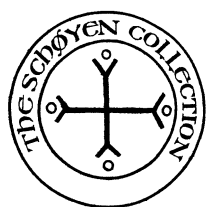


MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION

BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

Volume IV

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION



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Volume IV

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THIS VOLUME
IS DEDICATED TO

KLAUS WILLE

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS GENEROSITY TO HIS COLLEAGUES
AND HIS PRODIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE STUDY OF BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

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The final editorial meetings for this volume were held in Oslo in June 2015 in the Schøyen Collection Library, at Stanford University in November 2015, and in Munich in July 2016. Earlier meetings were held at Bukkyo University, Kyoto. We would like to thank Mr Martin Schøyen, Dr Irene Lin and her colleagues at the Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation Center for Buddhist Studies at Stanford, the project “Buddhistische Handschriften aus Gandhara” at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Munich, Bukkyō University in Kyoto, the Department of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages of the University of Oslo, and the Norwegian Institute of Palaeography and Historical Philology for the many ways in which they have assisted, supported and encouraged our work.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In December 1996, the Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection (BMSC) project was launched as the outcome of an informal meeting in Leiden (for its early history see the introduction to the first volume), and only four years later, in the year 2000, the first volume in the BMSC series was published. A grant by the Centre for Advanced Study at the Norwegian Academy of Sciences in the years 2001/2002 allowed such a concentration of forces that a second volume appeared in 2002, and the remarkable momentum created by the most generous support of the Academy led to a third volume in 2006. However, despite the best intentions of the members of the BMSC editorial group, other academic duties and commitments began to intrude upon the work, slowing down the forward advance. Although scholars were encouraged to prepare contributions to the next volume and a number of them obliged and sent us their papers in a timely fashion, the years passed by and deadlines came and went, until we realized that a fourth volume would never appear if we did not put our shoulders to the wheel with renewed determination. It is therefore with a considerable sense of relief that now, exactly twenty years after the formation of our project, we are finally able to bring the fourth volume to publication. We thank our contributors for waiting so patiently for its arrival.

However, the unduly long period between the conception of the volume and the final editorial work to bring it into the world resulted in an unforeseen benefit. Early papers grew, and in the course of time more contributions were submitted than originally expected. Their length proved far too much for one volume, and therefore, as a welcome consequence, another one is already waiting in the wings. In the present volume, the focus is on manuscripts in the Gāndhārī language and Khāroṣṭhī script. This is eloquent testimony to the growing interest in recent years in Gāndhārī literature and in the early phases of Buddhism in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent on which it throws new light. The next volume, the fifth in the series, will be dedicated primarily to popular Mahāyāna sūtras circulating in the middle of the first millennium in the area of Greater Gandhāra, most notably to the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharāja-sūtra*. Many of the contributions to Volume V are already at an advanced stage of preparation, and so, although it may be risky to make promises in this regard, we hope that it will appear without undue delay.

Since the publication of Volume III our editorial committee has been enlarged with the addition of Gudrun Melzer of Munich. We are delighted to welcome Gudrun to our group, and see this as the first step in passing the reins over to the next generation. Indeed, it is especially gratifying to see the numbers of young scholars embarking on their careers in this field, which is certainly not shrinking. Nor does the amount of material needing to be worked on appear to be dwindling. Far from it; the study of Buddhist manuscripts is thriving, and offering ever new perspectives on the historical development of the religion, on its literature, its ideas and its practices.

It gives us great pleasure to dedicate this volume to our esteemed colleague Klaus Wille, who has not only contributed many studies to this series under his own name, but whose preliminary transliterations of manuscripts in the Schøyen and other collections also constitute the foundation upon which the studies of most of the other contributors are built. Others may have polished the stones, but more often than not it was Klaus who first dug them out of the ground and did the preliminary sorting and cutting. We thank him here for his tireless dedication to this work and for the generosity with which he has shared the results of his labours with all of us.

Jens Braarvig
On behalf of the Editorial Committee

Oslo, November 2016

CONVENTIONS

Description of a fragment:

recto and verso, abbreviated r and v, if a fragment is identified

A and B, if the beginning cannot be decided

a, b, c, d, etc., for several fragments of one number, e. g., 2378/1/17a, in the uf (unlocalized fragments) sections, e. g. 2378/uf2/1a

Symbols:

- () restorations in a gap
- [] damaged akṣara(s)
- ⟨ ⟩ omission of (part of) an akṣara without gap in the manuscript
- « » interlinear insertion
- { } superfluous (part of an) akṣara
- + one destroyed akṣara
- ~⟨number⟩+ approximate number of lost akṣaras, e. g. ~60+
- .. one illegible akṣara
- . illegible part of an akṣara
- ... indefinite number of lost akṣaras
- — filler mark (used when the surface of the manuscript cannot be written upon)
- /// beginning or end of a fragment when broken
- * virāma
- ’ avagraha, not added in transliteration, but added without brackets in reconstruction (note, however, ’pi and pi)
- ḥ upadhmāṇīya
- ḥ jīhvāmūlīya
- ⊗ double circle with rosette
- string hole
- ◎ concentric circles
- ◇ gap representing punctuation
- | daṇḍa
- ↵ punctuation mark in early manuscripts (most of the marks lack the two ornamental dots)
- ↶ punctuation mark in early manuscripts
- punctuation mark
- punctuation mark

Tibetan transliteration: ṅ, ñ, ź, ś, g-yog

Chinese transcription: Pinyin with tonal diacritics

Note: For the conventions employed for editing Chinese and Tibetan texts see vol. III, p. xxiii-xxiv.

ABBREVIATIONS

-a – aṭṭhakathā (commentary).

AAWG – Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse

Abhidh-k-bh(P) – P. Pradhan (1975), ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, rev. 2nd ed. by A. Haldar (TSWS, 8), Patna.

Abhidh-k-vy – Unrai Wogihara (1932–1936), ed., *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* by Yaśomitra, Tokyo.

Abhidharmadīpa – Padmanabh S. Jaini (1977), ed., *Abhidharmadīpa with Vibhāṣaprabhāvṛtti*, Patna.

Abhis – see AbhisDh.

AbhisDh – Karashima, Seishi (2012), *Die Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ: Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, 3 vols. (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica, XIII.1–3), Tokyo.

Af – Fujita Kōtatsu (1992–96), ed., *The Larger Sukhāvativyūha: Romanized Text of the Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal*, Tokyo.

AF = additional fragment.

AMgD – Ratnachandraji, Shri (1923–38), *An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*, 5 vols., Agra [Reprint: Tokyo 1977].

Amk – Mahesh Pant (2000), ed., *Jātarūpa's commentary on the Amarakoṣa*, 2 vols., Delhi.

AN – *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. R. Morris/E. Hardy (1885–1900), ed., *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* (PTS), London [Part I, 2nd edition, Richard Morris, ed., A. K. Warder, rev., Oxford, 1961].

ARIRIAB – *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism*.

AV(Ś) – Vishva Bandhu (1960–1964), ed., *Atharvaveda (Śaunaka) with the Pada-pāṭha and Sāyaṇācārya's Commentary*, Hoshiarpur.

AVPariś – G. M. Bolling and J. von Negelein (1909–10), ed., *The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharvaveda. Volume 1: Text and Critical Apparatus, in 2 Parts*, Leipzig.

Avś – J. S. Speyer (1906–09), ed., *Avadānaśataka* (BB 3), St. Petersburg.

BAI – *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*.

BB – Bibliotheca Buddhica, St. Petersburg, 1902ff.

BBDD – Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (2014), ed., *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research. Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15-19 2009* (ÖAW, Denkschriften, 460), Wien.

Bcap – de La Vallée Poussin, L., ed., (1901–14), *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Bibliotheca Indica vol. 150, Calcutta.

BEFEO – *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*.

BEI – *Bulletin d'études indiennes*.

BhīVin(Mā-L) – Gustav Roth (1970), ed., *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* (TSWS 12), Patna.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Bhk – Bhadrakalpikasūtra.
BHS – Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.
BHSD – Franklin Edgerton (1953), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 2: Dictionary, New Haven.
BHSG – Franklin Edgerton (1953), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 1: Grammar, New Haven.
BLSF I – Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille (2006), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vol. I, Tokyo.
BLSF II – Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille (2009), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vol. II.1–2, Tokyo.
BLSF III – Seishi Karashima, Jundo Nagashima and Klaus Wille (2015), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, Vol. III.1–2, Tokyo.
BMSC I – Jens Braarvig *et al.* (2000), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, Vol. I (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 1.1), Oslo.
BMSC II – Jens Braarvig *et al.* (2002), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. II (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 3), Oslo.
BMSC III – Jens Braarvig *et al.* (2006), ed., *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. III (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection), Oslo.
BrSaṃ – Ramakrishna Bhat (1981), ed., *Varāhamihira's Brhat Saṃhitā with English Translation, Exhaustive Notes and Literary Comments*, 2 vols., Delhi.
BSOAS – *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
Bspt – *Bodhisattvapīṭakasūtra*.
BSR – *Buddhist Studies Review*.
BST – Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.
bv. – bahuvrīhi compound.
CAJ – *Central Asiatic Journal*.
CBETA – Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association
CDIAL – Turner, Ralph Lilley, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1968 / Vol. 2: Indexes Compiled by Dorothy Rivers Turner, London 1969 / Vol. 3: Phonetic Analysis by R. L. Turner and D. R. Turner, London 1971 / Addenda et Corrigenda, ed. J. C. Wright, London 1985.
ChS – Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka.
ChS – Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition (of canonical, postcanonical and non-canonical Pāli texts, publ. by the Buddha Sasana Council, Rangoon, since 1956).
CKI – Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums (ongoing), *Corpus of Gāndhārī Inscriptions*. http://gandhari.org/a_inscriptions.php.
CPD – Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, Hans Hendriksen *et al.* (1924–), *A Critical Pali Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, Copenhagen.
CPO – Collection in Private Ownership.
CPS – E. Waldschmidt (1952–60), ed., *Das Catuspariṣatsūtra: eine kanonische Lehrschrift über die Begründung der buddhistischen Gemeinde* (ADAW 1952.2, 1956.1, and 1960.1), Berlin.

ABBREVIATIONS

- D – Derge blockprint version of Tibetan canon.
- Dbh – Ryūkō Kondō (1936), ed., *Daśabhūmiśvaro nāma Mahāyānasūtram*, Tokyo [Reprint: Kyoto 1983].
- Dh – Dharmarakṣa.
- Dharmaskandha* – Siglinde Dietz (1984), ed., *Fragmente des Dharmaskandha. Ein Abhidharma-Text in Sanskrit aus Gilgit*, Göttingen.
- Dhp-G^K – *Dharmapada* manuscript from Khotan (“Gāndhārī Dharmapada”; Brough 1962)
- Dhp-P – Pali *Dhammapada* (von Hinüber and Norman 1995).
- DhVin – The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas, T. 1428 四分律 *Sifēnlǚ*, tr. Buddhayaśas and Zhú Fóniàn 竺佛念, 412 C.E.
- DN – *Dīgha-nikāya*.
- DP – Margaret Cone (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (PTS), Oxford.
- DPPN – G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, 2 vols., ¹1960 (¹1937–38), (PTS).
- EĀ – *Ekottarikāgama*.
- EĀ(Trip) – Chandrabhal Tripathi (1995), ed., *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift* (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Monographie 2), Reinbek.
- EB – *The Eastern Buddhist*.
- G – Gāndhārī.
- GD – Gāndhārī Dictionary, i.e., Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass (ongoing), *A Dictionary of Gāndhārī*, <http://gandhari.org/dictionary/>.
- Geiger – Geiger, Wilhelm (1916), *Pāli: Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg.
- HBK – *Hokke Bunka Kenkyū*.
- HG – Hayashidera Genshu Collection.
- HI – Hirayama Ikuo Collection.
- IA – *Indian Antiquary*.
- IBK – *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies], Tokyo.
- IJJ – *Indo-Iranian Journal*.
- IndTib – Indica et Tibetica.
- ItivC – The Chinese version of the *Itivuttaka*, 本事經 *Běnsījīng* (T. 17, no. 765, pp. 662b–699b)
- ItivP – E. Windisch (1889), ed., *Itivuttaka* (PTS), London.
- JA – *Journal asiatique*.
- JAOS – *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JIABS – *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*.
- JICABS – *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* (then: *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Studies*).
- JIP – *Journal of Indian Philosophy*.
- JOS – *Journal of Oriental Studies*.
- JPTS – *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
- JRAS – *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- kdh. – karmadhāraya compound.
- Ku – Kumārajīva.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Lokaprajñapti* – Kazunobu Matsuda (1982), “Bonbun danpen Loka-prajñapti ni tsuite” 梵文断片 Loka-prajñapti について (“Sanskrit Fragments of the *Loka-prajñapti*”), *Bukkyōgaku* 14: 1–21.
- Lv – S. Lefmann (1902–08), ed., *Lalita Vistara*, Halle.
- MĀ – Madhyamāgama.
- MaVin – Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya.
- Mbh – Vishnu S. Sukthankar *et al.* (1933–41), ed., *The Mahābhārata*, Poona.
- MIA – Middle Indo-Aryan.
- Mmī – Shūyo Takubo (1972), ed., *Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī*, Tokyo.
- Mmk – see *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.
- MN – *Majjhima-nikāya*; V. Trenckner and Robert Chalmers (1888–99), ed., *Majjhima-Nikāya*, London (PTS).
- Mppś – *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, T. 1509 大智度論, *Dàzhidùlún*, see also Lamotte 1949–1980.
- MS – Martin Schøyen Collection.
- MśVin – The Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, T. 1421 彌沙塞部和醯五分律, tr. 竺道生 Zhú Dàoshēng (Buddhajīva) *et al.*, 424 C.E.
- MūVinVibh(Ch.) – The Chinese translation of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, T. 1442 根本說一切有部毘奈耶, tr. 義淨 Yìjìng, around 710 C.E.
- MūVinVibh(Tib.) – The Tibetan translation of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, *’Dul ba rnam par ’byed pa*, tr. Jinamitra and Klu’i rgyal mtshan.
- Mv – É. Senart (1882–1897), ed., *Le Mahāvastu* (Collection d’ouvrages orientaux; Seconde série), Paris.
- Mv(J) – *The Mahāvastu: Translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J. J. Jones*, 3 vols. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vols. 16, 18, 19), ¹1949–1956; ²1973–1978, ³1987, London.
- Mvy – R. Sakaki (1926), ed., *Mahāvyūtpatti*, 2 vols., Kyōto.
- MW – Monier Monier-Williams (1899), *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford.
- NPED – Cone, Margaret, *A Dictionary of Pāli*, Part I: a–kh, Oxford: The Pali Text Society 2001; Part II: g–n, Bristol: The Pali Text Society 2010.
- ÖAW – Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- P – Pali.
- Pkt – Prakrit.
- PIOL – Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain.
- Pos(Hu) – Hu-von Hinüber, Haiyan (1994), *Das Poṣadhavastu: Vorschriften für die buddhistische Beichtfeier im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Monographie 13), Reinbek.
- PrMoSū(Mā-L) – N. Tatia (1976), ed., *The Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādimahāsāṅghika School*, Patna.
- PrMoSū(Mū/LCh) – Lokesh Chandra (1960), “Unpublished Gilgit Fragments of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4: 1–11.
- PrMoSū(Sa. v.Si) – Georg von Simson (1986–2000), ed., *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders und Herbert Härtel herausgegeben*, Teil I: Wiedergabe bisher nicht publizierten Handschriften in Transkription; Teil II: Kritische Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Wortindex sowie Nachträge zu Teil I (ST 11, AAWG 155, 238), Göttingen.

ABBREVIATIONS

- PTS – Pali Text Society.
- PTSD – T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921–25), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London.
- Pudgalasūtra* – Gudrun Melzer (2010), ed., *Ein Abschnitt aus dem Dīrghāgama*, Teil 2, Dissertation München: 309–343.
- PV – *Petavatthu*, in J. P. Minayeff (1888), ed., *Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu* (PTS), London.
- PW – Petersburg-Wörterbuch: Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolf Roth (1855–75), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 7 vols., St. Petersburg.
- Ram – P. C. Divanji (1960–75), ed., *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa. Critical Edition*, 7 vols., Baroda.
- Rkp(Ch1) – Taishō, XIII, No. 397, 大方等大集經 *Dà fāngdǎng dàjí jīng*, 寶幢分, translated by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (385–433 C.E.).
- Rkp(Ch2) – Taishō, XIII, No. 402, 寶星陀羅尼經 *Bǎoxīng tuólúóní jīng*, translated by Prabhākaramitra in 631 C.E.
- Rkp(K) – Y. Kurumiya (1978), ed., *Ratnaketuparivarta: Sanskrit Text*, Kyoto.
- Rkp(Sa/2) – Saerji, “More Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta (2),” ARIRIAB 14: 35–57.
- Rkp(Tib). – Y. Kurumiya (1979), ed., *'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzuñs: 'Dus pa chen po dkon mchog dbal zes bya ba'i gzuñs: being the Tibetan Translation of the Ratnaketuparivarta*, Kyoto.
- RV – Barend A. van Nooten & Gary B. Holland (1994), ed., *Rig Veda – A metrically restored Text with Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge Mass..
- Sadd – Helmer Smith (1928–66), ed., *Saddanīti: La grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa*, 6 vols., Lund.
- Śārd (M) – Sanjitkumar Mukhopadhyaya (1954), ed., *The Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, Santiniketan.
- Śārd (StP) – Tensho Miyazaki *et al.* (2015), “The Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna from Central Asia”, in *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The St. Petersburg Sanskrit Fragments*, ed. S. Karashima and Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, Tokyo: 1–84.
- SaVin – The Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, T. 1435 十誦律, tr. Kumārajīva, Puṇyatrāta and Dharmaruci, 404 C.E.
- SbÖAW – *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse*.
- SBV – Raniero Gnoli (1977–78), ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*. 2 vols. (SOR IL), Roma.
- SHT – Ernst Waldschmidt *et al.* (1965–2012), ed., *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, X), Wiesbaden/Stuttgart. [Teil 1 (1965): unter Mitarbeit von W. Clawiter und L. Holzmann hrsg. von E. Waldschmidt; Teil 2 (1968): im Verein mit W. Clawiter und L. Sander-Holzmann hrsg. von E. Waldschmidt; Teil 3 (1971): unter Mitarbeit von W. Clawiter und L. Sander-Holzmann hrsg. von E. Waldschmidt; Teil 4 (1980) und 5 (1985): bearbeitet von L. Sander und E. Waldschmidt; Teil 6 (1989), 7 (1995), 8 (2000), 9 (2004): hrsg. von H. Bechert, beschrieben von K. Wille; 10 (2008); 11 (2012): beschrieben von K. Wille.
- Śikṣ, – Cecil Bendall, ed., (1902), *Çikshāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, Compiled by Śāntideva*, BB 1, St. Petersburg.
- Skt – Sanskrit.

ABBREVIATIONS

- SN – L. Feer (1884–98), ed., *Samyutta-Nikāya* (PTS), London [vol. 6, Indexes, by C. A. F. Rhys Davids, 1904].
- SOR – Serie Orientale Roma.
- SPSS – *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*.
- SRAA – *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*.
- Śrīgh – Singh Sanghasen (1983), ed., *A Study of the Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṃgraha-ṭīkā*, Patna.
- SS – *Sūtrasamuccaya*.
- StII – *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*.
- SWTF – *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, begonnen von E. Waldschmidt, ed. H. Bechert, K. Röhrborn, J.-U. Hartmann, bearb. G. von Simson, M. Schmidt, J.-U. Hartmann, S. Dietz, Jin-il Chung, A. Bock-Raming, M. Straube, K. Wille, Göttingen 1973ff.
- SyR – *Syāmaratṭha Tripiṭaka*.
- T. – 大正新脩大藏經 *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, 100 vols., Tokyo, 1924–1934.
- T – Tibetan.
- Th – *Theragāthā*.
- Tib – Tibetan.
- Tōhoku – Ui Hakuju, Suzuki Munetada, Kanakura Yensho & Tada Tokan (1934), ed., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*, Sendai.
- TP – *T'oung Pao*.
- TP – D. T. Suzuki (1955–1961), ed., *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, 168 vols., Kyoto.
- tp – tatpuruṣa compound.
- TWS – Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.
- uf – “unlocalized fragments” (i.e., minor fragments) in the Martin Schøyen Collection.
- Uv – Franz Bernhard (1965–1968), ed., *Udānavarga*, 2 vols., Göttingen.
- Vin – H. Oldenberg (1879–1883), ed., *Vinayaṭīkā*, 5 vols. (PTS), London.
- Vinayasūtra* – The Digital Data of Preliminary Transliteration of the *Vinayasutra*, The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University: http://www.tais.ac.jp/related/labo/sobutsu/sobutsu_book/data/vinayasutra_trlt.pdf.
- VinSū(re-ed) – The Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taisho University, ed., *A Preliminary Romanized Version of the Vinayasutra*, 2001 [<http://www.tmx.tais.ac.jp/sobutsu/>].
- VinVibh(R) – Valentina Rosen (1959), ed., *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins, Sanskritfragmente nebst einer Analyse der chinesischen Übersetzung* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 2), Berlin.
- VOHD – Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland.
- WZKS – *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*.
- YBh – Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (1957), ed., *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Calcutta.
- ZDMG – *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

Fragments of an Ekottarikāgama Manuscript in Gāndhārī*

Chanida Jantrasrisalai, Timothy Lenz, Lin Qian and Richard Salomon

I. Introduction

I.1. Contents of the manuscript

Among the hundreds of small palm-leaf manuscript fragments in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script from the Bamiyan region which are preserved in the Schøyen Collection, twenty-five (or possibly twenty-six¹) have recently been identified² as part of a manuscript consisting of a collection of sūtras grouped together on numerical principles. In addition, two further fragments which had been studied and photographed by Richard Salomon and Jason Neelis in Pakistan in 1996 were found to belong to the same manuscript, but their present whereabouts are unknown; these are referred to below as the “additional fragments” (AF 1 and 2). All of these fragments represent the remnants of what seems to have been a complete manuscript of a Gāndhārī version of the numerically arranged sūtra collection known in the Sanskrit tradition as *Ekottarikāgama* (EĀ) and in Pali as *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (AN).³ They include portions of seventeen sūtras from the *ṣaṭka-*, *navaka-*, *daśaka-*, and *ekādaśaka-nipātas*, that is, sūtras concerned with groups of six, nine, ten, and eleven items respectively. There is also a possibility that two fragments (6, 119) correspond to sūtras of the *saptaka-* (sevens) and *aṣṭaka-nipātas* (eights) respectively.⁴

Like most of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts from Bamiyan, this one probably dates from between the latter half of the second century and the late third century A.D. As is typical of this period, the EĀ fragments are written in later varieties of the Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language, characterized by a pronounced but inconsistent tendency toward Sanskritization (see I.5).

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¹ The affiliation of frag. MS 2179/102 with this manuscript remains uncertain; see II.14.

² Frags. 80 and 77e+a were first identified by Chanida Jantrasrisalai and Timothy Lenz in February 2012 on the basis of their parallels in the Pali *Āṅguttara-nikāya*. The other fragments of the same manuscript were subsequently identified by them and by Richard Salomon and Zhao Fei in the following months of 2012.

³ The Sanskrit title *Ekottarikāgama* is used here in preference to Pali *Āṅguttara-nikāya* on the grounds that the latter name is unique to the Pali/Theravāda canon, whereas the former was more widespread in the Buddhist tradition generally, especially in the north. In preferring the form *Ekottarikāgama* over the variant form *Ekottarāgama*, we follow Mark Allon who reports that “I have not been able to find any examples of the form *ekottarāgama* in Skt. sources” (2001: 11). Moreover, the form *ekotariae*, corresponding to Skt *ekottarikāyām*, is attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī (Baums 2009: 513).

⁴ See the introductory remarks to II.2 and II.8 and the note on frag. 77f, r2. See I.3 for further discussion of the character of the text as a whole.

The contents of the surviving fragments and their parallels are summarized in the following table:⁵

<i>Text unit and fragment number(s): re-constructed Gāndhārī title</i>	<i>Pali parallel: AN sutta number, volume and page(s) of PTS edition</i>	<i>Chinese parallel(s): Taishō edition text number and page(s)</i>	<i>Sanskrit parallel</i>
1. MS 2179/72: *Udayi-sutra and *Cita-sutra	(a) <i>Udāyi-sutta</i> AN 6.29, III 322–5 (b) <i>Citta-sutta</i> AN 6.60, III 392–9	(a) — (b) <i>Madhyamāgama</i> (中阿含經 <i>Zhōng āhán jīng</i>), sūtra 82 (T. 26, 557c17–559b26)	—
2. MS 2179/6: *Mogalyayana-sutra or *Tiṣya-sutra	<i>Moggallāna-sutta</i> AN 6.34, III 331–4 or <i>Tissa-sutta</i> AN 7.53, IV 74–9	—	—
3. MS 2179/40: *Mekhiya-sutra	<i>Meghiya-sutta</i> AN 9.3, IV 354–8	<i>Madhyamāgama</i> , sūtra 56 (T. 26, 491a16–492a11)	—
4. MS 2179/80: *Nirvanasukha-sutra	<i>Nibbānasukha-sutta</i> AN 9.34, IV 414–8	—	—
5. MS 2179/103: *Gavi-sutra	<i>Gāvī-sutta</i> (?) AN 9.35, IV 418–22	—	—
6. MS 2179/2: *Mahaprasa-sutra	<i>Mahāpañhā-sutta</i> (?) AN 10.27, V 48–54	<i>Ekottarikāgama</i> (增壹阿含經 <i>Zēngyī āhán jīng</i>), pīn 46, sūtra 8 (T. 125, 778b17–780a15)	—
7. MS 2179/76+79: *Mahali-sutra and *Triṣṇa-sutra	(a) <i>Mahāli-sutta</i> AN 10.47, V 86–7 (b) <i>Taṇhā-sutta</i> AN 10.62, V 116–9	(a) — (b) <i>Madhyamāgama</i> , sūtra 52 and 53 (T. 26, 487c24–489a24 or 489a25–c27)	—
8. MS 2179/119, 77f, 86, 101: *Mulaga-sutra and *Pravaja-sutra	(a) <i>Mūlaka-sutta</i> AN 10.58, V 106–7 (b) <i>Pabbajjā-sutta</i> AN 10.59, V 107–8	(a+b) <i>Madhyamāgama</i> , sūtra 113 (T. 26, 602b28–603a2); and 佛說諸法本經 <i>Fóshu zhūfǎ běn jīng</i> (T. 59, 855c5–c28)	—
9. Additional fragment 1, MS 2179/77e+77a, additional fragment 2: *Kidriṭhiga-sutra	<i>Kimḍiṭṭhika-sutta</i> AN 10.93, V 185–9	<i>Samyuktāgama</i> A (雜阿含經 <i>Zá āhán jīng</i>), sūtra 968 (T. 99, 248c6–249a28); and <i>Samyuktāgama</i> B (別譯雜阿含經 <i>Biéyì zá āhán jīng</i>), sūtra 202 (T. 100, 448b18–449a3)	<i>Samyuktāgama</i> , <i>Anāthapiṇḍada-sūtra</i> (Turfan fragment 612; Pischel 1904, Hosoda 1989)
10. MS 2179/uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a: *Upali-sutra	<i>Upāli-sutta</i> AN 10.99, V 201–9	—	—

⁵ No actual sūtra titles survive in the manuscript. In attributing hypothetical Gāndhārī titles to the sūtras we have followed the procedure of Allon 2001 and Glass 2007. But these titles are presented only as a matter of convenience, since the reconstruction of the Gāndhārī equivalents of Pali names often involves a degree of guesswork, and also because the names of the sūtras in the AN itself are frequently uncertain or variable.

11. MS 2179/84, 77d+77b: * <i>Nagulapita-sutra</i> (?) and * <i>Sadha-sutra</i>	(a) resembles <i>Nakulapitā-sutta</i> AN 6.16, III 295–8 (b) <i>Sandha-sutta</i> AN 11.10, V 322–6	(a) — (b) <i>Samyuktāgama</i> A, sūtra 926 (T. 99, 235c27–236b11); partial parallel in <i>Samyuktāgama</i> B, sūtra 151 (T. 100, 430c10–431b4)	—
12. MS 2179/82+85: * <i>Moranivapa-sutra</i> and * <i>Metra-sutra</i>	(a) <i>Moranivāpa-sutta</i> AN 11.11, V 326–8 (b) <i>Mettā-sutta</i> AN 11.16, V 342	(a) — (b) <i>Ekottarikāgama</i> , pīn 47, sūtra 10 (T. 125, pp. 806a17–b3); and 佛說十一想思念如來經 <i>Fóshuō shíyī xiǎng sīniàn rúlái jīng</i> (T. 138, 861a26–b7)	(b) Turfan ms. 620 (SHT I 276)
13. MS 2179/83: ?	[not identified]		
14. MS 2179/102: ?	[not identified; possibly from a different manuscript]		

Table 1: Summary of fragments of the Gāndhārī *Ekottarikāgama* manuscript

In this table, fragments which were originally catalogued separately but which have been determined to be directly adjacent pieces of the same folio are placed together with a plus sign; thus, for example, the five fragments uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a (no. 10) have been combined as a single piece of an original folio. With these combinations, the twenty-seven (or twenty-eight) catalogued fragments actually constitute only nineteen (or twenty) discrete pieces of the manuscript. Some of these pieces can be further grouped together by comparison with Pali and Chinese parallel texts as belonging to the same textual unit, either as nonadjacent fragments of the same original folio or as parts of separate succeeding folios which contained the same sūtra. These combined text units constitute the thirteen (fourteen?) text units listed above, which correspond to the fourteen section numbers of part II of this article.

I.2. Description of the manuscript

The original manuscript must have consisted of a large but indeterminate number of palm-leaf folios with, in most cases, three lines of text on each side. This can be seen from fragments 40 and 76a, both of which contain three lines of text with the straight edge of the original top and bottom of the folios at least partially preserved. In at least one case, however (verso of fragment 72; see II.1), there are four lines of text.⁶ Each line of text typically contains around 60 to 66 syllables, as can be determined by comparisons with the Pali parallels and by analysis of patterns of repetition within the Gāndhārī text itself. The original complete folios seem to have been approximately 40 cm long and up to 3.5 cm high. Each folio had a string-hole near the right side, as can be seen in fragment 82 (see II.12), where the original right edge of the folio is partially preserved. Here the hole was located about 1.5 cm from the edge at the level of the second line of text, with the first

⁶ This fragment was written by Schøyen scribe no. 1, unlike most of the fragments which are the work of scribe no. 2, who adhered consistently to the three-line format; see I.5.

two syllables of that line written to the right of the string hole. The layout of this manuscript thus resembles that of the Schøyen/Bamiyan fragments of the *Mahāpariṇirvāṇa-sūtra*, which also consisted of folios with three lines on each side and a string hole at the right side (Allon and Salomon 2000: 245, 250).

At the right edge of the margin of the verso of fragment 82 there is a faint remnant of what seems to have been part of a folio number, apparently 10.⁷ Presumably the character for 10 would have been preceded by a larger number, probably a hundreds figure, or conceivably even a thousand, since this folio contains a text corresponding to sutta 11.16 of the AN, very near the end of the entire collection. At a very rough estimate, the text on one folio of our manuscript corresponds to somewhat more than half a page of text in the Pali Text Society's edition of the AN. The five volumes of that edition cover a total of 1840 pages, so that, if we are correct in thinking that this manuscript is part of a complete *Ekottarikāgama* (see I.3), and if the extent of the Gāndhārī text were approximately comparable to that of the Pali AN, the manuscript would have comprised several thousand folios. This may seem improbably large, but it should be noted that another, later Bamiyan manuscript comprising a "voluminous collection of Mahāyāna sūtras" in Sanskrit contained more than 549 folios (BMSC I: 63). Moreover, Schøyen fragment MS 2179/1, edited in the appendix to this article, has an incomplete folio number which must have read either 290 or 390. Although this fragment has not been identified as part of a folio of the EĀ manuscript itself, it was definitely written by the same scribe who wrote some parts of that manuscript (see I.5), and thus at least gives an idea of the size of the texts which he and his colleagues were copying.

The original length of the *Ekottarikāgama* manuscript cannot be accurately calculated from its meagre remnants. But even though it probably was extensively abbreviated with the *piyalo* and *yava* formulae,⁸ perhaps more so than the corresponding Pali collection as it is represented in the printed edition, the complete manuscript still must have been very long. If so, it would seem unlikely that the full text was bound as one unit; perhaps the individual *nipātas* were bound and numbered separately.

I.3. The *Ekottarikāgama* in Gāndhārī

The special importance of these fragments is that they are likely to be the first specimen of a complete text of one of the sūtra Āgamas in Gāndhārī. Up to now, several Gāndhārī manuscripts have been found which record texts that are parallel to sūtras of the *Ekottarikāgama/Āṅguttara-nikāya* and *Samyuktāgama/Samyutta-nikāya*, but none of them can be securely identified as manuscripts of a complete collection. The most notable case is the scroll represented by British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments 12+14, which was published by Mark Allon in the second volume of the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series (Allon 2001). The surviving portion of the scroll contains three

⁷ The string-hole is also preserved on frag. 77a, but there the right margin is mostly broken off, so that the folio number that presumably would have been there is lost.

⁸ The surviving material is insufficient to permit a clear determination of the typical degree and patterns of abbreviation, but it appears to have been quite extensive. See the introductory comments on the **Nirvanasukha-sutra* (II.4) and the notes on frags. 72, r3 in the **Udayi-sutra* (II.1), 6, v3 in the **Mogalyayana-* or **Tiṣya-sutra* (II.2), 40a, r1 in the **Mekhiya-sutra* (II.3), 119, v2 in the **Mulaga-sutra* (II.8), 77e+77a, r2 in the **Kidriṭhiga-sutra* (II.9), and uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3 in the **Upali-sutra* (II.10).

sūtras with a numerical structure involving sets of four items, and two of the three sūtras have direct parallels in the Pali AN. It is therefore evident that the structure and content of that manuscript is comparable to those of the EĀ/AN, but it is questionable whether it was part of a complete Āgama of this type, whence the editor's choice of the title "Three Ekottarikāgama-type Sūtras." Allon concluded his discussion of the nature of the manuscript with the following cautious and well-chosen words (p. 24):

... although these three G[āndhārī] sūtras could represent a section of a multivolume Catuṣka-nipāta, which itself was a portion of a G[āndhārī] EĀ, we cannot be certain of this. It could equally have belonged to a multivolume anthology of EĀ sūtras or of mixed EĀ and non-EĀ sūtras. Strictly speaking, we can only say that it represents a collection of EĀ-type sūtras with an association with the number 4.

The Senior Collection of twenty-four Gāndhārī scrolls contains several dozen sūtra texts, most of which have parallels in the *Dīrghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, and especially the *Samyuktāgama* (M. Allon in Glass 2007: 21). The contents and sequence of the *Samyukta* sūtras in this collection show that they were extracted from a *Samyuktāgama* whose arrangement had significant similarities to the Pali *Samyutta-nikāya* and to the Chinese translation (增壹阿含經 *Zēngyī āhán jīng*, T. 99) of the Sanskrit *Samyuktāgama* (Glass 2007: 42-50). Moreover, one of the scrolls in the Senior collection (no. 11) apparently contains an entire short *saṃyutta* of fourteen short sūtras, corresponding to the *Vana-saṃyutta* of the Pali AN (*saṃyutta* 9 of the *Sagāthā-vagga*; Allon in Glass 2007: 11). Nevertheless, the Senior Collection as a whole clearly comprises a selective anthology of sūtras, focusing on but not exclusive to the *Samyuktāgama*, rather than a complete or even partial text of the *Samyuktāgama* itself. Thus, although the structure and contents of the Senior Collection definitely implies that such complete Āgama collections existed in Gāndhārī, it does not constitute a complete written record of one of them.

In contrast, the fragments presented here seem to be part of a complete manuscript of a sūtra collection in Gāndhārī that is analogous in structure and contents to the Pali AN and to the Sanskrit (and to a lesser extent the Chinese) EĀ. The texts on twenty-six of the twenty-seven or twenty-eight fragments, corresponding to twelve of the thirteen or fourteen textual units, have been identified with suttas of the AN⁹ either with certainty, in the majority of cases, or with varying degrees of probability in a few others (II.5, 6, 11a). Moreover, the distribution of the Pali parallels, ranging from the early parts of the *chakka-nipāta* (II.1 = AN 6.29) to near the end of the *ekādasakanipāta* (II.12 = AN 11.11 and 11.16, out of 22 sūtras in all¹⁰ in this section), suggests that these fragments are the remnants of the middle and latter half of a complete text of the EĀ/AN in Gāndhārī.¹¹

⁹ Because the Sanskrit EĀ is preserved only in a relatively small number of fragments (compare n. 13 below), a clear parallel for only one of the sūtras in the Gāndhārī manuscripts (the **Kidriṭhiga-sutra*, II.8) has been identified there. For another possible parallel, see the introductory remarks to II.12.

¹⁰ So according to the numbering of the PTS edition. In theory, the repetition and permutation sets at the end of the *ekādasaka-nipāta* are to be expanded to as many as 1151 suttas (so in Bodhi's translation, 2012: 1587; see also 62–3, 66), but these were presumably never actually written out in full, so that sutta 11.16 would in effect be very near the end of a manuscript of the AN.

¹¹ It has been suggested (see Norman 1983: 56) that the AN/EĀ originally had only ten, not eleven nipātas, but it is clear from its remnants that the Gāndhārī EĀ, like the extant AN, had eleven.

The fact that many of the fragments fall near the end of the text may be taken as a further indication that they belonged to a complete text of the EĀ/AN. Early Buddhist manuscripts often seem to contain only the opening sections of long sūtra collections. This pattern is particularly striking among Gāndhārī manuscripts (Salomon 2011: 182–3), but it has also been noticed among Pali and Sanskrit manuscripts. For example, it is probably not a coincidence that the Gilgit fragments of the EĀ (Tripathi 1995) and a “Turfan” manuscript (found at Šorčuq) of the *Samyuktāgama* (Tripathi 1962) contain only the early portions of these long sūtra collections. On the other hand, we do not typically find partial manuscripts consisting of the middle or latter portions of a large text, so that it is all the more likely that the Bamiyan EĀ fragments belonged to a complete text.

The discovery of what seems to be a complete text of the EĀ/AN in Gāndhārī is not entirely surprising. Indeed, the existence of such a text has been anticipated at least twice before. Lamotte, in reference to the Indic archetype of the Chinese EĀ, remarked that “Des recherches ultérieures permettront peut-être de décider s’il était en sanskrit ou en prakrit: si cette dernière hypothèse était exacte, il s’agirait vraisemblablement d’un prakrit du Nord-Ouest (Gāndhārī)” (1967: 106). Salomon and Schopen, on the basis of a citation from an EĀ sūtra in a Gāndhārī inscription, posited that “our passage, and by extension some version of the *Ekottarāgama*, had wide currency in the Kharoṣṭhī area about the beginning of the Christian era” and that “the redaction of the *Ekottara* which lies behind our inscriptions may also have been written in Gāndhārī” (1984: 121). They further remarked that this inscription “may be taken as further epigraphical evidence for the existence of a canon in Gāndhārī” (ibid.).

At least, this manuscript proves beyond a reasonable doubt that a complete text of the EĀ had been established in the later phase of Gāndhārī literature, that is, in the late second or the third century A.D. It also confirms that Gāndhārī functioned in the northwestern reaches of the Buddhist world as a full-fledged canonical language, although this has already become reasonably clear from the many other discoveries of various canonical (and non-canonical) texts and anthologies in Gāndhārī. Furthermore, it shows that by the second or third centuries if not earlier, the major sūtra collections were being transmitted in complete manuscript copies, and that the gradual development over the preceding several centuries of a written textual tradition had reached its final stage by this period. Finally, this gives us reason to assume that the other major sūtra compilations also existed in written form in Gāndhārī, and to hope that some of them may be discovered in the future.

The discovery of a Gāndhārī EĀ from Bamiyan coincides with that of fragments of at least one manuscript of the EĀ in Sanskrit from the same place, dating from about the sixth century A.D. Preliminary descriptions of these fragments, which are still mostly unpublished, have been provided in Harrison 2007 and 2008. The surviving fragments of the manuscript apparently come from the *catuṣka-*, *pañcaka-*, *ṣaṭka-*, *saptaka-*, and possibly the *aṣṭaka-nipāta* (Harrison 2007: 207 n. 30), and one of the folios of the *ṣaṭka-nipāta* is numbered 255 (Harrison 2008: 2), so that it can be assumed that they belonged to a complete text of the EĀ. Harrison (2008: 3) has also found several fragments of what appear to be other manuscripts of the complete EĀ. Taken together, all of these recent discoveries suggest that the EĀ was widely studied and copied in the Bamiyan

region, and probably in the northwest generally. This stands in contrast to the situation with the Turfan Sanskrit manuscripts, among which the EĀ is rather poorly represented.¹² Although it would be premature to conclude at this point that certain sūtra collections were more widely studied in some Buddhist regions than in others, this pattern, which remains to be investigated more systematically, at least suggests the possibility.

I.4. The Gāndhārī *Ekottarikāgama* and the comparable collections

With regard to the relationship of the Gāndhārī EĀ to the corresponding sūtra collections in Pali, Sanskrit, and Chinese, the most fruitful comparisons by far are with the Pali AN. The relatively sparse fragments of the EĀ in Sanskrit from Gilgit and Turfan, in contrast, are less helpful as there is only one definite (II.9) and one possible (II.12b) case of overlap with the preserved parts of the Gāndhārī text, while the new Bamiyan EĀ fragments have little if any overlap.¹³ Only two parallels for the Gāndhārī sūtras (II.6 and 12b) were found in the Chinese EĀ (T. 125, 增壹阿含經 *Zēngyī āhán jīng*), but this is hardly surprising in view of the anomalous and problematic structure of that collection, whose Indic prototype seems to have been drastically revised and rearranged in the process of translation or transmission (see, e.g., Lamotte 1967: 106), and whose sūtras more often than not lack parallels in the Pali AN (Lü Chêng 1963: 244a; Waldschmidt 1980: 174).¹⁴ Parallels for six other sūtras have, however, been found in the other Chinese translations of the sūtra Āgamas. The Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T. 26, 中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng*) provides parallels for the **Cīta-sūtra* (II.1a), the **Mekhiya-sūtra* (II.3), the **Triṣa-sūtra* (II.7b), and the **Mulaga-* and **Pravaja-sūtras* (II.8a,b), while the *Samyuktāgama* (T. 99, 雜阿含經 *Zá āhán jīng*) provides two more parallels, for the **Kidriṭhiga-sūtra* (II.9) and the **Sadha-sūtra* (II.11b). This pattern is not surprising, however, as it is in keeping with the widely attested shifting of sūtras between different Āgamas/Nikāyas in the various canons (see, e.g., Harrison, 2008: 3; Bodhi 2012: 72).

The situation is quite the opposite in relation to the Pali AN. The fact that definite and more or less direct parallels can be found there for a large majority of the Gāndhārī fragments suggests that these two collections were at least broadly similar in contents and structure. It is striking that Harrison noted the same pattern in the newly identified Sanskrit EĀ texts: “the proportion of texts with parallels in the Pali *Anguttaranikāya* is exceedingly high” (2008: 3).

The parallels between the Gāndhārī and Pali collections are summarized as follows:

¹² See, for example, Harrison 1997: 280–1 and Salomon 2012: 506.

¹³ One of the Bamiyan EĀ fragments described in Harrison 2008 (MS 2379/48a(ii)) contains part of a sūtra parallel to one of the *āhāra-suttas* (AN 10.61–62) which is also partially preserved in Gāndhārī frag. 76+79 (text unit 7), and there is apparently a slight overlap in the two texts. But the material involved is too scanty to have much if any value with regard to textual affiliations, at least pending a complete study of the Sanskrit materials.

¹⁴ Not surprisingly, Harrison notes the same pattern with regard to the Bamiyan Sanskrit EĀ: “Most striking is ... the absence of a match between these fragments and the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama* ... Most of the sūtras (28 out of 34) ... do not appear in T. 125 at all” (2008: 3).

Text unit in Gāndhārī	AN parallel
1a	6.29
1b	6.60
2	6.34 (or 7.53)
3	9.3
4	9.34
5	9.35 (?)
6	10.27 (?)
7a	10.47
7b	10.62
8a	10.58
8b	10.59
9	10.93
10	10.99
11a	6.16 (?)
11b	11.10
12a	11.11
12b	11.16
13	?
14	?

Table 2: Summary of correspondences between Gāndhārī *Ekottarikāgama* sūtras and Pali *Āṅguttara-nikāya* suttas

As already noted (I.3), the definite AN parallels range from the twenty-ninth sutta of the *chakka-nipāta* to the sixteenth sutta of the *ekādasaka-nipāta*, and the surviving fragments evidently represent the random remnants of the equivalents of the *chakka*-, *navaka*-, *dasaka*- and *ekādasaka-nipātas* (and possibly also of the *sattaka*- and *aṭṭhaka-nipātas*; see II.2, II.8). This raises the question of whether the Gāndhārī EĀ resembles the AN not only with regard to the inclusion of individual sūtras, but also in the ordering and structure of its contents; the question is particularly important because resemblances between the overall structure of sūtra collections is a prime consideration in determining textual affiliation and historical connections. And there is good reason to think that the Pali AN and the Gāndhārī EĀ do in fact have similar structures, at least in broad terms. The most revealing clues for comparisons of the structure of these two collections are those cases—alas, all too few—where the end of one sūtra and the beginning of the next one are preserved on the same fragment, thus revealing something of the sequence of sūtras in the Gāndhārī EĀ. There are apparently five such cases, four definite and one probable:

1. Fragment 72 (= text unit 1, II.1) contains the end of a sūtra corresponding to AN 6.29 and the beginning of a sūtra corresponding to AN 6.60.
2. Fragments 76+79 (= text unit 7, II.7) contain the end of a sūtra corresponding to AN 10.47 and the beginning of a sūtra corresponding to AN 10.62.
3. Fragments 77f, 86, and 101 (part of text unit 8, II.8) are fragments of a single folio containing part of sūtras corresponding to AN 10.58 and AN 10.59.
4. Fragment 84 (part of text unit 11, II.11) preserves parts of a sūtra which seems to have a partial relationship to AN 6.16, and of a sūtra corresponding to AN 11.10.¹⁵
5. Fragments 82+85 (= text unit 12, II.12) contain parts of sūtras corresponding to AN 11.11 and AN 11.16.

Therefore we have one case (no. 3 above) in which the sequence of sūtras in the Gāndhārī EĀ appears to match exactly that of the Pali AN.¹⁶ At first glance this seems to suggest a direct structural parallel between these two collections, especially since the two Pali suttas in question (AN 10.58–59) seem not to be thematically linked in a way that would tend to keep them together across different traditions. But on closer examination the matter turns out to be more complicated, for in not one but two Chinese *Madhyamāgama* translations the equivalents of AN 10.58–59 are presented as a single sūtra, despite their dissimilar subjects. In one of the Chinese versions, the two sections are linked by the conjunction “therefore” (是故 *shìgù*), despite the lack of any obvious logical connection between them, and this corresponds to *tasmad* in the Gāndhārī text (frag. 101, r3). Unfortunately, nothing remains there before this word, so that we cannot be whether it marks (atypically) the beginning of a new sūtra as it does in its Pali parallel (*tasmā ti ha bhikkhave*), or whether the Gāndhārī EĀ followed the pattern of the Chinese versions in treating both parts of the text in question as a single sūtra. But it is clear that these two text units were somehow associated with each other in various text traditions, so that the significance of their juxtaposition in the Gāndhārī EĀ vis-à-vis the Pali AN cannot be clearly determined on the basis of the surviving fragments.¹⁷

In the three other definite cases (nos. 1, 2 and 5 above) of surviving sūtra junctures, the corresponding Pali parallels are not consecutive, but are in the same relative order as in the Gāndhārī text. Text unit 12 (frags. 82+85) contains sūtras corresponding to AN 11.11 and 11.16, so that the four intervening Pali suttas (11.12–15) must have either been absent from the Gāndhārī EĀ or

¹⁵ In this anomalous case, the first sūtra in the Gāndhārī text is probably not really a parallel to the **Nakulapitā-sutta* as it appears in the section of sixes (*chakka-nipāta*) of the Pali AN, but perhaps rather a differently structured sūtra with a similar theme which belonged to the elevens in the Gāndhārī EĀ; see the introduction to the text edition (II.11) for details. This example is therefore not revealing for the relative ordering of sūtras in the two collections.

¹⁶ There is also one case in which we have separate fragments whose Pali parallels are consecutive: text unit 4 (frag. 80), corresponding to AN 9.34, and text unit 5 (frag. 103), apparently corresponding to AN 9.35. However, since these sūtras are on different fragments which must have come from different folios (and since in any case the identification of unit 5 is quite uncertain), we have no way of knowing whether they were consecutive in the Gāndhārī EĀ. It may be noted, however, that there are two other cases where surviving fragments can be identified on textual grounds (i.e., by comparison with Pali and other parallels) as belonging to consecutive folios of the original manuscript: (1) frag. 119 (text unit 8) was apparently from the folio preceding that of frags. 77f, 86, and 101; (2) additional frag. 1, frags. 77e +77a, and additional frag. 2 (text unit 9) were probably originally from three consecutive folios.

¹⁷ For further discussion of this problem, see the introduction to the text edition (II.8).

must have been located elsewhere in it, and thus in a different sequence than in Pali. The same applies to text unit 7 (frags. 76+79), which contains parts of the sūtras parallel to AN 10.47 and 10.62, skipping over fourteen Pali suttas. And text unit 1 (frag. 72) preserves the parallels to AN 6.29 and 6.60, leaving a gap of thirty suttas. At first glance these cases might seem to suggest that the Gāndhārī EĀ was a shorter collection than the Pali AN, perhaps even just a partial anthology. But it must be noted that the parallels for two of the Pali suttas which are skipped over on fragment 76+79, namely AN 10.58 and 10.59, are preserved on fragments 77f, 86, and 101 (text unit 8), and that the parallel for one of the suttas skipped over on fragment 72, namely AN 6.34, is probably preserved on fragment 6 (text unit 2).¹⁸ This shows that at least some of the seemingly “missing” Pali suttas were present in the Gāndhārī manuscript, though in a different sequence, and so it is still quite possible that the Gāndhārī EĀ was comparable in contents and extent to the AN.

Since the equivalent of AN 6.34 must have appeared in the Gāndhārī EĀ either before or after—but not between—those of AN 6.29 and 6.60, and the equivalents of AN 10.58–59 must have come before or after but not between those of AN 10.48 and 10.61, it is clear that there were significant differences in the ordering of the sūtras in these two collections. But it is striking nonetheless that within all four of the positively identified pairs of sūtras (that is, numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5 in the list above) in the Gāndhārī fragments, the *relative* sequence of the pairs is the same as in Pali. This is a further indication that the contents and arrangement of this Gāndhārī EĀ were, in broad terms at least, similar to those of the Pali AN, and this conclusion is consistent with the observations of Harrison, cited above, concerning the close correspondences between the Sanskrit EĀ from Bamiyan and the AN. While there certainly were considerable variations among the Pali, Gāndhārī, and Sanskrit AN/EĀ collections with regard to the inclusion and ordering of individual sūtras and groups of sūtras, the available data, scanty though it is, suggests that in the end the common ground predominates over the differences.

As with their overall structure, the specific contents of the two texts are broadly similar but show the usual divergences and variations in wording, ordering of elements, and the like; many such cases will be discussed in the notes on the editions below. By way of example, in the **Mekhiya-sutra* (II.3), the Gāndhārī text differs from the Pali parallel in having *ceto-vimutiye prañavi[mu](tie)* where Pali has only *cetovimuttiyā* (see the note on line v1). Here the Chinese parallel (心解脱) agrees with the Pali against the Gāndhārī, but there are also several cases in which the Gāndhārī text agrees with the Chinese Āgamas against the Pali Nikāya texts,¹⁹ as well as others where the Gāndhārī EĀ has a unique reading in comparison with the other versions.²⁰ Thus the Gāndhārī EĀ as represented in these fragments is clearly independent from the previously known texts of this and related genres. The relationships among the three traditions are complex and non-linear, following the pattern which has already been established as typical of Gāndhārī sūtra literature; see, for example, Salomon 2000: 40–1 and Glass 2007: 68–70. But in a broader

¹⁸ It is not possible to determine the relative order within the original manuscript of frags. 77f, 86, and 101 (= AN 10.58–59) on the one hand and 76+79 (= AN 10.47 and 10.62) on the other; nor of frag. 6 (= AN 6.34) and frag. 72 (= AN 6.29 and 6.60). Here, as throughout this edition, the Gāndhārī fragments are presented in the order of their parallels in the Pali AN, for lack of any other evidence of their original sequence.

¹⁹ See II.8, introductory comments; II.9, note on AF 1, v3; II.11, note on frag. 84, v3; and II.12, note on v1.

²⁰ For other examples of this and similar patterns, see II.3, notes on r3 and v3; II.9, note on AF 2, r3; and II.10, introductory comments (end).

perspective, the overall similarities in contents, arrangement, and wording of the Gāndhārī text of the EĀ to the corresponding texts in Pali, Sanskrit and Chinese reflect a broad consensus as to the contents and structure of the fundamental sūtra collections, even between traditions of Indian Buddhism which were geographically very distant from each other.

As for the scholastic affiliation of the Gāndhārī EĀ, there is little that can be said at this point other than that (1) there may be an *a priori* preference for the Mahāsāṅghika(-Lokottaravādins) on the grounds that (later) vinaya texts from Bamiyan belong to that school,²¹ and (2) that a Sarvāstivādin affiliation can probably be ruled out, since the Sarvāstivādin EĀ did not include the section on the elevens which is well attested in our manuscript.²² The wide divergence between the Gāndhārī EĀ and the Chinese EĀ, which is generally considered a Mahāsāṅghika text, proves nothing either way in light of the highly anomalous nature of the latter text as well as of the uncertainty of its affiliation with that school. In short, we do not know, and may never know, to which school the Gāndhārī EĀ belonged, if indeed it even had a distinct school affiliation.²³

I.5. Script and language

All but three of the twenty-seven or twenty-eight fragments of the EĀ manuscript were written by a scribe who has been designated as “Bamiyan scribe no. 2” in Andrew S. Glass’s unpublished preliminary catalogue of the hands observed in the Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī manuscripts from the Bamiyan area which are now held in the Schøyen, Hirayama, and Hayashidera collections.²⁴ His hand is generally representative of standard Kharoṣṭhī of the later period, and is characterized by a precise upright ductus and minimally ornamented style, devoid of decorative flourishes and idiosyncratic features. All or nearly all of the Bamiyan fragments attributed to him²⁵ on the basis of handwriting belong to the EĀ manuscript.

The three exceptions are fragments 72 and 6 (= text units 1 and 2) and the verso of fragments uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a (text unit 10). These are written in the very distinct hand of Glass’s “Bamiyan scribe no. 1.” It is only by the lucky chance that the small fragments comprising text unit 10 have survived that we know that the EĀ manuscript was the combined work of two (or possibly more) scribes, and therefore that the two other fragments written by scribe no. 1 probably belong to it, rather than to a different EĀ manuscript.²⁶ The hand of Bamiyan scribe no. 1 is

²¹ It may be significant in this context that, according to Lü, “the Mahāsāṅghikas preferred the *Ekottarikāgama*” (1965: 241b).

²² See T. 1507, 分別功德論 (卷2), p. 34b1–2, 薩婆多家無序及後十一事, “[The EĀ] of the Sarvāstivādins lacks the preface and the last section of number 11,” and T. 1562, 阿毘達磨順正理論 (Saṅghabhadra’s *Nyāyānusāra*, 卷46), p. 604c3–4, 故今增一阿笈摩中。唯從一增至十法在, “So that now in the EĀ only the dharmas of the numbers from one up to ten remain.”

²³ Compare the remarks of Boucher (2005: 293–4) on the limitations and inherent problems of the search for school affiliations for texts of this type.

²⁴ These designations are not to be confused with the “Schøyen scribes” 1 and 2 referred to in Glass 2000: 182–7, where a different numbering system is used.

²⁵ For two possible exceptions, see II.13 and II.14 (frags. 83, 102).

²⁶ There are six other fragments in the distinctive hand of Bamiyan scribe no. 1 (MS 2179/1, 59, 71, 73, 87, and Hirayama fragment 18) which we have not been able to identify as part of the EĀ, although at least some of them seem to contain sūtra texts. It is therefore provisionally assumed that they belong to (an)other manuscript(s) written by scribe no.1, but it also cannot be ruled out that they are actually from the EĀ manuscript, containing sūtras for which

characterized by a flowing, cursive style with decoratively extended flourishes; note, for example, the *ti* in lines v1 and v2 of text unit 10, where the top and bottom tips of *t* are extended and curved so that they meet the *i* vowel diacritic, forming a figure-eight (४); this, in contrast to the simpler form of the same syllable as written by the other scribe on the recto (५). Also characteristic of his hand is the idiosyncratic form of *n* with a horizontal bend in the stem, as in *ni* in v3 (६).

The distribution of the work of the two scribes raises several questions about the nature of the manuscript as a whole. From the meagre remnants that we have, it would seem that the earlier sections, that is, the *ṣaṭka*- and possibly the *saptaka-nipātas* were written by scribe no. 1, while the later sections, namely the *navaka*-, *daśaka*-, and *ekādaśaka-nipātas*, were the work of scribe no. 2. But text unit 10, parallel to the *Upāli-sutta* = AN 10.99, shows that the situation cannot be so simple, because here we find the recto written by scribe no. 2, and the verso by scribe no. 1. Therefore the most likely scenario is that the two scribes took turns in writing out the entire manuscript, which, as noted above (I.2), must have been very long. The remnants of the entire manuscript are insufficient to allow us to judge exactly what the system of cooperation would have been. On the one hand, the fact that in at least one case they switched over within the same folio suggests that they took rather short turns; but on the other hand, the fact that, with this single exception, the work of scribes 2 and 1 predominates in the early and later sections respectively suggests that their turns might have been longer.

Moreover, other possibilities cannot be ruled out. For example, other scribes besides the two that we know of might have been involved, although their work has not survived (or perhaps has not yet been identified). It is also possible that the two attested scribes were not working together at the same time, as has been assumed above; instead, perhaps, one of them rewrote, supplemented, or corrected a manuscript which had previously been written out in full by the other. In this connection, it may be noted that there seem to be traces of previous writing on fragment 6 (see the introductory remarks on II.2), and possibly also on the verso of the fragments comprising text unit 10, as well as on some of the other fragments written by scribe no. 1 presented in the appendix. According to this scenario, scribe no. 1 might have erased and rewritten the original text of scribe no. 2 on the verso of this folio, and might also have rewritten, or perhaps rather replaced some other complete folios which had been lost or damaged. This scenario is, however, less likely than the one presented in the preceding paragraph.

The orthography and language of the Gāndhārī EĀ are more or less typical of the Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī manuscripts from Bamiyan, representing a later stage of development between about the late second and early fourth centuries A.D., characterized by increasingly Sanskritized orthography (see Salomon 2001). In general, the palaeographic, orthographic and linguistic features of this manuscript are similar to those of the Gāndhārī *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (see Allon and Salomon 2000: 266–71), although the orthography of the latter is slightly more strongly Sanskritized. Examples of Sanskritic features in our text include the restoration of syllabic *r* in *saṅkṛto* (77e+77a, r2, II.9) and of the original post-consonantal *y* in the genitive singular ending (*sya*, AF 1, r1, r2, II.9; *tasya*, AF 2, r3, II.9; *logasya*, 77f, v2, II.8; *anadasya*, 83, r2, II.13), in the gerundive affix (*dreṣṭavya*, AF 2, r3, II.9; *iṣṭavya*, 83, v1, II.13; *pratīkākṣida[v]ya*, 82+85, v1, II.12), and in the

no parallels exist in the AN and other relevant texts. These fragments are presented in the appendix to this article.

words *mahamogalyana-* (6, r2, II.2; 72, v1, II.1) and *kalyana-* (40, r2, II.3; contrast *kalaṇa-* in the Gāndhārī “Rhinceros Sūtra,” Salomon 2000: 152, v. 23b).

Other instances of sporadically Sanskritized spellings are *kidriṣṭhiyo* (AF 1, v3, II.9; contrast *dreṣṭhavya* cited above) alternating with the normal Gāndhārī forms *kidriṭhiyo* or *kidriṭhigo* (e.g., AF 1, r1, II.9), and *-triṣṇa* (76+79, r3, v1, II.7) and *(tu)[ṣni]-* (AF 2, v1, II.9) but also standard *-triṣa* (76+79, r3, II.7). The restoration of the cluster *-ṣy-* in *dhariṣyama* (2, v3, II.6) and *-manuṣyana* (82+85, r1, II.12) in place of its normal Gāndhārī reflex *ś* is yet another instance of this pattern. In *mahakaṣyavena* (72, v1, II.1), this pattern has led to an artificially hyper-Sanskritized spelling, and a similar uncertainty underlies the variant spellings of the name *tiṣya*, for which the normal Gāndhārī would be *tiśa*, as *[tiṣyo]* and *tiṣo* (6, r3, v1, 3, II.2).

We do not, however, find any cases of the restoration of OIA occlusive + occlusive clusters which are found sporadically in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (e.g. *vyakta*, *sapta-*; Allon and Salomon 2000: 266), which reflect a higher degree of Sanskritization. But our text does have some examples of hypersanskritisms such as *-viparana-* = *-vivarana* (40, v2, II.3) and *par[y]agena* = *paryāyena* (80, r3, II.4), and even curious hybrid forms like *-pracyago* = *-pratyayā* (77e+77a, v2, II.9) and *praticya-sa[mu](parno)* = Skt *pratītya-samutpanna* / P *paticca-samuppanna-* (AF 2, r2, II.9). The latter word is, however, also written normally as *pratica-samuparno* (77e+77a, v2, II.9), with the usual casual and inconsistent orthography of Gāndhārī manuscripts.

