotus Sūtra (§3):

– the version by Dharmarakṣa known as 正法華經 and

– the version by Kumārajīva known as 妙法蓮花經;

(c) Comparative text analysis of the *Foguoji* with the Lotus Sūtra of 286 (§4):

– comparison of the phrases and of the wording;

(d) Remarks on the Guanshiyin worship of the early 5th century in India and China (§5)

§2. Faxian's repeated prayer to Guanshiyin 觀世音

§2.1. The first moment of distress: struggle for survival on the high seas

The first time that Faxian's ship was in distress occurred between Ceylon and Sumātra. On the third day after setting off from Siṃhaladvīpa, the merchant vessel chanced upon a tempest which raged on for thirteen days. The ship, which was equipped with a lifeboat,

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[5.] For details on Faxian's usage of the term "*Zhongguo*" 中國 in terms of "Buddhist center" and "*Biandi*" 邊地 meaning "peripheral areas of Buddhism" see Hu–von Hinüber 2011: 231–236.

[6.] I discussed the maritime trade between China and South Asia, known to have flourished already in the Eastern Han–Dynasty 東漢 (2nd century) in 2010: 423–424 and 2011: 240.

[7.] On Indian sailing vessels see Schlingloff 1976 and 1982.

sprung a leak and was flooded with water. The small boat, attached to the ship with a rope, was put to use with great difficulty. Faxian describes this scene as a breathtaking struggle for survival on the high seas:

得此梵本已，即載商人大舶。上可有二百餘人，後係一小舶。海行艱嶮,以備大舶毀壞。得好信風東下。三日便值大風。舶漏水入。商人欲趣小舶。小舶上人恐人來多,即砍綖斷。商人大怖，命在須臾。恐舶水滿，即取麁財貨擲著水中。法顯亦以君墀及澡罐并餘物棄擲海中，但恐商人擲去經像，唯一心念觀世音及歸命漢地眾僧：我遠行求法，愿威神歸流，得到所止。如是大風晝夜十三日，到一島邊。[佛國記T51:865c26–866a6]

Having obtained these Sanskrit scriptures, I immediately boarded a large merchant ship. Trailing a little boat, it carried around two hundred passengers. Because of the dangers of the maritime navigation, the (tender) serves as a precaution in case the big vessel should be damaged. A favourable Monsoon wind was blowing us towards the East, yet after only three days, we encountered a powerful storm. The ship sprung a leak and water started flooding in. The merchants (all) wanted to climb into the little boat; but the people on the lifeboat, afraid that too many would come, cut through the rope. The merchants were struck by terror, fearing for their lives. Alarmed that the ship would be fully flooded, they immediately grabbed the heavy goods and cast them overboard. I also, Faxian, took up my water jar[8], wash pan with some other objects and threw them into the ocean; but fearing that the merchants would through the Sūtras and Buddha's portraits overboard, **I concentrated with all my heart on Guanshiyin** and took refuge with the Saṃghas in China,[9] (saying) "I have travelled far in search of Buddhist Law. May the mighty Gods tame the waves, so that we arrive at our goal". In this way, the storm continued for thirteen days and nights, until we reached an island.[10]

After some emergency measures were taken to repair the damaged hull, the sea voyage continued.[11] 90 days later, the ship ran ashore on the land of Yepoti 耶婆提 (presumably Yavadvīpa on Sumātra).

§2.2. The second moment of distress : death threats against Faxian

On Sumātra, Faxian waited for five months, before another merchant ship took him on board. The ship's goal was Guangzhou 廣州 in Southern China, and the seamen carried supplies and drinking water for 50 days. One month into the journey, this ship also got caught up in a tempest. The superstitious merchants, whom Faxian called "Brahmins" (婆羅門), blamed the old monk for the misfortune and planned to put him down on some island–shore in the ocean. Faxian describes how the situation on board escalated:

[8.] On the term 君墀, which renders *kuṇḍikā* in Sanskrit, cf. Legge 1886: 112; Zhang 1985: 168 and Deeg 2005:572.

[9.] 歸命漢地眾僧 "taking refuge with the Saṃghas in China" is apparently a variant of threefold appeal to Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha (*triśaraṇa–gamana* 三歸依), caused by the situation of being homeward bound. Cf. Hirakawa 1997 s.v. 歸命.

[10.] My interpretation of the last sentence differs from that of Legge 1886: 112 "Let me, by your dread and supernatural (power), return from my wanderings, and reach my resting–place! In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island". Deeg 2005: 573 also did not understand 歸 gui as verb meaning "tame (the waves)" in this context.

[11.] 866a6–7: 潮退之後，見船漏處，即補塞之，於是復前.

夜鼓二時，遇黑風暴雨。商人賈客皆悉惶怖。<u>法顯爾時亦一心念觀世音及漢地眾僧</u>; 蒙威神祐，得至天曉。曉已，諸婆羅門議言：坐載此沙門，使我不利，遭此大苦。當下比丘，置海島邊。不可為一人令我等危險。法顯檀越言：汝若下此比丘，亦并下我！不爾，便當殺我。如其下此沙門，吾到漢地當向國王言汝也！漢地王亦敬信佛法、重比丘僧。諸商人躊躇，不敢便下。[佛國記T51:866a17–26]

As the night–drum had struck the second hour, we were met by a black storm with tempestuous rain. All of the merchants and passengers started to panic. **In this moment, I, Faxian, again concentrated with all my heart on the (prayer to) Guanshiyin** and the Saṃghas in China; through their dread and the protection by Gods, we survived the time until the break of dawn. After day–break, the Brahmins deliberated among themselves and said: that we took this monk on board with us has caused our bad luck and led us into this calamity. We should therefore land this monk onto an Island; we must not for the sake of one person put ourselves into such dangerous situation. Faxian's patron (*dānapati*) replied: "If you abandon this monk, then you must throw me overboard as well! If not, then you must kill me. Otherwise, if you throw this monk overboard, I will submit a complaint about you to the Emperor once we arrive in China. The Chinese Emperor believes also devoutly the Buddhist teachings (Buddhadharma) and greatly values the monastic order (Bhikṣusaṃgha)". The merchants hereupon hesitated and did not dare immediately to abandon me.

After this presentation of Faxian's travel accounts in the Foguoji, we can now turn to the Lotus Sūtra.

§3.1. Faxian and the two Chinese translations of the Lotus Sūtra

In the Lotus Sūtra, one of the early Mahāyāna scriptures, there is one chapter dedicated to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Guanshiyin). This Sūtra suggests to make an appeal to Guanshiyin in moments of distress including at high seas. Two versions of the Lotus Sūtra, transmitted in the Chinese Buddhist canon, were translated into Chinese before or during Faxian's lifetime.[12]

(a) by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, approx. 231–308) translated in 286:《正法華經》[T 263]

(b) by Kumārajīvas (Jiumouluoshi鳩摩羅什, approx. 334–413) translated in 406:《妙法蓮花經》[T 262]

Could Faxian have known about the translation by Kumārajīvas[13] from the year 406, which later became the standard translation in China and in Japan? The historical facts tell us that Faxian was still on his journey in India in 406.[14] This is why the following analysis is based on the earlier Chinese translation of the Lotus Sūtra, namely the one by Dharmarakṣa.

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[12]. Dharmarakṣa's translation is generally known as *Zheng-Fa-Hua-Jing*《正法華經》, because he translated *sad-* in the Sanskrit title *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* as 正 *zheng* "right" and *-puṇḍarīka-* in a shortened version as 華 *hua* "blossom". Kumārajīva's translation, undertaken 120 years later, is referred to as *Miao-Fa-Lianhua-Jing*《妙法蓮花經》because he translated *sad-* as 妙 *miao* "wonderful" and *-puṇḍarīka-* in its complete version as 蓮花 *lianhua* "lotus blossom". On this Sūtra in general cf. Teiser&Stone 2009: 1–61.

[13]. On Kumārajīva cf. Tang 1997: 194f. and Zürcher 2007: 236f.

[14]. After his 14 years long journey to India Faxian landed in Qingzhou 青州 (in today's Province Shandong 山東) in 412. From there he was directly invited to Jiankang 建康 (today's Nanjing 南京) to the monastery Daochangsi 道場寺, without being able, as he had intended, to travel to Chang'an 長安, where Kumārajīva spent the rest of his life (401–413).

§3.2. Influence of the 《正法華經》 on early Guanshiyin cult in China

It can be safely assumed that Dharmarakṣa's translation was already widely available in China before Faxian departed for India in 399, 113 years after Dharmarakṣa completed his translation. As reported by Sengyou 僧祐 (approx. 445–518), the translation 《正法華經》 received from the outset much attention.[15]

According to the latest research one can assume that the worship of Guanyin was triggered in China actually by Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sūtra. From the Eastern Jin period (東晋) alone, which ran from 317 until 420, we know of more than 35 collections of scriptures about the miracles of Guanyin (觀音應驗記).[16] It would therefore be false to attribute Faxian's two appeals to Guanshiyin as a mere example of "popular Chinese piety" of that time. In fact, the roots of Faxian's behavior during maritime distress can be traced back to the influence of Dharmarakṣa's Lotus Sūtra.[17]

§4. Comparative text analysis of the 《佛國記》 and the 《正法華經》

The wording of both passages in the Foguoji, which recount Faxian's prayers to Guanshiyin, shows clear parallels to the canonical scripture on the worship of Avalokiteśvara in the 《正法華經》. In the same way, similar wording with regard to the description of the dangerous ocean can be read in both texts:

[佛國記 T51:866a7–14]

海中多有抄賊，遇輒無全。大海瀰漫無邊，不識東西。唯望日、月、星宿而進。若陰雨時，為逐風而去，亦無所准。當夜闇時，但見大浪相搏晃若[18]火色、黿、鼉、水性怪異之屬。商人荒懅，不知那向。海深無底，又無下石住處。至天晴已，乃知東西，還復望正而進。若值伏石，則無活路。

There are many pirates on the sea. If one encounters them, then the whole (crew) will perish. The great ocean spreads itself out endlessly, so that one has no sense of direction. Only by observing the sun, moon and stars was it possible to proceed on course. If it is cloudy and rainy, (the ship) is driven onwards by the wind without any guidance. In the darkness after the nighttime, one only sees the great waves wrestling each other and emitting a bright color like that of fire, with giant turtles, crocodiles and other sea monsters. (In such a situation) the merchants became very frightened and didn't know in which direction they should navigate. Because of the depth of the bottomless ocean, there is nowhere to drop the (perpender) stone. The right direction can only be found again when the sky becomes light. Then the (seamen) can reorient (the ship) and navigate it in the right direction. If she collides with any hidden rock, there is no way to survive.

The Guanshiyin chapter of the Lotus Sūtra[19] mentions seven emergency situations (七難

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[15] See 《出三藏記集》 *Chu Sanzang Jiji* T55: 56c–57a: 施檀大會, 講誦此經, 竟日盡夜, 無不咸歡。On Dharmarakṣa's importance for the dissemination of Buddhism in China cf. Sengyou T55:97f.: (竺法護)孜孜所務, 唯以弘通爲業, 終身譯寫, 勞不告倦。經法所以廣流中華者, 護之力也。See also Tang 1997: 110–115, Zürcher 2007:65f. and Boucher 2006. On other early Mahāyāna scriptures in relation to the Guanyin cult cf. Yü 2001: 31f.

[16] See Lee 2000: 10–13.

[17] On the open discussion in this regard cf. Deeg 2005: 572.

[18] Zhang 1985: 167 (note 22) reads 晃然。

[19] Cf. Wogihara&Tsuchida 1958: 362f.: chapter 24: Avalokiteśvara–vikurvaṇa–nirdeśaḥ (觀世音菩薩普門

sapta–antarāya), from which Guanshiyin protects those who whisper him and call out his name. Water is the second of the 七難 mentioned after fire:

[正法華經 T9: 129a2–10]

若入大海，百千億姟眾生豪賤處海深淵無底之源，採致金銀雜珠、明月如意寶珠、水精琉璃、車璖馬瑙、珊瑚琥珀，載滿船寶。假使風吹其船流墮黑山迴波，若經鬼界、值摩羯魚，眾中一人竊獨心念光世音菩薩功德威神而稱名號，皆得解脫一切眾患，及其伴侶眾得濟渡，不遇諸魔邪鬼之厄。故名光世音。[20]

Imagine that millions upon millions of people set out into the deep and bottomless ocean in order to search gold, silver and different peals; the legendary wish–pearl like the bright moon; crystal and lapis lazuli; mother of pearl and agate; coral and amber; and their ship was fully loaded with those treasures. Suppose a powerful tempest had shipwrecked their vessel in whirling waves like black mountains, crossing the area of demons Yakṣa and encountering the fish–devils Makara. If only one person among the crew prayers to the dread and goodness of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and calls out his name, all of passengers would be freed from the distress and demons. Because of this (mastery) he is called Avalokiteśvara.

Comparison of phrasing and wording

Example 1: Description of the dangerous ocean	
佛國記	正法華經
海中多有抄賊，遇輒無全。<u>大海瀰漫無邊，不識東西</u>。唯望日、月、星宿而進。若陰雨時，為逐風而去，亦無所准。當夜闇時，<u>但見大浪相搏晃若火色、黿、鼉、水性怪異之屬</u>。商人荒懅，不知那向。<u>海深無底</u>，又無下石住處。至天晴已，乃知東西，還復望正而進。若值伏石，則無活路。	若入大海，百千億姟眾生豪賤處海深淵無底之源，採致金銀雜珠、明月如意寶珠、水精琉璃、車璖馬瑙、珊瑚琥珀，載滿船寶。<u>假使風吹其船流墮黑山迴波，若經鬼界、值摩羯魚</u> …
Example 2: Appeal to Guanshiyin through a single person in a group which is in an emergency situation.	
佛國記	正法華經
(法顯) <u>唯一心念觀世音</u>及歸命漢地眾僧：我遠行求法，<u>愿威神歸流</u>，得到所止。法顯爾時<u>亦一心念觀世音</u>及漢地眾僧，<u>蒙威神祐</u>，得至天曉。	<u>眾中一人竊獨心念光世音菩薩功德威神而稱名號，皆得解脫一切眾患及其伴侶。眾得濟渡，不遇諸魔邪鬼之厄。故名光世音。</u>

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra[21]

sacet punaḥ kulaputra sāgara–madhye … sa potas teṣāṃ kālikā–vātena rākṣasīdvīpe kṣiptaḥ syāt tasmiṃs ca ca kaś–cid evaikaḥ sattvaḥ syāt yo 'valokiteśvarasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasy' ākrandaṃ kuryāt sarve te parimucyeraṃs tasmād rākṣasī–dvīpāt.

品).

[20] The origins of this most import deity of the Mahāyāna Buddhism lie within the ancient Indian cultural sphere. The appellation „Guan(shi)yin" is based on a linguistic misunderstanding of the Sanskrit name „Avalokiteśvara". The real meaning of „Avalokiteśvara" is, however, not clear. On 光世音 Guangshiyin cf. Karashima 1998:170 s.v. and 2009:40f.

[21] Ed. Wogihara/Tsuchida 1958:362. On the recent survey of the Lotus Sūtra cf. von Hinüber 2012 and 2013.

§5. The worship of Guanshiyin during the early 5th century in India and China

Both passages from the Foguoji (composed in 414–416) discussed above have put one of the oldest sources about the early practice of Guanshiyin worship into connection with distress at sea. Thus, Faxian's travel account is the oldest concrete proof of such an appeal to Avalokiteśvaras through a Chinese Buddhist. It is most probably that this kind of the Guanshiyin worship was already practiced in a widespread manner in China between the 4th and 5th century. Furthermore, it is interesting to read how Faxian described the practice of Indian Buddhism after his arrival in Mathurā. In the passage from the Foguoji cited below we find what is apparently the oldest written record of Guanshiyin worship in India during the early 5th century.

> 阿毘曇師者供養阿毘曇，律師者供養律。年年一供養，各自有日。摩訶衍人則供養般若波羅蜜、文殊師利、觀世音等。[佛國記T51:866a17–26]
>
> The professors of the Abhidharma (*abhidharma–dhara*s) make their offerings to the (scriptures of the) Abhidharma; those of the Vinaya (vinayadharas) adored the (scriptures of the) Vinaya. Every year there is one such offering, and each class has its own day for it. Adherents of the Mahāyāna (school) present offerings to the *Prajñā–pāramitā*, to Mañjuśrī, and to Guanshiyin. [cf. Legge 1886:46]

The gender transformation of the originally male Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to the female Guanshiyin is, however, deals with an issue of the sinicization of Buddhism; this occurred, due to the influence of popular beliefs in China, in the later Song dynasty (宋朝960–1279)[22]. It is therefore incorrect to assert that Faxian, who lived many centuries before the Song dynasty, prayed to the female Guanyin.[23]

According to Huijiao's (慧皎 approx. 497–554), the Indian monk Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 (394–468), who arrived in Guangzhou (廣州) in 435, appealed also to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara during his sea voyage from Ceylon to China, when there was neither wind at sea nor drinking water on–board: [24]

> 跋那前到獅子諸國，皆傳送資供，既有緣東方，乃隨舶汎海。中途風止，淡水復竭，舉舶憂惶。跋陀曰："可同心并力念十方佛，稱觀世音，何往不感？" 俄而，信風暴至，密雲降雨，一舶蒙濟，其誠感如此。[25]

In this connection, it should be reminded on the early relief found in Aurangabad (near by Ajaṇṭhā) which depicts the worship on the Avalokiteśvara (approx. 6. century) as investigated by D. Schlingloff.[26]

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[22] On the worship of Guanyin in the context of Chinese syncretism cf. Lee 2000:31f. and Yü 2001:407f. (Chapter 10: Feminine Forms of Kuan-yin in Late Imperial China).
[23] As said by Meissig 2005:137 in relation to the *Foguoji*.
[24] Referred to in Deeg 2005:572. Concerning Guṇabhadra's relation with Faxian cf. Glass 2010.
[25] *Gaoseng Zhuan*《高僧傳》, ed. by Tang 1996:131.
[26] Illustration from Schlingloff 1982:58.

Abb. 5. Gebet der Seefahrer um Hilfe in Seenot an Avalokiteśvara; Kultbild-Relief in Aurangabad (Detail); ca. 6. Jh. n. Chr.

For future studies on the travel journals of Chinese pilgrims to India, such as Faxian, Xuanzang (玄奘) and Yijing (義淨), their relation with the canonical scriptures should be taken more into account, as most of the scriptures were thoroughly studied by these learned monks.[27]

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[27.] I would hereby like to thank Elisa Hörhager (Brügge) for her help with the translation of my research papers.

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Fayun's View of the *Lotus Sūtra*

Hiroshi Kanno*

The Problem

This paper considers Fayun's 法雲 (467–529) view of the *Lotus Sūtra* using his *Fahua yiji* 法華義記. Fayun was very famous for his scholarship of the *Lotus Sūtra* in the Liang Dynasty.[1] With the exception of fragments from various *Lotus Sūtra* commentaries discovered at Dunhuang, the *Fahua yiji* is the next oldest commentary after the earliest surviving commentary, i.e. the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* 妙法蓮華經疏 of Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (ca. 355–434). Such as Daosheng's, Fayun's commentary is on the *Lotus Sūtra* in twenty seven chapters, which does not include the "Devadatta" chapter. Even though it is a record of Fayun's discourses on the *Lotus Sūtra*, which was recorded by his disciple, it is not simply a verbatim record of Fayun's lectures. In fact, one can detect traces of where the disciple introduced and critiqued alternative interpretations in an attempt at substantial enhancement of Fayun's exegesis.[2] As the text *Fahua yiji* was written by a disciple and there is a possibility that its formation was completed after Fayun's death, we cannot establish the lower limit of its formation any earlier than the date of Fayun's death. Therefore, we do not know precisely the date of its formation. As criticism of Fayun's interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra* is seen often in the *Fahua xuanlun* 法華玄論, which Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) wrote when he stayed at Jiaxiang Monastery 嘉祥寺 in Kuaiji 会稽 of Shaoxing 紹興 country of Zhejiang 浙江 province, it is obvious that the *Fahua yiji* was composed earlier than the *Fahua xuanlun*.[3] In China the *Fahua yiji* was not so widely read after Zhiyi 智顗 and Jizang

[1.] See the first fascicle of the *Fahua xuanlun*, where it states, "When it came to the beginning of the Liang Dynasty, the three great masters who were erudite scholars became very famous in the society at that time and interpreted many sūtras, extensively collecting *abhidharma* treatises and the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論). [Zhizang 智藏 of] Kaishan 開善 Monastery gained prominence for the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and [Sengmin 僧旻 of] Zhuangyan 莊嚴 Monastery acquired a reputation for the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* 十地經 and the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* 勝鬘經, while [Fayun 法雲 of] Guangzhai 光宅 Monastery had no equal in his time [in his expertise on] the *Lotus Sūtra*" (T no. 1720, 34. 363c17–20). Also see the fascicle 1B of the *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義, where it states, "The world regarded [the interpretation on the *Lotus Sūtra* of Fayun of] Guangzhai as supreme among many interpretations from ancient times to the present. Looking at the way scholars in the southern district interpreted Mahāyāna [sūtras], they accepted the exegeses of Sengzhao僧肇 and Kumārajīva鳩摩羅什. Sengzhao and Kumārajīva usually took the stance of the pervasive teaching (*tongjiao* 通教). In the case of [Fayun of] Guangzhai's interpreting subtleness, can his interpretation go far [from their interpretations]? By criticizing him first, the others will be under the influence [of the criticism here]…" (T no. 1716, 33. 691c19–22).

[2.] See Hiroshi Kanno, "*Hokkegiki* ni okeru kōgisha Hōun to hitsurokusha" in *Chūgoku Hokke shisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1994, pp. 142–150).

[3.] The period when Jizang stayed at the Jiaxiang Monastery in Kuaiji was from 589 to 597. The Chen Dynasty

had criticized Fayun, and it seems to have been lost in the Tang and Song Dynasties. Fortunately, Hōtan 鳳潭 (1659–1738) of the Japanese Kegon 華嚴 school published a version of the text in 1696 that was transmitted to Japan, so we now have the text of the eight volumes of the *Fahua yiji* that Hōtan published.

Even though only the *Fahua yiji* is extant among Fayun's large works, his very short essay concerning the issue of whether or not the soul survives death is preserved in *Hongming ji* 弘明集[4] and his essays concerning the meaning of the two truths and *dharma-kāya* are preserved in the *Guanghongming ji* 廣弘明集.[5] Also the *Fahua yiji* referred to commentarial works such as the *Da ban niepan yiji*[6] 大般涅槃義記 and the *Niepan yiji*[7] 涅槃 義記. They might have been Fayun's commentary on the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, which is not extant. As for the rest, the biography of Fayun in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 states that he wrote the forty-two volume *Chengshi lun yishu* 成實論義疏, which is also not extant.[8]

I will now take up a few issues concerning the *Lotus Sūtra* in Fayun's biography. To begin with, the biography states that when at the age of thirty Fayun first gave a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* at the Miaoyin 妙音 Monastery, the audience gathered like the sea and was jam-packed in the hall. His explanation in response to the capacity of the people in the audience was like a swift wind and he refuted opponents with a well-placed lance. It is said that he had no equals in his time in terms of his wonderful lectures on sūtras.[9]

Further, when Fayun gave a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* at a certain temple, it is reported that heavenly flowers quickly filled the sky like flying snow, fell to the floor of the hall, rose into the sky again, and then disappeared after his lecture. This event is recounted at the end of Fayun's biography.[10] This supernatural phenomenon seems to be connected to the fact that people of that time called him the "illusion-making monk." Also his biography introduces a monk who had a dream that Fayun had given a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* at the time of the past Buddha Sun Moon Bright, who appears in the "Introduction" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[11] This shows the close relationship between Fayun and the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Fayun's main foci of research were the *Chengshi lun*, the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra*. He became especially well known for his lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*. Since his lectures are recorded as the *Fahua yiji*, I will clarify his view of the *Lotus Sūtra* from the viewpoints of analytic division, doctrinal classification, the one vehicle, and the impermanence of Buddha-body, using the

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collapsed in 589 and Jizang moved to Huiri Daochang 慧日道場in Yangzhou 揚州 province accepting the invitation from the King Guang 廣 of Jin 晉 (Yangdi 煬帝). See Hirai Shun'ei, *Hokke genron no chūshaku teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1987, pp. 15–16).

[4.] See the *Hongming ji* 10 (T no. 2102, 52. 60b).

[5.] See the *Guanghong ming ji* 21 (T no. 2103, 52. 247b-249c, *ibid*., 250c-251a).

[6.] See the *Fahua yiji* vol. 1 (T no. 1715, 33. 574a17).

[7.] See the *Fahua yiji* vol. 4 (*ibid*., 619c6).

[8.] See the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* vol. 5 (T no. 2060, 50. 464a26–28). As for the forty-two volumes of the *Chengshi lun yishu*, Wang Zheng has alternatively suggested that Fayun did not write the forty-two volumes of commentary on the *Chengshi lun*, but wrote a kind of encyclopedia of Buddhism composed of forty-two volumes. See Wang zheng, "*Jōjitsuron* shi toshiteno Kōtakuji Hōun ni kansuru ichikōsatsu: *Chūganronsho* no inyō wo tegakari ni," in *Higashi ajia bukkyō kenkyū* 12 (2014, pp. 49-68).

[9.] See T no. 2060, 50. 464a2–8.

[10.] See *ibid*., 465a2–4.

[11.] See *ibid*., 465a10–11.

Fahua yiji as our basic source.

1. The Analytic Division of the *Lotus Sūtra*

Upon reading the *Fahua yiji*, we can quickly find that Fayun's analytic breakdown of the text of the *Lotus Sūtra* is very detailed. He breaks the sūtra's contents down into three main parts. In the first level division, he separates the text into the sections of "preface," "main discourse," and "dissemination." The preface means the "Introduction" chapter; the main discourse covers the fourteen and a half chapters from the "Skillful Means" chapter to the verses of measuring 格量偈 benefits (T no. 262, 9. 44c18) of the "Distinctions in Benefits" chapter; the dissemination section covers eleven and a half chapters from the prose sentences after the verses of measuring benefits to the end of the text.

In the second-level breakdown, he structures the three main divisions into two each. The preface is divided into the common preface and the specific preface and the main discourse is divided into the meaning of cause and the meaning of effect, while the dissemination section is divided into sections of practicing oneself and teaching others.

In the third-level breakdown, he divides the common preface and the specific preface into five units each, and divides the meaning of cause and the meaning of effect of the main discourse into four units each, while he divides both the section of practicing oneself and that of teaching others into five units each. Therefore, there are twenty-four units in all. We need not discuss the actual range of the second and the third-level divisions here.

The further detailed breakdown is shown in the passage-by-passage explanation of the *Fahua yiji*. Being composed of some twenty thousand characters, Daosheng's exegesis on the *Lotus Sūtra* is quite short and so a detailed breakdown of the text of the *Lotus Sūtra* is of course not shown.[12] It is necessary to conduct rather precise research on the text of the *Lotus Sūtra* to provide a detailed analytic division of the entire text. The *Fahua wenju* 法華文句 criticized Fayun's analytical division for being overly detailed.[13] According to my comparative research among the *Fahua yiji*, the *Fahua yishu* by Jizang, and the *Fahua wenju* concerning the parsing of the parable of the wealthy man and his poor son in the "Belief and Understanding" chapter, however, I clarified that the *Fahua yishu* and the *Fahua wenju* are significantly influenced by the *Fahua yiji* in terms of the analytical divisions. The segmentation of the former two texts is more detailed than that of the latter text.[14]

2. Fayun's Doctrinal Classification and his Location of the *Lotus Sūtra*

Jizang and Zhiyi pointed out that adoption of Huiguan's 慧觀 (dates unknown) "five-period classification" spread during North-South Dynasties Period and Fayun also adopted it.[15] Even

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12. See Hiroshi Kanno, "*Myōhōrengekyōsho* ni okeru dōshō no kyōtenchūshaku no hōhō" in *Chūgoku Hokke shisō no kenkyū* (ibid., pp. 69–78, especially pp. 70–71).
13. See the fascicle 1 of the *Fahua wenju* (T no. 1718, 34. 1c15–16).
14. See Hiroshi Kanno, "*Hokekyō* shingehon no hiyu kaishaku to kyōhan shisō" in *Chūgoku Hokke shisō no kenkyū* (ibid., pp. 653–826).
15. The fascicle 10A of the *Fahua xuanyi* states that Sengrou 僧柔, Huici 慧次 and Huiguan categorized the gradual teaching 漸教 into five teachings: the teaching that posits distinguishing characteristics 有相教, the formless teaching 無相教, the teaching that extols and disregards, censures and praises 褒貶抑揚教, the teaching of equal reversion 同歸教 and the teaching of the eternal abiding 常住教. This is the so-called five-period classification, which was adopted by Zhizang 智藏 and Fayun (See T no. 1716, 33. 801b4–6). Also, Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* vol. 2 states that Fayun adopted the five-period classification (See T no. 1720, 34. 372a17–20). Jizang's *Sanlun xuanyi* 三論玄義 (See T no. 1852, 45. 5b3–14) also introduced Huiguan's five-

though we can glean the content of Huiguan's five-period classification indirectly on the basis of materials like Jizang's *Sanlun xuanyi*, there is no evidence that Huiguan definitely advocated a five-period taxonomy. As for the five-period classification that was introduced by the materials earlier than those of Jizang and Zhiyi, I have studied the doctrinal classification of Sengliang 僧亮 (dates unknown) and Sengzong 僧宗 (438–496) in the *Da ban niepan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解.[16] As pointed out by Jizang and Zhiyi, Fayun had some relationship with Sengzong[17] and the *Fahua yiji* was influenced by the five-period classification.

I will now consider Fayun's doctrinal classification and his location of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

There are elegant passages which explain Fayun's doctrinal classification at the beginning of the *Fahua yiji* as a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra*. This can indeed be called the first reasonable attempt to locate the *Lotus Sūtra* within the instructional content of Śākyamuni Buddha's career. Its main points are as follows.[18]

When appearing in this Sahā-world, Śākyamuni Buddha first tried to enable sentient beings to awaken from their long dream and become buddhas. However, as their past good causes were weak, their faculties for receiving the Mahāyāna teachings were obstructed and their eyes of wisdom were covered; he could not immediately expound "the great principle of cause and effect of the one vehicle." This being the case, he had no choice but to move to Mṛgadāva and expound the three vehicles. Based on the principle of cause and effect, these three vehicles refer to three causes such as *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and bodhisattva, while the three effects are *arhat*, *pratyekabuddha*, and Buddha. Next, he clarified the three causes and three effects by expounding the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* to mature the salvific faculties of sentient beings. The salvific faculties of sentient beings to accept Mahāyāna Buddhism are put in motion through such long teachings, and he could expound the *Lotus Sūtra* in Rājagṛha at last, in accordance with the real intention of his having appeared in this world. The *Lotus Sūtra* overcame attachment to the three vehicles and clarified the one teaching and the principle that myriads of forms of goodness result in one effect of becoming a buddha. And it abandoned three vehicles as provisional teachings and expounded the one vehicle (the *Lotus Sūtra*) as the final teaching. It clarified "the great principle of cause and effect of the one vehicle," which Śākyamuni Buddha could not

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period classification, but the names of the five-period classification are partly different from those given in the *Fahua xuanyi*, which are mentioned above. For example, the teaching that posits distinguishing characteristics in the *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 is called the teaching of the separate exposition of the three vehicles 三乘別教 in the *Sanlun xuanyi*; the formless teaching in the *Fahua xuanyi* is called the teaching of the common exposition of the three vehicles 三乘通教 in the *Sanlun xuanyi*; the teaching of that extols and disregards, censures and praises in the *Fahua xuanyi* is abbreviated to become the teaching that censures and praises 抑揚教 in the *Sanlun xuanyi*. The sūtras that correspond to the five teachings are common between both texts: the first teaching corresponds to the *Āgama* sūtras; the second teaching corresponds to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*; the third teaching corresponds to the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*; the forth teaching corresponds to the *Lotus Sūtra*; the fifth teaching corresponds to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

16. See Hiroshi Kanno, "*Daihatsunehangyōjūge* ni okeru sōryō no kyōhan shisō" in *Nanbokuchō zuidai ni okeru chūgoku bukkyō shisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 2012, pp. 445–452) and "*Daihatsunehangyō-jūge* ni okeru sōshū no kyōhan shisō" in *Nanbokuchō zuidai ni okeru chūgoku bukkyō shisō no kenkyū* (ibid., pp. 465–474). Even though the taxonomy of Sengliang and Sengzong is not the same as Huiguan's five-period classification, the taxonomy of Sengzong is quite similar to that done by Huiguan. Based on the *Gaoseng zhuan* vol. 7 (T no. 2059, 50. 372b), Kōgaku Fuse has identified Sengliang as Shi Daoliang 釋道亮, who stayed at Beiduobao 北多寶 Monastery in the capital city. See Kōgaku Fuse, *Nehanshū no kenkyū*, part II (1942; reprinted in 1973, Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, pp. 232–240).

17. See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* vol. 5 (T no. 2060, 50. 463c17–18).

18. See T no. 1715, 33. 572c3–16.

expound immediately after having become enlightened. And as for its cause and effect, myriads of forms of goodness are regarded as the one cause, while the Buddha's immensely long lifespan, which is twice as long as the five hundred dust-particle *kalpa*s (五百塵點劫), is regarded as the one effect.

As mentioned above, Fayun arranges the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha as a progression from three causes and three effects to one cause and one effect from the viewpoint of the theory of cause and effect on the basis of the "Skillful Means" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which arranges them as a progression from the three vehicles to the one vehicle. In summary, Fayun understood that even though the real intention of Śākyamuni Buddha was to clarify "the great principle of cause and effect of the one vehicle," the salvific faculties of sentient beings were not matured, and so he matured them through the three vehicles taught in Mṛgadāva, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. He finally clarified "the great principle of cause and effect of the one vehicle" in the *Lotus Sūtra* and accomplished his basic intention for appearing in this world. Fayun does not refer to the location of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* here, because his description might be restricted by the lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra*. As mentioned above, however, if Fayun adhered to the five-period taxonomy, he must have located the *Lotus Sūtra* in status below the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. I will examine whether there is any evidence of his adopting a five-period classification in the *Fahua yiji*, including the problem of the relationship between the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

In the *Fahua yiji*, there are some expressions such as "five periods."[19] Especially, where the contents of two kinds of wisdom, i.e., provisional wisdom and real wisdom in each sūtra of the five periods are explained, the names of the teaching that posits distinguishing characteristics, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra* appear as the names of the sūtras of the five periods.[20] As mentioned above,[21] the teaching that posits distinguishing characteristics is consistent with the first teaching of five periods introduced in the *Fahua xuanyi* in terms of a name and an actual sūtra, and it seems to correspond to the *Āgama* sūtras.[22] The term "the teaching of the separate exposition of the three vehicles," (*ibid*., 593c8, 601c4, 603a21, 603b25, 611c12–13, 648b16) which is the first teaching of five periods introduced in the *Sanlun xuanyi*, also appears. As for the other four teachings, there is no reference to them except that the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* is defined as the common exposition of the three vehicles (*ibid*., 639b18). As mentioned above,[23] in terms of nomenclature, the common exposition of the three vehicles is consistent with the second teaching of five periods introduced in the *Fahua xuanyi*.

In short, the particular sūtras that correspond to the teachings of five periods in the

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[19]. See T no. 1715, 33. 574c6, 574c8, 582c6, 582c8, 615b17. Also see "sūtras of the five periods," (*ibid*., 592b15) and "teachings of sūtras of the five periods" (*ibid*., 660b23).
[20]. See the *Fahua yiji* vol. 2 (T no. 1715, 33. 593c27–594a11).
[21]. See note 15.
[22]. The separate exposition of the three vehicles has two kinds of references. In the first case it signifies the *Āgama* sūtras expounded at Mṛgadāva (See T no. 1715, 33. 593c8) and in the second case it signifies the *Youpose jie jing* 優婆塞戒經 (*ibid*., 611c12–14). As the *Fahua yiji* vol. 4 states, "The teachings of the separate exposition of the three vehicles were gradually expounded, as the four truths were taught at Mṛgadāva and the twelve links of dependent arising were taught in Rājagṛha, while the *Youpose jie jing* was taught later" (*ibid*., 611c12–14).
[23]. See note 15.

Fahua yiji are consistent with those of the *Fahua xuanyi* and the *Sanlun xuanyi*, but the names of the teaching that extols and disregards, censures and praises[24] (the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*), the teaching of equal reversion (the *Lotus Sūtra*), and the teaching of the eternal abiding (the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*) do not appear except the teaching that posits distinguishing characteristics and the teaching of the common exposition of the three vehicles.

However, as for the expression "equal reversion," "the principle of equal reversion," (*ibid.*, 572c15–16 and many other places) "the meaning of equal reversion," (*ibid.*, 576a10–11 and many other places) "the law of equal reversion," (*ibid.*, 605a29 and three other places) and "equal reversion of myriads of forms of goodness" (*ibid.*, 582b26 and five other places) appear in the text and represent the idea of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

In addition, as for the teaching of the eternal abiding, the *Fahua yiji* vol. 5 states, "This sūtra clarifies the *dharma-kāya*, which is not the same as the *dharma-kāya* clarified by the sūtra of the eternal abiding," (T no. 1715, 33. 635c24–25) and the *Fahua yiji* vol. 7 states, "This [*Lotus Sūtra*] opens the way leading to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and becomes a preparation of the [teaching of the] eternal abiding" (*ibid.*, 660b26–27). Thus, it is obvious that Fayun defines the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* as the teaching of the eternal abiding. On the other hand, there is no reference to the teaching that extols and disregards, censures and praises, which refers to the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. There is not even a trace of similar expressions. However, the later assessment that Fayun adopted the five-period classification seems to be reliable.

3. The Interpretation of the One Vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra*

As Fayun adopted the doctrinal classification that located the *Lotus Sūtra* in a status below the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, he did not give a high evaluation to the idea of the "age-old existence of Śākyamuni Buddha (久遠釋尊)" explained in the *Lotus Sūtra*'s 16th "The Lifespan of the Thus Come One" chapter but did value the idea of the "one vehicle" that was the center of the second "Skillful Means" chapter. Here I will introduce Fayun's thought on the one vehicle. Further, he showed by the segmentation of the *Lotus Sūtra* that the idea of the "one vehicle" is expounded not only in the second chapter, but also in the *Lotus Sūtra* in its entirety. If we accept this conclusion in advance, the important framework for interpreting the one vehicle is the theory of provisional wisdom and real wisdom and the theory of cause and effect. Passages featuring these ideas appear at the beginning of the annotation of the "Skillful Means" chapter. Concerning the problem of why the second chapter is not titled "true aspect" but "skillful means," the doctrinal contents of this chapter are simply arranged

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[24]   There is one place where the *Fahua yiji* locates the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* in Śākyamuni Buddha's career (T no. 1715, 33. 639c25–27). In addition, the *Fahua yiji* does not refer to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* at all. Therefore, Fayun does not incorporate it in his doctrinal classification. As Sengzong annotates in the *Da ban niepan jing jijie* vol. 9, "At one time [the Buddha] expounded the expansion of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* at eight assemblies in seven different places" (T no. 1763, 37. 415c9), he refers to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. Compared to Sengzong's treatment of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the fact that Fayun does not refer to it is somewhat odd. Also, as the *Fahua yiji* (S. 2733 + S. 4102, discovered in Dunhuang) states, "'[When these sentient beings] see me (the Buddha) for the first time and listen to my preaching, [they] immediately believe and accept it, entering into the wisdom of Tathāgata' at the assembly of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. This means entering into the wisdom of the Buddha of eternal abiding Mahāyāna" (T no. 2748, 85. 179a6–8). This text sees the preaching of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in the "Emerging from the Earth" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* (T no. 262, 9. 40b8–9). Considering the above-cited texts, the fact that Fayun does not refer to the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* at all seems to be one of the characteristics of Fayun's *Fahua yiji*. See Hiroshi Kanno, "Hōun *Hokkegiki* to tonkō shahon *Hokkegiki*" in *Chūgoku Hokke shisō no kenkyū* (*ibid.*, pp. 235–244).

as follows.

> In the case of naming [the chapter] from the standpoint of the principle, it should be named the chapter on the true aspect 實相 and should not be named the chapter on skillful means. Now only this sūtra (the *Lotus Sūtra*) straightforward clarifies that the past three vehicles are provisional. As for the skillful means, the three vehicles were originally true in the past and were not named skillful means. As long as it expounds the principle of the true aspect of the one vehicle now, this shows by a comparison that the three vehicles are provisional. For this the sūtra later states, "This sūtra opens the gate of skillful means and shows the true aspect." This means that when the true aspect of the present cause and effect is expounded, the fact that the past cause and effect is not true is clarified. Now from the standpoint of what is clarified this chapter is named [the chapter on] skillful means (T no. 1715, 33. 592a12–19).

Even though this passage seems to merely show a common-sense explanation of the idea of the one vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra*, if we are more careful, we can find that the one vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* is identified with "the principle of the true aspect" as is shown in the expression of "the principle of the true aspect of the one vehicle." Furthermore, the comparison between the three vehicles and the one vehicle is made from the standpoint of cause and effect as is shown in the expression "present cause and effect" and "past cause and effect." As for "the principle of the true aspect," the true aspect is expressed as the principle, which is used as a relative concept to "the teaching" as in the following citation:

> The meaning of skillful means is skillful function. This is a teaching expounded by the wisdom based on the skillful means of the Tathāgata, which is called a gate. A true aspect is the principle expounded by the real wisdom of the Tathāgata (*ibid*., 592a19–21).

The teaching expounded by the wisdom based on the skillful means of the Buddha is the three vehicles, which are skillful means, while the principle expounded by the Buddha's real wisdom is the true aspect. There are not three kinds of principle in the ground of the three vehicles. They are defined as the teachings expressed by words, while the one vehicle has one principle as its ground. Therefore, as the one vehicle is regarded as "the principle of the true aspect of the one vehicle," it is defined as an explanation of one principle.

As mentioned above, at the beginning of the annotation of the "Skillful Means" chapter there appear the interpretations from the standpoint of the Buddha's provisional wisdom, which is identical with the wisdom based on skillful means in the above-mentioned citation, and the theory of cause and effect concerning three vehicles and one vehicle. I will examine these two standpoints.

3.1 The Theory of Provisional Wisdom and Real Wisdom, and the Interpretation of One Vehicle

Fayun clarifies that there is real wisdom (實智) and the wisdom based on skillful means (方便智) and that real wisdom has two names, i.e., real wisdom and wisdom (智慧) and that the wisdom based on skillful means has also two names, i.e., the wisdom based on skillful means and provisional wisdom (權智).[25] The wisdom based on skillful means signifies the skillful function possessed by the sage. Thus, the wisdom of the sage is characterized as skillful means, which means skillful function, and is named the wisdom based on skillful means.

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25. See T no. 1715, 33. 592b16–18.

Therefore, it is "named from the standpoint of essence (當體受名)." On the other hand, as provisional wisdom is "named from the standpoint of the object (從境得名)" of the wisdom and is one that cognizes provisional object of three vehicles; it is named the provisional wisdom.[26]

Next, as for the significance of the combination of wisdom and real wisdom, the former signifies "mind's function of illuminating objects (心用鑒照)" and the latter means that there is no "falseness." Wisdom and real wisdom are the same wisdom, but they are named differently, like the combination of the wisdom based on skillful means and provisional wisdom. Wisdom is named from the standpoint of essence like the wisdom based on skillful means, while real wisdom is named from the standpoint of the object of the wisdom like provisional wisdom. In other words, as mentioned above, wisdom signifies mind's function of illuminating objects and its function itself is named wisdom. As Fayun states, "Now the principle of cause and effect of the one vehicle is a real and established object in the world (天下真實定境)," real wisdom cognizes real objects and so it is named from the standpoint of its objects.[27] In sum, the wisdom based on skillful means and simple wisdom are named from the standpoint of essence, while provisional wisdom and real wisdom are named from the standpoint of the object.

Next, Fayun explains the objects of provisional wisdom and real wisdom. First, he states concerning the objects of provisional wisdom as follows.

> There are three three-fold objects altogether in the objects illuminated by the wisdom based on skillful means: the first is three teachings; the second is three salvific faculties; the third is three kinds of people. [The wisdom based on skillful means] illuminates the three three-fold objects. You should know that this wisdom is the essence of provisional wisdom. There were three kinds of people in the past. There were three kinds of people, people have three faculties, and the three faculties received three teachings. For this reason as long as the Tathāgata illuminates the three three-fold objects by provisional wisdom, he immediately expounds three teachings, responding to three faculties and cultivates three kinds of people. And so this wisdom is examined and selected by these three three-fold objects. You should know that to illuminate these three three-fold objects is the essence of the wisdom based on skillful means (*ibid*., 592c27–593a5).

According to this citation, "objects of provisional wisdom" is interpreted as "three three-fold objects," which means three teachings, three faculties and three persons. Three teachings signify the *śrāvaka-yāna*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna*, and *bodhisattva-yāna*. Three faculties are spiritual or religious conditions of sentient beings, who receive three teachings of the Buddha, such as conditions of receiving *śrāvaka-yāna*, those of receiving *pratyekabuddha-yāna* and those of receiving *bodhisattva-yāna*. "Faculty" signifies sentient beings' spiritual or religious conditions, which elicit the appearance and teaching activities of buddhas and bodhisattvas, and cause sentient beings to be receptive to them. "Three kinds of people" means *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and bodhisattva. As for the reason why faculty and person are purposely distinguished, it is probably because there are not eternally unchanging and fixed discriminations among three persons such as *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and bodhisattva and they are beings defined by the faculty of *śrāvaka*, of *pratyekabuddha*, and of bodhisattva. *Śrāvaka*s will become bodhisattvas and bodhisattvas will become *śrāvaka*s on the basis of

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[26.] See *ibid*., 592b24–29.

[27.] See *ibid*., 592c3–15.

change in faculties. Therefore faculty and kinds of people should be clearly distinguished. In sum, the provisional wisdom of the Buddha is one that teaches three vehicles, *śrāvaka-yāna*, *pratyekabuddha-yāna*, and *bodhisattva-yāna* in response to three faculties and cultivates three kinds of people. In other words, this provisional wisdom has the function of illuminating three teachings, three faculties and three persons.

On the other hand, Fayun states, concerning the object of real wisdom:

> In the objects illuminated by real wisdom, there are altogether four kinds: the first is oneness/ unity of teaching; the second is oneness of principle; the third is oneness of faculty; the fourth is oneness of person. It is clarified that Tathāgata's wisdom illuminates the objects of these four kinds of oneness. This is none other than real wisdom. What is called oneness of teaching and oneness of principle is that [the *Lotus Sūtra*] advocates now that there are no differing thrusts of causes and no differing effective trajectories (因無異趣果無別從). And as for the meaning of the truth, there is no second in its principle. And so as long as the principle that is clarified is one, how can the teaching, which clarifies [the principle], be two? What is called oneness of faculty means that there exists one kind of faculty in the audiences at the assembly of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which receives one effect. Oneness of person means to clarify that the people who were formerly *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s today changed their minds to become bodhisattvas. The sūtra later states, "[The Buddha] cultivates only bodhisattvas and there are no disciples who are *śrāvaka*s." Also, it is said that one person has one faculty and receives one teaching and one principle. The Tathāgata expounds one principle by one teaching and responds to one faculty and cultivates one kind of people. For this reason, to illuminate the object of these four kinds of oneness by the Tathāgata's wisdom is none other than the essence of real wisdom (*ibid*., 593a5–17).

In sum, the essence of real wisdom is "the object of four kinds of oneness," which signifies oneness of teaching, oneness of principle, oneness of faculty, and oneness of person. If the principle is one, the teaching that should clarify it should be one. There appeared the expression "the principle of the true aspect of one vehicle" above. If we apply this thinking to this topic, what clarifies oneness of principle is the one vehicle, and oneness of teaching indicates an aspect expounded by words concerning the one vehicle, which clarifies oneness of principle. In other words, the one vehicle has two aspects, oneness of principle and oneness of teaching. Oneness of faculty means the faculty that realizes Buddha-effect, while oneness of person signifies bodhisattva. Speaking from the perspective of sentient beings, they who have faculties of realizing Buddha-effect, i. e., bodhisattvas, receive one teaching and principle, while speaking from the perspective of the Buddha, he expounds one principle by one teaching and responds to the faculty of realizing Buddha-effect, cultivating bodhisattvas. In sum, an aspect of Buddha's wisdom, which has such a function, is called real wisdom.

Comparing the object of provisional wisdom and that of real wisdom, three categories such as teaching, faculty, and person are common in both, but three principles are not shown in the object of provisional wisdom, even though oneness of principle is shown as the object of real wisdom. Fayun discussed this problem and clarified as a conclusion that both when three vehicles were expounded in the past and when the one vehicle is expounded now, the principle is consistently one from beginning to end. When the Buddha expounded the three vehicles in the past, there were not three principles. He tried to clarify today's "principle of

one truth" by means of the three vehicles.[28]

In sum, Fayun tried to interpret the problem of the relationship between three vehicles and one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra* from the standpoint of two aspects of Buddha's wisdom, which are provisional wisdom and real wisdom. Provisional wisdom is the one that expounds three vehicles to three persons possessing three faculties, while real wisdom is the one that expounds the one vehicle, which is oneness of teaching and oneness of principle, to one kind of people possessing one faculty. Three faculties and three kinds of people finally convert to one faculty and one person, respectively and the one vehicle is expounded for him or her. The three vehicles in the past are assumed to be provisional and temporary until the one vehicle is clarified.

These characteristics of Fayun's interpretation can be arranged as follows: (a) the three vehicles and one vehicle are both based on forms of the Buddha's wisdom; (b) the three vehicles, however, are based on provisional wisdom and the one vehicle is based on real wisdom and so the grounds of formation of the three vehicles and one vehicle are distinguished; (c) Fayun clarifies that even though oneness of principle is shown as the object of real wisdom, three principles are not expounded as the objects of provisional wisdom, by which he indicates that the three vehicles are provisional and finally disappear before the one vehicle that expounds oneness of principle; (d) by taking up not only person but also faculty, sentient beings are regarded not as fixed but as transformative by change of faculty, which coinsides with the idea of the *Lotus Sūtra* that *śrāvaka*s become bodhisattvas to become enlightened.

3.2 The Theory of Cause and Effect and the Interpretation of One Vehicle

Next I will introduce Fayun's theory of cause and effect. When he interpreted the *Lotus Sūtra*, he primarily valued the theory of cause and effect. It is not an exaggeration to say that the central teaching of Buddhism is none other than the principle of cause and effect. What is called "cause and effect" here is the cause of Buddhist practice and the effect of religious ideal that should be realized as a result of that practice. Buddhism is not mere philosophy or theory, rather it has a practice and a goal that should be reached by that practice. The doctrines of Buddhism were indeed formed for such a practice and goal.

As introduced above, when Fayun arranged the instructional content of Śākyamuni Buddha's career at the beginning of the *Fahua yiji*, he used this theory of cause and effect as a framework for his arrangement. This reflects the view that the *Lotus Sūtra* itself arranges the Buddha's preaching career as a progression from the three vehicles to the one vehicle. Further, Fayun takes up the three vehicles and the one vehicle from his own standpoint of the theory of cause and effect. He proposed a doctrinal classification that arranges the Buddha's teachings as a progression from three causes and three effects to one cause and one effect.

Such an arrangement of the instructional content of Śākyamuni Buddha's career is applied to the interpretation of the title of the *Lotus Sūtra*. *Fa* (法) of the *Miaofa lianjhua jing* (妙法蓮華經) is interpreted as cause and effect, while *lianhua* (蓮華) is interpreted as a metaphor of subtle cause and effect.[29] This is Fayun's unique interpretation, one which does not appear in Daosheng's interpretation of the title of the sūtra, and which had significant

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28. See *ibid*., 593a17–29.
29. See *ibid*., 573a4–8.

influence on later exegetes. Here I will consider the issue that *fa* is interpreted as cause and effect.

Subtlety (*miao* 妙) is a concept relative to coarseness (*cu* 麤) and the modifying word to *fa*. *Fa* means cause and effect. Therefore, *miaofa* (subtle law) signifies subtle cause and subtle effect. In other words, cause is subtle and effect is subtle. Compared to this cause and effect of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the cause and effect preached prior to the *Lotus Sūtra* was coarse. Actually, the cause is practice of the six *pāramitā*s, while the effect, which is realized through such a practice, has both conditioned effect and unconditioned effect. The unconditioned effect means to sever delimited *saṃsāra* (分段生死) in the three realms and the function of conditioned effect means to save sentient beings abiding in this world for either eighty years or seven hundred *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s.[30] These causes and effects are defined as non-ultimate.

On the other hand, the subtle cause of the *Lotus Sūtra* makes myriads of forms of goodness one cause and enables sentient beings to transcend a stretch of steep road five hundred *yojana*s long and reaches the place of treasure. The subtle effect, on the other hand, is the unconditioned effect of leaving delimited *saṃsāra* inside the three realms and *saṃsāra* of inconceivable transformation (不思議變易生死) outside the three realms. This is a function of conditioned effect, which prolongs a lifespan by supernatural power out of unlimited compassion and saves the sentient beings of the three realms. Such causes and effects are called the subtle law.

As observed above, the coarse causes and effects of the past are compared with the subtle causes and effects of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Fayun further discusses this problem in detail. He carries out a comparison of the past cause and the present cause from three standpoints. I will omit quotation of the material and introduce the essential points.[31] As for the first, the length of the essence of cause, the past cause means practice inside the three realms (short), while the present cause means practice inside and outside the three realms and the myriads of forms of goodness (long). As for the second, the width of the meaning of cause, the past cause means only the practice of the six *pāramitā*s (narrow), while the present cause is to practice myriad forms of goodness and merit (broad). As for the third, superiority and inferiority of the function of cause, the past cause is only to sever the four entrenched afflictions[32] and does not sever the nescience entrenchment (inferior), while the present cause severs not only the four entrenched afflictions but also severs the nescience entrenchment (superior).

Next, Fayun also compares the past effect and the present effect in three ways. The first is the length of the essence of effect. The past effect is the short lifespan that is the Buddha's lifespan of either eighty years or seven hundred *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s, while the present effect

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[30] See T no. 642, 15. 645a2–5.

[31] See T no. 1715, 33. 573a15-c19. It is well known that a detailed critique of Fayun's interpretation introduced here appears in vol. 2A of the *Fahua xuanyi* (T no. 1716, 33. 691b29–692c3).

[32] These are the four entrenchments (四住地) of mental disturbances (惑), derived from the explication of the nature of affliction given in the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*. The entrenchments are: (1) entrenchment of mistaken views in regard to all things in the three realms (見一處住地); (2) entrenchment of attachment to objects in the desire realm(欲愛住); (3) entrenchment of attachment to things in the form realm (色愛住地); (4) entrenchment of attachment to objects in the formless realm (有愛住地). When the nescience entrenchment (無明住地) is added, there are five entrenchments (五住地惑), which condition all error, and are the ground from which spring the roots of the countless afflictions and delusions of all sentient beings.

is the long lifespan, which is twice as long as the five hundred dust-particle *kalpa*s. The second is the width of the meaning of effect. As the past unconditioned effect only emancipates from delimited *saṃsāra*, it is not perfect, while the present effect, which emancipates from both delimited *saṃsāra* and the *saṃsāra* of inconceivable transformation, is perfect. The past conditioned effect is not perfect in merit and wisdom. As for merit, compassion covers the sentient beings of the three realms but does not cover those outside the three realms. The wisdom illuminates only the limited four truths (有量四諦), but does not illuminate the unlimited four truths (無量四諦), while it illuminates only three causes and three effects, but does not illuminate one cause and one effect. Therefore, there is only eradication wisdom (盡智) and wisdom of non-arising (無生智). As for the conditioned effect, its merits widely affect sentient beings inside and outside the three realms, while its wisdom illuminates both the limited four truths and the unlimited four truths, and further illuminates one cause and one effect. The third way is the superiority and inferiority of the function of effect. The past effect is inferior because the quantity of preaching is low, while the present effect is superior in manifesting embodied buddhas not only on Vulture Peak but also widely in ten directions, and saves sentient beings by supernatural power.

Thus, Fayun compares past cause and effect with present cause and effect from three perspectives. He clarifies their coarseness and subtlety, and shows that the *Lotus Sūtra* is subtle. Even though the *Fahua yiji* introduces another interpretation, I will not discuss it here.[33]

Fayun, who regards the one vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* as one cause and one effect and regards the past cause and effect as coarse and regards the present cause and effect of the *Lotus Sūtra* as subtle, clarifies the relationship between this theory of cause and effect and the entire *Lotus Sūtra* as follows. He makes a classification of the thematic thrust (宗) of sūtras into three cases: the first is sūtras that make cause their thematic thrust; the second is sūtras that make effect their thematic thrust; the third is sūtras that make both cause and effect their thematic thrust. And he points out that the *Lotus Sūtra* is the sūtra that makes both cause and effect its thematic thrust:

> Now, this *Lotus Sūtra* makes cause and effect its thematic thrust. The former part [of the *Lotus Sūtra*] before the "Peaceful Practices" chapter elaborates the three to reveal the one and clarifies the meaning of cause, while the latter part after the "Emerging from the Earth" chapter elaborates the near to reveal the distant and clarifies the meaning of effect (*ibid*., 574b16–18).

Further, according to his interpretation, how does the *Lotus Sūtra*, which expounds both cause and effect, actually explain this cause and effect in the three sections of one sūtra such as "preface," "main discourse," and "dissemination"? The "preface" section is a preparation for the "main discourse" section and does not have direct relation with cause and effect. However, Fayun states in the annotation of the auspicious signs of the "Introduction" chapter:

> [The auspicious signs] clarify that the practitioners of the three vehicles equally return to becomeing buddhas in order to explicitly explain the principle of one cause and one effect (*ibid*., 582b22–23).

[33.] See T no. 1715, 33. 573c9–26.

Thus, he frequently points out the relationship between the "preface" section and one cause and one effect.

Fayun understands that the "main discourse" section is divided into two sections and each section explains cause and effect. In other words, the part from the "Skillful Means" chapter to the "Peaceful Practices" chapter clarifies the meaning of cause, while the part from the "Emerging from the Earth" chapter to the verses of measuring benefits of the "Distinctions in Benefits" chapter clarifies the meaning of effect.[34]

As for the "dissemination" section, Fayun states:

> [The "dissemination" section] will make this subtle law of cause and effect of one vehicle spread to distant places to people who have not heard it, and not disappear for one thousand years (*ibid.*, 575a12–13).

In other words, disseminating the subtle law of cause and effect, which is explained in the "main discourse" section, is the explanation of "dissemination."

As for the relationship between the theory of provisional wisdom and real wisdom and the theory of cause and effect, Fayun clarifies their difference by making the three vehicles and the one vehicle expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra* be based on the provisional wisdom and real wisdom of the Buddha. It is said that provisional wisdom cognizes three three-fold objects, while real wisdom cognizes the object of four kinds of oneness. Fayun regards the one vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* as one cause and one effect on the basis of the interpretation that oneness of principle is defined as the principle of one cause and one effect. Further, he regards one cause and one effect as subtle cause and subtle effect through the interpretation of the title of the sūtra, and he analyzes the difference between subtle cause and subtle effect of the *Lotus Sūtra* and three causes and three effects of pre-*Lotus Sūtra* teachings, which are coarse cause and coarse effect. In other words, Fayun uses the theory of cause and effect in order to clarify the position of the *Lotus Sūtra* among teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha. Furthermore, it clarifies the Buddha's wisdom (provisional wisdom and real wisdom), which is the agent of expounding teachings. In this way, he clarifies the ground of the Buddha, who expounds subtle cause and subtle effect (one cause and one effect) and coarse cause and coarse effect (three causes and three effects). Also, Fayun explains that the idea of one vehicle, which means this cause and effect (one cause and one effect) is not explained only in the "Skillful Means" chapter but also throughout the entire *Lotus Sūtra*. He indicates concretely how it is expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra* through his analytic division of the text.

Thus, Fayun's interpretation of the thought of one vehicle is made from the viewpoint of the theory of cause and effect, and the principle of one cause and one effect is based on Buddha's real wisdom. As for one cause and one effect, he states:

> To clarify oneness of effect is none other than to finally bring together the three effects of the past to perfect the one effect of the present....To clarify oneness of cause means that if practices of practitioners of three vehicles of the past are brought together, there is only one cause corresponding to one Buddha-effect (*ibid.*, 603a19–23).

In other words, the three causes of practices of the past—*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and bodhisattva—become one cause, which finally perfects one Buddha-effect, while the three

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[34.] See *ibid.*, 575a23-b2.

effects of the past—*arhat*, *pratyekabuddha*, and Buddha—finally become one Buddha-effect. Such an understanding of the thought of the *Lotus Sūtra* is shown in the three sections of the *Lotus Sūtra* segmented by Daosheng.[35] Fayun discovers in the "law" of the sūtra's title the theory of cause and effect, which arranges the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha's career and expresses exactly the thought of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Furthermore, he re-develops Daosheng's interpretation by explaining the theory of Buddha's two kinds of wisdom of provisional and real, which supports the theory of cause and effect.

4. The Theory of the Impermanent Existence of Buddha's Body in the *Lotus Sūtra*

As mentioned above, Fayun interpreted the *Lotus Sūtra* based on the doctrinal classification that located the *Lotus Sūtra* in status below the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and so it seems that he valued the idea of the "one vehicle" explained in the "Skillful Means" chapter and did not evaluate highly the idea of the "age-old existence of the Buddha" explained in the "The Lifespan of the Thus Come One" chapter. Here I will examine how he understood the relationship between the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

A feature of the five-period taxonomy is that the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is regarded as superior in status to the *Lotus Sūtra* because it expounds the eternal abiding of Buddha's body—which we can easily understand from the fact that the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is named "the teaching of eternal abiding." In the *Fahua yiji*, a comparison between the two sūtras was also carried out concerning this eternal abiding of Buddha's body. Fayun explains this problem with an innovative metaphor in the *Fahua yiji* vol. 2:

> As for the meaning of longevity expounded in this sūtra [the *Lotus Sūtra*], the lifespan of seven hundred *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s as explained in the past [such as in the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi Sūtra*] is regarded as short, while [the lifespan expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*, which is] twice the length [of its past duration from the time of becoming enlightened to now], is called long, which is in terms of position. If so, there is not a special length now. Anything beyond a lifespan of seven hundred *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s is simply regarded as long. Using a simile, a post of five *zhang* 丈[36] has two *zhang* of that post concealed beneath the surface and the three *zhang* exposed. We see the three *zhang* and regard the post as short. When the additional two *zhang* are revealed, the meaning of long appears. However, there is no set length. When the present two *zhang* [of base of the post] is added to the past three *zhang*, the function of five *zhang* appears. [The Buddha's] lifespan is also like this. The past lifespan of seven hundred *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s is regarded as short, while twice that length is regarded as long. However, there is no set length. It just extends a short one to form a long one. This is not different from saying that three *zhang* is short and coarse, while the present double length is long and subtle (*ibid.*, 573c26–574a5).

As for the meaning of the longevity expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*, Fayun illustrates his point with a readily apprehended simile. A post of five *zhang* is standing in soil, so that two *zhang* of that post is concealed beneath the surface. The three *zhang* that are exposed correspond to the lifespan of seven hundred *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s. But when the soil is removed and the additional two *zhang* of the base of the post is revealed, its length adds up to five *zhang*. That

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[35.] Daosheng broadly divides the text of the *Lotus Sūtra* into the three sections of "assimilating the three causal paths to the one cause," "assimilating the three fruits or results [of the three paths]" to the "one fruit or result," and "assimilating the three kinds of people or practitioners" [of the three paths] to the "one kind of person or practitioner." See Daosheng's commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, X27, no. 577, p. 1, c14–17.
[36.] One *zhang* is approximately equal to ten feet.

length corresponds to the lifespan of the Buddha as revealed in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Thus the difference between earlier and later representations of the lifespan of the Buddha is no more than the difference between three or five *zhang*—it remains purely a relative matter. If we look at this situation from the perspective of the eternity of the Buddha as taught in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, we can only conclude that, in the *Lotus Sūtra*, the existence of the Buddha is still presented as impermanent.[37]

The idea that "[the lifespan will last] twice the number of years that have already passed" appears in another place, which reads:

> If we discuss this from the viewpoint of the principle, as long as two kinds of *saṃsāra* are transcended it must be eternal abiding nirvāṇa. Now this teaching [of the *Lotus Sūtra*], however, does not clarify this principle and so "[the lifespan lasting] twice the number of years as have already passed" is called nirvāṇa (*ibid.*, 624c6–7).

According to this citation, if we transcend the two kinds of *saṃsāra*, delimited *saṃsāra* and *saṃsāra* of inconceivable transformation, we can surely acquire eternal abiding nirvāṇa, but as the *Lotus Sūtra* does not expound this principle, and the finite Buddha's lifespan, which is twice as long as the five hundred dust-particle *kalpa*s, is regarded as nirvāṇa, the *Lotus Sūtra* does not teach the eternally abiding nirvāṇa. Further, the meaning of *dharma-kāya*, which Fayun understands to be xpounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*, is explained as follows:

> The *dharma-kāya* expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra* is not eternally abiding. Here are two interpretations. The first is that [the Buddha] who extends the adamantine mind and abides in this world for a long time is *dharma-kāya*. [The second] is that as the fact that buddhas of the ten directions see each other from afar has just been clarified, it is known that the Buddha of Immeasurable Life is now teaching in his western world and does not come here (*sahā*-world). Seeing from here, he [the Buddha of Immeasurable Life] is none other than the *dharma-kāya*. However, the response body (*nirmāṇa-kāya*) originally has form and image. The *dharma-kāya* does not have form or image. As long as the Buddha does not come here, there is neither form nor image. Such a Buddha is none other than the *dharma-kāya*. If he comes here and manifests himself, the Buddha who manifests himself is none other than the response body. Seeing from there, [the Buddha] here is regarded as *dharma-kāya* (*ibid.*, 629a6–13).

According to this citation, the *dharma-kāya* expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra* is one who uses his supernatural power to extend his adamantine mind and abide in this world,[38] or one who is a response body in other worlds like the Buddha of Immeasurable Life, because he does not have form or image.[39] "Adamantine mind" means a solid mind like a diamond and usually means the highest state of mind of a bodhisattva. Here it is the mind necessary to continue to abide in this world without entering nirvāṇa without remainder. Thus, the *dharma-kāya* expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra* is different from the eternal abiding *dharma-kāya* expounded in

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[37.] Jizang picks up Fayun's theory concerning the impermanent existence of Buddha's body in the *Lotus Sūtra* in the *Fahua xuanlun* vol. 2 (T no. 1720, 34. 372a17–23).

[38.] See T no. 1715, 33. 572c25–573a1.

[39.] As for regarding Buddha of Immeasurable Life as *dharma-kāya*, see *ibid.*, 638c14–15. Also, regarding embodied buddhas as *dharma-kāya*, see *ibid.*, 638c14–15. In addition, for research on Fayun's theory of Buddha's body, see Senshō Kimura, "Hōun no busshin setsu" in *Bukkyō gaku seminā* 16, 1972 (also in *Chūgoku bukkyō shisō kenkyū*, Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2009, pp. 164–179) and Akiya Murakami, "Zuitō bukkyō ni okeru *Hokekyō* no busshin setsu: Hōun no "jippō sōmō setsu" ni taisuru chigi to kichizō no hanron," in *Higashi ajia bukkyō kenkyū* 12 (2014, pp. 69-87).

the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. As for this point, Fayun states clearly:

> This sūtra clarifies the *dharma-kāya*, which is not the same as the one that the sūtra of the eternal abiding clarifies (*ibid*., 635c24–25).

Thus, Fayun did not regard the age-old Śākyamuni Buddha expounded in the "Lifespan" chapter as the true eternal abiding expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

5. Conclusion

This paper explicates Fayun's view of the *Lotus Sūtra*. It is summarized in the following eight points.

1. Fayun gave a detailed analytic breakdown of the entire text of the *Lotus Sūtra* on the basis of his detailed research on it and exerted a great influence on future commentaries.

2. As the *Fahua yiji* is a record of Fayun's lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*, there are few references to the Mahāyāna *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. The view of later scholars that Fayun adopted the five-period doctrinal classification might be correct. Fayun's position that the *Lotus Sūtra* was inferior in status to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* is found in the *Fahua yiji*.

3. As Fayun adopted the doctrinal classification that evaluated most highly the true eternity of the Buddha expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, he did not highly evaluate the idea of the "age-old existence of the Buddha" expounded in the "Life Span" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, but did value the idea of the "one vehicle" expounded in the "Skillful Means" chapter. Further, he showed by his breakdown of the *Lotus Sūtra* that the idea of "one vehicle" is expounded not only in the second chapter, but also throughout the *Lotus Sūtra*.

4. When Fayun interpreted the idea of "one vehicle," he valued the theory of provisional wisdom and real wisdom and the theory of cause and effect as frameworks for the interpretation of the one vehicle.

5. The theory of provisional wisdom and real wisdom shows that three vehicles and one vehicle are both based on forms of the Buddha's wisdom, i.e., provisional wisdom and real wisdom, respectively, and distinguishes the ground of formation of the three vehicles from that of the one vehicle.

6. Fayun showed the essence of the idea of one vehicle of the *Lotus Sūtra* as one cause and one effect, which is subtle cause and subtle effect, and took up a comparison between it and the three causes and three effects, which are coarse cause and coarse effect expounded in the teachings before the *Lotus Sūtra*.

7. The theory of cause and effect is an interpretation about an aspect of teachings expounded by the Buddha. Furthermore, it clarifies the Buddha's wisdom (provisional wisdom and real wisdom), which is the agent of expounding teachings. In this way, he clarifies the ground of the Buddha, which expounds subtle cause and subtle effect (one cause and one effect) and coarse cause and coarse effect (three causes and three effects).

8. Fayun did not think that the "age-old existence of the Buddha" expounded in the "Lifespan" chapter is the true eternity of the Buddha expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

The Tocharian *Karmavibhaṅga*[*]

Tatsushi TAMAI

There are already excellent studies concerning the present topic by S. Lévi (1932, 1933), E. Sieg (1938), and G.J. Pinault (2007) that are useful for Tocharology. Apropos of the *Karmavibhaṅga* itself, we can find S. Karashima et al. (1999), N. Kudo (2004) and others (cf. Kudo ibid. pp. viii foll.).

Sieg was unable to obtain images of K2–4 and 12 from Paris and attempted to study the text based only on Lévi's work. As a result, he sometimes follows Lévi's mistakes, which I try to correct in this paper using first the black and white photographs, and then the digitized images available on the website of Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).

The manuscripts of the Toch. *Karmavibhaṅga* are stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris as Pelliot Koutchéen anncienne Série 7 (PK AS 7). 07-A1 ~ 07-O2 are the numbers of the black and white photographs in BnF, and (K1a) ~ (K12b) are the numbers which are given by Lévi and followed by Sieg. I cannot find the photographs of 07-K, 07-M, 07-O, and (K13) in (K)-numbers.

I will begin this study with my transliteration (Tocharian: italics in the texts and underlined in the footnotes) from the images that I obtained from BnF on March 27, 1995 (now available on the website of the BnF are the digitized photographs of the entire Pelliot koutchéen Nouvelle Série, and since Oct. 4, 2013 Ancienne Série 1–10, 12, 19). I will then give my tentative translation in imperfect or rather awkward English because of its suitablity to the Toch. grammar, followed by my commentary with the Skt. *Karmavibhaṅga* (italics in the footnotes) and corresponding Chinese 佛爲首迦長者説業報差別經 T80, 891a17–895b21 in the footnotes in order to make the Toch. version more understandable.

07-A2 (K1b, *recto*)

1 /// *y[o]lai[ṃ] yāmor yamastRA[1] : saṅka[ṣ](ṣ)e[p]i[2] n[au]m[y](e)[3]* + +

  /// He does a bad deed. A jewel of the community

2 /// *.. [p]w[i]kso po [pl]ā[TA]ṃ • 24 sanantse ra empelyeṃ ma tre(ṅkaṣle?)* + +

  /// you must avoid all speeches 24 Also terrible (things) of enemy (one should) not obey(←adhere)

3 /// *(a)[p]īś warñai nraintan[e][4] : yo[lai]ṃ [w]aṣmoṃtS‚[5] ṣarmtsa cai snai ke[ś]‚* +

  /// in a hell beginning with the Avīcī-hell : Because of bad friends they countless

4 /// *(ke)r(c)īyeṃne krentant[s]o laukek yak[a] parSKAskeṃ ykāṃṢA ..*

  /// in a palace of good (people) they feel fear and disgust further more

5 /// *(ekñ)ñ(i)[n]t(a) pw[ī]kaso : wassi[6] śpālmeṃ śilaṣṣesa arskaṢṢAṃ*

  /// you must avoid (your) possessions : He gives up a splendor closing bacause of (←with) the moral behavior

6 /// *[pa]kseṃ 28[7] lya[ś]i lamoy¨ atyaisa śuwoy pint[w]āT‚*

  /// they ripen 28 He may lie, sit (and) eat the alms on the grass

07-A1 (K1a, *verso* from the verse number)

1 /// *(śī)l p[ā]ssi keT‚ śīL klyomo kurpalle śtwāra[8] wīśi wänta[r]wa*

  /// to keep the moral behavior. (He) who should be concerned with the noble moral behavior might avoid four things

2 /// *.i nauṢ‚ kwri weñcer mā empreṃ posTAṃ kal[t]RA empreṃne[9] :*

  /// if previously you would not say the truth, afterwards you would endure in the truth :

3 /// *(os)[t](a ṣ)m(e)ñca śāte [ṣ]ai prācer ṣai narahānte sū ceᵤ‚ ..*

  /// he was a rich house-holder, he was a brother of Narahanta, this

4 /// *.ñ‚ ṣewauna toṃ manT‚ we[ṣ](ṣ)i (re)kauna 30 mā ñī laute .. +*

  /// ... he said such excuse words 30 (It is) not a moment(= correct time?) for me

5 /// *(te)m(ts)ate oksaiṃne sū tallāwo : lyakāne sū ṣamā* + + +

  /// The poor (man) was born in (the world of) cows : The monk saw him

6 /// *t[w]e empreṃne : osT‚ ṣmemane w[e]ṣ[ṣ]iT‚* + + + +

  /// you in the truth : Sitting in a house you said

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[1] T80, 893a8–9: 復有十業。能令衆生得地獄報。一者身行重惡業。二者口行重惡業。三者意行重惡業 For the Toch. folio 07-A, I would like to cite possible words from Taisho Daizokyō.

[2] Sieg does not supplement anything, but in the image *[ṣ](ṣ)e[p]i* is visible. -*ṣṣe* is an adj. suffix (obl.sg.m.), and -*pi* is the gen.sg. for the adj. which is a peculiarity in Toch., although an adj. has already an attributive function.

[3] T80, 894c24: 五者常有寶蓋。

[4] T80, 895c21: 墮大地獄。

[5] T80, 895a9: 七者遠離惡友。

[6] T80, 894c29: 奉施衣服。得十種功德。

[7] Lévi: 28, Sieg: 37. On the photo the manuscript reads 28.

[8] T80, 893b7: 所謂修行有漏十善。與定相應。復有四業。(?)

[9] T81, 896b20: 所説眞實不虚。所有疑惑皆悉除斷。(?)

I cannot determine that 07-A is *Karmavibhaṅga* text because of many lacunae, and am also not sure about identification of the content with Skt. and Chin., because only few corresponding words are found in Chin., and the order is at randam.

07-B1 (K2a)

1 + + .. nt. śak [so]lm[e] (no) kakraupauwwa mā maiyyāts. + + + (6)4[10] cey TAnmaskentRA ṣKAss iśelmecc(eṃ) [11] śaiṣṣenn[e] : [pa]ranirmit(avaśa)w(a)[r]tt[i][12] warñai eṃṣke : k_use (no) ersnasso[ñc]、[13]

(they are also) ten ... gathered perfectly, not ... of power. 64 They are born in six lustful worlds, : even the highest class of Kāmāvacara gods and so on, : who (are), however, called as beautiful

2 (ña)[kt](i) [k]l[o]wontRA[14] [o]s(k)[ai](ñ)o[15] <:> tona[K]、[t]a[l](l)āṃn[t]a yām[o]rnta (pkārso?) ṣarm tūne 65[16] yāmwa ket tākaṃ kakraupauwwa ṢAp yāmorn(t)a : śak po āstrona mā ke(KAr)kuwa[17] kraketsts[e :] to[ṃ] yamornta-

gods (and) dwelling places (for people?). : Know also these miserable deeds! The cause (is) in it. 65[18] For them who would have done and gathered deeds, : ten (merits which are) integrally(←all) pure, not bound with dirt, : with these deeds

3 sa ersnāssontanne (ñä)kte[n]ne : ○ cmelñe MAsk[e](tRA) mant we[w]eñor ste poyśintse[19] 66 tumeṃ oṃṢAp no ñakti [kl]awontRA snai [e]rsna[20] : ṣukt pel[ai]knenta ompte cme[LLA]ñ̃e spā-

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[10] Sieg follows Lévi's "Tableau comparatif" (p. 15) mentioning that Skt. Kvi. XX differs so strong (p. 5). It is possible that Toch. verse 64 corresponds to Skt. Kvi XIX (*śak* for Skt. *daśa*), if *solme kakraupauwwa* corresponds to Skt. *subhāvitāḥ*, and *mā maiyyātse* to Skt. *mandabhāvitāḥ* and to T80, 893b3 於十善業。缺漏不全, but it is inconclusive because of insufficient number of corresponding words. According to Sieg *kakraupauwwa* corresponds to Skt. *upacitāni* (Skt. Kvi No. 23–25), and we can find *kakraupau* for Skt. *upacita* in the Toch. version. I suppose that there were some different Skt. versions (diachronical and synchronical), and the Toch. version was different from the Nepalese, as Sieg thinks (cf. p. 4).

[11] T80, 893b5: 復有十業。能令衆生得欲天報。

[12] According to Lévi it is *pari̱nirmit. [vaśa] warti sa* (Sieg: *Pari̱nirmitavaśavarti*) here, but I recognize *[pa]ra̱nirmit(avaśa)w(a)[r]tt[i]* (without *sa*, cf. Edgerton p. 473) in the image. This is the topic in Skt. Kvi XX. It is difficult to decide whether to read (*vaśa*) or (*waśa*) in the lacuna because of -w(a)[r]tt[i] for Skt. -*varti*. If this word was already Tocharianized, it could be (*waśa*).

[13] T80, 893b6: 能令衆生得色天報。

[14] Sieg: *klyowontRA*, but this must be *klowontRA* from √klāw "to be called" as it reads.

[15] This word should be nom. pl. *oskaiñ* (with o-mobile) which Adams does not take in his dictionary.

[16] According to Lévi (also followed by Sieg) it is LXXV, but it reads 65 for the verse number.

[17] Lévi: *kek(e)ruwa* which is pp. pl. from √ker "to laugh" (1933 p. 122), and Sieg accepts this reading (p. 5), but it reads -*ruwa*. The root of this word √kery (not √ker!) meaning "to laugh" is not suitable here. My reading is *ke(KAr)kuwa* pp. pl. from √kärk "to bind", and *kraketstse* is adj. of *krāke* "dirt" attributing to pp. used as object of pp. like gen. object, meaning "not bound (with) dirt". This is an apposition of *āstrona* "pure".

[18] I find two topics in the verse 65, i.e. Skt. *kāmāvacara* (Toch. *iśelme*) and Skt. *rūpāvacara* (Toch. *ersnassu*), which are mentioned in Skt. Kvi XX and XXI.

[19] The gen. subject of the verbal noun *weweñor* "saying (of the all-knower)".

[20] T80, 893b7–8: 能令衆生得無色天報。Toch. *snai ersna* "without form" is a translation of Skt. *ārūpya* in Kvi XXII, but the contents are quite different with each other. It could be a summarization.

in beautiful gods : they are born, thus the all-knower[21] said. 66 Moreover the gods are called as formless. : Seven laws of the birth are active(←turn) there:

4 rttaskeṃ : ompalskoññenTA neSAṃ ⊙ ṣu[KT]、śp[ā]lmeṃ wrotsana : tū yairu tākaṃ sū ceṃ ñakteṃne TAnmastRA 67 ||　|| arāḍentsa[22] || weñau[23] Nnok yakne<ṃ>[24] yāmorntats tū [PA]klyauṣso[25] :

They are seven exellent great meditations. : He (who) would practice it, is born among these gods. 67 || With the metre of Arāḍen (4 x 5/7) || I would teach(←say) again the essences (←manners) of the deeds. You must hear it! :

5 krenta yolainaṃtS、etrīwaitsanaṃts[26] rano : te kekly[au]ṣormeṃ epastyaññe yänmāceR、[27] yāmornta yāmtsi mā ṢPA triścer makāykne : 1 neSAṃ sū yāmoR、nemcek cmetsiś、sportotRA[28] : kᵤce te [m]a-*

(namely the deeds) of good, bad and also mixed. : Having heard it, you would obtain the splendid reward(←skill). You would not be confused to do the deeds in any ways (←in many manners) : 1 There is a deed (which) conduces surely to be born. : What I

6 nT wñāwa tu ñke weñau anaiśai : MAkcew[29] yāmor tne[30] yama(sk)e(ntRA cai) w[n]o[lm]i : cm(e)laśc yuwäskeṃ[31] ce mant akālk ñäskentRA : 2[32] ce ñäś yāmorsa cew cewä kca īkene : cmetsi KAlloyMA krent yāmo

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[21] The epitheton of the Buddha. I suppose that this word was translated from Skt. *saṃbuddha* "recognized, understanding", not "übersetzt Skt. *bhagavat*" as Sieg noted (p. 5).

[22] Lévi: *arāḻen tsa*, Sieg: *arāḻentsa*, but it reads *arāḍentsa*. The metre's name with perlative *-sa* is strange. It should be usually in lokative form.

[23] Skt. Kvi (intro.): *bhāṣiṣye*; the speaker is the Buddha (*bhagavāñ chukaṃ mānavakaṃ taudeyaputraṃ idaṃ avocat*). There is no name of *śuka* "parrot, son of Taudeya" in Toch. I suppose that the Skt. version became bigger with additions. The Chin. translation for this word 鸚鵡 is not mentioned in 佛爲首迦長者説業報差別經, (only transcription 首迦 for Skt. in the title) but is mentioned in 分別善惡報應經卷上 (only one time, p. 896 b07). This could mean that the Chin. versions were divided into two groups, and the Toch. version could be translated from the (old?) Skt. without *śuka*, or the Toch. shows only an essence.

[24] Skt. Kvi (intro.): *karmasvakān*. Toch. *yakne* "manner" could be a translation of Skt. *svaka* "property".

[25] Skt. Kvi (intro.): *śṛnu sādhu*; T80, 891a22–23: 我當爲汝説善惡業報差別法門。汝當諦聽。

[26] Skt. Kvi (intro.): *hīnotkṛṣṭamadhyamatāyāṃ*; T80, 891a26: 有上中下差別不同。 *e-* of **etrīwaitsanaṃts** could be a prothesis (*metri causa*?) or an influence of *epastyaññe* in the next pāda (the beginning of the second half). I do not think that *e-* is *(śl)e(k)* "and", because this function is rendered by *rano*, and it does not mean Skt. *tathā* as Sieg supposes (p. 6). *trīwai* could be an error for *traiwo* "mixture" as Sieg mentions (p. 7).

[27] T80, 891c20–21: 習行十種善業。得外勝報復次長者。 This virāma-comma is used as a punctuation for the pāda-end. According to Sieg *epastye* is Skt. *kuśala* "geschickt, erfahren", and his translation is "Erfahrung" (p. 7) which is not suitable here. If the Chin. 勝報 corresponds to the Toch., *epastyaññe* could mean "splendid reward ".

[28] According to Sieg this part corresponds to Skt. Kvi (introduction, theme No. 30): *asti(neSAṃ) karma(yāmor) niyat(nemcek)opapatti(cmetsiś)saṃvartanīyam(sportotRA)*. The last word is pres. in Toch., but ger. in Skt.

[29] This is not a real interrogative pronoun as Sieg translates (p. 8), because there is no answer for the questions. The style, question-answer, can be seen in *Abhidharma*-literature. The Chin. version shows 復有 "Then there is". Although even in TEB *mäksu* and *intsu* are given as interr. pron. only in B-Toch. (cf. p. 166), I would like to see in these words an emphasized thematic function like Skt. *iti* or BHS *kathāvastu* "theme". I suppose that these are technical words for translation of Skt. *katama* "who? (of many)". Sometimes *kā* "why?" or *kᵤse* "who?" is used for Skt. *katama*, because the corresponding word did not exist in Toch.

[30] Lévi: *yāmornta*, Sieg: *yāmor nta*, but it reads *yāmor tne* "a deed there(= Skt. *tatra*)".

[31] Sieg supposes that this could be a sub. 3.pl. *yuwīskeṃ*, but such a word is not found. This word does not show Skt. *vipakṣa*, but surely Skt. *vipāka* which is the theme of Skt. Kvi XXXII. *-vipakṣa* in the introductoin of Skt. Kvi for No. 32 is wrong (cf. Edgerton p. 490), and I cannot understand the reason why this *-vipakṣa* stands in both Skt. manuscripts A and B (cf. Kudo, p. 30–31).

said so, that I would say exactly. : Here then "deed" 業 (which) the persons 衆生 make. : They make ripe 增上心施? to the birth (and) cherish such a wish 發願迴向. : 2 With this deed in this very place, I : wish to attain birth (←to be born) 得往生, a good deed 善業

07-B2 (K2b) #32

1 r³³ tuśc yuwäṢṢAṃ : sū cew yāmorsa ompek ra tsa TAnma(s)tRA (: sportotRA) yā[mo]r nemcek cmetsiś TMAsketRA³⁴ 3³⁵ intsu no yāmor mā nemceK³⁶ TAnmaṣṣeñca : iñcew yāmo(r)s(a) mā ṢPA cmetsiśc yu-

he(←such a person as I) makes ripe to it(←this very place) : he is born right there with this deed. : The deed conduces surely (his) birth (←to be born) 決定報, (and) he is born. 3 The "deed" 業 is not also surely giving birth 不定報, : and with (this) "deed" 業 he does not make ripe to be born 非增上心作?.

2 wäṢṢAṃ³⁷ : cmela[śc] <yu>wästRA yāmtRA krenTA yāmornta • cew yāmorsa sū mā nem-ceK ṢPA TAnmastRA 4³⁸ kᵤse no sū yāmoR꞉ alyek īkene yāmtRA : alyek ī<ke>ne pkelñe tuntse yänmāṢṢAṃ [:]

: He becomes(←makes) ripe to the birth, (if) he would do good deeds, • (but only) with this deed (alone) he is not surely born (不發願迴向受生). 4 Whatever deed also (it) is, (if)

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he would make (his ripening) in another place (願生邊地), : in another place he reaches to its ripening (即生邊地). :

3 MAkcwi yāmorntse ŚAktalye āLAṃ ○ ktowä <:> alyek [ī]kene ykuweṣepi paKṢTArne 5[39]

kreñcepi wat no yolopi wat yāmorntse : taiknesa neSAṃ yakne oko pk[e]l[ñ]entse : MA-

Whosesoever seed of the deed scattered in another (place) : ripens for one (who is) gone to another place. 5 For either good or bad deed (受淨不淨) : there is a manner in such a way (with regard to) an effect of ripening (果報). :

4 kte maitrajñi KAryortta[n]t[e] nau[ṣ] tā○ka[40] <:> sū[41] dṛṣ(t)ā(nta) tane KArsnalle aurtsesa 6 MAksū no yāmor MAkcewsa [tne] onolmi <:> nraintane cment[RA] sol-men[42] omte śaul (śā)yeṃ : mā

As (a manner) of a merchant Maitrajña formerly shows(←was), : this example should be known here exactly. 6 (The theme is) then the "deed" 業 (causing to the hell), with which the people 衆生, : if they would be born in the hells 地獄, would live there whole 盡 life 壽. : Not

5 [Ṣ](PA) n[au]ṢAk cai t[SA]lpāLLAññe [y]änmā(s)[keṃ : m]. [r]. [c]. [p]. r.[t]e [s]ru(kaLLAñ)[ñ](e) nesanme 7[43] tane ksa ṣemi onolmi nraiyne cmetsiśc ̈ yamantRA yāmoR、kraup[enTA]r[44] ṢPA po yknesa : cey cew yā-

even one time(←formerly) they obtain the deliverance, : ... death(?) is for them. 7 There some ones 若有衆生 would do a deed to be born in the hell, and they make(←gather) (deeds) 造地獄業已 in(←with) every manner, : with this deed they

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[39] Toch. verse 5–6b to Skt. Kvi XXXII (about punctuations, cf. Sieg p. 9, fn. 1): *tatra katamat(kuse) karma(yāmoR) deś(īkene)āntara(alyek?)vipākam(yāmtRA?). ucyate. yat karma tasminn eva janmāntare vā deś(īkene)āntara(alyek?)gatasya(ykuweṣepi) vipacyate(pkelñe yänmāṢṢAṃ). śubham(kreñcepi) aśubhaṃ (yolopi) vā(wat) tat karma(yāmorntse) deśāntaravipākam. ... idaṃ karma deśāntaravipākam.*

[40] Skt. Kvi XXXII h: *yathā(MAkte) maitrāyajñaḥ(maitrajñi) sārthavāha(KAryorttante)putraḥ ācaturthaṃ pratinivṛtto mātur vacanena caturṣu mahānagareṣu pratyekasvargasukham anubhūtavān. tat tu tasya mokṣabījam. evaṃ mātāpitṛṣv api sāṃdṛṣṭikaḥ phalavipākaḥ.*
Toch. *maitrajñi* is gen., so it could be "(example) of Maitrajña(←*Maitrāyajña*?)", and *KAryorttante* is also gen., so from Skt. it could be "(son) of a merchant(=*Maitrajña*)". I suppose that two omissions did not occur at the same time. If this is so, the (original version of) Toch. was different from the Skt. but it is hard to see the relation, as far as I cannot find this parable with *Maitrāyajña* or *Maitrajña* (not found in Akanuma).

[41] Lévi: *(mra)dṛṣ .ā-ne*, Sieg: *mātRAdṛṣ(t)ā(ntne)*, but in the image *sū* is almost clear to see. The metre here is abnormal (6/6 or 4/8).

[42] *-n* of *solmen* is a marker of an obl.sg. (relating with *śaul*) or an intervowel-konsonant. I prefer the latter, because *solmeṃ* as an obl.sg. is not found in other documents, but in K3a line 1 it reads *solmeṃ*. The form is presumably peculiar in this Toch. Kvi.

[43] Toch. verse 7–18 (theme of the hell) to T80, 893b28–c13: 復有業能令衆生盡地獄壽者。若有衆生。造地獄業已。無慙無愧。而不厭離。心無怖畏。反生歡喜。又不懺悔。而復更造重增惡業。如提婆達多等。以是業故。盡地獄壽。復有業能令衆生墮於地獄。至半而夭。不盡其壽。若有衆生。造地獄業。積集成已。後生怖畏。慙愧厭離。懺悔棄捨。非增上心。以是業故。墮於地獄。後追悔故。地獄半夭。不盡其壽。復有業能令衆生墮於地獄。暫入即出。若有衆生。造地獄業。作已怖畏。起增上信。生慙愧心。厭惡棄捨。慇重懺悔。更不重造。如阿闍世王。殺父等罪。暫入地獄。即得解脱。於是世尊。即説偈言 " 若人造重罪 作已深自責 懺悔更不造 能拔根本業"

[44] Sieg supplements *kraup(anTAr)*, but in the image I can see *kraup[e](TAr)* which is a pres. same as the following verbs.