The character transcribed here as *ṇa* (𑀭𑀺; e.g., in *praṇa-*, 40, v1) has the peculiar shape which is seen in some other late Kharoṣṭhī documents (Salomon 1998: 128–9; 2001: 246), with an extra diagonal stroke at the upper left corner. This graph could be interpreted as a re-Sanskritized *jṇa* rather than a vernacular *ṇa*, but here we have retained the reading *ṇa*. The ambiguity presumably results from the diglossic situation in later Kharoṣṭhī, in which a Sanskritic orthography was being adopted even while the pronunciation was still according to the vernacular.

In general, original voiceless occlusives in intervocalic position are represented as voiced. Thus original *-k-* usually becomes *-g-* (e.g., *paripagaye*, 40, r2, II.3; *logasya*, 77f, v2, II.8), but in *niyama-labhi* (= P *nikāma-*; 40, v3, II.3) it is represented by *y*. Original intervocalic *-ta-* generally becomes *-da-* (e.g., *kadare*, 40, r2, II.3; *[d](u)[c](a)[rid](ana)*, 76, v3, II.7), but *-ti-* and *-to-* are often retained as such, for instance in *bhuto* (77e+77a, r2, II.9) and *bhoti* (77e+77a, v1, II.9), although the visual distinction between *t* and *d* is partially graphically neutralized in these syllables (see also the note on fragment 40, r2 *savartadi* / r3 *savartati* in II.3).

In two instances, original *-gh-* is represented as *-kh-*: *mekhiya* (40, v1, II.3) and *mokham* (AF 1, v2, II.9). The treatment of original *-th-* is highly inconsistent. It may become *-s-*, reflecting the normal Gāndhārī development (e.g., *apicha-kasa satuṭha-kaso* = P *appicchakathā santuṭṭhikathā*, 40, v2, II.3; *a[s](a)* = *atha*, 2, v3, II.6), but it is retained in *katha-* (40, v3, twice, II.3) and *yatha-* (AF 1, v3, II.9). It becomes *-dh-* in *saryadhiva* = P *seyyathīdam* (40, r1, II.3; see the note thereon), and *-d-* in *kada* = P *katham* (77d+77b, v2, II.11)²⁷ and *tadagato*²⁸ = *tathāgata-* (77e+77a, v1, II.9). The only clear instance of original intervocalic *-dh-* is rendered as *-s-* (*avaso* = P *ābādhaḥ*, 80, r1, II.4), which is the usual development.

²⁷ Compare *-kada-* = Skt *katham* in the Khotan *Dharmapada*, v. 90b (Brough 1962: 131).

²⁸ This peculiar spelling is also attested in the Senavarma inscription (line 7c), *tadagada-* (von Hinüber 2003: 23).

The morphology, especially in noun declensions, also exhibits the usual inconsistency of Gāndhārī. The nominative and accusative singular of masculine and neuter noun stems in *-a* most commonly ends in *-o* (e.g., *avaso* = *ābadhaḥ* 80, r1, II.4; *(vija)carana-saparno so śreṭho*, 82+85, r1, II.12), but sometimes in *-a* (e.g., *vihisa-vitarka*, 40, r1, II.3) and once in *-e* (*bhadre*, 77d+77b, v2, II.11). In the latter case we have a nominal phrase, apparently in the accusative to judge by the Pali parallel, in which, not untypically for Gāndhārī, the adjective and the noun it modifies have different endings: *bhadre puruṣayani[yo]*. In this respect, the EĀ manuscript differs from the Gāndhārī *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, which shows a more regular treatment of the corresponding noun forms, with nominative singular consistently in *-o* and accusative in *-a(m)*.

For the nominative singular of feminine stems in *-ā*, we have both *-a* and *-o* in the same phrase: *apicha-kasa samtuṭha-kaso* (40, v2, II.3). The anomalous feminine in *-o* also apparently occurs in *paraghoṣa-pracyago*, where the nominal referent is presumably a lost *driṭhi* (77e+77a, v2, II.9); on feminines in *-o*, see Salomon 2000: 80, 98.

II. Text edition

Presentation of the text

As noted above (n. 5), the sūtras are presented with reconstructed Gāndhārī titles, which are merely provisional. Similarly, the text units are presented in the order of their parallels in the AN, on the assumption that this would at least approximate their sequence in the complete manuscript (n. 18). The text is presented with minimal reconstruction, generally only involving the completion of partial words, though in some cases one or more further words are added when these can be confidently reconstructed on the basis of their occurrence elsewhere in the relevant fragments. In the translations, however, further material derived from the parallels in Pali, Chinese, and/or Sanskrit is presented in square brackets in order to clarify the context of the fragmentary Gāndhārī text. In the parallel texts presented after the readings of each fragment, the portions which correspond to the text preserved in the Gāndhārī fragments are indicated in bold face, with indication of the corresponding line.

Fragments which evidently belonged to the same original folio but which were not immediately contiguous are separated by commas (e.g., “77f, 86, 101”), while immediately contiguous fragments are referred to jointly with a plus sign (e.g., 77e+77a). In both cases, the order of enumeration of the fragments is from right to left on the original folio, reflecting the direction of reading, or in the (presumed) order of the original folios when more than one folio is involved in a single text unit. The letters after some fragment numbers (e.g., 77f) refer to small separate pieces which were placed together under a single number in the preliminary cataloging of the Schøyen collection, but which may or may not actually be related. The siglum “uf” refers to very small miscellaneous fragments which were catalogued as “unlocalized fragments” in the Schøyen collection and stored together in five looseleaf pages. The numbers following uf (e.g., uf1/5a) refer respectively to the page on which a given fragment was located, the row on the page, and the position in the row.

In the transcription, the broken beginning or end of a line of text is indicated by a triple slash (///). The juncture between immediately contiguous fragments is indicated in the transcription by /. The sign ○ indicates the position of a string hole (frags. 77e, 82).

The parallel texts are presented according to their standard editions: the Pali Text Society editions for the AN, and the Taishō edition for Chinese sūtras. However, we have made various minor changes in the punctuation and arrangement of these texts, where we felt that doing so improved the reading or clarified the relationship to the Gāndhārī parallels.

II.1. **Udayi-sutra* and **Citra-sutra* (fragment MS 2179/72)

Fragment 72 is one of three text units of the EĀ manuscript (II.1, 2, and 10 [verso only]) which were written by Bamiyan scribe no. 1. It contains two sūtras which correspond to suttas 6.29 and 6.60 of the Pali AN. The recto preserves three partial lines of fifteen or sixteen syllables which correspond to the end of the *Udāyī-sutta* (AN 6.29, III 322–5; no Chinese parallel for this sūtra has been located). The Pali sutta reports that Udāyī could not answer the Buddha’s question about the subjects or bases of recollection (*anussatiṭṭhāna*), so that Ānanda had to enumerate five bases of recollection, to which the Buddha then added a sixth. The Gāndhārī fragment preserves the conclusion of the description of the fifth base of recollection (r1) and parts of the description of the sixth one added by the Buddha (r2). It also includes (r3) an abbreviated sūtra-ending formula describing the audience’s delight in the Buddha’s speech. As is often the case, the Pali parallel lacks such a concluding formula, but it can be considered to be implied there but omitted by way of silent abbreviation.²⁹ The conclusion of the sūtra is further indicated by punctuation marks and a numeral; see the discussions of these in the notes on line r3.

The verso of fragment 72 contains four lines with fifteen or sixteen syllables per line. The surface is more worn than that of the recto, but nearly all of the akṣaras are more or less legible. The text corresponds for the most part to the beginning of the Pali *Citta-sutta* (AN 6.60, III 392–9) and of sūtra 82 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T. 26, 557c19–558a1), although it contains (in line v1) an introductory narrative which is absent from the other two versions. The *Citta-sutta* reports that while the Buddha was dwelling in the Deer Park at Isipatana in Bārāṇasī, many senior monks after returning from their alms rounds assembled in a pavilion for a discussion of the dhamma (*abhidhamma-katha*; see the note on *dharmavin///(aya-katha)* in v4). But the monk Citta Hatthasāriputta repeatedly interrupted the discussion and was reminded by Mahākotṭhita that he should wait for elder monks to finish their discussion before offering his own opinions. When some of Citta’s companions rebuked Mahākotṭhita for disparaging Citta, whom they considered to be capable of engaging in the discussion with the senior monks, Mahākotṭhita described six scenarios, illustrated with six similes, in which a seemingly dedicated and well-behaved monk might leave the saṅgha and revert to lay life despite having certain good qualities or having attained various meditative states. It is then reported that later on Citta thus reverted to lay life, as

²⁹ Compare the note on [*idam*]=*(a)[v.c]///(i)* in II.7, frag. 76, r1.

had been foreseen by the venerable Mahākoṭṭhita. The Buddha, however, guaranteed that Citta would soon rejoin the saṅgha, and not long afterward he did so and finally became an arhat.

The Chinese parallel to the *Citta-sutta* resembles the Pali sutta except for few minor differences. For example, it gives the location of the incident as Kalandaka-nivāpa at Veḷuvana (竹林加蘭哆園) instead of the Migadāya at Isipatana (see the note below on *karira-maṇḍala*(male) in v2), and describes the subject of discussion as “the dharma and discipline” (法律), which corresponds to *dharmavin(aya-katha)* in the Gāndhārī rather than to *abhidhamma* in the Pali (see the note on this phrase in line v4).

The surviving text on the verso corresponds to the beginning of the sūtra, from the introductory narrative up to Mahākoṭṭhita’s admonition to Citta. The first line is part of an introductory narrative containing the names of two senior monks, Mahamogalyana (P Mahāmogallāna) and Mahakaṣyapa (Mahākassapa). Although this introduction does not occur in the Pali parallel, the Gāndhārī version probably resembled an introductory passage similar to this one found in some other Pali suttas:

evam me sutam. ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati pubbārāme migāramātu pāsāde sambahulehi abhiññātehi abhiññātehi therehi sāvakehi saddhiṃ—āyasmātā ca sārīputtena, āyasmātā ca mahāmoggallānena, āyasmātā ca mahākassapena, āyasmātā ca mahākaccāyanena, āyasmātā ca mahākoṭṭhitena, āyasmātā ca mahākappinena, āyasmātā ca mahācundena, āyasmātā ca anuruddhena, āyasmātā ca revatena, āyasmātā ca ānandena, aññehi ca abhiññātehi abhiññātehi therehi sāvakehi saddhiṃ.

This or similar formulae occur in two Pali suttas in the MN³⁰ and in some Sanskrit texts such as the *Lalitavistara*. Many Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, and *Samghāṭa-sūtra*, have similar introductions containing long lists of names of senior monks and bodhisattvas, including Mahākoṭṭhita. In view of his central role in the *Citta-sutta*, his name must have been present in the lost portion of the Gāndhārī version of this sūtra.

Moreover, a direct link between this introductory narrative and the *Citta-sutta* is provided in the commentary to the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta* of the DN (DN-a II 379), where it is similarly related that Citta interrupted while the elder monks Mahāmogallāna and Mahākoṭṭhita were having a dhamma discussion (*abhidhamma-kathā*) and was asked by the latter to wait until the end of the talk. These parallels explain the connection between the first line of the Gāndhārī *Citta-sutra*, containing the name of Mahamogallāna, who is not mentioned in the direct Pali parallel, and the rest of the fragment. Thus the structure of the Gāndhārī version was somewhat different from the Pali parallel, as is often the case, but they are clearly variant versions of the same sūtra.

³⁰ In the *Ānāpānasati-sutta* (MN no. 118, III 78–88) the same ten names are listed. The same formula with a slightly different list of senior monks appears in the *Mahāgosīṅga-sutta* (MN no. 32, I 212–219).

*Text and translation***a. *Udayi-sutra**

r1. (prati)///[v](e)dhāe saṃvartati ° ayaṃ ucati
anuspati[th]///(anaṃ)

[This base of recollection, thus developed and cultivated,] leads to the penetration [of many elements.] This is called “the base of recollection.”

r2. ///[i]śa bhikṣu svado ceva abhikramati
svado ///

With regard to this, a monk who goes forth mindfully and [returns] mindfully ...

r3. (ida)///[m=ava]ci yava abhinadi ° ◎ 4 € ///

... [The Blessed One] said this (and so on, up to) [Ānanda] applauded [the Blessed One’s speech].

b. *Citra-sutra

v1. (ayusma)///[da maha]mogalyanena ° ma-
hakaṣyavena a[y]///(asmada)

... with venerable Mahamogalyana, with Mahakaṣyava, with venerable [Mahakacayana] ...

v2. (paṇā-bha)///ta peṇḍacara-pratikramṇa
karira-maṇḍala///(maḍe)

... [after taking their] meal and having returned from their alms round, [assembled] in the Karira pavilion hall.

v3. (saṃ)///[ni]patito so spi ti therana bhikṣuna
dharma///(-vinaya-katha)

... joined the assembly. “Here I am!” [he interrupted] the elder monks’ [discussion of] the teaching [and the discipline] ...

v4. /// ? anmagamehi therana bhikṣuna
dharma-vin///(aya-katha)

“... wait for [the end of] the elder monks’ [discussion] of the teaching and the discipline.”

*Parallel texts***a. *Udayi-sutra**

Pali: AN III 325.4–15 (6.29).

puna ca paraṃ bhante bhikkhu sukhassa ca pahānā ... pe ... catutthaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. idaṃ bhante anussatiṭṭhānaṃ evaṃ bhāvitā evaṃ bahulīkataṃ [r1] **anekadhātupaṭive-dhāya saṃvattati.**

imāni kho bhante pañca **anussatiṭṭhānāni** ti.

sādhū sādhū ānanda, tena hi tvaṃ ānanda idaṃ pi chaṭṭhaṃ anussatiṭṭhānaṃ dhārehi: [r2] **idh’** ānanda **bhikkhu sato ’va abhikkamati, sato ’va paṭikkamati, sato ’va tiṭṭhati, sato ’va nisīdati, sato ’va seyyaṃ kappeti, sato ’va kammaṃ adhiṭṭhāti.** idaṃ ānanda anussatiṭṭhānaṃ evaṃ bhāvitā evaṃ bahulīkataṃ satisampajaññāya saṃvattatī ti.

b. **Citra-sutra*

Pali 1: MN III 78.20–79.3 (sutta 118).

ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati pubbārāme migāramātu pāsāde sambahulehi abhiññātehi abhiññātehi therehi sāvakehi saddhiṃ—āyasmātā ca sārīputtena, [v1] āyasmātā ca mahāmoggallānena, āyasmātā ca mahākassapena, āyasmātā ca mahākaccāyanena, āyasmātā ca mahākoṭṭhitena, āyasmātā ca mahākappinena, āyasmātā ca mahācundena, āyasmātā ca anuruddhena, āyasmātā ca revatena, āyasmātā ca ānandena, aññehi ca abhiññātehi abhiññātehi therehi sāvakehi saddhiṃ ...

Pali 2: AN III 392.21–393.2 (6.60).

tena kho pana samayena sambahulā therā bhikkhū [v2] pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapātapaṭikkantā maṇḍalamāḷe sannisinā [v3] sannipatitā abhidhammakathaṃ kathenti. tatra sudaṃ āyasmā citto hatthisārīputto therānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ abhidhammakathaṃ kathentānaṃ antaranārā kathaṃ opātetī. Atha kho āyasmā mahākoṭṭhito āyasmantaṃ cittaṃ hatthisārīputtaṃ etad avoca 'mā āyasmā citto hatthisārīputto [v4] therānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ abhidhammakathaṃ kathentānaṃ antaranārā kathaṃ opātesī, kathāpariyosānaṃ āyasmā citto āgacchitū' ti.

Chinese: 中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng* (*Madhyamāgama*), sūtra 82, T. 26, 557c19–558a1.

我聞如是。一時。佛遊王舍城。在竹林加蘭哆園。爾時眾多比丘於中[v2]食後少有所為。集坐講堂。欲斷諍事。謂論此法律。此佛之教。彼時質多羅象子比丘亦在眾中。於是質多羅象子比丘。[v3]眾多比丘論此法律。此佛教時。於其中間競有所說。不待諸比丘說法訖竟。又不以恭敬。不以善觀。問諸上尊長老比丘。是時尊者大拘絺羅在彼眾中。於是尊者大拘絺羅告質多羅象子比丘曰。賢者。當知[v4]眾多比丘說此法律。此佛教時。汝莫於中競有所說。若諸比丘所說訖已。然後可說。汝當以恭敬。當以善觀。問諸上尊長老比丘。莫不恭敬。莫不善觀。問諸上尊長老比丘。

Notes

r1. (*prati*)///[v](*e*)*dhae*: Only the left edge of the first surviving syllable remains. The Pali parallel, *anekadhātupativedhāya*, would lead us to expect *ve*, and the remnant at the top left is consistent with *v*, but the lower left part of the letter seems to end with an upward curve which would not be expected in *v*. Nevertheless, the consonant in question was probably *v* with an unusually extended foot mark. No trace remains of the expected *e* diacritic, but it probably was originally present in the lost part of the folio.

ayaṃ ucati anuspati[th](anaṃ): Here the corresponding Pali text is phrased in the plural, *imāni anussatiṭṭhānāni*, as would be expected from the context. The ending on the noun in the Gāndhārī text is lost, but the demonstrative adjective *ayaṃ* is apparently singular, as the expected nominative neuter plural form in Gāndhārī would be *imani*. Thus the Gāndhārī version of the sūtra, unlike the Pali, might have had such a concluding formula for each of the “bases of recollection,” and we have accordingly tentatively reconstructed *anuspati[th](anaṃ)* as singular. However, we would expect in such a summary statement a numeration (i.e., “This is the fifth base of recollection”), which is evidently absent here, so that the proposed reconstruction is quite uncertain; the

construction of the Gāndhārī version may have differed from the Pali sūta in ways that cannot be discerned from the remnants.

Only the right edge of the last syllable remains, but it resembles the loop on the right side of *th* as seen in lines v3 and v4 of this fragment. We therefore read it as *such*, rather than as the possible alternate spelling with *ṭh*.

r2. *///[i]śa*: Only the lower left corner of this syllable is preserved, but *idha* in the Pali parallel confirms the reading as *i*. G *iśa* is the regular correspondent of P *idha*/Skt *iha*.

r3. *(ida)///[m=ava]ci yava abhinadi*: As noted in the introductory comments, this is an abbreviated version of a standard sūtra-concluding formula, with the abbreviation indicated by the phrase *yava* (= Skt *yāvad*), “[and so on,] up to.” The implied complete text would have been something like *idam=avaci bhayava atamano anaṃda bhayavada bhaṣitaṃ abhinadi*, “The Blessed One said this. Ānanda was pleased and applauded the Blessed One’s speech.” On similar sūtra-concluding formulae in other Gāndhārī sūtra manuscripts, see the detailed discussion in Allon 2001: 218–23.

◦ © 4 €: The conclusion of the **Udayi-sutra* is marked by a small circular punctuation mark followed by a large circle enclosing five smaller circles, an x-shaped sign which presumably denotes the Kharoṣṭhī numeral 4, and finally the “Euro-sign” punctuation mark. This elaborate set of punctuations suggests that this may have been the end, not just of a single sūtra, but of a larger section of the text, for example a *varga* of ten sūtras, to judge from the typical divisions of the Pali Nikāyas and other Buddhist sūtra collections. Another manuscript which was written by Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribe no. 1 but which has not been identified as part of the EĀ manuscript (MS 2179/73; see the appendix, no. 4) has a similar punctuation sequence. There, at the beginning of the preserved section line A1 the number 4 followed by the Euro-sign, while at the end of line A2 a small round punctuation mark is followed by another 4 and a small remnant of another unidentifiable sign. The signs at the beginning of the first line might have been preceded by two further punctuation marks in the lost portion of the fragment, as in the **Udayi-sutra*, but this cannot be confirmed. But the punctuation at the end of the second line could not have comprised the same set, as the complex circle design between the small circle and the following number is definitely absent there.

It is striking, though perhaps only coincidental, that in all three cases the numeral is 4, and this raises the question of whether the x-shaped sign is another kind of punctuation mark, rather than a numeral. However, other Bamiyan fragments written by the same scribe (but again, not identifiable as part of the EĀ) do contain other numerals together with punctuation signs. For example, MS 2179/1, line A3 (appendix, no. 1), has the small circle followed by a 3, while Hirayama fragment 18 (appendix, no. 6) probably has the small circle followed by 4-1 (i.e., 5) in line A2 and the small circle followed by 4 and, apparently, another 4 in B1. Also, in Schøyen fragment 102, which was written by Bamiyan scribe no. 2 and which may belong to the EĀ manuscript (see II.14), the numeral 6 (4-1-1) is followed by the Euro sign. Thus we can tentatively conclude that the x-shaped sign in our fragment is indeed the number 4, but there is unfortunately little that can be said about its significance. It could mark the **Udayi-sutra* as the fourth in a sub-series, presumably a *varga* of ten sūtras, or it might mark the end of the fourth *varga* of a larger

series, presumably the section on sixes (P *chakka-nipāta*). Unfortunately, this is the only certain juncture between sūtras (besides the doubtful cases in fragment 101 [see II.8] and 102 [II.14]), so we have no grounds for comparison, and no final conclusion as to its significance can be drawn.

v1. (*ayusma*)///[*da maha*]*mogalyanena* ° *mahakaṣyavena a[y]*///(*asmada*): The punctuation mark between the two names is characteristic of scribe no. 1, who uses punctuation quite freely,³¹ in contrast to scribe no. 2, who punctuates only very rarely (see the introductory comments to II.14). The absence of the honorific *ayasmada* (= P *āyasmatā*) before the name of Mahāmoggallāna is surprising, but is presumably just a matter of scribal abbreviation.

v2. (*paṇa-bha*)///*ta peṇḍacara-pratikramṇa*: The phrasing here closely resembles that of the corresponding Pali formula (*pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapāṭapaṭikkantā*), except that Gāndhārī has *peṇḍacara-pratikramṇa* in contrast to P's *piṇḍapāṭa-paṭikkanta*. Although *piṇḍacāra* is well attested in Pali, it never occurs in combination with *paṭikkanta* or related verbs, appearing rather with forms of *√car*, such as *piṇḍacāraṃ carantassa* and *piṇḍacāraṃ caritvā*. But it is clear that the Gāndhārī text has the same sense as the Pali formula.

karira-maṇḍala(maḍe): The shapes of the last two akṣaras are somewhat irregular. The *ḍa* looks like the Kharoṣṭhī letter which is transcribed as *jha* or *za*, but comparison with the *ḍa* of *peṇḍacara*- earlier in the same line shows that it is just a slightly more ornate version of the same letter, with the left tip curved and extended. The following syllable seems to be a somewhat aberrant form of *la*, lacking the tall top of the vertical stem, but a similar variant shape of *la* is found in Hirayama fragment 18 (line B1; see the appendix, III.6). This phrase presumably corresponds to Pali *karerimaṇḍalamāle*, attested in similar contexts such as DN II 1.6–9 (*atha kho sambahulānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapāṭapaṭikkantānaṃ karerimaṇḍalamāle sannisinnānaṃ sannipatitānaṃ pubbenivāsapaṭisaṃyuttā dhammī kathā udapādi*; cf. also *Udāna* 30.18–21). The Gāndhārī form *karira*-, in contrast to Pali *kareri*-, corresponds to the Sanskrit form of what is evidently the same toponym attested in the *Lalitavistara* (Hokazono 1994: 276) as *karīro maṇḍalamāḍas*; compare also *maṇḍa(la)vāṭa*- in *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil 1886: 286.15, 288.15–16). A similar form also occurs in the introductory nidāna of the *Ekādaśamukha-hṛdaya* manuscript from Gilgit which, according to Dutt (1939: 35), reads *bhagavān śrāvastyām viharati karī[rama]ṇḍale ca*. However, an examination of the facsimile of the original manuscript (Raghu Vira and Chandra 1959: no. 2417) shows that (as is notoriously often the case) Dutt's reading is inaccurate; the correct reading of the phrase in question is apparently *karī[de] (ma)ṇḍa-lavāḍe*. The *-vāḍe* of the Gilgit text suggests a possible alternative reconstruction *karira-maṇḍa-la(vāḍe)* instead of *karira-maṇḍala(maḍe)* as presented above. The *kareri-maṇḍalamāla* was a hall or pavilion at the Jetavana near Śrāvastī, located near a *kareri* tree (DN-a II 407; *Paramatthadīpanī* = Ud-a, 202–3; see also Malalasekera 1937–38: 1.533). Thus the Gāndhārī text must have been set in Śrāvastī, although the parallel sutta in Pali was set in the Migadāya at Isipattana near Vārāṇasī, and the Chinese in Kalandakanivāpa at Veluvana near Rājagaha. But inconsistency between different versions of the same sūtra as to the setting is a very frequent phenomenon (see Schopen 2004), and in any case the Pali and Chinese versions themselves disagree as to the

³¹ Such profligate punctuation is sometimes seen in other Gāndhārī texts, for instance in the Mahāyāna sūtra in the Bajaur collection; see Strauch 2010: 28 and n. 18.

setting, so that there is no surprise that the Gāndhārī has yet another setting. But it may be relevant that another sutta concerning Citta, describing his final ordination and attainment of arhatship (*Poṭṭhapāda-sutta*, DN no. 9, I 178–203 = Chinese *Dīrghāgama*, sūtra 28; T. 1, 109c22–112c19), is also set in the Jetavana at Śrāvastī.

v3. (*saṃ*)///[*ni*]patito so *spi ti therana bhikṣuna dharma*///(-*vinaya-katha*): Here the phrasing of the Gāndhārī fragment strongly diverges from the Pali parallel. The singular form of (*saṃ*)[*i*]-*patito* seems to indicate that Citta was described as separately joining the assembly. Although *saṃnipatita-* is typically used with reference to a group of people, it can also refer to a single person, for example in paragraph 2 of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *subhūtiṣ tasyām eva paṇṣadi saṃnipatito 'bhūt saṃniṣaṇṇaḥ*; with reference to this passage, MW gives for *saṃ-ni-√pat* “to present one’s self, arrive, appear among or in (loc.)” The phrase *so spi ti* has no direct parallel in either the Pali or the Chinese versions, and given the fragmentary context it is difficult to judge its significance. But it seems to represent the intrusive words of Citta as he interrupts the conversation, rudely announcing “Here I am!” (compare P *esāhaṃ* / Skt *eṣo 'ham*), or perhaps rather “I am (of the opinion that...)”

Dharma- at the end of the line is presumably part of the compound *dharma-vinaya*; see the note on *dharma-vin*///(*aya-katha*) in the following line.

v4. *anmagamehi*: This corresponds to P *āgametu* in *kathāpariyosānaṃ āyasmā citto āgametū' ti*, “The Venerable Citta should wait until the end of the discussion [to state his views].” But the Gāndhārī text has the verb in the second instead of third person imperative, and moreover it is the equivalent of P *anvāgamehi*/Skt *anvāgamaya* rather than of *āgamehi/āgamaya*; for *anmā-* = *anvā-* compare *braṃapuṇṇākamaḍhena samanmaga(da)* = Skt *brahmapuṇyaskandhena sam-anvāgata-* in Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragment 20, l. A-1, and *tehi dhammehi sa<<ma>>nmagato* = *tair dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ* in British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 10, l. 44 (both unpublished). However, Pali *anvāgameti* means, according to CPD (p. 258b), “to wish something back,” while the non-causative past participle *anvāgata* means “attained (successively),” “endowed with,” etc. But, judging from what little we can tell about the context in the Gāndhārī passage in question, it would seem that *anmagamehi* here must mean “wait for” or the like.

dharma-vin///(*aya-katha*): The reconstruction presented here is supported by 法律 “dharma [and] vinaya” in the Chinese parallel, contrasting with *abhidhamma-kathaṃ* of Pali. However, the meaning is not as different as it may seem, because *abhidhamma-kathā* often means “talk about dhamma” rather than “talk about abhidhamma”; see the discussions in DP and CPD, s.v., and compare Bodhi 2012: 714 + 1733 n. 1086 and 946 + 1765 n. 1387.

II.2. **Mogalyana-sutra* or **Tiṣya-sutra* (fragment MS 2179/6)

Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragment 6 is a tiny piece containing three lines of writing on each side, with five to eight characters per line. Like fragment 72 described above, it was written by Bamiyan scribe no. 1. The extant portion contains part of a narrative in which Mahamogalyana (= P Mahāmoggallāna) goes to a brahma-world in order to converse with a monk named Tiṣ(y)a (Tissa), who had recently died and been reborn there. This narrative appears in both the *Moggal-*

lāna- and *Tissa-suttas* of the AN in the sections on the sixes (6.34) and the sevens (7.53) respectively, but there are no Sanskrit or Chinese parallels. No part of the discourse survives that would directly prove which of the two parallel suttas the Gāndhārī text represents, but for reasons explained below, it is probably the equivalent of the *Moggallāna-sutta*.

In the *Moggallāna-sutta*, Mahāmoggallāna, while in seclusion in the Jetavana at Śrāvastī, wondered which deities know that they are stream-enterers who are not subject to inferior rebirths and are bound for final enlightenment. Then, “as quickly as a strong man would bend or stretch an arm,” he disappeared from the Jetavana and reappeared in the brahma-world where Tissa had been reborn and had come to be known as “the powerful and mighty Tissa Brahmā” (*tisso brahmā mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo*). Seeing Mahāmoggallāna, Tissa welcomed him and paid his respects. In response to Mahāmoggallāna’s question, Tissa explained that some deities of the six heavenly worlds, namely those who possess unwavering confidence in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha and who are endowed with the virtues beloved by the noble, do know that they are stream-enterers, while the deities who lack such qualities do not know this. The sutta is classed in the section of the sixes (*chakka-nipāta*) on account of the six heavenly worlds (*cātummahārājikānaṃ, tāvatimsānaṃ, yāmānaṃ*, etc.) which Tissa enumerates.

The *Tissa-sutta* has a similar narrative frame though with a different setting, namely the Vulture Peak (*gijjhakūṭe*) in Rājagaha. The sutta begins with a scene in which two deities visit the Buddha to declare their insight (*ñāṇa-dassana*) regarding the liberation of Buddhist nuns. One deity says that those nuns are liberated, and the other then specifies that they are fully liberated without a residue remaining (*anupādisesā suvimuttā*). When the Buddha reported this event in the morning to the monks, a question arose in Mahāmoggallāna’s mind as to which deities know which beings have or do not have a remaining residue (*sa-upādisesa/anupādisesa*). He then went to see Tissa, who had recently died and been reborn in the brahma-world, and asked him this question. Tissa replied that some brahma-gods, namely those who are not content with the life span, beauty, happiness, glory and authority of a brahmā and who know the higher escape as it really is (*uttariṃ nissaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānanti*), do possess such knowledge. Tissa then elaborated six further types of beings whom such deities know to have no residue remaining or to have a residue remaining, as follows: (1) A monk who is liberated on both sides (*ubhato-bhāga-vimutto*) and (2) a monk who is liberated by wisdom (*paññā-vimutto*) have no residue, whereas (3) a monk who is a bodily witness (*kāya-sakkhī*), (4) a monk who has attained to the (right) view (*diṭṭhi-ppatto*), (5) a monk who is liberated by faith (*saddhā-vimutto*), and (6) a monk who follows the dhamma (*dhammānusārī*) do have a residue remaining (*sa-upādiseso*). Mahāmoggallāna then returned to the Vulture Peak and reported to the Buddha what he had heard from Tissa. The Buddha added the seventh type, namely a monk who dwells in the markless (*animitta-vihārī*), who is also known by the brahmā-gods to have a residue remaining. It is with reference to these seven classes of beings that the *Tissa-sutta* is classed in the section of the sevens (*sattaka-nipāta*).

Except for the first line on the recto, the text on fragment 6 corresponds to the parts of the two narratives summarized above which describe the thought that occurred to Mahāmoggallāna, the recent death of the monk Tissa, Tissa’s recognition in the brahmā-world, and Tissa’s welcoming speech to Mahāmoggallāna. The single word preserved on the first line of the recto (*[bha]ga-*

va[to]) does not correspond to either of these suttas, but seems rather to be part of the conclusion of the preceding sūtra, probably part of the formula ... *bhagavato bhaṣitaṃ abhinadi*, “... applauded the Blessed One’s speech.” If this is correct, the Gāndhārī sūtra more closely parallels the *Moggallāna-sutta* than the *Tissa-sutta*, since the latter has a fairly long preliminary episode involving the conversation of the two deities, for which there would not be sufficient room between the first two lines of the fragment.

Fragment 6 appears to be a palimpsest. Traces of underlying writing which has been incompletely erased are fairly clearly visible between the lines on the recto. For example, below the *bha* in r1 is the trace of what is probably *ri*. (On the possibility of palimpsests among the EĀ fragments, compare the introductory comments on fragment 102 in II.14.)

Text and translation

r1. /// ? [<i>bha</i>]gava[<i>to</i>] ///	... of the Blessed One ...
r2. (<i>ay</i>)///[<i>usma</i>]do mahamogalya///(<i>nasya</i>)	[This thought occurred] to venerable Mahamogalyana.
r3. /// [<i>samagena</i>] tiṣ[<i>o</i>] na[<i>ma</i>] ///	At [that] time, [a monk] named Tiṣa [had recently died].
v1. /// [<i>tiṣyo ti saṃñanati</i>] ///	[The brahma-gods] know [him] as “Tiṣya” ...
v2. /// a[<i>gamanadae</i>] ° [<i>yav.</i>] ///	[It has been long since you took the opportunity] for coming [here] (and so on), up to ...
v3. /// (<i>t</i>)[<i>i</i>]ṣo ° brahma [<i>s.</i>] ? ///	... Tiṣa the brahmā ...

Parallel texts

Pali 1: AN III 331.24–332.22 (6.34).

ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. atha kho [r2] āyasmato mahāmoggallānassa rahogatassa paṭisallīnassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi “katamesānaṃ devānaṃ evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti: sotāpannā’ mha avinipātadhammā niyatā sambodhiparāyanā’ ti? tena kho pana [r3] samayena tisso nāma bhikkhu adhunā kālakato aññatarāṃ brahmalokaṃ upapanno hoti. tatra pi naṃ evaṃ [v1] jānanti “tisso brahmā mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo” ti.

atha kho āyasmā mahāmoggallāno, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ eva jetavane antarahito tasmiṃ brahmaloke pāturahosi. addasā kho tisso brahmā āyasmantaṃ mahāmoggallānaṃ dūrato ’va āgacchantaṃ, disvā āyasmantaṃ mahāmoggallānaṃ etad avoca “ehi kho mārīsa moggallāna, svāgataṃ mārīsa moggallāna, cirassaṃ kho mārīsa moggallāna imaṃ pariyāyaṃ akāsi, yad idaṃ [v2] idhāga-manāya, nisīda mārīsa moggallāna, idaṃ āsanaṃ paññattan” ti. nisīdi kho āyasmā mahāmoggallāno paññatte āsane. tisso pi brahmā āyasmantaṃ mahāmoggallānaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ

nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [v3] tissaṃ brahmānaṃ āyasmā mahāmogallāno etad avoca “katamesānaṃ kho tissa devānaṃ evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti: sotāpannā ’mha avinipātadhammā niyatā sambodhiparāyanā” ti? “cātummahārājikānaṃ kho mārisa moggallāna devānaṃ evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti: sotāpannā ’mha avinipātadhammā niyatā sambodhiparāyanā” ti ...

Pali 2: AN IV 74.24–76.13 (7.53).

evaṃ me sutam. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati gijjhakūṭe pabbate. atha kho dve devatā abhikkantāya rattiya abhikkantavaṇṇā kevalakappaṃ gijjha kūṭaṃ obhāsetvā yena bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkamiṃsu, upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. ekamantaṃ tthitā kho ekā devatā bhagavantaṃ etad avoca “etā bhante bhikkhuniyo vimuttā” ti. aparā devatā bhagavantaṃ etad avoca “etā bhante bhikkhuniyo anupādisesā suvimuttā” ti. idam avocaṃ tā devatā. samanunño satthā ahosi. atha kho tā devatā “samanunño satthā” ti bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā tatth’ ev’ antaradhāyimsu. atha kho bhagavā tassā rattiya accayena bhikkhū āmantesi “imaṃ bhikkhave rattiṃ dve devatā abhikkantāya rattiya abhikkantavaṇṇā kevalakappaṃ gijjhakūṭaṃ obhāsetvā yenāhaṃ ten’ upasaṅkamiṃsu, upasaṅkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. ekamantaṃ tthitā kho bhikkhave ekā devatā maṃ etad avoca ‘etā bhante bhikkhuniyo vimuttā’ ti. aparā devatā maṃ etad avoca ‘etā bhante bhikkhuniyo anupādisesā suvimuttā’ ti. Idam avocaṃ bhikkhave tā devatā, idam vatvā maṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā tatth’ ev’ antaradhāyimsu” ti.

tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahāmogallāno Bhagavato avidūre nisinna hoti. atha kho [r2] āyasmato mahāmogallānassa etad ahosi “katamesānaṃ kho devānaṃ evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti: sa-upādisese vā sa-upādiseso ti anupādisese vā anupādiseso” ti. tena kho pana [r3] samayena tisso nāma bhikkhu adhunā kālakato aññataraṃ brahmalokaṃ upapanno hoti. tatrāpi naṃ evaṃ [v1] jānanti “tisso brahmā mahiddhiko mahāñubhāvo” ti. atha kho āyasmā mahāmogallāno, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ eva gijjhakūṭe pabbate antarahito tasmiṃ brahmaloke pāturahosi. addasā kho tisso brahmā āyasmantaṃ mahāmogallānaṃ dūrato ’va āgacchantaṃ, disvā āyasmantaṃ mahāmogallānaṃ etad avoca “ehi kho mārisa moggallāna, svāgataṃ mārisa moggallāna, cirassaṃ kho mārisa moggallāna imaṃ pariyāyamam akāsi, yad idaṃ [v2] idhāgamanāya, nisīda mārisa moggallāna, idam āsanaṃ paññattan” ti. nisīdi kho āyasmā mahāmogallāno paññatte āsane. tisso pi kho brahmā āyasmantaṃ mahāmogallānaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho [v3] tissaṃ brahmānaṃ āyasmā mahāmogallāno etad avoca “katamesānaṃ kho tissa devānaṃ evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti: sa-upādisese vā sa-upādiseso ti anupādisese vā anupādiseso” ti. “brahmakāyikānaṃ kho mārisa moggallāna devānaṃ evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti: sa-upādisese vā sa-upādiseso ti anupādisese vā anupādiseso” ti

Notes

r1. /// ? [bha]gava[to] ///: As noted in the introductory comments, this is probably part of the concluding formula of the preceding sūtra. The badly damaged first syllable (perhaps *t.* or *c.*) is therefore likely to be the end of the word denoting the audience or interlocutor to the Buddha (compare the note on frag. 72, r3, (*ida*)/m=avaci yava abhinadi, II.1). The phrase seen most

frequently in this position is “those bhikkhus” (P *te bhikkhū*), but many other names or titles may occur, so that no convincing reconstruction can be proposed.

r2. (ay)///[usma]do: The reconstruction is based on the expected reading, but the first two letters are badly damaged so that their reading is highly uncertain. In the first surviving syllable only a small portion of the lower left corner is discernible, but it is apparently consistent with the *u* diacritic of the expected syllable *yu*. In the following syllable the subscript *m* is clear, but the top portion is obscure; it looks like *kṣ* rather than the expected *s*, but this is probably an illusion due to the damaged surface of the folio and the displacement of a small portion of it.

mahamogalya///(nasya): The reconstruction of the name as *mahamogalya(nasya)*, rather than *mahamogalya(yanasya)* as Sanskrit *mahāmaudgalyāyana* might suggest, is confirmed by [mah]ā-mogalyanena in fragment 72, v1 (II.1). This form, perhaps the result of haplology, thus corresponds to Pali *mahāmoggallāna* rather than to the Sanskrit equivalent.

r3. tiṣ[o]: Because the bottom of the syllable is lost, it is impossible to know whether the name was spelled *tiṣo*, as in v3, or *tiṣyo* as in v1; see the following note. Here, the subscript post-consonantal *y*, if it was ever present, is lost, but the very top of the *o* vowel diacritic is visible.

v1. /// [tiṣyo]: The tops of all the syllables in this line are cut off, but enough remains of them to make the readings reasonably secure. The subscript *y* in the second syllable is clear, so that the spelling of the name here contrasts with *tiṣo* in v3 and possibly in r3 (see the previous note). The variation, reflecting an inconsistent degree of Sanskritization, is typical of this manuscript as of later Gāndhārī texts in general (see I.5).

[saṃñanati] ///: The Pali parallels have here *jānanti*, so that we would have expected the plural form *saṃñanaṃti* (= Skt *saṃjānanti*), since Bamiyan scribe no. 1 (unlike scribe no. 2) usually writes anusvāra; see the several cases in fragment 72 (II.1). But the discrepancy is probably insignificant, as he, like other Kharoṣṭhī scribes, may have been inconsistent in his use of anusvāra.

If it is to be assumed that the Gāndhārī text here resembled the Pali parallels cited above, it must have been considerably abbreviated in the space between lines v1 and v2. For the amount of text in the Pali parallel between the correspondents to these two lines (*atha kho āyasmā mahāmoggallāno, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso ... yad idaṃ idha*) covers some eight lines in the PTS edition, far more than the average of about three printed lines corresponding to one line of text in the manuscript (see the introductory comments to II.4). Very likely, the scribe drastically abbreviated the cliché *seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ eva jetavane antarahito*, and probably also part of the following text, with the *yava* or *peyala yava* formula; compare the note on fragment 72, r3 (II.1), (*ida*)///[m=ava]ci yava abhinadi.

v2, 3. /// a[gamanadae] ///: This word corresponds to the (*idh*)āgamanāya of the Pali parallels. The corresponding P/Skt stem *āgamanatā-*, apparently constructed with a pleonastic abstract suffix, is not recorded in the standard dictionaries, but occurs in several Mahāyāna sūtras, for example in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*: *sarvajagatparipākavinayaniṣṭhāgamanatāyai sarvatathāgatavaṃśasaṃdhāraṇaprayogaṇiṣṭhāgamanatāyai* (Vaidya 1960b: 233).

v3. *[yav.]*: This presumably represents the abbreviation formula *yava* = Skt *yāvad*, “up to”; compare the note above on *[saṃñanati]*. Most likely, the scribe was marking the omission of the stereotyped passage in which Tissa invites Mahāmoggallāna to sit on the seat which had been prepared for him (P “*nisīda mārīsa moggallāna, idam āsanam paññattan*” *ti. nisīdi kho āyasmā mahāmoggallāno paññatte āsane*, etc.); but see also the following note.

v3. */// (t)[i]ṣo ° brahma [s.] ? ///*: If the interpretation of *yava* proposed in the preceding note is correct (and if we can assume that the Gāndhārī text followed the same structure as the Pali parallels), this phrase could not correspond to *tisso pi kho brahmā* of the Pali, because this phrase comes immediately after the omitted text, and therefore would have had to be on the preceding line (v2). Therefore it more likely corresponds to *tissam brahmānam* which in the PTS edition follows two lines after that passage. But in this case, *tiṣo brahma* would have to be taken as accusative. The accusative masculine in *-o* is attested elsewhere in this manuscript (see I.5), and *brahma* as accusative is at least plausible, though not attested. But in any case, the incomplete syllable, apparently *s*, which follows this phrase remains unexplained, and all that remains of the syllable after it is an unidentifiable trace of the upper right tip. The Pali parallels do not offer any obvious interpretation, and it may well be that the structure and wording of the Gāndhārī text diverged here from the Pali in ways that cannot be determined. The punctuation mark between *(t)[i]ṣo* and *brahma* is characteristic of the free use of punctuation by scribe no. 1; see the note on fragment 72, v1 (II.1).

II.3. **Mekhiya-sutra* (fragment MS 2179/40)

Fragment 40 is the largest single remnant of the EĀ manuscript. It consists of a strip from the middle of a folio, intact at the top and bottom but with the right and left sides torn off. The preserved text consists of three lines on each side with 24 to 26 syllables per line, representing approximately forty percent of the folio’s full length, as calculated by comparison with the Pali parallel. But as is the case with all of the smaller fragments of this manuscript, the contents of the relatively large fragment 40 become clear only through comparison with parallel texts. The primary Pali parallel is the *Meghiya-sutta* in AN 9.3 (IV 354–8); an identical text, except for two concluding verses at the end, appears in *Udāna* 4.1 (pp. 34–37 of the PTS edition). The Chinese parallel is found in the *Madhyamāgama* (中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng*), sūtra no. 56 (T. 26, 491a16–492a11). As with most of the Gāndhārī EĀ fragments, there is no parallel for this sūtra among the extant fragments of the EĀ in Sanskrit.

The sūtra consists of a discourse delivered to a monk called Mekhiya in Gāndhārī (= P Meghiya), who at the time was serving as the Buddha’s attendant (*upatṭhāka*) at Cālikā. According to the Pali version, Mekhiya reported to the Buddha about the unwholesome thoughts that arose while he was meditating in solitude in a beautiful mango grove on the bank of the Kimikālā River. The Buddha then proclaimed the five conditions (G *(dha)me*/P *dhammā*) conducive to the maturation of mental liberation and (in the Gāndhārī version only) of wisdom liberation that are in an immature state. Both the Pali and the Chinese parallel state only that the five conditions lead to the maturation of mental liberation (P *cetovimuttiyā*/Chinese 心解脱/*G cetovimutī*), but neither of

them mentions the wisdom liberation (*prañavi[mu](tie)*) which is referred to in the Gāndhārī version. The five conditions listed in the Pali sutta are: (1) having a good companion;³² (2) being well-disciplined in regard to virtuous behavior; (3) being receptive to talk which is conducive to abstinence and which leads to mental clarity (*abhisallekhikā cetovivaraṇasappāyā*); (4) using firm effort in order to abandon unwholesome qualities and to arouse wholesome qualities; and (5) being endowed with wisdom which leads to the comprehension of the rising and falling of all things and to the complete exhaustion of suffering. The latter four conditions are presented as resulting from the guidance of a good companion, which is thus emphasized as the main topic of this part of the sutta.

At the very end of the sutta, the Buddha briefly mentions four further kinds of further mental cultivation which are to be developed on the basis of (*patiṭṭhāya*) the five previously mentioned ones.³³ It is because of this combination of sets of five and four items that the sutta is located in the *navaka-nipāta* of the AN, which contains many such composite suttas consisting of combinations of groups of five and four.³⁴ The four additional items are the perception of the loathsomeness of the body (*asubhā*), loving kindness (*mettā*), meditation on breath (*ānāpānasati*) and the perception of things as impermanent (*aniccasaññā*). This section concerning the further mental cultivations is not preserved in the Gāndhārī fragment, but since the distribution of the other fragments makes it probable that this one belonged to the *navaka-nipāta*, these four additional items would presumably have been present in the complete Gāndhārī text.

The parallel texts do not report anything about Meghiya's response to the Buddha's discourse or the result of his listening to it, other than the formulaic conclusion in the Chinese (492a10–11) that he and the other monks “delighted in and accepted what the Bhagavān had said” (諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行). However, the commentary on Meghiya's verse in the *Theragāthā* (Th-a I 159–161) cites this AN discourse to explain his attainment of arhatship which is proclaimed in the root verse (Th 66), reporting that Meghiya followed the Buddha's instruction and attained arhatship (*so tasmim ovāde thito vipassanaṃ vadḍheta arahattaṃ pāpuṇi*).

The first line of the fragment contains part of the passage in which Meghiya tells the Buddha about the unwholesome thoughts that disturbed him while he was meditating in the mango grove (= AN IV 356.25–26). The rest of the recto and all of the verso preserve portions of the descrip-

³² *Kalyāṇamitto*, *kalyāṇasahāyo*, *kalyāṇasampavaṅko*; these terms may alternatively be understood as karmadhāraya compounds, meaning that the practitioner himself is a good companion, etc. But the context suggests that they should be taken as bahuvrīhis, referring to the person who has a good companion, for Meghiya was not yet able to proceed to further mental development on his own. Thus he still needed a “good companion,” that is, an instructor or mentor to serve as an example to lead him to further mental development. The proposed translation is indirectly supported by the MN commentary (MN-a II 379–80). Here, by way of explaining the importance of *kalyāṇamittas*, the commentator quotes from several other suttas, including the passage in question from the *Meghiya-sutta*, and then cites two verses from the *Rāhula-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta* (338–9), beginning with *mitte bhajassu kalyāṇe*, “associate with good friends.” The Chinese translator, however, seems to understand the first compound (= P *kalyāṇamitto*) as a karmadhāraya but the other two as bahuvrīhis: 比丘者。自善知識。與善知識俱。善知識共和合。“That bhikṣu being a good companion himself, keeps company with good companions, mingles with good companions.”

³³ The same set of nine dharma is presented elsewhere in the *navaka-nipāta* (AN IV 351–3) as the means for developing qualities which contribute to enlightenment (*sambodhapakkhikānaṃ āvuso dhammānaṃ ... upanissā bhāvanāya*).

³⁴ See also the discussion of composite suttas in the introductory comments to the **Nagulapita-sutra* (II.11) and the **Moranivapa-sutra* (II.12), and the general description of this phenomenon in the AN in Bodhi 2012: 63–4, citing the *Meghiya-sutta* as an example.

tions of the first three of the five *dharmas* which the Buddha proclaimed as leading to the maturation of both types of liberations: a good companion (r2), virtuous behavior (r3, v1), and receptiveness to useful talk (v2, v3).

Text and translation

r1. /// <i>vitarka samudacaṣe saryadhiva yava vihisā-vitarka piyalo so [a.]///</i>	[Three evil, unwholesome] thoughts have beset [me], as follows (as before, up to) hurtful thoughts; and so on. He ...
r2. (<i>paca dha</i>)/// <i>me paripagaye savartadi kadare paca iṣa mekhiya bhikṣu kalyanamī///(tro)</i>	[Five] dharmas are conducive to the maturation [of immature mind liberation and wisdom liberation]. Which five? Among them, Mekhiya, a monk who has a good companion ...
r3. /// <i>savartati ariya-katehi śīlehi bhavananuyogam=anuyuto viha[r]///(ati)</i>	[This is the first practice that] is conducive to [the maturation of immature mind liberation and wisdom liberation]. <Second dharma:> [A monk who] remains devoted to development with respect to the virtues which are dear to the noble ...
v1. (<i>samasi-sa</i>)/// <i>vartaniyena aparipagaya mekhiya ceto-vimutie prañña-vi[mu]///(tie)</i>	... leading to [concentration]. Mekhiya, [this is the second practice conducive to the maturation] of immature mind liberation [and] wisdom liberation ...
v2. (<i>cet</i>)/// <i>[o]-viparāṇa-sapreya saryadhiva apicā-kasā satuṭṭhā-kasā pra[t]i[vi]///(vegākasa)</i>	<Third dharma:> [... conversation] conducive to purification of the mind, as follows: conversation about desiring little, conversation about contentment, [conversation about] seclusion ...
v3. (<i>vimutī-ñā</i>)/// <i>na-darśana-kathā tatharupae kathā[e] labhi bhavati niyama-labhi [a]///(kicā-labhi)</i>	... [and] conversation about knowing and seeing [liberation]; he becomes one who gets to [to hear] such kinds of conversation, who gets to hear it at will, who [gets to hear it] easily.

Parallel texts

Pali: AN IV 356.20–357.19 (AN 9.3).

atha kho āyasmā meghiyo yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā meghiyo bhagavantam etad avoca: "idha mayhaṃ bhante tasmim ambavane viharantassa yebhuyyena tayo pāpakā akusalā [r1] vitakkā samudācaranti, seyyathīdam kāmavitakko vyāpādavitaṃ vihiṃsāvitaṃ; tassa mayhaṃ bhante etadahosi 'acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho, saddhāya 'va tañ c' amhi agārasmā anagāri-

yaṃ pabbajito, atha ca paṇ' imehi tīhi pāpakehi akusalehi vitakkehi anvāsatto: kāmavitakkena vyāpādavitakkena vihiṃsāvitakkenā' "ti.

aparipakkāya meghiya cetovimuttiyā pañca [r2] dhammā paripakkāya saṃvattanti. **katame pañca? idha meghiya bhikkhu kalyāṇamitto hoti kalyāṇasahāyo kalyāṇasampavaṅko. aparipakkāya meghiya cetovimuttiyā ayaṃ paṭhamo dhammo paripakkāya [r3] saṃvattati.**³⁵

puna ca paraṃ meghiya bhikkhu sīlavā hoti, pātimokkhasaṃvarasaṃvuto viharati ācārago-carasampanno, anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu. [v1] **aparipakkāya meghiya cetovimuttiyā ayaṃ dutiyo dhammo paripakkāya saṃvattati.**

puna ca paraṃ meghiya bhikkhu yāyaṃ kathā abhisallekhikā [v2] **cetovivaraṇasappāyā, seyyathīdaṃ appicchakathā santuṭṭhikathā pavivekakathā asaṃsaggakathā viriyārambhakathā sīlakathā samādhikathā paññākathā vimuttikathā [v3] vimuttiñāṇadassanakathā, evarūpiyā kathāya nikāmalābhī hoti akicchālābhī akasiralābhī. aparipakkāya meghiya cetovimuttiyā ayaṃ tatiyo dhammo paripakkāya saṃvattati.**

Chinese: 中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng* (*Madhyamāgama*), sūtra 56, T. 26, 491b21–c9.

於是彌醯則於晡時從燕坐起。往詣佛所。稽首禮足。卻住一面。白曰。世尊。我至奈林。於靜處坐。[r1]便生三惡不善之念。欲念。恚念。及與害念。我由此故便念世尊。世尊告曰。彌醯。心解脫未熟。[r2]欲令熟者。有五習法。云何為五。彌醯。比丘者。自善知識。與善知識俱。善知識共和合。彌醯。心解脫未熟。欲令熟者。是謂第一習法。復次彌醯。比丘者。[r3]修習禁戒。守護從解脫。又復善攝威儀禮節。見纖芥罪。常懷畏怖。受持學戒。彌醯。[v1]心解脫未熟。欲令熟者。是謂第二習法。復次彌醯。比丘者。謂所可說聖有義。令心柔軟。[v2]使心無蓋。謂說戒。說定。說慧。說解脫。[v3]說解脫知見。說漸損。說不樂聚會。[v2]說少欲。說知足。說斷。說無欲。說滅。說燕坐。說緣起。[v3]得如是比沙門所說。具得。易不難得。彌醯。心解脫未熟。欲令熟者。是謂第三習法。

Notes

r1. *samudacaṣe*, “have beset [me]”: The Pali parallel here has a present tense verb, *samudācaranti*, but here the verb is a sibilant aorist corresponding to Skt *samudācārṣuḥ*. Similar sibilant aorists in -ṣe are attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī, especially in the *Anavatapta-gāthā* (Salomon 2008: 156–7) for the first (e.g., *a[gh]aṣe* = *akārṣam*; *adhreḥṣe* = *adrākṣam*) and third (*viaghaṣe* = *vyākārṣīt*) persons singular. But here the context calls for the third plural, the subject being the three *vitarkas* which beset Mekhiya, for which the expected form would be *samudacariṣu* or *samudaca(r)ṣiṣu*. However, there is good evidence for the collapsing of singular and plural aorist forms in Gāndhārī (ibid., p. 156; Allon 2001: 117) and more broadly, this is an example of the overall pattern noted by Edgerton in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit that “There is widespread confusion of person and number, usually in that 3 sg. forms are used for any person and either number ... the phenomenon is specially common, indeed standard, in the optative and aorist, where the MIndic endings *e*, *i*, *ī* ... are used very commonly as 1 and 2 sg. and 3 pl.” (BHS 25.4–5). Many examples of preterite verbs in -e used for the third person plural are given by Edgerton in 32.93. Other cases in our text

³⁵ On the parallel to line r3, see the text note.

of an originally singular preterite form used with plural subject are *pracaśroṣi* (frag. 76+79, r2, II.7) and, probably, *(a)[bhi]nadi*³⁶ and *pratikroṣi* (frag. 2, v2, II.6) and *avoci* (AF 1, v3, II.9). *saryadhiva*, “as follows”: This word (also in v2) corresponds to *seyyathīdam* of the Pali parallel and to BHS *sayyathīdam* (BHSD, s.v.). The subscript (preconsonantal) *r* in the second syllable here indicates a geminate consonant, as often in Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī (see, e.g., Salomon 2008: 97). The correspondence of *dh* to intervocalic *th* of the Pali and Sanskrit forms is untypical of Gāndhārī, but is also attested in *yadha* in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* fragments from Bamiyan (Allon and Salomon 2000: 268). Normally, we would expect *-th-* either to go to *ṣ* or *s*, representing the normal Gāndhārī development of a fricativized dental (e.g., Salomon 2008:114), or to be retained as a Sanskritized spelling as is often found in this and other later Gāndhārī documents, especially those from the Bamiyan area. The spelling with *dh* may represent an incorrect attempt at Sanskritization.³⁷ More problematic is *va* in place of the *da* which would be expected from the parallels. We may suspect the influence of an underlying *api*, as occurs frequently in related expressions like P *seyyathāpi*/BHS *sayyathāpi nāma*; compare also related expressions such as *yathāpīdam* (BHSD, s.v. *yathāpi*), which show that the several components of these phrases could be combined in various ways. However, such a combination should appear in Gāndhārī as **saryadhavi* rather than *saryadhiva*. Nor is it likely that Gāndhārī *saryadhiva* reflects a form like Skt **seyyathaiva*, since this does not seem to occur anywhere else. Therefore the most likely explanation of *saryadhiva* is that it reflects a conflation of the expressions equivalent to P *seyyathīdam*/BHS *sayyathīdam* and *seyyathāpi nāma*/*sayyathāpi nāma*. For a similar instance of the conflation of standard expressions in Gāndhārī, see the note below on *arya-katehi śīlehi bhavananuyogam=anuyuto viha[r]///(ati)* in r3.

yava vihisavitaraka piyalo so [a.]///: In the description of the unwholesome thoughts which arose in Meghiya’s mind, the corresponding Pali sutta (as printed in the PTS edition) lists all the three types of thoughts, namely *kāma-vitakka*, *vyāpāda-vitakka* and *vihiṃsā-vitakka*. The Gāndhārī text, however, mentions only the last member of the set, *vihisavitaraka* “hurtful thoughts,” with the first two being alluded to by the abbreviating word *yava* (= Skt *yāvat*) “up to,” no doubt because this is the second recitation of this list, spoken by Meghiya to the Buddha (= AN IV 356.24–26). This repeats the first enumeration in the preceding third-person narrative (= AN IV 356.13–14), although this first enumeration is not preserved in the Gāndhārī fragments.

Vihisavitaraka is then followed by another abbreviator, *piyalo*, equivalent to P *peyyālam*/Skt *peyālam* “and so on, etc.” Here it is not certain whether we are to read *yava* and *piyalo* as a single unit, i.e., “.. and so on, up to *vihisavitaraka*,” or whether *piyalo* is to be taken separately as another abbreviation marker, indicating that the text following *vihisavitaraka* is also to be abbreviated. There are two other instances of similar abbreviation formulae in the EĀ fragments:

1. Fragment 80 (II.4), v1: *(pi)[y](a)la yava sukha nirvano*, “... and so on, up to: nirvāṇa is pleasurable.”

³⁶ Possibly also in II.14, a2; see the next note thereon.

³⁷ On the inconsistent treatment of original *-th-* in this manuscript, see I.5.

2. Fragment 119 (II.8), v2: (sa)///[r](va) *dharmā piyalo yava ki-paryavasana [sa]rva dharmā*, “[‘What is the root of] all dharmas?’ and so on, up to ‘What is the conclusion of all dharmas?’”

In both cases *peyala* and *yava* are in direct juxtaposition, indicating a text abbreviation (*piyalo*) and its end point (*yava*). In these cases it is clear that a single abbreviation is being indicated, but in fragment 40 the order of these two words is reversed, and they are separated by the word *viḥisavitaraka*. This makes it more likely, though not certain, that they indicate two separate abbreviations. If so, *piyalo* must have marked the abbreviation of the following passage, or some part thereof, which in Pali reads *tassa mayhaṃ bhante etad ahoṣi acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho, saddhāya ’va tañ c’ amhi agarasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito, atha ca pan’ imehi tihi pāpakehi akusalehi vitakkehi anvāsatto; kāmavitakkena vyāpādavitakkena viḥimsāvitakkenā’ ti*. Since this paragraph is (according to the Pali text) repeated almost word for word from the preceding paragraph, it is only natural that our scribe would omit or abbreviate it with the usual term *piyalo*.

However, *piyalo* is followed by a clear *so* and then a partially preserved syllable at the torn left edge of the fragment, apparently an independent vowel (transliterated as [a.]). In the Pali sutta, Meghiya’s statement, quoted above, is followed immediately by the Buddha’s response (*apari-pakkāya meghiya cetovimuttiyā pañca dhammā paripakkāya saṃvattanti*, etc.), without any narrative transition; this does not suggest any convincing reconstruction for *so [a.]///*. But in the Chinese parallel Meghiya’s statement is omitted, and in its place we read (491b24–5) 我由此故便念世尊 “Because of this (i.e., the arising of the three unwholesome dharmas), I thought of the Blessed One,” followed by the introduction of the Buddha’s speech (世尊告曰). This suggests that the Gāndhārī text in some way resembled the Chinese rather than the Pali, insofar as it might have had an explicit transition between speakers, for instance *so a(ha)*, “he said.” But even in this case, the wording, with a pronominal referent *so* to the Buddha, is hardly what would be expected, and in any case the highly compressed Chinese translation of this sūtra is not a reliable guide to reconstruction.