6 (morsa) [m]ā parskaṃ mā ykāṃ[ṣ]ñenT[RA] : mā k[w]ipeññentRA mā on(miṃ yamaske)[n](tRA) 8 kātkeṃ plontontRA ṢPA kka[45] maiyya t[SA]msente : MAkte [y]āmṣate [d]e[vada]t[t]e yāmornta : nraiyne [t]etemoṣ caiy [tai]-

do not fear 心無怖畏, do not feel odium 不厭離, : do not shame (themselves) 無慚無愧, do not regret 不懺悔. 8 They are glad and also rejoice 生歡喜, (and) moreover 復更 they promote the power 造重增惡業(?), : as 如 Devadatta 提婆達多 made the deeds. : The persons (who) were born in the hell,

07-C1 (K3a)

1 knesa onolmi[46] : solmeṃ śaul śāyeṃ taka[47] [n]t(a) kca tSAlpentRA 9[48] MAksu n[o]y[ā]mor MAkcewsa tne onolmi : nraiyntane cmentRA ywārtsa omte [ś](au)[l] ś(ā)[y](eṃ) : tSAlpentre(←tRA) nauṢAK˙ LAklentameṃ nr[ai]-

with such a manner 以是業故 : live (their) whole life 盡地獄壽, namely(←then) they are (not) free anyhow(←somehow) 9 It is also the "deed", with which there the persons 衆生, : if they are born in the hell 墮於地獄, live a half life there 至半而夭. Formerly they are free from pains

2 yṣṣana : mā sol[m]e LAkle klinaṢṢAnme warpatsi 10 ṣeme ksa wnolmi yolain yāmor ya-mantRA : kraupenTArne ṢPA MAkte yāmoR˙ kraupalle : cey cew (y)ā[mo]rsa ṣñikeK parskaṃ ykāṣñentRA <:>

of the hell, : every pain must not suffer them (←accept suffering) 不盡其壽. 10 If some persons 若有衆生 make a bad deed 造地獄業 : and (they) gather it, (it is) like the deed to be gathered 積集成已. : With this deed indeed they are afraid 怖畏 (and) feel disgust 厭離, :

3 yamaskentr onmiṃ [k](wi)peññentRA ā○ñ[m]ne ka 11 mā no deśīt pest yamaskentRA mā rano : TArKA(←ka)naṃ ārtte mā ra rintsi cämpenne : cmentRA nreyne cey cpī yāmorntse okosa : ywā-

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[45] Sieg takes this as *ṢPAkka* (*ṢPA* "and" + emphatic partikel /kā/) translating Skt. *bhūyaḥ* "more" (p. 10), but in Skt. Kvi *na bhūyasyā mātrayā* "not in specially high degree (cf. Edgerton p. 411)" and the predicate *hṛṣyati* "he is happy" does not correspond to Toch. *maiyya t[SA]msente* "they promote the power", moreover *ṢPA* could not come in the beginning of a sentence, and the geminated *kk-* shows an independant word.

[46] Sieg supposes *nraiy(ne tai)knesa wnolmi* from Lévi's transcription, but in the image it reads *caiy tai-*.

[47] Sieg reforms this word to *mantanta* "not at all" (*mā-nta-nta*), but *taka* "then, certainly" is surely to be read. I suppose that *mā* "not" is not used, because the intensifying particle *nta* (next word) is used in a negative sentence with negative sence.

[48] Toch. verses 8–9 to Skt. Kvi XXVII: *tatra(tane) katamat karma yena samanvāgataḥ(ksa ṣemi) pudgalo(onolmi) narakeṣ(nraiyne)ūpapannaḥ(cmetsiśc˙ yamantRA) paripūrṇaṃ(po yknesa) nairayikam āyuḥ kṣapayitvā cyavati. ucyate. ihaikatyena narakīyaṃ karma(yāmoR) kṛtaṃ bhavaty upacitam (kraupenTAr). sa(cey) tat(cew) karma kṛtvā (yāmorsa) nā(mā)stīryati(parskaṃ). na(mā) jihrīyati (kwipeññentRA) na vigarhati na jugupsati na deśayati nācaṣṭe na vyaktīkaroti nāyatyāṃ saṃvaram āpadyate. bhūyasyā mātrayā hṛṣyati(maiyya t[SA]msente). prītim utpādayati(kātkeṃ plontontRA). yathā (MAkte) devadatta(devadatte)kokālikādayaḥ. idaṃ karma yena(taiknesa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo(onolmi) narakeṣ(nraiyne)ūpapannaḥ(tetemoṣ) paripūrṇa(solmeṃ)nairayikam āyuḥ(śaul) kṣapayitvā cyavati (śāyem).*

they regret 懺悔 (and) shame themselves 慙愧 just in (their) heart 非增上心(?). 11 They do not achieve the confession, also do not : negrect, cannot still also renounce it 棄捨. : (Even) if they are born in the hell 墮於地獄, with the result of his deeds 以是業故 :

4 rtsa śaul śāyeṃ (tu)m(e)ṃ[49] n(r)aimeṃ laito○ntRA 12[50] : MAksu no yāmoR﹅ MAkcewsa tne onolmi : cmentRA nraiyntane istak entwe laitontRA : tane ṣemi ksa onolmi yām[o]r yāmoṢ﹅ :

the persons live a half life 地獄半夭, they go out (←fall off) from the hell 不盡其壽(?). 12 : (It is) however the "deed", with which the persons 衆生 there : would be born in the hells 墮於地獄, then they go out (←fall down) immediately 暫入即出. : There some persons 若有衆生 (who) did the deed :

5 nraiyne cmely(←lñ)esa ka(krau)p[au] ṢPA tākanme 13[51] cey cew yāmorsa parskaṃ onmiṃ yamantRA : kwipeññentRA ṢPA ykāṃṢAṃññentRA mrauskantRA : RAtkware ṢPA ceṃtṢ﹅ Nno Nno on[m]iṃ tākaṃ kwri[52] :

with the birth in the hell 造地獄業 had also accumulated them. 13 With this deed they would feel fear 作已怖畏, regret, : and feel shame 生慙愧心, feel disgust 厭惡 (and) aver-sion, : and (it) would be a severe 慇重 remorse 懺悔 for them again and again, if :

6 mā no yāmor ce_u﹅ a(kek campe)[ṃ][53] nauTAssi 14[54] MA[k](t)e (yāmoR﹅) nau[Ṣ﹅] a[j]ātaśatruñ lānte : kowsa ra pātRA pelaikneṣṣe lānt wrocce : empele ra no yāmu ṣeyne yāmor su : onmin no

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[49] This is a Sieg's supplement, but it is not suitable from the context. I suppose that this part corresponds to Skt. Kvi XXVIII *pudgalo narakeṣūpapanno,* because of *ywārtsa śaul śāyeṃ (= ardhanarayikaṃ āyuḥ kṣapayitvā),* and our text could be *(wnol)m(i) n(r)aimeṃ laitontRA,* because *m* of *(wnol)m(i)* is smaller than next *meṃ,* so it should be an under part of a ligature, and *(l)* of *(wnol)m(i)* can be seen on the back side, namely it is turned over.

[50] Toch. verses 10–12 to Skt. Kvi XXVIII: *tatra(tne) katamat(MAksu) karma(yāmor) yena(MAkcewsa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo(onolmi) narakeṣūpapanno(nraiyntane cmentRA) 'rdhanairayikam(ywārtsa omte) āyuḥ (śaul) kṣapayitvā cyavati(śāyeṃ). ucyate. ihaikatyena(ṣeme ksa wnolmi) nārakīyaṃ(yolain) karma(yāmor) kṛtaṃ(yamantRA) bhavaty upacitam(kraupenTArne). sa tat kṛtvā(cew yāmorsa) nāstīryati(mā parskaṃ) na jihrīyati(mā kwipeññentRA) na vigarhati na jugupsate na deśayati nācaṣṭe na vyaktīkaroti. nāyatyāṃ saṃvaram āpadyate. api tu na bhūyasyā mātrayā hṛṣyati. na prītim*(Lévi: pritim) *utpādayati. idaṃ karma yena(cpī yāmorntse okosa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo narakeṣūpapanno(cmentRA nreyne) 'rdha(ywārtsa)nairayikam āyuḥ(śaul) kṣapayitvā cyavati(śāyeṃ).*

[51] Toch. verses 13–18 are quoted in TEB Band II Texte und Glossar von W. Thomas (1964) pp. 67–68, and Pinault publishes the same text in Instrumenta Tocharica (the body: pp. 209–212 and Références bibliographiques: pp. 213–219). Pinault uses the translations and interpretations of Sieg and Lévi with his corrections. Sieg used Lévi's reading, because he could not see the photos in that time. If Lévi's study was not correct, followers cannot study exactly, i.e. one cannot study documents without correct transliterations and transcriptions by means of exact checking of the folios (see following footnotes).

[52] Pinault: "wenn die Reue ihnen immer und immer stechender werden wird, werden sie auch nicht imstande sein, jene Tat (endlich) zu vernichten.", Sieg: "da sie ...." Both translations are not logical. The if-sentence is from *kwri* "if" (the end of the verse 14c) until the end of the verse 14d.

[53] This is a Pinault's supplement (Instrumenta Tocharica p. 210), and Sieg's is *ā(raṃ āñmtsa)* "aufhören? in ihrem Innern?". On the photo I see *a-,* so Pinault's is better, but Skt. version is so different, that I am not sure how to supplement. All seven verbs in the Toch. verse 14 are subjunctives, not mixed with pres. and subj. as Sieg mentions.

[54] Toch. verses 13–14 to Skt. Kvi XXIX: *tatra(tne) katamat(MAksu) karma(yāmoR) yena(MAkcewsa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo(onolmi) narakeṣūpapannamātra(cmentRA nraiyntane istak) eva cyavati(laitontRA). ucyate. ihaikatyena(tane ṣemi ksa onolmi) nārakīyaṃ karma(yāmor) kṛtaṃ(yāmoṢ) bhavaty(tākan) upacitaṃ(kakraupau) ca(ṢPA). sa(cey) tat(cew) kṛtvā(yāmorsa)stīryati(parskaṃ). jihrīyati(kwipeññentRA). vigarhati vijugupsati ācaṣṭe. deśayati. vyaktīkaroti. āyatyāṃ saṃvaram āpadyate. na punaḥ(Nno Nno) kurute. sa cen(kwri) narakeṣūpadyate upapannamātra eva cyavati.*

they, however, cannot make this deed disappear 更不重造 finally. 14 Like 如 the deed of the king Ajātaśatru 阿闍世王 in the former time, : he did kill 殺 (his) father 父, the great regal king, : he had made also terrible deed to him(= his father), : he, however,

07-C2 (K3b) #33

1 posTAṃ yama[ṣ]ate mrau(skāte) [15][55] *weña pūdñäkt[e c]. .r. + .[ñ].*[56] *[k](a)ntwa[s]a : brahmasvar weksa weñentanne posa śpālmeṃ : walo rṣākeṃtSA TAṅwaññeñca po śaiṣṣe : śaiṣṣe TAṅwantsiś ̈*

regreted (and) felt an aversion afterwards. 15 The Buddha-god 世尊 spoke 説 with (his) language (of Cakravartin), : with the voice of Brahmasvara, (i.e.) the best of all in speekers. : The king of sages, the lover of all the world, : for the sake of loving the world

2 ślokne ṣerpsa [c]e [a]rthä <16> empelona ra yāmwa tākaṃ yāmornta : āñm naKAlñesa nuttsāna pesT丶 klautkontRA : pākri yāmorsa wlāwalñesa tumeṃ ṢPA : emṣketse[57] *witskai ra[s]salñe*

showed 言 the meaning in the strophe 偈. 16 Even if terrible deeds are made 若人造重罪, : with self-blame 作已深自責 the disappearings (of terrible deeds) come(←become) true, : with clear deed and then with control 懺悔更不造(?), : an eliminating(←tearing) of the lasting root 能拔根本業

3 tuntse[58] *weskau <17> s(e)*[59] *[t](e)[yä]kne◦sa yāmor yāmu ket tākaṃ : cmeTAr ra nraiyne ramer no pesT(丶) tSAlpetRA : tusāksa aikne ṢAñ yolaina yāmornta : nāktsy aiśaumyepi putkalñe*

I teach(←say) it. <17> [Who] made a deed in such a way, for him (it) would be (as follows) : even if he is born in the hell 暫入地獄, he is, however, saved very quickly 即得解脱. : Therefore also (it is) a duty to blame their own bad deeds,

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[55] Toch. verse 15 to Skt. Kvi XXIXa: *yathā(MAkte) rājājātaśatruḥ(ajātaśatruñ lānte). tena devadat-tasahāyenānantaryakarma (yāmor) kṛtam(yāmu ṣey). pitṛvadhaḥ(kowsa pātRA).*

[56] Pinault supplements *-(śc) d(eśit yāmoṣ) kantwasa*, but I cannot see such remains of the characters in the image. The allative *-śc* is supposed by Sieg (p. 12) and followed by Pinault, but it is strange that *Ajātaśatru* spoke to the Buddha. There is no connection between *Ajātaśtru* and Ms. Hoernle 149, 26/30, 3 in TEB II p. 64 as Sieg mentions (cf. p. 12, fn. 1). So the subject should be *pūdñākte* "Buddha-god", moreover I can recognize neither *-śc* (*c* is not seen as underpart of the ligature) nor *-śc d* (*d* does not exist), and it is difficult to understand "with a language (which) made a confession" (Pinault's "mit Beichte machender Rede" is not appropriate because of pp. obl. *yāmoṣ*). I would tentatively supplement *cakravātñe* "world rulership" whose *c.*, *.r.* and *.ñ.* can be seen, and *cakravātñe-kantwasa* "with the tongue(=speech) of *Cakravartin*" could be an apposition with _ "with the voice of *Brahmasvara*". It means that the verse 16 contains Buddha's speech (the strophe) with his dignity.

[57] Sieg and Pinault: "bis auf". This word is not a preposition *emṣke*, but an adj. *emṣketstse* "vollständig" (TEB p. 171) "lasting" (Adams p. 74).

[58] *tuntse* is a neut. gen. of demon.pron. *su* "of it" functioning as an attributive, partitive or objective. I prefer the latter because of the word-order, although an objective gen. stands with participle. Another possibility is *metri causa* instead of *tu* as *tū weñau* below in the line 6.

[59] Pinault: *se(m)*, Sieg: *s(u)*, but I can see neither *-m* nor *-u* in the image, and both of these suggestions are not appropriate because of *kete* (gen. relat.pron.). The left of *s.* is turned over from the back side (the space for two akṣaras is for verse-number 17). I suppose that it could be relat.pron. *se* (←*kᵤse*) meaning "who made an act in such a way", and next sentence "for him it will be (as follows)", so pāda *a* consists in two sentences. It is possible that *se* is used alone, and *kᵤse* with *su* "whosoever it may be" in this text.

4 tumeṃ yāmtsi 18 [i]ntsu no yā○mor yāmu mā no kakraupau : cew ra no weñau ṣeme
PAlsko PAkyauṣso : tane ksa wnolme kektsentsa yolo yāMAṃ : reki palskosa yāmTAr
yāmor yo

and then to make a clever decision(←division) 18 Now then a "deed"業 (which is) made and not gathered (作而不集). : I will also teach(←say) that. You must hear one thought! : There somebody 若有衆生 would make an evil with a body 身, : he would make 造 an evil deed 諸惡業 with speech (and) thought 口意.

5 lainä[60] 19[61] sū ce [y]ā[m]orsa prāskaṃ māka kwipentRA : onmiṃ yamastRA ykāṃṣantRA
pesT、 TArKAnaṃ : se yāmor yāmu mā kakkraupau [MA]sketRA : ktow ramT、
ŚAkt(a)lye mā posTAṃ aiśai yāmu : 20[62] [k](ᵤs)[e]

19 With this deed he would feel fear造已怖畏, feel much shame慙愧, : regret深自悔責, feel disgust (and) give up 遠離. : This is a deed (which is) made 作 (and) not gathered 不集. : Like a scattered seed (it is) not recognised afterwards. : 20 Whatever

6 no sū yāmoR、 kakraupau mā no yāmu <:> MA[k](t)e yäknesa KArsanalle tū weñau : tane
kᵤse w<n>ol[m]e mamāntaṣ cew [p]alskosa : reki kca weṢṢAṃ yolo yām[ts]i ñewetRA
21[63] mā no yamaṢAṃ [mā] tu

a deed, however, is gathered (and) not made 自不作業. : With such a manner to be known, that(←it) I would teach(←say). : There who(ever) a person with malice thought 以惡心故 : says some word, utters to make evil 勸人行惡, 21 he however does not make, does not ... it

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[60] Sieg supplements *yolain mā* in the end beause of the context, but *yolainä* is surely *metri causa* for the obl.sg. /yolain/, and it could not be confused.

[61] Toch. verse 19–26 to Skt. XXIII–XXVI and to Chin. T80, 893c14–21 (the theme of 作 "making" and 集 "gathering" mentioned after the verse between 地獄 "hell" and 初樂後苦 "first happy, after suffering"): 復有 業作而不集。若有衆生。身口意等。造諸惡業。造已怖畏。慙愧遠離。深自悔責。更不重造。是名作而 不集。復有業集而不作。若有衆生。自不作業。以惡心故。勸人行惡。是名集而不作。復有業亦作亦集。 若有衆生。造諸業已。心無改悔。而復數造。亦勸他人。是名亦作亦集。復有業不作不集。若有衆生。 自不造業。亦不教他。無記業等。是名不作不集。Similar expression is T721, 31a14–16 (after 地獄 "hell"): 有作而集。集而不作。作而不集。作而集者。則決定受。集不作者。不決定受。作不集者不決定受。 (Karashima's suggestion). If it is correct (the Toch. verse 19–26 to the Chin. theme 作/集 and to Skt. Kvi XXIII–XXVI *karma/upacita*), then the order of the Chin. (地獄 → 作/集) is reversal of the Skt. (*karma/upacita → naraka*), while the Toch. is identical with the Chin. This could show that the Skt. Kvi was changed through many years and written in 15th A.D. (cf. Lévi p. 1, 1410–11 J.-C), while the Toch. was written in 5–6th A.D. from the palaeographical point of view (cf. Tamai p. 372, THT240).

[62] Toch. verse 19–20 to Skt. Kvi XXIII: *tatra katamat(intsu) karma(yāmor) kṛtaṃ(yāmu) nopacitam(mā kakraupau). ucyate. yat(ce) kṛtvā(yāmorsa) karma āstīryati(prāskaṃ) jihreti(māka kwipentRA) vigarhati vijugupsati deśayati ācaṣṭe vyaktīkaroti. āyatyāṃ saṃvaram āpadyate. na(mā) punaḥ(posTAṃ) karoti(aiśai yāmu). idaṃ(se) karma(yāmor) kṛtaṃ(yāmu) nopacitam(mā kakraupau).*

[63] Toch. verse 21 to Skt. Kvi XXIV: *tatra katamat(kᵤse) karm(yāmoR)opacitaṃ(kakraupau) na(mā) kṛtam(yāmu). ucyate. yat(MAkte) karma kāyena(yäknesa?) paripūrayitavyam(KArsanalle?). tatra(tane) praduṣṭacitto(mamāntaṣ cew [p]alskosa) vācaṃ(reki) bhāṣate(weṢṢAṃ) evaṃ(tū) te kariṣyām(weñau)īti. idaṃ karmopacitaṃ na kṛtam.*

The Toch. translation is different from the Skt. version. It is possible that the Skt. version was changed.

07-D2 recto (K4a, recto because of the folio number 34, 07-D should be put here, parallel text is THT521 infra, the figure 22a etc. is the verse number)

1 yāmtsi pyū(TKAṢṢAṃ :) /// (22a)

  come about to make (it) 不作不集(?). : ...

2 palsko śpā /// (THT521r1; 23b begins)

  the thought (is fine) ...

3 cā[K]KA[R]、KArs. /// (THT521r2; 24b)

  Cakra to know(?) ...

4 (yā)mor tne päl(sk)o(sa) /// (THT521r3)

  (a deed) there the thought ...

5 kᵤse su ai .. /// (THT521r4)

  Whoever is the ...

6 tākarmeṃ .. /// (THT521r5)

  having been ...

07-D1 (K4b) #34 verso

1 (ekñi)ññe eṅka(skentRA) ///

  (they) seize (possessions) ...

2 (śāteṃ ostne) TAnmaske(ntRA) ///

  (they) are born (in the rich house) ...

3 (snai)ci MAs[k]e[nt]RA ///

  they are poor ...

4 (tatāka)rmeṃ posTAṃ /// (THT521v1)

  after having been ...

5 campeṃ ṣñi .. ///

  they can ...

6 ntRA ekñiññ[e] ///

  they ... the possessions ...

THT 521r (Š 92.55; verse 23a–26 & 1–6a)

1 /// (wänta)[r]w[a]ts yamaLLAññe : (23b) palsko śpālmeṃ ste palsko ypar[we]⁶⁴ + + + :

  (altogether 25 *akṣara*s are missing between line 1 and 2)

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⁶⁴ Toch. verses 23 and 24 to Skt. Kvi XXV (parallel text: Uv 31.23 and 24 = Dhp 1 and 2, after Sieg p. 17):
tatra katamat karma kṛtaṃ copacitaṃ ca. ucyate. yat karma sāṃcetanikam.
a) yathoktaṃ bhagavatā.
(Uv 31.23ab) *manaḥpūrvaṅgamā dharmā manaḥ(palsko)śreṣṭhā(śpālmeṃ) mano(palsko)javāḥ(yparwe?)*
(Uv 31.23cd) *manasā cet praduṣṭena bhāṣate vā karoti vā*
(Uv 31.23ef) *tatas(tumeṃ) taṃ duḥkham(lakle) anveti(yam) cakraṃ(cāKAR) vā vahataḥ padam*
(Uv 31.24ab) *manaḥpūrvaṅgamā dharmā manaḥśreṣṭhā manojavāḥ*
(Uv 31.24cd) *manasā cet prasannena bhāṣate vā karoti vā*

doing of things : The thought is excellent, the thought is first ... :

2 /// (23 [65] tumeṃ cwi lakle ompos)[TA] yaṃ cmelane : (24b) yāmorṣe cāKAR᠊ [66] KArsnāmane tse(ṅketRA :) (24c, 24d, 30 akṣaras are missing)

23 Then his suffering goes to birth afterwards, : (as) the wheel of the deed (which is) cutting (and) arises. :

3 /// (24 MAksu no [67] yā)mor yāmu śleK ṢPA kakraupau [68] : kₐse sū yāmor tne PAl(s)ko[s](a)[69] + + + + : (28 akṣaras are missing)

24 Then now the "deed" (which is) made and also gathered 亦作亦集. : Whatever deed with thought ...

4 /// (2)[5] kₐse no su yāmor mā yāmu mā kakraupau : kₐs(e) su aitka[70] + + + + + + + + :

25 Whatever then "deed" (which is) not made (and) not gathered 不作不集 : Whoever (person of) ... (32 akṣaras are missing)

5 /// (26) || || bahudantākne (4 x 5/5/8/7) || [ṣ]emi ksa wnolmi skwaso(ñc tne nauṢAK ta)tākarmeṃ[71] + + + + + + + + + + + (:) (1b) (25 akṣaras are missing)

26 || || in (the metre of) Bahudantāka || Some ones there, having been happy formerly, ...

6 /// yakne weñau ṣeme PAlsko PAklyauṣso : (1c) tane ksa ṣe(mi) (35 akṣaras are missing)

I teach a manner. You must hear (just this) one thought! : There some ones ...

7 /// (o)[mpo]sTä(←sTAṃ) onmissoñc no MAskentRA[72] :(1[73]) cai no [o](nolmi) (30 akṣaras are missing)

they are remorseful afterwards. : The persons, however, ...

8 /// (ekñ)īñ[e]nta po ayāto KAl(pāsk)eṃ[74] + + + + (2c) (45 akṣaras are missing)

(Uv 31.24ef) *tatas taṃ sukham anveti chāyā vā anuyāyinī.*
       idaṃ karma kṛtaṃ copacitaṃ ca.

[65] Sieg's supplement according to Skt. Kvi XXV (Uv 31.23e, see supra).

[66] This word could correspond to Skt. Kvi XXV (Uv 31.24) *cakraṃ*, but other words in Toch. do not fit to Skt. According to Sieg (p. 16) there is another version (Rockhill's translation p. 166 "whose head was cut off by a wheel"), which could fit to our Toch. version.

[67] This is Sieg's supplement, but it could be *kₐse no su*, because this passage is a reverse version of the next verse 26 (line 4 infra).

[68] This passage could correspond to the beginning of Skt. Kvi XXV *katamat karma kṛtaṃ copacitaṃ*.

[69] This passage could correspond to Skt. Kvi XXV *yat karma sāṃcetanikam*, if *PAlskosa* could mean "intentional", but I cannot find an appropriate word for four syllables (*aiśai yāmu*?).

[70] Toch. verse 26 to Skt. Kvi XXVI: *tatra katamat(kₐse) karma(yāmor) na(mā)iva kṛtaṃ(yāmu) na(mā)ivopacitam(kakraupau). ucyate. yat(kₐse) karma sāṃcetanikaṃ svapnāntare(see infra) kṛtaṃ kāritaṃ vā. idaṃ karma naiva kṛtaṃ naivopacitam.*
According to Sieg this could be a privative *eytkatte* from √wätk "to distinguish" meaning "unconscious" which fits for Skt. *svapnāntare* "within a sleep", and Sieg corrects Lévi's *karma sāṃcetanikaṃ* (it reads *saṃcetanīyaṃ*, cf. Kudo p. 82) to *karmāsāṃcetanikaṃ* (*karma* + a-privative), but no correction would be better, if *svapnāntare* corresponds to Toch. *aitkaᵘ̃te*. When this passage is a converse version of the Toch. verse 25, it could be followed by *PAlskosa*.

[71] It reads *tatākarmeṃ*(=Skt. *bhūtvā*) in 07-D2 line 6, and this passage corresponds to Skt. Kvi XXXIII *samanvāgataḥ(ṣemi ksa) pudgalaḥ(wnolmi) pūrvaṃ(nauṢAK) sukhito(skwasoñc) bhūtvā(tatākarmeṃ)*.

[72] According to Sieg this passage could correspond to Skt. Kvi XXXIII *dattvā ca khalu pratisārī bhavati*, but I am not sure because of *onmissoñc* "remorseful" ≠ Skt. *pratisārī* "circulating". I prefer *sa paścād (omposTAṃ) daridro(onmissoñc) bhavati(MAskentRA)* for this.

[73] Toch. verse 1–2 to T80, 893c22–24: 復有業初(*nauṢAK*)樂(*skwasoñc*)後苦。若有衆生(*ṣemi ksa wnolmi*)。爲人所勸。歡喜行施。施心不堅。後還追悔。以是因緣。生在人間。先雖富樂(*ekñīñenta po ayāto KAlpāskeṃ*)。後(*omposTAṃ*)還貧苦(*onmissoñc*)。是名先樂後苦(*skwassu posTAṃ lakle wärpnātRA*)。

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they obtain all pleasant possessions. ...

THT 521v

1 /// (s)kw(a)[ss]u [p]os[T]ä(←sTAṃ) lakle wärpnātRA[75] *[:(2)] (MA)[k]sū* [76] *(no yāmor)*

    (34 *akṣara*s are missing)

  happy, (but) afterwads suffers grief. : (3a) The "deed", however, ...

2 /// (aiske)[nt]RA kauc eṅkask[e]ntRA laklesa : aiskema[n](e āyor)[77]

    (29 *akṣara*s are missing)

  They give ... (and) seize ... firmly(←high?) with suffering. : Giving a gift ...

3 /// onmiṃ yamaskentRA katkemane MAskentRA : 3[78] *[y].* (28 *akṣara*s are missing)

  They (does not) regret (and) are glad. : 3

4 /// (tā)[k](aṃ) orocci tāw preścyaine ekñiññesa tsmentRA śateñ̄ (MAskentRA)

    (25 *akṣara*s are missing)

  They would be great (and) in this time they grow with the possessions (and) they are rich ...

5 /// <:> [s]ū se yāmor ste k̠ucesa onolmi n[au]Ṣ̄ LAklesoñc̄ (tatākarmeṃ posTAṃ

    (07-D1v4) *skwasoñc MAskentRA : 4)* (07-E1r1) (13 *akṣara*s are missing)

  This is the deed, with which persons are happy after having been unhappy formerly. : 4 ...

6 /// (nauṢAK̄ skwa)soñc tākaṃ skwasoñc posTä(←sTAṃ) MAskentRA : ṣemi [ksa]

    w[n]o(lmi) (31 *akṣara*s are missing)

  (he who) would be happy formerly are happy afterwards. : Some persons ...

7 /// (po)sTä(←sTAṃ) ṢPA kātkeṃ tusa mā onmisoñc MAskentRA : (sn)[ai] (ruwe āstre āyor

    se taisa āstre oko yaṃnmātsiśco tusa wnolmi kātkeṃ ṢPA 5) (07-E1r3)///

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[74] According to Sieg this passage could correspond to Skt. Kvi XXXIII *āḍhyeṣu mahādhaneṣu mahābhogeṣu kuleṣūpapadyate*, but the construction is different. I prefer *mahādhano bhavati* for this.

[75] This passage corresponds to the end of Skt. Kvi XXXIII: *pūrvaṃ sukhito(skwassu) bhūtvā paścād(posTAṃ) duḥkhito(lakle) bhavati(wärpnātRA)*. Skt. *bhūtvā*(=Toch. *tatākarmeṃ*) is presumably *metri causa* ommited, or because of another Skt. version. From the verse number 3 in the line 3, it could be here the end of the verse 2, although the space is only for the punctuation in the image. And then the verse 3 begins here, corresponding to Skt. Kvi XXXIV: *katamat(MAksū) karma(yāmor)* ...

[76] Sieg's supplement after Skt. Kvi XXXIV and translation (p. 19): *(MA)ksū (no yāmor k̠ucesa onolmi nauṣ LAklessoñc tatāka)rmeṃ posTAṃ* [K4b 4] *(skwassoñc MAskentRA :)* "Welches ist (aber die Tat, durch welche Wesen, die vorher unglücklich) gewesen waren, nachher (glücklich werden)?"

[77] Toch. verse 3–4 to Skt. Kvi XXXIV: *katamat(MAksū) karma(yāmor) yena(k̠ucesa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ(onolmi) pūrvaṃ(nauṣ) duḥkhito(LAklessoñc) bhūtvā(tatākarmeṃ) paścāt(posTAṃ) sukhito (skwassoñc) bhavati(MAskentRA). ucyate. ihaikatyo dānaṃ samādāya yācitaḥ samānaḥ pratijānīte (kauc eṅkaskentRA?). kṛcchreṇa(laklesa) dadāti(aiskentRA). dattvā(aiskemane) tu dānaṃ(āyor) paścāt prītim (katkemane) utpādayati(MAskentRA). sa yadā manuṣyeṣūtpadyate daridreṣu kuleṣūtpadyate. tasya paścāt te bhogā abhivṛddhdhiṃ(ekñiññesa) gacchanti(tsmentRA). atra cāniruddhasyāvadānaṃ vaktavyam. tena kila rājagṛhe śyāmākataṇḍulabhaktam upariṣṭha(←ṣṭa)sya pratyekabuddhasya piṇḍapāto dattaḥ. taddivasam (tāw preścyaine) eva rājñā tuṣṭenāṣṭau mahāgrāmā dattāḥ.*

=== many passages which are not corresponding to Toch. ===

tena hetunā pūrvaṃ daridro bhūtvā paścān mahādhano(śateñ) bhavati(MAsketRA). idaṃ(sū) karma(yāmor) yena(k̠ucesa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ(onolmi) pūrvaṃ(nauṢ) duḥkhito(LAklesoñc) bhūtvā(tatākarmeṃ) paścāt(posTAṃ) sukhito(skwasoñc) bhavati(MAskentRA).

[78] Toch. verses 3–4 to T80, 893c24–27: 復有業(*MAksū no yāmor*)初苦後樂。若有衆生。爲人勸導。挽仰少施(*aiskemane āyor*)。施已歡喜(*katkemane*)。心無悔恨(*onmiṃ*)。以是因縁。生在人間。初時貧苦。後還富(*śateñ*)樂。是名初(*nauṢ*)苦(*LAklesoñc*)後(*posTAṃ*)樂(*skwasoñc*)。

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and afterwards they are glad, then they are not remorseful. : This gift (is) pure (and) without
dust(?), so pure in order to obtain the fruit, then persons are also glad. 5 ...

8 + + + + + + + + .. yśāmna śateṃ ost[n]e TAnmaskentRA ekñiññe[sa] (kekenoṢ̱ :) ///

Among human beings they are rich in the house provided with the possessions ...

07-E1 (K5a)

*1 (ekñiññe)nt(a) [KA](lpā)sk(e)ṃ <:> (THT521v5) sū se yāmo(r ste) k_ucesa onolmi n[au]Ṣ
LAklessoñc tatākarm[e](ṃ) posTAṃ skwass[oñ]c MA[s]kentRA (: 4) (12 akṣaras are
missing)*

They obtain the possessions. : This is the deed, with which persons are happy after having
been unhappy formerly. : 4 ...

*2 (THT521v6) nauṢAK̮ skwa[ss]oñc tākaṃ skwa[ss]o(ñc p)osTAṃ MAskentRA [:] (5b) ṣemi
ksa wnolmi aiskeman(') āyoR̮ katkemane eṅKAskentRA āyor ai[ly](ñ)e .. + + <:> (5c)
+ + + + + + + + +*

(he who) would be happy (already) formerly are happy (also) afterwards. : Giving gift (and)
enjoying some persons practice(←seize, after Chin.) a gift-giving ...

*3 (nauṢ̱ po)s(TA)ṃ ṢPA kātkeṃ tusa [m]ā o[n]miss[o]○ñc MAskentRA : (5d) sn[ai] ruwe⁷⁹
āstre āyor se taisa āstre oko yaṃnmātsiśco tusa wno(lmi kātkeṃ ṢPA 5⁸⁰) + + + + + +
+ +*

formerly and afterwards they enjoy with it(←gift), they are not remorseful. : This gift (is)
pure (and) without dust(?), so pure in order to obtain the fruit, then persons are also glad.
5 ...

*4 (yśā)[m](na) śateṃ [o](st)n(e TA)[nm]as[k]e(n)tRA ⁸¹(e)○[k]ñiññesa kekenoṢ̱ : tākaṃ
orocci ktsaitSAññe śmanme tsmeṃTArne(←me) ka waipeccenta + + + + + + + (: sū se
yāmor ste k_ucesa o-)*

among human beings they are born in a rich house provided with the possessions. : When
they become elder(←big), (and) an old-age comes to them, also the possessions grow to
them ... : This is the deed with which

*5 (nolmi s)kw(as)[s](o)ñc PArwe tatākarm[eṃ] skwassoñ[c] pos[TA]ṃ [MA]skentRA : tūsa
ket āñme skwassu ṣek nessi aiṢṢAll(') āyor ka[t](k)emane ṣe(k) + + + + + + (6⁸²
MAksu no yāmor k_ucesa tne)*

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⁷⁹ This word is unknown (Sieg: "ohne Bedenken?", Lévi: "sans regret?"), and this passage has no parallel in Skt.
Kvi XXXV. I think that *snai ruwe* and *āstare* should be an apposition, and *ruwe* could be a mistake for *ore* "dust,
dirt" which makes sense. It would be a metathesis of *w* (←o) and *r* (-*u* is a syllabic bearer or *svarabhakti*).
⁸⁰ Toch. verse 5 to Skt. Kvi XXXV: *katamat karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ pūrvaṃ(nauṢAK) ca
paścāc(posTAm) ca sukhito(skwassoñc) bhavati(MAskentRA). ucyate. ihaikatyo(ṣemi ksa wnolmi) dānaṃ
(āyoR) yācitaḥ(aiskemane) sa prahṛṣṭaḥ pratijānīte prahṛṣṭo(katkemane) dadāti. dattvā(āyor ailyñe)pi ca
prītimān bhavati(eṅKAskentRA?). sa yadā manuṣyeṣūpadyate. āḍhyeṣu kuleṣūpapadyate mahādhaneṣu
mahābhogeṣu. atra bhadrike nagare miṇḍhakaprabhṛtīnāṃ caturṇāṃ dānapatīnāṃ vipāko vaktavyaḥ. taiḥ kila
tagaraśikhī pratyekabuddhaḥ piṇḍapātena pratipādilaḥ. atra vinayāvadānaṃ vaktavyam. idaṃ karma yena sa-
manvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ pūrvaṃ(nauṢ) ca paścāc(poaTAṃ) ca(ṢPA) sukhito bhavati (kātkeṃ).*
⁸¹ *e-* is difficult to see in the image. The under part is *[em]* of -*rmem* in the line 5 below.

persons, having been happy at first, are happy afterwards. : Therefore (he) who has desire(←whose desire) always to be happy, should always give a gift with joy(←joying) ...
6 The "deed", however, with which there

6 [w]n[o]lmi [m]aiwaññe[s]āk warñai entweK LAkle lyakāñ[83] + + + (: olyp)otse rano ktsaitsñai preścyaine mantanta kca sa[K]、KAl[pā]s[k]eṃ ṣ[e](K LAklessoñc MAskentRA :) + + + + + (ket[84] krent wāṣmoṃtse)

persons see (←visible?) suffering (and self-reproach?) and that happens (←then) through(←beginning with) youth indeed!: Moreover also in the old-age time they never obtain happiness, always they are unhappy. : ...

07-E2 (K5b) #35

1 meṅki tākaṃ rinnaṣṣeñca mā tākaṃme KArtsene : m(ā) .. + + .. (spe)lk(e) yamaskeṃ āyor aitsi all[o]ṅkna waT、yāmtsi krenta yā(mornta 7) (13 akṣaras are missing)

It would be the lack of a good friend, and there would be for them no connector to goodness. : Not ... they make an effort to give a gift or to make good deeds (for) others. 7

2 + .. .ṃ .e .. mā ra kātkeṃ āyorsa : cai kr_ui nta yśāmna cmentRA onolmi snaice ostne TA[n]maskentRA ekñiññesa meṅkice : tā .. (15 akṣaras are missing)

... they are also not glad with a gift. : If persons are also born among human beings, they are born in a poor house (which is) lacking of possessions. : ...

3 [Ṣ]PA mu(s)k(enTA)r(m)e poyknesa : (s)e ○ se yāmor ste k_ucesa tne wnolmi nauṢ LAklessoñc posTAṃ rano LAklessoñc ṣeK MA(skentRA 8[85] MAksu no yāmor MAskcewsa wnolme snaitse)

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[82] Toch. verse 5–6 to T80, 894a1–4: 復有業初(*nauṢAK*)樂(*skwassoñc*)後(*posTAm*)樂(*skwassoñc*)。若有衆生 (*ṣemi ksa wnolmi*)。近善知識(*aiskemane*)。勸令行施(*āyoR*)。便生歡喜(*katkemane*)。堅修(*eṅKAskentRA*)施 業。以(*taisa*)是因縁(*oko?*)。生在人間(*yśāmna*)。初時(*PArwe*)富樂(*skwassoñc*)。後亦(*posTAm*)富樂 (*skwassoñc*)。

[83] According to Sieg this is a nom.pl. of adj. *lyaka*(?) "sehend" (Adams p. 566 following Sieg, *läkle-lyāka**). This word shoud be 3 syllabic by means of the accent low, and if this word is derived from √läk, /lyākā/ is a pret. stem. Therefore I suppose that this passage could be e.g. *LAkle lyak* **āñm-nakalñe** "(are) visible of pain (and) self-reproach". *lyak*(←*lyāk*) is indeclinable (TEB p. 237), and *āñm-nakalñe* is used in 07-C2 v2, whereas the emphasized /-k/ in *maiwaññesāk warñai entweK* "then through youth!" is comprehensive.

[84] This is a supplement of Sieg, but I think that *ket* "whose (=who have)" is not sure because of *-me* "for them" of *tākaṃme* in 07-E2 line 1.

[85] Toch. verse 7–8 to Skt. Kvi XXXVI: *katamat(MAksu) karma(yāmor) yena(k_ucesa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ (wnolmi) pūrvaṃ(maiwaññesāk warñai entweK) ca paścāc(ktsaitsñai preścyaine) ca duḥkhito (LAklessoñc) bhavati(MAskentRA). ucyate. ihaikatyaḥ kalyāṇamitra(krent wāṣmoṃtse) virahito(meṅki) bhavati(tākaṃ). sa dānaṃ(āyor) na(mā) dadāti(spelke yamaskem aitsi). na ca tena kiṃcit pāpakaṃ karma kṛtaṃ bhavati. sa(cai pl!) yadā(kr_ui) manuṣyeṣūpapadyate(yśāmna cmentRA) daridreṣu(snaice) kule-ṣū(ostane)papadyate(TAnmaskentRA). alpānnapānabhojaneṣu(ekñiññesa meṅkice)*.
=== parable and verse, which are not given in Toch. and Chin. ===
idaṃ(se) karma(yāmor) yena(k_ucesa) samanvāgataḥ(wnolmi) pūrvaṃ(nauṢ) ca paścāc(posTAṃ) ca(rano) duḥkhito(LAklessoñc) bhavati(MAskentRA).
to T80, 893c27–894a1: 復有業(*yāmor*)初(*maiwaññesāk*)苦(*LAkle*)後(*ktsaitsñai preścyaine*)苦(*mantanta saK*)。 若有衆生。離善知識。無人勸導。乃至不能少行(*yāmtsi*)惠施(*krenta yāmornta*)。以是因縁。生(*cmentRA*) 在人間(*yśāmna*)。初時貧苦(*ekñiññesa meṅkice*)。後還貧苦(*muskenTArme*)。是名初(*nauṢ*)苦(*LAklessoñc*)後 (*posTAm*)苦(*LAklessoñc*)。
The order of Chin. (初苦後苦→初樂後樂) is reversal from Toch. and Skt. versions.

and ... they perish for them in every(←all) manner. : This is the deed, with which there per-
sons are unhappy formerly (and) also always unhappy afterwards. 8 The "deed", how-
ever, with which a person, being even poor,

4 ra[n](o) nesamane aiṣṣe[ñ]ca no MA◦sketRA : ṣemi ksa wnolmi cmelane nauṢA māk(')
āyornta āyoṣ tākaṃ nano nano [t]e(temoṢ˳ :) + + + + + + + + + + (kete?)

is also a giver. : Some persons would have formerly given many gifts, (and) again and again
be born ...

5 (ai)skeṃ k$_u$se mā lw[ā]k[e] KArtsauñeṃtse^{86} ta[t]ākaṢ˳ : āyor no aitsi lāre tatākaR˳^{87}
entsesñeṣṣe sananämpa mā [p]als[k]o [TA]rkoṣ wRAn[TA](R˳^{88} 9) (12 akṣaras are
missing) (mā?)

they give (to them), who were no pot of the virtue (=unworthy). : (Who) loves to give a gift
do not mix(?) with (=refuse) greedy enemies (and) even destroy (them). ...

6 (pest. o.)^{89}tanTArme [l]au(ka)ññana yāmuwa^{90} : palsko no yyairu ailñene āyor nano nano
āklyi yāmu māka cmel[a cm]elan(e) : cey .. .. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

they would (not?) break(?) them away(?), (these are) done (for) a long (time). : The thought
is, however, practiced in the gift-giving, again and again the learning is made in many
births (and) births. : they ...

07-F1 (K6a)

1 + + + KA .. .. <:> waraṢAlñesa āklyisa a[ñ]mantse āyor aitsi ṣek cäñcan^{91}me rilñecc[i]
no MAskentRA 10^{92} k[ā]ttsi no n[eSAṃ] ṣemi ksa (wnolmi) + + + + + + + + +
(ekaññiññenta-)

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[86] *mā lwāke KArtsauñeṃtse* corresponds to Skt. Kvi XXXVIII *apātrabhūteṣu*, although the case is different (nom. vs. loc.). The Skt. compound was divided into three words in Toch. with the gen. for the last part. Skt. *pātra* means "worthy", but the Toch. took its meaning as "cup" and translated it with *lwāke* "pot", while Chin. 不遇福田 "not rich farm" is good in semantics.

[87] According to Sieg *tatākar* is a translated word for Skt. *bhūtaṃ* (pp. nt.), but here I can see neither Skt. equiv-alent nor neccessity of this word. I suppose that this passage is a subject of pāda *d*. i.e. a mistake for *tatākaṣ* (pp. nom. pl. of √nes "to be").

[88] The end of pāda *d* is read in such a way by Sieg (p. 24), but in the image I see some another shape of akṣaras against this reading, i.e *mā kalsno(←āṃ)TAr koṣntRA nta* "they do not mix(?) with (= refuse) greedy enemies (and) even destroy (them)". √käls is used in THT 123r2 and THT497r4 and the meaning is not sure (Krause p. 236 "hineintröpfen?"), but from the context it could mean "to mix". Then we can understand the comitative *sananämpa* "(together) with enemies".

[89] This is Sieg's reading, but now I cannot see anything in the image. The next akṣara is after Sieg *TA*, but I see *ta*, and it could be *pest kotanTArme* (subj. 3.sg. of √kaut) "they would break them away", but it is not sure be-cause of lacunae.

[90] *laukaññana* is an adj. nom.pl.f. of *laukaññe* (not adv. as in Adams p. 562) "long" attributing to a substantival pp. nom.pl.f. *yāmuwa* from √yām "to make", which could have a perf. sence showing a present status.

[91] Adams takes the root of this verb as *cänk-* (p. 253) presumably because of *cäñśä(m)* in THT139b5, but *ś* is a developed sound of /c/, not a palatal *k*. Therefore it should be *cäñc-* "gefallen" as in Krause p. 243.

[92] Toch. verse 9 and 10 to Skt. Kvi XXXVIII: *katamat(MAksu) karma(yāmor) yena(MAskcewsa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo(wnolme) daridro(snaitse nesamane) bhavati(MAsketRA) tyāgavān(aiṣṣeñca). ucyate. ihaikatyena(ṣemi ksa) pudgalena(wnolmi) bahu(māka) dānaṃ(āyornta) dattaṃ(āyoṣ) bhavati (tākaṃ). tiryaggateṣu manuṣyeṣu ca duḥśīleṣv abrahmacāriṣu. punaḥ(nano) punas(nano) tyāgacittam abhyastam. sa yadā manuṣyeṣūpa-padyate(tetemoṢ) daridro bhavati tyāgavān(aiskeṃ) tena dānābhyāsena. yat(k$_u$se) tu tenāpātrabhūteṣu(mā*

... : With self practice (and) learning it pleases them always to give a gift, they are, however, open-handed(←abandoner). 10 Why are, however, some persons ...

2 ts SAsweñ¨(、 :) entsesa attsaik eśne [w]awālaṢ¨、 mā cäñcanme āyor aitsi olyapotse śateñ no : k_use su tne wnolme snauki[93]ne k[e]stne [d]a[k](ṣi)ṇāke[ṃ](ts āyornt' aiṢṢAṃ) + + + + + + + (: mā)

Lords of possessions : are covered with meanness in eyes indeed, it does not please them to give a gift, (even though) they are very rich. : Whoever a person there gives gifts for worthy ones (even when a giver is) in poor(?) and hungry (state) ...

3 mā[ka] lykwarwa mā rano ṣe[k ṣe]K、 mā ○ āyorṣṣe kreṃt waṣmoṃmpa āklyi yāmu cmelane 11 sū cpī yāmorntse okosa wnolme ekñiññenta (māka yäkne yänmāṣṣeñca MAsketRA : wa-)

Not many times, also not always, not with a good friend, he made learning of gift in (his) life(←lives). 11 The person is an obtainer of possessions by means of the fruit of his deed in many ways. :

4 (ra)ṢṢAl(ñ)e[n](ts)e (meṅ)k[ī]tsñesa no (e)○ntse lāre MAskeTArne m(') āyor aitsi cäñcaṃnne : te ṣarmtsa wnolmi śateñ MAskentRA en[ts]eṣṣi no pra + + + + + + + + + + (: tumeṃ)

With want of practice, however, a meanness is beloved of him, it is pleasing to him not to give a gift. : With this cause persons are rich. (he is), however, mean ... : Then

5 (āyornta ṣek ai)ṣle palsko waRAṢṢAlle āyorne ṣeK、 āKLAṢṢAlle āyormpa 12[94] kāttsi no wnolme śāte MAsketRA cäñcanne ṢPA [āy]o[r ai]t(s)i + + + + + + + (: k_use su tne wnolme kre-)[95]

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lwāke KArtsauñeṃtse) dānaṃ(āyor) dattaṃ(aitsi) tena daridraḥ. yathā śrāvastyāṃ tatra vinaye tantravāyasya nidānaṃ varṇayanti. sa tyāgavān daridraś ca. punaḥ punas tyāgacittam(aṃmantse āyor aitsi) abhyastam (waraṢAlñesa āklyisa). idaṃ karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalo daridro bhavati tyāgavān(rilñecci).

T80, 894a5–8: 復有業貧(*snaitse nesamane*)而(*rano*)樂施(*aiṣṣeñca*)。若有眾生(*ṣemi ksa wnolmi*)。先(*nauṢA*)曾行(*āyoṣ tākaṃ*)施(*āyornta*)。不遇福田(*mā lwāke KArtsauñemtse*)。流轉生死(*nano nano tetemoṢ*)。在於人道。以不遇福田故。果報微劣。隨得隨盡。以習(*waraṢAlñesa āklyisa*)施(*āyor aitsi*)故。雖處貧窮。而能行施(*rilñecci*)。

The order of Skt. (*āḍhyo/matsarī→daridro/tyāgavān*) is reversal from Toch. and Chin. versions.

[93] This word *snauki* is obscure in meaning. Sieg: "Sorge(?)", TEB: "Mūhe, Anstrengung" (p. 259), Adams: "care, concern" (p. 714, no connection with Skt. *sānuka*!). From the context I suppose that *snauki* concerns with *snaitstse* "poor", but the detail (inclusive of mistake) is in any way obscure.

[94] Toch. verses 11 and 12 to Skt. Kvi XXXVII: *katamat(kāttsi) karma yena samanvāgataḥ(ṣemi ksa) pudgala(wnolmi) āḍhyo(ekaññiññentats) bhavati matsarī(SAsweñ). ucyate. ihaikatyenālpamātraṃ dānaṃ dattaṃ bhavati śīlavati pātrabhūte na tu punas tyāgacittam abhyastaṃ bhavati. yadā manuṣyeṣūpapadyate. āḍhyeṣu kuleṣūpapadyate mahādhaneṣu mahābhogeṣu. tena dānaviśeṣeṇa yat tena punas tyāgacittam abhyastaṃ(āklyi) na(mā) bhavati sa tena karmaṇā matsarī(entse) bhavati.*

=== additional parable and verse ===

T80, 894a8–10: 復有業富而慳貪。若有眾生(*ṣemi ksa*)。未曾布施(*mā cäñcanme āyor aitsi*)。遇善知識。暫行 (*aiṢṢAṃ*) 一 施 (*dakṣiṇākeṃts āyornta*)。值 良 福 田 。以 田 勝 故 (*okosa*)。資 生 (*ekñiññenta*) 具 足 (*yänmāṣṣeñca*)。先不習故(*waraṢṢAlñentse maṅkītsñesa*)。雖富(*śateñ*)而慳(*māyor aitsi cäñcaṃnne*)。

The Toch. version does not have exact parallel in Skt. There is no parable (*avadāna*) and Skt. Buddha's speech (*gāthā*) in Toch. and Chin.

[95] After F1 line 2.

one should always give gifts, one should always practice (his) thought in a gift, one should learn together with a gift. 12 Why is a person, however, rich, and is it pleasing to him to give a gift? ... : Whoever a person there

6 (n)[TA](ṃ) onolmeṃ dakṣiṇākents āyornt(') aiṢṢAṃ nano nano (cm)e(lane :)⁹⁶ [s](u) toṃ yärponta yāmorsa śāte ekñiññenta makāyäkne yänmāṣṣe(ñca MAsketRA :) + + + + + + + + + + (aiṣṣe-)

gives gifts of worthy ones to good people again and again in lives, : he is a rich obtainer of merits (and) possessions in many ways with (his) deed. : ...

07-F2 (K6b) #36

1 [ñ](c)a ṢPA [MA]skeTAr su nauṣ cmelaṣṣe āklyisa 13⁹⁷ k(ātt)s(i no wnolme) [s]n(ai)tse MAsketRA entseṣṣe⁹⁸ ṢPA mā cäñcanne āyor aitsi alye[ṅKAṃ](tS̵ :) + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

and he is a giver because of the learning of the former live. 13 Why is a person, however, poor? And a meanness does not please him(self) to give a gift to(←for) others. : ...

2 (mā ā)[y]o(rn)e (ri)tTAṣṣeñca tākanne : mā ket ra nta kca aiṢṢAṃ kₐse āyor tūsa snaitse MAsketRA su mā yāmorsa yärpontaṃtS(̵) : mā ā[kl](y)[i] yāmu .. + + + + + + + + + + + + (tū-)

(he) would not be attached to(←in) his gift. : Who gives a gift to(←for) nobody at all, then(←with it) he becomes poor with no deed of merits, : he made no learning ...

3 [s](' e)ntsesse [MAske]tRA 14⁹⁹ kā(tt)s[i] ○ no wnolme kektsentsa skwassu MAskeTAr tne mā palskosa kₐce ṣarm tūne tu weñau : yāmu yärponta .. + + + + + + + + + + + + +

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⁹⁶ This is a supplement of Sieg, but I see *(cm)e(ln)e (tne :)*, because there is no trace of *la* after *(cm)e*.

⁹⁷ Toch. verse 13 to Skt. Kvi XXXIX: *katamat(kāttsi) karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgala(wnolme) āḍhyo(ṣāte) bhavati(MAsketRA) tyāgavān(cäñcanne āyor aitsi). ucyate. ihaikatyena pudgalena(wnolme) bahu dānaṃ(āyornta) dattaṃ(aiṢṢAm) bhavati śīlavatsu(dakṣiṇākents?) pātrabhūteṣu(krentam onolmem?). punaḥ (nano) punas(nano) tyāgacittam abhyastaṃ bhavati. sa tena karmaṇā(yāmorsa) yadā manuṣyeṣūpapadyate. āḍhyeṣu(ṣāte) kuleṣūpapadyate mahādhaneṣu(ekñiññenta) mahābhogeṣu. yat tu tena punaḥ punas tyāgacittam abhyastaṃ tena tyāgavān bhavati. yathānāthapiṇḍadena kila krakucchande samyaksaṃbuddhe jetavanaṃ niryātitam. vihāraś ca kāritaḥ. evaṃ kanakamunau samyaksaṃbuddhe kāśyape sarvārthasiddhe ca. bhūyaś ca maitreyasya suvarṇāstīrṇaṃ niryātayiṣyati. idaṃ karma yena(āklyisa?) samanvāgataḥ pudgala āḍhyo bhavati(MAsketRA) tyāgavān(aiṣṣeñca).*
T80, 894a10–12: 復有業富(*śāte*)而(*ṢPA*)能施(*cäñcanne āyor aitsi*)。若有衆生(*kₐse su wnolme*)。值善知識 (*dakṣiṇākents?*)。多修施(*āyornta*)業。遇(*yänmāṣṣeñca*)良福田(*śāte ekñiññenta*)。以是因縁(*nauṣ cmelaṣṣe āklyisa*)。巨富饒財。而能行施。

⁹⁸ According to Sieg this passage is a theme of §39A *asti karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ(←o) daridro bhavati matsārī* which is mentioned only in manuscript B (cf. Lévi p. 31 fn. 1). Kudo supposes that it could be confused with §38 which is stated before §37 (p. 31 fn. 10). Skt. *daridro* and *matsārī* are both adj. (Sieg: "arm und geizig"), but Toch. *entseṣṣe* is a noun (cf. THT 16v6 *entseṣṣemtS̵* the adj. is *entsesse*) and from the word order (*ṢPA*) this *entseṣṣe* is a subject of the later part of pāda *a* (8/7 syllables). If this is so, I see another problem, whether the enclitic obl.3.sg. pron. *-ne* of *cäñcan-ne* can be a refl.pron. or not. If it is not, *cäñcanne* could be an idiom for the writer, or *entseṣṣe* could be a mistake for *entsesse*. I prefer the former because of the word order (*ṢPA*) and the last passage of the verse 14, which shows a theme of meanness, but in any way I see here uncertainties because of the lacuna.

⁹⁹ Toch. verse 14 to T80, 894a12–15: 復有業貧(*snaitse*)而慳貪(*entseṣṣe*)。若有衆生。離善知識(*mā āklyi yāmu*)。無人勸導。不(*mā*)能行(*aiṢṢAm*)施(*āyor*)。以是(*tūsa*)因縁。生在貧窮(*snai MAsketRA*)。而復慳貪 (*entsesse MAsketRA*)。

then he becomes mean. 14 Why is a person, however, happy with body, not with mind
there? I would teach(←say) the reason of that(←what) there. : (Who) made merits ...

4 ra skwassu mā no palskosa : k_use no ○ sū wnolme palskosa skwassu MAskeTAr tne
makāyäkne mā no skwassu kektseñ[s]a : yarpo a[y](āmtte) + + + + + + + + + +

also happy (with body), but not with thought. : Whoever a person happy with mind there in
many ways, but not happy with body is : not to make a merit ...

5 pal[sk]osa skwassu mā no kektsen(←ñ)tsa 15¹⁰⁰ intsu no wnolme kektsentsa skwassu
MAskeTAr tne taisāk rano palskosa sak wärpnātRA : yāmu yärpo(nta) (11 *akṣara*s are
missing)

happy with mind, but not with body. 15 The "person", however, (who) is happy with (his)
body there, also in such a way with mind, enjoys happiness, : made merits ...

6 + + (tSA)[lp]au(w)o (po cm)elameṃ¹⁰¹ : k_use no su wnolme mā [k]ektseñäṣṣe sak_usa
skwassu ma rano kca sak wärpnātRA PAlskoṣṣ[e] : pernêṅKAlpatte [m]ā (11 *akṣara*s
are missing)

released from all births. : Whoever a person (who is) not happy with happiness of (his) body
and also does not enjoy any happiness of mind : are not to seize a worth ...

07-G1 (K7a)

1 + .. + + .. p(al)sk(osa) 16¹⁰² k_use no su wnolme ket śaul nanautau yāmornta no ykāk
nesaṃnn[e] māwk nautanne poykn[e]sa : k_use c[e]y(、on)o[l]mi nraiyn(ta)m[eṃ]¹⁰³
laitaṃ nrain(e) + + + + + + + + + +

This part (貧而慳貪) is lacking in Skt. Kvi. (both A and B). I think that Skt. version is not logical.
¹⁰⁰ Toch. verse 15 to Skt. Kvi XLIV–XLV:
XLIV. *katamaḥ(kāttsi) pudgalaḥ(wnolme) kāyena(kektsentsa) sukhī(skwassu) na(mā) cittena(palskosa). ucyate. kṛta(yāmu)puṇyaḥ(yärponta) pṛthagjanaḥ kāyena sukhī(skwassu) na(mā) cittena(palskosa). yathā mahādhana-brāhmaṇagṛhapatayo rājā ca māndhātā. ayaṃ pudgalaḥ kāyena sukhī na cittena.*
XLV. *katamaḥ(k_use) pudgalaś(wnolme) cittena(palskosa) sukhī(skwassu) na(mā) kāyena(kektseñsa). ucyate. yathārhann apuṇyaḥ cittena(palskosa) sukhī(skwassu) na(mā) kāyena(kektsentsa).*
=== additions (no corresponding passage in the Toch. version) ===
¹⁰¹ This is Sieg's supplement, but I prefer to read *(tSA)[lp]au [p]o (cäm)elameṃ*, because there is no trace of wo after *(tSA)[lp]au* ([p]o is possible) and *tSAlpauwo* for -*wa* (nom.pl.f.!) is strange, because a mobile "o" does not come for /ā/, but for /ä/, and it is not (cm)e before la (there is no c) in the image.
¹⁰² Toch. verse 16 to Skt. Kvi XLVI–XLVII:
XLVI. *katamaḥ(intsu) pudgalaḥ(wnolme) kāyena(kektsentsa) sukhī(skwassu) cittena(palskosa) ca. ucyate. arhan kṣīṇāsravaḥ kṛta(yāmu)puṇyaḥ(yärpo).* === no corresponding passages in Toch. ===
XLVII. *katamaḥ(k_use) pudgalo(wnolme) na(mā) kāyena(kektseñäṣṣe sak_usa) sukhī(skwassu) na(ma) cittena (PAlskoṣṣe) ca. akṛtapuṇyāḥ(pernêṅKAlpatte) pṛthagjanā utsannakulavaṃśā vastrānnapānavirahitāḥ par-agṛheṣu hiṇḍanti. tathā vyādhibhiḥ kuṣṭha-kṣayakāsajvarapāṇḍurogadadrupāmādibhiḥ parigatā hastapāda-vikalāś cakṣurvihīnāś ca. ayaṃ pudgalo na kāyena sukhī na cittena(palskosa).*
T80, 894a16–20: (the Toch. verse 15) 復有業能令衆生(wnolme)得身(kektsentsa)樂(skwassu)。而心(palskosa) 不(mā)樂。如有福(yärponta)凡夫。復有業能令衆生得心樂而身不樂(skwassu mā no palskosa)。如無福羅漢。
(the Toch. verse 16) 復有業能令衆生(wnolme)得身(kektsentsa)心(palskosa)俱(taisāk rano)樂(skwassu)。如有 福(yärpo)羅漢。 復有業能令衆生(wnolme)得身(kektseñäṣṣe sak_usa)心(PAlskoṣṣe sak)俱(rano)不(ma)樂 (skwassu)。如無福凡夫。
The Skt. Kvi is different from Toch. and Chin. versions in the order (*karma/āyuḥ→kāya/citta*), and the content was made bigger, especially in XLV and XLVI.

... with mind. 16 Whoever the person, whose life is disappeared, but there are still their deeds (which do) not disappear at all in any way. They are persons who would fall from hells (and are born again) in the hell ...

2 yāmorntatŚ*﹅ <:> mand(←t) ra lwāsameṃ pretenmeṃ laitaṃ śāmnāmeṃ waT﹅ laitaṃ wtentse TAnmaskentRA Nnok yśāmna : ñäkte<ṃ>meṃ wat no laitaṃ [N]no(k) yñ(a)kt[e]ṃ TAnmaskentRA ceṃnts ono(lmeṃtŚ﹅) + + + + + + + (10 (of 17))

of deeds. : So also they would fall from animals, ghosts, or they would fall from human beings (and) for the second time be born again in human beings, : or they would fall from gods (and) again be born in gods, ... for these persons ..... 10(of 17)

3 7[104] (ṣ)emi ksa wnolmi skwassoñc PArweṣṣe (ta)[t]ākarmeṃ tū omposTAṃ LAklessoñc no MAskentRA : nauŞ LAklesoñco tākaṃ PArweṣṣe tumeṃ posTAṃ [ṣe]mi no ksa skwantse pāke MAsken(tRA : ceṃts no onolmeṃts yā-)

Some persons, having been happy earlier, are then thereafter unhappy. : some (persons) would be unhappy previously, but then after (they) are (in) part of happiness. : They should know, however,

4 mor nan[au](t)au (KArsa)nalle ce klautk[e]◦sa śaul no ykāk mā nanautau : 18[105] kᵤse no cey wnolmi ket śaul nanautau yāmor rano pest nanautau kᵤce klautkesa aiśa(lyi :) + + + + + + + + +

the disappeared deed, in(←with) this way the life is still not disappeared. : 18 The "persons", however, whose life is disappeared (and) also (their) deed disappeared away. One should know, with which manner (it is): ...

5 .. (tetemo)ŞA tumeṃ no pest yāmor śauLŞP﹅ aranme : nraimeṃ laitontRA lwāsane wat no pret[e]nne waT﹅ TAnmaskentRA epe yñakteṃ y(ś)āṃmna waT﹅ <:> cey teyäkne(sa) + + + + + + + + +

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[103] *nraiyntameṃ laitaṃ* "fall down from hells" is curious in semantics, but from Skt. *narakāc cyuto narakeṣūpapadyate* and Chin. 從地獄死。還生地獄 "gone from hell, reborn in hells", i.e. Saṃsāra, it is comprehensive. The Toch. √lait could mean not only "to fall down", but also "to go away, to remove". The Toch. *-meṃ* functions like Greek κατά or Hittite *-kan* (cf. Friedrich pp. 151–153).

[104] Toch. verse 17 to Skt. Kvi XL: *katamasya(kᵤse) pudgalasyāyuḥ(wnolme ket śaul) kṣīṇaṃ(nanautau) na(māwk) karma (yāmornta). ucyate. yaḥ(kᵤse) pudgalo(onolmi) narakāc(nraintameṃ) cyuto(laitaṃ) narakeṣū(nraine)papadyate. tiryagbhyaś(lwāsameṃ) cyutas(laitaṃ) tiryakṣūpapadyate. yamalokāc (pretenmeṃ) cyuto(laitaṃ) yamaloke upapadyate(TAnmaskentRA). devebhyaś(ñäktemeṃ) cyuto(laitaṃ) deveṣū(yñakteṃ)papadyate(TAnmaskentRA). ......*
ayaṃ(ceṃts) pudgalo(onolmeṃts) yasyāyuḥ kṣīṇaṃ na karma.
T80，894a21–23: 復有業能令衆生(*wnolme*)命(*śaul*)盡(*nanautau*)而(*ykāk*)業(*yāmornta*)不(*māwk*)盡(*nautanne*)。若有(*kᵤse cey*)衆生(*onolmi*)。從地獄死(*nraiyntameṃ laitaṃ*)。還生地獄(*nraine*)。畜生(*lwāsameṃ*)餓鬼(*pretenmem*)。乃至人(*śāmnāmem*)天(*ñäktemem*)阿修羅等。亦復(*Nnok*)如是。是名命盡而業不盡。

[105] Toch. verse 18 to Skt. Kvi XLI: *katamasya pudgalasya karma kṣīṇaṃ nāyuḥ. ucyate. yaḥ(ṣemi ksa wnolmi) pūrvaṃ(PArweṣṣe) sukhito(skwassoñc) bhūtvā(tatākarmeṃ) paścād(tū omposTAṃ) duḥkhito (LAklessoñc) bhavati(MAsketRA). pūrvaṃ(nauŞ PArweṣṣe) yo(ṣemi ksa) duḥkhito(LAklesoñco) bhūtvā (tākāṃ) paścāt(tumeṃ posTAm) sukhito(skwattse pāke) bhavati(MAsketRA). asya(ceṃts) pudgalasya (onolmeṃts) karma(yāmor) kṣīṇaṃ(nanautau) nā(mā)yuḥ(śaul).*
T80, 894a23–25: 復有業能令衆生業盡而命不盡。若有衆生(*ṣemi ksa wnolmi*)。樂盡(*nauŞ LAklesoñco*)受苦。苦盡受樂等。是名業(*yāmor*)盡(*nanautau*)而(*ykāk*)命(*śaul*)不(*mā*)盡(*nanautau*)。
The Toch. verse 18 has only 3 pādas. According to Sieg (p. 29) pāda *a* which contains a question (or a thema in my opinion) is lacking.

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... are born, then their deed and life would cease. : They fall from hell (and) are born (again) in animals or in ghosts, among gods or people. : In such a way they...

6 (n)o (yāmor) [śau]LṢP、 antpi tākaṃ nanautaṢ、 : 19[106] k$_u$*(c)e (yäknesa n)o [cai] wnolmy aiśalyi kete yāmoR、 mā nanautau ma rano śaul nanautau : kle[ś](anma) no ceṃ[ts nan]au[t]auw(w)a [p]e(sT、) + + + + + + + +*

however, both deed and life would be disappeared. : 19 With which manner, however, should the persons know, whose deed (is) not disappeared, (and) also (his) life (is) not diasappeared? : Their distresses, however, (are) disappeared away ...

07-G2 (K7b) #37

1 (MAkte t)[ā]koṃ KArsalyi : srotāpann(') epe sakṛdāg(āme anāgāme) arhante waT、 na-nautauwwa ṣ kleśanma : cents onolmeṃts mā yā[m]o(r na)nautau mā (ranow)KA (śaul nanautau) + + + + +

How should they be known? : *Srotāpanna, Sakṛdāgāmin, Anāgāmin* or *Arhat,* (their) distresses (are) disappeared, : For these human beings a deed (is) not disappeared (and) a life (is) also not disappeared indeed ...

2 .. (20[107]) + + [s]u[108] yāmoR、 iñcewsa wnolmi cmenTAr rano ette ymainne kreñc no lkātsi MAskentRA : takarṣkñêrṣeñcañ[109] eśnaiSAñ¨、 [w]īna[110] (ṣ)[ma]re yetse ṣ[m]are ere [ṣ](mare) + + + + + (: k$_u$*se)*

... 20 Whatever a "deed", thereby persons (who) would be born even in low pathes are good to see, : evokers of belief, (having) a pleasure for eyes, smooth skin, smart(←smooth) appearance, smooth ... :

3 c(e)y [o]n[o](l)[m](i e)ṅ[KA]ltsa tSAṅko[Ṣ]、 ○ duśśīlñesa trīkeṃ ṢPArkeṃ ette cmelne tmaskentRA : kreñc no MAskentRA lkā[tsi] TAṅwaññe eśanaiSAñ¨、 sakw aiṣṣeñca[ñ] . + + + + + + (21[111])

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[106] Toch. verse 19 to Skt. Kvi XLII: *katamasya(k*$_u$*se) pudgalasya(wnolmi) karma(yāmor) kṣīṇam(pest nanau-tau) āyuś(śaul) ca. ucyate. yaḥ pudgalo narakāc(nraimeṃ) cyutas(laitontRA) tiryakṣū- (lwāsane)papadyate (TAnmaskentRA). tiryagbhyaś cyuto yamaloke upapadyate. yamalokāc cyuto manuṣyeṣū(yśāṃmna)papadyate. tataś cyuto deveṣū(yñaktem)papadyate.*
=== a parable which is not cited in Toch. and Chin. ===
asya pudgalasya karma(yāmor) kṣīṇam(nanautaṢ) āyuś(śauL) ca(ṢP).
T80, 894a25–28: 復有業能令衆生(wnolmi)業(śaul)俱(rano)盡(nanautau)。若有衆生。從地獄(nraimeṃ)滅(laitontRA)。生(TAnmaskentRA)於畜生(lwāsane)。及以餓鬼(pretenne)。乃至(epe)人(yśāṃmna)天(yñaktem)阿修羅等。是名業(yāmor)命(śauL)俱(antpi)盡(nanautaṢ)。

[107] Toch. verse 20 to Skt. Kvi XLIIIbis: *katamasya(kete) pudgalasya nā(ma)yuḥ(śaul) kṣīṇaṃ (nanautau) [na](mā) karma(nanautau). api tu(no) kleśāḥ(kleśanma) kṣīṇāḥ(nanautauwwa). ucyate. śrotaāpannasya (srotāpann'). sakṛdāgāminaḥ(sakṛdāgāme). anāgāminaḥ(anāgāme). pratyekabuddhasya(arhante?). ayaṃ (cents) pudgalo(onolmemts) yasya nā(mā)yuḥ(śaul) kṣīṇaṃ(nanautau) [na](mā) karma(yāmor). api tu kleśāḥ (kleśanma) kṣīṇāḥ(nanautauwwa ṣ).*
T80, 894a28–b2: 復有業能令衆生(wnolmy)業(yāmoR)命(śaul)俱(rano)不(mā)盡(nanautau)。若有衆生。盡(nanautau)諸煩惱(kleśanma)。所謂須陀洹(srotāpann)。斯陀含(sakṛdāgāme)。阿那含(anāgāme)。阿羅漢(arahante)等。是名業(yāmor)命(śaul)俱(ranowKA)不(mā)盡(nanautau)。

[108] Sieg supplements (*intsu no*), but I see *[s]u* instead of *no*. It could be *k*$_u$*se no su*, but I am not sure.

[109] This is a pl. form which is a predicate of *wnolmi*.

[110] *eśnaiSAñ¨ wīna* "pleasure for two eyes" (gen. for dat. sense) and the followings ("tender skin, appearance and ...") are the concrete content of *kreñc lkātsi* "good to see".

These persons who would, based(←having arose) on(←with) passion, be confused (and) themselves perish with bad character, they are born in a low rebirth : (although they are) good looking, lovely, delightful to the eyes (←givers of happiness for eyes) ... 21

4 i(nt)su no yāmor MAkcewsa wnolmi ☯ ette cmelne TAnmaskentRA lkātsi yolain mäsken-tRA : ścireñ kektseñtsa l[k]ātsi(ś)[112] [e]mp[e]lyi pilko pal[sk]o kramseṃ + + + + + + (alye)-

The "deed", however, with which persons are born in a low rebirth (and) are ugly to see, : hardened in(←with) body, terrible looking (to see), they disturb the thought(s) ...

5 ṅkaṃtS*、 <:> tane ṣemi ksa wnolmi MAskentRA śconai yparwe duśśīlñesa yolain yamor yāmoṢA : tūsa yolaiñ cey ra [k]sā [113] [MA]ske[n]tRA lkātsy empelyi ścire ke[k](ts)e[ñ] .. + + + + + + (22[114] i-)

of others. : There are some people (who) committed(←made) evil deed(s) with bad charac-ter, (e.g.) enmity and so on. Then they are bad in all ways, ugly to see, with hardened bodies ... 22

6 (ntsu no yā)[mo]r MA[k](c)e(wsa) w[n]olmi ette ymainne tetemoṢA yolo were[115] MAskentRA : mā wä[tka]ltsana yuṣona yndrinta MAskenTAr[m]e snai TAṅwa(ñ) ṢPA lk[ā]tsine [c]ai (MAskentRA :) + + + + + +

The "deed", however, from(←with) which persons are born in low paths (and) pro-duce(←are) bad smells. : They are not definitive, dull (to) the senses and not(←without) lovely to see (←in seeing). : ...

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[111] Toch. verse 21 to Skt. Kvi XLVIII: *katamat(k_use?) karma(yāmoR) yena(iñcewsa) samanvāgataḥ pudga-lo(wnolmi) 'pāyeṣ(ette ymainne)ūpapanno(cmenTAr) 'bhirūpo(kreñc lkātsi) bhavati(MAskentRA) prāsādi-kaḥ(takarṣkñerṣeñcañ) snigdhakāyaḥ(ṣmare ere) snigdhacchavir(ṣmare yetse) nayanābhirāmo (eśnaiSAñ wīna) darśanīyaḥ. ucyate. yaḥ(k_use) pudgalo(onolmi) rāgasamutthitena(eṅKAltsa tSAṅkoṢ) dauḥśīlyena (duśśīlñesa) samanvāgataḥ apāyeṣūpapadyate(ette cmelne tmaskentRA). yathā mayūraśukasārikākāraṇḍavacakravākaprab-hṛtayaḥ. idaṃ karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalo 'pāyeṣūpapanno 'bhirūpo(kreñc lkātsi) bhavati(MAskentRA) prāsādikaḥ snigdhakāyaḥ snigdhacchavir nayanābhirāmo(eśnaiSAñ sakw aiṣṣeñcañ) darśanīyaḥ.*
T80, 894b3–6: 復有業(*yāmoR*)能令衆生(*wnolmi*)。雖(*rano*)生(*cmenTAr*)惡道(*ette ymainne*)。形容殊妙(*kreñc lkātsi*)。眼目(*eśnaiSAñ*)端嚴(*takarṣkñerṣeñcañ*)。膚體(*yetse*)光澤(*ṣmare*)。人所樂見(*ere*)。若有衆生(*onolmi*)。因欲(*eṅKAltsa*)煩惱(*tSAṅko*)。起破戒業(*duśśīlñesa*)。以是因縁。雖生(*tmaskentRA*)惡道(*ette cmelane*)。形容殊妙(*krenc lkātsi*)。眼目(*eśanaiSAñ*)端嚴(*TAṅwaññi*)。膚體光澤。人所樂見(*sakw aiṣṣeñcañ*)。
[112] Sieg: *lkātsi (e)mpelyi*, but a vowel *e* after *-tsi* cannot be seen. I prefer to read in the image *(ś)[e]* for allative /-ś(c)/ and /empelyi/. *lkātsiś* (inf. + all.) is common in the case of inf.
[113] Sieg: *tsa*, but I recognize *[k]sā* in the image.
[114] Toch. verse 22 to Skt. Kvi XLIX: *tatra katamat(intsu) karma(yāmor) yena(MAkcewsa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo(wnolmi) 'pāyeṣūpapanno(ette cmelne TAnmaskentRA) durvarṇo(lkātsi yolain) bhavati (mäskentRA) rūkṣa(ścireñ)kāyo(kektseñtsa) ghora(empelyi)darśanaḥ(lkātsiś). ucyate. yaḥ pudgalo (wnolmi) dveṣa(śconai)samutthitena dauḥśīlyena(duśśīlñesa) samanvāgato(ṣemi ksa) 'pāyeṣūpapadyate. yathā siṃhavyāghrakākaśṛgālakṛṣṇasarpapretapiśācādayaḥ. idaṃ karma yena(tūsa) apāyeṣūpapanno dur-varṇo(yolaiñ) bhavati(MAskentRA) rūkṣa(ścire)kāyo(kektseñ) ghora(empelyi)darśanaḥ(lkātsy).*
T80, 894b7–10: 復有業(*yāmor*)能令衆生(*wnolmi*)生(*TAnmaskentRA*)於惡道(*ette cmelne*)。形容醜陋(*lkātsi yolain*)。膚體(*kektseñtsa*)麁澁(*ścireñ*)。人不喜見(*lkātsiś empelyi pilko*)。若有衆生。從瞋煩惱(*palsko kramtseṃ duśśīlñesa*)起破戒業(*yolain yamor yāmoṢA*)。以是因縁(*tūsa*)。生於惡道(*yolaiñ MAskentRA*)。形容醜陋(*lkātsy empelyi*)。膚體(*kektseñ*)麁澁(*ścire*)。人不喜見
[115] Sieg: "von schlechtem Geruch". *yolo were* "bad smell" is a predicate noun of *wnolmi* "beings" with copula. The subject is a pl., but *were* "smell" has no pl. form.

07-H1 (K8a)

1 + + + [116](ślâ)kn(ātsaññe mai)mtsa trikseṃ duśś[ī]LAñ[ñ]e (ya)m(a)skeṃ[117] : cmentRA [k]wr[i] yśamna KArpi MAskentRA yuṣe yntrinta yolo w(e)r[e] cew yāmorsa [MA](skentRA 23[118]) + + + + + + + + + +

... (they) miss (their aim) with foolish thought(s and) produce bad character. : If they are born among human beings, they are raw (rank), they have(←are) dull senses (and) bad smell(s) with this deed. 23 ...

2 pūdñäktentse weweñoṢAṃ sutar<n>mameṃ SAlkāmai : ṣesa ṣñaṣṣeṃmpa po se ñy ekita yamaṣare ce postaKAśc̣ paiykatsi ñiś [y]ā[t]k(a)wa (: ce krent) yām(orsa) + + + + + + +

I have drawn from *sūtra*s (that) were spoken by(←of) the Buddha, : together with all relatives who helped me, I have decided to write this book (*allative*). : With this good deed ...

3 ś[p]ā[l](m)eṃ KAlloyeṃ cai po pūdñäkte ○ tākoṃ ṢPA : kuce no te wñāwa yāmornts okonta temeṃ man<t> te kuce no weñau tu ñke pklyauṣso po ā[ñm]tsa [2]4 [|| (4x7/8) ||] (śaḲ)

they might become excellent ... and they all might become the Buddha. : Whatever I have said, however, (are) fruits of deeds. Consequently, whatever I have said, now (you must) hear it eagerly(←with all desire)! 24 || ||

4 krenta yā(m)[o](rn)t(a)ṣṣ(ai) ytārin(e) ○ palskossu śaumo <:> yāmi speltke po āñmtsa āñme keṬ tSAlpātsi tākoy̤ : [119]ś[ī]l[n]e ce [s].e[l]n[ai] śle kal[pau] + + + + + + + <:>

A person (who is) thoughtful in the way of the ten good deeds : might make effort eagerly(←with all desire), whose desire might be to be free. : In moral behavior, this ... with ...

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[116] This is a supplement of Sieg (p. 33) with "(Einige Wesen hier) voll Unwissenheit straucheln", but -*ññe* is sg. and *trikseṃ* is 3.pl. causative "to miss". I recognize *kn(āt)[s](añ)[ñ](e)* in the image as Sieg's supplement, but *ślā* before *kn(ā)* is difficult to read, and I cannot find *ślāknātsaññe* in other B-Toch. texts (only one example 220r2 *ślālyeṅKAmtṢ*). Looking the under part here, *a-* is possible, but presumably this part is mixed with others. -*ññe* is not only abstructum (cf. Adams p. 3), but also adj. (cf. TEB p. 146 § 218, THT 282v1), whereas I suppose *aknātsaññe maimtsa trikseṃ* "(they) miss (their aim) with foolish thought".

[117] Sieg: "zeigen" without any supplement. I see *[m].skeṃ* for *(ya)m(a)skeṃ* "they produce *duḥśīla*".

[118] Toch. verse 23 to Skt. Kvi L: *tatra katamat(intsu) karma(yāmor) yena(MAkcewsa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo(wnolmi) 'pāyeṣ(ette ymainne)ūpapanno(tetemoṢ) dur(yolo)gandho(were) bhavati(MAsketRA) jihm(yuṣona)endriyo 'vyakt(mā wätkaltsana)endriyaḥ(yndrinta). ucyate. yaḥ pudgalo moha(ślâknātsaññe)-samutthitena(maimtsa?) dauḥśīlyena(duśśīLAññe) samanvāgataḥ apāyeṣūpapadyate. yathā chuchunda-rīkṛmyajagarayūkāmakṣikādayo yathā śarīre viṃśatikṛmijātayaḥ. idaṃ(cew) karma yena (yāmorsa) samanvāgataḥ pudgalo 'pāyeṣūpapanno(KArpi MAskentRA) dur(yolo)gandho(were) bhavati (MAskentRA) jihm(yuṣe)endriyo (yntrinta) 'vyaktendriyaḥ.*

T80, 894b11: 復有業(*yāmor*)能令眾生(*wnolmi*)生(*tetemoṢ*)於惡道(*ette ymainne*)。身口臭穢(*yolo were*)。諸根殘缺(*mā wätkaltsana yuṣona yndrinta*)。若有眾生。從癡煩惱(*ślâknātsaññe maimtsa trikseṃ*)。起破戒業(*duśśīLAññe tanmäskeṃ*)。以是因緣。生(*cmentRA*)於惡道。身口臭穢(*yolo were*)。諸根殘缺(*yuṣe yntrinta*)

[119] Sieg: *ś(a)le ce.e.t.[śle]k al.e///*. My tentative reading from the image is mentioned in my transliteration. A definite translation, however, is not possible.

5 .. ... [s]k. [k_us](e) [śa]k krenta yāmornta paṣṣeñcañ¨[.] tākaṃ : 1¹²⁰ (4x7/8) māntalñesa śak krenta yāmorntatS॒ ṣparKAṢAlñesa : śak yolaina yāmorṣ[ṣ]a[na yt](ārintsa ṢPA yalñesa :) + + + +

   ... who would be a keeper of the ten good deeds. 1 With malice, with a dissolution of the ten good deeds, : and with following(←going over) the ways of the ten bad deeds. : ...

6 ś[ai]ṣṣeṃts[e] nemcek po karep MAsketRA : PArnāññana (wäntarwaṃtS॒) śaṃtsña(←Skt. śaṃsana?)sa sPArkālñe westRA 2 ¹²¹ kauṣentañ kr_ui onolmi māka tne [w]en(←ñ)antRA .e + <:> + + + + + + + (snai pe-)

   is indeed harmful all over world (← danger of the world). : By a notification(?)¹²² of external affairs the dissapearance is recognized(←said). 2 If many people would be said (to be) there (as) murderers ... (they are) without

07-H2 (K8b) #38

1 ñ[y]ai alyaiK ṢPA wnolmi : lyśī no māka kr_ui tākaṃ tu + + + .u ś[a]lāPA(=Skt. śalabha) : maścītsi(?)¹²³ ṢPA peṣeli(?) śaiṣṣene MAskentRA pākri 3¹²⁴ k[e]t ra y[ś]e(lme) + + + + + + + + + + <:>

   splendour, and (also) other persons. : If many thieves, however, would be ... moth(s) : and crop-eaters(?), (then) famines(?) come(←are clear to see) in the world. 3 Whose pleasure also ... :

2 [t](unts)e ṣa(rmtsa) atāmo¹²⁵ taur tweye MAsketRA pākri : snai preke yenti tseṅkentRA snai preke suwa(←e)ṃ ṢPA swesi : śäktalyenta onolmeṃ[t]s [pr]eke + + + + + (4¹²⁶) + + + (mā-)

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¹²⁰ Toch. verse 1 provides an introduction to the ten good deeds. This is included only in the Toch. version.

¹²¹ Toch. verse 2 to Skt. Kvi LI: *daśākuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ. katame daśa. trividhaṃ kāyakarma. caturvidhaṃ vākkarma. trividhaṃ manaskarma. eṣāṃ daśānām(śak) akuśalānāṃ(yolaina) karma-(yāmorṣṣana)pathānāṃ(ytānintsa) vipākena daśānāṃ bāhyānām(PArnāññana) bhāvānām(wäntarwaṃtS) abhivṛddhir bhavati.*

T80, 894b14–15: 復有十業。得外惡報。若有衆生。於十(*śak*)不善(*yolaina*)業(*yāmorṣṣana*)。多修習故(*śaṃsanasa*)。感諸外(*PArnāññana*)物(*wäntarwaṃtS*)。悉(*nemcek po*)不具足(*karep*)。

¹²² Chin. 修習故 "by means of practice/learning".

¹²³ *maścītsi* could be "crop-eater" (Skt. *sasyaghāsakā*) or "frost and hail" (Chin.霜雹). Another possibility is an inf. of √mätsts "verhungern" (cf. Krause p. 268), if it is a mistake for /mätstsātsi/, and *maścītsi peṣeli* could mean "famine" in pāda *d*, but because of lacuna before *ś[a]lāPA*(=Skt. *śalabha*) it is unclear.

¹²⁴ Toch. verse 3 to Skt. Kvi LII: *prāṇātipātasy(kauṣentañ)ākuśalakarmapathasya vipākena pṛthivyā ojaś ca tejaś cāntardhīyate. tasyaiva ca karmaṇo vipākenālpāyur bhavati.*

Skt. Kvi LIII: adattādānasyākuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena pṛthivyām(śaiṣṣene) aśaniśukaśalabha (śalāPA)mūṣikakīṭaprabhṛtayaḥ sasyaghāsakā(maścītsi?) utpadyante. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākena bhogavyasanam(peṣeli?) adhigacchati(MAskentRA pākri).

T80, 894b15–18: 一者以殺業故(*kauṣentañ*)。令諸外(*alyaiK wnolmi*)報。大地鹹鹵。藥草無力。二者以盜業(*lyśī*)故。感外霜雹(*maścītsi?*)蚤蝗蟲(*śalāPA*)等。令世(*śaiṣṣene*)飢饉(*peṣeli?*)。

¹²⁵ The meaning of the word *atāmo* is unknown. Sieg supposes "unfruchtbarer Boden(?)" (p. 37), According to Lévi "les croûtes salines du sol et la poussière et le vent et la pluie violente" is viable from the Tib. version (1932, p. 81). If the Tib. corresponds to the Toch. here, *atāmo taur* could be "powder of rock salt", (Toch. *taur* and *tweye* both mean "dust, ashes"). From Chin.諸塵埃 "various dust" (塵 and 埃 are synonymous) *atāmo* could mean "various". I prefer the latter, because Toch. *taur twere* corresponds to Chin.塵埃.

¹²⁶ Toch. verse 4 to Skt. Kvi LIV: *kāmamithyācārasy(ket ra yśelme)ākuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena (tuntse ṣarmtsa) pṛthivyāṃ tṛṇadarbhādīni(atāmo?) durgandhīni prādurbhavanti (MAsketRA pākri). tasyaiva*

with its cause the powder of rock-salt(?) (and) dust (=bad condition) appears(←are clear to see). : Out of season(=not right time), windows appear(←arise) and out of season it(←pl.) rains(←pl.). : The seeds of people (in) time ...

3 k[a] tāka[ṃ] (o)[n]olmi tuntse no [ṣ]a○rmtsa : koynameṃ yolo were onolments aunastRA wrātsi : waṣe reki no lāre yamantRA [tu]ntse oko(sa :) + + + + + + + +

Many persons would be (liars?), with its cause : from the mouth bad smell(s emerge, and) people (gen.) begin to smell, : they, however, would love the word of a lie with its result(←fruit). : ...

4 nma [Ṣ]PA kotaiñ[127] MAskentRA 5[128] ○ ścire reki onolmi māka kr$_u$i aunantRA nessi : KArweñi yare tarśkañ salañce[129] MAskentRA pākri : re + + + + + + + +

and they are pits. 5 If many persons start to become (speakers of) harsh word(s), : stones, gravel, poor, rough (and) unpleasant things appear(←are clear to see). : ...

5 .nerwanta atstsenta : ścironâtyañ tsakātstse kaumi ṢPA MAskentRA pākri 6[130] ketara ṢAñne wnolmi entseṣṣi kr$_u$i māka tākaṃ : tusa [s](t)āna (ś)[l](e sā)r(m)na ly. + + + + + + +

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karmaṇo vipākena saṃpannagṛhāvāsaṃ praviśanti. atrāvadānaṃ śvabhrapadasya susudhī dārikā kāsirājñaḥ patnī devāvataraṇe kālodayinaḥ pūrvajanmany avadānaṃ vaktavyam.

T80, 894b18: 三者邪婬(*yśelme*)業故(*tuntse ṣarmtsa*)。感惡(*snai preke?*)風(*yenti*)雨(*swesi*)。及諸(*atāmo*?)塵埃(*taur tweye*)。

[127] According to Lévi (Sieg, p. 38) *kotaiñ* corresponds to the Skt. *śvabhra* "hole" (see supra). The Skt. word appears on the topic of *avadāna* in Skt. Kvi LIV and LVIII (the Toch. verse 4 and 6), but this word *kotaiñ* is included in the Toch. verse 5 (Skt. Kvi LV). From the Chin. it could be 峻崖 "precipice" or 嶮谷 "steep ravine", i.e. not plain earth (高下不平 or 株杌槎菜). *śarkarakaṭhallyādīni* "sand or pebbles" (cf. Edgerton p. 165) is mentioned in the Skt. Kvi LVI (the Toch. verse 5), but it is in the Toch. verse 6.

[128] Toch. verse 5 to Skt. Kvi LV: *mṛṣāvādasyākuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena(tuntse ṣarmtsa) mukharogadantarogagalarogamukha(koynameṃ)daurgandhyādīni(yolo were) prādurbhavanti(aunastRA wrātsi). tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākenābhūtākhyānaṃ pratilabhate.*

and Skt. Kvi LVI: *piśunavacana(waṣe reki)syākuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena pṛthivyāṃ śarkarakaṭhallyādīni duḥkhasaṃsparśādīni prādurbhavanti. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākena jātivyasanā mitravyasanā bhavanti bhedyaḥ parivāraś ca bhavati.*

T80, 894b18–21: 四者妄語業故(*tuntse ṣarmtsa*)。感生外物。皆悉臭穢(*yolo were*)。五者兩舌(*waṣe reki*)業故。感外大地。高下不平。峻崖嶮谷。株杌槎菜。

The Toch. verse 5 involves two numbers of Chin. (四者 and 五者), whose topics are 妄語 "lie" and 兩舌 "two tongues", so *waikesse* "lying" could be in the lacuna of the end of line 2. The Chin. version was made in order to express ten *karma*s (復有十業), and presumably the Toch. author has combined them into one verse (also the Toch. verse 6 and 7, see infra).