Mainly because of this problem, we cannot rule out the alternative explanation that the split *yava ... piyalo* marks only a single abbreviation. In this case *so [a.]///* should correspond to the equivalent of *tassa mayhaṃ bhante etad ahoṣi* which follows this passage in the Pali parallel, but it seems impossible to reconcile the remaining syllables with this familiar and stable pattern. Therefore, in view of that scant evidence of what followed the abbreviated portion of the text, the problem of the function of *piyalo* cannot be definitely explained, but in balance it is more likely that it represents a separate abbreviation, in addition to the one indicated by *yava*. In any case, the Gāndhārī text must have had a different text here from the Pali.

r2. (*dha*)///*me*: The Pali parallel (*pañca dhammā paripakkāya saṃvattanti*) indicates that the first surviving syllable, *me*, should be the end of the word corresponding to *dhammā*, but there are two problems with this. First, the expected spelling in this text, with its generally Sanskrit orthography, would be *dharmā*- rather than *dhama*-, although the latter spelling (usually as *dhamma*) is quite common in other Gāndhārī documents. Second, the ending in *-e* for the nominative plural masculine, instead of expected *-a*, would be quite unusual, although it has been

previously attested in a few cases, mostly somewhat marginal, in other Gāndhārī manuscripts (Lenz 2003: 48, 137; Glass 2007: 128). The only alternative reconstruction that presents itself would be *(paca dharma i)me*, “These are the five dharmas,” which however seems hardly idiomatic. Thus it seems most likely that we have a slightly unexpected form of the word *dharma* here.

r2. *savartadi* / r3. *savartati*: Superficially, the readings here are clear; the consonantal portion of the final syllable of the first word has the curved shape that is characteristic of *d*, while the corresponding letter in the second word has at the upper right the point and angle of a *t* rather than the smooth curve of *d*. The problem is that, according to normal grammar and orthography, we would expect the opposite pattern. The agent of *savartadi* (*(dha)rme*; see the previous note) in r2 is apparently plural, for which the normal Gāndhārī verb form would be *savartati* (for *sa(m)-varta(m)ti*), while the agent of *savartati* in r3 must have been singular, that is, the first of the five dharmas (P *ayaṃ paṭhamo dhammo paripakkāya saṃvattati*; compare the following note), for which the usual form would be *savartadi*. The explanation is probably that the graphic distinction between the syllables *t* and *d* when combined with certain vowel signs such as *i* and *o* has been neutralized in the hand of this scribe, as of those of other later Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī documents; see the comments on this point in I.5.

r2/r3. Judging by the P parallel, the text missing between these lines should have been something like *bhoti kalyanasahayo kalyanasapavako aparipagaya mekhiya cetovimutie praṇa-vimutie aya pradhamo dharmo paripagaye*.

r3. *arya-katehi śilehi bhavan-anuyogam anuyuto viha[r]///(ati)*: In the Pali parallel, the second practice, involving the observation of moral conduct (*sīla*), is presented as scrupulous self-restraint regarding the precepts (*bhikkhu sīlavā hoti, pātimokkhasaṃvarasaṃvuto viharati ācāragocarasaṃpanno, anumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesu*), and the Chinese is similar. But the Gāndhārī text employs a different formula, according to which the monk remains devoted to the development of virtues which are dear to the noble (*arya-katehi śilehi*) and which are conducive to concentration (*(samasi-sa)vartaṇiyena*, v1). This formula is found elsewhere in the Pali canon, generally in the form of the stock phrase ***ariyakantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujissehi viññuppasatthehi aparāmaṭṭhehi samādhi-saṃvattanikehi*** (DN II 94, DN III 227, SN II 70, SN IV 272, AN IV 407, AN V 183–4, etc.).

The Gāndhārī equivalent of Pali *akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujissehi viññuppasatthehi aparāmaṭṭhehi*, or something similar to it, was probably included in the text which was lost between the end of line r3 and beginning of v1. But instead of “endowed with” (P *samannāgata*-/Skt *samanvāgata*-), typically used in Pali or Sanskrit with nouns expressing moral disciplines in the instrumental case, Gāndhārī has “remains devoted to the development (of)” (*bhavan-anuyogam anuyuta* = P *bhāvanānuyogam anuyutto viharati* / Skt *bhāvanānuyogam anuyukto viharati*) to express the development of mental qualities or meditation (compare, e.g., MN III 81, SN III 153–5, AN III 301). However, in Pali and Sanskrit this latter phrase would normally govern a noun in the genitive (e.g., AN III 301, *bodhipakkhikānaṃ dhammānaṃ bhāvanānuyogam ananuyutto*), and this same construction is also attested in Gāndhārī (Senior scroll 5, sūtra 4, l. 35)

as *i(meṣa kuśa)l(a)ṇa dharmaṇa bhavaṇaṇuyoka aṇaṇuyuttaṣa bhikhusa* (Glass 2007: 140). But instead of the expected genitive our text has *aryakatehi śīlehi*, which can be understood as either instrumental or locative plural. The best explanation seems to be to take it as a referential locative and translate it literally as “devoted to development with respect to the virtues which are dear to the noble.”

It is likely, however, that we actually have here a conflation of stock phrases, with the syntax of the one (*samannāgata-/samanvāgata-* + instrumental) bleeding into that of the other (*bhāvanānuyogam anuyutto viharati* / *bhāvanānuyogam anuyukto viharati* + genitive). Similar examples of mixed constructions are not rare in Gāndhārī manuscripts, most of which represent texts which had not undergone a formal process of standardization and regularization like that of the canonical versions of Pali texts; compare, for example, Salomon 2008: 311. For another apparent example in our text, see II.6, note on v3.

bhavan-anuyogam anuyuto: Here an original (Old Indo-Aryan) final *m* before an initial vowel is retained, as frequently in this manuscript and in other Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī texts (cf. Allon 2001: 101 and Salomon 2008: 96). Other examples in this manuscript include *[idam] (a)[v.c.](i)* (frag. 76, r1, II.7), *taṃ anico* (77e+77a, r2 and v2, II.9), *evaṃ aha* (77e+77a, r3, II.9), *idam eva* (77e+77a, v1, II.9), *[e]vam evo* (84, v3, II.11), *idam a[v.](ci)* (82+85, r1, II.12), and *///[m a]nado* (83, v2, II.13); see further the note on *idam eva sa[co] mokham a[ño] eva[dri]ṭhi[go] ham a[spi]* in AF 1, v2 (II.9). In all of these examples, the *m* is preserved before initial *a* or *e*, according to the usual pattern. A similar liaison sandhi with original final *d* appears in *[e]dad avoci* (AF 1, v3, II.9).

v1. *aparipagaya*: The first syllable of this word was omitted by the scribe and then squeezed in between the *na* at the end of the preceding word and the *pa* of this word, slightly below the line. The mistake is easy to understand, in view of the alternation between *paripagaya* and *aparipagaya* in this passage.

The spelling *aparipagaya* is however unexpected. The context (“... of immature mind liberation [and] wisdom liberation ...”) shows that this must be understood as the participial adjectival form, “immature,” modifying *cetovimutti* and corresponding to P *aparipakkāya* (= Skt *aparipakvāyāḥ*), genitive singular feminine. But since in this text, as in Gāndhārī generally, original intervocalic geminates are normally retained rather than voiced, we would expect here *aparipakaya*. In contrast, *paripagaye* in r2 is the expected form, since the context shows that it is the noun “maturation” in the dative singular masculine. Here, however, Pali has *paripakkāya* instead of the expected *paripākāya*. Thus it appears that both Gāndhārī and Pali levelled the difference between these terms; in Pali the adjectival form (*paripakka-*) was evidently generalized and applied to the noun, while in Gāndhārī the nominal form (*paripaga*) was extended to the adjectival function. The problem has been noted in CPD, s.v. *aparipakka*, where *aparipākāya* in the *Udāna* parallel to the *Meghiya-sutta* is correctly labelled as a wrong reading.

ceto-vimutiye praṇa-vi[mu]///(tie): Although both the Pali and Chinese (心解脱) parallels differ from the Gāndhārī text in referring only to *cetovimutti*, the two types of liberation, *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti*, are frequently mentioned together in other texts. They are sometimes said to be different aspects of emancipation which possess one and the same taste (*ekarasā*; *Paṭisambhida-magga* II 99), or they are referred to, respectively, as concentration and insight

associated with the fruit of spiritual practice (MN-a I 164; SN-a III 299). *Cetovimutti* sometimes refers to mental purity, that is, the mind which is free from the ties of all defilements, while *paññāvimutti* refers to wisdom that is free from such ties (DN-a I 313). The commentarial tradition describes *cetovimutti* as the absence of passion (*rāga*) and *paññāvimutti* as the absence of ignorance (*avijjā*; AN-a II 120). In some commentaries, these two types of release are assigned to different states: the state of non-returner (*anāgāmī*) for the former and that of final emancipation (*arahatta*) for the latter (SN-a II 504). As the **Mekhiya-sutra* refers to *cetovimutti* and *paññāvimutti* in their immature state (*aparipakka* “immature, unripe, not yet fully developed”), they can be understood in this context to refer to concentrative states and wisdom related to spiritual progress in a general sense, and not specifically to those of arhats.

v1/v2: The Pali parallel (*ayaṃ dutiyo dhammo paripakkāya saṃvattati. puna ca paraṃ meghiya bhikkhu yāyaṃ kathā abhisallekhikā*) suggests that the text lost between these lines would have been something along the lines of *aya dvetiyago dharmo paripagaye savartati. pana ca para mekhiya bhikṣu ya katha abhisaleghiga*.

v2. (*cet*)///[o]-viparana-sapreyo: -viparana- as the equivalent of P/Skt *vivaraṇa* is a clear instance of hyper-Sanskritization (see I.5). -sapreyo corresponds to BHS *sāṃpreya* rather than to P *sappāya*.

pra[t]i[vi]///(vega-kasa): Assuming that the reconstruction is correct, this would reflect the equivalent of an unattested Skt **prativēka*-/P **paṭivēka*-, instead of the actual parallel, *paviveka(-kathā)*, which would correspond to a G **pravivega*. The Gāndhārī form here presumably represents an alternation between the prefixes *pra* and *prati*, comparable to the well-attested variation between *pari* and *prati* in MIA, including Gāndhārī (Lenz 2010: 81 and n. 35).

v3. *tatharupae*: Here the Pali parallel has the synonymous *evārūpīyā*.

katha[e] labhi bhavati niyama-labhi [a]///(kicha-labhi): Note again the difference in wording from P, which has (*evaṃrūpīyā*) *kathāya nikāmalābhī hoti akicchalābhī akasiralābhī*. Possibly Gāndhārī did not have a word corresponding to P’s *akasiralābhī*, as the sequence *labhi ... niyama-labhi [a]///(kicha-labhi)* fulfills the stylistically preferred sequence of three parallel elements. However, the Chinese parallel does seem to have four phrases: 得如是比沙門所說。具得。易不難得。(491c7), “[He] gets [to hear] what is said of this sort by the śramaṇa(s); he gets [to hear it] completely (?), with ease, without difficulty.”

II.4. **Nirvanasukha-sutra* (fragment MS 2179/80)

Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragment 80 is a small fragment of trapezoidal shape with roughly torn edges. Each side contains three lines of text, with from nine (line r3) to fifteen (r1) syllables. The text corresponds closely to the *Nibbānasukha-sutta* or *Nibbāna-sutta* of the AN (AN 9.34), but no parallels in Sanskrit or Chinese have been found. In the *Nibbānasukha-sutta*, Sāriputta explains to Udāyī how it is that *nibbāna* can be pleasurable (*sukha*) even though it is characterized by a total

absence of feelings.³⁸ In order to explain this, Sāriputta describes the recurrence of perceptions and thoughts (*saññāmanasikārā*) associated with the sense desires that beset (*samudācaranti*) a monk and cause him an affliction (*ābādha*), like the suffering (*dukkha*) that besets an otherwise happy person (*sukhino*). Sāriputta then describes a monk who rises step-by-step through the four *jhānas*, the sphere of infinite space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*), the sphere of infinite consciousness (*viññāṇañcāyatana*), and so on, up to the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññavedayitanirodha*). If a monk who has attained one stage of development is beset by perceptions connected with the previous stage, he feels it as an affliction (*ābādha*) which is a kind of suffering (*dukkha*). But when he attains the highest stage, that of the cessation of perception and feeling, all his defilements are exhausted so that these afflictions no longer beset him, and he knows no suffering. In this way, nirvāṇa is pleasurable (*sukha*) in that it is entirely free of suffering (*dukkha*).

The small surviving fragment preserves brief portions of the descriptions of the fourth *jhāna*, the sphere of the infinity of space (G *agaśacayadana* / P *ākāsānañcāyatana*), the sphere of the infinity of consciousness (P *viññāṇañcāyatana*), the sphere of nothingness (G *akicañaya[dana]* / P *ākiñcaññāyatana*), and the sphere of neither perception nor non-perception (P *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*). The highly repetitive descriptions of the nine successive stages of mental absorption were drastically abbreviated, as indicated by *(pi)///[y](a)la yava* “... and so on, up to ...” in v1. This abbreviation formula probably means that the scribe wrote out in full only the first sentence of the description of the sphere of the infinity of consciousness (= paragraph 9 in AN IV 417) and skipped the rest of it except for the concluding phrase (*sukha nirvano*), because, apart from the change in the names of the successive stages, it was identical to the five preceding paragraphs.

The sequence of the fragmentary text shows that the scribe followed the same procedure in the description of the sphere of nothingness (corresponding to paragraph 10 of the Pali text). The Pali text corresponding to lines v1 and v2 of our fragment is separated in the PTS edition, where the text is written out in full, by eight lines of the printed text, whereas one line of the Gāndhārī manuscript normally corresponds to about three lines of the PTS text. The amount of text missing between the surviving portions of v1 and v2 would have been about 45 syllables, which is similar to the length of the first sentence of the paragraph about the realm of nothingness in the Pali sutta (*puna ca param āvuso bhikkhu sabbaso viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ samatikkamma ‘natthi kiñcī’ ti ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati*). Thus the Gāndhārī text probably included something more or less like this first sentence, then skipped to the conclusion, *(bha)///[ga]vato dukha hi aūsa ta i/// (mena paryagena)* = P *yo kho panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā. iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathāsukhaṃ nibbānaṃ*. Thus even though the abbreviation formula is not preserved as such for this paragraph, we can be sure that it too was partially abbreviated, as were also, no doubt, the other ones containing the same pattern.

However, the abbreviation pattern was not entirely consistent, since in the description of the sphere of the infinity of consciousness the abbreviation was carried through until the very last two words (v1), whereas in the description of the sphere of nothingness (v2) at least the last two sentences are present. There may be no particular significance to this variation, as the application

³⁸ *Etad eva khv ettha āvuso sukhaṃ, yad ettha natthi vedayitaṃ* (AN IV 415), “Just this, friend, is the pleasure in it, that nothing is felt here” (Bodhi 2012: 1292).

of abbreviation formulae in Buddhist manuscripts is typically somewhat casual and inconsistent. In any case, we can be sure that this sūtra, and no doubt also many other similarly repetitive sūtras were heavily abridged in this manuscript, and this would have helped to keep the bulk of the complete manuscript down to a relatively manageable size.³⁹

Text and translation

r1. /// ya ya nu aya avaso nanu aya [dukha h](i) ///	And as for this affliction, now wasn't this [said by the Blessed One to be] just suffering?
r2. (anato a)///gaśa ti agaśacayadano va[s]/// (apaja)	... [realizing that] space [is endless], he enters the sphere of the infinity of space [and remains there].
r3. (aü)///[sa] ta imena pa[r]yagena (v)[e]/// (didavya)	... Friend, it is in this way that it is to be understood [that nirvāṇa is pleasurable].
v1. (pi)///[y](a)la yava sukha nirvano i///	... and so on, up to: nirvāṇa is pleasurable.
v2. (bha)///[ga]vato dukha hi aüsa ta i///(mena paryagena)	[As for this affliction, wasn't it said] by the Blessed One to be just suffering? Friend, it is in this [way that] it [is to be understood that nirvāṇa is pleasurable].
v3. (vihara)///[to] akicañaya[dana]sahaga[to sa]///(ñā-manasigara)	... as he dwells [there], perceptions [and thoughts] associated with the sphere of nothingness ...

Parallel text

Pali: AN IV 416.14–417.35 (9.34).

*puna ca param āvuso bhikkhu sukhassa ca pahānā ... pe ... catuttham jhānam upasampajja viharati. tassa ce āvuso bhikkhuno iminā vihārena viharato upekhāsahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. seyyathāpi āvuso sukhino dukkham uppajjeyya yāvadeva ābādhāya, evam ev'assa te upekhāsahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. [r1] **yo kho panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā. iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena vedittabbam yathāsukham nibbānam.***

puna ca param āvuso bhikkhu sabbaso rūpasaññānam samatikkamā paṭighasaññānam atthaṅgamā nānattasaññānam amanasikārā 'ananto [r2] ākāso'ti ākāsañcāyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. tassa ce āvuso bhikkhuno iminā vihārena viharato rūpasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. seyyathāpi āvuso sukhino dukkham uppajjeyya yāvadeva ābādhāya, evam ev'assa te rūpasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho.

³⁹ Compare the comments on this point in the introduction (I.2).

yo kho panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā. [r3] **iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathāsukhaṃ nibbānaṃ.**

puna ca paraṃ āvuso bhikkhu sabbaso ākāsaṇācāyatanaṃ samatikkamma 'anantaṃ viññāṇaṃ' ti viññāṇācāyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. tassa ce āvuso bhikkhuno iminā vihārena viharato ākāsaṇācāyatanasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. seyyathāpi āvuso sukhino dukkhaṃ uppajjeyya yāvadeva ābādhāya, evaṃ ev'assa te ākāsaṇācāyatanasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. yo kho panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā. iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena veditabbaṃ [v1] **yathāsukhaṃ nibbānaṃ.**

puna ca paraṃ āvuso bhikkhu sabbaso viññāṇācāyatanaṃ samatikkamma 'natthi kiñci' ti ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. tassa ce āvuso bhikkhuno iminā vihārena viharato viññāṇācāyatanasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. seyyathāpi āvuso sukhino dukkhaṃ uppajjeyya yāvadeva ābādhāya, evaṃ ev'assa te viññāṇācāyatanasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. yo kho [v2] **panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā. iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathāsukhaṃ nibbānaṃ.**

puna ca paraṃ āvuso bhikkhu sabbaso ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samatikkamma nevasaññāsaññāyatanaṃ upasampajja viharati. tassa ce āvuso bhikkhuno iminā vihārena [v3] viharato **ākiñcaññāyatanasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. seyyathā pi āvuso sukhino dukkhaṃ uppajjeyya yāvadeva ābādhāya, evaṃ ev'assa te ākiñcaññāyatanasahagatā saññāmanasikārā samudācaranti, svāssa hoti ābādho. yo kho panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā. iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathāsukhaṃ nibbānaṃ.**

Notes

v1. /// ya ya nu aya avaso nanu aya [dukha h](i) ///: As is often the case, the phrasing of the Gāndhārī text differs from the Pali parallel (yo kho panāvuso ābādho, dukkham etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā) but the sense is more or less the same. The first *ya* is no doubt the relative pronoun corresponding to P *yo*; the second *ya* is presumably the normal Gāndhārī word for “and,” equivalent to P/Skt *ca*. But the function of *nu* after the second *ya* and of *nanu* after *aya avaso* is less clear. Apparently *nu* functions in a way similar to P *kho pana*, apparently as a topic marker, whence the translation “And as for this affliction ...” The function of *nanu* is presumably that of a rhetorical negative demanding a positive answer (cf. Latin *nonne*): “Wasn’t this [said by the Blessed One to be] just suffering?”

avaso: This is a normal Gāndhārī correspondent to P *ābādho*/Skt *ābādhah*. The alternation between *b* and *v* is common in many Gāndhārī texts, and *-s-* (often written as *ṣ*) is the usual development of original intervocalic *-dh-* (see I.5).

r2. *agaśacayadano*: According to normal sound correspondences, the Gāndhārī equivalent of P *ākāsānañcāyatana*-/Skt *ākāśānantyāyatana*- would be *agaśanacayadano*. But it is definitely not the case that the scribe accidentally omitted the expected fourth syllable *na* because, as has been shown in Baums 2012 (see also Baums 2009: 433–4), *agaśacayadano* is a well-attested Gāndhārī form of the word in question, occurring several times in at least two other texts, although more “normal” forms, such as *akaśanaṃtayitana*, are also attested in Gāndhārī. Baums argues that

agaśacayadano, which he takes as equivalent to an unattested Skt **ākāśāntyāyatana*, was the original form, and that the standard Skt *ākāśānāntyāyatana*/P *ākāśānañcāyatana* is a later reformulation. But it is also possible that the form *agaśacayadano* was influenced by the Gāndhārī equivalents of P *viññāṇaṇcāyatana*, which is commonly used in place of the etymologically expected **viññāṇānañcāyatana*.⁴⁰ Pali *viññāṇaṇcāyatana* seems to have arisen by haplology, and this reformation could have conditioned a parallel development (at least in Gāndhārī) whereby **agaśanacayadano* became *agaśacayadano*.

r3. (aü)///[sa] ta imena pa[r]yagena (v)[e]///(didavya): Note again the difference in phrasing and word order from the Pali parallel, *iminā pi kho etaṃ āvuso pariyāyena veditabbaṃ*. Here *G ta* is presumably equivalent to P *etaṃ*.

v1. (pi)///[y](a)la yava: See the discussion of the abbreviation formulae in the introductory comments.

sukha nirvano i///: The last surviving syllable does not correspond to anything in the Pali parallel, where the paragraph ends with *yathāsukhaṃ nibbānaṃ*. At a guess, there might have been here an *i(ti)* marking the end of a section.

v2: (bha)///[ga]vato dukha hi aūsa ta: Once again the phrasing differs from the Pali parallel, which has *yo kho paṇāvuso ābādho, dukkhaṃ etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā*. It also seems that the word order in this line is slightly different from the parallel phrase in r1: here (bha)[ga]vato precedes *dukha*, whereas in r1 it is not preserved but must have been in a different position, perhaps at the end of the sentence as in Pali.

II.5. *Gavi-sutra (?) (fragment MS 2179/103)

The identification of the small fragment 103 is not certain, but it seems to correspond, at least partially, to AN 9.35 (IV 418–9), the *Gāvī-sutta* or *Gāvī-upamā-sutta*. No Sanskrit or Chinese parallels have been found for this text. In the Pali sutta, an unstated speaker, presumably the Buddha, introduces the parable of a mountain cow (*gāvī pabbateyyā*) who thinks about going to some place where she can eat grass that she has never eaten before (*akhāditapubbāni ca tiṇāni*) and drink water that she has never drunk before (*apītapubbāni ca pānīyāni*), but who fails to do so because she is ignorant, incompetent, inexperienced, and unskilled (*bālā avyattā akhettaññū akusalā*). This cow is compared to an ignorant, incompetent, inexperienced, and unskilled monk who is unable to progress from the first *jhāna* to the higher states of absorption because he fails to practice, cultivate, develop, and focus closely on (*na āsevati na bhāveti na bahulīkaroti na svādhiṭṭhitam adhiṭṭhāti*) the object (*nimitta*) of the first *jhāna*. The speaker then contrasts a mountain cow who is intelligent, competent, experienced, and skilled, and therefore does get new grass to eat and new water to drink. This cow is likened to an intelligent, competent, experienced, and skilled monk who does proceed from the first *jhāna* through all of the four stages of immaterial absorption and the cessation of perception and feeling, and thereby attains the six supernormal

⁴⁰ This seemingly irregular form was noted by Buddhaghosa in the *Visuddhimagga*, who comments *viññāṇānañcan ti avatvā viññāṇaṇcan ti vuttam*, characterizing the derivation as a *rūḥisaddo*, that is, a conventional or popular, non-etymological form (Warren and Kosambi 1950: 276).

powers. The sutta is located in the *navaka-nipāta* because of its enumeration of the nine *samā-pattis*, that is, the four *jhānas*, the four stages of immaterial absorption, and the cessation of perceptions and feelings.

Fragment 103 contains several words and phrases (*[akhadi]da*, *imani tvina*, *[n]imite[hi]*, *na bhaveti na bahuli[k]///(aroti)* which are reminiscent of the *Gāvī-sutta* of the AN. But as far as can be judged from its meagre remnants, it does not match the wording of that text very closely, since it includes phrases such as *[.o. rohi] rupo* (v1) which have no correspondents there. Also, the readings of some of the terms that do seem to correspond are less than certain, as explained in the notes below. Thus, the proposed identification is less secure for this fragment than most of the other fragments of this manuscript. But it is at least a little more secure than the provisional identification of the text on the recto of fragment 84 (II.11) with the *Nakulapitā-sutta*, since in that case the proposed parallel appears in an unlikely position in the AN, namely in the *chakka-nipāta*. In contrast, here the proposed parallel in AN 9.34 comes immediately after the *Nibbāna-sutta*, whose parallel has been definitely identified in fragment 80 (II.4). Thus, all things considered, the identification of fragment 103 with the *Gāvī-sutta* can be considered possible but far from certain.

Text and translation

r1. /// [.o .rohi] rupo [akhadi]da ti ? ///	... ? ? form; uneaten grass ...
r2. /// ? [y.ni] tu imani tvina ? ? ///	... but these grasses [?] which ...
r3. /// ? ? ///	...
v2. (ye)///[hi n]imite[hi] yehi [u]///(deśehi)	... by which objects, by which indications ...
v3. (na ase)///[v](a)ti na bhaveti na bahuli[k]/// (aroti)	... he does not practice [them], he does not cultivate [them], he does not develop [them] ...

Parallel text

Pali: AN IV 418.7–419.29 (9.35).

seyyathā pi bhikkhave gāvī pabbateyyā bālā avyattā akhettaññū akusalā visame pabbate caritum, tassā evam assa ‘yan nūnāhaṃ agatapubbañ c’ eva disaṃ gaccheyyaṃ, [r1] akhāditapubbāni ca tiṇāni khādeyyaṃ, apītapubbāni ca pānīyāni piveyyan’ ti; sā purimaṃ pādaṃ na suppatiṭṭhitam patiṭṭhāpetvā pacchimaṃ pādaṃ uddhareyya, sā na c’ eva agatapubbaṃ disaṃ gaccheyya, na ca akhāditapubbāni [r2] tiṇāni khādeyya, na ca apītapubbāni pānīyāni piveyya; yasmiṃ c’ assā pāde ṭhitāya evam assa ‘yan nūnāhaṃ agatapubbañ c’ eva disaṃ gaccheyyaṃ, akhāditapubbāni ca tiṇāni khādeyyaṃ, apītapubbāni ca pānīyāni piveyyan’ ti, tañ ca padesaṃ na sotthinā paccāgaccheyya. taṃ kissa hetu? tattha hi sā bhikkhave gāvī pabbateyyā bālā avyattā akhettaññū akusalā visame pabbate caritum. evam eva kho bhikkhave idh’ ekacco bhikkhu bālo avyatto akhettaññū akusalo vivicc’ eva kāmehi ... paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharitum;

so taṃ [v2] **nimittaṃ** na [v3] āsevaṭi na bhāveṭi na bahulīkaroti na svādhiṭṭhitaṃ adhiṭṭhāti, tassa evaṃ hoti ‘yan nūnāhaṃ vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā ... pe ... dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja vihareyyan’ ti.

Notes

r1. /// [o .rohi] rupo: Only the lower tip of the left end of the first syllable survives; it appears to be a post-consonantal *o* (or possibly *i*) vowel diacritic. The surviving bottom of the second syllable seems to have a post-consonantal *r* subscript and another *o* vowel. The reading of the following syllables, [hi] rupo, is secure, but this phrase as a whole has no correspondent in the proposed parallel, and no reconstruction can be proposed for it.

[akhadi]da ti ? ///: The reading of the first two syllables is less than certain because their tops are partly lost in a hole in the leaf. The first syllable, read as *a*, could also be *va*. The second syllable, though incomplete, seems to have the distinctive form of *kha*. The third syllable is also uncertain because, though complete, the ink is partially worn away. A possible alternative reading is *mi*, but this is probably an optical illusion caused by the right edge of the syllable being in contact with the left side of the preceding letter. The tentative reading *di* is based on the assumption that the faint traces of ink at the bottom of this syllable represent the bottom of a *d*, but this is by no means certain. However, it is also possible to see what is taken here as two syllables, *khadi*, as one syllable, namely *ghi*. There is a curved foot mark faintly preserved at the bottom left which is typical of the consonant *gha*, and the curve which has been taken above as the bottom of *kh* could also be seen as the right arm of *gh*. However, if this is a single syllable, it is wider than normal. The syllable(s) may have been rewritten or corrected by the scribe, whence their peculiar form. If the reading *ghi* is adopted, the sequence at the end of the line would be *aghidati* or *vaghidati*, neither of which yield any obvious sense. According to the preferred reading, the following word begins with *ti*, and if we are correct in identifying this fragment with the *Gāvīsutta*, this should be the beginning of *tina*, or perhaps *tinani* (see the following note), corresponding to *tiṇāni* of the Pali text. At the very left edge of the fragment there is a tiny remnant of the bottom of another syllable, which is consistent with though by no means distinctive to *n*. Because the remnant is so miniscule, the syllable has been left as ? in the transcription, but *ti[n]*. is at least possible. However, this would mean that the Gāndhārī text had a reading and structure different from P’s *akhāditapubbāni ca tiṇāni*. This was already indicated by the preceding phrase (/// [o .rohi] rupo), which has no correspondent in the proposed Pali parallel, where *akhāditapubbāni ca tiṇāni* is preceded by *disaṃ gaccheyyaṃ*.

r2. /// ? [y.ni] tu imani tvina ? ? ///: The reading of *tvina* is clear, although it could also be interpreted as *dvina* since the ligatures *tv* and *dv* are often virtually indistinguishable in Kharoṣṭhī script. It is tempting to associate this word with *tiṇāni* of the proposed Pali parallel, for which the expected Gāndhārī correspondent would be *trinani* in the orthography of this text (compare *triṇa-* in Senior scroll 5, l. 18; Glass 2007: 136). But the subscript element of the first syllable is clearly the long upward bend of a post-consonantal *v* rather than the shorter stroke of post-consonantal *r*. An apparently similar situation is attested in the unpublished Senior scroll 20 (line 11), where the text clearly reads *chidva* where the context and parallels

call for *chidra* “hole.” It is possible that in such cases the archetype manuscript had a post-consonantal *r* stroke which was somewhat longer and curved upward farther than usual, and was consequently misread by a copyist as the similar sign for post-consonantal *v*. Another problem with this interpretation is that we have proposed that in the previous line the word in question was spelled *tina*, rather than *tvina* (for *trina*?) as here. This is not, however, an insuperable difficulty, since inconsistent spelling is a characteristic feature of Gāndhārī texts in general, and since variation between forms representing actual Gāndhārī pronunciation (*trina*) and those representing the pronunciation of other MIA dialects are common; a characteristic example is the variation in various texts (see, e.g., Brough 1962: 102 [52]) between the stems *bhikṣu-* and *bhikkhu-*. Thus it is possible, though far from certain, that P *tiṇa*/Skt *tṛṇa* were represented by both *tina* and *tvina* in our text. The phrase [*y.ni*] *tu imani* presumably modifies the following *tvina* (“but these grasses (?) which ...”), but the illegible partial letter after *tvina* cannot be the expected *ni* of the neuter plural ending. However, the ending of the nominative/accusative plural neuter in Gāndhārī is often *-a* rather than *-ani* (see, e.g., Salomon 2008: 140), and the juxtaposition of the two endings in the same noun phrase is, once again, typical of Gāndhārī (e.g., Salomon 1999: 130; see also I.5). In any case here, as in the previous line, the phrase as a whole does not directly correspond to anything in the proposed parallel text, although the general topic seems to be the same or similar.

v2. (*ye*)///[*hi n*]imite[*hi*] *yehi* [*u*]///(*deṣehi*): [*n*]imite[*hi*] calls to mind *nimittam*, which is a key word in the *Gāvī-sutta*, but which occurs there in the accusative singular whereas here it is in the instrumental (or possibly locative) plural followed by the relative pronoun *yehi*, a construction with no parallel in the Pali sutta. The partial first syllable is probably *hi*, which can be reconstructed as (*ye*)*hi* on the basis of expressions such as *yehi ānanda ākārehi yehi līngehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddesehi nāma-kāyassa paññatti hoti* (DN II 62). Thus the Gāndhārī text of lines v2 and v3 might have had here something along the lines of (*ye*)*hi nimitehi yehi (udeṣehi pradhama jāna adhigata bhoti so ta nimita ta udeṣa na ase)vati na bhaveti na bahulik(aroti)*, “By which objects, by which indications the first *jhāna* is attained, he does not practice those objects (and) those indications, he does not cultivate (them), he does not develop (them).” In any case, here once again we find some similarity in wording between the Gāndhārī and the proposed Pali parallel, but significant differences in structure.

v3. (*na ase*)///[*v*](*a*)*ti na bhaveti na bahuli[k]*///(*aroti*): Here, unlike the previous lines, we have a direct correspondence with the proposed Pali parallel, which repeats eight times the phrase *taṃ nimittam na āsevati na bhāveti na bahulīkaroti*. The readings of the two partial letters at the beginning of the line are secure in light of this parallel even though only the extreme upper right tip of the *v* is preserved, and the reconstructions at both ends are similarly secure. The important point here is that although the sequence *āsevati bhāveti bahulīkaroti* is fairly common in Pali suttas generally, its negative equivalent *na āsevati na bhāveti na bahulīkaroti* occurs only in the *Gāvī-sutta* (AN 9.35). This is the strongest indication in favour of the proposed parallel, despite the considerable differences in wording between the two versions.

II.6: **Mahaprasā-sutra*⁴¹ (?) (fragment MS 2179/2)

Schøyen fragment 2 preserves two lines of text on each side, with eleven to fourteen characters per line. The surviving fragments of the text contain formulae and phrases which are characteristic of Pali suttas describing the visits of Buddhist monks to non-Buddhist mendicants (*aññatitthiya paribbājaka*) for conversations with them. In Pali, the descriptions of visits to non-Buddhist mendicants by lay Buddhists, as opposed to those by monks, typically differ with regard to their reactions to the conversation. When a lay Buddhist visits non-Buddhists, it is typically the lay Buddhist himself who clarifies matters and refutes the mendicants' positions. But in most cases of Pali suttas where Buddhist monks visit non-Buddhists, the monks do not react to the mendicants' claims; they "neither applaud nor reject" (*neva abhinandiṃsu nappaṭikkosiṃsu*) what they hear, but merely go back to the Buddha to seek his clarification of the matter at hand. This latter pattern is clearly reflected in line v2 of fragment 2, (*na a*)[*bhi*]inadi na pratikrośi. For this reason, the frame narrative of the sūtra contained in fragment 2 probably involved a discussion between Buddhist monks and non-Buddhist mendicants.

Unfortunately, none of the distinctive portions of the discussion is preserved, so that it is difficult to determine which of the many Pali suttas having this frame narrative it might correspond to. However, the closest correspondence seems to be with the *Mahāpaṇhā-sutta* (AN 10.27, V 48–54) and its parallel in the Chinese EĀ (增壹阿含經 *Zēngyī āhán jīng*), sūtra 46.8, pp. 778b17–780a15). In this sūtra, the Buddhist monks visit some non-Buddhists, who ask them to clarify the difference between the teachings of the Buddha and their own teachings. According to the usual pattern, the Buddhists do not answer, but report the conversation to the Buddha, who then teaches them ten sets of questions and answers that should be presented in such situations.

Although the surviving remnants of the Gāndhārī text do not agree perfectly with either the Pali or Chinese version, the overall correspondences, especially with the Chinese, make the identification plausible though by no means certain. For example, in line v3 the monks say (*vyagari*)*ṣyati tasya nu dhariṣyama*, "[As] he [scil., the Buddha] will explain it, so we will retain it." This formula does not occur in the AN sutta which we tentatively identify as the parallel to fragment 2, but it does appear in some other suttas of this class, for example, AN 6.61 (III 401), *āyāmāvuso yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkamissāma, upasaṅkamtivā bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesāma. yathā no bhagavā vyākariṣṣati, tathā naṃ dhāressāmā' ti*, "Come, friends, let us approach the Blessed One and report this matter to him. As the Blessed One will explain it to us, so will we retain it." But the corresponding Chinese sūtra (see text note to line v3) does have the equivalent of this formula (若如來有所說者。我當念奉行), and this supports the proposed identification, even though (as explained in the notes on line r1) the correspondence is not perfect. It is also supported, though again not proven, by the fact that the position in the AN of the proposed parallel (sutta 10.27) is consistent with the parallels for several other fragments of the EĀ manuscript in the *dasaka-nipāta*.

Due to the paucity of the remaining text, it is not entirely certain which of the original three lines on each side of the folio the two surviving lines constitute. But the textual position of their

⁴¹ On the spelling of the Gāndhārī equivalent of Sanskrit *praśna*, used here for the hypothetical title of the Gāndhārī text, see Baums 2009: 173–4, and compare *praśna* in Hirayama frag. 18 (appendix, no. 6).

apparent correspondents in the Pali sutta suggest that they are more likely to be the first two lines of the recto and the last two of the verso; that is to say, the upper edge of the recto is the original margin, while the lower edge is split. In any case, the text was almost certainly abbreviated (with *piyalo* or the like) in this section, because it would have contained the passage in which the monks report in the first person about their visit to the non-Buddhists, repeating word for word (*mutatis mutandis*) the preceding description (also lost) of the incident in the third person.

Text and translation

r1. /// [d.]no ase aropayitva yena bha///(gava)	Having lifted ... to the shoulder, [they approached] the Blessed One ...
r2. /// ? ṣi aññatirthehi parivraja///(gehi)	... [we exchanged greetings] with [those] non-Buddhist mendicants ...
v2. (na a)///[bhi]nadi na pratikroṣi anabhina[di](t)v(a) ///	[We] neither applauded nor rejected [what the non-Buddhists said]. Without applauding, [without rejecting their words, we thought “Let us go to the Blessed One and report this matter to him.”]
v3. (vyagari)///ṣyati tasya nu dhariṣyāma a[s.] ///	[As the Blessed One] will explain [it to us], so will we retain it.” Then [they] ...

Parallel texts

Pali: AN V 49.3–50.4 (10.27).

atha kho te bhikkhū tesaṃ aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ bhāsitaṃ neva abhinandiṃsu na ppaṭikkosiṃsu, anabhinanditvā appaṭikkosivā utthāyāsanaṃ pakkamiṃsu ‘bhagavato santike etassa bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānissāma’ ti. atha kho te bhikkhū sāvatthiyaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā pacchābhattaṃ piṇḍapātapaṭikkantā [r1] yena bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkamiṃsu, upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho te bhikkhū bhagavantaṃ etad avocuṃ:—

idha mayaṃ bhante pubbaṇhasamayaṃ nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya sāvatthiyaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisimha. tesaṃ no bhante amhākaṃ etad ahosi ‘atippago kho tāva sāvatthiyaṃ piṇḍāya carituṃ, yan nūna mayaṃ yena aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ ārāmo ten’ upasaṅkameyyāma’ ti. atha kho mayaṃ bhante yena aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ ārāmo ten’ upasaṅkamimha, upasaṅkamitvā tehi [r2] aññatitthiyehi paribbājakehi saddhiṃ sammodimha, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimha. ekamantaṃ nisinne kho bhante aññatitthiyā paribbājakā amhe etad avocuṃ: samaṇo āvuso gotamo sāvakānaṃ evaṃ dhammaṃ deseti ‘etha tumhe bhikkhave sabbaṃ dhammaṃ abhijānātha, sabbaṃ dhammaṃ abhiññāya abhiññāya viharathā’ ti. mayaṃ pi kho āvuso sāvakānaṃ evaṃ dhammaṃ desema ‘etha tumhe āvuso sabbaṃ dhammaṃ

*abhiñāṇātha, sabbaṃ dhammaṃ abhiññāya abhiññāya viharathā' ti. idha no āvuso ko viseso ko adhippāyoso kiṃ nānākaraṇaṃ samaṇassa vā gotamassa amhākaṃ vā, yad idaṃ dhammade-sanāya vā dhammadesanaṃ anusāsanīyā vā anusāsanin ti? atha kho mayaṃ bhante tesam aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ bhāsitaṃ neva [v2] **abhinandimha na ppaṭikkosimha, anabhinanditvā** appaṭikkosivā utthāyāsānā pakkamimha 'bhagavato santike etassa bhāsitaṃ atthaṃ ājānissāmā' ti.*

Chinese: 增壹阿含經 *Zēngyī āhán jīng* (*Ekottarikāgama*) 46.8, T. 125, 778b26–c11.⁴²

爾時眾多比丘便至[r2]外道異學所。共相問訊。在一面坐。爾時外道問諸比丘。汝等沙門瞿曇與諸弟子說此妙法。是諸比丘盡解一切諸法而自遊戲不。我等亦復與諸弟子說此妙法而自遊戲。我之所說。與汝有何等異。有何差別。說法戒教一類無異。是時眾多比丘聞外道異學所說。[v2]亦不稱善。復非言惡。即從坐起。各退而去。是時眾多比丘自相謂言。我等當持此義。往白世尊。[v3]如來有所說者。我當念奉行。爾時眾多比丘入羅閱城乞食已。還至房中。[r1(?)]收攝衣鉢。往至世尊所。頭面禮足。住在一面。爾時眾多比丘以此緣本。盡向如來說之。爾時世尊告諸比丘。彼外道異學問此義已。汝等應持此語報之。

Notes

r1. /// [d.]no ase aropayitva yena bha///(gava): The proposed Pali parallel at this point reads ... *piṇḍapātapaṭikkantā yena bhagavā*, so that there is nothing corresponding to ... [d.]no ase aropayitva. The proposed Chinese parallel (778c8) in the equivalent position has 收攝衣鉢 “They set down their robes and bowls” (= P *pattacīvaraṃ paṭisāmetvā*), which is at least broadly comparable in that it reports what the monks did when they returned to the monastery, although the specific action was evidently different. The closest parallel to this passage elsewhere in Pali is in the formula *sabbasantharim āvasathāgāraṃ santharivā āsanāni paññāpetvā udakamaṇiṃ patiṭṭhāpetvā telappadīpaṃ āropetvā yena bhagavā* (DN II 84, SN IV 183), describing the preparation of a place for the Buddha’s visit, but this does not explain the reading here. Moreover, the text preceding *aropayitva* cannot be reconciled with this or any similar formulae, and no exact parallel to this line has been found anywhere. The two syllables preceding *aropayitva*, *ase*, are presumably equivalent to P/Skt *aṃse* “on the shoulder.” Thus the phrase evidently reports that the monks lifted something onto their shoulders, and the incomplete first word, ///[d.]no, is presumably the object of *aropayitva*. The first incomplete letter is probably *d*, or possibly *t*, but in either case we are unable to propose a convincing reconstruction.

r2. /// ? ṣi: Word-final *ṣi* could be the inflection of a preterite verb. The Pali parallel has in the corresponding position ... *ārāmo ten' upasakamimha, upasaṅkamitvā tehi aññatitthiyehi paribbājakehi* ..., so that this syllable could be the ending of the verb (*upasakrami*)*ṣi*, with the resumptive gerund (P *upasaṅkamitvā*) omitted; the tiny remnant of the lower left tip of the previous syllable is consistent with the syllable *mi*. This does not coincide with the expected endings of the first person plural (or singular?—see the note below on v3, *dharisṣyama*) preterite in G, as far as these forms are attested (see, e.g., Salomon 2008: 153–9), but it could be an instance of

⁴² In the Chinese version the repetition of the description of the monks’ visit to the non-Buddhist mendicants, which is preserved in the Gāndhārī fragment, is suppressed. Therefore the corresponding parts of the original recitation are cited here as the parallels, so that the parallels to lines r2, v2 and v3 appear here before the parallel to r1.

the extension of the third singular preterite to all numbers and genders, as noted in connection with *samudacarse* (II.3, note on r2). Another problem with this interpretation is that in the following line the resumptive gerund (*anabhina[di](t)v(a)*) does appear in the Gāndhārī text. So in balance, this incomplete first word remains unexplained.

v2. (*na a*)///[*bhi*]nadi *na pratikrośi anabhina[di](t)v(a)* ///: The verbs (*abh*)nadi and *pratikrośi* seem to be third person singular preterites. This seems inconsistent with the first person plural that would be expected according to the proposed parallels, but once again this could be a case of the generalization of the third singular preterite, as mentioned in the previous note.

v3. (*vyagari*)///syati *tasya nu dhariṣyaṃ a[s.]* ///: The proposed Pali parallel has instead of this formula the expression *bhagavato santike etassa bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānissāma*, “We will find out the meaning of this statement from the Blessed One” (compare the introductory comments to this section). However, the Chinese parallel here has a fairly close equivalent to the Gāndhārī text: 若如來有所說者。我當念奉行, “If the Tathāgata has something to say about it, we will keep it in mind [and] act [on it].”

tasya: The equivalent Pali expression as found in other texts (e.g., AN 6.61, III 401), *yathā no bhagavā vyākariṣṣati tathā naṃ dhāressāma ti*, has *tathā* instead of *tasya* of the G text, and the apparent genitive form there does not fit the syntax well. Therefore we seem to have here another instance of conflated formulae, with the *tathā* of the Gāndhārī text reflecting the *etassa* of the alternate formula *santike etassa bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānissāma*; compare the comments on conflated formulae in II.3, note on r3. In this case, however, there may also be a phonetic factor involved; the syntactically expected equivalent of P *tathā* in traditional (non-Sanskritized) Gāndhārī would be *tasa* or *taṣa*, which could have been confused with the identical genitive singular form of the pronoun and therefore incorrectly Sanskritized in later Gāndhārī as *tasya*. The two explanations are of course not mutually exclusive, as both factors, textual and phonetic/orthographic, could have contributed to the same outcome.

nu: Also unexpected is *nu* as the presumed equivalent of *naṃ* in the corresponding Pali formula, as the object of the verb *dhariṣyaṃ*. The spelling with *u* is presumably another manifestation of the ubiquitous Gāndhārī pattern of neutralization of word-final vowels. A similar development is found in AF 1, v2 (II.9), where we find *nu* for the expected negative *na*: see the note there for details.

dhariṣyaṃ: Given the context of the proposed parallel texts in which the speakers are a group of monks, this form is presumably first person plural future. But the inflection is ambiguous, since the ending of the first singular future can be spelled as *-ma* instead of *-mi*, as a reflection of the general weakening of final vowels (compare the preceding note). For example, in fragment 119, v1 (II.8), *bh.ṣiṣy.m.* is clearly in a singular context, equivalent to *bhāsisāmi* in the Pali parallel, and although the last syllable is incomplete, it definitely did not have an *i* vowel diacritic. Thus here, as with the several other verb forms discussed above, it is not absolutely certain that the subject is plural, namely a group of Buddhist monks, as has been assumed on the basis of the presumed parallels. It is also possible that the text concerned a single monk in a similar situation, as is the case, for example, in AN 9.12, which records a solo visit to the *aññatitthiyas* by Sāriputta. However, all occurrences of the corresponding Pali expression *yathā no bhagavā byākariṣṣati*

tathā naṃ dhāressāmā ti are in the plural, which speaks for the interpretation of the form as first person plural.

The character transcribed here as *m̐* is a normal *m* with a separate hook-like stroke open to the left below it. This variant, which also occurs in fragment 77e+77a, r2, r3, v1 and AF 2, v2 (II.9), seems not to have any special phonetic value, as it co-occurs randomly with the ordinary *m*. For example, *paramarano* (77e+77a, v1) alternates with *paramarano* (twice in AF 1, v2, frag. 77e+77a, v1). The extra stroke evidently functions in this text⁴³ merely as a decorative foot mark, like those attached to the bottom of the stem of many Kharoṣṭhī characters; it appears as a separate stroke only with *m* because this letter alone lacks a vertical stem.

a[s.]: This is the normal Gāndhārī equivalent (*asa*) of Pali *atha*, marking the beginning of a new sentence, with the common development of *-th-* to *s/s̐*. Here the Pali parallel has a concluding *ti* before the *atha* that opens the next sentence (... *atthaṃ ājānissāmā' ti. atha kho te bhikkhū* ...), but the omission of *ti* or other equivalents of Skt *iti* is characteristic of Gāndhārī generally (Salomon 2002b: 124–5).

II.7: **Mahali-sutra* and **Triṣṇa-sutra* (fragments MS 2179/76+79)

Fragments 76 and 79 are adjoining parts of the same folio. The larger fragment 76 preserves parts of all three lines on each side, while fragment 79 has only the last two lines on the recto and the first two on the verso. A total of ten to fifteen characters in each line are preserved on the combined fragments. The first line of the recto corresponds to the last few words of the *Mahāli-sutta* of the AN (AN 10.47, V 86–7) while the rest of the text corresponds to the *Taṇhā-sutta* (AN 10.62, V 116–9). There is apparently no Chinese parallel for the first sūtra, but the second corresponds closely to sūtras 52 and 53 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (T. 26, 487c24–489a24 and 489a25–c27).⁴⁴

In the *Mahāli-sutta*, in response to a question asked by the Licchavi Mahāli the Buddha explains the five negative qualities that are the causes and reasons for the doing and the continuation of evil actions (*pāpassa kammaṣsa kiriyāya pāpassa kammaṣsa pavattiyā*). He then describes the five opposite positive qualities that are the causes and reasons for the doing and the continuation of virtuous actions (*kalyāṇassa kammaṣsa*), concluding that it is because these ten qualities exist in the world that both immoral, dishonest behavior (*adhammacariyā visamacariyā*) and moral, honest behavior (*dhammacariyā samacariyā*) are observed. While the Pali sutta ends with

⁴³ In some earlier Gāndhārī texts, such as the Khotan *Dharmapada*, *m̐* sometimes seems to represent *mma* or *maṃ* (Brough 1963: 70). It could in theory be read as such in *paramarano* (= P *paraṃmaranā*), but not in its other occurrences in our text such as *dhariṣyaṃ* or *taṃ anico* (frag. 77e+77a, r2). Thus this character has evidently lost its original phonetic function and become a mere decorative variety.

⁴⁴ Sūtras 52 and 53 of the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* are essentially two versions of the same text, with the first one containing a more expanded text. In the portion of the Chinese parallels cited here the text of the two sūtras is identical. The situation is not comparable to the one involved in the *Madhyamāgama* parallels to AN 10.58 and 10.59, as discussed in the following section, where what appears as a single sūtra in the Chinese version is presented as two sūtras in the Pali. There are also some other similarly constructed sūtras in Chinese, notably *Madhyamāgama* sūtra 51 and the separate translations T. 36, 佛說本相猗致經 *Fó shuō běn xiāngyì zhì jīng* and T. 37, 佛說緣本致經 *Fó shuō yuán běn zhì jīng*. But these are not strictly speaking parallel texts, and will not be further treated here.

this concluding statement, the Gāndhārī fragment (76, r1) contains a remnant of the standard sūtra-ending formula in which the audience applauds the Buddha's discourse.

In the *Taṇhā-sutta*, the Buddha teaches the monks about two sets of nourishing factors or nutriment (*āhāra*), which are presented as chains of causation conducive to the development of nine positive or negative qualities and actions. The first chain, the negative one, is:

1. The nutriment of craving for becoming (*bhavataṇhā*) is ignorance (*avijjā*).
2. The nutriment of ignorance is the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*).
3. The nutriment of the five hindrances is the three bad actions (*duccarita*).
4. The nutriment of the three bad actions is lack of sense-restraint (*indriyāsaṃvara*).
5. The nutriment of lack of sense-restraint is lack of mindfulness and awareness (*asatāsampajañña*).
6. The nutriment of lack of mindfulness and awareness is improper attention (*ayoniso manasikāra*).
7. The nutriment of improper attention is lack of faith (*asaddhiya*).
8. The nutriment of lack of faith is listening to untrue teachings (*asaddhamma-savana*).⁴⁵
9. The nutriment of listening to untrue teachings is associating with bad people (*asappurisaṃseva*).

Although this causal chain contains only nine items, the sutta is presumably located in the *dasaka-nipāta* of the AN because the item which introduces this list, *bhavataṇhā*, is included in the total count of items. The positive series in the latter half of the sutta chain (no part of which is preserved in the Gāndhārī fragments) has ten items: *vijjāvimutti*, *satta bojjhaṅga*, *cattāro satipaṭṭhāna*, *tīṇi sucaritāni*, *indriyasaṃvara*, *satisampajañña*, *yonisomanasikāra*, *saddhā*, *saddhammasavana*, *sappurisaṃseva*.⁴⁶

Both the negative and positive chains in the Pali sutta are followed by a simile in which the Buddha compares the filling of the ocean by drops of rain to the gradual development of the qualities and actions from their various contributory nutriments. These paragraphs too are not preserved in the Gāndhārī fragments.

The remnants of the second sūtra preserved in fragments 76+79 contain parts of the descriptions of the nutriments, from craving for becoming to the three bad actions, that is, the first three items in the negative chain. The Gāndhārī text begins (r2) with a brief introductory narrative

⁴⁵ The compound *asaddhamma-savana* may be interpreted either as “listening to untrue teachings,” where the negative prefix *a-* negates *sad*, as interpreted by Nyānaponika and Bodhi (1999: 255, “Listening to wrong teachings”), or as “not listening to the true teaching,” where *a-* negates *savana*, as understood by Woodward (1936: 78, “Not listening to true dhamma”) and Bodhi (2012: 1415, “Not hearing the good Dhamma.”) The former interpretation has been adopted here, as it seems more consistent with the corresponding cause, namely, “association with bad people.” It is also supported by the Chinese *Madhyāmagama* versions of this sūtra (MĀ 52, p. 488a11 etc.; MĀ 53, p. 489b12 etc.), which have 聞惡法 (488a11) “hearing a bad dharma,” as also do the related sūtras mentioned in the previous note (e.g., T. 36, 惡非法聞).

⁴⁶ The Chinese *Madhyāmagama* versions, however, have a negative causal chain with ten members, with two items corresponding to the last one of the Pali (*asappurisaṃseva*), namely “associating with bad companions” (親近惡知識, 488a12, 489b13) and “bad people” (惡人, 488a14, 489b15), and correspondingly a positive chain with eleven members. But since the Chinese sūtras are located in the *Madhyāmagama* rather than the EĀ, the difference in numeration has no special significance there.

frame which is absent from the direct Pali parallel but which corresponds to a common introduction found in many other Pali suttas; see the note on this line for details.

Text and translation

a. *Mahali-sutra

76, r1. /// [v.] samya-[ca]r[ya va idam]=(a)
[v.c]///(i)

[It is because these ten qualities exist in the world that not-dharmic or incorrect behavior,] or [dharmic] or correct behavior [are observed. The Blessed One] said this. [The Licchavi Mahali was pleased and applauded the Blessed One's speech].

b. *Triṣṇa-sutra

76+79, r2. (bhi)///[kṣu bha]gavada pracaśroṣi
bha/gava na [i]///(do)

[“Yes, sir,”] the monks replied to the Blessed One. The Blessed One [said: “No ultimate origin of craving for becoming is perceived, such that [before] this [craving for becoming did] not [exist].

76+79, r3. (prañaya)///[t]i ya-pracaga bhava-
triṣṇa bha/va-triṣṇa [bh]///(ikṣava)

[But, monks,] it is observed that craving for becoming is dependent on something. Craving for becoming, monks, [I say, has a nutriment;]

76+79, v1. (na) /// anaharo ko ya aharo
bhava/-triṣṇaya [a]///(vija)

[craving for becoming does] not lack a nutriment. And what is the nutriment of craving for becoming? ‘Ignorance’ [is the answer to this].

76+79, v2. (pa)///[c](a) aho nivarana saharo
va[d]e/mi [na a]///(naharo)

The five hindrances, I say, have a nutriment; [they] do not lack [a nutriment].

76, v3. (k)///[o] ya ahar(o) [tin](a) [d](u)
[c](a)[rid]///(ana)

And what is the nutriment of the three bad actions?

Parallel texts

a. *Mahali-sutra

Pali: AN V 87.24–27 (10.47).

yasmā ca kho mahāli ime dasa dhammā loke saṃvijjanti, tasmā paññāyati adhammacariyā visamacariyā ti vā dhammacariyā [76, r1] **samacariyā ti vā ti.**

b. **Triṣṇa-sutra*

Pali: AN V 116.16–28 (10.62).

purimā bhikkhave koṭi na paññāyati bhavataṇhāya [76+79, r2] *‘ito pubbe bhavataṇhā nāhosi, atha pacchā sambhavī’ ti, evañ c’ etaṃ bhikkhave vuccati. atha ca pana* [76+79, r3] *paññāyati ‘idappaccayā bhavataṇhā’ ti. bhavataṇham p’ ahaṃ bhikkhave sāhāraṃ vadāmi, no* [76+79, v1] *anāhāraṃ. ko cāhāro bhavataṇhāya? avijjā ti ‘ssa vacanīyaṃ. avijjam p’ ahaṃ bhikkhave sāhāraṃ vadāmi, no anāhāraṃ. ko cāhāro avijjāya? pañca nīvaraṇā ti ‘ssa vacanīyaṃ. [76+79, v2] pañca p’ ahaṃ bhikkhave nīvaraṇe sāhāre vadāmi, no anāhāre. ko cāhāro pañcannaṃ nīvaraṇānaṃ? tīṇi duccaritāni ti ‘ssa vacanīyaṃ. tīṇi p’ ahaṃ bhikkhave duccaritāni sāhārāni vadāmi, no anāhārāni. [76, v3] ko cāhāro tiṇṇaṃ duccaritānaṃ? indriyāsaṃvaro ti ‘ssa vacanīyaṃ.*

Chinese: 中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng* (*Madhyamāgama*), sūtras 52 and 53, T. 26, 487c26–488a5 = 489a27–b6.

我聞如是。一時佛遊舍衛國。在勝林給孤獨園。爾時 [76+79, r2] 世尊告諸比丘。有愛者。其本際不可知。本無有愛。然今生有愛。[76+79, r3] 便可得知。所因有愛。有愛者。則有食。[76+79, v1] 非無食。何謂有愛食。答曰。無明為食。無明亦有食。非無食。何謂無明食。答曰。五蓋為食。[76+79, v2] 五蓋亦有食。非無食。何謂五蓋食。答曰。三惡行為食。三惡行亦有食。非無食。[76+79, v3] 何謂三惡行食。答曰。不護諸根為食。

Notes

76, r1. /// [v.] *samya-[ca]r[ya va]*: Despite the meagre remnant of the first sūtra, there is little doubt about its identification with the *Mahāli-sutta*, as the conclusion of that sutta (*tasmā paññāyati adhammacariyā visamacariyā ti vā dhammacariyā samacariyā ti vā ti*) is the only one in the AN that corresponds to [v.] *samya-[ca]r[ya va]* of the Gāndhārī text. The only other possible Pali parallel to this passage would be the *Adhammacariyā-sutta* (AN V 303, 10.209), in which the terms *dhammacariyā* and *samacariyā* are prominent, but they do not occur at the very end of the sutta. The reading of *samya-[ca]r[ya]* is virtually certain, with the second syllable consisting of the consonant *m* with the subscript sign representing post-consonantal *y* which is used regularly in this manuscript. This implies that the translator or scribe understood the word in question to be the correspondent of Sanskrit *samyak-caryā*, rather than of *sama-caryā* as reflected in the Pali text (*samacariyā*). This however does not seem likely to be historically correct, at least to judge from P, where *samacariyā* is being contrasted to *visamacariyā*. Thus Gāndhārī *samya-* is probably another case of hyper-Sanskritization involving a non-etymological post-consonantal *y*, analogous to *tasya* for, apparently, original *tathā* (frag. 2, v3, II.6; see also I.5). Before *samya[ca]r[ya]* is the remnant of a syllable which is apparently the consonant *v* without a vowel diacritic. This implies that the *vā* which in Pali occurs once in the corresponding phrase (*dhammacariyā samacariyā ti vā ti*) was repeated in the Gāndhārī version, which might then be reconstructed as (*dharmacarya*) [v](a) *samya[ca]r[ya] va*. The full text of the final sentence of the Pali sutta reads *tasmā paññāyati adhammacariyā visamacariyā ti vā dhammacariyā samacariyā ti vā ti* (“Therefore it is observed that [there is] either non-dharmic, incorrect behavior, or dharmic,

correct behavior”), so that there two pairs of terms (*adhammacariyā visamacariyā* and *dhammacariyā samacariyā*) are being contrasted by two *vās*. But in the surviving part of the Gāndhārī version, two single terms (presumably, *dharmacarya* and *samya-carya*) apparently are being contrasted by two *vas*. Possibly all four terms were set off by *va* in the Gāndhārī text, but this cannot be proven from the meagre remnant.

[*idam*]=(*a*)[*v.c*]/(i): The Pali sutta ends with the sentence cited in the previous note (*tasmā paññāyati ... samacariyā ti vā ti*), but the Gāndhārī evidently had after this the standard sūtra-ending narrative conclusion which may be reconstructed as *idam=avaci bhagava atamana mahali lichavi bhagavada bhaṣida abhinadi*, “The Blessed One said this. The Licchavi Mahali was delighted and applauded the Blessed One’s speech,” assuming that the sūtra was addressed to the Licchavi Mahāli, as in the Pali parallel. (On sūtra-concluding formulae in Gāndhārī, see II.1, note on r3.) The absence in the Pali *Mahāli-sutta* of the concluding formula, which was evidently present in the Gāndhārī text, does not cast any doubt on the proposed identification, since the inclusion or exclusion of introductory and concluding formulae is inconsistent among sūtra manuscripts and texts in all Indian languages (see Allon 2001: 219 and n. 131, and compare the introductory remarks to II.1 above). Note, for example, that the *Taṇha-sutta* which immediately follows on this fragment has an introductory formula, as also do its Chinese parallels, that is absent in its (definite) Pali parallel.

(*a*)[*v.c*]/(i) is one of the several Gāndhārī correspondents to P *avoca*/Skt *avocat*, as discussed in Allon 2001: 163–5, 181–2, 219–22. Elsewhere in this text we find the forms *avoci* (AF 1, v3, II.9) and *avaci* (72, r3, II.1). Here, as also in 82+85, r1, it is not certain whether the *v* had an *o* diacritic, as it does in AF 1, because the relevant akṣaras are incomplete. But in this case, although only the bottom of the stem of the syllable is preserved, enough of it survives that, if there had been an *o* vowel attached to it, it would probably have been partially visible. Therefore the most likely reconstruction is (*a*)*v(a)c(i)*; compare *avaci* in the Gāndhārī *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* fragments from Bamiyan (Allon and Salomon 2000: 246, additional fragment r3), and BHS *avaci/avacī* (BHS 32.34).