[129] Both *tarśkañ* and *salañce* are unknown terms. Sieg supposes "Scherben(?) und salzhaltiger Boden(?)", Lévi "tessons" (p. 39). If these two Toch. words correspond to Chin. 麁澀惡物 "poor, rough, bad things", *salañce* could be 麁澀 "poor (and) rough", if it is an obl.pl. of an adj. *-tstse (salyicceṃ* "salty"? cf. Adams p. 678), and *tarśkañ* could be 惡物 "bad things", as -*ñ* could show a nom.pl. of a noun (or a causalis 'because of …'?). Regardless, these words are appositions of "stones and gravel". I would translate these words as "poor, rough (and) unpleasant things" tentatively.

[130] Toch. verse 6 to Skt. Kvi LVII: *paruṣavacaso(ścire reki) 'kuśalakarmapathasya vipākena pāṃśurajodhūlivātavṛṣṭyādīni prādurbhavanti. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākenāmanojñaśabdaśravaṇa- darśanāny anubhavanti.*

Skt. Kvi LVIII: *saṃbhinnapralāpasyākuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena ... kandaraśvabhrādīni prādurbhavanti. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākenānādeyavacanā bhavati.*

The Toch. pāda *c* is difficult to read, and only *atstsenta* "thick" is readable, which can be seen in the Chin., so we can assume a topic of pāda *c* to be 綺語 "falsely ornamented word". Pāda *d* has no connection with the Skt.

thick ... : tough grass(←pl.) (and) thorny sprouts appear(←are clear to see). 6 If many people are(←would be) greedy for the possession of another (←whose belonging), : then woods and seeds ...

6 <:> + + + .. no [w](n)o(lm)[i] māka kr_ui aunan[t](RA) ne(sts)i <:> RAskarona matrona stāna ṢPA MAskentRA tūsa 7[131] aṅkaiṃ pilko no onolmi t(ākaṃ kr_ui māka nestsi :) + + + + + +

: If many people, however, would begin to be (malevolent?) : there are rough and sharp trees thereby. 7 If many people have(←would be), however, false insight : ...

07-I2 (K9a)

1 (n)tRA [s](ar)mana [t]aisā(k) r(a s)t(ā)na : ś(a)k y[o]l(ai)[n](a yā)[mo]rnt(a) eṅkorme[ṃ] tuntse ṣarmtsa toṃ : śak wäntarwatS﹅ sPArk[ā]lñe KAlpast[RA] PArnāññanantso 8[132] śak no weñ(a PArkāwnta pudñäkte śpā-)

seeds are also just like wood(s). : Having seized ten bad deeds, with its cause : one obtains the disappearance of ten external things. 8 The Buddha, however, spoke of ten benefits.

2 lmeṃ weñenta : ñäkteṃts ñakte[133] KAṣṣintse poyśints[e] pat[134] winaṣlemeṃ : cmelane KArtse ere MAsketRA KArtse weśeññai[135] : eṅKAlle [MA]skeTArne reki + + + + + + (9[136] we-)

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version, so we must rely on on the Chin., i.e. the Skt. version is much different from Toch. and Chin., and only the topics are quoted. This could mean also that the Skt. version changed over time.

T80, 894b21–23: 六者惡口 (*ścire reki*)業故。感生外報。瓦石(*KArweñi*)沙礫(*yare*)。龟澁惡物(*tarśkañ salañce*?)。不可觸近。七者綺語業故感生外報。令草(*atyañ*)木稠(*atstsenta*)林。枝條棘刺(*tsakāstse*)。

The Toch. verse 6 involves two topics in the Chin. (六者 and 七者) like the Toch. verse 5 (see supra).

[131] Toch. verse 7 to Skt. Kvi LIX: a*bhidhyāyā(entseṣṣi) akuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena vrīhiyava-godhūmādīnāṃ sasyānāṃ(sārmna) tuṣapalālādīni prādurbhavanti. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākena para-prārthanīyabhogā bhavanti.*
and Skt. Kvi LX: *vyāpādasyākuśalakarmapathasya vipākena prabhūte upte niṣphalaṃ sasyaṃ bhavati. tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākena pratikūladarśano bhavati.*

T80, 894b23–25: 八者以貪(*entseṣṣi*)業故(*tusa*)。感生外報。令諸苗稼子(*sārmna*)實微細。九者以瞋業故。感生外報。令諸樹木(*stāna*)果實苦澁(*RAskarona matrona*)。

The Toch. verse 7 is divided in two in the Chin. (八者 and 九者) like the Toch. verse 5 (see supra). The topic of pāda *c* is 瞋 "anger with fully opened eyes" (Toch. *erkattäññe*?).

[132] Sieg: "Skv LXI .... kann nicht in Betracht kommen", but I think that the Toch. verse 8 (also 7) has some connection with the Skt. Kvi LXI concerning the contents, although the Skt. version features additional content, which I suppose to be a later addition.
Toch. verse 8 to Skt. Kvi LXI: *mithyā(aṅkaiṃ)dṛṣṭer(pilko) akuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena tik-takaṭukabhāvāny api picumandakoṣātakīviṣatiktālābuprabhṛtīni(stāna) phalāni prādurbhavanti. mithyādṛṣṭer akuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena nāstikyavādī bhavati. ucchedadṛṣṭiḥ lokāyatādiṣu ca śāstreṣu prasādo bhavati. yathā Padāśvasya rājaputrasya yaḥ kumārakāśyapena śvetikāyāṃ vinīto lokāyatikaḥ. yathā yathā sattvā imān daśākuśalān(śak yolaina) karma(yāmornta)pathān bhāvayanti tathaiṣāṃ(tuntse) daśānāṃ(śak) bāhyānāṃ(PArnāññanantso) bhāvānāṃ(wäntarwatS﹅) atīva prādurbhāvo bhavati. anenaiva ca kāraṇena mahāsaṃvartakalpe bhaviṣyati samayo 'nāgate 'dhvani yat tilā bhaviṣyanti tilapiṣṭaṃ bhaviṣyati tailaṃ na bhaviṣyati ikṣur bhaviṣyati ikṣuraso na bhaviṣyati guḍo na bhaviṣyati. na khaṇḍaṃ bhaviṣyati na śarkarā bhaviṣyanti. gāvo bhaviṣyanti kṣīraṃ bhaviṣyati dadhi bhaviṣyati navanītaṃ bhaviṣyati na ghṛtaṃ na ghṛtamaṇḍo bhaviṣyati. evam anupūrveṇa sarveṇa sarve rasā antardhāsyanti(sPArkalñe KAlpastRA?).*
T80, 894b25–27: 十者以邪(*aṅkaiṃ*)見(*pilko*)業故。感生外報。苗(*sarmana*?)稼(*stāna*?)不實。收獲尠少。以是十(*śak*)業(*yāmornta*)。得(*KAlpastRA*)外(*PArnāññanantso*)惡報(*sPArkalñe*)。

He is the excellent speaker : (and) the god of gods. From(=because of) the worship of the *caitya* of the teacher (and also) the all-knowing one, : one has(←is) good appearance in birth (and also) a good voice. : The word is to take(←seize) for him ... 9

3 rtsi(yai)n[e] kr̜i y[o]PAṃ wertsya cpi ○ yamaṢṢAṃ yarke : lāre no ṢPA MAsketRA śām-
nantso ślek ra ñäktentso : oro[tse] cpī MAsketRA cämpa[mñ]e + + + + + (: wrocceṃ)

If he would enter into the assembly, the assembly would(←makes) worship him, : and also he is lovely for people as well as gods, his ability is great ... :

4 c[ä]m(pamñe)ṣe[k ^{137}o]nolmempa KAnma○stRA ṣesa 10 pūdñäktempa KAlpāṢṢAṃ ṣe
śamtsi bodhisātve(ṃ)mpa : wrotsana ekñiññenta yänmāṢṢAṃ ne(mcek iñakteṃ : cew
yāmorsa)

(he) always comes together with people(sg.) of great ability. 10 He attains(←obtains to come) together with the Buddha (and) the Bodhisatva, : (and) he obtains great properties. Surely among gods : with this deed

5 TA[nm]as(tRA saṃ)sārmeṃ ramer tSAlpetRA : śaK PArkāwnta toṃ MAsk[e]ntRA k̜se pat
wināṢṢAṃ^{138} 11 śaK PArkāwänta kṣatre ailñesa yänmaṢṢAṃ wnolme : cmela(n)e (su
MAsketRA śaiṣṣentse kṣā-)

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[133] Sieg translates ñakte as gen., although the form is an obl. (presumably *metri causa*), but a nom. is also possible as an opposition of weñenta (nomen agentis, nom.sg.).

[134] Sieg translates *pat* as "caitya" because of Skt. Kvi LXII (Chin. 塔廟 "*stūpa*-shrine"), but normally it means "*stūpa*" in Toch. (/pät/ from Skt. *buddha*). According to Karashima *caitya* and *stūpa* are synonymous.

[135] weśeññai is an obl.sg.f. of /weśeññā/ "voice" meaning "regarding the voice", and KArtse is a predicate of the sentence, so these two words are not a compound as in Adams KArtse-weśeññai "eloquent" (p. 146 under kartse ~ krent). From KA of KArtse (accent rule) it could be a compound, but it should be weśeñña (not -ai) in cases where it is in compound. I prefer the former because of KArtse reki in K9b line 5.

[136] Toch. verse 9–11 to Skt. Kvi LXIII: katame daś(śak)ānuśaṃsās(PArkāwnta) tathāgata(ñäkteṃts ñakte KAṣṣintse poyśintse)caitya(pat)vandanāyām(winaṣlemeṃ). ucyate. abhirūpo(KArtse ere) bhavati (MAsketRA). susvaraḥ(KArtse weśeññai). ādeya(eṅKAlle)vākyaḥ(reki). pariṣadam(wertsiyaine) upasaṃkrāntaḥ(yoPAṃ) pariṣadam (wertsya) āvarjayati(yarke yamaṢṢAṃ) priyo(lāre) bhavati (MAsketRA) deva(ñäktentso)manuṣyāṇām(śāmnantso). maheśākhyo(orotse cämpamñe) bhavati (MAsketRA). maheśākhyaiḥ(wrotse cämpamñe) samāgamo(KAnmastRA) sattvaiḥ(onolmempa) bhavati. buddhair(pūdñäktempa) buddhaśrāvakaiś(bodhisātvempa?) ca samāgamo(ṣe śamtsi KAlpāṢṢAm?) bhavati. mahā(wrotsana)bhogo(ekñiññenta?) bhavati(yänmāṢṢAṃ?). svargeṣ(iñakteṃ)ūpapadyate (TAnmastRA). kṣipraṃ(ramer) ca parinirvāti(tSAlpetRA). ime daś(śaK)ānuśaṃsās(PArkāwnta) tathāgata-caitya(pat)vandanāyāḥ(wināṢṢAm).

T80, 894b28–c6: 復有十業。得外勝報。若有衆生。修十善業。與上相違。當知即獲十(śak)外勝報(PArkāwnta)。若有衆生。禮(winaṣlemeṃ)佛(ñäkteṃts ñakte KAṣṣintse poyśintse)塔廟(pat)。得十種(śak)功德(PArkāwnta)。一者得妙色(KArtse ere)好聲(KArtse weśeññai)。二者有所發言(reki)人皆信伏(eṅKAlle)。三者處衆(wertsiyaine)無畏(yarke yamaṢṢAṃ)。四者天(ñäktentso)人(śāmnantso)愛護(lāre MAsketRA)。五者具足威勢(orotse cämpamñe)。六者威勢(wrotse cämpamñe)衆生(onolmempa)。皆來親附。七者常(sek)得(KAlpāṢṢAm)親近(ṣe śamtsi)諸佛(pūdñäktempa)菩薩(bodhisātvempa)。八者具(yänmāṢṢAṃ)大福報(wrotsana ekñiññenta)。九者命終生(TAnmastRA)天(iñakteṃ)。十者速(ramer)證涅槃(tSAlpetRA)。是名禮(wināṢṢAm)佛塔廟(pat)得十種(śaK)功徳(PArkāwnta)。

[137] Sieg: (wrocceṃ) c[ä]m(pamñ)e(cc)e(ṃ) sonolme(=se ono-), but ṣe (for cce), [ko] (for so) is almost visible in the image. [-o] could be written afterwards because of a mistaken writing of nolme for wnolme (for 8 syllables) or as o-mobile (metri causa), whereas I would read (wroccem) c[ä]m(pamñ)eṣe[k o], wherein -ṣe is adj.obl. relating to onolmempa as in K9b line 1 and emphatic particle -k.

[138] Two syllables are lacking in this pāda d. Presumably it could be wnolmeŚ̜ "for the person".

they are born. From *saṃsāra* he is quickly freed. : There are ten benefits (for the person) who worships *caitya*. 11 A person obtains ten benefits by providing(←with giving) a parasol. : In births, this was the world's parasol,

6 ttre ta[t]ākau : snai PAlśalñe MAsketRA kektseñ(tsa t)ai(sa pa)[l](sk)osa : pos(') oṃṣap [s]u MAsketRA mā cewsa MAsketr auṢAp ksa 12¹³⁹ orotse MAskeTArne (cämpamñe) + + + + + <:>

: (It) makes(←is) no trouble(←burning) with the body as well as with the mind. : It overcomes(←is) all; there is nothing more than(←over) this. 12 His ability is great ... :

07-I1 #39 (K9b)

1 c[ä]m(pa)mñecceṃ orocceṃ wnolme(ṃ)mpa rittetRA epe [:] ñ(äkteṃts ñak)t(e) pūdñakteṃ poyśiṃmpa bodhisatve(ṃ)mpa : ṣesa śmalñe KAlpāṢṢAṃ wnolme sū c(ew) kr(en)t yāmo(rsa 13 cakravarttilantu-)

or he is connected with a person of great ability. : The person goes(←obtains a going) together with the all-knowing one, (i.e.) the Buddha, the god of gods, (and) with the Boddhisatvas because of(←with) this good deed. 13 And the *cakravarti*-king's

2 ññ[e Ī]k(e) [Ṣ]PA KAlpāṢṢAṃ Nno Nno : kamarttāññeṣṣe Īke eṅtsiśc ṢAp yamastRA yāmoR˴ : kakraupau ṢPA MAsketRA yāmor cpi kṣatr aiṣṣeñcantse : o[r](otse) + + + + + + +

place he obtains again and again. : And for the sake of seizing the place of rulership he performs the deed, : and his deed of giving a parasol is aggregated. : Big ...

3 [e](k)ñ(i)[ññ]enta [ṢPA] 14 iña○kteṃ sū TAnmastRA nemce ksa cew krent yāmorsa : ramer no ṢPA saṃsārmeṃ tSAlpetRA yäkte skeyentsa : toṃ [PA](rkāwänta śak no KAlpāṢṢAṃ)

and possessions. 14 Among gods he is born surely with this good deed : and he is freed quickly from *saṃsāra* with little effort(s). : These ten benefits, however,

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¹³⁹ Toch. verse 12–15 to Skt. Kvi LXIV: *katame daś(śaK)ānuśaṃsāś(PArkāwänta) chattra(kṣatre)- pradānasya(ailñesa). ucyate. chattra(kṣāttre)bhūto(tatākau) bhavati(MAsketRA) lokasya(śaiṣṣentse). an(snai)avatapto(PAlśalñe) bhavati(MAsketRA) kāyena(kektseñtsa) anavatapto bhavati cittena(palskosa). ādhipatya(kamarttāññeṣṣe Īke)saṃvartanīyaṃ(eṅtsiśc) cānena karma(yāmor) kṛtaṃ(yamastRA) bhavaty (MAsketRA) upacitam(kakraupau). punaḥ(Nno) punaś(Nno) ca(ṢPA) rājā(lantuññe) bhavati(KAlpāṢṢAṃ) cakravartī(cakravartti). maheśākhyo(orotse cämpamñe) bhavati(MAsketRA). maheśākhyaiḥ (cämpamñeccem orotseṃ) sattvaiḥ(wnolmempa) samāgamo(rittetRA?) bhavati buddhair(pūdñakteṃ) buddhaśrāvakaiś(bodhisatvempa?) ca samāgamo(ṣesa śmalñe) bhavati(KAlpāṢṢAṃ?). mahābhogo (ekñiññenta) bhavati. svargeṣ(iñakteṃ)ūpapadyate(TAnmastRA). kṣipraṃ(ramer) ca parinirvāti (saṃsārmem tSAlpaṃtRA).*
T80, 894c7–13: 若有衆生。奉施(*ailñesa*)寶蓋(*kṣatre*)。得(*yänmaṢṢAṃ*)十種(*śaK*)功德(*PArkāwänta*)。一者處世(*śaiṣṣentse*)如蓋(*kṣāttre*)覆護衆生。二者身(*kektseñtsa*)心(*palskosa*)安隱(*snai PAlśalñe*)。離諸熱惱。三者一切敬重(*posa oṃṣap*)。無(*mā*)敢輕慢(*auṢAp*)。四者有大(*orotse*)威勢(*cämpamñe*)。五者常得(*KAlpāṢṢAṃ*)親近(*ṣesa śmalñe*)諸佛(*ñäkteṃts ñakte pūdñakteṃ poyśiṃmpa*)菩薩(*bodhisatvempa*)大威德者(*cämpamñeccem orocceṃ wnolmempa*)。以爲眷屬(*rittetRA?*)。六者恒作(*KAlpāṢṢAṃ*)轉輪聖王(*cakravarttilantuññe*)。七者恒爲(*eṅtsiśc*)上首(*kamarttāññeṣṣe Īke*)。修習(*yamastRA*)善業(*yāmoR*)。八者具大(*orotse*)福報(*ekñiññenta*)。九者命終生(*TAnmastRA*)天(*iñakteṃ*)。十者速(*ramer*)證涅槃(*saṃsārmeṃ tSAlpaṃtRA*)。是名奉施(*yamaṢAm*)寶蓋(*kṣāttre*)得(*KAlpāṢṢAṃ*)十種(*śak*)功德(*PArkāwänta*)。
Skt. Kvi has nothing corresponding to the Chin. 三者 "No. 3", and the order of the Skt. is 七者(7)→六者(6)→四者(4)→五者(5)→八者(8)→九者(9)→十者(10), while the Toch. and the Chin. are identical in order.

4 yä(rpo)ssu wnolm(e) : KAṣṣintse pū○dñäktentse pa{ts}tsa kₐse yamaṢAṃ kṣättre 15 śaK PArkāwänta kₐlantse āyorsa poyśintse patne : tu ñke we(ñau PAklyauṣso) + +

a meritorious person obtains, : who donates a parasol over the *caitya* of the Buddha-god, the teacher. 15 (There are) ten benefits (that come along) with the gift of a bell in the *caitya* of the all-knowing one, : now I would explain(←say) that. You must hear ...

5 śceścam(o)Ṣ PAlskosa : KArtse reki MAsketRA wnol[m]e sū KArtse weśeññai : PAlskonta kātKAṣṣeñca weṣeñña MAskeTArne ṢPA 16[140] cäñcarya cpī MAske(tRA plāce) + + + + (klyau-)

with (your) attentive(←determined) mind! : The person is good in terms of speech, good in terms of voice. : And his voice is pleasing to the minds. 16 His speech is pretty ... to hear

6 ṣ(ts)i [:] katkauñai[141] m[ā]ka [Ṣ](PA) [MA]skeTAr su c[m]ela(n)e (wn)olme : katkau-ñaṣṣana pplāTAṃ rekauna su ṣek ṣeK、 klyauṢAṃ : amiśKAññaṃ erṣeñcai reki sū mā nemce klyauṢAṃ (17 ekñiññenta yänmā-)

: Regarding joy, the person also has(←is) much (of it) innately(←in his birth). He hears joyful talk (and) speech forever(←always and always), : surely he does not hear speech evoking the despondent. 17 He obtains

07-J1 (K10a)

1 ṢṢAṃ wrotsana TAnmastRA [y]ña(k)t(eṃ) : ramer (n)o ṢPA (tSA)[l]p(e)tRA sa(ṃ)sārmen nervāṃ yänmaṢṢAṃ : toṃ PArkāwnta śaK MAskentRA cpī kₐse śkamaiyyantse : pūdñäktentse pta + + + + + (yama-)

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[140] Toch. verse 16–18 to Skt Kvi LXV: *katame daś(śaK)ānuśaṃsā(PArkāwänta) ghaṇṭā(kₐlantse)- pra-dānasya(āyorsa). ucyate. abhirūpo(KArtse reki?) bhavati(MAsketRA). susvaro(KArtse weśeññai) bhavati. manojñabhāṣī(PAlskonta kātKAṣṣeñca) bhavati. kalaviṅkarutabhāṣī(cäñcarya) bhavati (MAsketRA). ādeya(klyauṣtsi)vākyo(plāce) bhavati. nityaṃ saṃprahārya(←harṣa cf. Edgerton p. 579)jāto bhavati. punaḥ(ṣek) punar(ṣeK) ānandaṃ(katkauñaṣṣana) śabdaṃ(pplāTAṃ rekauna) śṛṇoti(klyauṢAṃ). svargeṣ(yñakteṃ)ūpapadyate(TAnmastRA). mahā(wrotsana)bhogaś(ekñiññenta) ca bhavati(yänmāṢṢAṃ). kṣipraṃ(ramer) ca(ṢPA) parinirvāti(nervāṃ yänmaṢṢAṃ).*

The Toch. and the Skt. have nothing corresponding to Chin. 繪幡 "painted flag". Presumably this was added to make ten categories in the Chin.

T80, 894c22–28: 若有衆生。奉施(*āyorsa*)鍾鈴(*kₐlantse*)。得十種(*śaK*)功德(*PArkāwänta*)。一者得梵音聲 (*KArtse reki*)。二者有大名聞(*KArtse weśeññai*)。三者自識宿命(*PAlskonta kātKAṣṣeñca?*)。四者所有出言 (*weṣeñña*)。人皆敬受。五者常有寶蓋。以自莊嚴。六者有妙瓔珞。以爲服飾。七者面貌端嚴。見者歡喜。八者具(*yänmāṢṢAṃ*)大(*wrotsana*)福報(*ekñiññenta*)。九者命終生(*TAnmastRA*)天(*yñakteṃ*)。十者速(*ramer*)證(*yänmaṢṢAṃ*)涅槃(*nervāṃ*)。是名奉施鍾鈴得十種(*śaK*)功德(*PArkāwnta*)。

The Chin. 五者–七者 is not identical to Toch. verse 17, which is almost identical with the Skt. I suppose that the Chin. was modified in its content, which mat have been borrowed from discussions of related topics.

[141] Sieg: "*katkauñai m[ā]ka* für *m[ā]ka katkauñai* (*bahuvrīhi!*) und der nicht korrekte Versrhythmus" (p. 44), but I think that this is incorrect, i.e. there is no *bahuvrīhi* in the Tocharian in my opinion. If a *bahuvrīhi* in Skt. were translated into Toch., one would use a gen. or an adj. (an attribute) for the first part. If the place of *(wn)olme* and *[Ṣ](PA)* is changed, the metre is in order, but 6/9 instead of 7/8 appears in verse 20 pāda *b* and *d*. Here *katkauñai* is obl. sg. f. meaning "with regard to the joy", as is already discussed.

many(←big) possessions (and) is born among gods. : Quickly, however, he is freed from *saṃsāra* (and) obtains *nirvāṇa*. : They are the ten benefits for the one, who : makes worship of the Buddha-god with(←of) ten powers ...

2 ṢAṃ yarke [1]8 [ś]aK PArkāwänta wässi aiṣṣeñca KAl[pā]ṢṢAṃ wnolme : taKArṣKAññe erṣeñca MAsketRA kartse lkātsine : taKAlñene ṢPA wlaiśke yetse (cmelane MAsketRA : ṣmare)

18 A person (who) gives a garment obtains the ten benefits. : (A person who) evokes a belief is nice to look at, : and upon touching he has(←is) soft skin from(←in) birth, : smooth (and)

3 yetse (TAṅwa)ññe wnolmentse ṣeK˛ ○ cpī MAsketRA 19¹⁴² mā cpī tauRA mā tweye kektse-ñäśc˛ ma wa(t) tsweTAr nta : wässanma ṢPA artkye¹⁴³ MAskenTArne .. + + + + (: KAlpauca¹⁴⁴ =Skt. lābhī?)

lovely skin (of person) belongs(←is) always to(←for) him. 19 Indeed, neither dust nor ash adhere to his body, and garments are splendid(?) for him ... : And one who obtains(?)

4 ṢPA MAske(t)RA po y[nā](ñMA?)¹⁴⁵ krenta wä○ssanma : yase kwīpesa ṣeK MAskeTAr su kekenu wnolme 20 lare ṣek cäñcre lkātsi MAsketRA wrotse ekñi(ññ)e (: iñakteṃ su TAnmastRA)

good garments is fully(←all) worthy. : The person is always provided with shame (and) modesty. 20 Great possession is always beloved (and) lovely to see. : He is born among gods,

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¹⁴² Toch. verse 19–21 to Skt. Kvi LXVI: *katame daśa(śaK) guṇā(PArkāwänta) vastra(wässi)pradānasya (aiṣṣeñca). ucyate. ślakṣṇa(ṣmare)chavir(yetse) bhavati. snigdha(TAṅwaññe)cchavir bhavati(MAsketRA). na(mā) ca rajaś(tauRA) cailaṃ(tweye?) kāye(kektseñäśc) śliṣyati(tsweTAr). hrīr(yase)apatrāpya(kwīpesa)-saṃpanno(kekenu) bhavati(MAskeTAr) priya(lare cäñcre)darśano(lkātsi) bhavati(MAsketRA) prabhūta (artkye)vastro(wässanma) bhavati(MAskenTAr) lābhī(KAlpauca) ca(ṢPA) bhavati(MAsketRA) sūkṣmāṇāṃ(ynāñMA) vastrāṇām(wässanma) āstaraṇānām. mahā(wrotse)bhogo(ekñiññe) bhavati. svargeṣ(iñakteṃ)ūpapadyate(TAnmastRA) kṣipraṃ(RAmer) ca parinirvāti(nervāṃ yänmāṢṢAṃ). yath(teyknesa)oktaṃ bhagavatā devatāsūtre. vastra(wassi)prado(aiṣeñca) bhavati(tākaṃ) varṇavān. ime daśa guṇānuśaṃsā(PArkāwnta) vastrapradānasya.*

T80, 894c29–895a5: 若有衆生。奉施(*aiṣṣeñca*)衣服(*wässi*)。得(*KAlpāṢṢAṃ*)十種(*śaK*)功德(*PArkāwänta*)。一者面目端嚴(*kartse lkātsine*)。二者肌膚(*yetse*)細(*wlaiśke*)滑(*ṣmare*)。三者塵(*tauRA*)垢(*tweye?*)不(*mā*)著(*tsweTAr*)。四者生便具足上妙(*artkye*)衣服(*wässanma*)。五者微妙(*ynāñMA?*)臥具。覆蓋(*KAlpauca?*)其身。六者具(*kekenu*)慚(*yase*)愧(*kwīpesa*)服。七者見(*lkātsi*)者愛敬(*lare cäñcre*)。八者具大(*wrotse*)財寶(*ekñiññe*)。九者命終生(*TAnmastRA*)天(*iñakteṃ*)。十者速(*RAmer*)證(*yänmāṢṢAm?*)涅槃(*nervāṃ*)。是名奉施(*aiseñca*)衣服(*wassi*)得(*yänmāṢṢAṃ*)十種功德(*PArkāwnta*)。

The Skt. version lacks the Chin. 一者 and 五者, and has a different order of 四者 (after 七者 or 一者?).

¹⁴³ *artkye*: *hapax legomenon* without certain meaning in Toch. According to Adams (p. 23) it is "see *arkᵤye* '± necessity'(?)" which does not exist. From Skt. *prabhūta* it could mean "rich"; from Chin. 上妙 "excellent and beautifull". Regardless, this is an adj., and presumably means "excellent".

¹⁴⁴ *KAlpauca* is supplemented by Sieg (p. 45) because of Skt. *lābhī*. The topic of this part is Chin. 微妙 "delicacy" in 五者 "No.5", because the order is identical between Toch. and Chin. So from 覆蓋其身 "covering its body" *PArenca* "one who carries" instead of *KAlpauca* is possible.

¹⁴⁵ In the image I see *y[nā] ..*, and I supplement *ynāñMA*, and so presumably Toch. *po y[nā](ñMA?)* "completely(←all) worthy" could stand for Skt. *sūkṣma* "fine".

5 RAme(r) kk(a) nervāṃ [yä](n)māṢṢAṃ : toṃ teyknesa PArkāwnta wro[t]sana
    y[ä]nmāṢṢAṃ wnolme : k_use alyekepi wassi aiṣṣeñca cmelane tākaṃ 21 || ||
    [n]iṣ[k]ramā(ntne) + + + + + + +

very quickly he obtains *nirvāṇa*. : In such a way a person obtains the great benefits, : who
would be giving a garment to other (people) in (his) birth. 21 || || in (the metre of)
niṣkramānta (4x5/7/5)[146] (I would tell ...)

6 yärpontaṣṣ[eṃ] k[l]autkeṃ anaiśai : yarpo kwälypelle ke[t] (tākaṃ ṣe)[m]e PAls[k]o
    klyauṣtsi cpy aikne[147] te : śaK PArkāwänta MAskentRA cpy onolmentse lwāke [k]_us[e]
    aiṢṢAṃ [:] + + + + + + + + (sa-)

the manner of merits clearly. : One who would desire the merit (←whose merit should be
desired) should hear (←for him to hear) one thought in such a way(?) : Ten benefits are
for the person, who gives a pot. : ...

07-J2 (K10b) #40

1 ṅKAtse [w]aT˞ d(ak)ṣ(i)ṇākeṃts waT*˞ : (1[148]) lwāke tatāk[au MA](skeTAr s)u cm(e)lane
    kreṃt pelaiknentse : ṣmare MAllarṣke MAskeTArne pal[s]ko [Ṣ]PA wlaiśke
    [p]autarṣke : + + + + + (cmelane mā ce-)

either of *saṅgha* or of worthy ones. 1 He was a pot of good law at birth, : and his thought(s)
are(←is) clear(←smooth), carefull(?), kind(←soft) (and) honorable(?). : ... in (his) birth

2 w yoko k(r)ā[SA]Ṣ[ṢA]ṃ ṣeK (←KA) : tākaṃ yokaitse kr_ui pākri MAskeTArne yoktsi
    enepre 2 pretenne mā su TAnmastRA cpī yāmorntse okosa krenTA : lwāksa bhā(janta
    snai meṅki MAskenTAr cpī)

thirst does not torment him always. : If he becomes(←would be) thirsty, drink appears(←is
clear to see) before him. 2 He is not born among ghosts because of(←with) the fruit of
his good deed. : Pots (and) vessels are without lack for him,

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[146] The metre has changed here, although the same theme continues. The change of the metre should be taken
from the verse 9 禮佛塔廟 "worship of *stūpa*" in 07-I2 (K9a1 beginning of 十善業 "ten good deeds"). Pre-
sumably the number of syllables is not important, but the verse-style is important.

[147] I suppose *aikne* (also in K3b3) to be a scribal error for a verbal adj., e.g. *aiśalle* from √aik "to know" be-
cause of *te* "so" (here) and *tusāksa* "thus" (K3b3). Another possibility is an adverb "(so/thus) in a way", if Hil-
marson's idea *e(n)* + /yäkne/ is right (cf. Adams p. 102). I prefer the latter, beause it is difficult to see the same
mistake (*aikne* here and in K3b3).

[148] Toch. verse 1c–3 to Skt. Kvi LXVIII: *katame daś(śaK)ānuśaṃsā(PArkāwänta) bhājana(lwāke)- pra-
dānasya(aiṢṢAṃ). ucyate. bhājana(lwāke)bhūto(tatākau) bhavati(MAskeTAr) guṇānāṃ(kreṃt pelaiknentse)
snigdha(ṣmare)saṃtati(MAllarṣke?) bhavati(MAskeTAr). na(mā) ca tṛṣā(yoko)bahulo bhavati.
tṛṣārtasya(yokaitse) pānīyaṃ(yoktsi) prādurbhavati(pākri MAskeTAr). na(mā) ca preteṣ (pre-
tenne)ūpapadyate(TAnmastRA). bhājanair(bhājanta) avaikalyaṃ(snai meṅki) bhavati(MAskenTAr).
mahā(wrotse)bhogaś(ekñiññe) ca bhavati. svargeṣ(yñakteṃ)ūpapadyate(TAnmastRA). kṣipraṃ(ramer) ca(ṢPA)
parinirvāti(tSAlpetRA). ime daśānuśaṃsā bhājanapradānasya.*
T80, 895a6–11: 若有眾生(*onolmentse*)。生施(*aiṢṢAṃ*)器皿(*lwāke*)。得十種(*śaK*)功德(*PArkāwänta*)。一者
處 世 如 (*tatākau?*) 器 (*lwāke*)。 二 者 得 善 法 (*kreṃt pelaiknentse*) 津 澤 (*ṣmare MAllarṣke?*)。 三 者 離 (*mā
krāSAṢṢAṃ*)諸渴愛(*yoko*)。四者若(*kr_ui*)渴(*yokaitse*)思水。流泉(*yoktsi*)涌出(*enepre pākri MAskeTAr*)。五者
終不(*mā*)生(*TAnmastRA*)於餓鬼(*pretenne*)道中。六者得天妙(*snai meṅki*)器(*lwāksa*)。七者遠離惡友
(*spaktanīkentsa snai meṅki*)。八者具大(*wrotse*)福報(*ekñiññe*)。九者命終生(*TAnmastRA*)天(*yñakteṃ*)。十者
速(*ramer*)證涅槃(*tSAlpetRA*)。是名奉施器皿得十種功德。

3 tūsa cmel(a)n[e] : (spa)ktanīke○ntsa snai meṅkī MAskenTAr ṢPA wrotse ekñiññe [:] yñak-
teṃ TAnmastRA ramer ṢPA saṃsārmeṃ pesT〝 LnaṢṢAṃ tSA[lp]etRA 3 (śwātsi k_use
aiṢṢAṃ PA-)

therewith in birth, : with servants (he is) without lack, and he has many (←there is a big)
possession. : He is born among gods, and quickly escaping (←he goes out from)
saṃsāra, he is free. 3 Who(ever) gives food,

4 rkāwä[nt](a) c[p]ī rano Nno[K] śaK MAskeṃtRA : ○ śauL PArkreṃ yänmāṢṢAṃ erene
KArtse [Ṣ]PA ṣek [ṣ]eK MA(s)k(e)tRA <:> [skw]as(su) [MA]sketRA weñenta sPAn-
taitse ṢMA(←ṢPA) prati(ṃ/nt' erṣeñca : sPAntāLA-)

for him also again there are the ten benefits. : He obtains a long life and is always good
looking(←in his shape). : He is a happy and confident speaker (and) decision maker
(←one who evokes decision). :

5 ññets[e] ko[rp]o[t]RA katkemane ponta wertsyanne 4[149] lā[r]e [MA]skeTAr ṢPA māka
onolmeṃts ṣek wrotse ek[ñ]i[ñ]ñ(e) : yñakteṃ TAnmastRA ramer [ṢPA] saṃsārmeṃ
pe(sT LnaṢṢAṃ tSAlpetRA : toṃ)

(He is) confident (and) descends joyfully(←joying) upon all assemblies. 4 He is lovely and
always (brings) big fortune for many people. : He is born among gods and quickly es-
capes(←goes away from) *saṃsāra* (and) is free. :

6 śak PArkāw(nt)a y[ä]nmāṢṢAṃ onolme sū k_u[s]e [ś]wāt[si ai]Ṣ[ṢA]ṃ : ñäkcye nervāṃṣe
ṢPA sak warpatsy āñme keT〝 sū śwātsi āyi [5 ś]a(k) [PA]rkāw[ä]nta pannāKAnta(=Skt.
upānah)[150] ///

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[149] According to Lévi Toch. verse 4 has a closer conection with Tib. lists (cf. 1932 p. 92 fn. 6): "longue vie –
beau teint – force – solidité de la mémoire – pas de timidité à entrer dans les cercles – sympathie des cercles –
plaire aux dieux et aux hommes – grandes jouissances – ciel – Parinirvāṇa".
Toch. verse 4–5 to Skt. Kvi LXIX: *katame daś(śaK)ānuśaṃsā(PArkāwänta) bhojana(śwātsi)pradānasya
(aiṢṢAṃ). ucyate. balavān bhavati. varṇavān(erene KArtse) bhavati(MAsketRA). sukhito(skwassu) bhavati
(MAsketRA). pratibhānavān(weñenta) bhavati. dīrghāyur(śauL PArkreṃ) bhavati. mahājanābhigamyo (korpo-
tRA ponta wertsyanne) bhavati. priyadarśano(lāre) bhavati(MAsketRA). mahā(wrotse)bhogaś (ekñiññe) ca
bhavati. svargeṣ(yñakteṃ)ūpapadyate(TAnmastRA). kṣipraṃ(ramer) ca(ṢPA) parinirvāti (tSAlpetRA).*
=== story of *siṃha* and *gāthā* ===
ime(tom) daśa(śak) guṇā(PArkāw) bhojana(śwātsi)pradānasya(āyi).
T80, 895a12–16: 若有衆生。奉施(*aiṢṢAṃ*)飲食(*śwätsi*)。得(*cpī MAskeṃtRA*)十種(*śaK*)功徳(*PArkāwänta*)。
一者得(*yänmāṢṢAṃ*)命(*śauL PArkreṃ*)。二者得色(*erene KArtse*)。三者得力。四者獲得安(*skwassu*)無礙辯。
五者得無所畏(*weñenta sPAntaitse?*)。六者無諸懈怠(*pratiṃ erṣeñca*)。爲(*korpotRA*)衆(*ponta wertsyanne*)敬
仰(*sPAntāLAññetse*)。七者衆人(*māka onolmeṃts*)愛樂(*lāre*)。八者具大(*wrotse*)福報(*ekñiññe*)。九者命終生
(*TAnmastRA*)天(*yñakteṃ*)。十者速(*ramer*)證涅槃(*tSAlpetRA*)。是名奉施(*āyi*)飲食(*śwätsi*)得(*warpatsy*)十種
(*śak*)功徳(*PArkāw*)。
The Toch. and Chin. versions do not have the tale and verse mentioned in Skt. Kvi LXIX. Skt. Kvi shows
dīrghāyur (Chin. No. 1) after *pratibhānavān* (Chin. No. 5), i.e. No. 3→2→4→5→1→6→7→8→9→10, while
Toch. has no 三者 (No. 3). The Toch. writer has forgotten 三者 "力" (No. 3 "power"), and the Skt. is con-
fused in its order.
[150] Toch. verse 6 "gift of sandals" is not found in the Skt. According to Lévi, "chaussure" appears in the Tib.
and Chin. versions (cf. 1932 p. 19 T[1] XCII; T[2] LXXV; Chg LXXII, also p. 95). This could mean that the Skt.
version was changed from the original, while the Toch. and Chin. have preserved it.

The person who gives food obtains these ten benefits, : and he may give food to whomever (←whose) desires to obtain the happiness of divine *nirvāṇa*. 5 Ten benefits (of a gift of) sandals ...

Here we see the end of the Toch. *Karmavibhaṅga* in one set (K1–K10). From the Chin. version we can assume that two more topics (香華 "fragrant flower" and 燈明 "light") would have been included, and it ends with the ten merits of 合掌 "pressing hands together". Now I see that the Toch. and Chin. 佛爲首迦長者説業報差別經 are identical in detail, while the Skt. version is significantly modified, adding stories and verses. The Chin. writer 瞿曇法智 produced this *sūtra* in 582 A.D. (Karashima's suggetion). From a palaeo-graphical point of view, the Toch. was written in the 6-7th century A.D. (cf. Tamai p. 242 & p. 373). These two were written at almost the same time. I cannot say whether the Chin. writ-er translated this *sūtra* from the Toch. version or the Toch. was a translation of the Chin., or whether there was a common Skt. text for both versions.

Namikawa divides the Chin. *sūtra*s of 鸚鵡經 (Parrot-Sūtra) into two groups (pp. 198–217) and Kudo follows with chronological detail (2005 p. 109), I quote Namikawa's numbering and Kudo's chronology, i.e. the first: Ch-1 to Ch-4, the second: Ch-5 and Ch-6, but based on the contents, I would like to divide it another way:

<a> **with** 狗 dog-parables: Ch-1 佛説兜調經 T78, 887b–888b11 (265–316 A.D.), Ch-2 鸚鵡經 in 中阿含経 *Madhyama-nikāya* T26, 703c21–706b11 (397–8 A.D.), Ch-3 佛説鸚鵡經 T79, 888b13–891a13 and Ch-6 分別善悪報応經 T81, 895b23 (982–1000 A.D.).
<b> **without** 狗 dog-parables: Ch-4 佛説浄意優婆塞所問經 T755, 588c9–590b7 (982–1017 A.D.) and Ch-5 佛爲首迦長者説業報差別經.

The reason why I divide them into two groups is simply based on their inclusion or exclusion of the dog-parable.

Our Toch. version could belong to the group <b> because of Ch-5. The group <a> is found from the earliest time until the latest, while the group <b> in later time only.

There may be some confusions between the Skt. *śuka* (Pāli *suka/suva*) "parrot" and *śvan* "dog" (Karashima's suggestion). This could be explained with a phonetic and phono-logical change, i.e. /śuka/ → /śu'a/ → /śva(n)/. /śu'a/ could be a form of Prākrit or Gāndhārī, and this change could occur even in very early time. The Pāli *suva* could reflect this /śu'a/. The Toch. word for the dog is /ku/ which could be a loan word from Chin. (cf. Pulleyblank p. 109 狗 *kəw'* in Early Middle Chin., circa 600 A.D.), and we can see neither *śuka* nor /ku/ in the Toch. Kvi., although there were so many 鸚鵡經 (Parrot-Sūtra) in Chin. If my obser-vation concering the dog-parable is correct, we here see a difference between Sarvastivādin and others, as Toch. Buddhism would belong to Sarvastivādin. Another possibility is that the

Toch. Buddhism and the group <b> were peculiar ones, i.e. there was a diachronical and synchronical difference, which is a normal development. Regardless, we can begin to see Toch. Buddhism more deeply via a comparative study of Karmavibhaṅga-literature.

Five small fragments infra are not in this set. From the palaeographical point of view, 07-N is not of the same type (presumably later), and I cannot identify the texts with Skt. versions without 07-N. I follow the order of Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris and give my tentative translations and commentaries. (PK.AS7 ...) are new numbers appearing on the website of BnF.

07-K1 (PK.AS7kv) verse 35, 36 (5/7?)

1 /// .. wrentane kektsenne po yneñca .. lna ..[e] (y)änmaskeṃ .. kn. [au]loṃ kars[n]aṃ ///

  /// in the dust on the body, all ... they obtain ... he knows the blood vessel(?) ///

2 /// .. lpnān eṅtsi akāś ram[TA] • (tu)meṃ (t)s[e]ṅkentRA [wolo]kentRA no [wo]tkeṃ • pal-waṃ .. ///

  /// (he) would ... to seize (it) like the sky, • then they arise (and) stay, but they would decide • he complains ... ///

3 /// sPArkauw intrinta • krośca(←ä)ṃ tatā[k](ar) [NA]r[SA]ṃ[151] [ta]llā[w[152] ce]ṃ snai peñyai • srukaL[LA]ññentse RA[sk]r(e?) ///

  /// (it has) disappeared, the senses • A miserable one would urge a cold existence without splendor. • A rough ... of death ... ///

4 /// sTA sassāmpaṣ cai kamarttā[ññ]e .. .[s]i ..[tS]˳ • eśne melentSA[153] klautsne kantwa ke .[ts]. ///

  /// ... they deprived the rulership ... • Two eyes, the nose, two ears, the tongue, the body(?) ... ///

5 /// koṃ indrintane mant yäkne • LA(k)[l](entat)[SA] keś˴ srukemane ktsaiceṃtSA 35 palskosa ///

  /// ... in) the senses (in) such a way. • A number of sufferings, dying of old age(s). 35 With thought ///

6 /// .āñcä • [m]ent[s]i k. .. .e [TA] .. .. .e ñyats[e]ssoñcä 36 mā[k](a) yaikoṢ˴ aknātsa[ñ?] r. ///

  /// ... • sorrow ... desirous (pl.) 36 The fools have driven away many ...

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[151] Instances from √närs "drängen" (cf. Krause p. 254) are only in pres.IX (THT 42 b3 *tarSAṢṢAṃ*) and pret.II (THT 50 b1 *ñyārsa*). THT 42 is lost, and we cannot check the reading as to whether it is *ta-* or *na-*. If this verb is in pres.IX, the subj. should be in class IX /närsäsäṃ/, but if it is in pres.VIII, the subj. should be in class I which is suitable here. Nevertheless, because of damaged fragments (e.g. *krośca(←ä)ṃ tatā[k](ar)* or *[ta]llā[w ce]ṃ*), my reading is not definite, including the meaning in order to understand the context.

[152] In the image I read *ñcem*, but *tallāñcem* is grammaticaly incorrect, while *tallāw* (nom.sg.) is better.

[153] *meli* "nose" is pl. tantum (because of two holes in one nose?), and this form is /melen/ obl.pl. + /-ts/ gen.pl., which is remarkable. It could be a scribal error.

07-K2 (PK.AS7kr) verse 37, 38

1 /// [m]k. tseṅketRA k. .. + .. .u .. .s. 37 ṣe ṢAr[p]u tāka srukallesa ktsaitse(ññ)e ///

 /// ... arises ... 37 One was explained with death, old-age ... ///

2 /// (se)rkemeṃ mā tSAlpoṢ̤ 38 .. [s]. manne || || taka rano anaiwatse sru[k]. ///

 /// ... they are not free from the circle(?). 38 in the metre of ... || || Then also unpleasant death ... ///

3 /// .. īme • yolo aṅmantse [r]. .. + ... (pa)[lsk]osa yāmtsi PAknāmaR̤ sruk. ///*

 /// ... thought • a badness of a desire ... with thought I intend to do. A death ... ///

4 /// .. sa yamaskeṃ yolo • [w]. .o .. .. sruk[ā]lyñeṣṣe ime ceṃtS̤ pals[k]o .. ///

 /// with ... they make evil. • ... the thought of the dead, their thought ... ///

5 /// (sruka?)lyñeṣṣ(') īme 2 bodhisātwent[s]e ka(k)raupau[w]a s[nai] (k)eś[̤] yāmo[rnta] k(r)enta • ko[sau](k) sruka(lyñeṣṣ(') īme ma ta) + + + + + + (07-N2,2; K11b2)*

 /// the thought of death(?). 2 The good deeds of the Bodhisatva (are) gathered without number. • How much the thought of the death ... ///

6 /// (07-N2,3) (ra)n[o] wantresa lāre MAskeTArñ[i] [s]ruka(lyñeṣṣ') īme 3 .. .. (saṃ)sārne on(olmi) /// (07-N2,4)

 /// again with a thing, the thought of death is lovely for me. 3 ... in *saṃsāra* the people ///

07-L1 (PK.AS7lr; K12a =K11b7??)