76+79, r2. (*bhi*)/[*kṣu bha*]/*gavada pracaśroṣi bha/gava na [i]*/(do): The sūtra opens with an abridged version of a standard sūtra opening such as *bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato pacca-ssoṣum. bhagavā etad avoca* (AN V 92). Here the last two words, “said this,” have been omitted by way of abbreviation; similar abridgements of standard opening and closing formulae can be found in other Gāndhārī sūtras. Allon (2001: 221) thought that the word *bhayavadu* had been “accidentally” omitted from the concluding formulae of two EĀ-type sūtras in the British Library collection, but the comparable omission here of the equivalent of P *etad avoca* suggests that this was not a matter of error, but rather of silent abbreviation on the part of the scribe. Once again, the presence in the Gāndhārī sūtra of an abbreviated introductory formula which is absent from the Pali parallel does not cast doubt on the proposed identification; cf. the previous note. The two Chinese parallels to the sūtra in question do have an introductory nidāna (p. 487c26–7 = p. 489a27–8, 一時佛遊舍衛國。在勝林給孤獨園。爾時世尊告諸比丘。), though it is not the same formula as G. This simply confirms that the opening and concluding formulae are particularly prone to instability in different versions of sūtras. In (*bhi*)/[*kṣu bha*]/*gavada pracaśroṣi*, the

implied subject, namely the monks, is presumably plural, but the preterite verb *pracaśroṣi* is singular in form; the third person plural would be *pracaśroṣu* or *pracaśroṣiṣu*. This is another example of the generalization of the third singular preterite form; see the note on *samudacaṣe* in II.3, r1.

The lost text following the end of this line may tentatively be further reconstructed as something along the lines of *purva bhavatriṣṇa ahosi asa paṇā sabhavi di* on the basis of the Pali parallel (*ito pubbe bhavataṇhā nāhosi, atha pacchā sambhavī ti*). This in turn may have been followed by something like *purima koḍi bhavatriṣṇaya na pañayadi*, corresponding to Pali *purimā bhikkhave koṭi na paññāyati bhavataṇhāya*. But in the Gāndhārī text the order of the clauses must have been different, because in Pali this latter statement is at the very beginning, preceding *ito pubbe bhavataṇhā nāhosi, atha pacchā sambhavī ti*, whereas the Gāndhārī sūtra clearly began with the equivalent of the latter phrase, since it immediately follows the opening formula. Therefore in Gāndhārī the equivalent of *purimā bhikkhave koṭi na paññāyati bhavataṇhāya* must have followed rather than preceded the parallel to *purimā bhikkhave koṭi na paññāyati bhavataṇhāya*.⁴⁷

76+79, r3. (*prañaya*)/[t]i ya-pracaga bhava-triṣṇa bha/va-triṣa [bh.]/(ikṣava): This is the end of the first sentence and the beginning of the second sentence of the passage parallel to Pali *atha ca pana paññāyati 'idappaccayā bhavataṇhā' ti. bhavataṇham p' ahaṃ bhikkhave sāhāraṃ vadāmi, no anāhāraṃ*, though as usual there are some differences in phrasing. Most notably, whereas Pali has *idappaccayā bhavataṇhā* “craving for becoming has some cause” (or “[is seen to] have a specific condition,” Bodhi 2012: 1418), the Gāndhārī has *ya-pracaga bhava-triṣṇa*. Here the prefixed relative pronoun *ya-* seems to impart the same sense as *ida-* in the corresponding Pali phrase, in effect acting as an indefinite pronoun, “whatever; something (or other).” Alternatively, *ya* here could be taken as a true relative, in which case (*pañaya*)/[t]i ya-pracaga bhava-triṣṇa could be rendered literally as “what craving for becoming is dependent on is observed.”

The last, incomplete, syllable on this line is probably *bh*, although only part of the horizontal top line is preserved. This must have been the beginning of the vocative *bhikṣava*, as in fragment 82+85, r2 (II.12). In Pali, the equivalent word *bhikkhave* follows *bhavataṇham p' ahaṃ*; once again the word order must have been different in Gāndhārī.

If we are to follow the Pali parallel, the text at the beginning of this line could be reconstructed as (*asa ya vana bhikṣave pañaya*)ti, corresponding to Pali *atha ca pana paññāyati*. On the same principle, the missing text between the end of this line and the beginning of the first line of the verso could be partly filled in as [bh](ikṣava ahaṃ saharo vademi). But this would yield a line which is much shorter than the usual 60 to 70 syllables, so that there must have been some other differences in the formulation here, which cannot be reconstructed.

76+79, v2. (*pa*)/[c](a) aho nivarana saharo va[d]/emi: Judging from the Pali parallel (*nīvaraṇe sāhāre vadāmi*), the five hindrances are to be construed as in the accusative plural. In the

⁴⁷ This would seem to support the interpretation by Bodhi (2012: 1418), according to which the passage punctuated in the standard editions (as given above, following the PTS edition) as *purimā bhikkhave koṭi na paññāyati bhavataṇhāya 'ito pubbe bhavataṇhā nāhosi, atha pacchā sambhavī ti, evañ c' etaṃ bhikkhave vuccati*, should rather be read as *'purimā bhikkhave koṭi na paññāyati bhavataṇhāya ito pubbe bhavataṇhā nāhosi, atha pacchā sambhavī ti, evañ c' etaṃ bhikkhave vuccati*; that is, “*evametaṃ bhikkhave vuccati* applies to the statement as a whole, from *purimā* through *sambhavi*, rather than to only part of it” (1846 n. 2081).

Gāndhārī, the noun and its adjective end, with typical inconsistency, in *-a* and *-o* respectively. Although forms of the accusative plural are to date not well attested in literary Gāndhārī, *-a* seems to be the most common ending for the accusative plural masculine (Allon 2001: 110). There is some attestation for *-o* as the ending of the nominative plural masculine (Salomon 2000: 97), but not for the accusative plural. It is therefore possible that this phrase is to be construed, not as accusative as in P, where it is the object of *vadāmi*, but as nominative, with the corresponding verb *va[d]emi* taken as parenthetical in a copula sentence. But it may also be that, given the loose style and morphology of literary Gāndhārī, *saharo* is actually intended as the singular form, generalized from the formulaic pattern of the passage and applied in this plural context.

Here the Pali text has a vocative *bhikkhave* which is absent in G. Compare the previous note; evidently the use and position of such vocatives was variable and unstable across and perhaps even within texts.

II.8. **Mulaga-sutra* and **Pravaya-sutra* (fragments MS 2179/119, 77f, 86, and 101)

The relatively large fragment 119 contains parts of two lines with as many as twenty-seven akṣaras, while the miniscule fragments 77f, 86 and 101 have small remnants of one (86) or two (77f, 101) lines with a maximum of eight akṣaras per line. The text on both sides of fragment 119 corresponds closely to that of AN 10.58, the *Mūlaka-sutta* (AN V 106–7), and the text on the recto of the other three fragments apparently corresponds to the end of that sūtra. The second surviving line (probably line 3 of the original folio) on the recto of fragment 101 contains the correspondent (*tasmad*) of the first word (*tasmā*) of the next sutta in the Pali AN, the *Pabbajjā-sutta* (10.59; AN V 107–8), and the text on the verso of all three of the smaller fragments agrees with that of the *Pabbajjā-sutta*.

Thus it would seem that fragments 119, 77f, 86 and 101 belong to two originally contiguous folios containing parts of two sūtras. However, there are two problems concerning the identification and interpretation of these fragments. The first problem is that the textual sequence between the folio which yielded fragment 119 and the folio from which fragments 77f, 86, 101 survive does not follow the pattern that would be expected on the basis of the Pali parallel, so the two folios in question may not actually have been contiguous. It therefore cannot be ruled out that folio 119 came from a different section of the manuscript which contained a separate sūtra which was very similar but not identical to the first sūtra on fragments 77f, 86, 101. The ramifications of this problem will be further discussed in the note on 77f, r2.

The second problem is that in two separate Chinese translations the parallels to the two sūtras concerned are treated as a single sūtra, despite their dissimilar contents, rather than as two separate sūtras as in the AN. As discussed in the introductory section (I.4), this juncture seems to present a case in which the sequence of sūtras is the same in the Gāndhārī EA as in the Pali AN, but in view of the Chinese parallels we cannot be certain whether they were treated in the Gāndhārī EA as a single sūtra or as two sūtras.

The first Chinese version is sūtra no. 113 of the *Madhyamāgama* / 中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng* (T. 26, 602b28–603a2), and the second a separate translation, attributed to 支謙 *Zhī Qiān*, of

the same sūtra from the *Madhyamāgama*, entitled 佛說諸法本經 *Fóshuō zhūfǎ běn jīng* (T. 59, 855c5–c28). In the first translation, the transition between the two sections is marked by the phrase 是故比丘當如是學 (602c16–17), “Therefore, monks, you must learn in this way,” corresponding to *tasmā ti ha bhikkhave evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ* at the beginning of the *Pabbajjā-sutta* in the Pali parallel and to *tasmad=a///* in the Gāndhārī text (101, r3). But in the second Chinese translation there is no such transitional phrase between the two parts of the sūtra (855c20–21). Unfortunately, the text immediately preceding the transitional word *tasmad* in fragment 101 is lost, so that it cannot be determined whether the Gāndhārī text was structured like the Pali, as two separate sūtras, or like the Chinese versions, as part of the same sūtra. But it is clear that the two sūtras were linked in all three traditions (Gāndhārī, Pali, and Chinese), whether as a composite text (as in Chinese) or as successive texts (in Pali).

The situation is perplexing, however, as the two text units treat different subjects and do not seem to be in any way logically connected, so that the conjunction “therefore” in the Pali, Gāndhārī, and the first Chinese version is jarring. In the *Madhyamāgama*, “therefore” (是故) links two discourses which have no apparent logical connection, while in Pali the second unit is presented as a separate discourse beginning with *tasmā ti ha bhikkhave evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ*, which is apparently unique as an opening among the thousands of suttas in the AN.⁴⁸ Rather, this phrase is a characteristic way to introduce the *conclusion* of a sutta in Pali; for example, AN 8.73 (IV 319) concludes with *tasmā ti ha bhikkhave evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ: appamattā viharissāma, tikkhaṃ maraṇasatiṃ bhāvēssāma āsavānāṃ khayāyā ti. evaṃ hi vo bhikkhave sikkhitabbaṃ*, “Therefore, monks, you should train yourselves in this way: ‘We remain attentive, we develop a sharp awareness of death, in order to destroy the taints.’ Thus, monks, you must train yourselves.” AN 10.59, however, *begins* with this phrase, and then has in the middle *evaṃ hi vo bhikkhave sikkhitabbaṃ*, which is normally the final sentence of a sutta, followed by a long statement of the results of following the teaching of the sutta.

Thus, we get the impression from the Pali version of this sutta that a text or sequence of texts has at some point in the transmission of the collection been somehow wrongly divided, so that its conclusion became the beginning.⁴⁹ This confusion is reflected in a different way in the Chinese versions, where the conclusion has been stitched together with the apparently unrelated preceding sūtra. Evidently there has been some disturbance at this point at a deep level in the history of the AN/EĀ collections, but unfortunately the new Gāndhārī text does not answer the question, because the text before the crucial word *tasmad* is lost. We do know that the two text units were consecutive in it, as in Pali and Chinese, but we do not know whether they were being presented as two separate sūtras as in Pali, or as a single unit as in Chinese.

As for the content of the sūtras, in the Pali *Mūlaka-sutta* the Buddha instructs the monks about ten questions which they might be asked by ascetics of other faiths, concerning (1) the root

⁴⁸ Noting the anomalous opening, the commentary elaborates on it by adding an implied antecedent to “therefore”: “Because the purpose of monkhood is not achieved by one whose mind is not cultivated in this way, therefore ...” (*tasmāti yasmā evaṃ aparicittatassa sāmāññattho na sampajjati, tasmā*; AN-a V 42).

⁴⁹ It is clear that the two suttas concerned were considered as separate suttas in the tradition of the Pali bhāṇakas (rather than, for example, having been designated as such by modern editors), since the uddāna to the relevant section of the AN (*sacitta-vagga*) lists them separately as *mūlā pabbajitā* (AN V 112). The comment quoted in the previous note shows that this was also the case in the Pali commentarial tradition.

of all dhammas⁵⁰ (*kiṃmūlakā āvuso sabbe dhammā*), (2) their coming into being (*kiṃsambhavā*), (3) their origination (*kiṃsamudayā*), (4) their convergence (*kiṃsamosaraṇā*), (5) their head (*kiṃpamukhā*), (6) their authority (*kiṃādhipateyyā*), (7) their superior (*kiṃuttarā*), (8) their essence (*kiṃsārā*), (9) their culmination (*kiṃogadhā*), and (10) their conclusion (*kiṃpariyosānā*). He then tells the monks that, if asked these questions, they should respond that all dhammas (1) have desire as their root (*chandamūlakā ... sabbe dhammā*), (2) attention as their coming into being (*manasikāra-sambhavā ...*), (3) contact as their origination (*phassasamudayā*), (4) sensation as their convergence (*vedanāsamosaraṇā*), (5) concentration as their head (*samādhipamukhā*), (6) mindfulness as their authority (*satādhipattheyā*), (7) wisdom as their superior (*paññuttarā*), (8) liberation as their essence (*vimuttisārā*), (9) deathlessness as their culmination (*amatogadhā*), and (10) nirvāṇa as their conclusion (*nibbānapariyosānā*). In the Gāndhārī fragments, seven of the (presumably; see below) ten question topics are preserved, either in the original questions (on fragment 119, r2), in the repetition of the questions (119, v2) or in the answers (frags. 77f, 101, and 86), or in both questions and answers.⁵¹ By combining the sequences derived from these fragmentary remains, it can be determined that the order of the topics in the Gāndhārī version was as follows:

mulaga “root” (1; A)
 ...
samudaya “origination” (3; A)
 ...
asivatea “authority” (6; Q-1)
pramukhe “head” (5; Q-1)
utara “superior” (7; Q-1, A)
sara “essence” (8; Q-1)
paryavasana “conclusion” (10; Q-1, Q-2, A).

Here the first figure in parentheses indicates the number of the corresponding topic in the Pali sutta, while the following letter indicates the location(s) of the topic in the surviving Gāndhārī fragments: Q-1 = first set of questions, fragment 119; Q-2 = repetition of the questions, fragment 119; A = answers to the questions, fragments 77f, 101, and 86. Ellipsis dots between topics indicates that they are not consecutive in the Gāndhārī text, and that one or more topics between them have been lost.

This comparison shows that the order of the topics in Gāndhārī differs from that of the Pali sutta in at least two respects. First, the order of the fifth and sixth topics in Pali (*pamukhā*, *ādhipateyyā*) is reversed in Gāndhārī. Second, the ninth topic of the Pali version, *ogadhā*, is absent

⁵⁰ According to the commentary on the similar sutta AN 8.83 (AN IV 338–9), *sabbe dhammā* here refers to the five aggregates (*sabbe dhammā ti pañcakkhandhā*; AN-a IV 158).

⁵¹ This reconstruction assumes that frag. 119 belongs to the same sūtra as frags. 77f, 86, and 101. But even if they represent different sūtras, their texts were apparently similar enough to be considered together in order to reconstruct the original order of the topics in each of them.

from the corresponding position in Gāndhārī. Moreover, at least one and probably both⁵² Chinese translations agree with the Gāndhārī in these respects. The following chart presents the topics in their order as given in these two Chinese versions, with the corresponding topic number in the Pali text in parentheses:

T. 26 (MĀ, sūtra 113)	T. 59
1. 一切諸法以欲為本 = <i>chanda-mūlakā sabbe dhammā</i> (1)	1. 欲為諸法本 = <i>chanda-mūlakā [sabbe] dhammā</i> (1)
2. 以更樂為和 = <i>phassa-samudayā</i> (3)	2. 更為習 = <i>phassa-samudayā</i> (3)
3. 以覺為來 = <i>vedanā-samosaraṇā</i> (4)	3. 痛為同趣 = <i>vedanā-samosaraṇā?</i> (4)
4. 以思想為有 = <i>manasikāra-sambhavā</i> (2)	4. 念為致有 = <i>manasikāra-sambhavā?</i> (2)
5. 以念為上主 = <i>sat-ādhipateyyā</i> (6)	5. 思惟為明道 = <i>sat-ādhipateyyā?</i> (6)
6. 以定為前 = <i>samādhī-pamukhā</i> (5)	6. 三昧為第一 = <i>samādhī-pamukhā</i> (5)
7. 以慧為上 = <i>paññ-uttarā</i> (7)	7. 智慧為最上 = <i>paññ-uttarā</i> (7)
8. 以解脫為真 = <i>vimutti-sārā</i> (8)	8. 解脫為牢固 = <i>vimutti-sārā?</i> (or * <i>vimutt-o-gadhā?</i>) (8)
9. 以涅槃為訖 = <i>nibbāna-pariyosānā</i> (10)	9. 泥洹為畢竟 = <i>nibbāna-pariyosānā</i> (10)

However, since both Chinese versions have only nine topics rather than ten as in Pali, it remains uncertain whether the Gāndhārī **Mulaga-sutra* was part of the *dasaka-nipāta* or the *navaka-nipāta*. It should also be noted in this connection that the Pali AN has a sutta in the *aṭṭhaka-nipāta*⁵³ which is virtually identical to the one in question here except that it omits the last two topics. Thus this sūtra existed in various versions, with eight, nine, or ten topics. But the text which immediately follows the *Mūlaka-sutta*/**Mulaga-sutra* in all versions, whether treated as a separate sutta as in Pali or as part of the same text in both Chinese versions, does have ten topic points in all three versions which are completely extant. In the Chinese versions the discrepancy between the numbers of topics in the two parts of the sūtra is insignificant, because they are classified there as part of the *Madhyamāgama*, rather than of the numerically arranged EĀ. But the fact that in all versions the second sūtra/second section of the sūtra has ten topics suggests that its fragmentary Gāndhārī EĀ equivalent would also have had ten topics, so that the first sūtra/section must also have had ten topics, as it does in the Pali AN.

The topic that is absent from the shorter (nine-topic) Chinese versions is the ninth one in the Pali text, *amatogadhā sabbe dhammā*, “all things ... culminate in the deathless” according to Bodhi’s translation (2012: 1410), or “plunging into the deathless” according to Woodward (1936: 73). If, as we have surmised above, the Gāndhārī version had ten topics, it must have had either the equivalent of this topic but in a different position than in Pali, or an entirely different topic. In either case, this missing topic must have come either between *mulaga* and *samudaya* or between *samudaya* and *asivātea*, these being the only points at which the sequence of topics in Gāndhārī

⁵² Due to several obscurities in the second Chinese translation, there are some doubts about the Pali equivalents and their ordering there. But except for the problematic penultimate topic, it is fairly certain that the ordering of the second Chinese translation agreed with that of the first.

⁵³ AN 8.83, referred to above in n. 51 and discussed further in the text note on frag. 77f, r2.

(as reconstructed above) is incomplete. However, the statement *amatogadhā sabbe dhammā* is hardly appropriate for a position in the first half of the set of ten, since it obviously pairs with the climactic final point, *nibbānapariyosānā sabbe dhammā*, “all dhammas have nirvāṇa as their conclusion.” So, even if the question corresponding to *kiṃ-ogadhā sabbe dhammā* did occur in an earlier position in the Gāndhārī (most likely as number four or five, between *samudaya* and *asivātea*), the answer would have presumably been something other than the *amatogadhā* of the Pali text, and we have no way to guess what this might have been.

Alternatively, the apparently missing topic in the Gāndhārī version might have been an entirely different one, for which, however, we find no equivalent in the other relevant texts and hence cannot provide any likely candidate. But what is clear is that the ninth topic, *kiṃ-ogadhā sabbe dhammā ... amatogadhā sabbe dhammā* was an unstable point in the transmission of this and similar text units. As we have already seen, it is certainly absent from at least one and probably from both Chinese translations, and even in the Pali tradition at least one and apparently two manuscripts used in the PTS edition of the AN omitted it (AN V 106, n. 4; 107 n. 4), and as pointed out by Bodhi (2012: 1845 n. 2069), “The last two items, *amatogadhā sabbe dhammā* and *nibbānapariyosānā sabbe dhammā*, seem to be synonymous.” The evident confusion on this point may have been connected with an underlying uncertainty about the meaning of the term *ogadha*, for which, for example, DP gives two separate entries, one meaning “firm footing in water, firm ground; a ford,” the other “plunging into, immersion” (definition 2).

However this may be, we simply do not have enough evidence, internal or external, to determine what the missing item in the Gāndhārī text was, or even whether there was one. But the variation in the Pali text of the *Mūlaka-sutta* provides a hint that this problem may be related to the problem of its relationship to the *Pabbajjā-sutta* which follows it, either as a separate sutta as in Pali or as part of the same sūtra as in both Chinese versions. In light of this, one might speculate that the *Mūlaka-sutta* was originally an independent sūtra, but because of a concern about the variation in the number of items in it—eight, nine, or ten—it was combined in some traditions with the following sūtra to secure its position in the *daśaka-nipāta*. If this is the case, it is even still possible that the Gāndhārī version had only nine topics, as the Chinese parallels suggest, and that, like them, it was treated as a composite with the following sūtra, which had ten topics, and was therefore placed in the *daśaka-nipāta*. But once again, we cannot know from the fragmentary materials available what really happened; we can only consider the possibilities and speculate about their underlying causes.

In the Pali *Pabbajjā-sutta*, an unspecified speaker, presumably the Buddha, teaches that those who have gone forth should cultivate their mind with ten perceptions (*saññā*) so that it is strengthened⁵⁴ by them in accordance with the spirit of monkhood (*yathāpabbajjāparicitaṃ*), so that evil thoughts do not arise. The ten perceptions are (1) the perception of impermanence (*aniccasaññā*), (2) the perception of non-self (*anattasaññā*), (3) the perception of repulsiveness

⁵⁴ Following Bodhi’s translation (2012: 1411) of *paricita-*, which is presumably based on the commentary’s gloss *vaḍḍhitam* (AN-a V 42). Woodward (1936: 73) translates *paricita-* as “compassed about.”

(*asubhasaññā*), (4) the perception of disadvantages (*ādīnavasaññā*),⁵⁵ (5) the perception based on awareness of the evenness and unevenness of the world (*lokassa samañ ca visamañ ca ñatvā taṃsaññā*),⁵⁶ (6) the perception based on awareness of the growth and decay of the world (*lokassa sambhavañ ca vibhavañ ca ñatvā taṃsaññā*), (7) the perception based on awareness of the coming into being and passing away of the world (*lokassa samudayañ ca aṭṭhaṅgamañ ca ñatvā taṃsaññā*), (8) the perception of abandonment (*pahānasaññā*),⁵⁷ (9) the perception of dispassion (*virāgasaññā*), and (10) the perception of cessation (*nirodhasaññā*).

Due to the small amount of text preserved on the three small fragments 77f, 86, and 101 and the evident differences between the Gāndhārī and Pali texts in terms of textual variations and abbreviation patterns (see, e.g., the note below on 77f, v1), it is difficult to determine their exact relative position. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they all come from the same folio.

Text and translation

a. **Mulaga-sutra*

119, r2. (ki)///m=asivatea ki-pramukha ki-utara
ki-sara ki-[pa]ryavasana sarva dh.rm. [e]///(va)

“‘What is the authority [of all dharmas], what is their head, what is their superior, what is their essence, what is the conclusion of all dharmas?’ Thus [asked] ...”

119, r3. ///r. + + [g.v.t.-netiya] bhagavata-prati-
saran. [s.dh. bh. .e] ///

“[For us,] the Blessed One is the guide of the dharmas, the Blessed One is their recourse. Please, sir ...”

119, v1. ///[s.] + [r. s. bh.ṣiṣy.m.] eva bhata [t.
bh]///(ikṣu)

“Pay attention [well]; I will explain.” “Yes, sir,” [responded] those monks [to the Blessed One].

119, v2. (sa)///[r](va) dharma piyalo yava ki-
paryavasana [sa]rva dharma eva proṭhaya tusme
[aṇ]///(atirthigana)

“If asked thus, ‘[What is the root] of all dharmas?’ and so on, up to ‘What is the conclusion of all dharmas?’, you [should explain] to the non-Buddhists ...”

77f, r2. (cha)///[da]-mulaga aiisa ho [s]///(arva
dharma)

All [dharmas], friend, have desire as their root.

⁵⁵ The first four perceptions are elaborated in the *Girimānanda-sutta* (AN 10.60, V 109–110), which immediately follows the *Pabbajjā-sutta* in the AN, as: (1) the perception of the five aggregates subject to clinging (*upādānakkhandā*) as impermanent, (2) the perception of the six internal and six external sense faculties as non-self, (3) the perception of the body as repulsive, and (4) the perception of the disadvantages of the body.

⁵⁶ The Pali commentary (AN-a V 42) explains the evenness and unevenness of the world as its good and bad actions (*lokassa sucaritaduccaritāni*).

⁵⁷ The *Girimānanda-sutta* (AN V 110) explains this as the perception of not accepting, but rather abandoning unwholesome thoughts that may arise.

77f, r3. /// [pañu]tara s///(arva dharma)	All [dharmas] have wisdom as their superior.
86, r3. (nirvana-paryaya)///[sa]na sarva dharma ///	All dharmas have [nirvāṇa] as their conclusion ...”
b. *Pravaya-sutra	
101, r3. /// tasmad=a///(üsa)	Therefore, friend, [you should train yourselves in this way: ...]
77f, v1. (ani)///[c.]saṇa-pa[ric]///(ito)	... strengthened by the perception of impermanence ...
86, v1. (aśu)///[bh.]saṇa-pari[c]///(ito)	... strengthened by the perception of repulsiveness ...
101, v1. (saṇa-pari)///cito [p]///(ahana-saṇa-paricito)	... strengthened [by the perception of the coming into being and passing away of the world]; [strengthened by the perception of] abandonment ...
77f, v2. (ta-saṇa-parici)///to logasya sabha[v]/// (a ca vibhava ca ñatva)	... [having known the growth and decay of the world], strengthened [by the perception of that]; [having known] the coming into being [and passing away] of the world ...
101, v2. /// [p.]rici[t]///(o)	... strengthened [by] ...

Parallel texts

Pali:

a. *Mulaga-sutra: AN V 106.13–107.13 (10.58).

sace bhikkhave aññatitthiyā paribbājakā evaṃ puccheyyūṃ ’kiṃmūlakā āvuso sabbe dhammā, kiṃsambhavā sabbe dhammā, kiṃsamudayā sabbe dhammā, kiṃsamosaraṇā sabbe dhammā, [119, r2] **kiṃpamukhā** sabbe dhammā, **kiṃ-ādhipateyyā** sabbe dhammā, **kiṃ-uttarā** sabbe dhammā, **kiṃsārā** sabbe dhammā, kiṃ-ogadhā sabbe dhammā, **kiṃpariyosānā sabbe dhammā’ ti:** evaṃ puṭṭhā tumhe bhikkhave tesaṃ aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ kinti vyākareyyāthā ti? ’bhagavaṃmūlakā no bhante [119, r3] dhammā **bhagavaṃnettikā bhagavaṃpaṭisaraṇā. sādhu vata bhante** bhagavantam yeva paṭibhātu etassa bhāsitassa attho, bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantī’ ti. tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha sādhuḥkaṃ [119, v1] manasikarotha, **bhāsissāmī** ti. **‘evaṃ bhante’** ti kho **te** bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum. bhagavā etad avoca:—

sace bhikkhave aññatitthiyā paribbājakā evaṃ puccheyyūṃ ’kiṃmūlakā āvuso sabbe dhammā, kiṃsambhavā [119, v2] sabbe **dhammā**, kiṃsamudayā sabbe dhammā, kiṃsamosaraṇā sabbe dhammā, kiṃpamukhā sabbe dhammā, kiṃ-ādhipateyyā sabbe dhammā, kiṃ-uttarā sabbe

*dhammā, kiṃsārā sabbe dhammā, kiṃ-ogadhā sabbe dhammā, [119, v2] **kiṃpariyosānā sabbe dhammā**’ ti: evaṃ puṭṭhā tumhe bhikkhave tesaṃ aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ evaṃ vyākareyyātha: [77f, r2] **chandamūlakā āvuso** sabbe dhammā, manasikārasambhavā sabbe dhammā, [101, r2] **phassasamudayā** sabbe dhammā, vedanāsamosaṇā sabbe dhammā, samādhīpamukhā sabbe dhammā, satādhīpateyyā sabbe dhammā, [77f, r3] **paññuttarā** sabbe dhammā, vimuttisārā sabbe dhammā, amatogadhā sabbe dhammā, [86, r3] **nibbānapariyosānā sabbe dhammā** ti.*

evaṃ puṭṭhā tumhe bhikkhave tesaṃ aññatitthiyānaṃ paribbājakānaṃ evaṃ vyākareyyātha ti.

b. *Pravaya-sutra: AN V 107.15–108.16 (10.59).

[101, r3] *tasmā ti ha bhikkhave evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ:*

*yathāpabbajjāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, na c’ uppannā pāpakā akusalā dhammā cittaṃ pariyādāya ṭhassanti, [77f, v1] **aniccasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati. anattasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, [86, v1] **asubhasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, ādīnavasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, lokassa samaṇ ca visamaṇ ca ñatvā taṃsaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, lokassa sambhavaṇ ca vibhavaṇ ca ñatvā taṃsaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, lokassa samudayaṇ ca aṭṭhaṅgamaṇ ca ñatvā [101, v1] **taṃsaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, **pahānasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, virāgasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati, nirodhasaññāparicitaṇ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati** ti.*******

evaṃ hi vo bhikkhave sikkhitabbaṃ.

*yato kho bhikkhave bhikkhuno yathāpabbajjāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, na c’ uppannā pāpakā akusalā dhammā cittaṃ pariyādāya tiṭṭhanti, aniccasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti anattasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, asubhasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, ādīnavasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, lokassa samaṇ ca visamaṇ ca ñatvā [77f, v2] **taṃsaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, **lokassa sambhavaṇ ca vibhavaṇ ca ñatvā taṃsaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, lokassa samudayaṇ ca aṭṭhaṅgamaṇ ca ñatvā taṃsaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, **pahānasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, [101, v2 (?)] **virāgasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti, nirodhasaññāparicitaṇ ca cittaṃ hoti.*********

tassa dvinnaṃ phalānaṃ aññataraṃ phalaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ: diṭṭh’ eva dhamme aññā, sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā ti.

Chinese:⁵⁸ 1. 中阿含經 *Zhōng āhán jīng* (*Madhyamāgama*), sūtra 113, T. 26, 602b28–603a2.

我聞如是。一時佛遊舍衛國。在勝林給孤獨園。爾時世尊告諸比丘。若諸異學來問汝等。一切諸法以何為本。汝等應當如是答彼。[77f, r2] **一切諸法以欲為本**。彼若復問。以何為

⁵⁸ In both of the Chinese translations, the text is presented, as usual, in a more concise form than in the Pali correspondent. The preliminary section of the Pali *Mūlaka-sutta* (paragraph 1 as presented in the PTS edition), in which the Buddha introduces the questions to the monks without providing the answers, is omitted in the Chinese versions, both of which begin with the correspondent to paragraph 2 of the Pali, containing both the repeated questions and their answers. For this reason, no parallels for the Gāndhārī text on frag. 119, which contains the preliminary questions, are noted in the Chinese text. The Chinese translations also differ from the Pali in that they introduce the questions and answers one by one, whereas the Pali and the Gāndhārī first repeat all ten questions (as presented, in abbreviated form, on frag. 119, v2) and then provide ten answers in the corresponding order. This sort of structural variation is again typical of Chinese translations of Āgama-sūtras.

和。當如是答。以 [101, r2] **更樂為和**。彼若復問。以何為來。當如是答。以覺為來。彼若復問。以何為有。當如是答。以思想為有。彼若復問。以何為上主。當如是答。以念為上主。彼若復問。以何為前。當如是答。以定為前。彼若復問。以何為上。當如是答。以 [77f, r3] **慧為上**。彼若復問。以何為真。當如是答。以解脫為真。彼若復問。以何為訖。當如是答。以 [86, r3] **涅槃為訖**。是為比丘欲為諸法本。更樂為諸法和。覺為諸法來。思想為諸法有。念為諸法上主。定為諸法前。慧為諸法上。解脫為諸法真。涅槃為諸法訖。[101, r3] **是故**比丘當如是學。習出家學道心。[77f, v1] **習無常想**。習無常苦想。習苦無我想。[86, v1] **習不淨想**。習惡食想。習一切世間不可樂想。習死想。知世間好惡。習如是想心。知世間習有。習如是想心。知世間習。滅。味。患。出要如真。習如是想心。若比丘得習出家學道心者。得習無常想。得習無常苦想。得習苦無我想。得習不淨想。得習惡食想。得習一切世間不可樂想。得習死想。知世間好惡。得習如是想心。知 [77f, v2] **世間習有**。得習如是想心。知世間習。滅。味。患。出要如真。得習如是想心者。是謂比丘斷愛除結。正知正觀諸法已。便得苦邊。佛說如是。彼諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。

2. 佛說諸法本經 *Fóshuō zhūfǎ běn jīng* (T. 59, 855c5–c28)

聞如是。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。佛告諸比丘。聽吾說諸法本。對曰唯然世尊。曰。若有外道異學有來問者。何謂法本。當答言。[77f, r2] **欲為諸法本**。何謂習。[101, r2] **更為習**。何謂同趣。痛為同趣。何謂致有。念為致有。何謂明道。思惟為明道。何謂第一。三昧為第一。何謂最上。[77, r3] **智慧為最上**。何謂牢固。解脫為牢固。何謂畢竟。[86, r2] **泥洹為畢竟**。如是諸比丘。欲為諸法本。更為諸法習。痛為諸法同趣。念為諸法致有。思惟為諸法明道。三昧為諸法第一。智慧為諸法最上。解脫為諸法牢固。泥洹為諸法畢竟。諸比丘當學是。常當有去家之想念。[77f, v1] **非常想念**。非常苦想念。苦非身想念。穢食想念。不淨想念。死亡想念。一切世間無樂想念。知世間邪正想念。別 [77f, v2] **世間有無想念**。世間所習所取歡樂變失及其歸趣。當如事以正見知之。諸比丘念是為斷愛棄欲。入正慧得苦際。佛說經已。皆歡喜奉行。

Notes

119, r2. [e]///(va): Only the top of the last syllable survives, but it is consistent with the *e* that is expected on the basis of *evaṃ* in the Pali parallel (*kiṃpariyosānā sabbe dhammā' ti: evaṃ puṭṭhā ...*). Evidently the equivalent of (i)ti was omitted in the Gāndhārī text here, as frequently; compare II.6, note on v3, a[s.].

119, r3. ///r.. + + [g.v.t.-netiya] *bhagavata-pratisaran.*: On the basis of the following word (*bhagavata-pratisaran.*) and the Pali parallel (*bhagavaṃmūlakā no bhante dhammā bhagavaṃnettikā bhagavaṃpaṭisaraṇā*), the beginning of this passage can be reconstructed as (*dha*)r(*ma no bha*)g(*a*)v(*a*)t(*a*)-*netiya*. The upper tip of the first syllable, with a slight bend toward the left at the end, is consistent with the form of *rma* at the end of the previous line. In order to account for the two missing syllables, we have posited that *no*, which precedes *bhante dhammā* in Pali, must have followed this phrase in the Gāndhārī text. Such minor differences in word order between Pali and Gāndhārī parallels are very frequent. In (*bha*)g(*a*)v(*a*)t(*a*)-*netiya* and *bhagavata-pratisaran.*, *bhagavata-* is a stem form used in compound, based on a vocalic extension of the original stem

(*bhagava(n)t-* > *bhagava(n)t-a-*). This and similar patterns are well-attested in Gāndhārī; compare Allon 2001: 113–4 (6.1.4.5).

119, v1. *[[[s.] + [r. s. bh.ṣiṣy.m.]]*: With the aid of the Pali parallel, *manasikarotha, bhāssissā-mī ti*, this can be reconstructed as *(mana)s(ika)r(o)s(a) bh(a)ṣiṣy(a)m(a)*. The bottom of the first syllable is consistent with *s*; the miniscule remnant of the bottom of the third syllable is not distinctive, but it could be the expected *r*; and the fourth syllable, again just the lower tip, is consistent with *s*, which is the normal (though not consistently in this text; see I.5) reflex of intervocalic *th* in Gāndhārī. In *bh(a)ṣiṣy(a)m(a)*, the final vowel is clearly not the expected *i*, which would have been visible in the portion of the syllable that survives. But first person singular verbs in *-ma* instead of *-mi* are attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī, as a reflection of the general pattern of weakening of final vowels (Glass 2007: 104, 113, 134; compare also the note on *dhariṣyāma* in II.6, v3). At the end of this phrase, the *ti* of the Pali parallel is once again absent; compare the note above on fragment 119, r2.

eva bhata [t. bh]///(ikṣu): Only the bottom tips of the last two syllables survive, but they are consistent with *te bhikṣu* as expected on the basis of the Pali parallel (*evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum*). Evidently the Gāndhārī text did not have an equivalent to *ti kho* of the Pali, as is consistent with its generally more concise phrasing; compare the notes above.

119, v2. *(sa)///[r](va) dharma piyalo yava ki-paryavasana [sa]rva dharma*: The word preceding this passage would presumably have been *ki-mulaga* or the like, as this is clearly an abbreviation of the entire list of ten questions. According to the typical pattern in this and other Buddhist manuscripts, the scribe probably wrote out only the first and last questions, abbreviating the rest (which had already been written out in full on the recto of this folio) with the abbreviation formula *piyalo yava*, “and so on, up to ...” On the use of this formula in this manuscript, see the note on *yava viḥisa-vitarka piyalo so [a.]///* in II.3, r1.

proṭhaya tusme: The function of *ya* in this phrase is not entirely certain. It could be the equivalent to P/Skt *ca*, which is sometimes spelled *ya* in this text as in Gāndhārī generally. But the context does not call for an “and,” nor is there anything like this in the Pali parallel. It is therefore more likely to represent the pleonastic suffix (< original *-ka*) appended to the past participle *poṭha* (= P *puṭṭhā*/Skt *prṣṭāḥ*). Such extended past participles are widespread in MIA generally and are well attested in Gāndhārī, especially in the Central Asian (Niya) dialect, but also sporadically in literary texts. The extended past participle in Gāndhārī is usually spelled with *-ga* (e.g., *ṭhidaga*, *likhidago*; Lenz 2010: 48–9, 4.3.7.2), but sometimes with *-ya* (e.g., *kiḍaya*, *gadaya*, *didaya*; Burrow 1937: 53).

[aṇ]///(atirthagana): Only the bottoms of the stems of the last two syllables survive, but they are consistent with the expected equivalent of Pali *aṇṇatitthiyānaṃ*. The comparatively large distance between the stems supports this reading, since the stem of *ṇa* is at the left side of the letter. Here the corresponding Pali passage reads ... *tumhe bhikkhave tesam aṇṇatitthiyānaṃ*; evidently once again the Gāndhārī text has a more concise style, omitting the unnecessary words *bhikkhave tesam*.

77f, r2. *(cha)///[da]-mulaga aüsa ho [s]///(arva dharma)*: Although the parallels to this and the following lines on the small fragments 77f, 86, and 101 are apparently secure, there is a

problem in that in the Pali text this passage (V 107.6) follows very soon after the one (V 107.3–4) which corresponds to what we have identified as the parallel to line v2 of fragment 119, which must belong to the preceding folio. Therefore it is hard to account for the text on the entirely lost line v3 of fragment 119. The situation would be easier to explain if the second line on 119 were taken to be the original third line, but the location of the Pali parallels for the text on that fragment seems not to permit this. Therefore we must consider the possibility that the two folios which yielded fragments 119 and fragments 77f, 86, and 101 respectively were not originally consecutive, as has been assumed above. For it is by no means out of the question that the Gāndhārī EĀ had two separate but very similar sūtras on the topic of the roots, coming into being, etc. of all dharmas. As has already been noted, the Pali AN has besides the *Mūlaka-sutta* in the *dasaka-nipāta* another sutta in the *aṭṭhaka-nipāta* which is virtually identical except for omitting the last two topics. We have also seen that the Chinese parallels to the sūtra in question have nine topics. Thus fragment 119 could have been part of a different sūtra from the first sūtra on fragments 77f, 86, and 101, in which case it is merely an accident that parts of both of these sūtras have survived. If this is the case, the separate **Mulaga-sutra* on fragment 119 could have been part of the *aṭṭhaka-nipāta*, or, perhaps more likely (to judge by the Chinese parallels) of the *navaka-nipāta*. It could even have been located in the *dasaka-nipāta* as a separate sūtra from the other **Mulaga-sutra*, with some minor variation, for example in the order of the topics. But it is still also possible that the folios were consecutive as has been assumed above, and that the apparent problem in their sequence was due to some variation in the contents or arrangement of the Gāndhārī version of the sūtra that does not appear in the parallel texts. Unfortunately, the evidence is not sufficient to permit a definite decision on the matter.

ho: The parallel in Pali (*chandamūlakā āvuso sabbe dhammā*) has nothing corresponding to this word. It is presumably the common Gāndhārī equivalent of Skt *khalu*/P *kho*; see GD, s.v. *ho*.

[*s*]/[*arva dharma*]: All that remains of this phrase is a miniscule trace of the right edge of the first syllable, which is consistent with the *s* that is expected on the basis of the Pali parallel as cited in the previous note, whence the reasonably secure reconstruction.

101, r2. (*pha*)/[*rs.*]: Only the left side of the first syllable remains, evidently part of *ś*. Below this, on the edge of the fragment, is a dark spot which might be the upper left corner of a subscript (pre-consonantal) *r*, although it is not certain that this is actually ink. The Pali parallel, *phassasamudayā*, indicates that the word in question should be the equivalent of P *phassa*/Skt *sparśa*. The usual Gāndhārī spelling of this word is *phaṣa* (GD, s.v.), following the general Gāndhārī sound change of OIA *rś* to *ṣ* (Salomon 2008: 123), but we have here the remnant of a Sanskritized spelling (*pha*)*rś(a)*, or conceivably even (*spa*)*rś(a)*.

sa[mu]/[*daya*]: Only the upper right end of the second syllable is preserved at the left edge of the fragment, but its shape is unique to the special ligature *mu*, so that there is no doubt about the reading.

77f, r3. /// [*pañu*]*tara*: Only the very top of the first syllable is preserved, but its shape and position, plus the parallel text, guarantee the reading.

101, r3. /// *tasmad=a*/[*üsa*]: The wording of the Gāndhārī text here does not correspond exactly to P, as is so often the case. In P, the opening of the *Pabbajjā-sutta* reads *tasmā ti ha*

bhikkhave, whereas Gāndhārī has *tasmad=a///*, which is probably to be reconstructed as *tasmad a(ūsa)* by comparison with *aūsa* in 77f, r2; here the vocative *aūsa* (= P *āvuso*) corresponds to *bhikkhave* of the Pali text. If this reconstruction is correct, it might imply the sūtra was presented in the Gāndhārī version with a different reciter (e.g. Śāriputra) than the Pali version which was spoken by the Buddha, because, at least in Pali, the Buddha does not use *āvuso* in addressing the monks (“not [used] by Buddha himself or in addressing him”; CPD, s.v.). This rule seems to apply in our Gāndhārī text as well: in fragment 77f, r2, *aūsa* is spoken by the Buddha himself (as in the Pali parallel), but here he is telling the monks what they should say to the non-Buddhists, not speaking to them himself. In the **Nirvanasukha-sutra* (frag. 80, v2, II.4), *aūsa* is used (assuming that the frame structure of the Gāndhārī sūtra was the same as the Pali parallel) by Udāyi in speaking to Śāriputta.

77f, v1. *(ani)///[c.]-sañña-pa[ric]///(ito)*: Only the very bottoms of the first and last syllables are preserved, but in both cases they have the hooked shape that is typical of, though not unique to Kharoṣṭhī *c*, whence the reconstructions presented here. The proposed reading and reconstruction are also consistent with the position of fragment 77f relative to fragments 86 and 101, as deduced from the correspondences of their readings with the P parallel.

86, v1. *(aśu)///[bh.]-sañña-pari[c]///(ito)*: Here again the first syllable is incomplete. It has a straight horizontal top and a straight diagonal stem, both which could belong to either *va* or *bha*. Thus this phrase could correspond either to *ādīnavasaññāparicitañ* or *asubhasaññāparicitañ* of the Pali parallel, but the latter is more likely because it would come between the correspondents of P *aniccasaññāparicitañ* in fragment 77 (see the previous note) and *pahānasaññāparicitañ* (probably) in fragment 101, v1. The relative order of these three fragments is guaranteed by the more distinctive textual remnants on the recto.

101, v1. *(sañña-pari)///cito [p]///(ahana-sañña-paricito)*: The last syllable, though incomplete, is characteristic of *pa*, so that the identification of this fragment with P *taṃsaññāparicitañ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati*, *pahānasaññāparicitañ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati* is fairly secure, and is consistent with the sequence of the three fragments of this folio (see the previous note). The reading here indicates that the phrase *ca no cittaṃ bhavissati* which in the Pali text (as presented in the PTS edition) is repeated after each *-saññā-paricitañ* has been omitted from the corresponding phrases in G, by way of abbreviation. This is confirmed by the text of the following line, as explained in the next note.

77f, v2. *(ta-sañña-parici)///to logasya sabha[v]///(a ca vibhava ca ñatva)*: The correspondence to P’s *lokassa sambhavañ ca vibhavañ ca ñatvā taṃsaññāparicitañ ca cittaṃ hoti* is guaranteed by the distinctive wording, so that *(parici)///to* at the beginning should be the end of the Gāndhārī equivalent of the preceding phrase, *lokassa samañ ca visamañ ca ñatvā taṃ saññāparicitañ ca cittaṃ hoti*. Here the equivalent of P *ca cittaṃ hoti* has been left out by way of abbreviation. This is the formulation, in the present tense (*hoti*), of the second enumeration of the ten perceptions. The first enumeration, to which the preceding line belongs, is expressed in the future tense (*bhavissati*) and with the pronoun *no* (*-paricitañ ca no cittaṃ bhavissati* vs. *-paricitañ ca hoti*). No examples of either verb survive in the Gāndhārī text, but we can guess that Gāndhārī had the corresponding forms (*bhoti* and *bhaviṣyati*, or the like), although they were probably written only

in the first and last members of the lists of the ten perceptions, according to the usual abbreviation pattern.

101, v2. /// [p.]rici[t]///(o): Here nothing survives beyond the remnants of the refrain word *paricito*, so that we cannot be sure which of the perceptions is referred to. The preceding fragment (77f, v2) refers to the perception of the coming into being and passing away of the world, which is the seventh of the ten perceptions, and a comparison of the probable spacing between these fragments, compared to the number of syllables in the Pali parallel (allowing for the abbreviated format deduced in the previous note), indicates that this *paricito* most likely refers to the ninth perception, namely the perception of dispassion (P *virāgasaññā*).

II.9: **Kidriṭṭhiga-sutra*

(additional fragment 1, fragments MS 2179/77e+77a, additional fragment 2)

Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments 77e+77a, together with two additional Bamiyan-type fragments which came from the same manuscript but which are not part of the Schøyen collection, contain part of the sūtra corresponding to the *Kimḍiṭṭhika-sutta* of the AN (10.93, AN V 185–9). Versions of this text appear in both Chinese translations of the *Samyuktāgama*: sūtra 968 of the 雜阿含經 *Zá āhán jīng* (T. 99, 248c6–249a28) and sūtra 202 of the 別譯雜阿含經 *Biéyì zá āhán jīng* (T. 100, 448b18–449a3). A fragmentary Sanskrit version, which agrees closely with the Chinese text, is preserved in a block-print text of the *Samyuktāgama* purchased by Albert Grünwedel in Idyikutšari in Central Asia (Pischel 1904; Hosoda 1989).

Schøyen fragments 77e and 77a are adjoining pieces of the same folio. Fragment 77e is part of the right end of the folio including the string-hole, but not the right margin, while 77a is the central section of the same folio, directly to the left of 77e. The two additional fragments belong to two other folios of the same manuscript which preceded and followed the one represented by fragment 77e+77a. All the fragments contain portions of two of the original three lines, each of which must have contained about sixty characters.

The two additional fragments (hereafter, AF) were examined and photographed by Richard Salomon and Jason Neelis in a private collection in Pakistan in 1996. Although it is certain that they belong to the same EĀ manuscript as the Schøyen fragments, their present whereabouts are unknown to us. At the time they had not been conserved, and additional fragment 1 was twisted and curled up so that it was impossible to photograph all of the text on it. However, Salomon and Neelis made a complete transcription, and the readings presented here were prepared with the aid of it.

The Pali *Kimḍiṭṭhika-sutta* relates an incident in which Anāthapiṇḍika went to converse with non-Buddhist mendicants (*aññatitthiyā paribbājakā*) because it was too early to visit the Buddha or Buddhist monks, who were still in meditative seclusion (*paṭisallīna*). In their conversation, those mendicants first asked Anāthapiṇḍika to explain what views the Buddha Gotama held (*kimḍiṭṭhiko samaṇo gotamo*). When he declined on the grounds that he did not know the complete views of the Buddha, they asked him to explain what views the saṅgha held (*kimḍiṭṭhikā bhikkhū*).

Anāthapiṇḍika again declined on the same grounds, whereupon the mendicants asked Anāthapiṇḍika to expound his own views; but he asked them to expound their views first. Ten mendicants then proclaimed their views to Anāthapiṇḍika one by one:

1. The world is eternal.
2. The world is not eternal.
3. The world has an end.
4. The world does not have an end.
5. The soul is the same as the body.
6. The soul is different from the body.
7. A tathāgata exists after death.
8. A tathāgata does not exist after death.
9. A tathāgata both exists and does not exist after death.
10. A tathāgata neither exists nor does not exist after death.

Up to this point, the story runs the same in all versions of the sūtra. But then, according to the Chinese and Sanskrit texts, the mendicants again urged Anāthapiṇḍika to declare his views. He did so, and then presented a refutation of their views. In the Pali sutta, however, Anāthapiṇḍika disproved the mendicant's views right after listening to them, then declared his own view. Afterward, in all versions, he went to see the Buddha and reported the event to him, whereupon the Buddha praised him for his brilliant refutation of the wrong views of the non-Buddhists. Judging from the wording of the transition in the dialogue from the words of the non-Buddhists to Anāthapiṇḍika's presentation of his own views, which is partially preserved on additional fragment 2 (line r2), it would seem that the structure of the Gāndhārī version agreed with that of the Sanskrit and Chinese versions rather than that of the Pali. But this is uncertain because the wording of Anāthapiṇḍika's response is not preserved; see the notes on this line for details.

The surviving fragments of the Gāndhārī text preserve parts of the beginning, middle and end of Anāthapiṇḍika's debate with the non-Buddhists. Nothing survives of the opening lines of the sūtra, describing the circumstances of the encounter, and it is not clear exactly how the sūtra ended in the Gāndhārī version; see the notes on additional fragment 2 for discussion.

Text and translation

AF 1, r1. /// [na]ha bhate janami kidriṭhiyo
bhagava naheva tva grihapati janasi
kidriṭhigo śramaṇo go[da]mo atha
kidriṭhigo sya bh[i]kṣu-///(sagho)

[Anāthapiṇḍika:] “Sirs, I do not know what views the Blessed One holds.”
[Anyatīrthikas:] “Householder, you don't even know what views the śramaṇa Gotama holds. Then what views does his [assembly of] monks hold?”

AF 1, r2. (*naha bhate janami ki*)///*driṭhigo bhikṣu-sagho nahi tva gahapa[ti] janasi kidriṭhigo śramano godamo napi janasi kidriṭhiga s[y]a bhikṣu-sagho atha ki[dri]///(ṭhigo si tva)*

[Anāthapiṇḍika:] “Sirs, I do not know what views the assembly of monks holds.” [Anyatīrthikas:] “Householder, you don’t even know what views the śramaṇa Gotama holds, nor do you know what views his assembly of monks holds. Then what views do you hold?”

AF 1, v2. (*bhoti ca na ca bhoti tadaga*)///*to paramarano bhoti na ca bhoti na nu bhoti tadagato paramarana idam=eva sa[co] mokham a[ñño] eva[dri]ṭhi[go] ham=a[spi] añña[ti]///(rthiga parivrajaga)*

[Anyatīrthikas:] “... A tathāgata [both exists and does not exist] after death.” “A tathāgata exists and does not exist and does not not exist after death. Only this is the truth; [all] else is wrong. This is my view.” The non-Buddhist [mendicants] ...

AF 1, v3. (*anathapiḍada graha*)///*[pa]ti [e]dad=avoci vyagrida kheto grahapati etehi parivrajagehi yathaspaga driṭhiga atha [vya]garohi kidriṣṭhiyo tva ///*

... said this to the householder [Anāthapiṇḍika]: “Householder, this (?) has been explained by these mendicants, each according to his own view. Now, you explain: what views do you hold?”

77e+77a, r2. (*ya kho*) ///*[va]ṇa kici bh/ uto sakṛto praticya-samuparno tam=anico ya anica ta dukho ya d[u]///(kho)*

“But whatever has come into being, is conditioned, (or) is dependently originated, is impermanent. What is impermanent is suffering. What is suffering [is not mine, is not I, is not my self ...]”

77e+77a, r3. (*yo*)///*[p]i aya pari(vra)/ [j.]go evaṃ=aha aśaśvato logo ata <lo>go anata· ta živo· ta śari///(ro)*

[Anāthapiṇḍika:] “And as for this mendicant who said this: ‘The world is not eternal’... [And as for the one who said this:] ‘The world is finite ...’ [And as for the one who said this: ‘The world] is infinite ...’ [And as for the one who said this:] ‘Soul and body are one and the same ...’

77e+77a, v1. (*para*)///*mararno bh[oti n.] / ca bh[u]ti na ca bhoti na nu bh[u]ti tadagato paramarano idam=eva /// (saco mokham=año)*

[And as for the one who said this: ‘A tathāgata both exists and does not exist] after death...’ [And as for the one who said this:] ‘A tathāgata exists and does not exist and does not not exist after death. Only this [is the truth; (all) else is wrong] ...

77e+77a, v2. ///*[r](n)o paṇraghoṣa-/pracyago ya kho vana kici pratica-samuparno tam=anico ya a///(nica)*

... [This view arises from (his own) improper attention, or] is based on the voice of others. But whatever is dependently originated is impermanent. What is im[permanent is suffering ...]

AF 2, r2. (ya kho) /// [va]na kici bhuto
sākrto praticya-sa[mu]///(parno tam=ani-
co ya anica ta dukho)

... But whatever has come into being, is condi-
tioned, [or] dependently originated [is imperma-
nent. What is impermanent is suffering. What is
suffering] ...

AF 2, r3. /// dresṭhavya tasya ca
darśanaya sa[kṣi]///(kriyae)

... [that] should be seen [as it really is, with right
wisdom, in this way ‘This is not mine; I am not
this; this is not my self.’] And it is in order to see
that [truth], in order to experience [it, in order to
comprehend it, that one practices the holy life
under the Blessed One”].

AF 2, v1. (tu)///[ṣṇi]-bhuda maka-bhuda
prasā-kadha adho-///(mukha)

[When Anāthapiṇḍika had thus spoken, those men-
dicants] fell silent, ashamed, their shoulders droop-
ing, [their faces] downcast ...

AF 2, v2. (vi)///ditva uṭṭhayaṃ=asanato
prakami ye[na] /// (bhagava) ...

... [having known (?) that, the householder
Anāthapiṇḍika] got up from his seat and proceeded
to where [the Blessed One was].

Parallel texts

Pali: AN V 186.1–188.28 (10.93).

ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho anāthapiṇḍikaṃ gahapatiṃ te paribbājakā etad avocaṃ ‘vadehi
gahapati kiṃdiṭṭhiko samaṇo gotamo’ ti. [AF 1, r1] ‘**na kho ahaṃ bhante bhagavato sabbaṃ
diṭṭhiṃ jānāmi**’ ti. ‘iti kira tvaṃ gahapati na samaṇassa gotamassa sabbaṃ diṭṭhiṃ jānāsi,
vadehi gahapati kiṃdiṭṭhikā bhikkhū’ ti. [AF 1, r2] ‘**bhikkhūnaṃ pi kho ahaṃ bhante na sabbaṃ
diṭṭhiṃ jānāmi**’ ti. ‘iti kira tvaṃ gahapati na samaṇassa gotamassa sabbaṃ diṭṭhiṃ jānāsi, na pi
bhikkhūnaṃ sabbaṃ diṭṭhiṃ jānāsi, vadehi gahapati kiṃdiṭṭhiko’si tuvaṃ’ ti. ‘etaṃ kho bhante
amhehi na dukkaraṃ vyākātuṃ yaṃdiṭṭhikā mayan ti, iṅha tāva āyasmanto yathā sakāni diṭṭhi-
gatāni vyākaronu, pacchā p’ etaṃ amhehi no dukkaraṃ bhavissati vyākātuṃ yaṃdiṭṭhikā mayan’
ti.

evaṃ vutte aññataro paribbājako anāthapiṇḍikaṃ gahapatiṃ etad avoca sassato loko, idam
eva saccaṃ, moghaṃ aññan ti evaṃdiṭṭhiko ahaṃ gahapatī ti. aññataro pi kho paribbājako ...
asassato loko, ... antavā loko... anantavā loko... taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ
sarīraṃ ... hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā na hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā hoti ca na ca hoti [AF 1,
v2] **tathāgato parammaraṇā neva hoti na na hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā, idam eva saccaṃ,
moghaṃ aññan ti evaṃdiṭṭhiko ahaṃ gahapatī ti.**

evaṃ vutte anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati te paribbājake etad avoca. yvāyaṃ bhante āyasmā evaṃ
āha sassato loko, idam eva saccaṃ, moghaṃ aññan ti evaṃdiṭṭhiko ahaṃ gahapatī ti, imassa
ayam āyasmato diṭṭhi attano vā ayonisomanasikārahetu uppannā paraghosapaccayā vā. sā kho
pan’ esā diṭṭhi bhūtā saṃkhatā cetayitā paṭiccasamuppannā; yaṃ kho [77e+77a, r2] **pana kiñci
bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam cetayitaṃ paṭiccasamuppannaṃ, tad aniccaṃ, yad aniccaṃ, taṃ dukkhaṃ,
yaṃ dukkhaṃ, tad eva so āyasmā allīno, tad eva so āyasmā ajjhūpagato. yo [77e+77a, r3] p’ āyaṃ**

*bhante āyasmā evam āha asassato loko, ... yo p' āyaṃ bhante āyasmā evam āha antavā loko ... anantavā loko ... taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ ... hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā ... na hoti tathāgato [77e+77a, v1] parammaraṇā hoti ca na ca hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā ... neva hoti na na hoti tathāgato parammaraṇā, idam eva saccaṃ, moghaṃ aññaṃ ti evaṃdiṭṭhiko ahaṃ gahapatī ti imassa pi ayam āyasmato diṭṭhi attano vā ayoniso-manasikārahetu uppannā [77e+77a, v2] **paraghosapaccayā** vā. sā kho pan' esā diṭṭhi bhūtā saṃkhatā cetayitā paṭiccasamuppannā; **yaṃ kho pana kiñci** bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam cetayitaṃ **paṭiccasamuppannaṃ, tad aniccaṃ, yad aniccaṃ, taṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ dukkhaṃ, tad eva so āyasmā allīno, tad eva so āyasmā ajjhūpagato ti.***

*evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā anāthapiṇḍikaṃ gahapatim etad avocum vyākatāni kho gahapati amhehi sabbehi' eva yathāsakāni diṭṭhigatāni, vadehi gahapati kiṃdiṭṭhiko 'si tuvaṇ ti. yaṃ kho bhante kiñci bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam cetayitaṃ paṭiccasamuppannaṃ, tad aniccaṃ, yad aniccaṃ, taṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ dukkhaṃ, taṃ "n' etaṃ mama n' eso 'ham asmi na me so attā" ti evaṃdiṭṭhiko kho ahaṃ bhante ti. yaṃ kho gahapati kiñci bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam cetayitaṃ paṭiccasamuppannaṃ, tad aniccaṃ, yad aniccaṃ, taṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ dukkhaṃ, tad eva tvaṃ gahapati allīno, tad eva tvaṃ gahapati ajjhūpagato ti. yaṃ kho [AF 2, r2] **pana** bhante **kiñci bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam** cetayitaṃ **paṭiccasamuppannaṃ, tad aniccaṃ, yad aniccaṃ, taṃ dukkhaṃ, yaṃ dukkhaṃ, taṃ "n' etaṃ mama n' eso 'ham asmi na m' eso attā" ti: evam etaṃ yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya sudiṭṭhaṃ, tassa ca uttariṃ nissaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāmī ti. evaṃ vutte te paribbājakā [AF 2, v1] **tuṇhībhūtā maṅkubhūtā pattakkhandhā adhomukhā** pajjhāyantaṃ appatibhānā nisīdimsu.***

*atha kho anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati te paribbājake tuṇhībhūte maṅkubhūte pattakkhandhe adhomukhe pajjhāyante appatibhāne [AF 2, v2] viditvā **uṭṭhāyāsanaṃ yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami**, upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinna kho anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati yāvatako ahosi tehi aññatitthiyehi paribbājakehi saddhiṃ kathāsallāpo, taṃ sabbaṃ bhagavato ārocesi. 'sādhu sādhu gahapati, evaṃ kho te gahapati moghapurisā kālena kālaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetabbā' ti.*

Sanskrit: *Samyuktāgama* manuscript from Idyikutšari, folios 159v2–162v1 (Pischel 1904: 813–4; Hosoda 1989: 197–201).⁵⁹

4. (*athānyatīrthikaparivrājakā idam avocan. gr̥ha*)pate śramaṇasya gautamasya dr̥ṣṭiṃ (*vadasi. kā gautamasya dr̥ṣṭiḥ kiṃ paśyati gautamaḥ. [AF 1, r1] **nāham api bhavanto jānāmi kā bhagavato dr̥ṣṭiḥ** kiṃ paśyati bha*)gavāṃ. *tena hi gr̥hapate bhikṣusaṃ(ghasya dr̥ṣṭiṃ vadasi. **kā bhikṣusaṃghasya dr̥ṣṭiḥ** kiṃ paśyati bhikṣusaṃghaḥ. [AF 1, r2] **nāham api bhavanto jānāmi**) kā **bhikṣusaṃghasya dr̥ṣṭiḥ** kiṃ (paśyati bhikṣusaṃghaḥ. **tena hi** gr̥hapate **kā** gr̥hapater dr̥ṣṭiḥ kiṃ paśyati gr̥hapatir. āṅga bha)va(ṇta)s tāvat* svakasva(kāṃ dr̥ṣṭiṃ vyākurvantu. paścān mama dr̥ṣṭiṃ vyākarotuṃ na duṣkaraṃ bhaviṣyati.)*

5. (*athānyataro 'nyatīrthikaparivrājako 'nātha*)piṇḍadaṃ gr̥hapatim idam a(vocat. mama dr̥ṣṭiḥ śāsuvato loka idam satyaṃ moham anyat. apara evam āha mama dr̥ṣṭir aśāsuvato loka idam satyaṃ moham a)nyat. apara evam āha śāsuvata[ś] (cāśāsuvata)ta(ś ca loka. apara evam āha naiva

⁵⁹ Here the text is given according to Hosoda's edition, which is partly reconstructed from the Chinese translation. The reconstructed passages are presented in parentheses.

*śāśvato nāśāśvataś ca lokaḥ. antavān lokaḥ. anantavān. antavāṃś cā)nantavāṃś ca. naivāntavāṃ nānantavāṃ. yo jī(vas tac charīram. anyo jīvo 'nyac charīram. bhavati tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇāt. na bhavati. [AF 1, v2] bhavati ca na bhavati ca. a)para evam āha mama dṛṣṭir **naiva bhavati (naiva na bhavati tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇāt. idam satyaṃ moham anyat.)***

6. [AF 1, v3] *(athānyatīrthikaparivrājakā a)nāthapiṇḍadam grhapatim idam avocan [v] (yākurvāma vayaṃ grhapate svakasvakāṃ dṛṣṭim. vyākarotu grhapate kā grhapater dṛṣṭiḥ kim paśyati grha)patir.*

7. *mama bhavanto dṛṣṭir bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ yad bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ tad anityaṃ yad anityaṃ tad duḥkham. evaṃ) vidaditvā tasmād aham imāṃ dṛṣṭim sarveṇa (sarvaṃ nābhyupagataṃ.)*

8. ... *(dṛṣṭiḥ śāśvato loka idam satyaṃ moham anyat. imā dṛ)ṣṭir bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ yad [77e+77a, r2] **bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasa(mut-pannaṃ tad anityaṃ yad anityaṃ tad duḥkham. tasmād a)yam āyusmāṃ duḥkham evā[ī](naḥ. du)ḥ[kh](am evādhyupagataḥ. duḥkham evādhiniviṣṭaḥ. duḥkham eva pratipannaḥ.)***

9. ... *(evamvādī śāśvato) loka idam eva satyaṃ moham anyat. evaṃ doṣaṃ bhavati. pūr-vavad yāvat, [77e+77a, v1] **naiva bhavati naiva na bhavati tathāgataḥ paraṃ maraṇāt. idam) satyaṃ moham anyat i(mā dṛṣṭir bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ [77e+77a, v2] yad bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ **pratītyasamutpannaṃ tad anityaṃ yad anityaṃ) tad duḥkham. tasmād ayam āyusmāṃ duḥkham e(vālīnaḥ. duḥkham evādhyupagataḥ. duḥkham evā-dhiniviṣṭaḥ. duḥkham eva pratipannaḥ.)** ... (evamvā) dī naiva bhavati naiva na bhavati tathāgata(h paraṃ maraṇāt. idam satyaṃ moham anyat.***

10. *(athānyataro 'nyatīrthikaparivrājako 'nāthapiṇḍam grhapatim ida)m avocat. nanu grhapater api dṛṣṭi(r bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ yad bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ tad ani)tyaṃ yad anityaṃ tad duḥkham. tasmād grhapatir api du(ḥkham evālīnaḥ duḥkham evādhyupagataḥ. duḥkham evādhiniviṣṭaḥ. duḥkham eva pratipannaḥ.)*

11. *(mama bhavanto) dṛṣṭir bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratī(tyasamutpannaṃ yad [AF 2, r2] **bhūtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ cetayitaṃ pratītyasamutpannaṃ tad anityaṃ yad anityaṃ tad duḥkham. evaṃ vidaditvā tasmād aha)m imāṃ dṛṣṭim sarveṇa sarvaṃ nābhyupagata(m. evam eva grhapate.)***

12. *(athānāthapiṇḍado grhapatir anyatīrthikaparivrājakānām ārāme paraprativā)dām niḡrhya svakaṃ vādaṃ dīpayitvā pa[ri](ṣadi siṃhanādaṃ [AF 2, v2] **naditvā, utthāyāsanāt pra-krāntaḥ. athānāthapiṇḍado grhapatir yena bhagavām)s tenopajagāma.***

Chinese: 1. 雜阿含經 *Zá āhán jīng (Saṃyuktāgama)*, sūtra 968, T. 99, 248c6–249a28.

如是我聞。一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。時給孤獨長者日日出見世尊。禮事供養。給孤獨長者作是念。我今出太早。世尊及諸比丘禪思未起。我寧可過諸外道住處。即入外道精舍。與諸外道共相問訊慰勞已。退坐一面。時彼外道問言。長者。汝見沙門瞿曇。云何見。何所見。長者答言。[AF 1, r1] 我亦不知云何見世尊。世尊何所見。諸外道言。汝言見眾僧。云何見眾僧。眾僧何所見。長者答言。[AF 1, r2] 我亦不知云何見僧。僧何所見。外道復問。長者。汝今云何自見。自何所見。長者答言。汝等各各自說所見。然後我說所見。亦不難。時有一外道作如是言。長者。我見一切世間常。是則真實。餘者虛妄。復有說言。長者。我見一切世間無常。此是真實。餘則虛妄。復有說言。長者。世間常無常。

此是真實。餘則虛妄。復有說言。世間非常非無常。此是真實。餘則虛妄。復有說言。世有邊。此是真實。餘則虛妄。復有說言。世無邊。此是真實。餘則虛妄。復有說言。世有邊無邊。復有說言。世非有邊非無邊。復有說言。命即是身。復有說言。命異身異。復有說言。如來死後有。復有說言。如來死後無。復有說言。[AF 1, v2] **如來死後有無**。復有說言。**如來死後非有非無。此是真實。餘則虛妄。諸外道** [AF 1, v3] **語長者言。我等各各已說所見。汝復應說汝所見**。長者答言。我之所見真實。有為。思量。緣起。若復真實。[77e+77a, r2] **有為。思量。緣起者。彼則無常。無常者是苦**。如是知己。於一切見都無所得。如汝所見。世間常。此是真實。餘則虛妄者。此見真實。有為。思量。緣起。若真實。有為。思量。緣起者。是則無常。無常者是苦。是故汝等習近於苦。唯得於苦。堅住於苦。深入於苦。如是汝言世間無常。此是真實。餘則虛妄。有如是咎。[77e+77a, r3] **世間常。無常。非常非無常。世有邊。世無邊。世有邊無邊。世非有邊非無邊。命即是身。命異身異**。如來死後有。如來死後無。[77e+77a, v1] **如來死後有無。如來死後非有非無。此是真實**。餘則虛妄。皆如上說。有一外道語給孤獨長者言。如汝所說。若有見彼。則真實。[77e+77a, v2] **有為。思量。緣起者。是無常法。若無常者是苦**。是故長者所見亦習近苦。得苦。住苦。深入於苦。長者答言。我先不言所見者。是真實。[AF 2, r2] **有為。思量。緣起法**。悉皆無常。無常者是苦。知苦已。我於所見無所得耶。彼外道言。如是。長者。爾時給孤獨長者於外道精舍伏彼異論。建立正論。於異學眾中作師子吼已。[AF 2, v2] **往詣佛所**。稽首禮足。退坐一面。以向與諸外道共論事向佛廣說。佛告給孤獨長者。善哉。善哉。宜應時摧伏愚癡外道。建立正論。佛說是語已。給孤獨長者歡喜隨喜。作禮而去。

2. 別譯雜阿含經 *Biéyì zá āhán jīng (Saṃyuktāgama)*, sūtra 202, T. 100, 448b18–449a3.

如是我聞。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤園。爾時長者須達多。好欲詣佛親近供養。復作是念。我若往彼。日時故早。如來猶未從禪定起。我今應先至彼外道所住之處。即往其所。既至彼已。共相慰問。在一面坐。異學外道問須達言。汝可為我說。彼沙門瞿曇為作何見。須達答言。[AF 1, r1] **如來所說。我不能及其所知見**。在吾分外。外道言。**汝若不知佛之所見**。[AF 1, r2] 頗復**能知比丘見**不。須達答言。如斯之事我亦不知。外道復言。**汝若如是竟何所見**。若少所見請聞其說。須達復言。汝當先說汝之所見。然後我當自說所見。爾時外道語須達言。我所見者。眾生之類。是常是實。餘皆妄語。復有外道語須達言。我之所見。一切無常。唯此為實。餘皆妄語。又復有言。亦常無常。非常非無常。唯此為是。餘皆妄語。世界有邊。世界無邊。亦有邊。亦無邊。非有邊。非無邊。身即是命。命即是身。身異命異。眾生神我。死此生彼。死此不生彼。[AF 1, v2] **死此亦生彼。亦不生彼**。如是長者。我所見者。**死此非生彼。非不生彼**。[AF 1, v3] **時諸外道各各自說己所見已。語須達言。仁者當說**。須達答言。如我所見。[77e+77a, r2] **一切眾生悉是有為。從諸因緣和合而有**。言因緣者。即是業也。若假因緣和合有者。**即是無常。無常即苦。苦即無我**。以是義故。我於諸見。心無存著。汝諸外道。作如是言。一切諸法常。唯此為實。餘皆妄語。如此計者。乃是眾苦之根本也。以貪著斯諸邪見者。與苦相應。能忍大苦。於生死中。受無窮苦。皆由計有。[77e+77a, r3] **世界是常。乃至** [77e+77a, v1] **死後非生於彼。非不生彼。如斯諸見**。實是 [77e+77a, v2] **有為業集因緣之所和合**。以此推之。當知**無常。無常即苦。苦即無我**。復有外道語須達言。長者。眾生若是 [AF 2, r2] **業集因緣和合而有**。悉皆無常。無常即苦。苦即無我。若如是者。汝今亦復作諸苦本。與苦相應。於生死中。受無窮

苦。須達答言。我先已說。一切諸見。心無所著。是故我今亦復不著如斯之見。時彼外道。讚須達言。如是長者。汝亦應當作如是說。爾時須達於彼外道異見眾中。作師子吼。令諸外道邪見之心皆悉息已。[AF 2, v2] 往詣佛所。頂禮佛足。在一面坐。以己所見共外道談論。向如來說。佛即讚言。善哉。應當如是摧諸外道。令墮負處。應熾盛正法之論。佛說是已。諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。

Notes

AF 1, r1. [na] ha: This is presumably a sandhi combination (*na 'ha*) equivalent to Skt *nāham*. The first person pronoun *aha/aho* seems to be particularly prone to sandhi combinations with a preceding word; see many examples in the Gāndhārī *Anavatapta-gāthā* cited in Salomon 2008: 127–8. There is another instance of this sandhi of *aha* in AF 1, v2, *eva[dri]ṭhi[go] ham*.

janami: The *ja* has a foot mark shaped like a hook open to the left with a miniscule vertical line hanging down from the bottom. This extra mark resembles the subscript *ya* which is frequently found in this manuscript, but here, unlike most of its occurrences, it is etymologically inappropriate. Moreover, the corresponding word *janasi* is spelled twice more in this and the following line with a normally formed *ja*, with a slight hook at the bottom of the vertical stem but without the extra vertical line below. Also, the line at the bottom of subscript *y* typically runs diagonally down toward the left, rather than vertically as here. We are therefore inclined to dismiss this anomalous mark as an insignificant variant or perhaps simply a slip of the pen, rather than to attribute any phonetic significance to it.

naheva: This is probably to be taken as a sandhi combination of *nahi* + *eva* (*nah'eva*), “not at all, not even”; compare *nahi* in a parallel context in the following line.

sya: This is presumably the equivalent of Skt *asya*, “his” (although the more familiar Gāndhārī form is *imasa*), again in sandhi combination with the preceding word (*kidriṭhigo'sya*). Compare also *s[y]a* in the following line, in a parallel context.

AF 1, r2: By comparison with the Pali parallel, this line would seem to follow almost immediately after line 1, with the addition of only ten syllables reconstructed at the end of line 1 and beginning of line 2, as shown in the text above. However, since these two lines preserve forty-five syllables each, the total number of syllables ($45+10 = 55$) would be somewhat less than expected. Therefore there might have been some further wording between the text on these lines that is not reflected in the Pali parallel. For example, the original questions, none of which is preserved completely, might have had a second part corresponding to or resembling the *kiṃ paśyati gautamaḥ* etc. of the Sanskrit parallel (partially reconstructed from the Chinese 何所見). This would give a total of sixty-two syllables per line, which is closer to the expected range for this manuscript (60 to 66). However, in the Chinese and Sanskrit these second questions are included in the repetition of the questions by the *anyatīrthikas*; this is clearly not the case in the Gāndhārī version, so the proposal remains speculative.

AF 1, v2. *bhoti na ca bhoti na nu bhoti*: Here the Pali parallel, *neva hoti na na hoti*, suggests that *na nu* should be a double negative. A phonetic variation between *na* and *nu* in our text is confirmed by comparison with *tasya nu dhariṣyama* (frag. 2, r2, II.6) corresponding to Pali *tathā*

naṃ dhāressāmā ti, where *nu* is evidently written for *na(ṃ)*. This is a manifestation of the widespread neutralization of final vowels in Gāndhārī.

idam eva sa[co] mokham a[ño] eva[dri]ṭhi[go] ham a[spi]: In this passage we have, by coincidence, three instances of the retention of an original (Old Indo-Aryan) final *m* before an initial vowel; compare the note on *bhavan-anuyogam anuyuto* in fragment 40, r3 (II.3).

aña[ti]///(rthiga parivrajaga): The three surviving syllables are certainly the beginning of some form of the word *añatirthiga*, as indicated in the reconstruction, and it was probably followed by *parivrajaga* or the like, to judge by the constant collocation of these terms in the parallel texts. This must be the beginning of the sentence corresponding to *(athānyatīrthika-parivrājakā a)nāthapiṇḍadaṃ gr̥hapatim idam avocan* in the Sanskrit text (6), as partially reconstructed by Hosoda from the Chinese (諸外道語長者言, p. 249a1–2). (Here the Pali text has a different construction, *evaṃ vutte anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati te paribbājake etad avoca*.) The remainder of the missing portion of this sentence is reconstructed as *(anathapiṇḍada graha)[pa]ti [e]dad avoci* at the beginning of the following line (AF 1, v2). These reconstructions yield a total of fifteen additional syllables which, in addition to the forty-five extant syllables in line 1, give a total of sixty, within the lower end of the proposed range of syllables per line in this manuscript, namely about sixty to sixty-six. We may therefore be reasonably confident that this reconstruction fills the gap between lines v2 and v3.

AF 1, v3. *(anathapiṇḍada graha)///[pa]ti [e]dad avoci vyagrida kheto gahapati etehi parivrajagehi yathaspaga driṭhiga atha [vya]garohi kidriṣṭhiyo tva ///*: In the Pali parallel, this passage would correspond to AN V 188.1–4. But this is an impossible position, because the preceding line on the verso of AF 1 corresponds to V 186.26–28, whereas the Pali parallels to the four lines of fragment 77e+77a are all between AN V 186.26 and V 187.7. This would require that all four lines of fragment 77e+77a be placed between the two lines on the verso of AF 1, which is manifestly impossible. The solution to the problem is provided by the Sanskrit and Chinese parallels. In the Pali sutta, after the *aññatīrthikas* present their views, Anāthapiṇḍika's words are introduced with the brief transition *evaṃ vutte anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati te paribbājake etad avoca* (AN V 186.29–30). But in the Sanskrit version, the transition is expressed by *(athānyatīrthikaparivrājakā a)nāthapiṇḍadaṃ gr̥hapatim idam avocan [v](yākurvāma vayaṃ gr̥hapate svakasvakāṃ dr̥ṣṭim. vyākarotu gr̥hapate kā gr̥hapater dr̥ṣṭiḥ kiṃ paśyati gr̥ha)patir*. This partial reconstruction by Hosoda is based on the Chinese translation, which reads (pp. 249a1–2) 諸外道語長者言。我等各各已說所見。汝復應說汝所見。(“The non-Buddhist mendicants said to the householder, ‘We have each proclaimed our views. Now you should proclaim your views’”). This matches closely with the Gāndhārī text on AF 1, v2 and v3, and we can therefore conclude that the formulation of Gāndhārī agreed here with that of the Sanskrit and Chinese texts rather than with the Pali. With this arrangement, fragment 77e+77a can be seen to be part of the folio which followed AF 1, and there is no problem of overlapping text between them.

(anathapiṇḍada graha)///[pa]ti: For this reconstruction, see the note on *aña[ti]///(rthiga parivrajaga)* in the previous line.

avoci: Although the form of the verb is third person singular preterite, the context suggests a plural subject, and this is confirmed by the Sanskrit parallel, *avocan* as well as by the Chinese (我

等各各已說) and Pali (*avocum*, V 188.2) parallels. So this is probably another case of the extension of third person singular preterite verbs into the plural and other forms (compare the notes on *samudacaṣe*, frag. 40, r1, II.3, and *pracaśroṣi*, frag. 76+79, r2, II.7), although we cannot be sure here because the speaker in the Gāndhārī version might have been one of the *anyatīrthikas*, rather than the whole group as in the parallel texts.

kheto: The Pali parallel at V 188.2, *vyākatāni kho gahapati*, suggests that *kheto* should involve some combination of the Gāndhārī equivalent of P *kho*/Skt *khalu*. In this text, as in other Gāndhārī texts, this word can be spelled either *kho*, as elsewhere in this sūtra (frag. 77e+77a, v2), or *ho*, as in fragment 77f, r2 (II.8; see the note there). In general, this word is subject to a wide variety of spellings in various Gāndhārī texts (Salomon 2008: 109–10; see GD, s.v. *ho*). If this is correct, *kheto* may be a sandhi combination (*kh'eto*) of the equivalents of P *kho etam*/Skt *khalu + etat*, but this remains uncertain, as does the proposed translation, “this (?) has been explained.”

yathaspaga dṛiṭhiga: Here the corresponding Pali text (V 188.3) reads *yathāsakāni dīṭṭhi-gatāni*. (The Sanskrit parallel is lost, but is reconstructed by Hosoda as *svakasvakām dṛṣṭim* from the Chinese 各各已說所見, which does not help with the Gāndhārī text.) Gāndhārī *dṛiṭhiga* seems to be functioning here as an independent noun, not otherwise attested, which has been extracted from the suffixal form *-dṛiṭhiga/ya* = P *-dīṭṭhika*/Skt *-dṛṣṭika*, as in *kidriṭhiyo* etc. (compare the following note). This development may also have been influenced by forms such as *dīṭṭhigatāni* “(false) opinions” in the Pali version of the sutta.

kidriṭhiyo: The third syllable of this word (not visible in the photographs currently available to us) is spelled with a consonantal conjunct consisting of *ṣ* above *ṭh* (*ṣṭh*). This is a strongly Sanskritized orthography (Salomon 2001: 246), also found in the etymologically related word *dreṣṭhavya* in AF 2, r3. Elsewhere, however (AF 1, r1, 2), we find, with typical inconsistency, the normal Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī spellings *kidriṭhiyo* or *kidriṭhigo*.

77e+77a, r2. (*ya kho*) // *vana kici bh/uto sakṛto praticya-samuparno taṃ anico ya anica ta dukho ya d[u]///(kho)*: This is evidently part of Anāthapiṇḍika’s refutation of the first *anyatīrthika*’s theory, “The world is eternal,” corresponding to AN V 187.4–6 in the Pali parallel, to p. 249a6–8 of the first Chinese translation, p. 448c12 of the second Chinese translation, and folio 160v3 of the Sanskrit text.

sakṛto: Note the Sanskritized orthography, with the sign for syllabic *r* (*ṣṭh*) which is occasionally found in other late Kharoṣṭhī documents (Salomon 1999: 123). The consonantal element of this syllable is the modified *k* which typically reflects an underlying (OIA) *sk*; for discussion of the orthography and phonology of related Gāndhārī words, see Salomon 2008: 124, 126.

praticya-samuparno: The spelling of *praticya-* here (also in AF 2, r2) is a peculiar hybrid of the colloquial Gāndhārī form *pratic(c)a* and a Sanskritized *pratitya-*. This, like the inconsistent spellings mentioned above in the note on *kidriṭhiyo*, reveals the casual and inconsistent efforts on the part of later Gandhāran scribes to represent their Sanskritized literary dialect. The rendering of *samuparno*, on the other hand, reflects the normal graphic device in Gāndhārī whereby certain geminate consonants are indicated by a subscript (pre-consonantal) *r*; compare, for example, Lenz 2003: 63–4, Lenz 2010: 32, and Salomon 2008: 97.

77e+77a, r3. (yo)/// [p]i aya pari(vra)/[j.]go evaṃ aha aśaśvato logo ata <lo>go anata· ta jivo· ta śari///(ro): This line is the beginning of a drastically abridged presentation of Anāthapiṇḍika's refutation of the views of the other nine non-Buddhists. After the first theory was refuted in detail (see the note on the previous line), the other nine ideas are merely cited by a brief summary phrase (*aśaśvato logo*, etc.). Since, as can be seen from the complete parallel texts, the refutation of each theory is the same, our scribe has left them unwritten except for the first one (in the previous line) and the last one (in 77e+77a, v1, 2), according to the usual pattern in Buddhist manuscripts. In the Pali parallel as presented in the PTS edition, the second refutation is also presented in full (V 187.7–16), somewhat untypically, and only the third through ninth are omitted. In the first Chinese translation the second refutation is presented in abridged form (p. 249a10–11) and the rest of the refutations are omitted, but in the second Chinese (p. 448c14–18) the second position is abridged, as in the Gāndhārī. (The relevant passage of the Sanskrit version is lost.)

Here the abbreviation is not explicitly marked with *piyalo* or *yava*, but the small punctuation dots after *anata* and *ta jivo* may be intended to signal the abbreviations, since elsewhere in the surviving portions of this manuscript written by scribe no. 2 there are very few punctuation marks.⁶⁰ If this is the case, however, the mark after *ta jivo* seems to be an error, since the following *ta śari(ro)* constitutes one theory (“Soul and body are one and the same”). Also, there is no corresponding punctuation mark after the first item in this list (the second in the complete list of ten), *aśaśvato logo*, so in any case our scribe's use of these marks was casual and inconsistent—a common enough pattern in Gāndhārī texts generally.

aśaśvato logo ata <lo>go anata·: Here we would expect a third *logo* after *anata*, representing the fourth theory, “The world is infinite,” but this has been left out, either by way of further abbreviation, or perhaps just by scribal error; the latter is suggested by the obviously erroneous omission of the first syllable of the second *<lo>go*.

Also unexpected are *ata* and *anata* as the equivalents of P (an)*antavā*/Skt (an)*antavān*. Here we would have expected (an)*atava* in G, and it is not clear whether the omission in both cases of the possessive suffix *va* is another instance of scribal abbreviation, or whether the unsuffixed nominal elements *ata* and *anata* were understood as functioning adjectivally, “(not) having a limit,” perhaps as a kind of technical shorthand.

77e+77a, v1. (para)///mararno: The unetymological *r* in the last syllable is an example of the common Gāndhārī phenomenon of “intrusive *r*”; see, e.g., Allon 2001: 97–8 and Salomon 2008: 129.

bh[oti n.] / ca bh[u]ti na ca bhoti na nu bh[u]ti: The vowel sign of the first syllable in the four occurrences of the verb *bhuti/bhoti* varies in a curious manner. In the third occurrence the vowel is clearly *o*, and the incomplete remnant of the vowel sign in the first occurrence is also clearly the left end of *o*. But in the second and fourth instances the vowel looks like *u*, with a triangular shape in the former and a more rounded one in the latter; but in both cases, instead of being attached at the bottom of the vertical stem of the *bh* as normally, the triangle is in the middle of the stem, which continues below the vowel sign. It therefore seems that in both of these latter cases the scribe originally wrote *bhoti* and then secondarily changed them to *bhuti*—yet he left the

⁶⁰ For the few other examples, see the introduction to II.14.

other two occurrences (the first and third) of this verb unchanged as *bhoti*! But in the corresponding passage in AF 1, v2, he wrote *bhoti* three times, without any variation or alteration. Both spellings are attested in G, as are frequent and apparently random variation between *u* and *o* generally (see e.g. Salomon 2008: 104–5). Here the scribe seems to have been aware of the problem, but uncertain as to which form was to be considered correct.

na nu: See the note on *bhoti na ca bhoti na nu bhoti* in AF 1, v2.

77e+77a, v2. *paraghoṣa-/pracyago*: On the hybrid form *-pracyago* = P *-paccayā*/Skt *-pratyayā*, compare the note on *praticya-samuparno* in 77e+77a, r2. This word presumably modifies a lost feminine *driṭhi* or *driṣṭhi* (compare P *ayaṃ āyasmato diṭṭhi ... paraghoṣapaccayā*), in which case we have a feminine nominative in *-o* rather than normal *-a*, as is definitely attested in *satuṭhaka* (= P *saṃtuṭṭhikathā*) in fragment 40, v2 (II.3).

pratica-samuparno: Note the more normal spelling, in contrast to *praticya-samuparno* in 77e+77a, r2 and AF 2, r2.

AF 2, r2. (*ya kho*) /// [*va*] *na kici bhuto sakṛto praticya-sa[mu]///(parno tam anico ya anica ta dukho)*: Due to the differences between the wording of the Gāndhārī version and its parallels in the conclusion of the sūtra, it is not completely clear which side of the additional fragment 2 is the recto and which the verso. The arrangement presented here seems to provide the best correspondences, but it is not out of the question that they should be reversed. According to the preferred arrangement, this and the following line would be part of Anāthapiṇḍika's concluding refutation of the ten theories of the non-Buddhists, corresponding approximately (see the notes on the next line) to the second half of paragraph 6 on p. 188 of the AN text. The text preserved on this line occurs three times in that paragraph, but the correlation with the following line shows that this line would represent the third and final statement, which was presumably spelled out in full while the others were skipped or abbreviated according to the usual scribal practice. For further explanation, see the notes on the following line. There is apparently no direct correspondent to this passage in the Sanskrit and Chinese versions.

The reconstructed portions of this line are based on the corresponding text in fragment 77e+77a, r2. From the Pali parallel text in V 188.14–16 (*yaṃ dukkhaṃ, taṃ “n’etaṃ mama n’eso ’ham asmi na m’eso attā” ti: evaṃ etaṃ yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya sudiṭṭhaṃ*) and other Pali passages, the rest of the text lost between this line and the next one can be further reconstructed as something like (*ya dukho ta na mama na so ham aspi na me so atma evaṃ eta yathabhuta samyaprañāe dreṣṭhavya*). Compare especially the following formula which occurs frequently in the SN (e.g., IV 2; compare also AN II 165): *yaṃ dukkhaṃ tad anattā. yad anattā taṃ netam mama neso ham asmi na meso attāti. evaṃ etaṃ yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya daṭṭhabbaṃ*. This reconstruction provides a total of fifty-nine syllables (14 extant + 45 reconstructed), which agrees reasonably well with the expected line length for this manuscript.

AF 2, r3. /// *dreṣṭhavya tasya ca darśanaya sa[kṣi]///(kriyae)*: Here the wording of the Gāndhārī diverges from that of all of the parallel texts. The first word, *dreṣṭhavya*, is clarified by the related Pali passages quoted in the previous note. Here, as is so often the case in Gāndhārī (compare the note on the **Mekhiya-sutra*, frag. 40, r3, II.3) and in Buddhist literature generally, different but related text units or clichés appear at corresponding points in different versions of the

same text. The rest of the line, *tasya ca darśanaya sa[kṣi]///*, is probably a variant of the phrase *tassa ñānāya dassanāya pattiya sacchikiriya abhisamayāya* [v.l. *abhisamāya*] *bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ vussati*, which is repeated seven times in AN IV 384–5 with reference to the four noble truths. The Gāndhārī text must have had some such formula, instead of the equivalent of the *tassa ca uttarim nissaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāmī ti* of the Pali parallel; at least the incomplete *sa[kṣi]-* can be confidently reconstructed as *sakṣi(kriyae)*. (Here the Sanskrit/Chinese version provides no help, as there is no passage corresponding to this one.)

The preceding interpretation assumes the orientation of the recto and verso as presented above in the text edition (see the previous note). According to this arrangement, lines r2, r3, and v1 all belong to the end of the description of Anāthapiṇḍika's debate with the *anyatīrthikas* (compare the corresponding passages marked in bold in the penultimate paragraph of the Pali parallel). If the alternative arrangement of the sides is adopted, the lines presented here as the recto, reinterpreted as the verso, would be part of the conclusion in which Anāthapiṇḍika reports his encounter to the Buddha. The first line would be part of Anāthapiṇḍika's word-for-word (though no doubt abbreviated) report of the debate, which in the Pali sutta is merely summarized by the sentence *yāvatako ahosi tehi aññatitthiyehi paribbājakehi saddhiṃ kathāsallāpo, taṃ sabbaṃ bhagavato ārocesi*. The second line would then represent the Buddha's concluding words to Anāthapiṇḍika, rather than the latter's concluding statement to the *anyatīrthikas*. This alternative is by no means ruled out, but it seems less likely, mainly because it assumes a text whose structure would be considerably more at variance with the Pali parallel than is the case with the preferred interpretation.

dreṣṭhavya: For forms derived from OIA $\sqrt{drś}$ with stem in *dre-*, probably reflecting an early conflation of the verbs *drś-* and *prekṣ-*, compare Salomon 2008: 159 (G *adhrekṣe*, preterite) and Salomon 1981: 98 (Skt *adreśyam*, gerundive). For the Sanskritized spelling, instead of standard Gāndhārī *dreṭhavya*, see the note on *kidriṣṭhiyo* in AF 1, v3.

AF 2, v1. *(tu)///[ṣni]-bhuda maka-bhuda praśā-kadha adho-///(mukha)*: The Pali correspondent to this line occurs twice, once at the end of paragraph 6 (V 188.17–18) and again at the beginning of the next paragraph (IV 188.21). (The Sanskrit and Chinese parallels have no corresponding passage.) Assuming that the Gāndhārī text followed a similar pattern, this line is likely to correspond to the first occurrence of this phrase, as the second one is followed too closely by the text corresponding to the next line to allow for the amount of text (some 45–55 syllables) which must have been lost between the lines of the fragment.

(tu)///[ṣni]-bhuda: The incompletely preserved syllable *[ṣni]* is apparently constructed as a conjunct consisting of *ṣ* above *n*. This is a Sanskritized spelling for what would be written in standard Gāndhārī as $\bar{\text{ṣ}}$, that is, *ṣ* with a horizontal line above. Compare the notes above on *kidriṣṭhiyo* and *dreṣṭhavya*.

maka-bhuda: G *maka-* contrasts with P/Skt *maṅku*, but the formation with the stem in *a* instead of *u* is comparable to *baha-palam* = Skt *bahu-phalam* in the G *Anavatapta-gāthā* (v, 43a). As usual, these forms are attributable to the widespread weakening and neutralization of word-final vowels in Gāndhārī (*contra* Salomon 2008: 105).

praśā-kadha: Textually, this word corresponds to P *patta-kkhandā* “with shoulders drooping,” apparently derived from a dialect variant *patta* instead of normal *patita* for the past

participle of \sqrt{pat} , although other explanations have been proposed; for example, PTSD (s.v.) proposes that *patta* means leaf, “thus leaf-shouldered,” or that “We may have to deal with an old misspelling for *panna*.” But in Buddhist Sanskrit the corresponding expression is *srasta-skandha-*, well attested in the cliché corresponding to the one involved here, *madgubhūtaḥ srastaskandhaḥ adhomukho niṣpratibhaḥ pradhyānaparamo 'sthāt*, for example in *Divyavadāna* (Cowell and Neil 1886: 633.24–27; for further references see BHS s.v. *maṅku*, *maṅgu*, *madgu*). The *Mahāvvyūtpatti* similarly cites *srasta-skandhaḥ*, but Sakaki’s edition (Sakaki 1916:1.459, no. 7123) notes, without attribution, the variant *prasta-skandhaḥ*. At first glance this might be dismissed as a misreading of *srasta-* due to the similarity of the syllables *pra* and *sra* in the relevant scripts (Tibetan and Lantsa), but the surprising parallelism with the Gāndhārī form suggests that it reflects a deeper problem. In some earlier forms of Brāhmī script—but not in Kharoṣṭhī—these syllables could have been fairly similar, so that Gāndhārī *prasta* might be a reflection of a variant which originally arose due to visual confusion and came to be accepted as a legitimate reading. Alternatively (or additionally), *prasta* might have been a haplological development from *pra-srasta*, “fallen down, drooping,” although, to judge from the dictionary entries (PW, MW) this relatively rare verbal phrase seems to be found only in medical texts (“miscarry”). Yet another explanation would be that Gāndhārī (and Sanskrit?) *prasta* arose as a blend of Pali *patta* and Sanskrit *srasta*, though the pattern would be unusual.⁶¹

AF 2, v2. (vi)///ditva: The Pali parallel, *atha kho anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati te paribbājake tuṇhībhūte maṅkubhūte pattakkhandhe adhomukhe pajjhāyante appaṭibhāne veditvā*, would seem to suggest that we are to reconstruct the first word as (vi)ditva. However, the first Chinese version has here 師子吼已, which Hosoda reconstructs, no doubt correctly, as *siṃhanādaṃ naditvā*; the second Chinese has similarly 作師子吼. The first syllable does look more like *di* than *ti*, which might suggest the reconstruction (na)ditva, but since these two syllables are minimally distinguished in our scribe’s hand, this is not decisive. Therefore, since the conclusion of the Gāndhārī text is closer to the pattern of the Pali than to that of the Sanskrit/Chinese parallel (see the note on the preceding line), the reconstruction (vi)ditva is more likely.

uḥhayaṃ asanato: Here *ṃ* is an inorganic hiatus-bridging consonant and not the retention of an original nasal inflection, as discussed in the notes on AF 1, v2. Such inorganic sandhi consonants are well-attested in Gāndhārī (e.g., Allon 2001: 102; Salomon 2008: 128) as well as in BHS (BHS 4.59–60) and other related languages.

II.10: *Upali-sutra (fragments MS 2179/uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a)

Schøyen fragments uf1/5a+uf2/5e, 77c, 23, and 126a are all adjoining or nearly adjoining (in the case of fragment uf1/5a) parts of the same original folio. As discussed above (I.5), the recto and verso were written by two different scribes (Bamiyan scribes no. 2 and 1 respectively). The five

⁶¹ It is perhaps just a coincidence that elsewhere in Gāndhārī the correspondent to Skt *pra-* \sqrt{arth} is written with the stem *prast-*, and this peculiar correspondence is apparently reflected in Buddhist Sanskrit as well; see Salomon 2008: 190–1. This irregular correspondence does not provide a direct solution to the problem at hand, but it may be somehow related. The phonetic value(s) of the Kharoṣṭhī character conventionally transliterated as *st* or *sth* remain(s) to be fully clarified.

fragments preserve portions of all three lines of the folio, containing from eight (r1, v3) to twenty-three (v1) syllables per line. The name of the monk Upāli is preserved completely or partially six times in these fragments, and there is no doubt that the text corresponds to the *Upāli-sutta* of the AN (AN V 10.99, 201–9), although its structure and wording apparently differ considerably from the Pali version. There do not seem to be any Chinese or Sanskrit versions of this sūtra.⁶²

In the Pali sutta, which is a comparatively long one for the AN, Upāli requests the Buddha's permission to dwell in remote forest places (*araññe vanapatthāni pantāni senāsanāni*) rather than remain with the saṅgha. But the Buddha refuses to grant him permission, warning that a monk who lacks sufficient powers of concentration is not qualified to live in the forest; such a monk will be distracted by the forest (*haranti maññe mano vanāni*) and inevitably will “sink down or float away” (*saṃsīdissati vā uppilavissati vā*). The Buddha then presents a pair of parables. In the first parable he contrasts a great elephant who is able to bathe in a big lake with a rabbit or cat who might try to emulate the elephant but would “sink down or float away” in the lake. The second parable describes a baby who plays with his own urine and faeces, but then, as he gradually grows up, learns to play with boys' toys and games, and finally to engage in adult pleasures. Then the Buddha describes at length a man who becomes a monk and gradually develops his moral and meditative powers, enabling him to rise through the four *jhānas* and the five higher *samāpattis*, finally attaining arhatship. In connection with each of the *jhānas* and the *samāpattis*, the Buddha explains that it is only when monks “perceive this *dhamma* within themselves” (*attani dhammaṃ sampassamānā*) that they may go off to dwell in the forest. Finally, the Buddha tells Upāli he should remain with the saṅgha, where he will live comfortably (*saṅghe te viharato phāsu bhavissatī ti*).

Nearly all of the words and phrases which survive on these combined fragments correspond more or less to ones in the Pali sutta, so that we can assume that its overall theme was the same or similar. However, its structure is different; in the Gāndhārī version Upāli apparently repeats his request to be allowed to go to the forest three times (see the note on *dvetiyaga* /*[pi]*, r3), whereas in the Pali he asks only once. Correspondingly, the Buddha responds to Upāli's request each time with the explanation “It will be comfortable for you, Upāli, dwelling in the saṅgha,” which in Pali he offers only once at the very end of the sutta.

The sequence of presentation after this introductory section is also different from that of the Pali version. The individual text units are similar to those in the AN, but they appear in different positions and with variant wording; see, for example, the notes on *[t.d. ki]/[s.. hedu]* and *ha/rati* in v2. The last line contains a phrase (*ramaniyo vas[o]*) which is the only one without a clear parallel, though it seems to be thematically appropriate to the subject matter as presented in the Pali sutta; see the note on v3.

⁶² This sūtra is not to be confused with the well-known *Upāli-sutta* of the MN (sutta no. 56; MN I 371–87), which also exists in a Sanskrit version (Nakatani 1986). Coincidentally, the fragment of the Sanskrit version of this sūtra published by Nakatani apparently comes from the same blockprint text as the Sanskrit text of the *Kimdr̥ṣṭika-sūtra* in the *Samyuktāgama* which was discussed above (II.9). According to Nakatani (pp. 308–9), these fragments must have been part of a complete printed edition of the four Āgamas prepared under the patronage of the Uighur rulers of the Turfan region in or around the 13th or 14th centuries A.D.

Full text

- r1. ^{126a}/// [bh.]gavato pada vadi///(tva)
 r2. ^{uf1/5a}/// ? + + + + + /²³[s.] + + [.ur.vis.bh.]/^{77c}[v.n. u]pali /^{126a} rañña-vanapra[st.] ///
 r3. ^{uf1/5a}///[gh.] te upa/^{uf2/5e} li vi[h.r.]/²³to phaṣo bha[vi]/^{77c}ṣyati dvetiyaga ^{126a}/[pi up.]///
 v1. ^{uf1/5a}///[li] ti viha[ra]/^{uf2/5e} to phaṣ/²³[o bh.]viṣyati ° yo /^{77c}upali eva mañe[ya] /^{126a}[a]haṃ ///
 v2. ²³///[l.v. y. t.d. ki]/^{77c}[s.. hedu] ha/^{126a}rati upali ? ///
 v3. ^{126a}/// ? rayaniyo vas[o] ? ///

Simplified and reconstructed text and translation⁶³

- | | |
|--|--|
| r1. /// bhagavato pada vadi///(tva) | r1. ... bowed to the Blessed One's feet ... |
| r2. (prati)///s(evitu d)uravisabhavana upali
rañña-vanapra[st.]///(na) | r2. ... to frequent ...” “Hard to endure, Upāli,
are the wilderness and forest tracts ... |
| r3. (sa)///gha te upali viharato phaṣo bhavi-
ṣyati dvetiyaga pi up///(ali) | r3. ... it will be comfortable for you, Upāli,
dwelling in the saṅgha.” Again, for a second
time, Up(āli) ... |
| v1. (upa)///li ti viharato phaṣo bhaviṣyati ° yo
upali eva mañeya ahaṃ /// | v1. “... It will be comfortable, Upāli, for you
dwelling (in the saṅgha). Upāli, one who might
think thus: ‘(Not achieving concentration), I ... |
| v2. (upi)///lava ya tada kis(ya) hedu harati
upali ? /// | v2. ... (sinking down) and floating away. What
is the reason for that? Upāli, (the forests) dis-
tract (the mind) ... |
| v3. /// ? rayaniyo vaso ? /// | v3. ... an attractive residence ...” |

Parallel text

Pali: AN V 201.26–202.23; 203.20–204.2; 209.15–16 (10.99)

atha kho āyasmā upāli yena bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā [r1] **bhagavantam abhivādetvā** ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā upāli bhagavantam etad avoca ‘icchāṃ’ ahaṃ bhante araṇṇe vanapatthāni pantāni senāsanāni [r2] paṭisevitun’ ti.

durabhisambhavāni kho **upāli araṇṇe vanapatthāni** pantāni senāsanāni, dukkaraṃ pavivekaṃ durabhiraṃ ekatte, [v2] **haranti** mañṇe mano vanāni samādhim alabhamānassa bhikkhuno. [v1] **yo** kho **upāli evaṃ vadeyya ‘ahaṃ samādhim alabhamāno araṇṇe vanapatthāni**

⁶³ Because of the exceptionally complex situation involving five very small fragments, we have inserted this extra section in order to clarify the constitution and reconstruction of the text.

pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevissāmī’ ti, tass’ etaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ: saṃsīdissati vā [v2] *uppilavissati vā.*

*seyyathā pi upāli mahā-udakarahado. atha āgaccheyya hatthināgo sattaratano vā aṭṭharatano vā. tassa evaṃ assa ‘yan nūnāhaṃ imaṃ udakarahadaṃ ogāhetvā kaṇṇasandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷeyyaṃ, piṭṭhisandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷeyyaṃ, kaṇṇasandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷitvā piṭṭhisandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷitvā nahātvā ca pivitvā ca paccuttaritvā yena kāmāṃ pakkameyyaṃ’ ti. so taṃ udakarahadaṃ ogāhetvā kaṇṇasandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷeyya, piṭṭhisandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷeyya, kaṇṇasandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷitvā piṭṭhisandhoviṇṇaṃ pi khiḍḍaṃ kiḷitvā nahātvā ca pivitvā ca paccuttaritvā yena kāmāṃ pakkameyya. [v2 (?)] **taṃ kissa hetu?** mahā h’ upāli attabhāvo gambhīre gāḍhaṃ vindati ...*

sa kho so upāli kumāro apareṇa samayena vuddhim anvāya indriyāṇaṃ paripākāṃ anvāya pañcahi kāmagaṇehi samappito samaṅgībhūto paricāreti: cakkhaviññeyyehi rūpehi iṭṭhehi kantehi manāpehi piyarūpehi kāmūpasamhitehi [v3 (?)] **rajanīye***hi, sotaviññeyyehi saddehi ... ghānaviññeyyehi gandhehi ... jivhaviññeyyehi rasehi ... kāyaviññeyyehi phoṭṭhabbehi iṭṭhehi kantehi manāpehi piyarūpehi kāmūpasamhitehi* **rajanīye***hi ...*

iṅgha tvaṃ upāli saṅghe viharāhi, saṅghe [r3, v1] **te viharato phāsu bhavissatī** *ti.*

Notes

r1. ^{126a}///[bh.]gavato pada vadi///(tva): The Pali parallel here has a different introductory formula: *yena bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā...* The directly corresponding formula *bhagavato pāde vanditvā* does not occur in Pali suttas, but *bhagavataḥ pādau śirasā vanditvā* or ... *śirasābhivandya* is common in Buddhist Sanskrit.

r2. ^{uf1/5a}/// ? + + + + + ^{/23}[s.] + +: At the very beginning of the line, at the upper right corner of fragment uf1/5a, is the bottom of a single akṣara, transcribed here as ?, whose straight horizontal shape suggests *h*, but no convincing reconstruction can be proposed to account for this. At the right edge of fragment 23 is the bottom tip of a syllable whose shape is characteristic of, though not by means exclusive to, *s*. Judging by its position relative to the following legible text, this might be the *s* of the word corresponding to *paṭisevitun* in the Pali parallel, so that we have proposed, with due reserve, to reconstruct *(prati)s(evitu)*.

[ur.vis.bh.]/^{77c}[v.n.]: The tiny remnant of the left side of the bottom of the first syllable is consistent with the *du* that would be expected on the basis of the corresponding Pali (*durabhisambhavāni*). Only the bottom halves of the next two akṣaras survive, but they are also consistent with *-ravi-* which would be a normal correspondent to Pali *-rabhi-*, with the prefix *abhi-* represented by *avi-* as often in Gāndhārī (see, e.g., Glass 2007: 117). Thus the reconstruction *(d)uravisabhavana* is reasonably secure. We might have expected here the ending *-ani* for the neuter plural, corresponding to Pali *durabhisambhavāni ... vanapatthāni*, but there is definitely no *i* vowel on the last syllable of [ur.vis.bh.v.n.], as this would have been at least partially visible in the surviving lower part of the akṣara. This is presumably an instance of the common Gāndhārī phenomenon of the neutralization of final vowels, and we have accordingly reconstructed the nominal referent of this adjective as *vanaprasta(na)* rather than *vanaprasta(ni)*, although, given the vagaries of Gāndhārī orthography, the latter cannot be ruled out.

raña-vanapra[st.]: The Pali parallel as given in the PTS edition reads *araññe vanapatthāni*, but *araṇṇava-* is noted as a variant, agreeing with the Gāndhārī in reading the sequence as a dvandva compound. *Raña-* as the equivalent of Pali *arañña* is well attested in Gāndhārī inscriptions, for example *i[ś]e rañe* “in this forest” in the Jamalgarhi stone inscription of the year 359 (CKI no. 116).

The last syllable of *-pra[st.]* is mostly lost, but its remnants at the top and bottom of the left margin of fragment 126a are consistent with the character for *sta*, which is the expected correspondent to Pali *-patthāni* (= Skt *-prasthāni*). The vertical line at the top right is the upward extension of the right arm of *sta*, in a well attested variant form of this character (𑀲). Although this variant was considered by Brough (1962: 75) to represent the equivalent of Sanskrit *sth*, it also can correspond to original *st*, as in *sarvastivatana* and *sarvastivatinam* = *sarvāstivādinām* in British Library pot inscriptions B and C (Salomon 1999: 200, 205). Since this form of the graph is not consistently used to represent an original aspirate, we prefer to transliterate it as *st* and consider it an optional, perhaps calligraphic variant of the form without the upward extension (𑀲). It would seem that *st* and *sth* had in effect merged in Gāndhārī.

r3. ^{uf1/5a}///[gh.] ^{te upa/uf2/5e}li ^{vi[h.r.]}²³to ^{phaṣo bha[vi]}^{77c}ṣyati: Only the upper left portion of the first syllable survives, but it is consistent with the left tip and the loop at the top right of *gh* as expected on the basis of the Pali parallel, *saṅghe te viharato phāsu bhavissatī ti*. However, the vowel sign for the expected locative ending *-e* is not visible in its normal position at the top of the letter, so that we reconstruct *(sa)gha* rather than *(sa)gh(e)*. The latter reading is not absolutely ruled out, but since the “endingless” locative in *-a* is well attested in other Gāndhārī documents (see, e.g., Salomon 2008: 139–40) we have adopted that form here as palaeographically more likely. As noted in the introductory comments, this line corresponds to the concluding sentence of the *Upāli-sutta* in Pali, which in the Gāndhārī text was evidently repeated three times in the opening portion of the sūtra; compare the following note.

dvetiyaga ^{126a}/[pi up.]///: The expected form for the first word would be *dvitiyago* rather than *dve-*, and in line v1 of this fragment (written by a different scribe) we find the converse situation, with *ti* instead of expected *te*. Apparently these are both examples of the interchange between *i* and *e* which is very common in some Gāndhārī documents (see, e.g., Salomon 2008: 104), although the only other instance in this manuscript is *ti* for *te* in the same fragment (see the following note). *Dvetiyaga* is a characteristically Sanskritized form (see I.5); the usual Gāndhārī spellings of the word for “second” are *dutia*, *dudīa*, *biti*, *bidiga*, etc., although *dvi[ti]yo* as also recorded in a Gāndhārī manuscript from Central Asia (Baums 2006: 34, 36). The phrase *dvetiyaga [pi]* is almost certainly to be understood as adverbial: “Again, for a second time.” This is confirmed by the fact that the phrase which immediately precedes it (*te upali viharato phaṣo bhaviṣyati*) recurs in the following line (v1). The structure here must have been one familiar from other Pali suttas where a statement or request is repeated three times. For example, in the *Kokālika-sutta* (AN 10.89, V 170), the monk Kokālika stated three times his accusations against Sāriputta and Mogallāna, with the second and third times introduced by the adverbs *dutiyam pi* and *tatiyam pi*. The part of the Gāndhārī text which is lost at the end of r3 and beginning of v1 must have reported that Upāli asked a second time and that the Buddha responded in the same way, the whole being no doubt

presented in abridged form with *peyala* or similar abbreviation codes. This would have been followed by *tritiyaga pi* or the like, probably again with a partial abbreviation, but with the Buddha's final response reported in full, in keeping with the normal pattern of Buddhist manuscripts in which repeated patterns are spelled out in their first and last occurrences but drastically abridged in the intermediate ones.

v1. ^{uf1/5a}///[li] *ti viha[ra]*/^{uf2/5e}*to*: At the right edge of fragment uf1/5a are visible the tips of three strokes which correspond well to the shape of the left side of the syllable *li*, representing (from top to bottom) the upper left tip of the *l*, the left tip of *i*, and the bottom of the stem of *l*. Thus the reconstruction (*upa*)*li* is secure, even though here the vocative precedes the pronoun “you” (*ti*) instead of following it as in the parallel phrase in line r3 (*te upali*). (In the Pali parallel, *iṅgha tvaṃ upāli saṅghe viharāhi, saṅghe te viharato phāsu bhavissatī ti*, the word order is yet again different.) For the spelling *ti* instead of the expected *te*, see the previous note.

^{uf2/5e}*phaṣ*/²³[*o bh.*]*viṣyati* °: The syllables *ṣo* and *bh.* are incomplete because a small amount of material has been lost in the tear between fragments uf2/5e and 23, but the reading is corroborated by the identical text in the preceding line. The tops of both letters are preserved on uf2/5e, and their bottoms (including the *o* diacritic of *ṣo*) on 23.

yo ^{77c}*upali eva mañe[ya]* ^{126a}[*a*]*haṃ* ///: This sentence corresponds approximately to *yo kho upāli evaṃ vadeyya* in the Pali parallel, although it has a different verb. The lost text which followed this must have been similar to ‘*ahaṃ samādhim alabhamāno araññe vanapatthāni pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevissāmī*’ *ti* of the Pali.

v2. ²³///[*l.v. y.*]: Only small faint traces of the tops of these three syllables survive. All that is left of the first one are its very top, rising well above the rest of the line, and a tiny remnant of its left tip, which seems to end in a curve. These features are characteristic of *l*, so it is fairly certain that this is the correct reading. The following letter has a flat top and descending vertical stem at the right that are characteristic of *v*, while the last one looks like the top of *y* as written by this scribe; compare *rayaniyo* in the next line. We therefore propose, with due reserve, the reconstruction (*upi*)*lava ya* “and floating away” (= Skt *utplavaś ca*) as the approximate parallel to the corresponding Pali, *tass’ etaṃ pāṭikaṅkhaṃ: saṃsīdissati vā uppilavissati vā*. If this is correct, the Gāndhārī text must have used a nominal construction, that is, something along the lines of *saṃsīda ya upilava ya*, “sinking down and floating away,” instead of the future tense verbal construction of the Pali. There cannot have been a future verb corresponding to Pali *uppilavissati*, as the Gāndhārī form would be *upilaviṣyati* or the like, in which case the *i* vowel diacritic would have been visible across the flat head of *v*. Thus the sense of the Gāndhārī text seems to be “This is what would be expected of him: sinking down and floating away,” in contrast to “This is what would be expected of him: he will sink or float away” as in the Pali version.

[*t.d. ki*]/^{77c}[*s.. hedu*]: Although only the faded tops of the last four syllables in this sequence are preserved, the reading is reasonably secure, as this is surely the equivalent of the common Pali *tam kissa hetu* (= Skt *tat kasya hetoḥ*), “What is the reason for that?” The incomplete syllable transcribed as *s..* can be safely reconstructed as *sya* on the basis of the parallel in fragment 83, v1 (II.13), which clearly reads *tada kisya [he](du)*; compare *kisya hetu* in BHS (Mvu II 52.6; see BSHG 21.16). This expression has also been previously attested in non-Sanskritized Gāndhārī as,

for example, *ta kiṣa eḍu*; Glass 2007: 204, l. 37. The reading of the first two syllables of this sequence is however quite uncertain. The surviving head of the second one is likely to be *d*. The first one is extremely faint, but it could be a remnant of the *t* that is suggested by the clearer parallel in fragment 83a, as cited above, whence the proposed though highly uncertain reading and reconstruction *tada*. On the sense of this word, see the note on fragment 83, v1. The phrase *taṃ kissa hetu* occurs three times in the Pali version of the *Upāli-sutta*, including twice in the parable of the elephant and the lake. The second occurrence comes near the end of the parable, after the statement that the rabbit or cat who tries to bathe in the lake like the elephant “will sink down or float away” (*saṃsīdissati vā uppilavissati vā*, V 203.5). In the Gāndhārī text, there is not nearly enough room for that lengthy parable to have been introduced after the end of the preliminary discussion in the preceding line, so that in this version the rhetorical question “What is the reason for that?” presumably came after the initial declaration that the monk who tries to meditate in the forest before he was mature enough to do so would sink down or float away.

ha/^{126a}*rati*: This presumably corresponds to *haranti maññe mano vanāni samādhim alabha-mānassa bhikkhuno* in the Pali parallel, but once again the construction and ordering of phrases is different. In the Pali the sentence *haranti maññe ...* precedes *yo kho upāli evaṃ vadeyya ...* (see the note on *yo* ^{17c} *upali eva maññe[ya]* ^{126a} *[a]haṃ* /// in v1), whereas in the Gāndhārī text the order of the corresponding sentences is the opposite. It is difficult to be sure whether the hook under the penultimate syllable is to be understood as an anusvāra or merely as a decorative, phonetically insignificant foot mark. Bamiyan scribe no. 2, the author of the recto of this fragment, never uses the anusvāra sign, but scribe no. 1, who was responsible for the verso, does regularly use it. The Pali parallel with a plural verb form, *haranti ... vanāni*, leads us to expect it, but the syllable in question is very similar to the *ti* in v1 (apparently = P *te*), where an anusvāra is not expected. Still, it is quite common for some Kharoṣṭhī scribes to arbitrarily mix phonetically appropriate anusvāras with decorative foot marks that are virtually indistinguishable from them (see, e.g., Salomon 1999: 211). Thus the intended reading here may have been the plural verb, that is, *haraṃti*, but the evidence is not strong enough to justify putting this reading into the transcription.

v3. *rayaniyo vas[o]*: The reading of this phrase is clear, except that the incomplete vowel on the last syllable could be *u* rather than *o*. This is presumably equivalent to a hypothetical Pali *rajanīyo vāso*, “attractive/appealing residence,” but this phrase has no equivalent in the *Upāli-sutta*. The only similar word is *rajanīyehi* in the description of a young man’s amusements (*cakkhuvīññeyyehi rūpehi iṭṭhehi kantehi manāpehi piyarūpehi kāmūpasamhitehi rajanīyehi*, etc. The word *vāsa-* does not appear in the AN’s *Upāli-sutta*, but it and related words (*vasato*, *vāsadhuraṃ*, *araññavāsaṃ*) do occur several times in the commentary on it (e.g., *arañña-senāsane vasato kir’ assa vāsadhuraṃ eva pūrisati*; AN-a V 68–9). This may not be entirely coincidental, given the tendency for words and phrases to “bleed” between text and commentary. However this may be, here as in the several other examples pointed out in the preceding notes, the Gāndhārī **Upāli-sutra* differs substantially from its Pali parallel. But in this case, the contrast seems to be more significant, as it is not merely a matter of variant ordering of the phrases but of an actual difference in wording and topic. Here the Buddha seems to be speaking about the pleasant circumstances of dwelling with the saṅgha in a monastery in contrast to the difficult life in the

forest in order to dissuade Upāli from undertaking the latter, a theme which is not directly addressed in these terms in the Pali sūta. In the Pali, the introductory section equivalent to the preceding lines of the Gāndhārī text is followed immediately by the parable of the elephant and the rabbit, whereas the only legible remnant of the following part of the Gāndhārī text, *rayaniyo vas[o]*, has no relationship to that text. Apparently the Gāndhārī had here some elaboration of the statement “It will be comfortable, Upāli, for you dwelling in the saṅgha,” which has no parallel in the Pali sūta.

Beyond this, we can only guess about the contents of the rest of the Gāndhārī **Upali-sūtra*. It probably included the parable of the elephant and the rabbit in the great lake, since the metaphors of “sinking down” and “floating away,” which seem to have been present in the Gāndhārī text, rhetorically prefigure this image. Beyond this, we can only guess as to how closely the Gāndhārī followed the Pali, particularly as to whether it included the second parable of the young man’s growth and the long description of an arhat’s gradual development toward liberation. Given the unusual length of the Pali sūtra, however, we can guess that the Gāndhārī version might have been somewhat briefer, or at least that the long descriptions of the *jhānas* and *āyatanas* would have been drastically abbreviated rather than spelled out in full.

II.11: **Nagulapita-sūtra* (?) and **Sadha-sūtra* (fragments MS 2179/84 and 77d+77b)

Fragments 84 and 77d+77b apparently contain parts of two sūtras. Only a small remnant of the end of the first sūtra survives on the recto of fragment 84, and no direct parallel has been found for it, but it resembles the *Nakulapitā-sutta* in the section on sixes (*chakka-nipāta*) of the AN (AN 6.16, III 295–8), which has no Chinese parallel. The second sūtra, on the verso of fragment 84 and both sides of 77b+77d, corresponds to the *Sandha-sutta* in the elevens section (*ekādasaka-nipāta*) of the AN (11.10,⁶⁴ AN V 322–6) and to sūtra 926 of the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* (T. 99, 雜阿含經 *Zá āhán jīng*, pp. 235c27–236b11). Another partial parallel to this sūtra is found in sūtra 151 of the second Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama* (T. 100, 別譯雜阿含經 *Biéyì zá āhán jīng*, pp. 430c10–431b4).

Fragment 84 is a small fragment with two lines of ten or eleven characters remaining on each side. These are probably the first two lines of the recto and the second and third lines of the verso (as explained below). Fragments 77d and 77b are two adjoining pieces of the same folio, which in the original manuscript probably followed the one of which fragment 84 is a remnant. Fragments 77d+77b also have two lines preserved on each side, with twenty-one to twenty-four characters per line. At the level of the lower line of the recto the sub-fragments join directly, but on the upper line one syllable has been lost in a small section that was torn off from the upper left corner of 77d. It is not quite certain whether the two surviving lines are the first and second of the recto and the second and third of the verso, or the second and third of the recto and the first and second of the

⁶⁴ This is the tenth sūta of the elevens in the PTS edition, but the ninth in the Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese editions. The latter three editions lack the eighth sūta of the PTS edition, in which Ānanda asks the venerable Sāriputta the same questions that he had asked the Buddha in the preceding sūta.

verso, but the former alternative has been adopted as it seems more likely on the basis of the textual parallels, as discussed below.

The text on the second line of the recto of fragment 84 reads *viharati śuśumaragir[e]*, referring to someone, probably the Buddha, who was dwelling at Śuśumaragira, that is, P *sumsumāragira*/Skt *śuśumāragiri*. This phrase might be part of the narrative setting of the **Sadha-sutta*, which was then continued on the verso, or it could be part of a separate sūtra that ended between the last line on the recto and the first on the verso. In the former case, the two lines preserved on the recto would probably have been the second and third lines of the original folio (i.e., 84, r2 and r3), and those on the verso would be the first and second (84, v1 and v2). However, both the Pali and Chinese parallels place the *Sandha-sutta* in Āṅgika, not in Sumsumāragira, so it is *a priori* more likely that the text on the recto of fragment 84 is part of another sūtra, in which case the missing lines would be r3 and v1 and the preserved lines r1,2 and v2,3. The edition presented below follows this option.

However, the identification of this first sūtra is problematic. The closest parallel in AN would be the *Nakulapitā-sutta*, but this is in the section on the sixes (*chakka-nipāta*), far from the elevens that the following *Sandha-sutta* (11.10) leads us to expect. The *Nakulapitā-sutta* recounts the story of the householder Nakulapitā who was severely ill and apparently on his deathbed. There his pious wife Nakulamātā comforted him and relieved his concerns by assuring him that she would remain faithful to him and to their Buddhist way of life. Nakulamātā anticipated six concerns which she thought were troubling her husband: (1) after his death she would be unable to maintain the household and support their children; (2) she would take a new husband; (3) she would not wish to see the Buddha and the sangha; (4) she would not continue to practice virtuous conduct; (5) she had not attained mental tranquility within herself; and (6) she had not attained a firm grounding in the Buddha's teaching and practice. Nakulamātā assured him that he need not worry about any of these concerns, and, relieved by her assurances, he recovered from his illness. After his recovery he went to visit the Buddha, who was staying at Sumsumāragira. The Buddha congratulated him on his good fortune of having such a sympathetic companion who cared only for his welfare.