1 /// .. lāre sta(r)ñ̤ • [t]eteka srukalyñeṣṣ(') īme onolmetS̤ nesall(e) /// (07-N2,7??)

 /// ... is lovely for me. • Suddenly the thought of death should be ... for people ... ///

2 /// wārwäṣṣeñca ṣeK̤ [s]āle yamastRA kektseñ reki [p]äl[sk]ṣṣe āstreṃ ///*

 /// ... urging always (and) produces the basis, (namely) body (and) speech of pure thought ... ///

3 /// (ce rano wäntresa lare MAskeTA)r ñi srukalyñeṣ[ṣ]ī[m]e 5 ompa(←e?) [kᵤc]e srukal[y]ñ[e MA]ntak no ṣemi tne ///

 /// also with this thing, the thought of death is lovely for me. 5 Because once a death (comes), then some (persons) there ... ///

4 /// (a)yāMAcci srukalyi ṅke ṣeM̤ • ce rano wäntresa lāre MAskeTA ///

 /// they are not to make, then we should die. • Also with this thing it is lovely ... ///

5 /// .. [k]ai 20 ¹⁵⁴ : jāmadagniṃñe su rāme śampāsse(←tse) po ne[k]sa [k](ṣa)t[r]i[y](eṃ)¹⁵⁵ ///

 /// ... 20 : Prideful Rāma of Jamadagni destroyed all the warriors ... ///

6 /// [n]mu skāLLAññe KArsormeṃ mā kca mrausknāTAR̤¹⁵⁶ : kau ///

 /// ... having known perishing, he does not feel aversion. : ... ///

07-L2 (K12b)

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¹⁵⁴ If this number is correct, this is not recto (K12a), but verso (K12b).
¹⁵⁵ Lévi: *(ndatr)i*, Sieg: *mant ra*. I would supplement *kṣatriya* from *akṣara*s in the image.
¹⁵⁶ Sieg: *mrauskāTAr* (subj./fut.!), but *-sknā-* (pres.) is visible in the image.

1 /// śconaitsai skwassu no klantsoI*ˎ ¹⁵⁷ *ostne tSAkse ///*

/// ... having enmity, but happy one might sleep, in a house (it) burns ... ///

2 /// .s.+ [kai] yn(e?) mraus[k]alye preke 9 KAnte pik_ula śauLˎ śāmnaṃts .ly.[o] ///

/// ... in(?) ... the time to feel an aversion. 9 A hundred-years-life of people ... ///

3 /// tatākaṢA yṣelmeṃśc aivoly[ñ]e • LAks ra misāṃts kawāñ naKṢAṃ .. ///

/// ... (it) was(←been) a direction toward pleasure. • Also, (he) destroys a fish out of desire for flesh ///

4 /// [r]ṣṣ. tetreṅkoṢA nraine tSAksentRA • [b]ram weksa [w]e(ña) ¹⁵⁸ *[w]eñentantsa śpā[l](aññe) ///*

/// ... they clinged (and) burned in hell. • With a Brahma-voice he spoke, (being) excellent among(←over) speakers. ///

5 /// .ts. cew LAklenta śtwāra trey ¹⁵⁹ *epe wi kete no kca MA[s]k(e)TARˎ ṣe lāre .. ///*

/// ... it, but one who has four, three or two sufferings is rather(←somehow) lovely ... ///

6 /// ntRA 12 nāṭak[n]e saṃsārṣṣe wrocce sporttomane myāskaste weSA • .. ///

/// they ... 12 (The one who) was conducting in the play of (big) *saṃsāra* swapped us. • ... ///

07-M1 (PK.AS7mv) verse 25, 26

1 /// pilko s[nai p]tsaKˎ .. .. sn(ai) [p](e)ñy(ai l)[k](ā)ṢṢAṃ krākṣtRA ¹⁶⁰ *ersna .. ///*

/// glancing without blinking (he) sees ... without splendor, a form makes irritate(?) ... ///

2 /// [po]sTAṃ • 2[5] ¹⁶¹ *ś[ās]trak ñem yenti m[e]skeṃ klautkeṃ yatta ///*

/// afterwards • 25 Windows, Śāstraka by name, blow away (←turn) the portions ... ///

3 /// (2)6 astabhek ñem yenti āsta mrestīwe • RA[s](k)re ///

/// 26 Windows, Astabheka by name, bones, marrow • rough ///

4 /// (yo?)nmaskeṃ klokastaṃtsa yo[K]*[ˎ] .ts[i]ṣṣeṃ karsna ///

/// they get(?) hair over (their ...) pores, (they) know ... ///

5 /// eneṅka tsa śawona ¹⁶² *• lykaśka(na) mantr. ya ///*

/// they might live also within. • Small ones(?) make(?) spell(?) ... ///

6 /// [mre]stīwe • ysāra pitkênme[R]ˎ w[e].e .. ///

/// marrow. • bloods, spittle, medicine(?) ... ///

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¹⁵⁷ I suppose that the end of the pāda occurs here because of "*ˎ". Although Sieg supposed (cf. p. 53) that *śconaitsai* marks the end the pāda and supplements *tSAkse(manene)*, the locative of the pres. part. is abnormal. I would rather supplement *tSAkse(tRA)*.

¹⁵⁸ Sieg supplements *we(ña su)* because of the metre (5/7), but there is no space for *su* in the image, so I suppose two syllables after *śpā*, e.g. *śpā[l](MAññe)* "excellence" in stead of Sieg's *śpālmeṃ*.

¹⁵⁹ Sieg supposes that this masculine form *trey* reflects the feminine *TArya* (cf. p. 54 *TAryepe* = *TArya epe*), but it is possible that the masculine is used for feminine *metri causa* (cf. TEB p. 76 Anm. 1).

¹⁶⁰ Presumably this is a mistake for *krāsṣtRA* /krāsäṣṣätär/ 3.sg. caus. from √krās "to irritate", but it remains unclear because of the damage to this small fragment.

¹⁶¹ This verse number could be 25, although conversely 5 and 20 are written. If this is so, this side is verso because of the number 21 on the back side (PK.AS7mr).

¹⁶² This form could be 3.pl.opt. /śāwon/ (cf. *śawon* in THT179a1) from √śāw (√śau "leben" in Krause p. 295) with -*a metri causa*, but normally it should be *śawoNA* or *śawonā*. Another possibility is a mistake for *śawośañ* "those eager to eat" (Adams p. 624). I prefer the former, but I am not sure because of the broken fragment without context.

07-M2 (PK.AS7mr) verse 21

1 /// .. .r. lla srukelle śatSAṢṢAlle [TA](n)m(a)ṣle ///

  /// ... to be dead, to be beaten(?) (and) to be born ///

2 /// laśc alloṅkna sraṅKAṃ proskaiṃ ktsaitstsñe(sa?) • y[n]eś r. .. ///

  /// to others ... he eliminates(←boils) the fear of(←with) old age. • real ... ///

3 /// me snai keś˳ lkāṢAṃ kektse[ñä]n(˳) • yāmorntaṃt[s]o ///

  /// for us, he sees bodies without number. • Of the deeds ///

4 /// .[k]. preke kau[ṣ]eñca LAkle ktsaitSAññe yolo tusa ///

  /// time, (one who) eliminates(←kills) suffering, old age (and) evil, then ///

5 /// .. • ktsaitSAṃñesa ksa LAkle olypo mā neSA(ṃ) 21 ka .. ///

  /// ... • No suffering exists rather more than (←with) old age. 21 ... ///

6 /// .s. ñe ktsai .. .. k. .. r. .. .. + [ś]. nneś teki no śau ///

  /// old age(?) ... to ... but illness living(?) ... ///

07-N1 (PK.AS7nr; K11a; DAcour; the middle part is original, both sides are written later; the topic is "flower," which we cannot see in the end of K1–K10 supra)

1 śaK˳ PArkawa(←ä)nta tuñ˳ a .. .. tu .. .. ta + + + + + + .. • m[e]l[e]ṣṣeṃ indri cpi mā
    kauṣtRA • kektseñmeṃ c[p]i

  ten benefits, blossom ... • His sense of smell(←nose) is not disturbed(←killed). • From his
    body

2 karttse were yaṃ[163] kektseñmeṃ cpi yolo mā warṢA(ṃ)ne[164] • KAlymi KAlymi ṢAp cpi
    papāṣṣorñeṣe were ka(r)ttse ya(ṃ)

  good smell emerges (←good smell goes). From his body (there is) no bad smell. • And eve-
    rywhere (←direction for direction) the good smell of moral behavior from(←of) him
    emerges(←goes).

3 cañcarona larona wäntarwampa eṣe KAnmastRA • yñakteṃ TAnMAstRA RAmer ṢPA
    keṣtRA :[165] [ś]aK˳ PA-

  He comes together with charming (and) beloved things. • He is born among gods and
    quickly comes to extinction. : Ten

4 rkawänta pyapyai ailyñe◌(n)tse tuk yaknesa weṢṢAlle • yāmor kre(nT˳) wärpaly(ñ)emeṃ
    RAmeR[˳] keṣtRA[166]

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[163] This upper left triangle of the folio (from lines 1 to 4) was not available to Sieg, so he has supplemented (*karttse warṢAṃne*) for *karttse were yaṃ* as in the next sentence. On the other hand Sieg has written (*cañca-ro)n(a)* for *cañcarona*. This suggests that the writer was skillful neither in style nor grammar.

[164] When *warṢA(ṃ)* is intr. (cf. Krause p. 289), *-ne* means "by him" or "for him", but from context it is rather strange because of *cpi* "of him". It may be *metri causa*. The metre should be the same as 07-J1 (K10a) *niṣkramānta* (4x5/7/5), because these verses exhibit the same theme. If this is so, a mistake for *warṢAn˳* instead of *warṢAne* is possible, because I see no *anusvāra*, and *-e* is similar to the *virāma* sign.

[165] The writer did not use *visarga-daṇḍa* (punctuation), but here he wrote it unskillfully (also next *śa*).

[166] Skt. Kvi LXXIV: *katame daśa(śaK) guṇā(PArkawanta) muktapuṣpa(tuñ)pradānasya. ucyate. puṣpabhūto bhavati lokasya. ghrāṇ(melessem)endriyaṃ(indri) viśudhyati(mā kauṣtRA?). kāya (kektseñmeṃ)daurgandhyaṃ*

benefits of flower-giving; even in this way one should teach(←say). • From the pleasure of good deed(s) he quickly comes to extinction.

5 || niṣkramatne[167] || taka[168] rano anaiwatse srukalñeṣṣe ime onolme(ṃ)tS﹅ <:> keś no TA(t)tarmeṃ oly(a)potse lare ñi

|| in the metre of Niṣkramanta || Then also the thought of the death is unpleasant for people. : Having considered, however, the thought of death is rather lovely for me.

6 [s]rukalyñeṣṣ(') īme <:> yolo aṇmantse kektse[ñ] (r)eki palskosa yamtsi PAknantRA <:> srukalyñeṣṣ(') īme kos ra

: They would intend to do bad (things) with body, speech and thought for themselves, : as long as the thought of death (is) also pitiful,

7 + .o [l]. [s].[169] ñi (tusa) lare s(tar﹅ 1) [k$_u$c]e kca o«[no]»lmī (katkemane(?) yo)losa yamas[k]eṃ [y]olo <:> waṣmo ma [n]e(sn ñ)i (sru-)

therefore for me (it) is lovely. 1 Because some persons make joyfully bad (things) with bad (thoughts), : the thought of death is not my friend.

07-N2 (K11b)

1 (ka)[ly]ñ(eṣ)[ṣ](') (ī)m(e) ceṃ(←cai) (pa)[l]sk[o] yairo[ṣ] «y»ām[aṃ](tRA)[170] <:> [y](o)[lo] + + .. (TAnmas)k(e)ntRA TArya cmel(a)n(e :) [c](e) rano wäntr[e]sa (lare MAsketRA)

(yolo) samapaiti(mā warṢAṃ?). saugandhyaṃ(kartse were) prādurbhavati (yaṃ?). daśa diśaḥ (KAlymi KAlymi) śīla(papāṣṣorñeṣe)gandhaḥ(were) khyātiṃ(karttse?) gacchati(yaṃ). abhigamanīyaś(eṣe KAnmastRA) ca bhavati. lābhī ca bhavati iṣṭānāṃ dharmāṇām. mahābhogaś (cañcarona larona wäntarwampa) ca bhavati. svargeṣ(yñakteṃ)ūpapadyate(TAnMAstRA) kṣipraṃ (RAmer) ca(ṢPA) parinirvāti(keṣTRA). .....
ime daśa(śaK) guṇā(PArkawänta) muktapuṣpapradānasya(pyapyai ailyñentse).
T80, 895a23–29: 若有衆生。奉施香華(tuñ)。得十種(śaK)功德(PArkawanta)。一者處世如花。二者身(kektseñmeṃ)無(mā)臭(warṢAm)穢(yolo)。三者福(kartse)香(were)戒(papāṣṣorñeṣe)香(were)。遍諸方所(KAlymi KAlymi)。四者隨所生處。鼻(maleṣṣeṃ)根(indri)不(mā)壞(kauṣTRA)。五者超勝世間。爲衆歸仰。六者身常香潔。七者愛樂正法。受持讀誦。八者具大福報。九者命終生(TAnMAstRA)天(yñakteṃ)。十者速(RAmer)證涅槃(keṣTRA)。是名奉施(ailyñentse)香花(pyapyai)得十種(śaK)功德(PArkawanta)。
With palaeographical observation this folio could be written in later Toch. period. The order is No. 4→3→2→3→9→10 (in Chin.), Toch. cañcarona larona wäntarwampa eṣe KAnmastRA stands for Chin. 五者－八者 (No. 5–No. 8). The metre is irregular. We can see that this Toch. version has already changed when we compare it with the old Chin./Toch. versions supra. There is only one topic in Kvi, and then the other content follows. This folio could have been a practice page by a novice with his teacher's instruction (in the middle of the folio) on the repaired paper.
[167] The name of the metre is mentioned as [n]is[k]ramā(ntne) in 07-J1 (K10a) composed in 4x5/7/5 (cf. fn. 164 supra), but sometimes not in order (cf. e.g. here pāda a 4/8/5 or the verse 2 pāda b is 5/6/6, in pāda c three syllables are lacking, and pāda d is 6/6/5). This means that the writer is unskillful as I mentioned.
[168] Sieg supposes that taka stands for tāka (cf. p. 50), but from the point of view of the accent-system, it should be /tākā/ (not /tākā/) as Sieg cites frequent tkā ra(no). This means "allerdings, freilich" according to Sieg, but I think that it is too free. I would agree with "then" (not with "certainly") as in Adams (p. 276).
[169] If this might be aṇmalaṣka(←e) "pitiful" (.o for ñma, s. for ṣka), pāda d could be "as long as the thought of death (is) also pitiful" (conditional sentence to the former sentence), "therefore for me (ñi) it is lovely (=death is not fearful)." Pāda c and d are the content of "having considered" in pāda b, and the conclusion is at the end. If this is so, aṇmantse in pāda c does not mean "mir (to me)" as by Sieg (p. 50), but "self". When subj. comes, Sieg thinks that it is a conditional sentence, but I think that this is not always the case.
[170] This is a 3.pl.subj. from √yām "to make". Sieg supplements [y](āmam), but this is 3.sg.act. If act. is in sg.-form, and med. is in pl.-form (cf. Krause p. 272), 3.pl. should be yāmaṃtRA. If this is so, and ceṃ(←cai) is not there, the metre is perfectly in order.

They would produce a rehearsed thought. : The bad ... are born in three births. : With this thing the thought of death is lovely

2 ñi srukalyñeṣṣ(') īme{m̥} 2 bodhisatwentse kakrau[p](au)wa snai keŚ˳ yāmornta krenta <:> kosauK˳ srukalyñeṣṣ(') īme ma ta-

for me. 2 Countless good deeds (are) aggregated by(←of) the Bodhisatva, : (so) much (so that) the thought of death might not touch him,

3 ś(i)ne tot ma mrauskatene (: te)ksane ka no mrauskāte olypotse sū tāka pudñäkte <:> ce rano wäntresa lare MAske-

so much so that he(←for him) did not feel aversion. : It(=the thought of death) touched him, but he felt more aversion (and) became a Buddha. : Also with this (matter), the thought of death is lovely

4 (tRA) ñi srukalyñeṣṣ(') īme 3 ○ (kuce kca)[171] [o]nolmi saṃsārne wärpanantRA makāykne skwanma <:> srukalyñeṣṣ(') īme

for me, 3 because some people undergo fortunes in *saṃsāra* in many manners. : The thought of death

5 to[ṃ] skwan[m]antSA wrotse ṣarM˳ {:} tusa lāre starñ˳ <:> teteka[172] srukalñeṣṣ(') īme onolmentsa nesale ma ṣai[173] <:> ṣeme*

is a major cause for these fortunes, and so (←then) it is lovely for me. : If the thought of death might not be for persons directly(←immediately), then in the same manner

6 ykne lkalyi LAklenta[174] ṅke ṣem weSA tusa lāre starñ˳ 4 srukalñeṣṣ(') īme waṣamo nauṣ(←nauṢAK)[175] tākaṃ wā(r)wäṣṣeñca*

we should see sufferings, and so it is lovely for me. 4 The thought of death would be an old (←former) persistent(←urging) friend

7 se[176] <:> sale(←mā laṃ?) yamastRA ke[k](ts)eñ reki [PA]ls(k)o(ṣṣe āstreṃ)[177] + + + <:> wāyatsi ś[m]anne katkemane yaṃ caumpa kau .. + + + <:>[178]

always. : He creates the basis, (namely) body (and) speech of pure thought ... : It would come to lead him, (and) it goes joyfully with him ...

07-O1 (PK.AS7ov)

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[171] We cannot see these two *akṣara*s in the image, but presumaby it could be the same as the beginning of verse 2.

[172] *teteka* "immediately" should be put after *īme*. Then the metre is in order, but after K12a line 1 *teteka srukalñeṣṣīme onolmetS˳* (11 syllables! 3/8 or 8/3 for 5/7).

[173] According to Sieg this construction, verbal adj. of subj. + imperfect, is "Irrealis" (p. 52), cf. for *nesalle* from subj. Thomas 1952 p. 29 fn. 4, for "Irrealis" ibid. p. 43–47.

[174] Sieg supplements *(kauṣ)enta* "Mörder(?)", but *LAklenta* is surely to be read. Although the reading is clear, I cannot understand the context exactly. Presumably it means that "death" is one of the four sufferings (birth 生, old age 老, desease 病 and death 死) in Buddhism.

[175] *nauṢAK* is a supplement *metri causa* by Sieg (cf. p. 52), but *nauṢA* would be better as is mentioned in 07-E2(K5b) line 4, because *-K* is the emphasizing particle, when it is compared with opposite word "after".

[176] After K12a line 2 this *se* should be *ṣeK*˳* "always", and next *sale* is corrected by Sieg as *mā laṃ*, but after K12a line 2 it is *sāle* "basis".

[177] After K12a line 2.

[178] After K12a line 3 it could be as we find with *(ce rano wäntresa lare MAsketA)r ñi srukalyñeṣ[s]ī[m]e 5*.

1 /// .. : centsa nätkowo ma[s]a kwalante ytār[i c](e) ///

  /// ... : He went in urgently(←urged) with them. They failed this(?) way ///

2 /// kā no ksayiTAr wase halahāl nakanm(e) ///

  /// but why(?) might he come to extinction? The poison *halāhala*(?) would destroy them. ///

3 /// tusa ket āñme nestsy eKAlkaitte[179] ta .. ///

  /// therefore who wants to be ... ///

4 /// ārtalñe āklye krentaṃts yakne te watka ///

  /// the praise of good (people) is to be studied. The manner is thus decided(?) ///

5 /// r.. sa ṣañ śaultsa olypo aikne pāṣtsi pa ///

  /// with ... more of(←with) his own life to practice duty(?) ... ///

6 /// [t]SA osn(←t?)entse ysaltse(←lye?) eṅKAl ścona y. ///

  /// ... discord(?), passion and enmity in(←of) a house(?) ... ///

07-O2 (PK.AS7or) verse 34

1 /// .. witskai preṅke ysomo yolaiñentaṃts. ///

  /// root (and) island altogether of evils(?) ... ///

2 /// kw[ä]ntsaññentse sanaṃ wāṣmoṃ waike rserntse ///

  /// enemy (and) friend of firm(?), a lie of hate ///

3 /// .. w SAlkauca ste papāṣṣorñe tusa <a>naiśai ///

  /// ... is a producer of moral behavior, therefore attentively(?) ///

4 /// .. wikṣalyisa [180]AIśaumyentso appamā ///

  /// with dissapearing(?) ill teatment(?) of wise ones ///

5 /// ṣṣorñe tusa śaultsa pāṣtsy aikne 34 yso[mo] ///

  /// a moral behavior(?), therefore through life (it) is to keep duty(?). 34 Altogether ///

6 /// [kwi]pe{m} preṃts{ñ}entse : o[st KA]lpamñentse po yāta ///

  /// a shame of a pregnant(?). : All abilities(?) of a house-possessor(?)

I cannot find the manuscripts K13 and K14, which are recorded in p. 54 of Sieg's article.

Compendium:

The Toch. verses are composed as follow, comparing with Skt. and Chin. versions.

07-A

The Toch. verses are not clearly identified.

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[179] This form should be a privative, but I cannot find its root (√kälk?). Presumably it is a mistake for √käl "to tolerate" or √kälts "to threaten", or even for an adjective *ekatkatte* "not crossing", but I cannot find an appropriate word because of the broken fragment.

[180] This character, the mark of -*ai* over the vowel *a*-, is abnormal, being used in a later period; it is possible that this manuscript was written at a later time.

07-B

Toch. verse 64: Skt. XIX *daśa kuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ* (?)

    65–67: Skt. XX–XXII *kāma/rūpa/ārūpa*, T80, 893b5–8 欲/色/無色

the metre of **Arāḍen** (07-B)

Toch. verse 1a–2b: introduction

    2c–6b: Skt. Kvi XXX–XXXII *niyata/anyyata/vipāka*, T80, 893b13–27 決定, 不定, 邊 地, 中国 (6c–6d: example of Maitrajña)

    7–15: Skt. Kvi XXVII–XXIX (*naraka*), T80, 893b28–c13 (地獄)

07-C1

    7–9: 盡地獄壽 "whole life in hell" (9b: example of Devadatta)

    10–12: 至半而夭 "half life in hell"

    13–15: 暫入即出 "immediate escape from hell " (15: example of Ajātaśatru)

07-C2

    16–18: Buddha's canto 偈 for "immediate escape"

Toch. verse 19–26: Skt. Kvi XXIII–XXVI *karma/upacita*, T80, 893c14–21 作/集 which is obscur in detail because of lacunae.

    19–20: *karma kṛtaṃ nopacita* 作而不集 (20d: example of scattered seed)

    21–22(?): 集而不作 (**07-D2**)

THT521r

    25a: 亦作亦集

    26a: 不作不集

the metre of **Bahudantāk** (4x5/5/8/7)

Toch. verse 1–2: *pūrvaṃ sukhita paścād duḥkhita* 先樂後苦

THT521v & 07-E1

    3–4: *pūrvaṃ duḥkhita paścād sukhita* 初苦後樂

07-E1

    5–6: *pūrvaṃ ca paścāc ca sukhita* 初樂後樂

07-E2

    7–8: *pūrvaṃ ca paścāc ca duḥkhita* 初苦後苦

    9–10: *daridro bhavati tyāgavān* 貧而樂施

07-F1

    11–12: *āḍhyo bhavati matsarī* 富而慳貪

07-F2

    13: *āḍhyo bhavati tyāgavān* 富而能施

    14: (no Skt.) 貧而慳貪

    15: *kāyena sukhī na cittena* 身樂而心不樂, *cittena sukhī na kāyena* 心樂而身不樂

07-G1

  16: *kāyena sukhī cittena ca* 心身倶樂, *na kāyena sukhī na cittena ca* 心身倶不樂

  17: *āyuḥ kṣīṇaṃ na karma* 命盡而業不盡

  18: *karma kṣīṇaṃ nāyuḥ* 業盡而命不盡

  19: *karma kṣīṇam āyuś ca* 業命倶盡

07-G2

  20: *nāyuḥ kṣīṇaṃ na karma* 業命倶不盡

  21: *apāyeṣūpapanno 'bhirūpo* 生惡道樂見

  22: *apāyeṣūpapanno durvarṇo* 生惡道不喜見

07-H1

  23: *apāyeṣūpapanno durgandho* 身口臭穢

  24: no Skt. and Chin. <成仏祈願>

unknown metre-name in 7/8 or 8/7

Toch. verse 1: introduction for ten good deeds

  2: *daśākuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ* 十不善業

07-H2

Toch. verse 3: *prāṇātipāta/adattādāna* 殺/盜

  4: *mithya* 邪婬

  5: *mṛṣāvāda* 妄語/兩舌

  6: *piśuna vacana* 惡口/綺語

  7: *abhidhyā/vyāpāda* 貪/瞋

07-I2

Toch. verse 8: *mithyādṛṣṭi* 邪見 (end of 十不善業)

  9–11: *caityavandanāyām* 禮佛塔廟 (beginning of 十善業)

  12–15

07-I1

Toch. verse 12–15 *chattrapradāna* 奉施寶蓋

  16–18

07-J1

Toch. verse 16–18: *ghaṇṭāpradāna* 奉施鍾鈴

  19–21: *vastrapradāna* 奉施衣服

the metre of Niṣkramānt (4x5/7/5)

Toch. verse 1c–3

07-J2

Toch. verse 1c–3: *bhājanapradāna* 生施器皿

4–5: *bhojanapradāna* 奉施飲食

6–: *upānah(a)* 靴

07-K1

Toch. verse 35, not identified.

07-K2

Toch. verse 37 & 38, not identified.

07-L1

Toch. verse 5, not identified.

07-L2

Toch. verse 9–12, not identified.

07-M1

Toch. verse (1)5 & (1)6, not identified.

07-M2

Toch. verse 21, not identified.

07-N1 (=07-K)

Toch. verses of **flower**-topic in Kvi and other.

07-N2

About death

07-O1, 07-O2

not identified.

Abbreviations and Symbols:

Kvi: Karmavibhaṅga

Skt.: Sanskrit

T: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō

THT: Tocharische Handschriften aus Turfan

Tib.: Tibetan

Toch.: Tocharian

adj.: adjective

subj.: subjunctive

fn.: footnote

gen.: genitive

nom.: nominative

obl.: oblique (case)

pp.: past participle

pl.: plural

pres.: present

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* ͣ: "¨"

string hole: ○

non-syllabic *u*: "ᵤ"

virāma line: "、"

virāma sign over *akṣara*: "*"

punctuation: • and :

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Gandhāran Art (Part 3)

Isao KURITA

Hereafter, I introduce several sculptures from old collections from all over the world.

Figs. 1–7, 6 silver medallions. It is said that these were found a long time ago in the environs of Taxila.
■Fig.1. 6 silver medallions
Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.2. Woman with baby on her knee
Silver medallion. Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.3. Woman with baby on her knee
Silver medallion. Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.4: Woman with baby on her knee
Silver medallion. Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.5. Woman with baby on her knee
Silver medallion. Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.6. Woman, looking into a mirror
Silver medallion. Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.7. Nobles on an elephant
Silver medallion. Diameter about 10cm. Private Collection, U.K. and U.S.A.

■Fig.8. Mallas stone
Gray schist, h. 38cm×w. 48cm, probably from Nogram (Swat). Private Collection, Japan
This panel is one of the largest and the most beautiful reliefs of the story-telling Mallas stone.

■Fig.9. Elephant in front of the gates of a castle
Gray schist, h.26cm×w.44cm, probably from Peshawar. Private Collection, Japan

The small elephant is going into the castle. Who are these people? Are they Devadatta and his friends who killed the elephant?

■Fig.10. The Indrasāl Cave

Gray schist. Private Collection, Italy

One of my Pakistani friends gave me this old sepia-colored picture of the beautiful Indrasāl Cave. The music performer, Pāñcaśikha with a harp, can be seen in the middle on the left-hand side. The Buddha is backed by fire.

■Fig.11. The story of the Buddha and a boy

Gray schist, h.59cm. Private Collection, China

Dr. Arcangela Santoro counted 6 panels of this story. This is the 7th and one of the most beautiful.

■Fig.12. First sermon and others

Gray schist, h.50cm. Private Collection, China

■Fig.13. Hariti and Kubera

Gray schist, h.15cm x w. 67cm. Private Collection, Japan

On the right, we see Kubera, sitting on a bed with a long club in his right hand and his left hand on the shoulder of a woman. Beside the bed, another woman (servant?) is standing.

In the center, though the figures are broken, we are able to see a man's foot and on the either side, there is a female, standing and a woman's foot. Possibly, they are flirting. (Cf. no. 920 of *Gandhāran Art* II. We see the same composition of characters and a naked man is flirting with two women).

On the left, Hariti is holding a baby on her knee and talking to Kubera.

This panel shows clearly that Hariti is the wife of Kubera. However, this male character, the husband, is he Kubera or Pāñchica? In the Metropolitan Museum of Art (N.Y.), there is a large-seated stucco of Kubera (cf. no. 913 of *Gandhāran Art* II). He is holding a bow and has a turban, tied on the left side, forming a kind of headdress. Kubera has nearly always this style of turban.

Many scholars such as Cunningham, Burgess, Grunweael and Vogel have identified this icon as corresponding to Kubera.

Hereafter, we have several interesting or unusual panels.

■Fig.14. The Buddha, visiting a Caitya

Gray schist, h.13cm, Private Collection, Japan

A Caitya is normally the house for a stupa. Probably, the Buddha is visiting the *stūpa* of a previous Buddha.

■Fig.15. Seated Maitreya and worshippers

Gray schist. Private Collection, U.K.

■Fig.16. A prince, holding a casket on a camel
Green schist, h.29cm. Private Collection, U.S.A.

■Fig.17. Chandaka's and Kaṇṭhaka's returning
Gray schist, h.26.5cm, Private Collection, Japan
　　This is probably Chandaka's and Kaṇṭhaka's returning to the castle, though it is strange that Chandaka has a halo.

■Fig.18. A woman, crying and clinging to Śākyamuni's coffin
Gray schist. Private Collection, Japan

■Fig.19. A Kushan noble, standing and holding a lamp
Gray schist. Private Collection, U.S.A.

■Fig.20. Vajrapani
Stucco, h.16cm, Probably from Haddha. Private Collection, Europe

■Fig.21. Death of the Buddha
Green schist. Probably from Swat. Private Collection, Japan
　　The composition of the scene of this panel is quite different from that of the normal death of the Buddha. He is surrounded only by monks. Is this a "death robe"? This is a beautiful and typical Swat panel.

■Fig.22. The Wind God
Terracotta. Private Collection, U.S.A.
　　It is uncertain whether this came from a Buddhist or Hindu temple.

　　At times, fragments of wooden sculptures are found, most of which are decomposed.
■Fig.23. Seated Buddha under trees and a standing *yakṣinī*.
Wood. Origin unknown

■Fig.24. *Yakṣinī* under trees
Wood. Origin unknown

■Fig.25. A standing *Yakṣinī*
Wood, h.26cm. From Afghanistan

■Fig.26. Sculptured hair
Terracotta. From Matta
　　This is a figure with sculptured hair, which is probably from the 4th–5th century, i.e. the late Gandhāran period. Parts of the hair were sculptured and applied (pasted) to the head (i.e.

applique method).

This figure was found in Matta, north of Swat from where the late period terracotta sculptures have been discovered. In Afghanistan, similar *applique* heads of terracotta or clay can be found, e.g. from Mes Aynak, which is being excavated now by the Afghanistan Government.

■Fig.27. Parts of a chest ornament
Silver (?) and bronze, w. about 5cm

Sculptures of Bodhisattvas have these kinds of tubes on their chests or trunks, 3–5 pieces. What is inside them? One person has said that they contain written manuscripts while others, incense wood. These tubes actually contain rotten wood, which possibly indicates incense wood.

■Fig.28. Seated Bodhisattva
Gray schist. Private Collection, Japan

■Fig.29. Preparation for the Buddha's seat for his first sermon
Gray schist, h.25cm×w.29cm. Private Collection, Japan

Please notice the footstool in front of the Bodhisattva's pedestal (fig. 28). In the following relief (fig. 29.), it is being carried by a monk for the Buddha's first sermon. As to its shape, it can be found in several narrative panels (nos. 69, 395 and 401 in *Gandhāran Art* I and nos. 10 and 921 in *Gandhāran Art* II) and it is certain that it is a footstool.

■Fig.30. Pedestal (?)
Gray schist, h.22cm. Private Collection, Japan

There are several panels of this frame's shape, such as nos. 687–689 in *Gandhāran Art* II. What do they signify and what of the frame's shape? Are these for the footstools as well?

■Fig.31. Pedestal (?), Footstool (?)
Green schist. Private Collection, U.K.

The frame's shape corresponds to an animal's leg, probably a lion's.

■Fig.32. A/B/C/D Poseidon, sitting on Ketos
Gray schist, h.30cm×w.39cm. Private Collection, U.K. and Japan. Probably from the environs of Peshawar

Poseidon, holding a three-fork spear in his right hand and a fish in his left one, is sitting on a winged Ketos, with an angel behind him.

These four panels were discovered, joined together in a square, in a small room (240cm×240cm). Was this originally a square table or a pedestal?

This strange frame panel's shape can be often found (cf. nos. 563, 726, 734 and 735 in *Gandhāran Art* II).

■Fig.33 Lion and angel

Published in *Gandhāran Art* II, nos. 734 and 735.

Foucher described these panels as "an excited (rutting) lion by an angel." This interpretation is interesting and incisive. The scene of no. 726 (*Gandhāran Art* II, with the same frame shape) has the same motif, i.e. male and female lions' rutting.

■Fig.34 A Banquet for Bacchus

Published in *Gandhāran Art* II, no. 563.

The shape of the frame is the same as the above. The scene is of a drunken nude Bacchus and girls. Cf. Fig. 24 (PLATE 67) of the *Annual Report of the International Research Insitute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, vol. XVI, March 2013, pp. 337–341 , drinking and a drunken Bacchus" in the same frame shape.

Inside these frames, the subjects of the sculptures are botanical, sensual animals and drinking (also sensual) people. In Buddhist temples, botanical motif designs are used, but it is difficult to understand why such sensual motifs are there.

At the end, I wish to thank Rev. Peter Lait for correcting my English.

Kurita, Isao

2003   *Gandhāran Art I. The Buddha's Life Story.* A revised and enlarged edition, Tokyo 2003: Nigensha.
Gandhāra Art II. The World of Buddha. A revised and enlarged edition, Tokyo 2003: Nigensha.

Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica
Marginal Anecdotage (VII)
Introducing Some Recent Publications
新刊論著紹介

Akira YUYAMA／湯山明

§7.0.0. 今期も注目したい研究成果・論集・会議録などが数多く目に付くが、紙数の許す範囲に留めて簡略に紹介したい。

§7.1.0. 仏教文献学徒待望の最新成果・会議録『白樺皮からディジタル・データへ』:

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, edited by Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (= *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens,* LXXX) (= *Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse,* 460) (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), xxii, 403 pages, 1 coloured photo of the participants. — €119.80. — *ISBN: 978-3-7001-7581-0*

§7.1.1. 仏教文献学徒にとって、まさに必携必読の最新成果が刊行されたといっても過言ではあるまい。これは種々の典籍写本類を扱う専家を世界各地から集めて開いた極めて意欲的な企画会議だと思う。残念ながら、発表者の声を直に聞くことはできなかったが、こうして一書に纏めて上梓された事はまことに有難く、会議の主催者・議事録編纂者に満腔の敬意を払いたい。

§7.1.2. 本書の題目が、『白樺皮からディジタル・データへ』と学問の史的展開と現状を如実に物語っていて、インド仏教文献学の歴史的展開の跡を、現時まで辿るに等しい。勿論、これで全て写本学が網羅された分けではないが、各専家が高い水準の発表を行っている。

§7.1.3. 何といっても、編者両名が、先ず最初に極めて示唆に富む「序論」を書いていることだ。よくぞ二人が協力して書けたものよ、と感嘆する。これこそ正しく仏教文献学に携わるものの必読の論攷第一であろう。これだけの資料と研究史を纏めた論攷は、仲々他にはないだろう。インド仏教写本学の教科書の大切な一つになろう。

§7.1.4. 内容は、とても一々挙げて解説・評価する力も余裕も筆者にはない。せめて下に目次を挙げて、自ずから物語って貰うつもりである。それぞれの表題を見れ

ば、問題の所在を知る者ならば、先ずは内容が判断できようし、読めば問題は判然としよう。不断に関心をもって仕事をしている研究者は、著者の名と題目を見ればピンと来る筈である。

§7.1.5. どれ一つとっても、将来に更なる進展を期待できる内容である。始まったばかりの、興奮すべき未来を予測するものもある。一例をオスローのスハイェン蒐集 (Schøyen-Samlingen = Schøyen Collection) をとってみよう。ノルウエイのスハイェン氏 (Martin Schøyen, *b.* 1940)の驚くべき蒐集品の中に、まさしく1947年以降に発見された千点にも及ぶ「死海の書 (Dead Sea Scrolls)」写本群にも比せられる原典資料で、存在が騒がれてから三四年で研究論集を公刊し始めた。幸いに、これは人を得てのことで、将来は明るい。総指揮のオスロー大学ブロールヴィック教授 (Jens Braarvig, *b.* 1948) の許に、世界中から得意とする専家が集って、それぞれが高い水準の成果を公表してきている: Reviewed by Daniel Boucher, *IIJ*, XLV, 3: 2003, p. 245-259; cf. Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 70; also *ibid.*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 353.

§7.1.6. しかも、主にアフガニスターン辺りから出土した資料の中から、今後も驚くべき典籍が顔を出すかも知れない。まさしく幻の書ばかりというべきものも。中国がチベット自治区と称する地域からも、かつて既に散逸してしまっていたと思われた典籍が出てきている: *see infra Articles 16-19,* also Steinkellner 2009; further Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, XVII: 2013-2014, p. 506f. これには誰もが驚愕した事件といえよう。いわゆる吐魯番出土文献といわれたドイツ探検隊の将来した写本類は、終わりではなかった。新疆維吾爾地域・寧夏回族自治区などの、ときに政情不安の地域から、ひょんな事で出てくるとは皮肉だが、地域の人たちを含めて、人類共通の文化遺産たる自覚を持って貰いたいものだ。幸いに、佛教大学・松田和信教授が発掘する貴重な資料も見落とせないし、今後の研究にも期待がもたれる。いまや、我々の足許でも、古い写本が新たに顔を出すかも知れないのだ。

§7.1.7. ドイツのいわゆる吐魯番探検隊が将来した写本資料は、さもなくば焚付用か、あるいは他用に供せられて日の目を見なかったかもしれないと思うと、「人類共通の文化遺産」は土に帰ってしまっていたかもしれない・・・極めて貴重な遺産である。これを守るために今となっては笑話のような小説よりも奇なる逸話が残る。こうした情況は決して嘘話ではなく、いまの研究者の現地報告として聞いたこともある。—この吐魯番資料を調査研究してきたドイツ東洋学の伝統には敬意を表すべきであろう。中央アジアから将来される資料に関して、ゲッティンゲンのヴィッレ博士の飽くことない攻究には感謝あるのみである。本書でも、今はミュンヘンのハルトマン教授と共に、小断片なりとも探求渉猟する姿勢には驚愕するのみである。両者が、中央アジアから将来された資料を探索する論攷が本書にもある。今後も更に出てくるかも知れない。例えば、サンクト・ペーテルブルグには無数というべき資料があるらしく、両者の報告を見ると正しく脱帽である。こうした中に、しかし、コズロフ (Pjotr Kuzmix Kozlov: 1863-1935) が、何か梵語資料も将来していないか気になって仕方ないが、今回の報告には顔を出さない。十年ほど前に出た探検日記 (Kozlov 2003) を、私は手にしていないが、何か見当たるものはないだろうか、ついでながら、以前にも触れたことがあるやも知れないが、東京の東洋文庫が貴重な関連資料はホームページ上に載せてくれている。今や入手不可能というべき

稀覯書の提供などは、実に有り難い。

§7.1.8. ついでながら、かつて二十年余前に筆者は、マンネルハイムの蒐集資料、特に法華経断片を見たくてヘルシンキに立ち寄ったが、余りに素っ気なくあしらわれ、泣く泣く諦めたことを思い出す。この資料については、これも又ヴィッレ博士の詳細な報告がある (Wille 2001)。マンネルハイムの探検に関しての極めて興味深い貴重な写真集も、その後に出た事を付け加えたい (Yuyama 2001a, esp. p. 69)。

§7.1.9. 実は、半世紀前にも、すでに発掘され終わったと思っていたネパール出土の貴重な写本があった。これを開拓してくれたのは、ドイツがネパールと協同で開発した写本保存計画であった。この計画に情熱を傾けていた一人が、ハンブルクのベルンハルト (Franz Bernhard: 1931-1971) であった。彼がネパールのムスタングで客死する直前に、キャンベラで国際東洋学者会議が開かれた折りに、親しく歓談する機会があった。その時に、彼からマハーヴァストゥ・アヴァダーナの良質の写本が見つかったから研究して、校訂本を作らないかと勧奨された。その時に「いまさら古い写本が新しく出てくる筈もないし、私には荷が重すぎる」という私の返事に、彼は「本当にあるんだよ」と念を押した。その頃、私は他の仕事に追われていた。その後、ドイツ・ゲッティンゲンに滞留したときに、確かにあったことを知る。しかし、それを披見することは、あたかも御禁制の書に觸れるような事だった。やっと覆製を刊行できたのは、紆余曲折ありで、何と今世紀に入ってしまっていた！(Yuyama 2001). 批判的校訂版は、今後の研究者にお願いしたい。— 本稿を閉める直前に、この写本を扱った博士論文が、ワルシャワ大学に提出されている事を知ったが、残念ながら未見 (下掲 §7.5.4 をご覧戴きたい)。

§7.1.10. 今後は、こうした写本類の批判的な研究が期待されるが、今もういちど振り返って、古文字学的な系統的整理研究や写本の貝葉や白樺皮や紙などの科学的な調査研究にも期待したい。文字に関しては、幸いにかなり進んだが、いままた新たに整理が望まれる。嘗て、コンピューターが電子計算機などといわれた頃に、すでにその利用を原典研究などに応用すべきを説いた論文を見た時には驚いた (Bernhard et al. 1966)。紙質の研究も電子顕微鏡などの応用から得る所があろう(Meisezahl 1958)。これは写本の年代論にも波及する、延いては思想史の研究者にも裨益することになろうからだ。・・ここまで大分以前に書いたが、その後こうした問題を扱ったので、再論を避けて拙論も参照されたい: "Printing, Designing and Binding Books in Buddhist Asia" (*ARIRIAB*, XVIII: 2014, 285–310).

§7.1.11. 例えば、写本の年代比定に、極めて重要な役割を果たした、ローマのペーテック (Luciano Petech: 1914-2010)やネパールのレーグミー (Dilli Raman Regmi / दिल्लीरमण रेग्मी: 1914-2001) 両碩学の業績ごときを更めて高く評価したい (Petech 1958 & 1984 / Regmi 1965-1966)。彼らの関心が歴史的な年代比定の資料であったろう写本類が、仏教文献学にとっては極めて貴重な貢献でもあったからで (Harrison-Hartmann, *op.cit.*, p. xvii cum n.21)、この意味からすると、ここに紹介する論集の趣旨からして、ペーテックが出した初版 (Petech 1958) が、学史的には極めて重要な位置を占めるわけである。この二人の先学については，やや詳しく触れた事があるので、ここで詳述は避けたい (Yuyama 2006, p. 282-284: §2.2.0-2)。ペーテックも、そしてレーグミーにとっても、碑文研究は重要な原史料／資料となったに相違ない (Petech 1961,

Regmi 1983)。最近は、根気のいる未比定の写本の緻密な攻究をして、本書に所収のさもなくば精緻で有益な堀伸一郎氏の論文 (Hori 2013, p. 257-267) でも、将来更なる資料の渉猟を促しているが、それにもまして改訂版に先立って初版も挙げて欲しかった。ペーテックの初版本で年代確定したものは、先ず改版でも殆ど変わっていない事が多いが、こうした学史的な研究論集には、最新の成果を見る事も極めて重要だが、刊行の先後もまた重要である。ペーテックとレーグミー両先学の年代比定の比較も時に有益で興味深いが、写本の奥書などを十分に利用して比定する方法を確実にした嚆矢として前者の初版本を高く評価したいと思う。

§7.1.12. なお、ついでながら、碑文からの研究成果にも見るべきものが多く興味は尽きなく際限もないが、今は写本の年代論にも波及する問題である事も承知すべきであろう。ただ、重要な資料にもなる碑文が、ネパール・リッチャヴィ期の貴重な資料が和訳もされたので(Yuyama 2006, p. 284: §2.3.1)、ヴァジュラーチャーリャ (Dhanavajra Vajrācārya: 1932-1994) が公刊した書物も見逃せないので、これも重複するが挙げておきたい (Vajrācārya 1973: cf. also Verma-Singh 1994)。簡略に述べるに留めたいと言いながら長くなるが、ゴーパーラ王統譜に関する研究も、極めて面倒な問題を孕むだけに、矢張り付け加えよう (Vajrācārya-Malla 1985, Riccardi 1986)。実は、このゴーパーラ朝については、どうやら専家にとっても問題のある所らしく、とても筆者の手に負えるものではないが、かつて極めて学史上の重大な発見である維摩経梵本出現に関して述べた時にも、難しい問題にぶち当たった (Yuyama 2004, p. 268)。— なお、東京の国際仏教学研究所 (IIBS – ICABS) は、ネパール写本を中心に、サンスクリット写本の識語研究という壮大な研究企画を実行中という。画期的な成果の公刊を諸賢と共に今後に大きな期待を寄せたいと思う。

§7.1.13. 折角、ここまで写本研究が進んできているので、筆者がしたくとも出来ないで隔靴掻痒の思いを何十年にも亘ってしてきたのが、紙質・墨汁・筆具の科学的／化学的年代比定と、放射性炭素年代測定法 (^{14}C / carbon-14 dating / radiocarbon dating) の応用である。今となれば、恐らくは、こうした方法よりも勝れた方法があるのかもしれない (cf. e.g. *op.cit.*, Lore Sander!)。

§7.1.14. 少々脱線したついでに、写本にも革命的展開を可能にした紙の発明とその歴史は見逃せない。流石に中国の名家の血脈を汲むという、大阪外語の大先輩・陳舜臣 (1924–2015) の蔡倫 (ca. 1 c. CE) から始めて西欧に至るまでも解き明かす才気溢れた名著『紙の道』(Chin 1994) は記録してよかろう: cf. otherwise Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 236-239 *cum* notes); further forthcoming Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, XVIII: 2015: §3.7!

§7.1.15. これだけの貴重な論集ともなると、それぞれが重要な報告で、どれ一つも蔑ろにはできない。ここで論集の終わり近くだが、今日まで優れた学的な素養をもって、抜きん出た嗅覚をもって埋もれた写本を発掘してきたハーン教授の論攷は、流石に説得力に富む。中でも、単一の写本から、特に文学的な作品の批判校訂をする困難さを披瀝する。複数の写本があっても、困難さは軽減するどころか倍増する事も多いのだ。梵蔵漢が揃っていても安心はできない。むしろ、時に誤った方向に誘い込まれてしまう。ハーン教授の論考は、前途ある仏教梵語典籍の批判校訂に携わる後進の教科書にもなろう。なお、この論攷を読むと、自ずと彼の先輩フォーゲル

教授の仏教典籍のギルギット写本を例に、批判的校訂作業に関しての示唆に富む論攷を思い起こす (Vogel 1981)。

§7.1.16. 唯一の写本でもあればまだしも、蔵漢訳本の何れかでもがあれば、探求する題材によって何とかなるかもしれない。しかし、これは真に原文を得たわけではない。ましてや還梵してみても、のちに原写本が発見されて、単に異読に過ぎない程度の理解にもなりかねない。また、主要な論点に関しては、時に後世の論書に引用があれば、論点に必要な内容を得ることが出来るかも知れない。しかし、その引用は、論書の著作者によって、引用の方法が異なる。良い例が、カマラシーラは意を汲んで、チャンドラキールティは原典を忠実に引用したようだ。文献学者の肝に銘ずべき事実であろう (Yuyama 2002)。

§7.1.17. パーリ文献について、筆写に論評する資格はないが、論集の最後を飾る二点は、さすがに現地で腰を据えて綿密に調査した成果であろう。これまでは、どちらかというと見過ごされてきた大陸東南アジアの資料発掘には期待するものがある。タイ国を中心に、今こそ手を施さねば"朽ち行く古写本の調査"企画 ("The Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript Preservation Project", registered under the Thai Law in 2001) に精力を注ぐ学者たちに敬意を表し、今後の成果にも期待したい (see e.g. Skilling-Pakdeekham 2002)。いうまでもなく、この企画には PTS (= Pali Text Society) や LIRI (Lumbini International Research Institute)の協力が見逃せない。ドイツ東洋学会のアジア系写本調査企画 (i.e. *VOHD*) のビルマ系写本調査は知れていようが、最近には興味深いものもある (e.g. Pruitt-Bischoff 1998)。ここまで書き終えたところに、これまた極めて野心的で，将来に大きな期待を抱かせる調査報告に接した (Pruitt etc. 2014)。

§7.1.18. 筆者の関心からすると、かつてゲッティンゲンのベッヘルト教授が手がけた一つである東南アジアにおける仏教梵語文献の系統的組織的な調査を将来に期待したい (e.g. Bechert 1962 in the first place)。恐らくは、まだまだ隠れた資料があるのではないか。— 際限がないので、先学・同学の士の業績に敬意を払いつつ、本書を手にしていない人のために内容目次を紹介したい。インド系写本研究に携わった経験があれば、表題を見れば、則いずれも精緻な研究内容が想像できよう:

内容目次

9. "Dating and Localizing Undated Manuscripts", by Lore Sander (Berlin), p. 171-186, with b/w (& somehow bluish) figures on p. 180, 182-186.

10. "Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Turfan Collection (Berlin)", by Klaus Wille (Göttingen), p. 187-211, with b/w figures on p. 188, 190-192.

11. "The Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection (Paris)", by Jens-Uwe Hartmann (München) & Klaus Wille (Göttingen), p. 213-222.

12. "Survey of the Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Hoernle, Stein, and Skrine Collections of the British Library (London)", by Klaus Wille (Göttingen), p. 223-246.

13. "Further Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia", by Jens-Uwe Hartmann (München) & Klaus Wille (Göttingen), p. 247-255 [*Collections of Berezovsky (St. Petersburg), from* 新疆 *(now in Peking), of Crosby (Washington D.C.), of Francke-Körber (München), Hoernle (London), Huntington (New Haven), Klements (St. Petersburg), Kokhanovsky (id.), Kolokolov (id.), Krotkov (id.), Lavrov (id.), Malov (id.), Mannerheim (Helsinki), Oldenburg (St. Petersburg), Ōtani (Kyoto & Lü-shun), Peliot (Paris), Petrovsky (St. Petersburg), Skrine (London), Stein (London), Turfan (Berlin & Istanbul), and various collections in many other places*].

14. "From the Kathmandu Valley to the Tarim Basin", by Shin'ichirō Hori (堀伸一郎・Tokyo), p. 257-267.

15. "Indic and Khotanese Manuscripts: Some New Finds and Findings from Xinjiang", by Duan Qing (段晴・Peking), p. 269- , with b/w figs. on p. 273-278, col. & b/w figs. on p. 277f.

16. "Earlier Inventories of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet: A Synoptic List of Titles", by Paul Harrison (Stanford), p. 279-290 [*with reference to the cataloguing works done by Bandurski (Göttingen1994), Sāṅkṛtyāyana (Patna 1935-1938), Sferra (Roma 2008), Wang Sen (*王森・*Peking 1985)*].

17. "Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in the People's Republic of China: The Peking University Project", by Saerji (Peking), p. 291-300 [*cf. e.g. Yuyama, ARIRIAB, XVII: 2013-2014, p. 506-512*].

18. "Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in Vienna: A Sino-Austrian Co-operative Project, with methodological Remarks on Śāstric 'Urtexts'", by Helmut Krasser (Wien), p. 301-313 [*cf. e.g. Sanskrit Manuscripts in China, eds. E. Steinkellner, Duan Qing & H. Krasser (Peking 2009)*].

19. "Sanskrit Manuscript Projects in the China Tibetology Research Center", by Luo Hong (羅鴻・Peking), p. 315-321.

20. "The Sanskrit Manuscript Research Project at Taisho University", by Yoshiyasu Yonezawa (米澤嘉康) & Jundō Nagashima (長島潤道)・Tokyo), p. 323-332.

21. "Various Aspects of Dealing with Buddhist *codices unici*", by Michael Hahn (Marburg), p. 333-346, with col. figs. on p. 340.

22. "Reflections on the Pali Literature of Siam", by Peter Skilling (Hua Hin)", p. 347-366.

23. "Pali Manusripts of Sri Lanka", by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatusita (Kandy), p. 367-403.

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§7.2.0. 本庄良文『倶舎論註ウパーイカーの研究』の公刊を慶んで:

本庄良文・倶舎論註ウパーイカーの研究・訳註篇・上／下二巻 (東京・大蔵出版, 2014.VI.09), 496 p., 497-990 p. — *ISBN 978-4-8043-0589-9 & °-0590-5. C3015*. — ¥12,000E + tax (each)

§7.2.1. 本庄良文教授が，私家版の『倶舎論所依阿含全表』を公刊してから、丁度四十年が過ぎた。本庄教授は、その業績が、まことにもって謙虚である。いや、謙虚過ぎる。昨年本誌に取りあげたサンターニの『決定義經』の梵文和訳も私家版として出していて、誠に勿体なくも惜しいと、昨年の本誌に書いたばかりだった: *ARIRIAB*, XVII: 2013 (2014), p. 498. 爾来、著者は、飽くことなく、地味ながら着実に関連の文献研究を進めて来た事は誰もが認めるところであろう。まさしく、その集大成が本書であろう。いうまでもなく、*Abhidharmakoṣopāyikā nāma ṭīkā of Śamathadeva* (Tohoku No. 4094) の訳注である。ここに至る成果の足取りは、その序論に詳しく述べている (上巻, p.15-47):

§7.2.2. 倶舎論は、特に本邦の仏教学徒には必修とされてきた科目であろうが、筆者の能力を超える領野とて、本来ならば取りあげるのさえ失礼であるが、せめて本誌上に、その完結篇を紹介して、関連学徒と慶びを分かち合いたい。本書の書誌学的な記述も、従って不必要であろう。訳註者・本庄の極めて精緻な研究成果が、本書に余すところなく盛り込まれている。— 特に、阿含などの経典類からの引用こそが、絶大の文献学的な魅力なのだ。これは夙に、本庄教授に始まり、他の学者によっても明かされている (cf. e.g. Fujita 1984, Honjō 1984, Pāsādika 1989)。

§7.2.3. ところで、著者は、あとがきで、研究を回顧しながら、内外の現況も記している (本庄, 下巻, p. 951)。彼も注目するように、台湾の法鼓文理學院の阿含研究集団の今後の活躍には注目したい (Dhammadinnā 2012)。学院長(校長)・郭敏芳博士 (釋惠敏法師: *台南1954)は、篤学の士で、台北醫學院で薬学士号を得てから、東京大学に留学して、修士・博士号を取得。爾来、幾つかの研究教育機関で後進を指導し、種々の優れた企画を主導してきている。恐らく、こうした学問的な環境作りが、内外の注目を浴びる成果を、地味ながら出しているのだろう。我々に馴染みの深い名

前も，研究教授群の中にみられる。惠敏法師は、場を法鼓山に転じてから、研究年報 (see *DDJBS*)・研究成果を単行書などで、また大蔵経のディジタル版を毎年改訂して出すなど、知る人も多かろう。詳細を知る分けではないが、関連の中華佛學研究所は、かつて古くから臺北郊外で地味ながら外国の研究情況にも目を配っていたように思う。年報にくわえて，いくつかの優れた業績を叢書に公刊してきた。その編纂になる電子版は、一昔前に出発し、今は大正大藏經本編・卍續藏のほかに藏外佛教文獻など幾つかの資料を加えて、毎年新規に配布しているので、利用する学徒も多かろうが、PC機種によっては読めないようで残念だ (see *CBETA*)。その他に、大学院教育に関しての活動などは年鑑に年次報告として詳しく報告される (see *Fa-ku-shan Yearbook*)。

§7.2.4. この貴重な本書を批評紹介する能力はないので、素人の興趣から本書の頁を捲れば、早速に筆者の感興を誘う文面に出くわす。まるで今の地球上の現象を観て、未来永劫の天体として存在するのだろうかと。七つの太陽が漸次現れて、ついには万物を焼き尽くすという。ウパーイカーの第三章・世間品 ＝ 本書, No. 3094 (I p. 464-466; ed. Pradhān 179.3):

∥ सप्त सूर्या: प्रादुर्भूय क्रमेण यावत्पृथिवीं सुमेरुं च नि:शेषं दहन्ति ∥

// sapta sūryāḥ prādur-bhūya krameṇa yāvat pṛthivīṃ sumeruṃ ca niḥśeṣaṃ dahanti //

"七つの太陽が現れて、(それらが)順次に地上から須弥山に至るまで余すところなく焼き尽くす"

§7.2.5. 註釈和訳: "「七つの太陽が現れて」とは。『中阿含』の七法品 (*saptaka*) に、このように誦される。この同じ倶舎処 (世品) の、「有色の有情で、様々な想をもつ者もある」というそこに、経に忠実に、[有情が]どのように様々の想をなすのかをすでに記した。『世間施設』にも、詩節をこのように説く" (本庄和訳, p. 464f.).

§7.2.6. これは本庄もいうように (I p. 466 n.)、『七日経』を引くのは、「世品」No. 3008 (I p. 283-288) であり、事実本庄も丁寧に引用し、訳し註を施している。これについては、本庄も引用する論攷が、精緻に関連の文献を挙げていて、極めて便利である (Pāsādika 1989, No. 156 mit zahlreichen Anm.)。

§7.2.7. こにいう『世間施設 (*Loka-prajñapti*)』の「七太陽話」は、まさしく本邦に伝わる梵本断片・いわゆる高貴寺貝葉に見出される (Yuyama 1987, p. 224f.)。残念ながら、既に梵文完本は散逸してしまったようで、チベットには翻訳・伝承されたが、漢訳はない。幸いに、詳細な研究がある (see Matsuda 1982; — cf. also Yuyama 1981 & 1987):

... evam eva saptamasya sūrya-maṇḍalasya loke prādur-bhāvād iyaṃ mahā-pṛthivī* sumeroś ca parvata-rāja ādīpta-pradīptasya prajvalitasya … (fol. 99a1-2). — *参看：Matsuda 1982, p. 17 n. 9 !

"・・・同様に第七の日輪が世間に現れることから、この大地（と山の王スメールは輝き燃え、あまねく燃え、一つの炎となって焼けてゆく。この大地と）山の王スメールとが輝き燃え、あまねく燃え、・・・" (trsl. Matsuda 1982, p. 4f.).

§7.2.8. ここで高貴寺貝葉を挙げたのは、本邦に伝わる梵本が、たとえ小片といえども、極めて重要な資料を提供しているからにほかならない。かつて、この断片は長らく城州の巖松院に伝わったものを、高貴寺の慈雲尊者 (Jiun 1718-1804) が『梵学津梁』に書きとどめ、しかも眞阿・宗淵上人 (Shūen 1786-1859) が精確に『阿叉羅帖』に模写翻刻していることである。この資料は、実物も遺り、又こうして幾つかに書

写されて伝わり格別に興味深いものなのである。いわゆる高貴寺貝葉は、いろいろの形で伝えられてきたので非常に煩雑でもあり、ここでは省略したい。

§7.2.9. この内容から筆者は、先ず世親の記述を思い浮かべた (Yuyama 1987, p. 226):

... sūtra uktaṃ "yathā te nānātva-saṃjñinaḥ tatra ye sattvā ābhāsvare deva- nikāye 'ciropapannā bhavanti naiva saṃvartanī-kuśalā na vivartanī-kuśalā asya lokasya te tām arciṣaṃ dṛṣṭvā bhītāḥ santa udvijante saṃvegam āpadyante / sahaivaiṣārciḥ śūnyaṃ brāhmaṃ vimānaṃ dagdhvārvāg āgamiṣyantīti / tatra ye sattvā ābhāsvare deva-nikāye ciropapannāḥ saṃvartanī-kuśalā vivartanī-kuśalāś cāsya lokasya te tān sattvān bhītān āśvāsayanti / mā bhaiṣṭa mārṣāḥ, mā bhaiṣṭa mārṣāḥ / pūrvam apy eṣārciḥ śūnyaṃ brāhmaṃ vimānaṃ dagdhvātraivāntarhite" ti / (ed. Pradhān, p. 116).

Variant readings from ed. Dwaikadas Shastri 1971: *tṛtīyaṃ kośa-sthānam*, p. 395, lines 12-18 {2nd ed. 2008, p. 393, line 1-7}: sūtra uktam — ... nānātvaṃsaṃjñinaḥ* / tatra ... °-kuśalāḥ, ... udvijante, ... āpadyante — sahaivā'rciḥ ... {brahmaṃ *misprint for* brāhm°?} dagdhvā'rvāgāgamiṣyantīti / ... lokasya, te ... āśvāsayanti — mā ... mārṣāḥ, ... mārṣāḥ, ... eṣā'rciḥ ... dagdhvā'traivāntarhitā" ( ) iti /

— Note: *nānātvaṃ-° (= 2n ed.), an *anuvāra* as a compound stem must be a misprint!

§7.2.10. さて、かつて拙稿 (Yuyama 1987) を読んで、豊かな学識をもって知られる、畏友・シュミットハウゼン教授が筆者宛ての書簡の中で、『七日経』に関して、唯識関係の書から他の関連資料を原典批評も加えて教えてくれた。すでに二十有余年を過ぎて、時宜を逸してしまった頃だが、ここでは簡単に觸れるにとどめたい。

§7.2.10a. 無着の『瑜伽師地論』第二章に、七つの太陽が次々と現れる描写がある。四世紀頃の著作として興味深いが、いまだに優れた原典の批判的校訂版は出ていないのだろうか。大分長文であり、原典研究に文献学的な問題もあるので、ここでは資料を書きとどめるだけにした (Bhattacharya 1957, p. 35.7-36.4)。

§7.2.11. 『聲聞地』でも七つの太陽の譬喩を経典から引いているが、割合と簡潔に纏めている。これまた早くに取り組んで問題を提起してくれたウェイマン教授のローマ字化と英訳があり(Wayman 1961, p. 131f.)、その後インドのシュクラの校訂出版が出て (Shukla 1973, *Caturthaṃ Yoga-sthānam*: p. 472.4-473.4)、原典批判的には問題もあろう。大正大学の研究グループが、鋭意解明に努めているので将来に期待出来ようが、残念ながら未だ第四章に至っていない (Taishōdai ŚSG 1998 & 2007)。しかし、その大きな努力の賜物として影印本を公刊している (Taisho ICSB 1994, folio 120b)。少しく筆者の手を入れて仮に引用してみよう (W = Wayman / S = Shukla)。周知のように、貝葉には通常二カ所に紐綴用の穴があり、間隔を開けているので、引用箇所を見つけやすく三等分してみた(A, B & C from left)。何れは他所で再度梵本に触れてみたい:

(*folio 120b*.— C.*2 end*) uktaṃ ca (A.*3*) bhagavatā . [*W adds:* bhājana-lokam adhikṛtya] bhavati bhikṣavaḥ sa [*W omits* sa] samayo yad dīrghasyādhvano [*W misprints?:* dirgha-°] tyayād [*W emends* 'tyayād] anupūrveṇa yāvat saptānāṃ sūryāṇāṃ loke prādu(B.*3*)rbhāvo [*W:* °bhavo] bhavati / tad-yathā sapta-sūryopame sūtre [*so em. WS: Ms* sūgre]. yāvad asyāḥ khalu mahā-pṛthivyāḥ sumeroś ca parvvata-rājasya / yāva(C.*3*)c ca brahma-lokād bhājana-lokasya dagdhasya dhyātasya . [*WS omit* .] maṣir api na prajñāyate / chāyikāvaśiṣṭam api na prajñāyate / (A.*4*) anena paryāyeṇa bhagavatā bhājana-(*read:* bhājana-°, *so WS too*)laukikasyānityatā [*WS em.* °-lokasya°] ākhyātā'yam [*S em.* ākhyātemaṃ] tāvad āptāgamaṃ niśrityāyaṃ yogī śra(B.*4*)ddhādhipateyaṃ . [*W daṇḍa instead*] sarva-saṃskārānityatāyāṃ niścayaṃ pratilabhate /

§7.2.11a. これにはチベット語訳と漢訳も揃っているので、参考箇所をあげておこう: Derge (No. 4036, Dzi, fol. 178a6-b2), Peking (No. 5337, WI, fol. 215a2-6); — cf. further Narthang 3528,

Taisho (No. 1579: XXX, p. 471a5-13). 幸いに、大正大学の研究グループが、梵蔵漢の対照表を作成してくれている (see Taisho ICSB 1994, p. 13)。

§7.2.11b. 因みに、ウエイマン英訳を引用しておこう (Wayman 1961, p. 132, referring to the Pāli *Aṅguttaranikāya*, IV, ed. Hardy, PTS 1899, p.99f.):

> And it was said by the Bhagavat with respect to the world of inanimate objects, "Monks, there comes an occasion when, after the passage of a long time, there is appearance in the world successively up to seven suns," namely, in the *Saptasūryopmasūtra*, up to "[when] indeed, of the world of inanimate things, from the great earth and Sumeru, king of mountains, to the world of Brahma, being burnt and destroyed, neither its soot nor remnant of ash is found. In that way the Bhagavat explained the impermanence of the world of inanimate objects, In the meantime, the *yogin* who relies on this trustworthy scripture achieves the government of faith and certainty in the impermanence of all constructions." …

§7.2.11c. ここで本文の内容自体に大きな問題はないかもしれないが、誰しも仏教梵語彙に奇異を感ずるであろう。ここでも語彙比較・史的展開・写本類再検などへの深入りは止めたい — 文中最後に出る語 *maṣi-*「煤(スス)」と *chāyikā-*「灰(ハイ)」である。流石に、わが先学が既に取りあげる語である (Wogihara SJD, p. 484b, *chāyikā*; & p. 1010, *maṣi-*, ss.vv.)。また、エジャトンも、語用例をあげた中で、マハーヴァストゥ・アヴァダーナ写本の読みとセナールの訂正に注目し、長い注解を付す(Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 420b, *maśī-*, & p. 236a, *chāyika*, ss.vv.):

> MvAv (ed. Senart) II.325.9 (vs): "… read, substantially with mss., na … maṣī (mss. add va; read vā? or na?) chāyikā (mss. chā-ikā, or chāyi; Senart em. chārikaṃ) vā (the first part of the line is corrupt but Senart's em cannot be right; negative was clearly present).

§7.2.11d. 和訳者は明快である: "… 煤や灰に帰するが如く" (Hiraoka 2010, II, p. 54)。

§7.2.12. 本庄良文教授の好著を紹介すべく、門外漢ゆえに本筋の内容への言及を欠いて横道に逸れてしまったが、平にご寛恕いただきたい。今後永く学界に裨益する成果を歓迎し、仏教学全般の教科書として、せめて取りあげておきたかった。

Abbreviations & Bibliography

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MvAv : *Mahāvastu-Avadāna = Le Mahāvastu*. Texte sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introduction et d'un commentaire par Emile Senart (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1882-1890-1897).

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  Cf. *Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Ācārya Vasubandhu with Sphuṭārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra*, ed. Swāmī Dwārikā Dās Śāstrī (= *Bauddha Bharati Series*, VI) (Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1971). — 2nd ed. (2008).

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  — 長島潤道, "『瑜伽論声聞地 第三瑜伽処』研究会", 大正大学綜合佛教研究所年報, XXXVI (2014), p. 492.

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Yuyama 1981 = 湯山明, "巌松院貝葉顛末記", 勝又俊教博士古稀記念論集・大乗から密教へ (東京・春秋社, 昭和五十六年／1981), p. 1269-1278 [facsimile of Jiun's 'Bongaku Shinryō', XLI, 1-51 (see Jiun above)] .

Yuyama 1987 = Akira Yuyama, "Remarks on the Kōkiji Fragment of the *Lokaprajñapti*", *India and the Ancient World: History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650*, ed. Gilbert Pollet (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia, Analecta*, XXV) (= *Professor P. H. L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume Presented on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*) (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1987), p. 215-227.

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§7.3.0. コルマシュ博士の新刊書を見て:

Josef Kolmaš, *Pojednání o věcech tibetských*. Předmluvou opatřili Jan Filipský a Rostislav Fellner. Bibliografii děl Josefa Kolmaše vypracoval Jan Filipský. Typografie Vladimir Verner (Praha: Vyšehrad Nakladatelství, Publishers Ltd, 24 Febr. 2014),328 p., incl. summary in English; 4-page col. photos; num. b/w ills., figs. — *ISBN 978- 80-7429-386-3*.

§7.3.1. ヨーゼフ・コルマシュ教授 (Josef Kolmaš: *06.VIII.1933) のチベット学に関する最近年の論文集が刊行されたのを心から慶び祝福し、簡略に感想を書き留めた

い。時あたかも、コルマシュ博士の傘寿を迎えての公刊である。創立百年になるチェコの著名な出版社から刊行されたのも故なしとしまい。

§7.3.2. コルマシュ博士について、インド・チベット学に関心のある学徒なれば、知らぬ人はいなかろう。仏教学に携わる者が誰しも、何かしら世話になっていると思う。彼の古稀を祝った論集がプラハの東洋学誌に企画されて筆者も招かれたが、投稿の物理的な制限から別途に増補した拙論を献じた折に、極めて簡略ながらコルマシュ博士について触れたように (Yuyama 2003, p. 3)、世界の関連学界が普く知っていて恩恵を蒙っているのは、何といっても彼が、早くも一九五十年代の終わりに、自らデルゲ (Derge / sDe-dge) に赴いて新たに刷らせて持ち帰った膨大なチベット資料であり、これに関する彼の多数の論著からであろう。まさしくチェコ共和国の宝ともなっている。この資料将来に関しては、詳しくレイデンの国際アジア研究所 (IIAS = International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden) のウエッブサイトにある: "The Tibetan Library of the Oriental Institute in Prague".

§7.3.3. コルマシュ博士のチベット資料蒐集は、5,615点にも及ぶもので、何といっても、その後の長い間に亘ってデルゲへの入山はおろか、新刷の資料を入手することなどは幻の話になってしまっていたからだ。最近は、幸いにも、日本の若き俊秀もデルゲに赴いて、その模様を報告してくれていて、大きく興味を惹いた。図像も豊富である (Ikeda et al. 2003)。これに関連しては取りあげた事があり、当時目に付いた中国の参考書誌資料も挙げたので (Yuyama 2006)、ここでは重複を避けたい。

§7.3.4. このデルゲ資料に関するコルマシュ博士の重要な著作は、ここに挙げておきたい:

Josef Kolmaš, "Notes on the Kanjur and Tanjur in Prague", *Archiv Orientálí*, XXX (1962), p. 314-317.

— — , *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge: Sde-dge'i rgyal rabs. Tibetan Text Edited with Historical Introduction* (Prague: Oriental Institute, Academia, 1968), 181 p.

— — , *Tibetan Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Library of the Oriental Institute Prague* (= *Dissertationes Orientales*, XVI) (Prague: Academia, 1969), 112 p.

— — , *Prague Collection of Tibetan Prints from Derge: A Facsimile Reproduction of 5,615 Book-Titles Printed at the dGon-chen and dPal-sprungs Monasteries of Derge in Eastern Tibet*, Part I: *dGon-chen Prints*; — Part II: *Dpal-spung Prints* (= *Asiatische Forschungen: Monographien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Sprache der Völker Süd- und Zentralasiens*, XXXVI) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), 2 vols.: 681 + 517 p. {Materials preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague}.

— — , *The Iconography of the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur: Facsimile Reproductions of the 648 Illustrations in the Derge Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka Housed in the Oriental Institute in Prague* (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCXLI) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1978), 286 p.

Prague Collection of Tibetan Prints from Derge, Volume III: *Index of Titles*. 2 Books (= volumes), compiled and introduced by Josef Kolmaš (= *Dissertationes Orientales*, XLVIII) (Prague: Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 1996), Book I, ix, 250 p.; Book II, vii, 253-510 p.: — Part I, 'Introduction', p. 1-88; Part II, 'Index of Titles: *KA – Na*', p. 89-250, '*PA – A*', p. 253-432; Part III, 'Index of Names', p. 433-450; Part IV, 'Concordance',

p. 451-509. — *ISBN* − *80-85425-21-2.*

Cf. further his *Tibetan Books and Newspapers: (Chinese Collections) with bibliographical notes* (= *Asiatische Forschungen*, LXII) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), 133p.

§7.3.5. このコルマシュ論文集は、しかし残念ながら、チェコ語で書かれたものだけで、読者が限られよう。ポリグロット、つまり多言語に通ずるヨーゼフ君には、あるいは後進の俊英に任せてでも、ぜひ英語版を出して欲しい。本書には写真・図版なども多く、内容のあたかもチベット学百科全書／百科事典的な性格からして、折角の書の恩恵に浴させて戴きたい。簡単な英文要略は、末尾に二頁弱を占めるのみである。また、書誌学的にも引用は精緻なものであり、これだけ見ても彼の学識が読み取れよう。なお、本書の編纂に携わり、序言を認めるフィリプスキー教授が、再びコルマシュ教授の労作目録の追補を本書にも挙げてくれている。コルマシュ教授の学問的な関心の広さと深さには定評がある。中唐の詩人・白居易 (772-846 CE) のチェコ語訳まである。学史的な論攷は、彼の精緻な書誌学的な攻究からも見逃せない。チベットと中国との関係を歴史的に考察した論著も多い。恐らくは、彼の若い時代の中国留学に大きな基盤が築かれたのではないか。

§7.3.6. 本書をみても、二〇〇三年から二〇一三年までの十年間に、732に始まり835に至る項目を数える (p. 308-315: 'Bibliografie Josefa Kolmaše (2003-2013)。それ以前のものは以下を参照されたい：

Jan Filipský, *List of Published and Unpublished Works of Josef Kolmaš: Bibliography 1953-1998* (Prague: Oriental Institute, Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, 1999), 108 p.

   This list is duplicated: "Up-to-date Bibliography of Josef Kolmaš", *Archiv Orientálí*, LXXI, 3 (2003), p. 479-484.

§7.3.7. ヨーゼフ君のものした学史的な所産は非常に多く、チェコ語で発表した労作も目だつが、われわれにも恩恵を与えてくれた三点を挙げておきたい:

Josef Kolmaš, *Bibliography of Pavel Joseph Poucha's Works* (Prague: Department of East Asia, Oriental Institute, ČSAV, 1970), 57 p.

— — , *Ferdinand Stolicka (1838-1874): The Life and Work of the Czech Explorer in India and High Asia* (= *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft IX) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1982), xi, 58 p.

— — & Galina S. Šron, "REVIEW: *Works on Tibet by Members of the Leningrad Department of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union: 1968-1980*", *Archiv Orientálí*, L (1980), p. 174-184.

§7.3.8. このコルマシュ博士の最近作の文集は、いうなれば「抜粋・チベット学事典」というべきであろうか。この論集の中で、去る二〇一三年に書き上げたばかりのゲンドゥンチュンペー (Dge-'dun Chos-'phel: 1905?-1951) に関する詳しい論攷が見える (同書, IX: p. 207-240, incl. some ills.)。佛教文献学徒は、ゲンドゥンチュンペー (*1903?) が、チベットへの梵語仏典写本踏査に赴いた折に随行した極めて重要な人物として知る。彼の著書に関して、つい最近になって本邦の斯学の気鋭新進が著した好論文・好論著を読んだばかりである (Kano 2010, Hoshi-Ōkawa 2012)。そこへヨーゼフ君が、当然の事ながら、どうやら違った角度から扱っているようだ。その第九章を、直前の第八章「インドのカーマシャーストラとチベット仏教聖典」について

扱っているのも故なしとしないようだ。本章の中には、ゲンドゥンチュンペーの写真二葉や彼が一九三八年に描いたダーキニー (ḍākinī, mkha'-'gro-ba) 線画像や他のスケッチ一枚も再録されていて、また本章に関連する書誌目録は、ゲンドゥンチュンペーの生涯に関しての詳しい書誌、ゲンドゥンチュンペーの著作書誌など、極めて精緻なものであり、加納論文・星大川編訳書とあわせて、非常に貴重だろうと思われる。折角日本の俊才たちが上梓してくれているので、コルマシュ博士の著書の日本語版といわずとも、英語版が出てくれたら誠に有り難い次第である。因みに、星・大川両博士の扱う原典は、コルマシュ博士著書の236頁に、Hor-khangの太字見出しにある版と理解する。

§7.3.9. 上記のようにヨーゼフ・コルマシュ博士の稀に見る俊才に加えて、恐らく当時の政治的な背景もあっただろう。北京に早くから留学し、知る人ぞ知るチベット学の重鎮・于道泉 (1901-1992 CE) の許で研鑽を積み、またデルゲ行きも于教授の配慮が大きかったようである。于道泉は、奇しくも我々の分野での重鎮・季羨林 (1911-2009) の同郷山東省人で、著名な教育家・于明信の長男で、齋魯大学に学び、季先生のように多言語に通ずる学者であった。その季教授も、十数語に通ずる于教授の語学力を讃えているという。さもありなん。于道泉教授は、齋魯大学に学んでのち、北京大学に移ってからは自称漢語名・鋼和泰 (Alexander von Staël-Holstein: 1877-1927) が、時あたかも教鞭を執っていて、その許で梵蔵蒙を修得し、のちにパリの現代東洋語学院 (École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes; 現在名・INALCO = Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales) に官費留学し、特にトルコ語と民俗学を加える。更に、ベルリンに赴きドイツ語も身に付けて，次いでロンドンでは東洋アフリカ学院で漢蔵蒙・民俗学を講じたという。十五年ほどの滞欧生活を引き上げて、北京大学の蔵文担当教授になったのが一九四九年で、翌々年には北京に中央民族学院 (現在の中央民族大学) を創立する事になる。バーグチ (Prabodh Chandra Bagchi: 1898-1956) が一九四七年から一年、北京大学の客員教授として赴任しているので (Yuyama 2002)、一九四六年春にドイツから帰国就任した季羨林教授も加わって (Yuyama 2001, I, p lv-lvi: §8.1; — 2002; & — 2004, p. 278f.)、北京東洋学黄金期の開幕期から暫くした頃に若きヨーゼフ・コルマシュ君が、創設間もない中央民族学院に留学する幸運に恵まれたことになる。

§7.3.10. ここで私の感傷的な一節を許して戴きたい。私が始めてヨーゼフ君に会ったのは、今や正確な記憶は薄れたが、一九六三年末か翌年にかけた頃だったと思う。彼がレイデンにドゥ・ヨング教授 (Jan Willem de Jong: 1921-2000) を訪ねた時である。ドゥ・ヨング教授のお宅で、歓談したあとで、先生の勧めもあって、筆者がヨーゼフに市内の案内をした。その後、ドゥ・ヨング教授の推挙で、コルマシュ博士がキャンベラのオーストラリア国立大学 (A.N.U.) のインド学仏教学科に客員研究員として半年間招かれ、筆者も更に交流を深めることができた。その頃は、日本からも数人の東洋学徒が同大学の高等研究所で、それぞれの仕事に従事していた。A.N.U.の東洋学センター棟に研究室を構えたのは、ちょうど似通った年代の三人で、幅広い関心をもって活躍する中野美代子北海道大学名誉教授と、著名な篆刻家・印篆蒐集家・松丸東魚 (1901-1975) の子息で、甲骨文研究の権威・松丸道雄東京大学名誉教授とが同所の研究助手で、残る三人目の私が東洋学部のドゥ・ヨング教授の研究助手だった。中野・ヨーゼフ・湯山の三名は、月日は左の順だが偶々同年

生まれで、当時関心を同じくしていたので、意気投合もしたのであろう。— 少し横道に逸れるが、印刻について思い出すのは、コルマシュを「高馬士」と音写して中国留学中に得た印鑑を好んで使っている。

§7.3.11. 滞留中にヨーゼフ君が纏めた書があり、簡要な研究成果の公刊であった:

Josef Kolmaš, *Tibet and Imperial China: A Survey of Sino-Tibetan Relations up to the End of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912* (= *Centre of Oriental Studies, Occasional Paper Series*, VII) (ANU – 1967), v, 81 p.

中野教授が纏めた『蒙古字韻』と八思巴字文書の音論に関する成果の出版がある:

Miyoko Nakano, *A Phonological Study in the 'Phags-pa Script and the Meng-ku Tzu-yun* (= *Centre of Oriental Studies, Oriental Monograph Series*, VII) (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in Association with Australian National University Press, 1971), 172 p. — *ISBN 0-7081-0483-5*.

私は当時、A.N.U.図書館所蔵のインド系写本や許地山コレクションの整理・目録作成などに追われていたので、お互いに分野を越えて得る所が多かった:

A. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra* (= *Centre of Oriental Studies, Occasional Paper Series*, VI) (ANU – 1967), viii, 124 p— *ISBN 0-7081-0480-7*.

§7.3.12. 上にコルマシュ博士が、北京へ留学した頃の背景を推測したりしたが、いうまでもなく第二次大戦後のチェコスロヴァキアの情勢は、決して政治的に平坦平穏ではなかったろう。体制の変遷も目まぐるしく、いわゆる一九六八年のプラハの春以後には、外国の友人たちは心配した。ヨーゼフ君は、しかし学問を休眠させることなく、ついには所長として東洋学研究所を学問的に保全した功績は大きいと思う。一九八五年に、国際チベット学会がミュンヘンで盛大に催された折に、多くの学友に混じってヨーゼフ君の姿もあり、私は偶々ハンブルク大学招聘教授として在独だったので、この会議に出席できて、旧交を温めることができた。

§7.3.13. 彼の上記の論文集が、最新の労作であるのを見ても、彼の学問的な精力はまったく衰えていない。彼の示す関心は非常に尺度が大きい。とても私が言い尽くせるものではない。しかも、まだまだ彼が関連の学界に寄与するものは大きい。ここに、更めてコルマシュ博士の傘寿を祝い、益々健康に留意して活躍するようを祈念する次第である。

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Ikeda et al. 2003 = 池田巧・中西純一・山中勝次, 活きている文化遺産／デルゲパルカン／チベット大蔵経木版印刷所の歴史と現在 (東京・明石書店, 2003). — cf. Yuyama 2006.

Hoshi-Ōkawa 2012 =星泉・大川謙作編・ゲンドゥンチュンペー研究会訳／ホルカン・ソナムペンパー／ホルカン・チャンバテンダー著, ゲンドゥン・チュンペー伝／チベットの傳説の学僧の生と死 (東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所, 2012):

= *Gendun Chopel: The life and death of a legendary Tibetan scholar monk by HORKHANG Sonam Pembar and HORKHANG Jampa Tendar*, ed. HOSHI Izumi & OKAWA Kensaku (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2012), 192 p., xii-page col. photos. — *ISBN 978-4-86337-100-2*.

Kano 2010 = 加納和雄, "ゲンドゥンチュンペー著『世界知識行』第一章和訳 ― 1930年代のチベットにおける梵文写本調査記録 ―(1)", 高野山大学密教文化研究所紀要, XXIII (Feb. 2010), p. 146(63)-106(103), incl. 3 ills.

Yuyama 2001 = Akira Yuyama (湯山明), *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*, I. *Palm-Leaf Manuscripts* (= *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum*, XV) (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO / The Toyo Bunko, 2001). — *ISBN 4-89656-614-9*.

Yuyama 2002 = — — , "Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1898-1956): A Model in the Beginnings of Indo-Sinic Buddhist Philology", *ARIRIAB*, V: 2001 (2002), p. 135-146; *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 342.

Yuyama 2003 = — — , "The *Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins Quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 3-17.

Yuyama 2004 = — — , "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 278f.: §9. 季羨林書誌追録.

Yuyama 2006 = — — , "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (IV)", *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), esp. §3: '德格印経院 — 佛教文献学・佛教書誌学確立のための周辺資料を追って', p. 294-296.

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§7.4.0. キュッペルス博士記念論集を見て想い思う

Nepalica-Tibetica: Festgabe for Christoph Cüppers, herausgegeben von Franz-Karl Ehrhard & Petra Maurer (= *Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung*, begründet von R. O. Meisezahl & Dieter Schuh, herausgegeben von Peter Schwieger, XXVIII) (Andiast, Schweiz: IITBS = International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 31 December 2013), 2 Bände: XVI, 336 & VI, 330 Seiten; 1 farbiges Frontispiz (Bildnis – Cüppers). — *ISBN 978-3-03809-119-6* — €118,50.

§7.4.1. 実は、長いつき合いなのに奇妙な気がするが、キュッペルス博士 (Christoph Cüppers) の生まれてこの方の詳細な履歴を審らかには知らない。もしも少し知りたい方がいたら、概略が上掲記念論集の編者が記した前書きにある。六十五歳の誕生日を祝って編まれた本書が刊行されたのは、見ての通り、一昨年の大晦日である。

§7.4.2. キュッペルス博士に私が初めて会ったのは、これも偶然だった。恐らく一九八〇年前後にカトマンドゥで、チベット文献を扱う専門店で勤務先の図書館のために目欲しい書籍を漁っていた時である。急に後ろから私の名を呼ぶ人がいた。驚いた。こんな所で本漁りをするのはあなたぐらいでしょう、と。その後、数年してから、ハンブルクのシュミットハウゼン教授の研究休暇中の代任教授として半年滞在した折りに、キュッペルス博士と再会した。彼は、ちょうど月燈三昧經の第九章を扱った学位論文を提出したところだった。知る人ぞ知る、彼の論文は後にハンブルクの伝統ある叢書に組み込まれた。ロイマン (Ernst Leumann: 1859-1931)・シューブリング (Walther Schubring: 1881-1969)・アルスドルフ (Ludwig Alsdorf: 1904-1978)・ハム (Frank-Richard Hamm: 1920-1973) 等など、それぞれの分野に携わる研究者の見逃せない論著が既に七十点を越すであろう:

Christoph Cüppers, *The IXth Chapter of the Samādhirājasūtra: A Text-Critical Contribution to the Study of Mahāyāna Sūtras* (= *Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien*, XLI) (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), XXVIII, 168 p., 1 ill. — *ISBN 3-515-05649-1*. — [*Diss. Univ. Hamburg – Fachbereich Orientalistik*].

§7.4.2a. この経典は多くの学者が原典批判を試みたが、恐らくは最初に純粋に学術的な批判に耐えるものは多言語を流暢に操り、最後はローザンヌの印度学仏教学の興隆に寄与したレガメー (Konstitin Regamey: Kiev 1907 - Lausanne 1982) に始まろうが、いまだに全巻網羅の批判的校訂本は出ていまい。いうなればレガメーが仏教学に集中してくれていたら、多くの学徒がもっと恩恵に浴したに相違ないと思うと、彼の多言語に加えて、作曲・詩作などという有り余る才能が皮肉にも惜しまれる！

K. Régamey, *Three Chapters from the Samādhirājasūtra* (= *Towarzystwo naukowe warszawskie rozprawy komisji orientalistycznej*, I) (Warsaw: The Warsaw Society of Sciences and Letters,

1938), 113 p. {Chapters VIII, XIX, XXII/XXIII}.

§7.4.2b. この経典については、我が国でも多くの学者が原典批判・文法解析などを試みて好論文を公刊してきた。嘗ては、蜜波羅圭之介(鳳洲)・平野(村上)眞完・光川豊藝の諸教授たちが若い頃に新鮮な論攷で注目を惹いたが、最近の情況を私は知らない。原典の批判に加えて、例えば光川教授が手がけたCandrakīrti (月稱)の *Prasannapadā* での引用文句など多数のようなので、他の引用原典と並んで、もっと知りたかった。

§7.4.3. また、脱線をしてしまった！キュッペルス博士は、はじめデュッセルドルフの芸術学院に学んでいたが、南インドなどへの訪問から、当地へ亡命集団を形成していたチベット系仏教に惹かれ、南インドへの愛着を深め、インド学仏教学、特にチベット仏教に強い関心を寄せたようだ。丁度、ハンブルク大学印度学研究室が、ネパールの写本保存計画の拠点となり、ヴェツラー教授 (Albrecht Wezler: *1938) が主導的な立場にあった。

§7.4.4. さて、一九五六年に時のネパール国王King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev (1920-1972, *r. 1955-1972*) が釈尊の生誕の地・ルンビニーを聖域として開発計画を発し、その後国際連合の事務総長・ウタント (U Thant: 1909-1974) が、聖地を現代に再興しようとの計画を提唱し基本計画には丹下健三 (1913-2005) が参加し、一九七八年にマスタープランを作成した関係もあって、日本からの協力が求められた。これに賛同した靈友會は、敷地内に図書館を寄贈すべく提案し、ルンビニー開発信託 (LDT = Lumbini Development Trust) に援助を申し出て認可された。図書館を建設寄贈するということで、私も信託内に設けられた設立委員会に委員として足を運ぶことになった。その頃までには、単なる図書館ではなく、研究機関として機能すべきとの結論が自然の成り行きとなった。最終的に研究所を設けようと決した。私が提案した名称は、ネパール側委員の意向を汲んで修正を採択し、現在のルンビニー國際研究所 (LIRI = Lumbini International Research Institute / लुम्बिनी अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय अनुसन्धान संस्था) となった。因みに、設立委員会の長は、学殖豊かなマッラ教授 (Kamal P. Malla: *1936) であった。研究所の図書室設計などにも私は関係していたが、東京の国際仏教学研究所での大学院創設に向けての仕事量も極限に達していた。そこで代理執行役 (Deputy Director) が必要となり、私の中にキュッペルスの名が自然に思い浮かんだ。畏友・ヴェッツラー教授とも相談し、靈友會の承認を得て、急にクリストーフ・キュッペルス博士に就任を要請した。ところが私が急に一九九五年三月で、東京の国際仏教学研究所を辞任することになり、キュッペルス博士が所長 (Director) に就任した次第である。以後は、これぞ知る人ぞ知る。今にいたるまでの彼の積極的な貢献によって、ルンビニー國際研究所は大きく進展した。多くの学徒がここを訪れて、恩恵を蒙ったに相違ない。

§7.4.4a. 残念ながら、私は爾来インド・ネパール方面へ行った事がないが、この研究所の進展振りは、そのホームページを見れば、詳細に知ることができる。開くと、先ずは、著名な森本康代 (Michiyo Durt-Morimoto) 作の象徴的に蓮を模した美しいステンド・グラスが飾る。恐らくは、一九七〇年代の写真と思しき、丹下健三教授の象の背に揺られる写真など、興味深い。丹下のマスター・プランの左端にはLIRIの建造物原型も見える。アショーカ王勅柱も、柱頭が欠けて写っているが、開発計画初期に私が訪ねた折りにも、柱頭がさりげなく放

置されていて、王勅文を学んだ者には悲しかった。同じくホーム・ページには、研究・出版など等の諸活動が目を瞠らせよう。

§7.4.5. クリストーフは、図書館の充実はもとより、国際協力による研究者の連帯に力を注いだ。研究者との交流は進み、研究成果の出版も軌道に乗ってきている (s. *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005-2006, p. 285)。その恩恵に浴す研究者は少なくない。とくに、彼が得意とするチベット・ネパールの研究面で、国際的な規模の伸展を牽引する役割も果たしている。彼の六十五歳を記念して私かに関係者が祝賀記念論集を計画したようだ。その成果が上掲のA4版の大冊二巻である。また、優れた編集者と発行所も得た。ネパール・チベット研究の第一線の学者が集合している。ただ一つ、願わくば、表題に "Indica" を是非とも見出したかった。折角の論集なので、せめてインド仏教などにも、頁數を割いて欲しかった。

§7.4.5a. その後のLIRI刊行物に関しては、Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag (Wiesbaden) と Vajra Book Shop (Kathmandu) が取扱っているので，二社共にHPで詳細を得ることができよう。

§7.4.6. この論集には、もちろん私の興味を惹く論文が多数ある。論攷に付された図版も、よくある附録の図版篇ではなく、論稿中に美しく載っていて、一々巻末を捲る面倒もなく、読みながら即座に納得が行く。図版・書誌を豊富に含む論文の、今後の公刊に一つの示唆を与えたものだと思う。確かに、最近の専門誌なども、こうした傾向のようだ。文字通り、紙価を安価に押さえて、なお読み易さも手伝って、一石二鳥の感を得た。私の現在の研究目標への後方支援になる論文もあり、誠にもって歓迎すべき記念論文集ではある。本誌読者も、斯界の碩学から気鋭の新進学徒の業績までを見よう。

§7.4.7. うまくできる限り研究者の手に届くよう売価も工夫しているようであるが、最新の為替レートは、学徒に決して優しくない。また、高度な論文類を素人の私が論評できるものではないので、以下に内容目次を付して、関心を抱く学友に便益を提供したい。

§7.4.8. クリストーフの国際感覚は、今後更にルンビニー／LIRIを遠心力にした和の輪を拡げるだろう。最後に、もう一度キュッペルス博士の今日までの貢献に感謝し、今後一層の貢献を期待し、サーヴィトリー夫人と共に、益々の健勝・活躍・幸福を祈念したい。

Volume One:

Publication List of Christoph Cüppers xiii-xxvi (6 monographs, 23 articles, 5 edited volume, 4 reviews, 4 lexicographical contributions).