In regard to each of the last three topics, Nakulamātā tells her husband that anyone who doubts her word could go to ask the Buddha himself, who was then “staying at Sumsumāragira” (*viharati sumsumāragire*). The last occurrence of this phrase is at AN III 297.26, relatively near the end of the sutta at III 298.23. Therefore it is not out of the question that *[v]iharati śuśumaragi[r.]* on line r2 of fragment 84 is part of the end of a text resembling the AN's *Nakulapitā-sutta*. Moreover, the phrase *u paneti* in the preceding line resembles the *na kho pan' etaṃ* which is part of the standard wording of the six paragraphs (*na kho pan' etaṃ gahapati evaṃ daṭṭhabbāṃ*) in which Nakulamātā addresses each of her husband's worries, although the few surviving syllables before and after this phrase do not seem to agree with the proposed parallel (see the text notes for details).

Another point in favor of a possible identification with the *Nakulapitā-sutta* is the fact that the phrase *[v]iharati śuśumaragi[r.]* evidently comes near the end of the sūtra. Normally the Pali equivalent of this phrase (*viharati sumsumāragire*) occurs at the beginning of a sutta as part of the

nidāna (e.g., AN IV 85, 228, 268). In the *Nakulapitā-sutta* it does occur in the opening nidāna (III 295), but then is also repeated three times in the later parts of the sutta (III 296–7). Only in one other sutta does this phrase occur elsewhere than in the opening nidāna, namely in the *Bodhirā-jakumāra-sutta*, but this is a MN text (MN II 97) which is not likely to be relevant to the material under discussion here.

Therefore it is at least possible that the recto of fragment 84 contained the conclusion of a sūtra which was in part parallel to, or at least resembled the Pali *Nakulapitā-sutta*. Of course, that sutta, as noted above, is assigned in the AN to the sixes, whereas here in the Gāndhārī EĀ we would expect it to belong to the elevens, given the clear parallel of the immediately following sūtra to the *Sandha-sutta* (AN 11.10). But it should be noted that the suttas in the larger *nipātas* of the AN are not infrequently composites of smaller sets: “From the Book of the Sixes upward we occasionally find that the number of items needed for a sutta to fit into the scheme is obtained by combining smaller sets” (Bodhi 2012: 18).⁶⁵ For example, near the end of the *navaka-nipāta* a long series of suttas (AN IV 457–464, IX.63–92) consists of various sets of five items combined with the four *satipaṭṭhānas*. Certain suttas of the *ekādasaka-nipāta*, e.g., AN 11.12 (V 329.9–10) concern sets of five and six *dhammas* (*pañcasu dhammesu paṭiṭṭhāya cha dhamme uttarim bhāveyyāsi*). Even more directly apposite here is the *Moranivāpa-sutta*, which is partially preserved in this Gāndhārī EĀ (see II.12), and which in the Pali version is a composite of three AN suttas from the *tika-nipāta* with two further qualities added. Also among the Gāndhārī fragments, the *Mekhiya-sutta* (II.3) of the *navaka-nipāta* is a composite of sets of five and four. In light of this pattern, it is interesting that there is another sutta about Nakulapitā, not in the AN but in the SN (22.1; III 1–5), in which Sāriputta explains to Nakulapitā that his mental suffering is caused by the false identification of the self with the five *khandhas*. Given the well-attested pattern of interchange and overlap between sūtras of the AN/EĀ and the *Samyutta-nikāya/Samyuktāgama*, it is not hard to imagine that our Gāndhārī EĀ contained here a composite of the two Nakulapitā suttas of the SN and AN comprising eleven (5+6) topic elements in total, which was accordingly placed in the section of the elevens.

While this remains hypothetical, it is at least reasonably certain that the recto and verso of fragment 84 contain the end and beginning of two separate sūtras. The verso of fragment 84 and all of fragment 77b+77d correspond closely to the *Sandha-sutta*⁶⁶ of the AN and to the two Chinese parallels referred to above. In the Pali version, the Buddha instructs a monk named Sandha to meditate with the concentration (*jhāyitaṃ*) of a thoroughbred horse (*ājānīya*), not with that of a wild colt (*assa-khaluṅka*). The Buddha then explains that the metaphor “concentration of a wild colt” applies to a meditator who meditates without overcoming the five hindrances and with dependence on (*nissāya*) the physical, mental or meditative objects or phenomena being experienced or attained, just as a wild colt’s mind clings to food rather than concentrating on the tasks which he needs to accomplish. The metaphor of a thoroughbred horse is then explained as the opposite, that is, as referring to one who meditates without depending on any objects or phenomena, just as a thoroughbred does not cling to food but rather concentrates his mind on the tasks to be

⁶⁵ On composite sūtras in the AN and EĀ, compare the introductory comments to II.3 (esp. n. 34) and II.12.

⁶⁶ The Burmese Chaṭṭha Saṃgāyana edition gives the name as *saddha* instead of *sandha* as in the other editions. In either case, the Gāndhārī form of the name, which does not survive in the fragments, would be *sadha*.

done each day. Then at Sandha's request the Buddha further elucidates meditation by the thoroughbred's concentration, explaining that in it all perception of objects or phenomena ceases (*vibhūtā*).⁶⁷ The items on the basis of which this sūtra is located in the *ekādasaka-nipāta* are the eleven things on which one does or does not depend on in meditation: the four elements, the four *āyatana*s, this world and the next world, and all things which one perceives or ponders.

The two lines on the verso of fragment 84 correspond to two parts of the explanation of the metaphor of the wild colt. Fragments 77d+77b correspond to parts of the explanation of the metaphor of the thoroughbred horse (r1, r2), Sandha's question (v2), and the further explanation of meditation with a thoroughbred's concentration (v3). The correlations with the Pali sutta suggest that the surviving lines on 77d+77b are the original lines 1 and 2 of the recto and 2 and 3 of the verso.

Text and translation

a. **Nagulapīṭa-sūtra* (?)

84, r1. /// ? ? + [mri]da u paneti a[pr.] ? ... ?? but thus ?? ...

84, r2. /// [v]iharati śuśumaragi[r.] /// ... is dwelling at Śuśumārāgiri ...

b. **Sadha-sūtra*

84, v2. (d)///[o]niya nibadho samana [y.v]/// (asa) “[A wild colt], being tied at a feeding trough, [meditates] ‘Fodder, [fodder!]’

84, v3. /// ma [e]vam=evo iś-egacu p[u]r[u]/// (śa) ... In just the same way, here some person [who is like a wild colt] ...

77d+77b, r1. /// [y]o na pridhiv[i] n[iśra]//[yo j]ayati na avo n[i]śrayo jayati na teyo [ni]/// (śrayo jayati) ... who meditates without depending on earth, meditates without depending on water, [meditates] without de[pend]ing on fire ...

77d+77b, r2. (na-)///sañña-na-asaññayadano / na ima logo niśrayo jayati n(a) [p]///(aralogo) ... [meditates without depending on] the sphere of neither-perception-nor-nonperception, meditates without depending on this world, [meditates] without [depending on] the next [world] ...

77d+77b, v2. /// na niśrayo jayati kada jā/yi bhate bhadre puruṣa-yani[yo] /// ... meditates without depending [on that either.]” “Sir, meditating in what way does an excellent human thoroughbred, ...”

⁶⁷ This refers to a state in which the meditator's mind has passed beyond the perception of all those objects or phenomena and perceives only nirvāṇa. Here *vibhūtā* was translated by Woodward (1936: 207) as “made clear,” following the gloss *pākaṭā* of the commentary (AN-a V 80), but Bodhi (2012: 1562 and 1861 n. 2211) convincingly argues that it means “has disappeared.”

77d+77b, v3. (na na-sañña-na-asaññayada)///n[o]
niśrayo jayati (na) / ima logo na paralogo ya pi
ta dri[tha] ///

“He does not meditate depending on the sphere
[of neither-perception-nor-non-perception],
(nor) [depending on] this world, nor on the
next world, [nor] on whatever has been seen ...

Parallel texts

a. *Nagulapīṭa-sūtra:

Pali: AN III 297.14–26 (6.16)

siyā kho pana te gahapati evam assa “nakulamātā gahapatānī na imasmiṃ dhammavinaye
ogādhappattā paṭigādhappattā assāsappattā tiṇṇavicikicchā vigatakathaṃkathā vesārajappattā
aparappaccayā satthu sāsane viharatī”ti. [84, r1?] na **kho pan’ etaṃ** gahapati evaṃ daṭṭhabbam.
yāvata kho gahapati tassa bhagavato sāvika gihī odātavasanā imasmiṃ dhammavinaye ogādhap-
pattā paṭigādhappattā assāsappattā tiṇṇavicikicchā vigatakathaṃkathā vesārajappattā aparap-
paccayā satthu sāsane viharantiyo, ahan tāsam aññatarā. yassa kho pan’assa kaṅkhā vā vimati
vā, ayaṃ so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho bhaggesu [84, r2] **viharati suṃsumāragire**
bhesakaḷāvane migadāye, taṃ bhagavantam upasaṅkamitvā pucchatu.

b. *Sadha-sūtra:

Pali: AN V 323.8–326.19 (11.10)

assakhaḷuṅko hi sandha [84, v2] **doṇiyā baddho ‘yavasam yavasan’** ti jhāyati. taṃ kissa hetu? na
hi sandha assakhaḷuṅkassa doṇiyā baddhassa evaṃ hoti kin nu kho maṃ ajja assadammasārathi
kāraṇam kāressati, kim assāham paṭikaromī’ ti? So doṇiyā baddho ‘yavasam yavasan’ ti jhāyati.
[84, v3] **evam eva** kho sandha **idh’ ekacco purisakhaḷuṅko araññagato pi rukkhamūlagato pi**
suññāgāragato pi kāmarāga-pariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati kāmarāgaparetena, uppannassa ca
kāmarāgassa nissaraṇam yathābhūtam na ppajānāti. so kāmarāgaṃ yeva antaram karitvā jhāyati
pajjhāyati nijjhāyati avajjhāyati. vyāpādapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati ... thīnamiddha-pariyuṭ-
ṭhitena cetasā viharati ... uddhaccakukkucapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati ... vicikicchāpariyuṭ-
ṭhitena cetasā viharati vicikicchāparetena, uppannāya ca vicikicchāya nissaraṇam yathābhūtam
na ppajānāti. so vicikiccham yeva antaram karitvā jhāyati pajjhāyati nijjhāyati avajjhāyati. so
paṭhavim pi nissāya jhāyati, āpam pi nissāya jhāyati, tejam pi nissāya jhāyati, vāyam pi nissāya
jhāyati, ākāsaṇācāyatanam pi nissāya jhāyati, viññāṇācāyatanam pi nissāya jhāyati, ākiṇcaṇ-
ñāyatanam pi nissāya jhāyati, nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanam pi nissāya jhāyati, idhalokam pi
nissāya jhāyati, paralokam pi nissāya jhāyati, yam p’ idam diṭṭham sutam mutam viññātam pattam
pariyesitam anuvicaritam manasā, tam pi nissāya jhāyati. evam kho sandha purisakhaḷuṅkajjhāyī-
tam hoti. kathaṃ ca sandha ājānīyajjhāyitam hoti?

bhadro hi sandha assājānīyo doṇiyā baddho na ‘yavasam yavasan’ ti jhāyati. taṃ kissa
hetu? bhadraṃ hi sandha assājānīyassa doṇiyā baddhassa evaṃ hoti ‘kin nu kho maṃ ajja
assadammasārathi kāraṇam kāressati, kim assāham paṭikaromī’ ti? so doṇiyā baddho na
‘yavasam yavasan’ ti jhāyati. bhadro hi sandha assājānīyo yathā iṇam yathā baddham yathā jāniṃ
yathā kalim evaṃ patodassa ajjhoharaṇam samanupassati. evam eva kho sandha bhadro
purisājānīyo araññagato pi rukkhamūlagato pi suññāgāragato pi na kāmarāgapariyuṭṭhitena

cetasā viharati na kāmarāgaparetena, uppannassa ca kāmarāgassa nissaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti. na vyāpādapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati ... na thīnamiddhapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati ... na uddhaccakukkucapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati ... na vicikicchāpariyuṭṭhitena cetasā viharati na vicikicchāparetena, uppannāya ca vicikicchāya nissaraṇaṃ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti. so [77d+77b, r1] **neva paṭhaviṃ nissāya jhāyati, na āpaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na tejaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na vāyaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na ākiñcaṇṇāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na [77d+77b, r2] nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na idhalokaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na paralokaṃ nissāya jhāyati, yaṃ p' idaṃ diṭṭhaṃ suttaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicaritaṃ manasā, tam pi nissāya na jhāyati, jhāyati ca pana. Evaṃ jhāyī ca pana sandha bhadraṃ purisājānīyaṃ sa-indā devā sabrahmakā sapajāpatikā ārakā 'va namassanti:**

namo te purisājāñña namo te purisuttama

yassa tenābhijānāma yaṃ pi nissāya jhāyasī ti.

evaṃ vutte āyasmā sandho bhagavantaṃ etad avoca kathaṃ jhāyī pana bhante bhadro purisājānīyo jhāyati ? so neva paṭhaviṃ nissāya jhāyati, na āpaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na vāyaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na ākiñcaṇṇāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na idhalokaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na paralokaṃ nissāya jhāyati, yaṃ p' idaṃ diṭṭhaṃ suttaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicaritaṃ manasā, tam pi [77d+77b, v2] **nissāya na jhāyati, jhāyati ca pana. kathaṃ jhāyī ca pana bhante bhadraṃ purisājānīyaṃ sa-indā devā sabrahmakā sapajāpatikā ārakā 'va namassanti:**

namo te purisājāñña namo te purisuttama

yassa tenābhijānāma yaṃ pi nissāya jhāyasī 'ti?

idha sandha bhadraṃ purisājānīyassa paṭhaviyā paṭhavisaññā vibhūtā hoti, āpasmiṃ āposaññā vibhūtā hoti, tejasmiṃ tejosaññā vibhūtā hoti, vāyasmim vāyosaññā vibhūtā hoti, ākāśānañcāyatane ākāśānañcāyatanaññā vibhūtā hoti, viññāṇañcāyatane viññāṇañcāyatanaññā vibhūtā hoti, ākiñcaṇṇāyatane ākiñcaṇṇāyatanaññā vibhūtā hoti, nevasaññānāsaññāyatane nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaññā vibhūtā hoti, idhaloke idhalokasaññā vibhūtā hoti, paraloke paralokasaññā vibhūtā hoti, yaṃ p' idaṃ diṭṭhaṃ suttaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicaritaṃ manasā, tatrāpi saññā vibhūtā hoti. evaṃ jhāyī kho sandha bhadro purisājānīyo neva paṭhaviṃ nissāya jhāyati, na āpaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na tejaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na vāyaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na ākiñcaṇṇāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na [77d+77b, v3] **nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na idhalokaṃ nissāya jhāyati, na paralokaṃ nissāya jhāyati, yaṃ p' idaṃ diṭṭhaṃ suttaṃ mutaṃ viññātaṃ pattaṃ pariyesitaṃ anuvicaritaṃ manasā, tam pi nissāya na jhāyati, jhāyati ca pana. evaṃ jhāyī ca pana sandha bhadraṃ purisājānīyaṃ sa-indā devā sabrahmakā sapajāpatikā ārakā 'va namassanti:**

namo te purisājāñña namo te purisuttama

yassa tenābhijānāma yaṃ pi nissāya jhāyasī ti.

Chinese 1. 雜阿含經 *Zá āhán jīng* (*Samyuktāgama*), sūtra 926, T. 99, 235c27–236b11.

如是我聞。一時佛住那梨聚落深谷精舍。爾時世尊告說陀迦旃延。當修真實禪。莫習強良禪。如強良馬。[84, v2] **繫槽櫪上**。彼馬不念。我所應作。所不應作。但念**穀草**。[84, v3] **如是丈夫**於貪欲纏多所修習故。彼以貪欲心思惟。於出離道不如實知。心常馳騁。隨貪欲纏而求正受。瞋恚。睡眠。掉悔。疑多修習故。於出離道不如實知。以疑蓋心思惟。以求正受。說陀。若真生馬繫槽櫪上。不念水草。但作是念。駕乘之事。如是。丈夫不念貪欲纏。住於出離如實知。不以貪欲纏而求正受。亦不瞋恚睡眠掉悔疑纏。多住於出離。瞋恚睡眠掉悔疑纏如實知。不以疑纏而求正受。如是。說陀。比丘如是禪者。[77d+77b, r1] **不依地修禪。不依水火風空識無所有**[77d+77b, r2] **非想非非想而修禪。不依此世。不依他世**。非日月。非見聞覺識。非得非求。非隨覺。非隨觀而修禪。說陀。比丘如是修禪者。諸天主伊濕波羅。波闍波提恭敬合掌。稽首作禮而說偈言。

南無大士夫 南無土之上 以我不能知 依何而禪定

爾時有尊者跋迦利住於佛後。執扇扇佛。時跋迦利白佛言。世尊。若比丘云何入禪。[77d+77b, v2] **而不依地水火風**。乃至覺觀。而修禪定。**云何**比丘禪。諸天主。伊濕波羅。波闍波提合掌恭敬。稽首作禮而說偈言。

南無大士夫 南無土之上 以我不能知 依何而禪定

佛告跋迦利。比丘於地想能伏地想。於水火風想。無量空入處想。識入處想。無所有入處。[77d+77b, v3] **非想非非想入處想。此世他世**。日月見聞覺識。若得若求。若覺若觀。悉伏彼想。跋迦利。比丘如是禪者。不依地水火風。乃至不依覺。觀而修禪。跋迦利。比丘如是禪者。諸天主。伊濕波羅。波闍波提恭敬合掌。稽首作禮而說偈言。

南無大士夫 南無土之上 以我不能知 何所依而禪

佛說此經時。說陀迦旃延比丘遠塵離垢。得法眼淨。跋迦利比丘不起諸漏。心得解脫。佛說此經已。跋迦利比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。

Chinese 2. 別譯雜阿含經 *Biéyì zá āhán jīng* (*Samyuktāgama*), sūtra 151, T. 100, 430c10–431b4.

如是我聞。一時佛在那提迦國盆寔迦精舍爾時世尊告大迦旃延。定意莫亂。當如善乘。調攝諸根。勿同惡馬諸根馳散。[84, v2] 猶如惡馬**繫之槽上**。唯念**水草**。餘無所知。若不得食。斷絕羈絆。[84, v3] **亦如有人**多與欲結相應。以貪欲故多有嫌恨之心。多起欲覺。以有欲覺生諸惱害。種種惡覺由斯而生。以是事故。不知出要。終不能識欲之體相。若復有人。耽好睡眠。以常眠故。多起亂想。種種煩惱。從之生長。以是義故。不知出要對治之法。若復有人。多生掉悔。以其常生掉悔心故。於諸法相。不能分明。當知掉悔為散亂因。以是因緣。不知出要對治之法。若復有人。多生疑心。以疑心故。於諸法中。猶豫不了。以斯義故。不知出要對治之法。如善乘馬繫之槽上。其心都不思於水草。不絕羈絆。譬如有人心無欲結。但有淨想。以不染著是欲想故。亦復不生掉悔疑等睡眠之蓋。以其不生五蓋之心因緣力故。便知出要對治之法。比丘。[77d+77b, r1] 如是不依於**彼地水火風**。亦復不依[77d+77b, r2] **四無色定**。而生禪法。**不依此世。不依他世**。亦復不依日月星辰。不依見聞。不依識識。不依智知。不依推求心識境界。亦不依止覺知。獲得無所依止禪。若有比丘。不依如是諸地禪法。得深定故。釋提桓因。三十三天。及諸梵眾。皆悉合掌恭敬尊重。歸依是人。我等今者。不知當依何法則。而得禪定。

爾時尊者薄迦梨。在佛後立。以扇扇佛。即白佛言世尊。云何比丘。修諸禪定。[77d+77b, v2] **不依四大及四無色**。乃至不依覺觀之想。若如是者。諸比丘等。**云何**而得如是**禪**

定。釋提桓因及諸大眾。合掌恭敬尊重讚嘆。得斯定者。而作是言。此善男子。丈夫中上。依止何事。而修諸禪。佛告薄迦梨。若有比丘。深修禪定。觀彼大地悉皆虛偽。都不見有真實地想。水火風種。[77d+77b, v3] 及四無色。此世他世。日月星辰。識知見聞。推求覺觀。心意境界。及以於彼智不及處。亦復如是。皆悉虛偽。無有實法。但以假號。因緣和合。有種種名。觀斯空寂。不見有法及以非法。爾時世尊。即說偈言。

汝今薄迦梨	應當如是知	習於坐禪法	觀察無所有
天主憍尸迦	及三十三天	世界根本主	大梵天王等
合掌恭敬禮	稽首人中尊	咸皆稱斯言	南無善丈夫
我等不知汝	依憑何法則	而得是深定	諸人所不了

說斯法時。大迦旃延。遠塵離垢。得法眼淨。薄迦梨比丘。煩惱永滅。不受後生。盡諸有結。時諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。

Notes

84, r1. /// ? ? + [mri]da u paneti a[pr.] ?: As mentioned in the introductory comments, the sequence *u paneti* is somewhat reminiscent of the repeated phrase *na kho panetaṃ* in the suggested Pali parallel. Here *u* may be an unattested equivalent of Skt *khalu*/P *kho*, though elsewhere in Gāndhārī this word appears as *o* (e.g. Glass 2007: 137, l. 31), *ho* or *kho*. This is followed by *paneti*, which is presumably a sandhi combination for *pana + iti*, roughly corresponding to *pan'etaṃ* (< *pana + etaṃ*) of the Pali. But the preceding negative in the Pali is evidently absent in the Gāndhārī, and the partial letters which precede and follow this phrase also do not agree with the proposed parallel. At the beginning of the line, following two incomplete and illegible letters and a third lost one, there remains the bottom and left side of a syllable which might be *mri*, or possibly *gr*. Since the following syllable is *da*, there may have been here the word *mrida*, “dead,” since the suggested Pali parallel refers to the seemingly imminent death of Nakulapitā (*mam'accayena*, etc.), though it does not contain the corresponding Pali word (*mata-*). Following the sequences discussed above, three syllables are partially preserved at the end of this line. The first is fairly clearly *a*, but only the bottom of the second survives and the reading is uncertain; it may be *pr*., but if so, the right arm of the *p* curves back to the left to touch the vertical stem, which would be an unusual form in the hand of this scribe. Conceivably, it could also be a somewhat abnormally formed *gr*., which calls to mind the words *gahapati* and *gahapatānī* which figure frequently in the *Nakulapitā-sutta* (cf. *grahapati* in AF 1, v3, II.9). But the following letter, only the bottom of which is preserved, has a straight vertical, which rules out a following *ha*, so that this reconstruction seems impossible. Thus it has not proven possible to establish a firm connection between this line and the *Nakulapitā-sutta*, although the following line, as discussed in the introduction to this section, suggests the possibility. In conclusion, we can only say that the *Nakulapitā-sutta* presents the closest approach to a parallel to this sūtra, but this would be only a partial parallel at best.

84, v2. (d)///[o]niya nibadho samana: The prefix *ni-* of *nibadho* and the pleonastic present participle *samana* of the Gāndhārī text are absent in Pali, which has here only *doṇiyā baddho*. The differences do not substantially change the meaning, and are typical of the types of variation between Pali and Gāndhārī versions of sūtras.

84, v3. /// *ma [e]vam evo iś-egacu p[u]r[u]///(śa)*: The Pali parallel here reads *so doṇiyā baddho 'yavasam yavasan' ti jhāyati. evam eva kho sandha idh' ekacco purisakhaḷunko*. Thus there is no parallel for the *ma* at the beginning of this line. But at this point the wording of both Chinese parallels differs from that of the Pali: the corresponding passage in T. 99, 235c29–236a2 reads “Like an untamed horse, being tied to a trough, [he] does not think, ‘What should I do, [what] should I not do,’ but thinks only about fodder” (如強良馬。繫槽檻上。彼馬不念。我所應作。所不應作。但念穀草。), while T. 100, 430c12–14 has “Like an inferior horse, being tied to a trough, thinks only about water and fodder, and knows nothing else. If not fed, [it] would break [its] bridle and restraint” (猶如惡馬繫之槽上。唯念水草。餘無所知。若不得食。斷絕羈絆。). The missing part of the Gāndhārī text may have had something corresponding to this latter, slightly expanded version, but no specific reconstruction can be proposed.

p[u]r[u]///(śa): On the basis of the Pali parallel, *purisakhaḷunko*, this word may be further reconstructed as *puru(śa-khaḍuko)*, or the like.

77d+77b, r1. [*j*] *ayati*: The horizontal line above the *j* which marks it as the correspondent of P/Skt *jh* is almost entirely lost at the upper edge of the fragment, except for a faint trace of its right tip. But the spelling is confirmed by the several recurrences of this word (= P *jhāyati*/Skt *dhyāyati*) in this and the following lines.

77d+77b, v2. *kada*: The Pali parallel shows that this represents P *katham* “how,” although the phonetic correspondence is irregular. See the comments in I.5 on the peculiar treatments of original *th* in this manuscript.

II.12: **Moranivapa-sutra* and **Metra-sutra* (fragments MS 2179/82+85)

Fragments 82 and 85 are two small adjoining pieces of the same folio, connecting perfectly at their right and left sides respectively. Two of the three original lines remain on each side, with sixteen to nineteen characters on each line. The string hole, with its center located 2.1 cm in from the right edge, as well as the original right edge of the folio are preserved, the only such case among the remnants of EĀ fragments. The margin on the verso contains a faint character, apparently representing a folio number (see the discussion in I.2).

The combined fragment contains parts of two sūtras corresponding to the *Moranivāpa-sutta* (AN 11.11; V 326–8) and *Mettā-sutta* (AN 11.16; V 342) of the Pali AN. The first surviving line (probably the original second line) of the recto corresponds to the end of the concluding verse of the *Moranivāpa-sutta*, followed by the beginning of a familiar sūtra-concluding formula which is not, however, present in the Pali parallel. The three remaining lines correspond to parts of the beginning and middle of the brief *Mettā-sutta*. Judging from their corresponding positions in the Pali sutta, the surviving two lines on each side are probably the original second and third lines of the recto and first and second lines of the verso.

As observed by Bodhi (2012: 1861–2, n. 2213), the Pali *Moranivāpa-sutta* is a composite of three other AN suttas from the *tika-nipāta*, namely suttas 3.143–3.145 according to his numbering (= 3.140–142 in the PTS edition), plus another set of two items, yielding a total of eleven topics. In this composite text, the Buddha informs his disciples that a monk who is endowed with any of the

three sets of three qualities (*dhamma*-), or with an additional pair of qualities, is considered the best among gods and humans.⁶⁸ These sets are (1) the three aggregates of virtue, concentration and wisdom (*sīla-kkhandha*, *samādhi-kkhandha*, *paññā-kkhandha*) of one who is beyond training (*asekha*), (2) the three wonders of psychic power, mind-reading and instruction (*iddhi-pāṭihāriya*, *ādesanā-pāṭihāriya*, *anusāsani-pāṭihāriya*), and (3) right view, right knowledge and right liberation (*sammā-diṭṭhi*, *sammā-ñāṇa*, *sammā-vimutti*). The additional pair of qualities is true knowledge (*vijjā*) and good conduct (*caraṇa*). The Buddha then quotes a verse which the Brahmā Saṃkumāra had previously uttered, according to which a person who is accomplished in true knowledge and good conduct is the best among gods and humans (*seṭṭho devamānuse*). The Buddha then praises this verse and repeats it at the end of the sutta.

In the Pali *Mettā-sutta*, the unnamed speaker, no doubt the Buddha, expounds the eleven benefits (*ānisaṃsā*) of mental liberation by loving kindness (*mettayā ... cetovimuttiyā*): (1) one sleeps comfortably and (2) wakes comfortably, (3) has no bad dreams, (4) is pleasing to human beings and (5) non-human beings, (6) is protected by deities, (7) is not harmed by fire, poison or weapons, (8) easily achieves mental concentration, (9) has a calm facial expression, (10) dies in an unconfused state, and (11) is reborn in the world of the Brahmās, if he has not yet attained a higher state.⁶⁹ The fifth through seventh benefits are partially (5, 7) or completely (6) preserved in 82+85, r2 in the same order as in Pali, although the internal order of items listed in number 7 is different (see the text note for details).

A list of similar benefits of loving kindness is also recorded in a Sanskrit manuscript fragment from Turfan (SHT I 620R).⁷⁰ The recto of this fragment was compared with the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Waldschmidt *et al.* 1965: 276), while the verso was identified (by D. Schligloff in Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 339) as a Sanskrit parallel to AN 11.16. Thus it is doubtful, though not impossible, that this fragment belonged to an EĀ manuscript (cf. Allon 2001: 10, n. 12). In any case, the Sanskrit text in question differs in several regards from the Pali and the Gāndhārī versions. For example, where the Pali reads *mettāya bhikkhave cetovimuttiyā āsevitāya bhāvitāya* and the Gāndhārī (*me*) *traya bhikṣava cetovimuttiye asevitā[e] ///*, the Sanskrit has ... *bhāvayata maitrāyām=āsevitā*. Also, the Sanskrit has a *nidāna* that is absent in Pali, and the order of the benefits is different. Furthermore, the fifth and sixth benefits in Pali (*manussānaṃ piyo hoti*, *amanussānaṃ piyo hoti*) are apparently combined into one in the Sanskrit (*priyo deva-manu(ṣyāṇāṃ)*). Thus it is doubtful whether this Sanskrit fragment constitutes a true parallel to our text, but it is cited here as at least an indirect textual witness (one of many which are available for this popular text).

There are also two Chinese parallels to the *Mettā-sutta*. The first is in the EĀ, 增壹阿含經 *Zēngyī āhán jīng*, pīn 47, sūtra 10 (T. 125, 806a17–b3). The other is the second half of an independent sūtra, 佛說十一想思念如來經 *Fóshuō shíyī xiǎng sīniàn rúlái jīng* (T. 138, 861a26–b7). The former version has a conclusion in three verses (p. 806a 24–29) which resemble the four

⁶⁸ This passage is cited by Bodhi (2012: 57) as a characterization of the arhat.

⁶⁹ The same eleven advantages of mental liberation by loving kindness are enumerated in the *Parivāra* of the Pali Vinaya-piṭaka (Vin V 140), in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (II 130), and in the *Milindapañha* (p. 198). Eight of the advantages (nos. 1–7 and 11) also appear in another *Mettā-sutta* in the *aṭṭhaka-nipāta* of the AN (8.1; IV 150).

⁷⁰ Edited in Waldschmidt *et al.* 1965: 276; illustration in Waldschmidt *et al.* 1968: pl. 137.

concluding verses of the eight-member *Mettā-sutta* (AN 8.1, IV 150.19–151.10; see note 70). Thus although the direct Pali parallel (AN 11.11) to the Gāndhārī version of the eleven-member *Metra-sutra* has no such concluding verses, the Gāndhārī might have, like its Chinese counterpart, included a similar set of verses, although there is no way to prove or disprove this.

Text and translation

a. **Moranivapa-sutra*

r1. (vija-)carana-saparno so śreṭho d[e]va-manu/ṣyana idam=a[va]///(ci)

[“The person who is] endowed with [true knowledge and] good conduct is the best of deities and humans.” ... said this ...

b. **Metra-sutra*

r2. (me)traya ○ bhikṣava ceto-vimu/tiye ase-vita[e] ///

Monks, when mind liberation with loving kindness has been practiced ...

v1. (ekada)śa pha○la ekadaśa anuśasa / pratikakṣida[v]ya [k]///(adare)

... eleven results, eleven benefits are to be expected. Which [eleven] ?

[in right margin between v1 and v2]
/// [10]

[folio number] ... 10

v2. bhavati devadasya rakṣati śastra/sya na kramati [vi]///(ṣa)

He is [dear to non-humans.] The deities protect him. A weapon does not affect him, poison [does not affect him, fire does not affect him ...]

Parallel texts

a. **Moranivapa-sutra*:

Pali: AN V 327.27–328.4 (11.11)

brahmunā p’esā bhikkhave sanamkumārena gāthā bhāsītā:

khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmim ye gottapaṭisārino

vijjācaraṇasampanno so seṭṭho devamānuse ti.

sā kho pan’ esā bhikkhave brahmunā sanamkumārena gāthā sugītā no duggītā subhāsītā no dubbhāsītā atthasaṃhitā no anatthasaṃhitā anumatā mayā, ahaṃ pi bhikkhave evaṃ vadāmi:

khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmim ye gottapaṭisārino

[82+85, r1] *vijjācaraṇasampanno so seṭṭho devamānuse ti.*

b. **Metra-sutra*

Pali: AN V 342.2–11 (11.16)

[82+85, r2] *mettāya bhikkhave cetovimuttiyā āsevitāya bhāvitāya bahulīkatāya yānīkatāya vatthukatāya anuṭṭhitāya paricitāya susamāradhāya* [82+85, v1] *ekādasānisamsā pāṭikaṅkhā. katame ekādasā?*

sukhaṃ supati, sukhaṃ paṭibujjhati, na pāpakaṃ supinaṃ passati, manussānaṃ piyo hoti, amanussānaṃ piyo [82+85, v2] **hoti, devatā rakkhanti, nāssa aggi vā vīsaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati, tuvaṭaṃ cittaṃ samādhīyati, mukhavaṇṇo vippasīdati, asammūlho kālaṃ karoti, uttariṃ appaṭivijjhanto brahmalokūpago hoti.**

Sanskrit: Waldschmidt *et al.* 1965: 276 (no. 620R); Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 339.

1. /// (eka)[s]m(i)ṃ samaye bhagav[ā]ṃ (ś)[r](āva)styām vihariti [sic] sma ///
2. /// bhāvayata [82+85, r1] **maitrāyām=āse○vitā** ///
3. (sukhaṃ sva)///pati [sic] s(ukha)ṃ pratibuddhya○te su ///
4. ///varṇaḥ priyo devamanu///(ṣyāṇām)

Chinese 1. 增壹阿含經 *Zēngyī āhán jīng* (EĀ) 47.10, T. 125, 806a17–b3.

聞如是。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時世尊告諸比丘。若有眾生 [82+85, r2] **修行慈心解脫**。廣布其義。與人演說。[82+85, v1] **當獲此十一果報**。云何為十一。臥安。覺安。不見惡夢。[82+85, v2] **天護**。人愛。**不毒**。**不兵**。水火盜賊終不侵枉。若身壞命終。生梵天上。是謂比丘能行慈心。獲此十一之福。爾時世尊便說斯偈。

若有行慈心	亦無放逸行	諸結漸漸薄	轉見於道跡
以能行此慈	當生梵天上	速疾得滅度	永至無為處
不殺無害心	亦無勝負意	行慈普一切	終無怨恨心

是故比丘當求方便。行於慈心。廣布其義。如是比丘 當作是學。爾時諸比丘聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。

Chinese 2. 佛說十一想思念如來經 *Fóshuō shíyī xiǎng sīniàn rúlái jīng* (T. 138, 861a26–b5).

聞如是。一時婆伽婆在舍衛城祇樹給孤獨園。是時世尊告諸 [82+85, r2] 比丘。**若慈心解脫**。親近廣布。**修行**以辦。獲使起善具足。[82+85, v1] **便當有十一報**。**十一果**。云何為十一。臥安。覺安。不見惡夢。[82+85, v2] **天護**。人愛。非人所敬。**不毒**。**不兵**。水火不喪。亦不加刑。身壞命終生善處梵天上。於諸善法速得捷疾。智能盡有漏行。比丘。慈心解脫。親近廣布。修行以辦。以獲便起善具足。當有此十一法。

Notes

r1. (vija-)///carana-saparno so śreṭho d[e]vamanu/ṣyana idam a[va]///(ci): We have assumed that this is the second recital of this verse by the Buddha at the very end of the sūtra, rather than the first recital by Brahmā Saṃkumāra in the penultimate paragraph of the Pali parallel. The phrase *idam ava(ci)*, “... said this,” which follows the verse in the Gāndhārī has no parallel in the Pali, which simply ends with the verse, but it is no doubt part of the standard sūtra conclusion formula corresponding to P *idam avoca bhagavā. attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun*.⁷¹ But it is still possible that this phrase referred to the first recitation of the verse by Brahmā Saṃkumāra. For although this first recitation is quoted with the attribution formula *brahmunā*

⁷¹ For examples of this and similar formulae in Gāndhārī, see Allon 2001: 219.

p'esā bhikkhave sanamkumārena gāthā bhāsītā in the Pali *Moranivāpa-sutta*, elsewhere⁷² (SN I 153) it is followed by *idam avoca brahmā sanamkumāro*, so that it is at least possible that it was also cited this way in our Gāndhārī text. In this case the surviving text on line r1 would not be the end of the sūtra, which would have been continued in the rest of the line, with the repetition of the gāthā marked by *piyalo* or the like. But in balance, it is more likely that the surviving text was the end of the sūtra and that the lost portion of r1 contained the remainder of the concluding formula and a brief opening nidāna for the following **Metra-sutra*, such as is present in the Sanskrit and Chinese parallels, though lacking in the Pali.

d[e]va-manu/ṣyana: In the usual form of the syllable *de*, as in *devada-* in line v2 of this fragment, the *e* diacritic is attached to the middle of the *d*, but that is clearly not the case here. There does seem to be a slight trace of a stroke coming up from the top of the *d*, but the surface is torn so that it is difficult to be sure about this. Most likely, though, this was the syllable *de* written with the vowel sign at the top rather than the middle.

For the expression “(best) of gods and men,” the Pali parallel has *setṭho devamānuse*. There *devamānuse* is presumably a collective (*samāhāra*) dvandva compound in the locative singular, whereas Gāndhārī *d[e]va-manu/ṣyana* has a (partitive) genitive plural.

a[va]///(ci): Here, as in fragment 76, r1 (II.7; see the note there), it is not completely clear whether or not the incomplete *v* had an *o* vowel, as it does in *avoci* in AF 1, v3 (II.9). But it probably did not, as part of that vowel sign should have been visible at the left edge of the fragment.

r2. *(me)traya ○ bhikṣava ceto-vimuṭtiye asevitā[e] ///*: Here, as noted in the introductory comments, the Gāndhārī text is closer to the Pali than to the Sanskrit. Note that whereas the Pali refers to *mettāya ... cetovimuttiyā*, corresponding to Gāndhārī *(me)traya ... cetovimuttiye*, the Sanskrit fragment has *... bhāvayata maitryāyām=āsevitā ...*, apparently lacking a reference to *cetovimukti* (although this could have appeared somewhere in the lost portions of the fragment).

v1. *(ekada)śa pha○la ekadaśa anuśasa*: Here Gāndhārī refers to both “eleven results” (*phala*) and “eleven benefits” (*anuśasa*), whereas Pali has the equivalent only of the latter phrase (*ekādasānisamsā*). But the second Chinese translation (p. 861a28–29) seems to correspond to the Gāndhārī: 便當有十一報。十一果, “It would have eleven results, eleven fruits.”

The Gāndhārī word for “benefit,” *anuśasa*, corresponds to BSkt *anuśamsa/ā* / *ānuśamsa/ā* (see BHSD, s.v. *anuśamsa*), rather than to P *ānisamsa*.

[k]///(adare): The last syllable of the line is incomplete, but its remnants, consisting of the bottoms of two slightly slanted vertical strokes, are perfectly compatible with the consonant *k* (as in the preceding *pratikakṣida[v]ya*). This supports the reconstruction *k(adare)*, which was no doubt followed by *ekadaśa*, as shown by the Pali parallel (*katame ekādasā*).

Right margin between v1 and v2: */// [10]*: For discussion of this folio number and its significance, see I.2.

v2. *bhavati devadasya rakṣati śastra/sya na kramati [vi]///(ṣa)*: In this line we evidently have the equivalents of the sixth (*devadasya rakṣati* = *devatā rakkhanti*) and seventh (*śastra/sya*

⁷² This verse is recited in several other suttas: in the middle of the *Ambaṭṭha-sutta* (DN no. 3, I 99) and *Sanamkumāra-sutta* (SN I 153), and at the end of the *Aggañña-sutta* (DN no. 27, III 98) and *Sekha-sutta* (MN no. 53, I 358).

na kramati [vi](śa) /// = *nāssa aggi vā viṣaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati*) benefits in the Pali parallel, so the preceding *bhavati* is likely to be the end of the fifth in the Pali list, namely *amanussānaṃ piyo hoti*. We are therefore on fairly safe ground in proposing the reconstruction (*amanuṣyana priyo*) *hoti* for the end of the preceding line.

devadasya rakṣati: Here *sya* is presumably the genitive singular pronoun *asya* in sandhi combination with the preceding *devada* (*devad'asya*). Although the Pali parallel has only *devatā rakkhanti*, without the pronoun, the latter does occur there in the following phrase, *nāssa aggi vā viṣaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati*, as also in its Gāndhārī parallel (*śastrasya na kramati*). In all of these, however, the objective genitive with the verbs $\sqrt{rakṣ}$ and \sqrt{kram} is unusual, in Pali as well as in Gāndhārī. But this is at least broadly representative of a pattern whereby various verbs tend to take genitive objects in the Buddhist languages; see, e.g., for Sanskrit, BHSD 7.65–79 (“Genitive with miscellaneous verbs”), and for Gāndhārī, Salomon 2008: 281–2.

śastra/sya na kramati [vi]///(śa): The last surviving letter is very poorly preserved, but *vi* is at least a possible reading. If this is correct, the Pali parallel, *nāssa aggi vā viṣaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati*, suggests the reconstruction *[vi](śa)*, as presented here. But in this case, the order of the three subjects within the seventh item in the list would be different in the two versions; this, despite the fact that, as mentioned in the introductory comments, the overall order of the list in Gāndhārī seems to agree with the Pali, at least for the surviving portions. Here in Gāndhārī, the order is evidently weapon – poison – ?, in contrast to Pali’s fire – poison – weapon. But the two Chinese versions have yet again different items and orders: T. 125, poison – weapon – water – fire – thieves (不毒。不兵。水火盜賊); T. 138, poison – weapon – water – fire (不毒。不兵。水火); apparently this list was subject to wide variation in different versions of the sūtra.

It should also be noted that in both Chinese versions these three items (fire, poison, weapons) are each counted as separate “benefits,” and substitute for the equivalents of the eighth through tenth benefits of the Pali text, which are absent in Chinese. It is entirely possible that in this regard (as in regard to the presence of concluding gāthās, as mentioned in the introductory comments) that the Gāndhārī text followed the pattern of the Chinese sūtras rather than the Pali text. In this case the passage in question might have read something like *viṣasya na kramati*, *agisyā na kramati*, *jalasya na kramati*, as the eighth through tenth benefits, instead of *tuvaṭaṃ cittaṃ samādhīyati*, *mukhavaṇṇo vipasīdati*, *asammūlho kālaṃ karoti* of the Pali sutta. The last benefit, rebirth in the Brahmā-world, is common to the Pali and Chinese texts, so it was presumably present in the Gāndhārī too.

II.13: Unidentified sūtra (fragment MS 2179/83)

Schøyen fragment 83 contains the remnants of two lines on both recto and verso, with eight or nine syllables per line. The hand is clearly that of Bamiyan scribe no. 2, who wrote most of the surviving fragments of the EĀ manuscript, and its format and general appearance are consistent with those other fragments. Thus there is no reasonable doubt that this fragment is part of that manuscript, but we have not been able to identify a convincing parallel for it in the relevant Pali or Chinese texts.

The first line of the side which has tentatively been identified (as explained below) as the recto and the second line of the verso both have remnants of two standard approach formulae, corresponding respectively to Pali ... *ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno* ... and ... *yena bhagavā tenupasaṅkami* ... The formula in line v2 includes the name of Ānanda (*[m a]nado yena bhagava*), which occurs many times in the AN and elsewhere in the Tipiṭaka in connection with these approach formulae, including at least ten occurrences in the sections of tens and elevens in the AN (e.g., in the *Kimatthiya-sutta*, AN 10.1, V 1–2), where, according to the pattern of the majority of the fragments, we might hope to find a parallel for this fragment. Although this formula most often appears at the beginning of a sutta, we have assigned this passage to the verso on the grounds that the fragment seems to follow the pattern of certain suttas in which Ānanda was approached and addressed by some person(s) (r2, *anadasya aroceti*) and then went to see the Buddha to report on and ask about that encounter (v2, *[a]nado yena bhagava*). Suttas with this structure in the latter part of the AN, where we might expect to find a parallel for our fragment, include the *Gotamī-sutta* (AN 8.51, IV 274–9), where Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī approaches Ānanda to enlist his help in convincing the Buddha to allow women to join the saṅgha as nuns, and the *Migasālā-sutta* (AN 10.75, V 137–144), in which the lay follower Migasālā approaches Ānanda to ask him how it is possible that a person who is celibate and one who is not celibate (*brahmacārī ca abrahmacārī ca*) could both have the same destination in their future rebirths.

However, neither of these suttas, nor any others in the AN as far as we have been able to determine, include phrases which directly correspond to those in the other two lines of this fragment, namely *anadasya aroceti* (r2) and *.iṣidavya tada kisya he(du)* (v1). The former phrase is rare in the Pali canon generally and apparently occurs only in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* of the MN (... *taṃ sabbaṃ āyasmato ānandassa ārocesi*; MN no. 136, III 208). Line v1 is particularly problematic, as no clear correspondent for the incomplete gerundive *.iṣidavya* has been found, and searches for Pali passages with a juxtaposition of a gerundive and the formulaic trope *taṃ kissa hetu* did not yield any convincing results.

Thus although parallels can be found for most of the separate phrases that survive on this fragment, no parallel text was identified which contained all or even most of them in a similar sequence. Therefore this fragment must have belonged either to a sūtra which has no parallel in the Pali AN, or, perhaps more likely given the pattern of the other fragments of this manuscript, to one which had a partial parallel but whose structure and wording differed to the degree that it cannot be identified on the basis of the meagre remains.

Text and translation

r1. /// ? <i>ekamata niṣarno</i> ///	... seated to one side ...
r2. /// ? <i>anadasya aroceti [e]</i> ///	... reports to Ānanda ...
v1. /// <i>.iṣidavya tada kisya [he]///(du)</i>	... should be ?? What is the reason for that?
v2. /// <i>[m=a]nado yena bhagava</i> ///	... Ānanda [went to] where the Blessed One [was]
	...

Notes

r1. *niṣarno* (r1): For the representation of geminate consonants by preconsonantal *r* (*rn* < *nn*), compare the note on *praticya-samuparno* in 77e+77a, r2 (II.9).

v1. /// *iṣidavya*: Only the upper left corner of the first syllable survives at the right edge of the fragment. The *i* vowel is clear, but the consonantal element is uncertain. Its remnant looks most like *m*, but it could also be *kṣ*, *d*, or possibly even *g*. The following *-davya* is no doubt a gerundive ending, so that we seem to be dealing here with the gerundive of a verb whose root ended in *iṣ* and was preceded by *m*, *kṣ*, *d*, etc., for example, *dviṣ* “hate,” *miṣ* “wink,” or *pi(m)ṣ* “crush,” though none of these lead to a parallel text that would clarify the context. It is also faintly conceivable that this is the gerundive of a desiderative stem in *-iṣ*, but here too no good solutions have presented themselves.

tada kisya [he]///(du): This clearly corresponds to the common Pali locution (*taṃ*) *kissa hetu*, already seen in the **Upali-sutra* (II.10, v2; see the note there), so that the reconstruction is secure. However, it is not clear how we are to understand the preceding *tada*, which was also read, albeit very tentatively, in the **Upali-sutra*. The usual phrasing in Pali would lead us to expect *ta* “that” immediately before *kisya*, but *tada kisya hedu* seems to correspond to a purely hypothetical P *tato kissa hetu*/Skt *tataḥ kasya hetoḥ*. For lack of a better explanation, we propose that this may be an example of a tendency in Gāndhārī to develop aberrant forms for stock expressions, like the several peculiar correspondents to P *etad avoca*/Skt *etad avocat*, as discussed in Allon 2001: 163–5. Alternatively, the syllable *ta* might be read as part of the preceding word, thus *.iṣidavyata*, perhaps as an abstract suffix (P/Skt *-tā*). But in this case, the following *da* would have to be parallel to *taṃ* in P *taṃ kissa hetu*, instead of the expected *ta*, which is hardly likely.

II.14: Unidentified sūtra (fragment MS 2197/102)

Whereas it is fairly certain that the unidentified sūtra fragment 83 discussed in the previous section came from the EĀ manuscript, this is much less clear in the case of fragment 102. The handwriting does seem to be that of Bamiyan scribe no. 2; for example, the shapes of the characters *i*, *u*, *ya*, and *ti* are virtually identical to those of the other fragments by him. But the general format differs in several respects, and the surviving text is too brief to permit any textual identification. One feature that sets it off is that side a,⁷³ at least, is a palimpsest. There are clear remnants of earlier ink underneath the letters in line 1 and in the space between lines 1 and 2. None of the EĀ fragments written by scribe no. 2 are palimpsests, although at least one of the fragments written by scribe no. 1, namely fragment 6, does seem to be a palimpsest (see introductory notes to II.2). Also, the very brief remnants of text on fragment 102 include two punctuation dots, in contrast to the other fragments written by scribe no. 2 in which there are only two small punctuation dots in total, and even these seem to serve a special function as abbreviation markers (see II.9, note on 77e+77a, r3).

⁷³ Since we have no way to know which side was the recto and which the verso, we have arbitrarily labeled the sides as “A” and “B.”

Line A2 in particular has unfamiliar features: the numeral (possibly incomplete) 6, followed by the syllables *idri* written in larger characters than the rest of the text.

None of these features in and of themselves rule out the possibility that this fragment belongs to the EĀ manuscript. The peculiarities of line A2 could represent a juncture between sūtras or sections, none of which have otherwise survived in the fragments written by scribe no. 2. But as matters stand, we cannot determine with any confidence whether this fragment did belong to the EĀ, or was part of a different manuscript written by the same scribe.

Text and translation

A1. /// ? ? ? <i>di</i> ° <i>ya</i> ? ///	... ?? ...
A2. /// 4 1 1 € <i>idri</i> ///	... 6. Sense faculty ...
B1. /// [ṣ.] <i>udago</i> ? ///	... water/arising ...
B2. /// [d.ṣi] <i>do</i> ° <i>yatha</i> ///	... shown. As ...

Notes

A1. /// ? ? ? *di* ° : Only the non-distinctive bottoms of the stems of the first three syllables survive, but they are consistent with a reading *abhinadi*, that is, the last word of the standard sūtra-concluding formula (see II.12, note on r2). If this is correct, it would mean that fragment 102 was probably part of a sūtra anthology, though not necessarily of the EĀ.

A2. /// 4 1 1 : The numerical sign for 4 is clear and almost complete when a small loose chip lying to the right of the main fragment is restored to its proper place. Following it are two vertical lines, presumably representing two figures for the numeral 1, although they could also be interpreted as punctuation marks. Thus we have here the numeral 6 (or perhaps 4), but there may have been additional figures lost to the right, so we do not know what number was actually recorded here. If this fragment is in fact a part of the EĀ manuscript or some other sūtra compilation, this would presumably be the number of a sūtra or a group of sūtras; compare the discussion of the sūtra number in the note on fragment 72, r3 (II.1).

€ *idri* ///: The “Euro-sign” punctuation mark seems to indicate a junction in the text. It and the two following syllables are markedly larger than the other characters, which suggests that they were being set off as the conclusion or commencement of a major section. For example, *idri* /// could be the beginning of an uddāna summarizing the preceding set of sūtras (presumably ten, according to the normal arrangement of such collections). However, there seems to be no comparable uddāna in the relevant sections of the AN, so that these syllables might instead mark off the beginning of a sūtra, although here again no clear parallel presents itself. The closest is AN 6.50 (III 360), which begins with *indriyasamvare* and which contains a few terms in its first two paragraphs which have some resemblance to words on the other side of this fragment: *yathā-bhūtañāṇadassanaṃ* and *vimuttiñāṇadassanaṃ* are partially similar to *d(ar)ṣido* in B2, and *seyatthā pi* resembles *yatha* in the same line, but these similarities are too weak to permit even a provisional identification.

B1. /// [ṣ.] *udago* ? ///: The remnant of the first letter is divided between the main fragment and the small loose chip to the right. When the chip is restored to its original position the letter is

still missing most of its head, but looks most like ṣ. The following word *udago* could correspond either to P/Skt *udaka*- “water” or *udaya*- “arising”; for lack of context, there is no way to be sure which alternative is correct.

B2. /// [*d.śi*]/do: This is presumably to be reconstructed as *d(ar)śido*, “shown.”

Word index

Head words are listed as they appear in the text edition, but in some cases with additional punctuation to indicate word structure. Word boundaries in compounds are indicated by hyphens, or by circumflex accents where the boundaries involve vowel sandhi. Pali and Sanskrit equivalents respectively are presented after the head word; attested equivalents are cited wherever possible, otherwise presumptive equivalents are given. Gender is assigned on the basis of Pali and Sanskrit equivalents, which may or may not reflect the actual gender in Gāndhārī. The same goes for case and number in cases where the remaining text is incomplete but the overall structure appears to follow that of the parallel.

Reference numbers to the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments are given at the end of entries, in the format X, rz or X, vz, where X refers to the fragment number, r or v to the recto or verso respectively of the fragment, and z to the line number. For convenience of reference, a concordance of the fragment numbers with the text units and corresponding sections of this article is given below:

Fragment number	Text unit
2	II.6
6	II.2
40	II.3
72	II.1
76	II.7
77a	II.9
77b	II.11
77d	II.11
77e	II.9
77f	II.8
79	II.7
80	II.4
82	II.12
83	II.13
84	II.11
85	II.12
86	II.8
101	II.8
102	II.14

103	II.5
119	II.8
AF 1	II.9
AF 2	II.9
uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a	II.10

aüsa: *āvuso, āyuṣman*; “friend,” voc. sg. m. 80, r3, v2; 77f, r2; 101, r3.

akicaññāyadana-sahagato: *ākiñcaññāyatanasahagatā, ākiñcanyātanasahagatāḥ*; “associated with the sphere of nothingness,” tp., nom. pl. m. 80, v3.

a(kicha-labhi): see s.v. **labhi**.

akhadida: *akhāditam* or *akhāditāni*, *akhāditam* or *akhāditāni*; “uneaten” (?), $\sqrt{khād}$, pp., acc. sg. or pl. n. 103, r1.

agamanadae: *āgamanatāya, āgamanatāyai*; “for coming,” dat. sg. f. 6, v2.

(a)gaśa: *ākāso, ākāśaḥ*; “space,” nom. sg. m. 80, r2.

agaśācāyadano: *ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ, ākāśānāntyāyatanaṃ*; “sphere of the infinity of space,” tp., acc. sg. n. 80, r2.

añña-tīrthiga: “non-Buddhist,” m.

añña-tīrthiga: *aññatitthiyā, anyatīrthikāḥ*; nom. pl. AF 1, v2.

añ(a-tīrthigana): *aññatitthiyānaṃ, anyatīrthikānām*; gen. pl. 119, v2.

añña-tīrthigehi: *aññatitthiyehi, anyatīrthikaiḥ*; inst. pl. 2, r2.

añño: *aññaṃ, anyat*; “other,” nom. sg. n. AF 1, v2.

ata: *antavā, antavān*; “finite,” nom. sg. m. 77e+77a, r3.

atha: *atha, atha*; “then, now,” ind. AF 1, r1, r2, v3. Cf. **as(a)**.

adho-(mukha): *adhomukhā, adhomukhāḥ*; “downcast,” bv., nom. pl. m. AF 2, v1.

anata: *anantavā, anantavān*; “infinite,” nom. sg. m. 77e+77a, r3.

anada: pn.

anado: *ānando, ānandaḥ*; nom. sg. m. 83, v2.

anadasya: *ānandassa, ānandasya*; dat./gen. sg. m. 83, r2.

anabhinadi(t)v(a): see s.v. **abhi** + \sqrt{nand} .

anaharo: *anāhāraṃ, anāhārām*; “without nutriment,” acc. sg. f. 76+79, v1; acc. pl. m. or n. (*anāhāre, anāhārāṇi*). 76+79, v2.

anica, anico: *aniccaṃ, anityam*; “impermanent,” nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r2 (2x), v2 (2x).

(ani)c(a)-sañña-paric(ito): see s.v. **paricito**.

anu-ā + \sqrt{gam} : “wait” (?).

anmagamehi: *anvāgamehi, anvāgamaya*; 2nd sg. impv., caus. 72, v4.

anuyuto: *anuyutto, anuyuktaḥ*; “devoted to,” *anu* + \sqrt{yuj} , pp., nom. sg. m. 40, r3.

anuśasa: *ānisaṃsā, ānīśaṃsyāḥ*; “benefits,” nom. pl. m. 82+85, v1.

anuspatith(anam): *anussatiṭṭhānaṃ, anusmṛtisthānaṃ*; “basis of recollection,” nom. sg. n. 72, r1.

anmagamehi: see s.v. **anu-ā + \sqrt{gam}** .

aparipagaya: *aparipakkāya, aparipakvāyāḥ*; “immature,” *pari* + \sqrt{pac} , pp., gen. sg. f. 40, v1.

api: see **nāpi**, s.v. **na**.

apicha-kasa: *appicchakathā, alpecchakathā*; “conversation about desiring little,” tp., nom. sg. f. 40, v2.

apra....: reconstruction and meaning undetermined. 84, r1.

abhikramati: see s.v. \sqrt{kram} .

(a)bhinadi: see s.v. **abhi** + \sqrt{nand} .

abhi + \sqrt{nand} : “rejoice at, applaud.”

anabhinadi(t)v(a): *anabhinanditvā, unabhinandya*; abs., neg. 2, v2.

abhinadi: *abhinandi, abhyanandat*; 3rd sg. pret., 72, r3; used as 1st pl. (?; see text note), 2, v2.

aya-/ida-/ima-: “this,” dem. pron.

aya: *ayaṃ, ayam*; nom. sg. m. 80, r1 (2x); 77e+77a, r3.

ayaṃ: *ayaṃ, ayam*; nom. sg. m. 72, r1.

asya: *assa, asya*; gen. sg. m. 82+85, v2 (2x).

idam: *idaṃ, idam*; nom. sg. n. AF 1, v2; 77e+77a, v1; acc. sg. n. 72, r3; 76, r1; 82+85, r1.

ima: *imaṃ, imam*; acc. sg. m. 77d+77b, r2, v3.

imani: *imāni, imāni*; acc. pl. n. 103, r2.

imena: *iminā, anena*; inst. sg. m. 80, r3, v2.

(a)sya: *assa, asya*; gen. sg. m. AF 1, r1, r2.

ayasmad-: *āyasmant, āyusmant*; “venerable.”

(ayusma)da: *āyasmatā, āyusmatā*; inst. sg. m. 72, v1 (2x).

(ay)[usma]do (reading uncertain): *āyasmato, āyusmataḥ*; gen. sg. m. 6, r2.

aroceti: *āroceti, ārocayati*; “report(ed),” *ā* + *√ruc*, 3rd sg. pres., caus. 83, r2.

aropayitva: *āropetvā, āropyā*; “having lifted,” *ā* + *√ruh*, abs., caus. 2, r1.

arya-katehi: *ariyakantehi, āryakāntaiḥ*; “dear to the noble,” tp., inst./loc. pl. m. 40, r3.

avaci: see s.v. *√vac*.

avaso: *ābādho, ābādhaḥ*; “affliction,” nom. sg. m. 80, r1.

a(vija): *avijjā, avidyā*; “ignorance,” nom. sg. f. 76+79, v1.

avo: *āpaṃ, āpaḥ*; “water,” acc. sg. n. (?). 77d+77b, r1.

avoci: see s.v. *√vac*.

aśaśvato: *asassato, aśāśvataḥ*; “not eternal,” nom. sg. m. 77e+77a, r3.

(aśu)bh(a)-sañā-paric(ito): see s.v. *paricito*.

√as: “be.”

aspi: *asmi, asmi*; 1st sg. pres. AF 1, v2.

samana: *samāno, samānaḥ*; pres. part., nom. sg. m. 84, v2.

spi: *asmi, asmi*; 1st sg. pres. 72, v3.

as(a): *atha, atha*; “then,” ind. 2, v3. Cf. *atha*.

asanato: *āsanā, āsanāt*; “from the seat,” abl. sg. n. AF 2, v2.

ase: *aṃse, aṃse*; “to the shoulder” (?), loc. sg. m. 2, r1.

(ase)v(a)ti, asevitae: see s.v. *ā* + *√sev*.

aspi: see s.v. *√as*.

(a)sya: see s.v. *aya-/ida-/ima-*.

aha₁: *āha, āha*; “said,” *√ah*, 3rd sg. pret. 77e+77a, r3.

aha₂, (a)ham, ahaṃ, aho: *ahaṃ, aham*; “I,” pron., nom. sg. 76+79, v2 (in sandhi combination *evadriṭhigo-ham*); AF 1, r1 (in sandhi combination *nāha*), v2; AF 1, r2 (in sandhi combination *evadriṭhigo-ham*)
uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v1.

aharo: *āhāro, āhāraḥ*; “nutriment,” nom. sg. m. 76+79, v1; 76, v3.

aho: see s.v. *aha*.

ā + *√sev*: “practice, pursue, frequent.”

(ase)v(a)ti: *āsevati, āsevati*; pres. 3rd sg. 103, v3.

asevitae: *āsevitāya, āsevitāyāḥ*; pp., gen. sg. f. 82+85, r2.

idam: see s.v. *aya-/ida-/ima-*.

i(do): *ito, itaḥ*; “than this, before this,” ind. 76+79, r2.

idri...: *indriya-, indriya-*; “sensory organ” (?). Form and context uncertain. 102, A2.

ima, imani, imena: see s.v. *aya-/ida-/ima-*.

iśa: *idha, iha*; “here; among [them]; [concerning] this,” ind. 40, r2; 72, r2; 84, v3 (in sandhi combination *iś’egacu*).

.iṣḍavya: reconstruction and meaning undetermined; gdv.? 83, v1.

u: *kho, khalu*; ind. (untranslated). 84, r1. Cf. *kho, ho*.

ucati: see s.v. \sqrt{vac} .

uṭṭhayaṃ: *uṭṭhāya, utthāya*; “got up,” *ut* + $\sqrt{sthā}$, abs. AF 2, v2.

... **udago** (*udaya-*, *udaya-* or *udaka-*, *udaka-*); “arising” or “water” (?). Form and context undetermined. 102, B1.

u(deśehi): *uddesehi, uddesaiḥ*; “indications,” inst. pl. m. 103, v2.

upali: *upāli, upāle*; pn., voc. sg. m. $uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a$, r2, r3, v1, v2.

(upi)lava: *uppilāvo, utplavaḥ*; “floating away,” nom. sg. m. (?). $uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a$, v2.

ekadaśa: *ekādasa, ekādaśa*; “eleven,” nom. pl. f. 82+85, v1 (2x).

ekamata: *ekamantaṃ, ekamante*; “to one side,” adv. 83, r1.

egacu: *ekacco, ekatyah*; “some,” indef. pron., nom. sg. m. 84, v3 (in sandhi combination *iś’egacu*).

eta-, eda-: dem. pron., “this.”

etehi: *etehi, etaiḥ*; inst. pl. m. AF 1, v3.

eto: *etaṃ, etad* (?); nom. sg. n. AF 1, v3 (in sandhi combination *kh’eto*).

edad: *etad, etad*; acc. sg. n. AF 1, v3.

eva₁, evo: *eva, eva*; “only, just,” ind. AF 1, r1 (in *nahēva*); AF 1, v2; 77e+77a, v1; 84, v3.

eva₂, evam, evaṃ: *evam, evam*; “thus, in this way, yes,” ind. 119, r2, v1, v2; 77e+77a, r3; $uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a$, v1; 84, v3.

eva-driṭhigo: *evamdiṭṭhiko, evamdrṣṭikaḥ*; “of such a view,” bv., nom. sg. m. AF 1, v2.

.o rohi: Reconstruction and meaning undetermined; impv.? 103, r1.

kathae: *kathāya, kathāyāḥ*; “talk, conversation,” gen. sg. f. 40, v3. See also *apicha-kasa, dharma-vin(aya-katha), prativī(vega-katha), (vimuti-ñā)na-darśana-katha, satuṭṭha-kaso*.

kada: *kathaṃ, katham*; “how, in what way,” ind. 77d+77b, v2.

kadare: *katara* or *katame, katara* or *katame*; “which,” interrog. pron., nom. pl. m. 40, r2; 82+85, v1.

karira-maṇḍala(maḍe): *kareri-maṇḍalamāle, karīra-maṇḍalamāḍe*; “the Karira pavilion hall,” tp., loc. sg. m. 72, v2.

kalyana-mi(tro): *kalyāṇamitto, kalyāṇamitraḥ*; “[having] a good companion,” bv., nom. sg. m. 40, r2.

ki-: *kiṃ, kim*; “what,” interrogative/indefinite pron.

ki-utara: *kiṃuttarā, kiṃuttarāḥ*; “having what as their superior?,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r2.

kici: *kiñci, kiṃcid*; “anything, whatever” (with *ya...*), nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r2, v2; AF 2, r2.

ki-driṭhiga, ki-driṭhigo, ki-driṭhiyo, ki-driṣṭhiyo: *kiṃdiṭṭhiko, kiṃdrṣṭikaḥ*; “holding what views?,” bv., nom. sg. m. AF1, r1 (3x), r2 (4x), v3.

ki-paryavasana: *kiṃpariyosānā, kiṃparyavasānāḥ*; “having what as their conclusion?,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r2, v2.

ki-pramukha: *kiṃpamukhā, kiṃpramukhāḥ*; “having what as their head?,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r2.

(ki)m-asivatea: *kiṃ-adhipateyyā/kiṃ-adhipatteyyā, kiṃadhipateyyāḥ/kiṃadhipatyāḥ*; “having what as their authority?,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r2.

ki-sara: *kiṃsārā, kiṃsārāḥ*; “having what as their essence?,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r2.

kisya: *kissa, kasya*; “for what [reason],” gen. sg. m. $uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a$, v2; 83, v1.

\sqrt{kr} : “do.”

bahuli-k(aroti): *bahulīkaroti, bahulīkaroti*; “develops,” 3rd sg. pres. 103, v3.

(mana)s(i-ka)r(o)s(a): *manasikarotha, manasikuruta*; “take to heart, pay attention,” 2nd pl. impv. 119, v1.

vi + ā + \sqrt{kr} : “clarify, explain.”

(vyagari)śyati: byākarissati, vyākariṣyati; 3rd sg. fut. 2, v2.

vyagaroḥi: vyākarohi, vyākuru; 2nd sg. impv. AF 1, v3.

vyagrida: vyākṛtaṃ or vyākṛtāni; pp., nom. sg. (?) n. AF 1, v3.

saṃ + √kr̥: “put together.”

sakṛto: saṃkṛtaṃ, saṃskṛtaṃ; “conditioned, compounded,” pp., nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r2; AF 2, r2.

ko: ko, kaḥ; “what?,” interrog. pron., nom. sg. m. 76+79, v1; 76, v3.

√kram: “step, walk, move; go towards, affect.”

kramati: kamati, krāmati; 3rd sg. pres. 82+85, v2.

abhi + √kram: “go forth.”

abhikramati: abhikkamati, abhikramati; 3rd sg. pres. 72, r2.

pra + √kram: “proceed.”

prakami: pakkāmi, prākrāmī; 3rd sg. pret. AF 2, v2.

kho: kho, khalu; ind. (untranslated). 77e+77a, v2; AF 1, v3 (in sandhi combination *kh’eto* [?]). Cf. *u*, *ho*.

gaha-pati: see s.v. *griha-pati*, *gaha-pati*, *graha-pati*.

godamo: gotamo, gautamaḥ, pn., nom. sg. m. AF 1, r1.

griha-pati, *gaha-pati*, *graha-pati*: gahapati, gr̥hapate; “householder,” tp., voc. sg. m. AF 1, r1, r2, v3 (2x).

ca: ca, ca; “and,” ind. AF 1, v2; 77e+77a, v1 (2x); AF 2, r3. Cf. *ya*.

(cet)o-viparana-sapreyo: cetovivaraṇasappāyā, cetovivaraṇasāṃpreyā; “conducive to purification of the mind,” tp., nom. sg. f. 40, v2.

ceto-vimutī, ceto-vimutīye: cetovimuttiyā, cetovimukteḥ; “mind liberation,” tp., gen. sg. f. 40, v1; 82+85, r2.

cēva: ceva, caiva; “and,” ind. 72, r2.

(cha)da-mulaga: chandamūlakā, chandamūlakāḥ; “having pleasure as their root,” bv., nom. pl. m. 77f, r2.

janami, janasi: see s.v. √jñā.

jayati: jhāyati, dhyāyati; “meditates, contemplates,” √dhyā, pres. 3rd sg. 77d+77b, r1 (2x), r2, v2, v3.

jayi: jhāyīm, dhyāyīnam; “meditating,” acc. sg. m. 77d+77b, v2.

jivo: jīvaṃ, jīvaḥ; “soul,” nom. sg. m. or n. 77e+77a, r3.

√jñā: “know.”

janami: jānāmi, jānāmi; 1st sg. pres. AF 1, r1.

janasi: jānāsi, jānāsi; 2nd sg. pres. AF 1, r1, r2 (2x).

pra + √jñā: “know, observe.”

(prañaya)tī: paññāyati, prajñāyati; 3rd sg. pres. 76+79, r3.

sam + √jñā: “know (as).”

saññanati: sañjānanti, saṃjānanti; 3rd pl. (?) pres. 6, v1.

ta-: “he, she, it, this, that,” dem. pron.

ta, tam: taṃ, tat; nom. sg. n. 80, r3, v2; 77e+77a, r2 (2x), r3 (2x), v2; AF 2, r2 (2x); 77d+77b, v3.

(ta-saṇa-parici)to: see s.v. *paricito*.

tasmad: tasmā, tasmāt; “therefore,” adv. 101, r3.

tasya: tassa, tasya; gen. sg. n. AF 2, r3.

t(e): te, te; nom. pl. m. 119, v1.

tada: tato, tataḥ; “from that” (?), ind. u1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v2; 83, v1.

tadāgato: tathāgato, tathāgataḥ; “tathāgata; arhat; being,” nom. sg. m. AF 1, v2 (2x); 77e+77a, v1.

tatha-rupae: tathārūpāya, tathārūpāyāḥ; “of such a kind, such,” bv., gen. sg. f. 40, v3.

tasmad: see s.v. *ta-*.

*tasya*₁: see s.v. *ta-*.

*tasya*₂: *tathā, tathā*; “so, thus,” ind. 2, v3 (conflated with *tasya*₁ and hyper-Sanskritized; see the text note).

*tī*₁: *ti, iti*, “thus, so, that”; quotative particle, ind. 6, v1; 72, v3; 80, r2.

*tī*₂: see s.v. *tva-*.

*tin(a)*₁: *tiṇṇaṃ, trayāṇāṃ*; “of the three,” gen. pl. n. 76, v3.

*tī(na)*₂: *tiṇaṃ* or *tiṇāni*, *trṇaṃ* or *trṇāni*; “grass(es) (?)”, acc. sg. or pl. n. 103, r1. Cf. *tvina*.

tīṣo, tīṣyo: *tisso, tiṣyo*; pn., nom. sg. m. 6, r3, v1; acc. sg. (?), v3.

tu: *tu, tu*; “but,” ind. 103, r2.

(tu)ṣṇi-bhuda: see s.v. *√bhū*.

tusme: see s.v. *tva-*.

*te*₁: see s.v. *ta-*.

*te*₂: see s.v. *tva-*.

teyo: *tejaṃ, tejaḥ*; “fire,” acc. sg. n. 77d+77b, r1.

tva-: “you,” 2nd pers. pron.

*tī*₂: *te/tava, te/tava*; gen. sg. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v1.

tusme: *tumhe, yūyam*; nom. pl. 119, v2.

*te*₂: *te/tava, te/tava*; gen. sg. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3.

tva: *tvaṃ, tvam*, nom. sg. AF 1, r1, r2, v3.

tvina: *tiṇāni, trṇāni*; “grasses,” acc. pl. n. 103, r2. Cf. *tī(na)*₂.

therana: *therānaṃ, sthvirāṇāṃ*; “of the elder monks,” gen. pl. m. 72, v3, v4.

darśanaya: *dassanāya, darśanāya*; “in order to see, for seeing,” dat. sg. n. AF 2, r3.

d(a)śido: see s.v. *√dṛś*.

... *di*: Reconstruction and meaning undetermined. 102, A1.

dukkha, dukho: *dukkhaṃ, duḥkham*; “suffering,” nom. sg. n. 80, r1, v2; 77e+77a, r2 (2x).

d(u)c(a)rid(ana): *duccaritānaṃ, duścaritānāṃ*; “bad actions,” gen. pl. n. 76, v3.

(d)ur(a)vis(a)bhav(a)n(a): *durabhisambhavāni, durabhisambhavāni*; “hard to endure,” nom. pl. n. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r2.

√dṛś: “see.”

d(a)śido: *dassita-, darśita-*; “shown (?)”, pp., caus. Form and context undetermined. 102, B2.

driṭha: *diṭṭhaṃ, dṛṣṭam*; “seen,” pp., nom. sg. n. 77d+77b, v3.

dreṣṭhavya: *datthabbaṃ, draṣṭavyam*; “should be seen,” gdv., nom. sg. n. AF 2, r3.

devada: *devatā, devatāḥ*; “deities,” nom. pl. f. 82+85, v2 (in sandhi combination *devad’asya*).

deva-manuṣyana: *devamanussānaṃ, devamanuṣyānāṃ*; “of deities and humans,” dv., gen. pl. m. 82+85, r1.

(d)oniya: *doṇiyā, droṇyāṃ*; “at a feeding trough,” loc. sg. f. 84, v2.

driṭha: see s.v. *√dṛś*.

driṭhiga: *diṭṭhigataṃ* or *diṭṭhigatāni*, *dṛṣṭigataṃ* or *dṛṣṭigatāni*; “view(s),” nom. sg. or pl. n. AF 1, v3.

dreṣṭhavya: see s.v. *√dṛś*.

dvetiyaga: *dutiyakaṃ, dvitīyakam*; “for a second time,” adv. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3.

dharma, (dha)me: *dhammā, dharmāḥ*; “dharma(s),” nom. pl. m. 40, r2; 119, r2, v2 (2x); 86, r3.

dharma-vin(aya-katha): *dhamma-vinaya-kathaṃ, dharma-vinaya-kathāṃ*; “(discussion of) the teaching and the discipline,” acc. sg. f. 72, v3, v4.

dhariṣyāma: *dhāressāma, dhāriṣyāmaḥ*; “we will retain,” *√dhr*, 1st pl. fut. 2, v3.

na: *na, na*; “not,” ind. 2, v2; 103, v3 (2x); 76+79, r2, v2; AF 1, r1 (in sandhi combination *n’aha*), v2; 77e+77a, v1 (2x); 77d+77b, r1 (3x), r2 (2x), v2, v3; 82+85, v2.

- na nu₃:** *na na, na na*; “not not” (double negation). AF 1, v2; 77e+77a, v1.
- nāpi:** *na pi, nāpi*; “nor.” AF 1, r2.
- na-hi:** *na hi, na hi*; “not even.” AF 1, r2.
- na-hēva:** *na hi eva, na hy eva*; “not even.” AF 1, r1.
- nanu:** *nanu, nanu*; “isn’t it the case that?; “wasn’t it?,” ind. 80, r1.
- nama:** *nāma, nāma*; “named,” ind. 6, r3.
- (na)-sañña-na-asaññāyadano:** *nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam, naivasamjñānāsaññāyatanam*; “sphere of neither-perception-nor-nonperception,” tp., acc. sg. n. 77d+77b, r2, v3.
- nibaddho:** *nibaddho, nibaddhaḥ*; “tied,” *ni* + √*bandh*, pp., nom. sg. m. 84, v2.
- nimitehi:** *nimitehi, nimittaiḥ*; “by objects,” inst. pl. n. 103, v2.
- niyama-labhi:** see s.v. *labhi*.
- (nirvana-paryava)sana:** *nibbānapariyosānā, nirvāṇaparyavasānāḥ*; “having nirvana as their conclusion,” bv., nom. pl. m. 86, r3.
- nirvano:** *nibbānam, nirvāṇam*; “nirvana,” nom. sg. n. 80, v1.
- nivarana:** *nīvaraṇe, nīvaraṇāni*; “hindrances,” acc. pl. m. or n. 76+79, v2.
- niśrayo:** *nissāya, niśritya*; “depending on,” *ni* + √*śri*, abs. 77d+77b, r1 (3x), r2, v2, v3.
- niṣarno:** *nisinno, niṣaṇṇaḥ*; “seated,” *ni* + √*sad*, pp., nom. sg. m. 83, r1.
- nu₁:** *nu, nu*; “now,” ind. 80, r1.
- nu₂:** *naṃ, enad*; “this, it,” dem. pron., acc. sg. n. 2, v3.
- nu₃:** see *na nu*, s.v. *na*.
- paca:** *pañca, pañca*; “five,” 40, r2; 76+79, v2.
- (paṇa-bha)ta:** *pacchābhattam, paścādbhaktam*; “after taking the meal,” adv. 72, r2.
- paññātara:** *paññuttarā, prajñottarāḥ*; “having wisdom as their superior,” bv., nom. pl. m. 77f, r3.
- √pad:** “step, move, go.”
- upa + sam + √pad:** “enter, attain to.”
- vas(apaja):** *upasampajja, upasampadya*; abs. 80, r2.
- sam + √pad:** “be endowed with.”
- saparno:** *sampanno, sampannaḥ*; pp., in **(vija)-carana-saparno**, q.v.
- sam + ut + √pad:** “arise.”
- samuparno:** *samuppannam, samutpannam*; pp., in **praticya-samuparno, pratica-samuparno**, q.v.
- pada:** *pāde, pādau*; “feet,” acc. pl. m. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r1.
- panēti:** *pana ti, punar iti* (?); “but thus” (?), ind. 84, r1.
- para-ghoṣa-pracyago:** *paraghosapaccayā, paraghosapratyayā*; “based on the voice of others,” bv., nom. sg. f. 77e+77a, v2.
- para-marana, para-marano, para-mārano, (para)-mararno:** *parammaraṇā, paraṃ maraṇāt*; “after death,” *paraṃ* + abl. sg. n. AF 1, v2 (2x); 77e+77a, v1 (2x).
- para-logo:** *paralokam, paralokam*; “the next world,” acc. sg. m. 77d+77b, r2, v3.
- paricito:** *paricitaṃ, paricitam*; “accumulated, strengthened,” *pari* + √*ci*, pp., nom. sg. n. 101, v2.
- (ani)c(a)-sañña-paric(ito):** *aniccasaññāparicitaṃ, anityasamjñāparicitaṃ*; “strengthened by the perception of impermanence,” tp., nom. sg. n. 77f, v1.
- (aśu)bh(a)-sañña-paric(ito) :** *aśubhasaññāparicitaṃ, aśubhasamjñāparicitaṃ*; “strengthened by the perception of repulsiveness,” tp., nom. sg. n. 86, v1.
- (ta-sañña-parici)to:** *taṃsaññāparicitaṃ, tatsamjñāparicitaṃ*; “strengthened by the perception of that,” tp., nom. sg. n. 77f, v2.
- p(ahana-sañña-paricito):** *pahānasaññāparicitaṃ, prahānasamjñāparicitaṃ*; “strengthened by the perception of abandonment,” tp., nom. sg. n. 101, v1.
- (sañña-pari)cito:** *-saññāparicitaṃ, -samjñāparicitaṃ*; “strengthened by the perception of ...,” tp., nom. sg. n. 101, v1.

paripagaye: *paripākāya*, *paripākāya*; “to the maturation,” dat. sg. m. 40, r2.

parivrajaga-: “mendicant,” m.

pari(vra)j(a)go: *paribbājako*, *parivrajakaḥ*; nom. sg. 77e+77a, r3.

parivrajagehi: *paribbājakehi*, *parivrajakaiḥ*; inst. pl. 2, r2; AF 1, v3.

paryagena: *pariyāyena*, *paryāyena*; “in [this] way,” inst. sg. m. 80, r3.

p(ahana-saṇa-paricito): see s.v. *paricito*.

pi: *pi*, *api*; “even, also, and, again,” ind. 77e+77a, r3; uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3; 77d+77b, v3.

piyala, *piyalo*: *peyyāla*, *peyālāṃ*; “and so on” (abbreviation marker), adv. 40, r1; 80, v1; 119, v2.

puru(ṣa-): *purisa-*, *puruṣa-*; “man, person” (probably prior member of compound). 84, v3.

puruṣāyaniyo: *purisājānīyaṃ*, *puruṣājāneyam*; “human thoroughbred,” kdh., acc. sg. m. 77d+77b, v2.

peṇḍacara-pratikramta: *piṇḍapāta-paṭikkantā*, *piṇḍapātra-pratīkrāntāḥ*; “returned from the alms round,” tp. nom. pl. m. 72, v2.

prakamī: see s.v. *√kram*.

pracaśroṣi: *paccassosum*, *pratyaśrauṣuḥ*; “replied,” *prati* + *√śru*, 3rd pl. pret. 76+79, r2.

(prañaya)ti: see s.v. *√jñā*.

praṇa-vimu(tie): *paññāvimuttiyā*, *prajñāvimukteḥ*; “of wisdom liberation,” tp., gen. sg. f. 40, v1.

pratikakṣidavya: *pāṭikāṅkhā*, *pratikāṅkṣitavyāḥ*; “to be expected,” *prati* + *√kāṅkṣ*, gdv., nom. pl. m. 82+85, v1.

pratikroṣi: *paṭikkosi*, *pratyakrukṣan*; “rejected,” *prati* + *√kruś*, ; 3rd sg. pret. used as 1st pl. (?; see text note). 2, v2.

praticya-samuparno, *pratica-samuparno*: *paṭiccasamuppannam*, *pratītyasamutpannam*; “dependently originated,” tp., nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r2, v2; AF 2, r2.

prativi(vega-kasa): *pavivekakathā*, *pravivekakathā*; “conversation about solitude,” tp., nom. sg. f. 40, v2.

(prati)v(e)dhae: *paṭivedhāya*, *prativedhāya*; “to penetration,” dat. sg. m. 72, r1.

(prati)s(evitu): *paṭisevitum*, *pratisevitum*; “to frequent,” *prati* + *√sev*, infin. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r2.

prasā-kadha: *pattakkhandhā*, *sraṭaskandhāḥ*; “with drooping shoulders,” bv., nom. pl. m. AF 2, v1.

pridhivi: *paṭhaviṃ*, *pṛthivīm*; “earth,” acc. sg. f. 77d+77b, r1.

proṭhaya: *puṭṭhā*, *pṛṣṭāḥ*; “asked,” *√prach*, pp., nom. pl. m. 119, v2.

(pha)rś(a)-samu(daya): *phassasamudayā*, *sparśasamudayāḥ*; “having contact as their origination,” bv., nom. pl. m. 101, r2.

phala: *phalāni*, *phalāni*; “fruits, results,” nom. pl. n. 82+85, v1.

phaṣo: *phāsu*, *phāsu*; “comfortable,” nom. sg. n. (or adv.). uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3, v1.

bahuli(karoti): see s.v. *√kr*.

brahma: *brahmānam*, *brahmāṇam*; “a brahma(-god),” acc. (?) sg. m. 6, v3.

bhagava-: “the Blessed One,” m.

bhagava: *bhagavā*, *bhagavān*; nom. sg. 2, r1; 76+79, r2; AF 1, r1; 83, v2.

bhagavato: *bhagavatā*, *bhagavatā*; inst. (or agentive gen.?) sg. 80, v2.

bhagavada, *bhagavato*: *bhagavato*, *bhagavataḥ*; gen. sg. 6, r1; 76+79, r2; uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r1.

(bha)g(a)v(a)t(a)-netiya: *bhagavaṃnettikā*, *bhagavannetrkāḥ*; “having the Blessed One as guide,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r3.

bhagavata-pratisaran(a): *bhagavaṃpaṭisaraṇā*, *bhagavatpratisaraṇāḥ*; “having the Blessed One as recourse,” bv., nom. pl. m. 119, r3.

bhata, *bhate*: *bhante*, *bhadante*; “sir,” ind. (voc.). 119, r3, v1; 77d+77b, v2; AF 1, r1.

bhadre: *bhadraṃ*, *bhadraṃ*; “excellent,” acc. sg. m. 77d+77b, v2.

bhavati: see s.v. $\sqrt{bhū}$.

bhava-triṣṇa: “craving for becoming,” tp., f.

bhava-triṣṇa, bhava-triṣa: *bhavataṇhā, bhavatrṣṇā*; nom. sg. 76+79, r3 (2x).

bhava-triṣṇaya: *bhavataṇhāya, bhavatrṣṇāyāḥ*; gen. sg. 76+79, v1.

bhavanānuyogam: *bhāvanānuyogaṃ, bhāvanānuyogam*; “devotion to development,” tp., acc. sg. m. 40, r3.

bhaviṣyati, bhaveti: see s.v. $\sqrt{bhū}$.

bh(a)ṣiṣy(a)m(a): *bhāṣissāmī, bhāṣiṣye*; “I will speak, explain,” $\sqrt{bhāṣ}$, 1st sg. fut. 119, v1.

bhikṣu: “monk,” m.

bhikṣava: *bhikkhave, bhikṣavaḥ*; voc. pl. 76+79, r3; 82+85, r2.

bhikṣu: *bhikkhu, bhikṣuḥ*; nom. sg. 40, r2; 72, r2.

bh(i)kṣu: *bhikkhū, bhikṣavaḥ*; nom. pl. 76+79, r2; 119, v1.

bhikṣuna: *bhikkhūnaṃ, bhikṣūṇāṃ*; gen. pl. 72, v3, v4.

bhikṣu-saḥo: *bhikkhusaṅgho, bhikṣusaṃghaḥ*; “assembly of monks,” tp., nom. sg. m. AF 1, r1, r2 (2x).

$\sqrt{bhū}$: “be, become, exist.”

(tu)ṣṇi-bhuda: *tūṣṇībhūtā, tūṣṇīmbhūtāḥ*; “fallen silent,” pp., nom. pl. m. AF 2, v1.

bhavati: *hoti, bhavati*; 3rd sg. pres. 40, v3; 82+85, v2.

bhaviṣyati: *bhavissati, bhaviṣyati*; 3rd sg. fut. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3, v1.

bhaveti: *bhāveti, bhāvayati*; “cultivates, develops,” 3rd sg. pres., caus. 103, v3.

bhuti, bhoti: *hoti, bhavati*; 3rd sg. pres. AF 1, v2 (4x); 77e+77a, v1 (3x).

bhuto: *bhūtaṃ, bhūtam*; “come into being,” pp., nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r2; AF 2, r2.

maka-bhuda: *maṅkubhūtā, maṅku-/maṅgu-/madgubhūtāḥ*; “ashamed,” pp., nom. pl. m. AF 2, v1.

ma: *mā, mā*; “do not” (?), ind. 84, v3.

maka-bhuda: see s.v. $\sqrt{bhū}$.

mañeya: *maññeyya, manyeta*; “one might think,” \sqrt{man} , 3rd sg. opt. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v1.

(mana)s(i-ka)r(o)s(a): see s.v. \sqrt{kr} .

mahakaṣyavena: *mahākassapena, mahākāśyapena*; pn., inst. sg. m. 72, v1.

mahamogalyana: pn.

mahamogalyanena: *mahāmoggallānena, mahāmaudgalyāyanena*; inst. sg. m. 72, v1.

mahamogalya(nasya): *mahāmoggallānassa, mahāmaudgalyāyanasya*; gen. sg. m. 6, r2.

mekhiya: *meghiya, meghiya*; pn., voc. sg. m. 40, r2, v1.

(me)traya: *mettāya, maitryām*; “with loving kindness,” adj., inst. sg. f. 82+85, r2.

mokham: *mogaṃ, mogham*; “empty, vain, wrong,” nom. sg. n. AF 1, v2.

mrida: *mato, mṛtaḥ*; “dead” (?; word division and meaning uncertain), nom. sg. m. (?). 84, r1.

ya-: “who, what, which,” rel. pron.

ya: *yo, yaḥ*; nom. sg. m. 80, r1.

ya: *yam, yat*; nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r2 (2x), v2 (2x); 77d+77b, v3; AF 2, r2.

y(a)ni: *yāni, yāni*; acc. pl. n. 103, r2.

ya-pracaga: *yat-paccayā, yat-pratyayā*; lit., “having which as condition”, i.e., “dependent on something,” bv., nom. sg. f. 76+79, r3.

yena: *yena, yena*; “where,” inst. (adv.) sg. n. 2, r1; AF 2, v2; 83, v2.

yehi: *yehi, yaiḥ*; inst. pl. m., n. 103, v2 (2x).

yo: *yo, yaḥ*; nom. sg. m. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v1; 77d+77b, r1.

ya: *ca, ca*; “and,” ind. 80, r1; 76+79, v1; 76, v3; uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v2. Cf. **ca**.

yatha: *yathā, yathā*, “as, like,” adv. 102, B2.

yatha-spaga: *yathāsakaṃ* or *yathāsakāni, yathāsvakam* or *yathāsvakāni*; “according to (his/their) own,” kdh. (?), nom. sg. or pl. n. AF 1, v3.

yava: *yāva, yāvat*; “up to, as far as” (abbreviation marker), adv. 40, r1; 72, r3; 80, v1; 119, v2.

y(a)v(asa): *yavasam, yavasam*; “fodder,” nom. sg. n. 84, v2.

rakṣati: *rakkhanti, rakṣanti*; “they protect,” √*rakṣ*, 3rd pl. pres. 82+85, v2.

raña-vanaprast(ana): *araññavanapatthāni, aranyavanaprasthāni*; “wilderness and forest tracts,” dv., nom. pl. n. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r2.

rayaniyo: *rajanīyo, rañjanīyaḥ*; “pleasant, attractive,” √*rañj*, gdv., nom. sg. m. (?). uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v3.

rupo: *rūpaṃ, rūpam*; “form,” nom. (?) sg. n. 103, r1.

labhi: *lābhī, lābhī*; “obtainer; one who obtains, one who gets,” nom. sg. m. 40, v3.

a(kicha-labhi): *akicchālābhī, akṛcchralābhī*; “one who gets easily,” nom. sg. m. 40, v3.

niyama-labhi: *nikāmalābhī, nikāmalābhī*; “one who gets at will,” nom. sg. m. 40, v3.

loga-: “world,” m.

logo: *loko, lokah*; nom. sg. 77e+77a, r3 (2x);

logo: *lokaṃ, lokam*; acc. sg. 77d+77b, r2, v3.

logasya: *lokassa, lokasya*; gen. sg. 77f, v2.

See also **para-logo**.

va: *vā, vā*; “or,” ind. 76, r1 (2x).

√**vac:** “say, speak, call.”

avaci: *avoca, avocat*; 3rd sg. pret. 72, r3; 82+85, r1.

avoci: *avocum, avocan*; 3rd pl. pret. AF 1, v3.

(a)v.c(i): *avoca, avocat*; 3rd sg. pret. 76, r1.

ucati: *vuccati, ucyate*; 3rd sg. pres. pass. 72, r1.

vadi(tva): *vanditvā, vanditvā*; “having bowed,” √*vand*, abs. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r1.

vademi: *vadāmi, vadāmi*; “I say,” √*vad*, 1st sg. pres. 76+79, v2.

vana: *pana, punar*; “further, moreover; and, but,” ind. 77e+77a, r2, v2; AF 2, r2.

vaso: *vāso, vāsaḥ*; “dwelling, residence,” nom. sg. m or n. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v3.

(vija)-carana-saparno: *vijācaraṇasampanno, vidyācaraṇasampannaḥ*; “endowed with true wisdom and good conduct,” tp., nom. sg. m. 82+85, r1. Cf. **saparno**, s.v. √**pad**.

vitarka: *vitakkā, vitarkāḥ*; “thoughts,” nom. pl. m. 40, r1. See also **vihisa-vitarka**.

(vi)ditva: *viditvā, viditvā*; “having known,” √*vid*, abs. AF 2, v2.

(vimuti-ñā)na-darśana-katha: *vimuttiñānadassanakathā, vimuktijñānadarśanakathā*; “conversation about knowing and seeing liberation,” tp., nom. sg. f. 40, v3. Cf. **ceto-vimutie**, **ceto-vimutiye** and **praṇa-vimu(tie)**.

vi(ṣa): *viṣaṃ, viṣam*; “poison,” nom. sg. n. 82+85, v2.

viharati, viharato: see s.v. √**hr**.

vihisa-vitarka: *vihimsāvitakko, vihiṃsāvitarkah*; “hurtful thought(s),” tp., nom. sg. m. 40, r1. See also **vitarka**.

(v)e(didavya): *veditabbam, veditavyam*; “should be known,” √*vid*, gdv., nom. sg. n. 80, r 3.

(vyagari)ṣyati, vyagaroḥi, vyagrida: see s.v. √**kr**.

śari(ro): *sarīraṃ, śarīram*; “body,” nom. sg. n. 77e+77a, r3.

śastra: *sattham, śastram*; “weapon,” nom. sg. n. 82+85, v2.

śilehi: *sīlehi, sīlaiḥ*; “virtues,” inst. pl. n. 40, r3.

śuśumaragir(e): *suṣumārāgire, śuṣumārāgirau*; pn. of a city, loc. sg. m. 84, r2.

śramaṇo: *samaṇo, śramaṇaḥ*; “śramaṇa, ascetic,” nom. sg. m. AF 1, r1, r2.

śreṭho: *seṭṭho, śreṣṭhaḥ*; “best,” nom. sg. m. 82+85, r1.

s. ? : unidentified.

saṃ + √vṛt: “lead to, be conducive to.”

saṃvartati: *saṃvattati, saṃvartate*; 3rd sg. pres. 72, r1.

savartati: *saṃvattati, saṃvartate*; 3rd sg. (sic) pres. 40, r3.

savartadi: *saṃvattanti, saṃvartante*; 3rd pl. (sic) pres. 40, r2.

See also **(samasi-sa)vartaniyena**.

sakṛto: see s.v. **√kr**.

sakṣi(-kriyaya): *sacchikiriyāya, sākṣātkriyāyai*; “in order to experience,” dat. sg. f. AF 2, r3.

(sa)gha: *saṅghe, saṃghe*; “in the saṅgha,” loc. sg. m. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3.

saco: *saccaṃ, satyam*; “truth,” nom. sg. n. AF 1, v2.

-(saṇḍa-pari)cito: see s.v. **paricito**.

sa(ṇḍa-manasigara): *saṇḍāmanasikārā, saṃjñāmanasikārāḥ*; “perceptions and thoughts,” dv., nom. pl. m. 80, v3.

saṃñanati: see s.v. **√jñā**.

satuṭṭha-kaso: *santuṭṭhikathā, saṃtuṭṭhikathā*; “conversation about contentment,” tp., nom. sg. f. 40, v2.

s(a)dh(u): *sādhū, sādhu*; “well, please,” adv. 119, r3.

(saṃ)nipatito: *sannipatito, saṃnipatitaḥ*; “assembled,” *saṃ + ni + √pat*, pp., nom. sg. (?) m. 72, v3.

sabhav(a): *sambhavaṃ, sambhavam*; “existence, coming into being,” acc. sg. m. 77f, v2.

samagena: *samayena, samayena*; “at [that] time,” inst. sg. m. 6, r3.

samana: see s.v. **√as**.

(samasi-sa)vartaniyena: *saṃādhi-saṃvattanikena, saṃādhi-saṃvartanīyena*; “leading to concentration,” tp., inst. sg. n. 40, v1.

samudacaṣe: *samudācarimṣu, samudācārṣuḥ*; “have beset,” *saṃ + ud + √car*, 3rd pl. pret. 40, r1.

samya-carya: *sammācariyā, samyakcaryā*; “correct behavior,” kdh., nom. sg. f. 76, r1.

saryadhiva: *seyyathīdaṃ, sayyathīdaṃ*; “as follows,” adv. 40, r1, v2.

sarva: *sabbe, sarve*; “all,” nom. pl. m. 119, r2, v2 (2x); 77f, r2, r3; 86, r3.

saṃvartati, savartati, savartadi: see s.v. **saṃ + √vṛt**.

sāharo: *sāhāre, sāhārāṇi*; “having a nutriment,” bv., acc. pl. m. or n. 76+79, v2.

sukha: *sukhaṃ, sukham*; “pleasurable,” nom. sg. n. 80, v1.

so: *so, saḥ*; “he, this,” dem. pron., nom. sg. m. 40, r1; 72, v3; 82+85, r1.

spi: see s.v. **√as**.

-sya: see s.v. **aya-/ida-/ima-**.

svado: *sato, smṛtaḥ*; “mindful,” *√smṛ*, pp., nom. sg. m. 72, r2 (2x).

ham: see s.v. **aham**.

harati: see s.v. **√hr**.

hi: *hi, hi*; “indeed, just, nothing but,” ind. 80, r1, v2. Also in **na-hi** and **na-hēva**, q.v., s.v. **na**.

√hr: “take away, distract.”

harati: *harati, harati*; 3rd sg. pres. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v2.

vi + √hr: “dwell, stay, remain.”

viharati: *viharati, viharati*; 3rd sg. pres. 40, r3; 84, r2.

viharato: *viharato, viharataḥ*; pres. part., gen. sg. m. 80, v3. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, r3, v1.

hedu: *hetu, hetoḥ*; “cause, reason,” gen. sg. m. uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a, v2; 83, v1.

ho: *kho, khahu*; ind. (untranslated). 77f, r2. Cf. **u, kho**.

III. Appendix: Other fragments written by Bamiyan scribe no. 1

Besides the three Schøyen fragments (71, 6, and uf1/5a+uf2/5e+77c+23+126a verso = text units 1, 2, and 10) written by Bamiyan scribe no. 1 which have been identified as part of the EĀ manuscript, there are five other fragments in the Schøyen collection and one in the Hirayama collection in which his distinctive hand is clearly recognizable. To judge from their contents, at least some of them seem to contain sūtra texts, but we have not been able to locate parallels for them among the EĀ/AN sūtras nor in any other sūtra collection. Thus they may have belonged to a different manuscript or manuscripts written by this scribe, but it still cannot be ruled out that some of them could belong to the EĀ text (see note 20).

We have therefore decided to present abridged editions of these fragments, with minimal annotation, in order to make them accessible to readers in the hope that others may be able to shed some light on them. In the absence of parallels to guide the interpretation, no continuous translation is offered, but provisional translations are offered for some passages in the notes, and interpretations of the individual words, as far as they can be determined, are presented in the accompanying word index. Fragments of incomplete words are for the most part not treated there, unless they can be plausibly or at least tentatively restored.

III.1. MS 2179/1

- r1. *caga ime anyonyana drekṣ.///*
 r2. *vaca anyam=amardavata yasya ho ///*
 r3. *puna nama samam ° 3 [ya]va [t. ? ? ?] ///*
 v1. *puruṣasya ekale[.u pu.u]///*
 v2. *tāda kṣivamana na ki[c]i [k.]///*
 v3. *puruṣo asi[y/ś]ati k.///*
 [in right margin, written vertically⁷⁴]
 m1. */// ? 100 20 20 20*
 m2. */// 20 10 €*

Notes

r1. *anyonyana*: This seems to be an objective genitive with verb of seeing (see the next note); compare the similar cases of *añamañeṣu* and *añamañaṇa* in the Gāndhārī *Anavatapta-gāthā* (Salomon 2008: 281–2, 317–8, 424), and *(a)nyamaṇ[ñio]* in fragment 59 (III.2), A1.

drekṣ.///: This seems to be some form of the future of √*drś*; for the stem formation, compare the note on *dreṣṭhavya* in AF 2, r3 (II.9). The sequence *ime anyonyana drekṣ.///* presumably means “These (men/people) [will] see each other.”

r3: *[ya]va*: The top of the first syllable is not quite the normal shape for *ya* (compare *yasya* in the previous line), but this is probably the intended letter, which may have been damaged or

⁷⁴ On the significance of this folio number, see I.2.

miswritten due to a horizontal crack in the leaf. If the reading is correct, this is probably an abbreviation marker.

v1. *[pu.u]///*: In view of the preceding *puruṣasya* and following *puruṣo* (r3), this is presumably to be reconstructed as some form of the stem *puruṣa*.

v2. *tāda kṣivamana*: The left-opening hook attached to the bottom of the first akṣara marks a long vowel in this scribe's hand. It is not the same as the anusvāra sign, which he usually writes separately from the consonantal character; compare the last syllable in fragment 59 (III.2), B2, read as *tām*, which has both the left-opening hook and the separated anusvāra sign.

The sense of *tāda* is however obscure, and the word division is uncertain. These syllables could be the end of a word continuing from the preceding line, or else we might divide ...*tā dakṣivamana*, but in either case the sense remains uncertain. In the proposed reading, *kṣivamana* might be taken as the present passive participle of $\sqrt{kṣip}$, although the expected form would rather be *kṣipyamana* or *kṣipamana*. Other segmentations, such as ...*tā dakṣiva mana* are conceivable, but none yields a clear sense.

r3. *asi[y/ś]ati*: In this scribe's hand, as often in Kharoṣṭhī generally, *ya* and *śa* are minimally distinguished, if at all. If we read *asiyati*, this might correspond to P *adhīyati* "studies," although this scribe seems to generally retain original intervocalic *-dh-*, as in *-vyadhi-* (HY 18, r1). If the reading is *asiśati*, it could be equivalent to Skt *āsiṣyati/e*, "he will sit."

m1,2. */// ? 100 20 20 20 /// 20 10 ⇐*: On the significance of this folio number, see I.2. This side has been labeled as the recto because the folio number is on the other side. In the case of Schøyen fragment 82 (II. 12) it can be definitely determined from the textual contents that the folio number is on the verso, and it is assumed that this was the general practice in the Bamiyan Gāndhārī manuscripts.

III.2. MS 2179/59+73

A1. *///[.m] ◦ so nyamaṃ[ñō] / gara pravekṣyati mune lokānu? ///*

A2. */// [vi] n[e cā] pi na ri/sahasri ty atikṣ[y]ati khe pu[ṣp.] ///*

A3. */// paṃ vigacha[m]ti ś/ya ? x ? ///*

B1. */// cān[t]aritaṃ ◦ 3 [s.] ///*

B2. *///graha kurvatām ◦ / 4 ⇐ atha manava śrutva [pr.] ///*

B3. */// [g.]hā ◦ kismi/ca śrayâdhigamaṃ ca mahya ◦ 4 ? ///*

Notes

A1. *nyamaṃ[ñō]*: This corresponds to BSkt *anyamānya-* "one another, one after the other" (BHSD, s.v.), with elision of the initial vowel by Sanskrit sandhi; compare *anyonyana* in fragment 1, v1. This sandhi and the semi-Sanskritized orthography are both typical of this scribe; in this case, note the curious hybrid spelling with both Skt *-ny-* and G *-ñ-* in the same word.

gara pravekṣyati: One might expect here *nagara*, but if the proposed collocation of the two fragments is correct this is ruled out. So apparently *gara* represents the equivalent of Skt *agāra*,

“house, room,” with the initial vowel elided by the same Sanskritic sandhi as in the preceding word.

lokānu?: The remnant of the upper right corner of the last syllable could be part of *m*, *kṣ*, or (less likely) *j*. The many possibilities for reconstructing the compound include *lokānumati*, *lokānumodana*, *lokanumodita*, etc.

A2. *[vi] n[e cā] pi*: The word divisions and sense here are uncertain. Could this somehow be equivalent to Sanskrit *vināpi ca*, “and even without”? The syllable transliterated as *[cā]* consists of a normal *ca* with a long curve beginning at the top and bending around to the left. This form is otherwise unattested and its significance is unknown to us. The appendage has some resemblance to the ligature *mu*, which takes various forms in Kharoṣṭhī, but it is very different from *mu* as written by this scribe elsewhere, as in line A1 and in frag. 87, A3 (III.4). For lack of a better explanation, we take it as a variant form of the well-attested diacritically modified *c* with a dot or straight line above, transliterated as *c̄*, which usually corresponds to Skt *śca*. It is also possible to see the superscript element as a modified form of normal *ś* and read the syllable as a ligature *śca*, but in this case the shape would still be quite abnormal.

nari/sahasri ty atikṣ[y]ati: *narisahasri* presumably corresponds to Skt *nārīśahasra*-, “a thousand women.” We propose to understand *ty* as a Sanskritic sandhi form for *iti* (... *sahasri* + *iti* + *atikṣ[y]ati*), and tentatively take *atikṣ[y]ati* as a hyper-Sanskritized equivalent of Pali **aticchati*, “pass on (to another house for alms),” the verb used in a polite refusal to give alms. Although (according to CPD and DP) this verb is attested only in the second plural imperative (*aticchatha*) and second singular imperative causative (*aticchāpehi*), it seems compatible with other phrases in the fragment which would be applicable to an unsuccessful quest for alms, such as “entering a house” (?; A1); *khe pu[sp.]*, apparently referring to something unattainable (A2); and an apparent reference to the needs of monks ((*ā*)*śrayādhigamaṃ*, B3). Alternatively, we could be dealing in this phrase with some form of a desiderative verb related to P *titikkhati*/Skt *titikṣati* or P *ticak-khati* /Skt *tityakṣati*, or with some form of the root *ṛkṣ*, among other possibilities. But no convincing solution presents itself among these alternatives.

khe pu[sp.]: In the last syllable, at the left edge of the fragment, the semi-circular form of the upper right side is characteristic of *ṣ*, and the tiny remnant of a curved line below it could be the shoulder of a subscript *p*. If this is correct, we would seem to be dealing with a “flower in the sky,” a proverbial expression for a non-existent and impossible thing (compare the previous note).

B1. */// cān[t]aritaṃ* °: The second akṣara looks superficially like a ligature of *n* and *p*, but the lower element may be intended for *t*. If so, the phrase could be a sandhi combination of *ca* + *antaritaṃ*, “and ... disappeared.” The spelling *antaritaṃ* instead of expected G *aṃtaritaṃ* would be surprising but not impossible, given the strong Sanskritizing tendencies of the scribe.

B2. */// graha*: This is no doubt the end of a longer word such as *anugraha*, *saṃgraha*, or *pratigraha*.

kurvatām: The last syllable is apparently *ta* with long vowel mark and anusvāra; compare the note on *tāda* in fragment 1, r2 (III.1). This words seems to represent the genitive plural of the present participle, with a purely Sanskrit form, unless it is intended as imperative, with a BHS form.

4 € *atha manava śrutva [pr.] ///*: A new text unit begins after the number 4 and the “Euro-sign” punctuation mark. The last syllable in the line might be the beginning of *pr(ichatī)*, so the phrase may be tentatively understood as “Then a/the man, having heard [this], asks ...”

B3. *///[g.]h[ā]:* This is likely to be part of the same word (*anugraha*, *saṃgraha*, or *pratigraha*?) at the beginning of the preceding line.

kismi/ca: This is probably an indefinite pronoun phrase equivalent to Skt *kasmiś cit*.

ca śrayādhigamaḥ: The sense of *śraya-* in this compound is obscure. Conceivably, it might be equivalent to P *nissaya*/Skt *niśraya*, the resources required by a Buddhist monk. If so, the narrative calls to mind an episode in the Vinaya (Vin I 58) in which a youth (*māṇava*) gave up his intention of ordination on hearing about the four resources, which he found distasteful (*jegucchā me nissayā paṭikūlā*). However, there is no reason to think that we are dealing with the same episode here. Alternatively, the phrase might be read as the equivalent of Skt *cāśrayādhigama*, that is, *ca* + *āśraya-*, since the notation of long vowels is sporadic in this scribe’s orthography.

◦ 4 ? : Since the numerals 3 and 4 occur in the two preceding lines, we would expect to find 4 1 (i.e., 5) here, but the trace of the stroke following the 4 at its lower left does not appear to be the bottom of the expected figure 1. In any case, these numerals seem to refer to verses in an eleven-syllable meter, to judge from this line, where the punctuation mark before *kismi* presumably marks a pāda break.

III.3. MS 2179/71

A1. */// ? ? ? [aha a]sti śramana ya ///*

A2. */// [r.]ha ko de cigirṣati [r.] ///*

A3. */// ? [n.] ? ? [l.] ? ? ///*

B1. */// ? ? ? ? ? ? ///*

B2. */// ? r[j./ḍ./t.] dahaveti ◦ keci kaṭha ///*

B3. */// [i gi sag.] ◦ na sma kho vibha///*

Notes

A1. The line can be tentatively translated, “He said, ‘There is/was a śramaṇa who ...’” This could be the introduction to an avadāna or similar narrative.

A2: *ko de*: The word division and interpretation are uncertain. This could be equivalent to Skt *kas te*; with the following *cigirṣati*, the phrase would mean something like “Who wants to do ... for (?) you ...” Alternatively, but less likely, *kode* could be equivalent to Skt *kutaḥ*, “whence.” This would be a possible spelling in standard Gāndhārī, but unlikely in the highly Sanskritized style of these fragments.

B2. The line evidently refers to the burning (*dahaveti*) of something, perhaps the remains of a deceased person (e.g., a pratyekabuddha?), in the course of which some people (*keci*) [brought or supplied?] wood (*kaṭha*; compare Lenz 2003: 175).

III.4. MS 2179/87

- A1. /// [v.]triśa maha-yaña yayati [°] ? ///
- A2. /// i akrura-maha-danapatisya ° akrura + [h.] ///
- A3. /// [p.]-matrakam=api mu[n.] śatro ne smi ° dap. ///
- B1. /// [n.]rakeṣu nêchati [bha]yadare tra dukha[ny.] ///
- B2. /// [i/hi] [taṃ] divyârya-sokhya-kara ° 4 4 1 ///
- B3. /// [tr.] raja-kumaro [upastahey.] ? ///

Notes

A1, 2. The text on this fragment, or at least on side a, concerns a generous donor (*maha-danapatisya*) named Akrura. He is no doubt the same character as the lavish donor known in Pali as Aṅkura, whose exploits are described in the *Petavatthu* (vatthu 21) and the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (see Malalasekera 1937–38: 1.15–16 for full references). The identification of the Pali name Aṅkura with Akrura in Gāndhārī is confirmed in Lüders 1904: 699–701, where it is shown that the King Akrūra described in the *Harivaṃśa* and *Vāyu-purāṇa* is essentially the same figure as Aṅkura of Buddhist legend. It is particularly striking that in these Brahmanical texts Akrūra is regularly called *dānapati* (Lüders, pp. 699–700), just as he is referred to here (a2) as *akrura-maha-danapati*.

A1. /// [v.]triśa: The tiny remnant of the bottom of the first syllable could be part of the ligature *dva*. Above the lower left corner, there seems to be a faint trace of the upward stroke which would be expected in this letter, so that *(d)[v](a)triśa* is a plausible reconstruction, especially since thirty-two is a common set number or auspicious figure, as in, for example, the thirty-two auspicious marks on the body of a buddha. But since the story of Akrūra/Aṅkura involves his rebirth in Tāvatiṃsa, the heaven of the thirty-three gods (see the note below on A3), it is also possible that the number here was thirty-three instead of thirty-two. The remnant of the first syllable could also be part of the ligature *tr*, in which case we might reconstruct *(t)[r](e)triśa*. In this case, the point would be that by performing thirty-three sacrifices, Akrura was reborn in the “Thirty-three” heaven.

maha-yaña yayati [°] ///: The phrase is reminiscent of *dāne yaññassa* in *Petavatthu* 21.51 (= verse 307) and *aṅkurassa mahādāne* in the following verse.

A2. *akrura + [h.] ///*: This is perhaps to be reconstructed as *akrura (ma)[h](a-danapati)* or the like.

A3. /// [p.]*-matrakam=api*: In the first syllable, all that remains is the left half of a cross-shaped mark at the bottom. This shape is unique to the Kharoṣṭhī ligature for *lp*, written as *p* with a cross representing pre-consonantal *l* attached to the bottom tip of the stem of *p*. This rare letter is attested in a Central Asia Kharoṣṭhī document from Niya in the word *jalpita*; see Boyer *et al.* 1920–29: 191 (no. 524, under-tablet, line 2), 315, pl. IX, and pl. XIV no. 220. Thus the phrase is almost certainly to be reconstructed as *(al)[p](a)-matrakam=api* (= P *appamattakam pi*/Skt *alpamātrakam api*). This expression may refer to the latter part of the Aṅkura legend, in which he is reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven, where he is dismayed to find that another man, Indaka, got a

better seat for the Buddha's discourse on abhidharma even though he had given only one spoonful of rice (*kaṭacchubhikkhaṃ*; *Petavatthu* 21.58 = 314; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* III 221) to Anuruddha. Although the Pali versions of the story do not use this phrasing, we can easily imagine that here Aṅkura was asking the Buddha why Indaka's gift, "even though it was of such small measure," had a greater benefit than his own many vast gifts. The Buddha's answer would no doubt have been the same as in the Pali texts, namely that Indaka's gift was given to a worthy recipient, whereas Akrūra/Aṅkura indiscriminately rewarded wicked men (*dussīlesu*; *Petavatthu* 21.70 = 326, *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* III 220).

mu[n.] śatro ne smi: This sentence seems to continue Akrūra's protestations, presumably meaning something like "I am not an enemy of (?) the sage," although the reading of the second syllable is in doubt. The consonantal element is probably *n*, but there does not seem to be an *e* vowel above it as might be expected by comparison with *mune* in fragment 73, B1 (III.4), and there is a horizontal line below it which we are at a loss to explain.

For *ne smi* instead of expected *na smi*, compare *nevi* instead of *navi* (Skt *nāpi*) in Hirayama fragment 18, v3 (III.6).

dap.///: This might be part of a causative form of $\sqrt{dā}$.

B1,2. These seem to be fragments of two verses in *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh/jagatī* respectively, contrasting the terrors of hell with the delights of heaven. There is nothing corresponding to this in the story of Aṅkura/Akrūra as recounted in Pali texts, so this might be part of a separate narrative.

B1. *[bha]yadare*: This seems to correspond to Skt/P *bhayānakatara-*; compare *bhayaṇaḍaro*, also describing hell, in Senior scroll 20 (Salomon 2003a: 88).

B2. *///[i/hi]*: This could be an instrumental/locative plural ending.

III.5. Hirayama fragment 18

r1. */// tā ° jati-vyadhi-jarâ[m]takriya marana-saṃsa[r.] ///*

r2. */// [°] 4 1 tena cōkta prabriṭhena ° sakh. ///*

r3. */// ? p[t]i ° nasti na [vi]śamo sti [°] ///*

v1. */// ? apramego phalâgamam ° 4 [4] ///*

v2. */// ? [da] na so kadha[m]ci [de]he praśna nirṇeyo ///*

v3. */// ? n. nevi īśvara-nirmīto ° dharma pratica-u///*

This fragment seems to consist at least in part, and perhaps entirely, of numbered verses. Line r2, for example, contains the first pāda of an *anuṣṭubh* verse which must be the sixth verse of the sequence, as it follows the numeral 5. Similarly, v1 is the last pāda of an *anuṣṭubh* verse, followed by a numeral which could have been 8 or 9, while v3 contains most of a half verse in the same meter, and r1 seems to be in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* meter. Lines r3 (*nasti na [vi]śamo sti [°]*) and v2 (*na so kadhaci dehe*) contain groups of seven syllables which are set off at each end by blank spaces and/or punctuation marks. These could be defective or miswritten *anuṣṭubh* pādas, or they may

simply reflect the loose treatment of meter which is typical of Gāndhārī texts (Salomon 2008: 164–6).

r1. *marana-saṃsa[r]*: In light of the preceding phrase, *jati-vyadhi-jarā[m]takriya* (“putting an end to birth, sickness and aging”), this is perhaps to be restored as *marana-saṃsa[r](a-cheda-)*, “cutting off of death and rebirth.”

r2. *cōkta*: The second syllable, which has not previously been observed in Kharoṣṭhī, seems to be a cursive ligature consisting of *k* above and *t* below. Thus *cōkta* must be a sandhi combination of *ca* + *ukta*.

prabriṭhena: This would seem to correspond to Skt *pravṛṣṭena*, “rain(ing).” The word presumably modifies *tena* at the beginning of the pāda, so that the pāda *tena cōkta prabriṭhena* means “And he spoke as he rained down.” This could refer to the voice of the thunder, or perhaps of Śakra or some other deity.

sakh.: In view of the preceding pāda, this is likely to be a vocative expression, “O friend,” and so probably to be reconstructed as *sakh(e)* or the like.

v1. *apramego phalāgamaṃ*: Here the sense is presumably something along the lines of “The acquisition/attainment of the fruit is incomprehensible/immeasurable.” The context suggests that *āgama* here has the sense which is usually expressed by *adhigamo* or *adhigamaṇaṃ* “acquisition, attainment.” The variant form may be due to dialect difference, or more likely to metrical constraints.

v2. *na so kadha[m]ci [de]he praśna nirṇeyo*: This seems to mean “This question cannot be determined at all with regard to the body.” The verse which is partially preserved in the next line might be a refutation of this statement. On the spelling of the Gāndhārī equivalent of Skt *praśna*, see note 42.

v3. *nevi īśvara-nirmito ° dharma pratica-u///*: This seems to be two pādas of an anuṣṭubh verse with the last two syllables missing. The incomplete word at the end should probably be reconstructed as *-u(parna)*. This would differ from the usual form of the phrase, for which we would expect *pratica-samuparna* or the like, but this variant is probably conditioned by the meter. The line thus seems to mean, “Nor is it created by god; phenomena have arisen dependently.” This topic is expressed in similar terms in a passage quoted from the *Āryākāśasamatāsamādhi-sūtra* in Maitreyanātha’s *Bhavasankrānti-ṭīkā*⁷⁵: *yadīśvareṇa katham api na nirmitam | katham hi loka utpannaḥ ... ādau svayam anutpannaḥ pratītyasamutpanno bhāvaḥ | tasya ca janma īśvarādinā kenāpi nāvatāritam*, etc.⁷⁶

For *nevi* instead of expected *navi* (= Skt *nāpi*), compare the note on *ne smi* in MS 87, A3 (III.5).

⁷⁵ The passage is cited according to Aiswami Shastri’s edition (Madras: Adyar Library 1938) as presented in the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskrit/6_sastra/3_phil/buddh/bsa058_u.htm). The original edition is not available to us.

⁷⁶ A related discussion also appears in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on kārikā 2.64.

Word index to the appendix

Fragment number	Text unit
1	III.1
59+73	III.2
71	III.3
87	III.4
Hirayama (HI) 18	III.5

akrura: *aṅkuro*, *akrūraḥ*; pn., nom. (?) sg. m. 87, A2.

akrura-maha-danapatīsyā: *aṅkuramahādānapatīssa*, *akrūramahādānapateḥ*; “of the great donor Akrura,” kdh., gen. sg. m. 87, A2.

atikṣ[ya]ti: *aticchati**, *atikṣati**; “will pass on (to another house for alms),” *ati* + *√i* (?), 3rd sg. fut. 59+73, A2.

(a)gara: *agāra*, *agāram*; “house, room,” acc. sg. m. 59+73, A1.

atha: *atha*, *atha*; “then, now,” ind. 59+73, B2.

an[t]aritam: *antaritam*, *antaritam*; “disappeared; removed from,” past part., *antar* + *√i*, nom. sg. n. (?). 59+73, B1 (in sandhi combination *cān[t]aritam*).

anyam: *aññaṃ*, *anyam*; “(an)other,” acc. (?) sg. m. (?). 1, r2.

anyonya-/anyamañña-: “each other.”

(a)nyamaññ[o]: *aññaṃaṇñaṃ*, *anyamanyam*; adv. (?). 59+73, A1.

anyonyana: *aññaṃaṇñaṇaṃ*, *anyamanyeṣāṃ*; gen. pl. m. 1, r1.

api: *pi*, *api*; “even, although,” ind., 87, A3. Cf. *nevi*.

apramego: *appameyyo*, *aprameyam*; “incomprehensible, immeasurable,” *pra* + *√mā*, gdv. (neg.), nom. sg. m. (?) HI 18, v1.

amardavata: *amaddavatā**, *amardavatā**; “absence of gentleness,” i.e., “harshness” (?), nom. sg. f. 1, r2.

(al)[p](a)-matrakam: *appamattakam*, *alpamātrakam*; “a small amount,” bv. (?), nom./acc. sg. m./n. 87, A3.

√as: “be.”

[a]sti, sti: *atthi*, *asti*; “[there] is/was,” 3rd sg. pres. 71, A1; HI 18, r3 (2x; 1x in sandhi combination *nastī*).

sma: *amha*, *smaḥ*; “we are,” 1st pl. pres. 71, B3.

smi: *amhi*, *asmi*; “(I) am,” 1st sg. pres. 87, A3.

asi[y]ati: *adhīyati*, *adhyeti*; “he studies,” *adhi* + *√i*, 3rd sg. pres.; or **asi[ś]ati:** *acchissati*, *āsiṣyati/e*; “he will sit,” *√ās*, 3rd sg. fut. 1, v3.

[aha]: *āha*, *āha*; “he said,” *√ah*, 3rd sg. pret. 71, A1.

(i)cchati: see s.v. *nēcchati*.

ime: *ime*, *ime*; “these,” dem. pron., nom. pl. m. 1, r1.

iśvara-nirmīto: *issaranimmito*, *iśvaranirmītaḥ*; “created by god,” tp. (*nir* + *√mā*, past part.), nom. sg. m. HI 18, v3.

ukta: *vuttaṃ*, *uktam*; “(it was) said,” *√vac*, past part., nom. sg. n. (in sandhi combination *cōkta*). HI 18, r2.

[upastahey.]: *upaṭṭhaheyyum*, *upatiṣṭheyuh*; “they would attend” (?); *upa* + *√sthā*, 3rd pl. opt. (?). 87, B3.

ekale[.u]: uncertain; presumably compound of *eka* + ? 1, r2.

kaci-, indefinite pron.

ki[c]i: *kiñci, kiñcit*; “something” (with neg. *na*, “nothing”), indef. pron., nom. sg. n. (?). 1, v2.

kismica: *kismiñci, kasmimścit*; “in some, somewhere,” loc. sg. m./n. 59+73, B3.

keci: *keci, kecit*; “some (people),” nom. pl. m. 71, B2.

kaṭha: *kaṭṭhāni, kāṣṭhāni*; “[pieces of] wood, logs, firewood,” acc. pl. (?) n. 71, B2.

kadha[m]ci: *katthaci, kathamcit*; “at all, in any way,” (with neg. *na*, “not at all, in no way”), ind. HI 18, v2.

ki[c]i: see s.v. *kaci-*.

kismi[c.]: see s.v. *kaci-*.

kurvatām: see s.v. $\sqrt{kṛ}$.

$\sqrt{kṛ}$: “do, make.”

kurvatām: *kubbatānaṃ, kurvatām*; “of those doing,” pres. part., gen. pl. m. 59+73, B2.

cigirṣati: *tikicchati, cikīrṣati*; “wants to do/make,” 3rd sg. pres., desiderative. 71, A2.

keci: see s.v. *kaci*.

ko: *ko, kaḥ*; “who?,” interrogative pron. (?), nom. sg. m. 71, A2.

kṣivamana: *khippamānaṃ, kṣipyamānaṃ*; “being thrown,” $\sqrt{kṣip}$, pres. part. pass. (?; word division uncertain), nom. sg. n. (?). 1, v2.

khe: *khe, khe*; “in the sky,” loc. sg. n. 59+73, A2.

kho: *khu, khalu*; “indeed,” ind. 71, A3.

gara: see s.v. *(a)gara*.

ca: *ca, ca*; “and,” ind. 59+73, B1 (in sandhi combination *cān[t]aritaṃ*); 59+73, B3 ; HI 18, r2 (in sandhi combination *cōkta*).

caga: *cāgo, tyāgaḥ*; “generosity,” nom. (?) sg. m. 1, r1.

cān[t]aritaṃ: See s.v. *ca* and *an[t]aritaṃ*.

cigirṣati: See s.v. $\sqrt{kṛ}$.

cōkta: see s.vv. *ca* and *ukta*.

jāti-vyādhi-jarā[m]takriya: *jāti-byādhi-jarā-antakiriyā, jāti-vyādhi-jarāntakriyā*; “putting an end to birth, sickness and aging,” tp., nom. sg. f. HI 18, r1.

ta-: dem. pron., “he, she it,” etc.