Eberhard Berg, "On the Current Revitalization of the rNying ma Tradition among the Sherpas of Nepal", 1-25, incl. 6 col. photos on p. 22-25.

Roland Bielmeier, "Das Land Marutse in den Biographien des Padmasambhava", p. 27-36.

Katia Buffetrille, "The rTsib ri Pilgrimage: Merit as Collective Duty?", p. 37-63, incl. 8 col. photos, 1 map.

Volker Caumanns, "Paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan's Monastic Seat Thub bstan gSer mdog can (Part I): The History of its Foundation", p. 65-88.

Olaf Czaja, "Tibetan Medicinal Plants and Their Healing Potentials", P. 89-117.

Hildegard Diemberger & Michela Clemente, "Royal Kinship, Patronage and the Introduction of Printing in Gung thang: From Chos kyi sgron ma to lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal", p. 119-142, incl. a genealogical table on p. 138.

Franz-Karl Ehrhard, "The Royal Print of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*: Its Catalogue and Colophon", p. 143-171, incl. 5 col. figs.

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§7.5.0. 以下、偶数頁の終わりまでを利用して、簡略に数点の近刊書を紹介しておきたい:

§7.5.1. パーリ写本類の最新の調査研究に注目・・・上の会議録『白樺皮からディジタル・データへ』(§7.1) でも言及しておいたが、パーリ写本類に未知の重要な写本類で未調査のものが多いようだ。その蒐集の調査研究が、最近やっと目につくようになった事は実に喜ばしい(§7.2:- 'Bibliography': Pruitt-Bischoff 1998, Pruitt etc. 2014; also Skilling-Pakdeekham 2002, et al.)。今こうした目録類を取りあげる余裕もないが、私が特に注目したいのは、今後の研究に待つべきものがあるとしても、本目録 (Pruitt etc. 2014) に付した興味深い紹介論攷 (Appendix) を記憶に留めておきたい。先達の優れた研究成果を追録する重要な資料の出現として注目したい。就中、かつてウプサラのヘルマー・スミット (Helmer Smith: 1882-1956) が徹底的に調査研究して千数百ページの大著 (五巻六部) をものしたAggavaṃsaのパーリ文法書・*Saddanīti* (最近の復刻版・Oxford: PTS, 2001: *ISBN 0-86013396-6*) が、更に新資料を得て加わるとなると、今後の研究成果に期待しない筈がない。これまた鶴首して待つひとつであろう:

> Aleix Ruiz-Falqués, "Two Treasures of Pāli Literature from the U Pho Thi Library in Thaton: the *Saddanīti-ṭīkā* and the *Mukhamattasāra*", Pruitt etc. 2014, p. 27-41.

> Cf. Yutaka Ojihara, "Une chapitre de la Saddanīti comparé aux données pāṇiniennes", *Journal Asiatique, 1971*, p. 83-91 {'Note préliminaire', par Colette Caillat, p. 83-85}.

> 参看・拙著, "*A Critical Pali Dictionary* — 学史的考察 — ", *ARIRIAB*, II: 1998)1999), p. 67-89, esp. p. 73 & p. 74 n. 32 & 33.

§7.5.2. シュリングロフ博士のアジャンター壁画研究の集大成・・・今さらシュリングロフ教授について多言は要るまい。いやしくも、インド学仏教学を専攻する学徒ならば、数多くの優れた業績で誉高い学者であろう: cf. Yuyama, *ARIRIAB* XI: 2008 (2009), p. 335-337. そこで狭い余白を利して、中でも厳密な文献学的背景をもって美術作品に遺る資料を扱う博士の独壇場というべきアジャンター壁画の研究が、インド・ニューデリーのインディラ・ガーンディー芸術センターから刊行されたのを共に慶びたい。しかも欧州で出版されたら仲々手の届かない価格にもなろう:

> Dieter Schlingloff, *Ajanta: Handbook of the Paintings*, 1: *Narrative Wall-Paintings*. Three parts in case (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts in association with Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2013). — *ISBN 978-81-7305-456-3*. — *Rs.4,000・US$100 / €80 (set)*:

> > Vol. I. *Interpretation*, 517 p. [Preliminary Remarks, Summaries; Picture Descriptions (with plates, elevations, & 446 figs.); Critical Apparatuses with 5580 quotations; Commentary].

> > Vol. II. Supplement, 350 p. [Parallels in reliefs and paintings (543 figs.), Index of Pictorial Elements (381 figs.); Annotated bibliography (1,650titles), Index.].

> > Vol. III. Plates, 58 p. [Line-drawings of all preserved wall paintings].

§7.5.3. シュリングロフ博士論文の中国語訳書・・・この表題だけを見ても、直ちに原著を知るのは難しかろうが、実は既に三十有余年前に公刊された好論文であるが、知る人ぞ知る。今は仲々入手し難いし、多方面に亘る論集の中の論文であるので、本邦でも、もとの論文集を目にするのは容易でないので、この訳書は我々には有り難いといえようか:

> 迪特・施林洛甫(Dieter Schlingloff)著・劉震・孟瑜譯: 叙事和圖画 — 歐洲和印度藝術中的情節展現 (＝ 歐亞歷史文化文庫) (蘭州・蘭州大學出版社, 2013.3), vi, 2, 2, 1, 6, 1, 158 p., 52

b/w figs. — *ISBN 978-7-311-04038-3*. — 定価・35元.

Dieter Schlingloff, "Erzälungen und indischen Darstellungsformen von Handlungsabläufen in der europäischen und indischen Kunst", *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie*, III) (München: C. H. Beckh'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1981), p. 87-213, incl. 52 figs.

§7.5.4. 個人への頒布公刊を期待する博士論文・・・実は、つい最近になって、私が期待していた研究が上梓されていた事を知った。曰く。

Katarzyna Marciniak, *Studia nad* Mahāvastu: *sanskryckim tekstem buddyjskiej szkoly mahasanghikóv-lokottarawadinów* (= *Studia Buddhica*, IV) (Warsaw: Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, 2014).

どうやら公的な機関へは配布されたようだが、こうした書物は当然ながら帯出禁止でもあり、足を即座に運べることのできない私には、残念ながら、実物を披見する機会に恵まれていない。これは如何ともし難いが、旧友が親切に送ってくれた情報、つまり序文などによれば、私がかつて上梓したベルリンの官立図書館所蔵の写本複写二種 (Yuyama 2011) を利用してのワルシャワ大学に提出した学位論文らしい。

公刊しないのは、ポーランド語では、見せてもしようがないということだろうか。ともあれ、英文の序文によれば、特に二写本のうち貝葉本(= Sa)を基に *Padumāvatīye parikalpo* (恐らくは MS Sa fol. 318a2-325a3相当), *Padumāvatīye jātaka* (Sa fol. 325a3-327a4相当), *Padumāvatīye pūrvayoga* (MS Sa fol.327a4-b6相当) の原典を扱って付したものと思われる。

この三篇を選んで、他の同種の話を含む典籍と比較しながら編んでいるようだ。中でも、Kṣemendra, *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* は、恐らくは彼女の指導教官であろうメヨール (Marek Mejor) 教授が、かねて高い関心を示した作品で、私も以前に東京からの上梓を勧奨したので、大いに興味を誘われるのである (Tokyo IIBS 1992)。

私の手許の資料によれば、確か上記の二番目の本生話は、写本Sbにも、セナール校訂本 (*MvAv*, III, éd. É. Senart, 1897) にも欠けるもので、どうしてだろうか、この点の彼女の攻究も早く知りたい (cf. Yuyama 2001, 'Introductory remarks', p. lxiv)。 — また、彼女の序文によれば、将来に本典籍の文法分析などを試みる予定らしく、この仏教梵語研究の成果にも大いに期待し、また鶴首して待ちたい。

§7.5.5. 公刊を期待する修士論文・・・いろいろ手を尽くしたが、どうしても書誌情報に辿り着かないで、隔靴掻痒の思いをしているのが、シアトルのワシントン大学に提出されたらしい下記の修士論文である。どこかで私が見てメモしたが、実物の追跡に失敗してしまい、上掲の拙稿を書くのに何とか参照したかったが、遂に確たる情報を得られず仕舞いだった。この学位論文もぜひ公刊し、関心をもつ学徒の参考文献にさせて欲しい:

Anne Saliceti-Collins, *Xi Xia Buddhist Woodblock Prints Excavated in Khara Khoto. Transculturation in East Asia, Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries* (Seattle WA: University of Washington, 2007). — *MA thesis 2007*.

活動報告（平成２６年３月以降）

「研究所運営委員会」を年に２、３回の割合で開会。
「国際仏教学高等研究所所員会」を月１回の割合（夏期・冬期休暇中を除く）で開会。
以下、主立った活動について記す

平成25年度
3月20日(木)~26日(水)　辛嶋教授　上海師範大學の招聘で中国出張
　　　　　3月20日、上海師範大学にて「文献考証揭示的佛教本来面貌──《般若经》的产生以及佛经中的大乘、观音、阿弥陀、一阐提等本来含义」（文献考証が明らかにする仏教の本来の姿──『般若経』の成立および経典中の大乗・観音・阿弥陀・一闡提などの本来の意味）と題して講演
　　　　　3月22日~23日、上海師範大学・敦煌学研究所で開催された国際学術シンポジウム「首届佛教疑偽經國際學術研討會」（第一回仏教疑偽経国際学術シンポジウム）に参加、「判斷疑偽經的標準是甚麼？：以《盂蘭盆經》與《舍利弗問經》為例」（疑偽経を判断する基準は何か：『盂蘭盆経』と『舍利弗問経』を例として）と題して発表。
　　　　　3月24日、普陀山・仏教学院にて「"觀音"的語義變遷」（観音の語義の変遷）と題して講演。
3月28日(金)　辛嶋教授
　　　　　武蔵野大学仏教文化研究所の研究員特別研究会にて「文献考証が明らかにする仏教の本来の姿──経文に見える阿弥陀、観音、浄土の本当の意味」と題して講演。

平成26年度
4月　　　　研究所が文系A棟からC棟に移転

6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25年度(第17号) [3月31日付発刊]
　　　　　・*Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India. Facsimile Edition*. Vol. I: Vinaya Texts, ed. by Shayne Clarke (General Editors: Oskar von Hinüber, Seishi Karashima, Noriyuki Kudo), xiv, 80 p., 272 plates, ISBN 978-4-904234-08-02.

6月28日(土)　辛嶋教授　京都出張
　　　　　龍谷大学で開催された中央アジア科研（代表：龍谷大学・宮治昭「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─」）第1回全体研究会に参加

7月1日(火)~8月16日(土)　韓国・金剛大学校仏教文化研究所教授　李榮振博士、金成哲博士、招聘研究員として滞在

7月27日(日)　辛嶋教授
　　　　　国際仏教学大学院大学で開催された国際シンポジウム「東アジア仏教写本研究」に参加、「法蔵部『長阿含経・十上経』漢訳に見える説一切有部の"浸食"」と題して発表

8月18日(月)~23日(土)　辛嶋教授　オーストリア出張
　　　　　ウィーン大学で開催された国際仏教学会 (The International Association of Buddhist Studies) 第17回大会に参加、""The Canonisation" of the Mahāyāna scriptures: When did the Mahāyāna sutras come to be called as such?" （大乗仏典の聖典化──大乗経典はいつから大乗経典と呼ばれるようになったか）と題して発表。

8月30日(土)~31日(日)　辛嶋、工藤　日本印度学仏教学会第65回学術大会（於：武蔵野大学）に参加
　　　　　31日　辛嶋「大乗経典は誰が作ったか：方等経と大衆部」
　　　　　同　　工藤「ギルギット本『スマーガダー・アヴァダーナ』について」と題し発表

9月1日(月)~2日(火)　辛嶋教授　台湾出張

　　　　台湾、仏光山および仏光大学で開催された「『維摩経』と東アジア文化」シンポジウムに招待され、「試探《維摩詰經》的原語面貌」（『維摩詰経』の原語はどのようなものであったか）と題して発表。

9月3日(水)~4日(木)　辛嶋教授　中国出張

　　　　北京大学・国際漢学家研修基地で開催された"国際漢学研究之回顧与前瞻──我的漢学之路"（国際漢学研究の回顧と展望──私の漢学の道）シンポジウムに招待され、「漢譯佛典語言研究的意義及方法」（漢訳仏典の言語的研究の意義と方法）と題して発表。

9月12日(金)〜10月11日(土)　辛嶋教授　韓国出張

　　　　金剛大学・仏教文化研究所（韓国忠清南道論山市）の招聘で共同研究に従事
　　　　9月25日、韓国学中央研究院にて「文献考証が明らかにする仏教の本来の姿―盂蘭盆の本当の意味―」と題して講演。
　　　　9月26日、ソウル大学にて「Who Composed the Mahāyāna Scriptures?: The Mahāsāṃghikas and Vaitulya Scriptures」（大乗経典は誰が作ったか：方等経と大衆部）と題して講演。
　　　　10月8日、金剛大学にて「누가 대승경전을 창작하였는가?: 대중부 그리고 방등(方等)경전」(大乗経典は誰が作ったか：方等経と大衆部)と題して講演。

10月8日(月)~11月4日(火)　フライブルク大学　オスカー・フォン・ヒニューバー博士 (Prof. emer. Dr. Oskar von HINÜBER, Freiburg University)　招聘研究員として滞在。ギルギット写本研究について討議。同大学孔子学院院長　ハイイェン・フー・フォン・ヒニューバー博士 (Dr. Haiyan Hu-von HINÜBER 胡海燕博士, Freiburg University) 来所し研究に従事

10月28日(火)　第68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：カナガナハッリの碑文──その暫定的評価 (The Inscriptions at Kanaganahalli: A Preliminary Assessment)

10月31日(金)〜11月2日(日)　辛嶋教授

　　　　北京大学・国際漢学家研修基地で開催された"国際漢学翻訳家大会"に招待されたが、出席できず、「站在漢學與印度學間的交界──介紹我的漢譯佛經譯註、詞典及校注」（中国学とインド学の境界に立って──私の漢訳経典の訳注・詞典・校注紹介）と題して論文発表。

11月26日(水)　辛嶋教授

　　　　東洋大学大学院・インド哲学仏教学専攻院生研究発表会にて「大乗経典は誰が作ったか：方等経と大衆部」と題して講演。

11月30日(日)　辛嶋教授

　　　　早稲田大学文学学術院で開催された中央アジア科研（代表：龍谷大学・宮治昭「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―」）第2回全体研究会に参加。

12月18日(木)　第69回　仏教学懇話会

　　　　講師：栗田功氏（欧亞美術店主）
　　　　テーマ：ガンダーラにおけるギリシャ・ローマ的要素とインド的要素について―出土品を中心にその断片的感想

12月24日(水)　第70回　仏教学懇話会

　　　　講師：孫英剛博士（復旦大学副教授）
　　　　テーマ：隋唐時代長安寺院の飲食の研究 ──僧院の食べ物を盗むことと戒を破って酒を飲むことを中心に（隋唐长安寺院饮食研究——以偷盗僧食和破戒饮酒为中心）

国際仏教学高等研究所・所員の著作
(List of Publications of the IRIAB Fellows)

辛嶋静志 (Seishi KARASHIMA)

"The Language of the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* — The Oldest Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Text", in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, vol. XVII (2014): 77–88.

"New Research on the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia", *ibid*. 119–127 + plates 10–11.

「大乗仏教とガンダーラ──般若経・阿弥陀・観音──」 ("Mahāyāna Buddhism and Gandhāra —— On the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Amitābha* and *Avalokitasvara*"), *ibid*. 449–485.

「初期漢訳仏典の言語の研究──支婁迦讖訳と支謙訳の対比を中心として──」奥田聖應先生頌寿記念論集刊行会編『奥田聖應先生頌寿記念インド学仏教学論集』東京: 佼成出版社, pp. 890–909.

「盂蘭盆之意──自恣日的"飯鉢"」『中華文史論叢』第114期(2014.2), pp. 279–301.

"The Sarvāstivādins' "Encroachment" into the Chinese Translation of the *Daśottara-sūtra* in the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the Dharmaguptakas", in: *Research on the Dīrgha-āgama*, ed. by Dhammadinna, Taipei 2014: Dharma Drum Publishing (Dharma Drum Institute of Liberal Arts, Research Series 1), pp. 197–235.

「论《甘珠尔》的系统及其对藏译佛经文献学研究的重要性」『中国藏学』2014年第3期, pp. 31–37.

工藤順之 (Noriyuki KUDO)

"The *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*: A Transliteration of the Nepalese Manuscript A (6)," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, vol. XVII (2014): 95–108.

「(Mahā-)Karmavibhaṅga 所引経典類研究ノート (4): Nandikasūtra, Devatāsūtra 追補」『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』第17号, pp. 487–496 ["Philological Notes on the Quotations in the *(Mahā–)Karmavibhaṅga* (4): Supplementary Remarks on *Nandikasūtra* and *Devatāsūtra*," in: *ARIRIAB*, vol. XVII (2014): 487–496].

"Brief Communication: Newly Identified Folios in the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*," *ibid*. 517–8.

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編集後記 (Editorial Postscript)

本誌第18号をお届けします。今号は英文19篇、和文1篇を掲載することが出来ました。今号では学界初報告となる貴重な資料を多くの方々からご寄稿戴き、感謝に堪えません。

　今号は碑文関連研究が3篇、写本研究が9篇、初期仏教研究2篇、大乗仏教研究2篇、法華経関連研究2篇、そして美術研究と新刊案内各1篇と、それぞれの分野でまとまって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を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。

　昨年度の年報の写真について　本誌第17号において、段晴先生の御論考 (“Puññadatta's Contract of Sale of an Estate,” ARIRIAB XVII, 2014, pp. 349–363) で取り上げられたコータン語契約文書の写真が我々の手違いによって製本されずに発刊されてしまいました。送付に当たっては当該写真頁を差し込んでお送りしましたが、本来は年報に綴じ込みしなければなりませんでした。段晴先生には勿論、研究者の方々には大変ご迷惑をおかけいたしました。改めてお詫び申し上げます。今号の写真頁に再掲いたしました。

　研究所出版物について　昨年度、『インド国立公文書館所蔵ギルギット写本・写真版』第1巻 (*Gilgit Manuscripts in the National Archives of India: Facsimile Edition*, Vol. I: Vinaya Texts, ed. by Shayne Clarke, 2014) を出版いたしました。今年度は、2006、2009年にそれぞれ第1, 2巻を出版した、『大英図書館所蔵中央アジア出土梵語仏典』(*Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia. The British LibrarySanskrit Fragments*) の第3巻を出版いたします。この第3巻は二分冊からなり、「ヘルンレ・コレクション」の Or. 15003, 15007, 15008, 15009, 15015 と Or.8212/60 の貝葉写本、敦煌写本コレクションの中の大品般若経、金剛般若経などが含まれます。

　また、今年度から『サンクトペテルブルク東洋写本研究所所蔵梵語仏典』(*Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia. St. Petersburg Sanskrit Fragments*) を発刊いたします。ご承知のように、ロシア科学アカデミー傘下の同研究所には、同所だけに所蔵される写本をはじめ、英独仏の研究機関にも保存されている写本の一部もあり、その他多くの貴重な資料が所蔵されております。これまでロシアの研究者と共同で研究する場合を除き、なかなか写本にアクセス出来ないものでしたが、今回同研究所と共同でそれら写本の写真を公開することとなりました。同研究所及び、館長のイリーナ・ポポワ博士には改めてお礼申し上げたいと存じます。その第1巻では *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa*、Merv 出土アヴァダーナ写本、*Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*、大乗涅槃経断簡が校訂テキストとともに出版されます。入手方については本研究所までお問い合わせ下さい。

　研究所より　研究所の日々の活動は、事務全般担当の林久子さんと松井博子さん、学事部・浦上輝子さん、蔵書管理の及川弘美さん、高柳さつきさん、そして多くの留学生・学生諸氏の献身的な協力に支えられております。また研究所運営委員会委員長・寺西宏友副学長をはじめ、大学理事会、学事部の飛田部長、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。これからも、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。

(24, 2. 2015/ 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.

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　　　(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:
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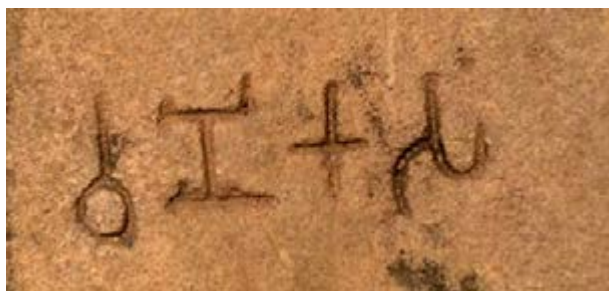

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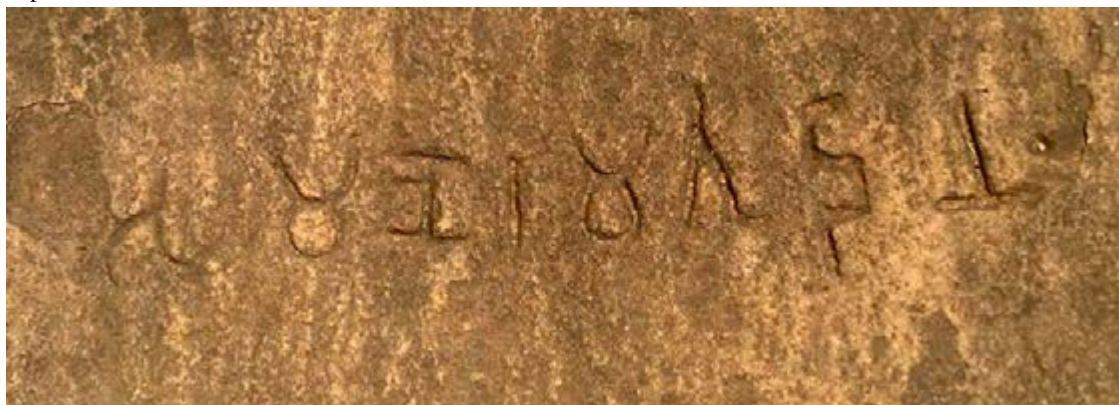

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Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.

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Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.

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Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.

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Photos 2014, courtesy Suthiratana Foundation.

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Or. 11878B_A recto

Or. 11878B_A verso

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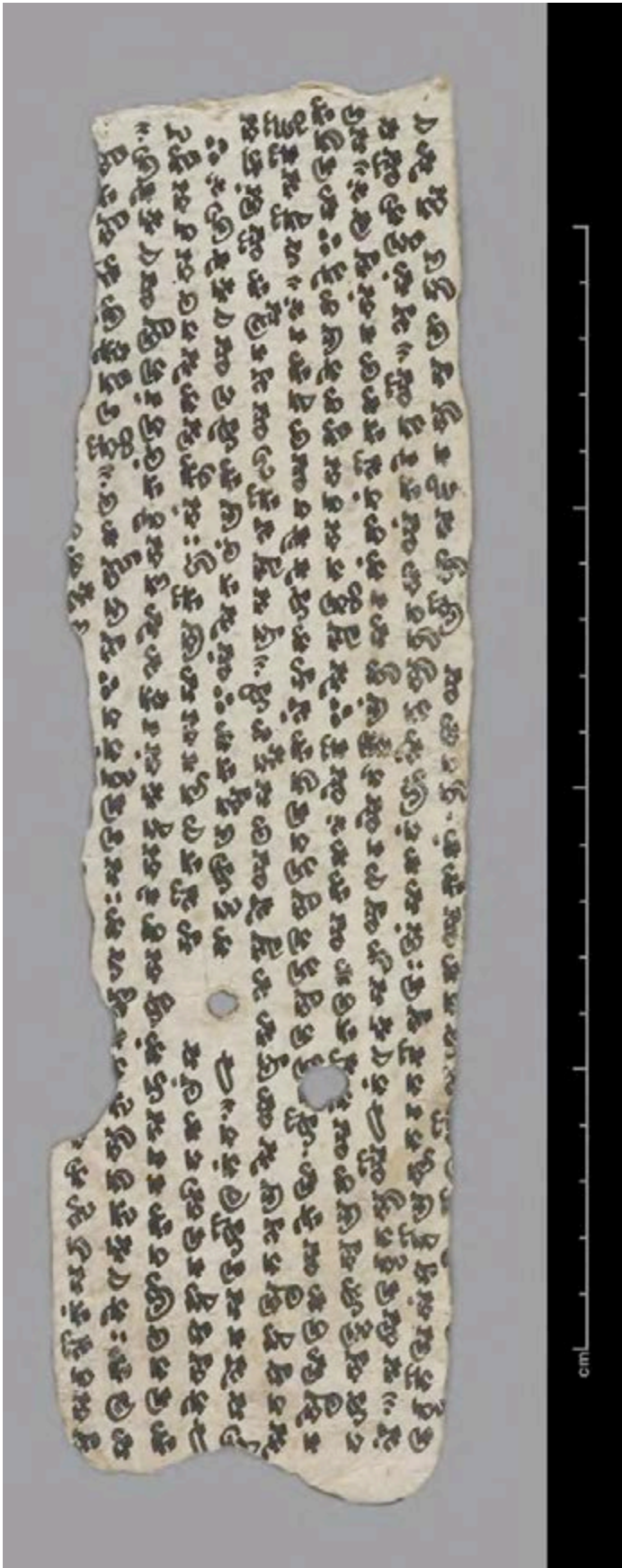
Or. 11878B_B recto   Or. 11878B_B verso

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Or. 11878C recto   Or. 11878C verso

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Or. 11878D recto   Or. 11878D verso

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Or. 11878E verso
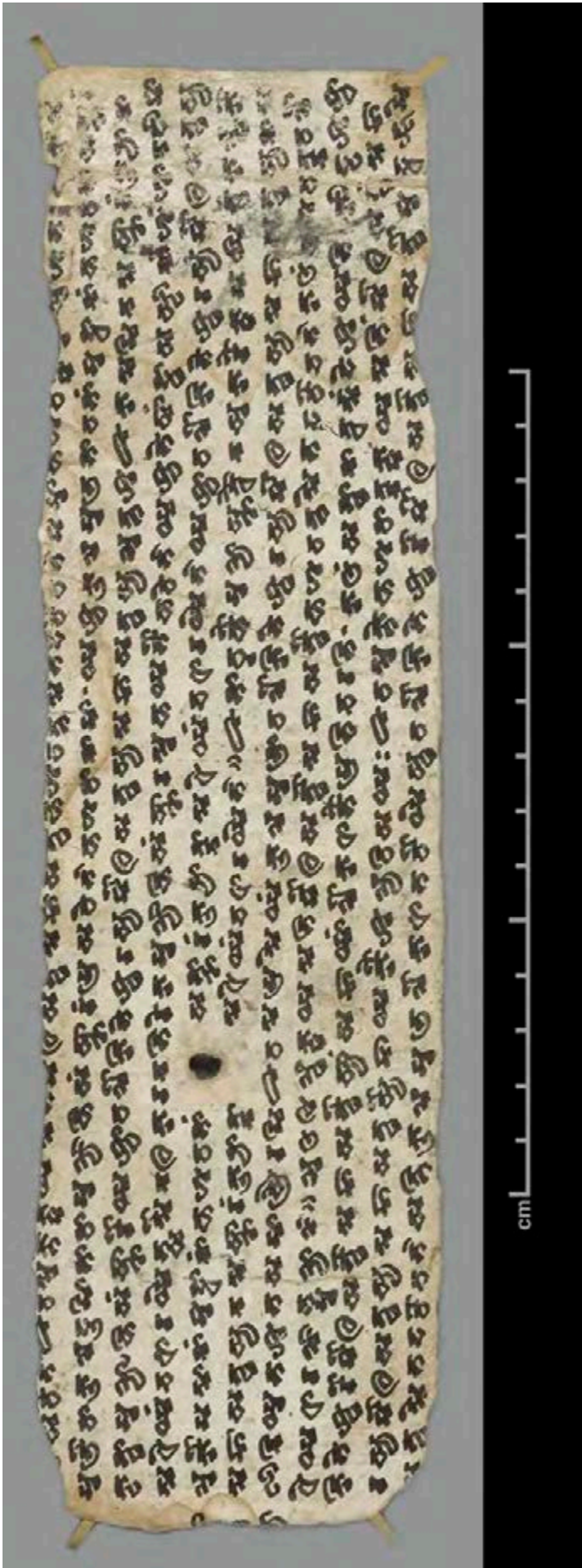
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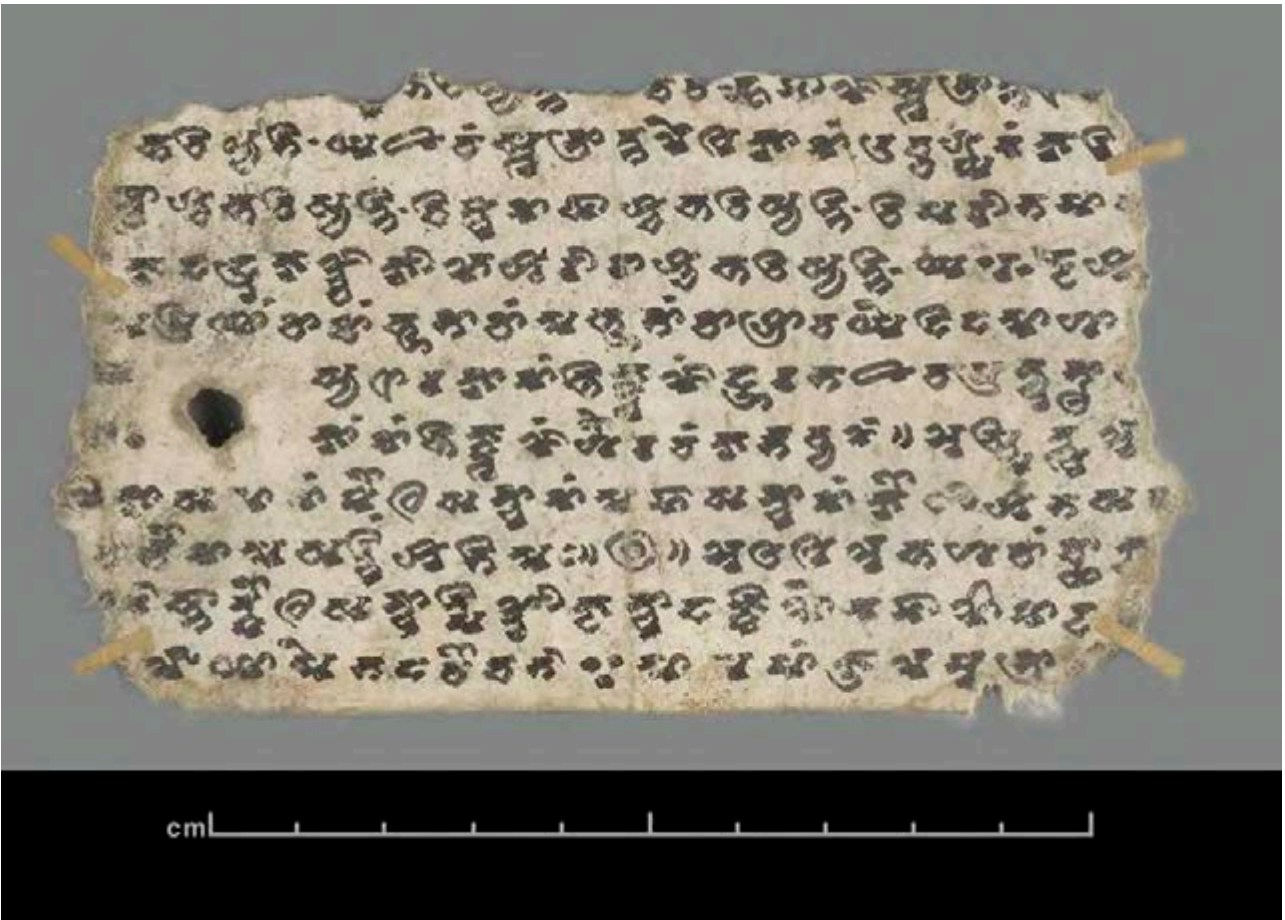
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O.v. Hinüber, "Three *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* Manuscripts from Khotan and Their Donors," pp. 215–234.

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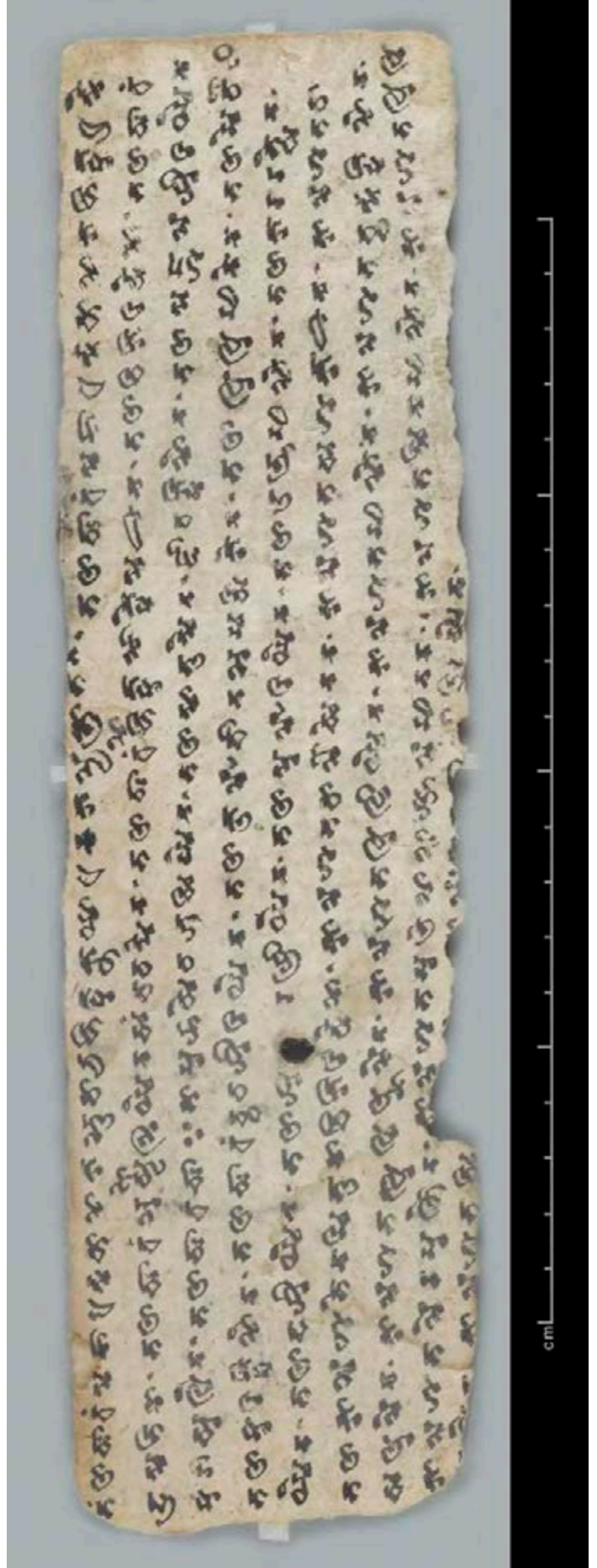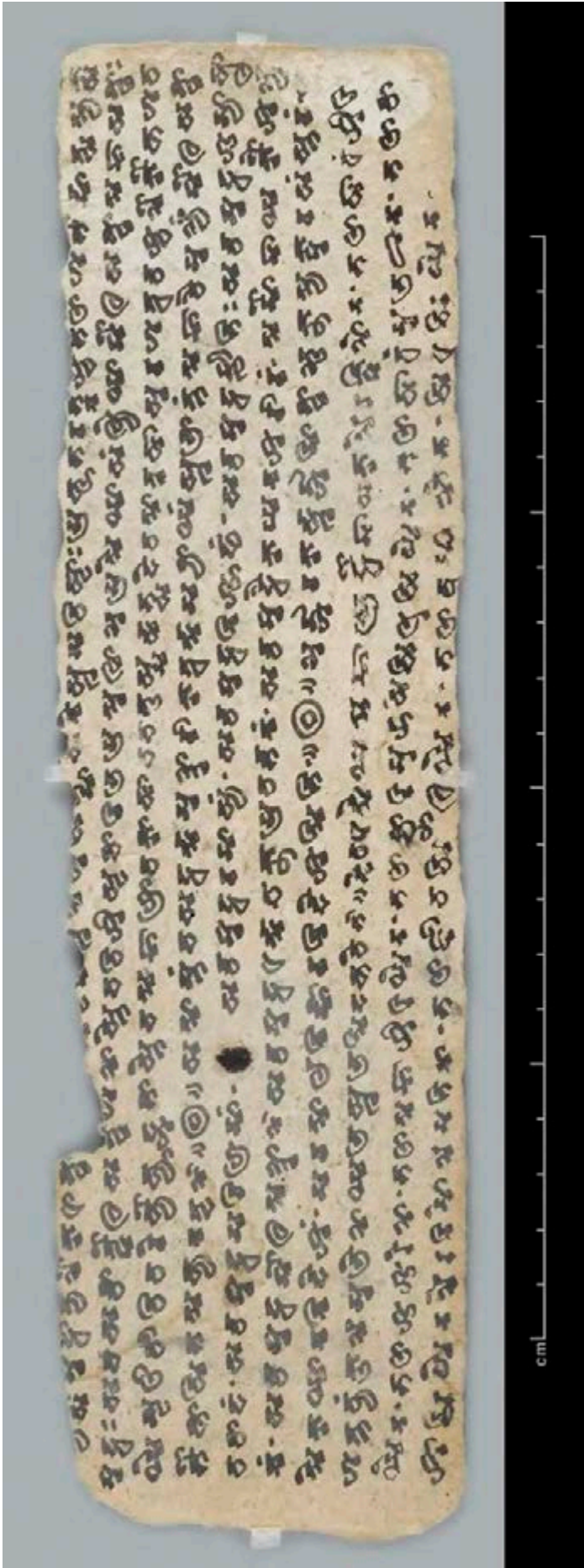
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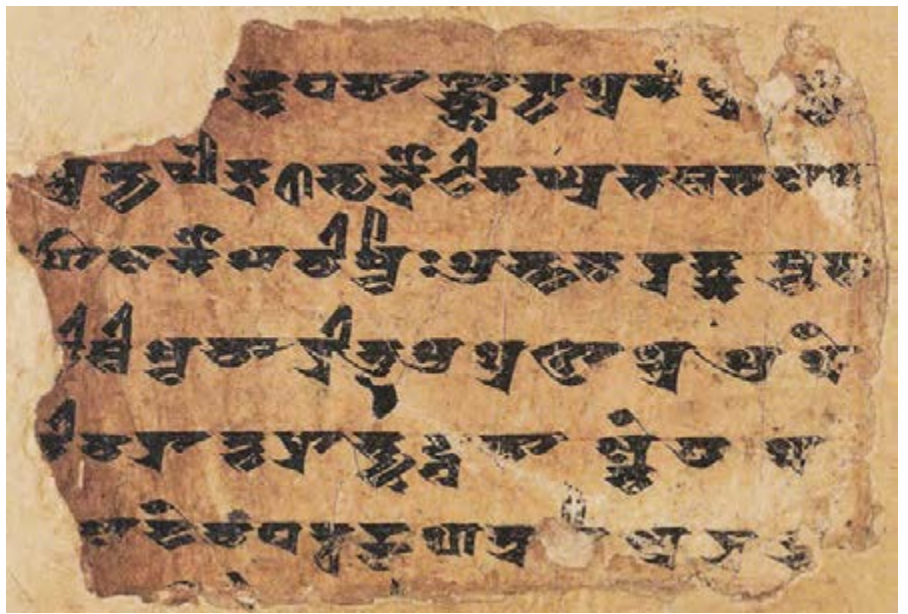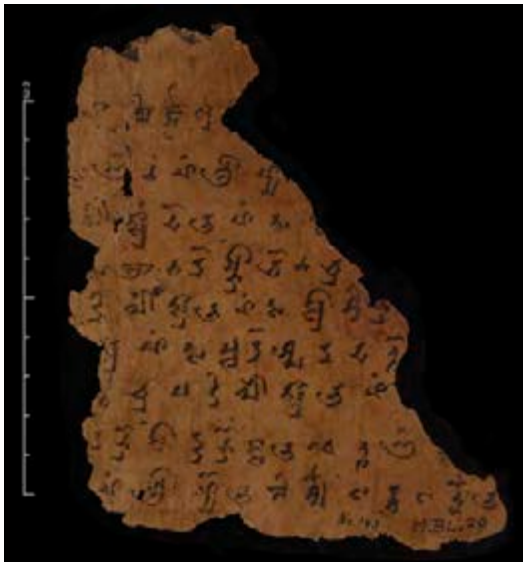

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Photos reproduced by courtesy of the British Library Board (IOL Khot 158/3) and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SI P/5; SI 1925/1927).

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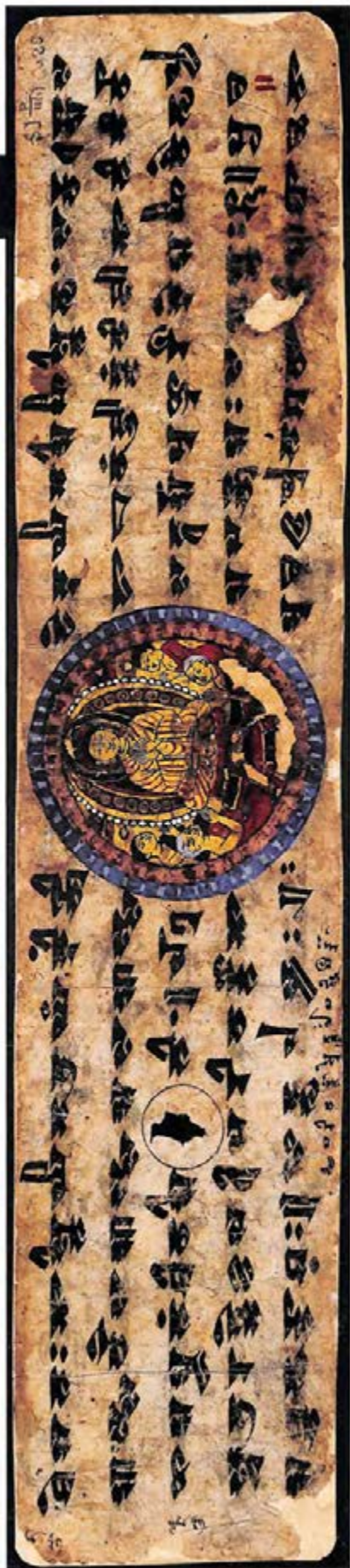   SIS 1939 [20]) [= FE p. 963]: Inkula's colophon

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Photos reproduced by courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

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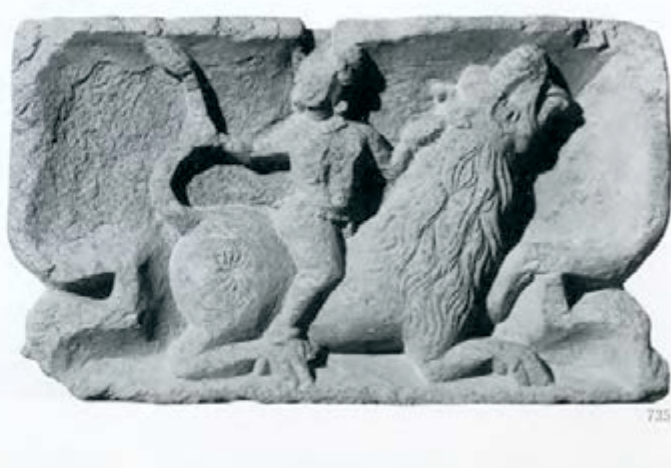Fig. 33: Lion and angel. Published in *Gandhāran Art II*, nos. 734 and 735

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