[taṃ]: *taṃ, tat*; “it,” nom./acc. sg. n. (?) 87, B2.

tena: *tena, tena*; “by him,” inst. sg. m. HI 18, r2.

so: *so, saḥ*; “he,” nom. sg. m. (?). 59+73, A1; HI 18, v2.

tāda: uncertain. 1, v2.

tena: see s.v. *ta-*.

ty: *ti, iti*; quotative particle (sandhi form for *iti*?). 59+73, A2.

tra: *atra, atra*; “here,” ind. (sandhi form for *atra*). 87, B1.

dahaveti: *dāhayati**, *dāhayati*; “burns, causes to burn,” \sqrt{dah} , 3rd. sg. pres., caus. 71, B2.

divyārya-sokhya-kara: *dibbāriyasukhakāraṃ, divyāryasukhakāram*; “causing heavenly, noble happiness,” tp. (case and number undetermined). 87, B2.

dukha[ny.]: *dukkhāni, duḥkhāni*; “sufferings, sorrows, miseries,” nom./acc. pl. n. (sandhi form for *dukhani*?). 87, B1.

de: *te, te*; “for you, to you,” 2nd pers. pron. (?), gen. sg. 71, A2.

[de]he: *dehe, dehe*; “in/with regard to the body,” loc. sg. m. HI 18, v2.

dreḥṣ.///: Probably fut. form of $\sqrt{drṣ}$. 1, r1.

(d)[v](a)triśa: *dvatiṃsa, dvātriṃśat*; “thirty-two,” acc. pl. m. 87, A1.

dharma: *dhammā, dharmāḥ*; “phenomena,” nom. pl. (?) m. HI 18, v3.

na: *na, na*; “not,” ind. 1, v2; 71, B3; HI 18, r-3 (2x, 1x in sandhi combination *nasti*), v2. See also **ne, nêcchati**.

nama: *nāma, nāma*; “indeed,” ind. 1, r3.

narisahāsri: *nārīśahassaṃ, nārīśahasram*; “a thousand women,” nom. sg. f. (?). 59+73, B2.

[n](a)rakeṣu: *narakesu, narakeṣu*; “in hells,” loc. pl. m. 87, B1.

nirṇeyo: *ninneyyaḥ**, *nirṇeyo*; “to be determined,” *nir* + \sqrt{ni} , gdv., nom. sg. m. HI 18, v2.

ne: “not,” ind. 87, A3 (*ne smi*). See also **na, necchati, nevi**.

nêcchati: *necchati, necchati* (*na* + *icchati*); “does not desire,” $\sqrt{iṣ}$, 3rd sg. pres. 87, B1.

nevi: *nāpi, nāpi*; “nor,” ind. HI 18, v3. Cf. **api, ne**.

nyamaṃ[ñho]: see s.v. *anyonya-/anyamañña-*.

puna: *pana, punar*; “again, then,” ind. 1, r3.

puruṣa: *purisa-, puruṣa-*; “man,” m.

puruṣasya: gen. sg. m. 1, v1.

puruṣo: nom. sg. m. 1, v3.

[pu(r)u(ṣ.)]///: ? 1, v1.

pu[ṣp.]///: *puppha-, puṣpa-*; “flower,” n.; case indeterminate. 59+73, A2.

/// [p.]-(a)-matrakam: see s.v. **(al)[p](a)-matrakam**.

pratica-u(parna): *paticca-uppannā, pratītya-utpannāḥ*; “arisen dependently,” tp. (*upa* + \sqrt{pad} , past. part.), nom. pl. (?) m. HI 18, v3.

prabriṭhena: *pavutṭhena, pravṛṣṭena*; “having rained, raining,” *pra* + $\sqrt{vrṣ}$, past part., inst. sg. m. HI 18, r2.

pravekṣyati: *pavekkhati, pravekṣyati*; “will enter,” *pra* + $\sqrt{viṣ}$, 3rd sg. fut. 59+73, A1.

praśna: *pañho, praśnaḥ*; “question,” nom. sg. m. HI 18, v2.

phalāgamam: *phalāgamo, phalāgamah*; “attainment of (karmic) fruit,” tp., nom. (?) sg. m. (?). HI 18, v1.

[bha]yadare: *bhayānakatare, bhayānakatare*; “more terrible,” adj., loc. (?) sg. m./n. 87, B1.

manava: *māṇavo, māṇavaḥ*; “youth, young man,” nom. sg. m. 59+73, B2.

marana-saṃsa[r.] ///: *marāṇasaṃsāra-, marāṇasaṃsāra-*; “death and rebirth” (perhaps to be reconstructed as **marana-saṃsar(a-cheda-)**, “cutting off of death and rebirth”; see text note), dv. (+ tp.?), nom.sg. m. (?). HI 18, r1.

maha-danapatisya: in **akrura-maha-danapatisya**, q.v.

maha-yaña: *mahāyaññe, mahāyajñān*; “great sacrifices,” kdh., acc. pl. m. 87, A1.

mahya: *mayham, mahyam* or *mama*; “my” or “to me,” 1st pers. pron., dat. or gen. sg. 59+73, B3.

muni-: “sage,” m.

mune: *muni, muneḥ*; gen. (?) sg. 59+73, A1.

mu[n.]: form uncertain (gen. or voc.?) 87, A3.

ya-: rel. pron.

ya: *yo, yaḥ*; “who,” nom. (?) sg. m. 71, A1.

yasya: *yassa, yasya*; “whose,” gen. sg. m. 1, r2.

yayati: *yajati, yajati*; “offers, sacrifices,” \sqrt{yaj} , 3rd sg. pres. 87, A1.

[ya]va: *yāva, yāvat*; “until” (abbreviation formula), ind. 1, r3.

yasya: see s.v. *ya-*.

raja-kumaro: *rājakumāro, rājakumāraḥ*; “prince,” tp., nom. sg. m. 87, B3.

lokānu ? ///: “... world” (latter member of compound undetermined). 59+73, A1.

vaca: *vācayā, vācā* (?); “by/with speech,” inst. (?) sg. f. (?). 1, r2.

vigacha[m]ti: *vigacchanti, vigacchanti*; “depart, separate, disappear,” *vi* + \sqrt{gam} , 3rd pl. pres. 59+73, A3.

[vi]ṣamo: *viṣamaṃ, viṣamam*; “uneven, unequal” (?), nom. sg. m. (?). HI 18, r3.

[.v.]triśa: see s.v. *(d)[v](a)triśa*.

śatro: *sattu, śatruḥ*; “enemy,” nom. (?) sg. m. 87, A3.

śramana: *samano, śramaṇaḥ*; “śramaṇa, ascetic,” nom. sg. (?) m. 71, A1.

śrayādhigamaṃ: *sayādhigamaṃ**, *śrayādhigamaṃ** (?); “obtaining of resources” (?), tp., acc. s. m. 59+73, B3.

śrutva: *sutvā, śrutvā*; “having heard,” $\sqrt{śru}$, abs. 59+73, B2.

sakh.: *sakhā, sakhe*, “O friend!” (probably to be reconstructed *sakh(e)*), voc. sg. m. HI 18, r2.

samaṃ: *samaṃ, samam*; “same, equal,” nom./acc. sg. m./n. 1, r3.

so: see s.v. *ta*.

sti, sma, smi: see s.v. \sqrt{as} .

ho: *kho, khalu*; “indeed,” ind. 1, r2.

Fragments of the Itivṛttaka*

Mitsuyo Demoto

Introduction

The *Itivuttaka*, a short canonical text included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, is counted among the nine *aṅgas* of sacred Buddhist texts. It has a structure similar to that of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (= AN) with an increasing number of *dhammas* dealt with in its chapters (*nipāta*), and it shares quite a few sūtras with it. The following characteristics distinguish the *Itivuttaka* from the AN: (1) each sūtra is introduced with the phrase *vuttaṃ hetam bhagavatā vuttam arahatā ti me sutam*, from which the title *Itivuttaka* comes, in place of the usual canonical formula *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā ~ viharati*; (2) every sūtra consists of two parts—a prose section and a set of stanzas. The latter basically repeats the topic of the prose in metrical form.¹

Another recension of the text, presumably that of the Sarvāstivādins,² was translated into Chinese by the famous pilgrim Xuánzàng 玄奘 in 650 C.E. It was transmitted as an independent work in the Chinese Canon under the title *Běnsǐjīng* 本事經 (T. 17, no. 765, pp. 662b–699b). The title goes back to the hypersanskritized form *Itivṛttaka*, which is found in the lists of the twelve *aṅgas* of sacred Buddhist texts beside the correct equivalent *Ityuktaka*.³ The Chinese version (= ItivC) comprises 138 sūtras in three chapters, while the Pāli *Itivuttaka* (= ItivP) has 112 in four chapters. ItivC is stylistically more detailed and extended than the southern recension.⁴ Its sūtras often correspond with their Pāli counterparts in terms of the general idea only, and differ in wording considerably, as is often the case with the Āgama/Nikāya literature.

As for the higher number of chapters of ItivP, it is thought that the *Catukka-nipāta* as well as a part of the *Tika-nipāta* are later additions,⁵ because: (a) in comparison with the first two *nipātas*, containing 27 and 22 sūtras each, the *Tika-nipāta* has many more sūtras (50) and the *Catukka-nipāta* many fewer (13); (b) the characteristic formula is often missing; (c) many of the sūtras are in common with the AN, even verbally. For these reasons we may assume that the compilation was

* I wish to extend my gratitude to the BMSC Project Group for giving me the precious opportunity to work on these fragments and to contribute a paper to the present volume. I am especially indebted to Kazunobu Matsuda who promptly sent me photocopies of fragments whenever I requested them. My sincere thanks are also due to Siglinde Dietz and Gudrun Melzer for numerous helpful suggestions as well as to Jonathan Silk for correcting my English in a previous version of this paper.

¹ Seidenstücker considers that the prose text is the essential part of the work. The verses are partly old, partly young (Seidenstücker 1922: xiv–xv).

² Watanabe 1907a (1933): 430; 1907b: 49.

³ See BHSD s.vv. *Itivṛttaka* and *Ityuktaka*; Lamotte 1949–80 V: 2283, 2293.

⁴ Watanabe 1907a (1933): 434–436; 1907b: 48.

⁵ Watanabe 1907a (1933): 440–441; Winternitz 1920: 68–71; Mayeda 1964: 722; Woodward 1985: vii–ix. (I wish to thank Hiromi Habata for providing me with a copy of Mayeda's article.)

enlarged in the south with the help of the AN.

On the other hand, it has often been questioned whether *ItivC* is complete or not.⁶ Its third and last chapter *sānfǎ pǐn* 三法品, “the chapter of three things,” contains many fewer sūtras (28) than the first two chapters (60 and 50) and ends abruptly without an *uddāna*. Apparently, the final part of the work is missing. Has the translation of Xuánzàng not come down to us completely, or was the Sanskrit manuscript he brought from India incomplete? The *Dàtáng Nèidiǎnlù* 大唐内典錄, a Chinese catalogue of the Buddhist Canon compiled by a contemporary of Xuánzàng in 664 C.E., records the *Běnsǐjīng* 本事經 as having seven bundles—just as many as we have now.⁷ It does not seem that the Chinese translation has lost a part during transmission.

Now we have new material to settle the question. A number of manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection have been identified with the Sanskrit *Itivṛttaka*. The findings indicate that the work consisted of no less than eight chapters.

Description of the fragments

The following 39 fragments⁸ are supposed to belong to manuscripts of the *Itivṛttaka*. They are all written in the so-called “Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I,” which was used from the 6th century onward. Eleven folios (a–k) can be pieced together from them.

- a) MS 2381/246b + 2382/98 + 186a + uf27/2a: Birch-bark, 3 separate middle parts on each side. A complete leaf would have had 9 lines and 60–65 akṣaras per line.
- b) MS 2379/35: Palm-leaf, the right side of a leaf with a small string-hole. A complete leaf would have had 5 lines and c. 65 akṣaras per line.
- c) MS 2382/177 + 185 + 199c + 205f + 257a + 264/7b + uf7/4c + uf16/5d: Birch-bark, the middle parts of a leaf around a string-hole with a double circle, 7 lines.
- d) MS 2381/249 + 251/1, 2 + 252/2, 3 + uf18/7a, b, c + 2382/247: Birch-bark, an almost complete leaf with one string-hole a third of the way from the left side, 7 lines, 60–70 akṣaras per line.
- e) MS 2381/182 + 206 + uf9/1a: Birch-bark, the right side of a leaf. A complete leaf had more than 5 lines.
- f) MS 2382/24e: Birch-bark, a small fragment with four lines.
- g) MS 2381/245a + 2382/243/1: Birch-bark, the left side and the middle part of a leaf, 9 lines.
- h) MS 2381/135 + 2382/265: Birch-bark, two separate middle parts, one of which has a string-hole with a double circle. A complete leaf would have had 8 lines.
- i) MS 2382/25 + 237a + uf1/3b, c + uf9/2a (Folio no. [1]45): Birch-bark, a left side and middle parts of a leaf. A complete leaf would have had more than 7 lines and 55–65 akṣaras per line.

⁶ Watanabe 1907a (1933): 429–430; 1907b: 45.

⁷ T. 55, no. 2149, p. 283a10.

⁸ There are four other tiny fragments, 2382/112, 2382/205d, 2382/uf10/4b, and 2382/uf15/2c, which contain a part of the *Itivṛttaka* formulae and show palaeographical similarity to one of the fragments identified with the *Itivṛttaka*. They are not dealt with here because of the shortness of their text. They seem to belong to manuscript B1, B2, D, and again D respectively in the list on the next page.

The scribe writes *m* of the *śrutam* of the formulae (see below) not as an anusvāra, but with virāma.

j) MS 2382/59 + 295: Birch-bark, the left side and the middle part of a leaf.

k) MS 2382/288 + 305b: Birch-bark, the left side and the middle part of a leaf. With a colophon.

Codicological and palaeographical analysis of these folios reveals that they stem from at least six (!) different manuscripts. Folio e cannot be assigned to any of the six manuscripts with certainty. It might belong to C or E, though the script seems slightly different, or it represents a new manuscript. In the latter case, we would have seven different manuscripts of the *Itivṛttaka*.

A: palm-leaf, 5 lines	b
B1: birch-bark, 6.5 cm high ⁹ , 7 lines	c
B2: birch-bark, (8) cm high, 8 lines	h
C: birch-bark, 6.5 cm high, 7 lines	d [+ <i>Avadānaśataka</i> , MS II (BMSC III)]
D: birch-bark, (8.5) cm high, 9 lines	a + i [+ <i>Avadānaśataka</i> , MS I (BMSC III)]
E: birch-bark, 8 cm high, 9 lines	f + g + j + k [+ <i>Andhasūtra</i> (BMSC II)]
?	e

Manuscript A is the only palm-leaf manuscript, the others are all birch-bark manuscripts. I have given the same letter “B” to the two different manuscripts B1 and B2 for convenience of reference to their common characteristics—(1) a double circle around the string-hole, (2) the unabridged opening formula (see the next section), and (3) the numbering of sūtras. They resemble each other in many aspects, but vary in height. C is represented by the best-preserved folio d. This is the only leaf which is restored in its whole width.

We suppose manuscript D to have had 9 lines on each side on the basis of the expected length of the text on folio a. Its original height can thus be estimated at c. 8.5 cm. This is just the same size of the *Avadānaśataka* (= Avś) manuscript, MS I, presented by the present author in BMSC III.¹⁰ And apparently, the handwriting is the same too. The two manuscripts obviously constitute a larger manuscript, though the two works belong to different literary genres. From the pagination “254” preserved in one of the fragments of the Avś, I assumed that the manuscript contained one or more texts before the Avś and the first folio of the Avś was around folio 146.¹¹ From the colophon of manuscript E, to be analysed below, the approximate volume of the *Itivṛttaka* is thought to be 5,600 ślokas (= 179,200 akṣaras). This corresponds to about 160 folios in the format of manuscript D. Considering possible deviations from the estimate I hazarded with the Avś manuscript, it seems probable that the *Itivṛttaka* was the text which preceded the Avś. The reverse order is excluded, because folio i of the *Itivṛttaka* is paginated “[1]45”. Otherwise, we should suppose two manuscripts of the same folio size and by the same scribe numbered separately.

Perhaps the manuscript (or the group of manuscripts) was a northern equivalent of the

⁹ The figures for the height in this list show an approximate value. The parenthesis indicates an estimation. I have rounded up the more precise data received from Gudrun Melzer.

¹⁰ See Demoto 2006.

¹¹ *Ibid.*: 219.

Khuddaka-nikāya. In the Pali *Khuddaka-nikāya* we can find narrative literature such as *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Jātaka* and *Apadāna* besides the sermonic texts *Itivuttaka*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, etc. The Avś includes diverse genres of narrative literature in its ten chapters: the 1st and 3rd chapters deal with *Vyākaraṇa*, the 2nd and 4th are dedicated to *Jātakas*, the 5th corresponds to the *Pretavastu*, the 6th to the *Vimānavastu*, and the last four chapters contain *Avadānas*. Supposing that the compilation was a component of the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka*,¹² it would not be unusual to find it side by side with the *Itivṛttaka* in one manuscript.

It seems to be then no coincidence that the other manuscript of the Avś, MS II, has the same handwriting as manuscript C of the *Itivṛttaka*. The Avś manuscript is represented by a single fragment in the size of c. 3 x 10 cm (see Plate XXXI, 10 in BMSC III) and we estimate a complete folio to have been c. 36 cm wide with 58 *akṣaras* per line on average.¹³ Folio d of the *Itivṛttaka*, the single representative of manuscript C, measures 6.3 x 35.6 cm and contains 60–70 *akṣaras* per line. If the discrepancy in the number of *akṣaras* per line can be regarded as tolerable, it is very likely that the two manuscripts belong together, just like the Avś manuscript MS I and the *Itivṛttaka* manuscript D. The affiliation of the *Itivṛttaka* and Avś in two manuscripts may be an indication of the existence of a number of manuscripts containing collections of sūtras belonging to the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka*. And this might explain the variety of *Itivṛttaka* manuscripts.

To the last manuscript E we can add the fragments of “the Andhasūtra and the sūtra on the three moral defects of Devadatta” presented by Siglinde Dietz in BMSC II.¹⁴ They show common palaeographical features with manuscript E, and the two restored sūtras on the folio have the style of the *Itivṛttaka*: They deal with three dharmas each and have their parallel in the AN and ItivP respectively. The first sūtra ends with *ayam (api) śrutam* and the second begins with *ukt(am idaṃ śrutam)*. The prose is followed by verses. This is evident at least in the first sūtra; in the second, the latter part of which is lost, it can be assumed from the parallel in ItivP. All this suggests that the fragments are parts of manuscript E of the *Itivṛttaka*.

According to the provisional transliteration of the manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection by Klaus Wille there are more fragments which appear to belong to the same group of fragments classified here as manuscript E. Their numbers are: 2381/uf19/2a + 2382/147/3 + 2382/uf1/5b and 2381/252/4b + 2382/147/1a + 1b + 283 + 289 + 302. From a palaeographical point of view, there is no doubt about their affiliation to manuscript E. From the viewpoint of style, however, it is implausible that they are parts of an *Itivṛttaka* manuscript. Their content is much more Abhidharma-like, and none of the *Itivṛttaka* formulae are found there, nor any stanzas. One of these fragments, namely 2382/147/3, is paginated “179,” and the folio with the *Andhasūtra* “[6]8.” From the abovementioned indication of text volume found in the colophon, we can estimate the total number of folios at about 138. This points to the fact that this manuscript too was a larger manuscript with more than one text. If this is a collection of sūtras from the **Kṣudraka-piṭaka*, as is suspected for C and D, one might be able to find an equivalent of the unidentified text in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*, especially in the *Niddesa* or the *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga* because of their Abhidharma-like character.

¹² Cf. Lamotte 1958: 174–6.

¹³ Demoto 2006: 219.

¹⁴ Dietz 2002: 25–34.

Textual analysis

In the fragments listed above we find the characteristic formulae of the *Itivṛttaka*. They are in most cases abbreviated. Only in manuscript group B is the opening formula written in full.¹⁵

Opening: *uktam idaṃ bhagavatoktam arhatā iti me śrutam* (in c.v3, h.r7)

or *uktam idaṃ śrutam* (in b.r2, d.r2, d.v4, e.r1, i.r5, j.vz)

[ItivP: *vuttam hetam bhagavatā vuttam arahatā ti me sutam*]

[ItivC: 吾從世尊聞如是語 “I have heard the following words from the Exalted One.”]

Introduction of the metrical part: *etam artham ucyate* (in a.v8, c.v1, g.v8)

[ItivP: *etam attham bhagavā avoca, tatthetam iti vuccati*]

[ItivC: 爾時世尊重攝此義而説頌曰 “Taking up this subject again, the Exalted One then spoke the following verses.”]

Ending: *ayam api śrutam* (in d.r2, d.v4, e.r1, h.r3, i.r9)

or *ayam apy artha ukto ...* (in k.vx)

[ItivP: *ayam pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan ti*]

[ItivC: none]

Folio a contains short texts from the second *varga* of the *Eka-nipāta*, “the chapter of one thing,” which corresponds to the first *vagga* of the *Eka-nipāta* of ItivP. The topic of this section is sins to be abandoned before attaining the stage of an Anāgāmin. They are twelve in ItivC (*rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha*, *mrakṣa*, *pradāsa*, *krodha*, *upanāha*, *īrṣyā*, *mātsarya*, **adhyavasāna*,¹⁶ *māna*, and *vihimsā*), but only six in Pāli (*lobha*,¹⁷ *dosa*, *moha*, *kodha*, *makkha*, and *māna*). The manuscript preserves a part of the *uddāna* and fragmentary texts partly repeated. The *uddāna* is placed before the *varga*, contrary to ItivC where *uddānas* are found after the corresponding sections.¹⁸ As can be seen from the Pāli parallels, the text of the *varga* consists largely in repetitions. Only the key word changes with each discourse, once in prose, once in the second stanza, and the beginning of the first stanza is modified to fit the new key word. The other part of the discourses remains the same. Hence, recurring passages are abbreviated with *yāvat* (v2, v3) in the manuscript. Consequently, the single leaf is enough to cover almost the whole *varga*. We read *[r]ā[g]a* in r3, *[upa](nāha)* in v2 and *mānena* in v8 which are the topics of the 1st, 7th, and the 11th sūtra respectively. In the reconstruction below only these three sūtras will be presented. The rest of the text is short and a mere repetition.

Folios b–f are parts of the *Dvika-nipāta*, “the chapter of two things.” They by chance gather in a comparatively short sequence of 11 sūtras and overlap at about ten akṣaras only (in e.r2–3 and f.vc–d). The texts corresponds with ItivC very closely.¹⁹ The sequence of the discourses agrees as

¹⁵ The instance in folio c is, in fact, not fully preserved. The text is broken off after *uktam idaṃ bhagavato*. The last akṣaras *bhagavato*, however, show that the formula was not abbreviated.

¹⁶ The reconstruction *adhyavasāna* from the Chinese 耽 is uncertain.

¹⁷ In the *uddāna* the first sūtra is represented by the word *rāga*.

¹⁸ In the Gilgit mss of the EĀ, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu* and the *Dharmaskandha*, *uddānas* are also placed before the corresponding *vargas* (Tripathi 1995: 24).

¹⁹ For a few deviations see fnn. 35, 37, and 46.

well. This coincides with the fact that the manuscripts were written at a time not far from the Chinese translation.

ItivC ²⁰	Title ²¹	Taishō	Folio
2.3.11	無欺誑 “unfailing” [karma & jñāna]	T. 683a09	b-1
2.3.12	父母 mātāpitarau	T. 683a21	b-2
2.4.1	施 dāna [dharma- & āmiṣa-dāna]	T. 683c06	–
2.4.2	祠 yāga [dharma- & āmiṣa-yāga]	T. 683c28	c-1
2.4.3	集會 “meeting” [tūṣṇībhāva & *dharmyā kathā]	T. 684a21	c-2
2.4.4	不如 ayoniśo(manasikāra)	T. 684b25	d-1
2.4.5	如 yoniśo(manasikāra)	T. 684c17	d-2
2.4.6	學 śaikṣa(bala) [bhāvanā- & pratisaṃkhyāna-bala]	T. 685a13	d-3
2.4.7	終 “end” [*karma & *āyus]	T. 685b17	–
2.4.8	行 pratipad [alpāyuṣka- & dīrghāyuṣka-saṃvartanī pratipad]	T. 685c06	e-1, f
2.4.9	行相 *ākāra [*ālambana- & *manasikāra-ākāra]	T. 685c24	e-2

The texts on folios g–k treat more than three dharmas, and hence have no correspondence in ItivC. Many of them, however, have a close parallel in the AN.

Folio	Chapter	Supposed title	Parallel
g	4 (?)	Sāra	AN IV.150 “Sārasuttaṃ”
h-1	5	Sthāna	SN XXXVII.32 “Thānaṃ”
h-2	5	Krodhana	AN VII.60 “Kodhano”; MĀ(Chin) 129
i-1	6	Sākṣin	AN VI.71 “Sakkhi”
i-2	6	Śītibhāva	AN VI.85 “Śītibhāvasuttaṃ”
j-1	8	Vyāpāda (?)	?
j-2, k-1	8	Aṣṭapudgala	AN VIII.59 “Aṭṭhapuggalo (1)”

The sūtra on folio g has a short parallel in the *Catukka-nipāta* of the AN, but it seems that the Sanskrit text treats more than four dharmas (see fn. 87). It might belong to a later chapter than the *Catuṣka-nipāta*. The sūtra on folio h-2 offers another instance of difference in number of dharmas; the Sanskrit text clearly belongs to the *Pañcaka-nipāta*, whereas its parallel in the AN and the Chinese MĀ deals with seven dharmas (see fn. 93). The remaining four sūtras with a parallel, namely h-1, i-1, i-2, and j-2, agree with the Pāli as to the number of dharmas.

Regardless of the divergences from their parallel, it is evident from the reconstruction below that the Sanskrit texts on h–k belong to the 5th, 6th, and 8th chapter of the *Itivṛttaka*. That is to say, the Sanskrit version was composed of at least eight chapters. As the sūtra “Aṣṭapudgala” on

²⁰ The three figures mean the number of the *nipāta*, the *varga*, and the sūtra successively.

²¹ The column contains Chinese titles as given in the *uddānas* (T. 683b25–26; 688c22–23) with their Sanskrit equivalents as far as they can safely be reconstructed, otherwise with English translation. The words between square brackets show the pair of *dharmas* dealt with in the discourse. The asterisk indicates that the Sanskrit words are conjectured from the Chinese.

folios j–k is followed by the colophon, we can safely assume that the work was composed of eight chapters.²² The canonical text had been expanded in the north much more than in the south, so that it had twice as many chapters as its southern counterpart. We can suppose that the northern Buddhists took materials chiefly from their own recension of the EĀ to expand the work, considering the fact that the Sanskrit text in the latter chapters agrees with its parallel in the AN more closely than that in the first chapters does with ItivP or other Pāli texts.

The colophon preserved on folio k runs as follows:

sūtrāṇi ttriṃśa<t> samāptaś cetivṛttakaḥ sahasr(āṇi) [p](aṃ)ca śatāni ṣaṭ ||*

The first part *sūtrāṇi ttriṃśa<t>* “30 sūtras” probably means that the last chapter contains 30 sūtras. The 1st chapter of ItivC contains 60 sūtras and the 2nd 50. Assuming that the first chapters had contained more sūtras as the core of the work than the chapters added later, “30” is a reasonable number for the *Aṣṭaka-nipāta*. The middle part *samāptaś cetivṛttakaḥ* “the *Itivṛttaka* is completed,” provides confirmation that the northern recension was called “*Itivṛttaka*,” not “*Ityuktaka*.” The last part, a number without a unit, is a little puzzling. Two crucial *akṣaras* are damaged and cannot be read with certainty. If the restoration *saḥasr(āṇi) [p](aṃ)ca śatāni ṣaṭ* is correct, the number “5,600” most likely denotes the total volume of the text. The unit is usually the *śloka*. As one *śloka* stands for 32 *akṣaras*, the total volume would be 32 x 5,600 = 179,200 *akṣaras*. In the format of manuscript E (9 lines x 70–75 *akṣaras*²³), the amount of *akṣaras* corresponds to about 138 folios. The leaf with the *Andhasūtra* in the *Trika-nipāta* is paginated “[6]8.” Supposing the *Itivṛttaka* as the first text in the manuscript, the figure appears to be a little high for the 3rd chapter out of eight. However, it is very likely that the text volume was distributed unevenly in the eight chapters. It seems reasonable to assume that the first chapters had more volume according to a higher number of sūtras as observed above, even if every single sūtra might have been shorter due to the lower number of dharmas dealt with. One can also suppose that one or more short texts preceded the *Itivṛttaka*, which may have covered 20–30 folios. The *Itivṛttaka* should end before page 179 where the Abhidharma-like text is found.

In the case of manuscript D (9 lines x 60–65 *akṣaras*), the total number of folios would be about 160. Folio i with two sūtras from the *Ṣaṭka-nipāta* preserves the pagination “[1]45.” The relatively high number for the 6th chapter could be explained in the same way as with manuscript E by uneven distribution of text volume. It is not likely that the *Itivṛttaka* was preceded by another text in the manuscript. In my estimation, the following Avś would allow no space for a further text.

²² I believe that folio k follows immediately after folio j and the texts on the folios belong to the same sūtra “*Aṣṭapudgala*” (see the reconstruction below). However, it cannot be entirely excluded that the fragmentary stanza on folio k is a part of another sūtra. Although the first line corresponds exactly to the first line of AN VIII.59 “*Atthapug-galo (1)*,” the subject of which is the eight noble persons from *śrotaāpattipratipanna* to *arhat*, the following lines seem to refer to *pratyekabuddha* and *anuttara samyaksambuddha*. The stanza consequently treats ten holy persons. If one takes this as an indication that the stanza belongs to the *Daśaka-nipāta*, the *Itivṛttaka* would have comprised ten chapters.

²³ Dietz 2002: 25.

Linguistic features

The language of the manuscripts is a fairly regular Sanskrit, apart from occasional negligence in saṃdhi rules. A few phonological/morphological features of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit can be observed in footnotes nos. 57, 58, and 60 (*avakramaṇa* for *utkramaṇa*, *amoha* for *amogha*, *pāpī-yasaṃ* for *pāpīyāṃsaṃ*). The metrical parts are written in Anuṣṭubh (1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 7, and 8.1) or Triṣṭubh-Jagatī (2.2, 3.1, 4.1, and 4.2).²⁴ One should recite some words with the metrical value of their Pāli equivalents (e.g., *kileśa* for *kleśa*) or regard two short syllables as one long syllable for the stanza to be metrical. Out of 28 complete Triṣṭubh-Jagatī lines either fully preserved or partly reconstructed, 23 can then be regarded as regular. They have the following metrical patterns:

⊃ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - (∪) ⊃	17
- - - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ⊃	4
- - - - ∪ - - ∪ - ⊃	2 ²⁵
Total	23

As for the remaining 5 lines (cf. fnn. 55, 65, and 77), no simple solution can be found to their metrical irregularities. They might have to be accepted as irregular, or their text might be corrupt.

Transliteration

a) MS 2381/246b + 2382/98 + 186a + uf27/2a; recto

- 1 /// [d]āśaṃ krodhaś ca upanāhaḥ īrṣyā mā .. /// + + + + + + + + + ///
- 2 /// .. gaṃ bhikṣava ekadharmam prajahītāhaṃ /// + + + + + + + + + ///
- 3 /// + .. m̐ .i .. + .[i]m̐ .aṃ [r]ā[g]aṃ [saṃ]yag ājñā .. /// + + + + + + + + + ///
- 4 /// + + + + + + + + + + .[e] + + /// + + + + + + + + + ///
- 5 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + .. + + + + + ///
- 6 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + /// + + .. m̐ api śrutam̐ || + ///
- 7 /// + + + + .. + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + sya prahā + ///
- 8 /// + + + ekadharm. + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + + + + + + ///
- 9 /// + + sya prahāṇān nā[yā] + + + + + /// + + + + + + + + + ///

verso

- 1 /// .. [t]ā gaccha[m̐]ti durgati • .. + + + + + /// + + + + + + ///
- 2 /// + + .. hīta yāvat* ya .[u] + + + + + /// [cch]. ti durgatiṃ • tam [upa] + ///
- 3 /// + + + [k]. dācaneti • ay. + + + + + /// .. yāvat* yad[u] + + + + + ///

²⁴ The metres of the Pāli *Itivuttaka* were analysed by Moore (1907).

²⁵ The two instances refer to the lines with footnote nos. 54 and 74, which possibly had the same wording in the original state: *tasmāt tarhi bhikṣavaḥ/-avo/-ava apramattā*. I suggest granting *hi* of *tarhi* a licence to be long, because the metrical pattern of the first four syllables (- - ∪) is not allowed for a Triṣṭubh-Jagatī line. The middle part (from the fifth to the seventh syllable) is a *ra-gaṇa* (- ∪ -) in the case of *bhikṣavaḥ/-avo*, which is observed often in lines beginning with ⊃ - - - (cf. Balk 1988: 83). In the case of the reading *bhikṣava* the line has a pattern similar to the second.

4 /// + + + + + + + ..m + + + + + + /// + + + + + ///
5 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + + + + + + ///
6 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + /// + + + + + + + + + ///
7 /// + + + + + .. + + + + + + /// + + + + + + + + + ///
8 /// tam artham ucyate || ye[na] mānena māni /// + + + + + + + + + ///
9 /// [śr]utaṃ • ekadharmam bhikṣavaḥ praja[h]. /// + + + + + + + + + ///

b) MS 2379/35; recto

1 /// + + + + [p]ākam apradāya kṣaya nopaiti sarvaśaḥ kleśān akṣapayitvā ca jñānaṃ naiva viga
2 /// + + .. taṃ || ◎ || uktam idaṃ śrutaṃ dvāv imau bhikṣavaḥ pudgalau satkartavyau gurukar-
tavyau mānaya
3 /// y. t. pūjayati satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjay. tvā upaniḥśṛtya viharati ba
4 /// [r]oti kāyasya ca bhedaṁ paraṃ maraṇāt s. gatiṃ svargakāyaṃ deva[l]o[k]. [m]. [papad].[t]e
[•]
5 /// + .itārau tas[m]ād [bh]i[k]. [v]o mātāpi .. rau satkartavyau yāvad upani + + + + + + + + ///

verso

1 /// + jataḥ śilp. c. n. [ś]. kṣāpa[y]. + pratirūpe-r-enam dāre nive[ś]. .. + + + + + ///

2 /// n[i] tau pūjītau sācāryakāni sāvayānīyāni saprāhvayānīyāni citrīkar.

3 /// [y]e [y]. s te mātāpītarāv abhīkṣaṇasāḥ annaiś ca pānaiś ca tato rasaiś ca bhaiśajyavas[tr]ā

4 /// + + [y]āḥ tathaiva pūrvācāryau ca tau smṛtau • anukāmpakau kārūṇikau hitaiṣiṇau ta

5 /// + + te kāmakāmī samarpita[h] kāmagaṇaiḥ sa paṃcabhiḥ pūjayaty [e]n[am]

c) MS 2382/177 + 185 + 199c + 205f + 257a + 264/7b + uf7/4c + uf16/5d; recto

1 /// + + + [dvā]v i[m]. bhikṣa<<vo>> yāgau ka .. + .. [u] .. dharmayāgaś cāmiṣa .. ///

2 /// + + + [khā]dyaṃ bhojyaṃ gandhaṃ māl̥yaṃ vastraṃ + [naṃ] śayanam āvasatham upāśra-
yaṃ ///

3 /// + + ikṣavo dha[r]mayā○ga .. ha bhikṣavo bhikṣur yāgaṃ y. + + ///

4 /// + + + + nā ca [pe] de○śay. t. prajñapayati pra .. + + + ///

5 /// + im[au] khao .au [y]ā○gau anayor bhikṣavo [d]va[y]o + + + + ///

6 /// [bh]ikṣavo gobhya .. + + + + [sa]rpiṣa sarpimaṇḍaś ca pu[n]. + + + + ///

7 /// .. vor yo yaṃ dha .. + + + + + [m] agram ākhyāyate eta + + + + + ///

verso

1 /// + + + + + tam artham ucyate || yam ā .. + + + + + ///

2 /// + + + + + v. deśayanti śṛṇvanti cobhay. + + + + + ///

3 /// + + + + + [2] || ◎ || uktam idaṃ bhagavato .. + + + + + ///

4 /// + + + + + .ū○ṣṇībhāvo nāva[ma]ntavya dha .[my]. + + + + + ///

5 /// + + + + + .. sam○ + m. paryupāse paryupā + + + + + ///

6 /// .. + + [dh]. rma paryavāpno .i + + paryapnuvan* dharmam dhāra + + + + + ///

7 /// nam ksama[t]e .. [rm]esu nidhyā .. + + n. sy. c[cha]ndo jāyate .. + + + + + ///

d) MS 2381/249 + 251/1, 2 + 252/2, 3 + uf18/7a, b, c + 2382/247; recto

- 1 + .. + + + + + .. ndriyāḥ tūṣṇīmbhūtā apy asamāhitendriyāḥ na tān praśamsāmi parīttabud-
dhī na te mama vacanakarā bhavaṃti tasmāt t. h. bhikṣavo pramattā varjayatāyoniśomanasikā
2 ra yoni[śas ca ma]nasikurutāpramattā evaṃ yūyaṃ mṛtyutarā bhaviṣyatheti ayam api śrutam ||
◎ || uktam idaṃ śrutam bhāṣamāṇā pi ced bhikṣavo bhikṣur yoniśo manasikaroti naiṣkramya-
vitar[k]a[m] avy[ā]
3 pādavitarakam avihiṃsāvitarkam ayam ucyate bhikṣa○vo bhikṣur āsaithilikah abāhulikah
avakramaṇe bāhulye nikṣiptadhuraḥ prahāṇe praviveke pūrvvaṃgamah ārab[dh]. [v]ī
4 ryah prahitātmā upasthitasmr̥tiḥ smr̥[ta]ḥ saṃprajā○na samāhi[ta e]kā[gra]citto guptendriyah
niḥsaraṇadarśī niḥsaraṇam yathābhūtam samyakprajñā[yā] prajānāti avakrā
5 mīn māram avakrāmīt pāpīyāmsam avakrāmīt pāpa○kān akuśalān dharmān[* adhy]. .. [n
m]āram adhyabhūt pāpīyasam adhyabhūt pāpakān akuśalān dharmān* avadhīd anekān pāpakā
6 + + [ś]. lān [dha]rmān* tūṣṇīmbhūto pi ced bhikṣavo bhikṣur yoniśo manasikaroti yāva + + +
[d a]nekān pāpakān akuśalān dharmān* evaṃrūpo bhikṣavo bhikṣu praśasyo bhavati viduṣāṃ
sābrahmacāri
7 + + + m apy enaṃ praśamsāmi • mahāprajñam amoho sya mānuṣyako bhava + + + + + + +
+ [pasa]m[pad bh]ikṣubhāvaḥ tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyam <<[k]i>>m iti vayaṃ
satatānuyu

verso

- 1 + + + .. + nasikariṣyāma iti evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyam iti [|| e]t. + + + + + + .. māṇā
susamāhitendriyāḥ tūṣṇīmbhūtā api susamāhitendriyā tān ahaṃ
2 + + + .[i] prabhūtāprajñāms te [c]aiva me vacanakarā bhavaṃti naiṣkramyacchando adhi-
mana[so] yuktayogā[h pra]hīṇavyāpādacittā avihiṃsakā yogaratāḥ sumedhaso bhyutthitā
niḥsara
3 ṇāgradarśinaḥ abhibhūya mārasya vibhīṣakās te saṃ○gātiga [o]gharatā vi + + .. [rvvān*]
kleśāṃ vyapanudya paṇḍitā caraṃti loke parinirvṛtā sthirāḥ tasmāt tarhi bhikṣavo yū
4 yam apramattā bhāvayata yonī satatānuyuktā ○ bhāvayitvā mārgam a[j]. + [śu]cim evaṃ
yūyaṃ mṛtyutarā bhaviṣyatheti || ayam api śrutam || ◎ || uktam idaṃ śrutam dve
5 ime bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣasya bhikṣoḥ śaikṣabale katame ○ dve yad [uta] .. tisamkhyān. [ba]lam ca
bhāvanābalaṃ ca katamac ca bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣasya bhikṣo pratisamkhyānam balaṃ śaikṣa-
balaṃ
6 iha bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣo bhikṣur yān kāmścic cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglāna .[r]. .[y]. yabhai-
śajyapariṣkāraṇ* paribhūṃkte sarvāms tān pratisamkhyāya paribhūṃkte nāpratisamkhyāya •
alabdha
7 + .īvarapariṣkāraṇ na paritapyate laīvarapariṣ[k]āraṇ na hr̥ .. .i + .i [n]i[p]ātayati
kṣamaś. bhavati śītasyoṣ.. sya jighitsāyāḥ pipāsāyāḥ daṃśamaśa

e) MS 2381/182 + 206 + uf9/1a; recto

- 1 /// [ti]r iti || ayam api śrutam || ◎ || uktam idaṃ śrutam [||]
2 /// lpāyuskaṣaṃvartanī pratipat* iha bhikṣava e[ka] .[y].

- 3 /// .. [p]ādāya idaṃ bhikṣavo lpāyuskaśaṃvartanī pratipat*
4 /// + + + + + [p]. .. taḥ sarvapraṇibhūt[eṣv a]ṃtaśaḥ kuṃta
5 /// + + + + + + + + + [d]e .. i + + + + + + + + +

verso

- w /// + + + + + t. na ca taton[i]dā[n]. [m]. [b]dh[ā]tu [y].
x /// .. + + .. o vāyudhātuḥ gūthakṛtam apy u dhāvati mūtra
y /// [ya]te evam eva khalu bhikṣavo bhikṣur vāyusamāṃ bhāvanāṃ bhā
z /// + [ti]r vā prajñāyate • tasya bhikṣavo bhikṣur anena sa + +

f) MS 2382/24e; verso only²⁶

- a /// + + + + + .. + + ///
- b /// [pa]d[au lo]ke vartete prā + ///
- c /// [va] ekatyah prāṇāti[pā] ///
- d /// ..m[va]r[tta]nī pratipa .. ///

g) MS 2381/245a + 2382/243/1; verso only

- 1 na pariśuddhājīvaḥ pariśuddhayā dr̥ṣṭyā samanv. + /// + + + + + + + + + + + + +
2 samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṁ syād vacanāya • + /// + + + + + + + + + + + + +
3 gato bhikṣur iti kalyaṁ syād vacanāya ayam ucyate /// + + + + + + + + + + + + +
4 ṇa samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṁ syād vacanāya a /// prativ. .dh. ḥ [pr]. [jñ]. [s]. + + + + +
5 prajñāsāreṇa samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṁ syā .. /// + + [sa]manvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṁ ///
6 dāyāsravebhyaś cittaṁ bhavati vimuktisāre + + /// + + + ..m [v]im[u]k[t]aṁ bhavati vimukti //
7 bhikṣor jānataḥ paśyato nupādāyāsravebhya + /// + + + + + + + + + ..m + + ///
8 sārāḥ etaṁ arthaṁ ucyate || sāraṁ evādhigacch. + /// + + + + + + + + + + + + +
9 duḥkhaṁ upātyagur iti ayam api śr[u] .. [m] + + + /// + + + + + + + + + + + + +

h) MS 2381/135 + 2382/265; recto

- [illegible]

²⁶ Assumed from the comparatively dark colour of the fragment.

T. 665a2–13

吾從世尊。聞如是語。苾芻當知。若諸有情。永斷一法。我證彼定。得不還果。云何一法。謂是於貪。所以者何。一切有情。由貪染故。數數還來。墮諸惡趣。受生死苦。(r2)**若能永斷。如是一法。我證彼定。得不還果。不復還來。生此世間。是故我說。若諸有情。永斷一法。我證彼定。得不還果。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。**

我觀諸有情 由貪之所染 (r3)還來墮惡趣 受生死輪迴
若能正了知 永斷此貪者 定得不還果 不來生此間

ItivP 1 (p. 1)

Vuttam hetam bhagavatā vuttam-arahatā ti me sutam:

Ekadhammam bhikkhave pajahatha. Aham vo pāṭibhogo anāgāmitāya. Katamam ekadhammam? (r2)**Lobham bhikkhave ekadhammam pajahatha. Aham vo pāṭibhogo anāgāmitāyā-ti. Etam-attham bhagavā avoca, tatthetam iti vuccati:**

Yena lobhena luddhāse (r3)**sattā gacchanti duggatiṃ |**
tam lobham sammad-aññāya pajahanti vipassino |
pahāya na punāyanti imam lokam kudācanan-ti ||

Ayam-pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan-ti.

a-3 Upanāha

(uktam idam śrutam | ekadhammam bhikṣavaḥ praja)v2hīta yāvat ya(d)u(ta ...

... satvā ga)cch(am)ti durgatiṃ |

tam upa(nāham ... |

tasya prahāṇān nāyanti²⁹ imam lokam)v3 k(a)dācaneti ||

ay(am api śrutam ||)

T. 665c16–666a2

吾從世尊。聞如是語。苾芻當知。若諸有情。(v2)永斷一法。我證彼定。得不還果。云何一法。謂是於恨。所以者何。一切有情。由恨染故。數數還來。墮諸惡趣。受生死苦。若能永斷。如是一法。我證彼定。得不還果。不復還來。生此世間。是故我說。若諸有情。永斷一法。我證彼定。得不還果。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

我觀諸有情 由恨之所染 還來墮惡趣 受生死輪迴
若能正了知 永斷此恨者 定得不還果 (v3)不來生此間

a-4 Māna

v8 (... e)tam artham ucyate ||

yena mānena māni(tāḥ satvā gacchanti durgatiṃ |

...)

T. 666b10–21

吾從世尊。聞如是語。苾芻當知。若諸有情。永斷一法。我證彼定。得不還果。云何一法。謂是於慢。所以者何。一切有情。由慢染故。數數還來。墮諸惡趣。受生死苦。若能永斷。如是一法。我證彼定。得不還果。不復還來。生此世間。是故我說。若諸有情。永斷一法。我證彼定。得不還果。爾時世尊。(v7)**重攝此義。而說頌曰。**

我觀諸有情 由慢之所染 還來墮惡趣 受生死輪迴
若能正了知 永斷此慢者 定得不還果 不來生此間

ItivP 6 (p. 3)

Vuttam hetam bhagavatā vuttam-arahatā ti me sutam. Ekadhammam bhikkhave pajahatha. Aham vo pāṭibhogo anāgāmitāya. Katamam ekadhammam? Mānam bhikkhave ekadhammam pajahatha. Aham vo pāṭibhogo anāgāmitāyā-ti. Etam-attham bhagavā avoca, (v8)**tatthetam iti vuccati:**

²⁹ The text *tasya prahāṇān nāyanti* is reconstructed from r9. This line probably belongs to the sūtra on *pradāsa*.

Yena mānena mattāse sattā gacchanti duggatim |
 taṃ mānaṃ sammad-aññāya pajahanti vipassino |
 pahāya na punāyanti imaṃ lokaṃ kudācānan-ti ||
 Ayam-pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan-ti.

b-1 “Unfailing”

(r1 karma vi)pākam apradāya³⁰ kṣaya(m) nopaiti sarvaśaḥ <|>
 kleśān akṣapayitvā ca jñānaṃ naiva vigar2(cchatī ||
 ... ayam api śru)taṃ || ◎ ||

T. 683a09–20

吾從世尊。聞如是語。苾芻當知。世有二種無欺誑法。云何為二。謂業與智。若諸有情。已集諸業。其異熟果。若未現前。終不盡滅。若諸有情。已生諸智。一切煩惱。若未永除。終不捨離。如是名為世有二種無欺誑法。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

二無欺誑法 諸佛共所談 謂已集已生 諸業及諸智
 (r1)異熟果未生 諸業終不滅 煩惱若未盡 智終不捨離
 業是生死因 智為滅惑本 是故應修智 永盡眾苦邊

b-2 Mātāpitarau

uktam idaṃ śrutam <||>

dvāv imau bhikṣavaḥ pudgalau satkartavyau gurukartavyau mānaya(r3 tavyau pūjayitavyau ... | ...
 satkaroti gurukaroti māna)y(a)t(i) pūjayati <|> satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjay(i)tvā upaniḥ-
 śṛtya³¹ viharati bar4(hu ... ka)roti <|> kāyasya ca bhedāt paraṃ maraṇāt s(u)gatim svargakāyaṃ
 devalok(a)m³² (u)papad(ya)te | (... r5 ...) .itārau³³ <|> tasmād bhik(ṣa)vo mātāpi(ta)rau satkartavyau
 yāvad upani(śṛitya viharati ... v1 ...)jataḥ śilp(aṃ) c(ai)n(aṃ) ś(i)kṣāpay(ataḥ) pratirūpe-r³⁴-enaṃ
 dāre niveś(ayataḥ ... v2 ... mā)nitau pūjitau saccāryakāni sāvayaniyāni saprāhvayaniyāni³⁵ citrī-
 kar(a v3 nīyāni ...

...)
 ye y.³⁶ ste mātāpitarāv abhikṣaṇaśaḥ
 annaiś ca pānaiś ca tato rasaiś ca
 bhaiṣajyavastrā³⁷ v4 (...)

³⁰ Recite the second and third syllables (*ma* and *vi*) as a long and *-pākam a-* instead of *-pākam a-* to fit the metre (*ra-Vipulā*).

³¹ Read *upaniśṛitya*.

³² It is noteworthy that the accusative case is used here instead of the locative, which is commoner in the stereotyped phrase.

³³ Restore (*darśa*)(y)*itārau*? Cf. the Pāli and Sanskrit parallels below (*bahūpakārā bhikkhave mātāpitāro puttānāṃ, āpādakā posakā imassa lokassa dassetāro ti; duṣkarakārakau hi bhikṣavaḥ putrasya mātāpitarāv āpyāyakau poṣakau saṃvardhakau stanyasya dātārau citrasya jambūdvīpasya darśayitārau*).

There is a longer interval between lines r4 and r5 in the Chinese parallel. I assume that the passage 父母於子。有深重恩。所謂產生。慈心乳哺。洗拭將養。令其長大。供給種種資身器具。教示世間所有儀式。心常欲令離苦得樂。曾無暫捨。如影隨形。was abbreviated in the manuscript since an identical passage occurs in a preceding sūtra about a deep obligation to the parents (the sūtra before the previous, T. 682c9–683a8).

³⁴ *-r-*: hiatus-bridger?

³⁵ This passage has no correspondence in ItivC. According to the Pāli and Sanskrit parallels the subject is *kulāni*.

³⁶ Only the upper half of the akṣara has survived, and it has the same form as the preceding *ye* without the vocalic sign. It can be either *ya* or *yu*. Neither of them, however, makes sense to me.

³⁷ These two lines with instrumentals have no correspondence in ItivC.

...
 ...
 ...)yāh
 tathaiva pūrvācāryau³⁸ ca tau smṛtau |
³⁹anukāṃpakau kāruṇikau hitaiṣiṇau
 tav5(...
 ...
 ...
 ...)te kāmakāmī
 samarpitaḥ kāmagaṇaiḥ sa paṃcabhiḥ
 pūjayaty enaṃ (...
 ...)

T. 683a21–b23

吾從世尊。(r2)聞如是語。苾芻當知。世有二種補特伽羅。應深尊重禮拜供養。以敬愛心。親近而住。云何為二。所謂父母。若諸有情。於其父母。(r3)深心尊重。禮拜供養。以敬愛心。親近而住。生無量福。諸有智人。咸共稱歎。聲譽普聞。處眾無畏。後不焦惱無悔。(r4)命終身壞死後昇諸善趣。生於天中。何緣有情。應於父母。深心尊重。禮拜供養。以敬愛心。親近而住。父母於子。有深重恩。所謂產生。慈心乳哺。洗拭將養。令其長大。供給種種資身眾具。教示世間所有儀式。心常欲令離苦得樂。曾無暫捨。如影隨形。(r5)是故父母。應深敬重。禮拜供養。以敬愛心。親近而住。若諸有情。敬愛父母。親近而住。父母於其深心慈愍。除無益事。授有益事。制止眾惡。(v1)勸修眾善。為其婚娶。貞良妻室。有時賜與珍寶財穀。世間天人。咸共稱歎。恭敬供養。親近加護。令無衰惱。是故有情。於其父母。應深尊重禮拜供養。以敬愛心。親近而住。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

諸有樂福人	應尊重父母	禮拜修供養	敬愛親近居
世間聰慧人	恭敬(v3)於父母	恒時修供養	常生歡喜心
父母於世間	恩深重難報	除無益制惡	授利勸修善
與妻室資財	(v4)慈心常覆護	是故修供養	無量福聚生
現得勝名聞	咸供養恭敬	死生天善趣	受妙樂無窮
欲得生天人	(v5)受五欲妙樂	猶如天帝釋	當供養父母

Cf. ItivP 106 (pp. 109–111)⁴⁰

Sabrahmakāni bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesaṃ puttānaṃ mātāpitāro ajjhāgāre pūjitā honti.
 Sapubbadevatāni bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesaṃ puttānaṃ mātāpitāro ajjhāgāre pūjitā honti.
 Sapubbācariyakāni bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesaṃ puttānaṃ mātāpitāro ajjhāgāre pūjitā honti.⁴¹
 Sāhuneyyakāni bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesaṃ puttānaṃ mātāpitāro ajjhāgāre pūjitā honti.
 Brahmā ti bhikkhave mātāpitūnaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ.
 Pubbadevatā ti bhikkhave mātāpitūnaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ.
 Pubbācariyā ti bhikkhave mātāpitūnaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ.
 Āhuneyyā ti bhikkhave mātāpitūnaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ.

³⁸ Recite -cariyau m.c.

³⁹ Recite anu- as one long syllable m.c.

⁴⁰ Windisch notes in his edition (p. 109, n. 11): “The whole sutta occurs also in Aṅguttara Nikāya-Tik. 31, and Cat. 63: the Tikanipāta contains the more original version, being in accordance with the gāthās. The second sentence of the present sutta (*sapubbadevatāni*) is additional.”

⁴¹ Windisch notes to the sentence (p. 110, n. 3): “I follow A. and D. E. The other MSS. omit this third sentence (*sapubbācariyāni*), though they have the *pubbācariyā* in the second part of this sutta. All MSS. add the following sentence (the fifth in D. E., the fourth in the other MSS.): *Pāhuneyyakāni* (*Sapāhun*°, M.; *Sāpihuṇ*°, P.) *bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesaṃ puttānaṃ*, etc. But this has no corresponding sentence in the second part of this sutta, and is not in the commentary (A.)” It is noteworthy that our manuscript reads *sācāryakāni sāhvayanīyāni saprāhvayanīyāni* (v2) and that only M, the best manuscript among those Windisch could use, has the correct equivalent of *saprāhvayanīyāni*, though the reading was not adopted by Windisch.

Taṃ kissa hetu? Bahūpakārā bhikkhave mātāpitaro puttānaṃ, āpādakā posakā imassa lokassa dassetāro ti.

Brahmā ti mātāpitaro pubbācariyā ti vuccare |
 āhuneyyā ca puttānaṃ pajāya anukampakā ||
 Tasmā hi ne namasseyya sakkareyya ca paṇḍito |
 annena atha pānena vatthena sayanena ca |
 ucchādanena nhāpanena pādānaṃ dhovanena ca ||
 Tāya naṃ pāricariyāya mātāpitūsu paṇḍito |
 idheva naṃ pasamsanti pecca sagge pamodaṭṭi ||

Ayampi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan ti.

Avś i.193.6–194.9

sabrahmakāṇi bhikṣavas tāni kulāni yeṣu kuleṣu mātāpitarau samyañ mānyete samyak pūjyete samyak sukhena parihriyete | tat kasya hetoḥ | brahmabhūtau hi kulaputrasya mātāpitarau saha dharmeṇa |
 sākāryakāṇi tāni kulāni yeṣu kuleṣu mātāpitarau samyañ mānyete samyak pūjyete samyak sukhena parihriyete | tat kasya hetoḥ | ācāryabhūtau hi kulaputrasya mātāpitarau saha dharmeṇa |
 āhavanīyāni tāni kulāni yeṣu kuleṣu mātāpitarau samyañ mānyete samyak pūjyete samyak sukhena parihriyete | tat kasya hetoḥ | āhavanīyau hi kulaputrasya mātāpitarau saha dharmeṇa |
 sāgnikāṇi tāni kulāni yeṣu kuleṣu mātāpitarau samyañ mānyete samyak pūjyete samyak sukhena parihriyete | tat kasya hetoḥ | agnibhūtau hi kulaputrasya mātāpitarau saha dharmeṇa |
 sadevakāṇi tāni kulāni yeṣu kuleṣu mātāpitarau samyak mānyete samyak pūjyete samyak sukhena parihriyete | tat kasya hetoḥ | devabhūtau hi kulaputrasya mātāpitarau saha dharmeṇa ||
 idam avocad bhagavān idam uktvā sugato hy athāparam etad uvāca śāstā |
 brahmā hi mātāpitarau pūrvācāryau tathaiva ca |
 āhavanīyau putrasya agniḥ syād daivatāni ca ||
 tasmād etau namasyeta satkuryāc caiva paṇḍitaḥ |
 udvartanena snānena pādānāṃ dhāvanena ca |
 athavā annapānena vastraśayyāsanena ca ||
 tayā sa paricaryayā mātāpitṛṣu paṇḍitaḥ |
 iha cānindito bhavati pretya svarge ca modate ||

c-1 Yāga

(r1 ...) dvāv im(au) bhikṣa<<vo>> yāgau <|> ka(tamau) <|> (yad)u(ta) dharmayāgaś cāmiṣa(yāgaś ca |
 ... r2 ...) khādyam bhojyam gandham mālyam vastram (yā)naṃ⁴² śayanam āvasatham upāśrayam
 (... r3 ... bh)ikṣavo dharmayāga (i)ha bhikṣavo bhikṣur yāgam y(a)ja ... r4 ...)ṇā ca pe⁴³ deśa-
 y(a)t(i) prajñāpayati pra⁴⁴ ... r5 ... imau kha(lu bhikṣav)o (dv)au yāgau <|> anayor bhikṣavo
 dvayo(r yāgayor ... r6 ... tadyathā) bhikṣavo gobhya<ḥ> (kṣīram yāvat) sarpiṣa<ḥ> sarpi-maṇḍaś ca
 pun(ar ... r7 ... yāga)yor yo <'>yam dha(rmayāgo yāgānā)m agram ākhyāyate⁴⁵ <|> eta(... v1 ...
 e)tam artham ucyate ||

yam ā(hur ... v2 ...

ye cai)v(a) deśayanti śṛṇvanti cobhay(am⁴⁶

⁴² Restored from the Chinese 乘 “to ride; a vehicle.”

⁴³ The reading *pe* is not very certain due to damage to the akṣara. Possibly it is the abbreviation for *peyālam*, as there is a longer interval between lines r3 and r4 in the Chinese parallel.

⁴⁴ Restore *prasthāpayati*? Cf. AN i.286: *Taṃ Tathāgato abhisambujjhati abhisameti. Abhisambujjhitvā abhisametvā ācikkhati deseti paññāpeti paṭṭhapeti vivarati vibhajati uttānīkaroti sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā ti.*

⁴⁵ Cf. AN ii.95 etc.: *Seyyathāpi bhikkhave gavā khīraṃ, khīramhā dadhi, dadhimhā navanūtaṃ, navanūtamhā sappi, sappimhā sappimaṇḍo tattha aggam akkhāyati.*

⁴⁶ The line has no correspondence in ItivC, but has in Pāli. To fit the metre, recite *deśayanti śṛṇvanti* with the metrical values of their Pāli equivalent, *desenti suṇanti*.

... v3 ... ayam api śrutam ||) 2⁴⁷ || ◎ ||

T. 683c28–684a20

吾從世尊。聞如是語。(r1)苾芻當知。祠祀有二。云何為二。一財祠祀。二法祠祀。財祠祀者。謂有一類補特伽羅。祠祀種種美妙(r2)飲食。香鬘衣乘。房舍臥具。資產燈明。如是等類。名財祠祀。(r3)法祠祀者。謂能祠祀契經應頌記別伽他自說本事本生方廣。未曾有法。以無量門。(r4)如理宣說。施設建立。分別開示。名法祠祀。(r5)於此財法二祠祀中。法祠最上勝妙第一。譬如世間。(r6)從牛出乳。從乳出酪。酪出生酥。從此生酥。出於熟酥。復從熟酥。出於醍醐。於是種種牛諸味中。醍醐最上勝妙第一。(r7)如是財法二祠祀中。法祠最上勝妙第一。於法祠中。能無顛倒。行法祠者。唯有如來應正等覺明行圓滿善逝世間解無上丈夫調御士天人師佛薄伽梵。爾時世尊。(v1)重攝此義。而說頌曰。

於二種祠中	法祠為第一	能行法祠者	善逝最為尊
受財祀田中	如來為第一	行財祀不定	受法祀眾生
財祀令眾生	得世安隱樂	法祠令受者	究竟證涅槃

Cf. ItivP 98 (p. 98)

Dve-māni bhikkhave dānāni āmisadānañ ca dhammadānañ ca, etad-aggam bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnam dānānaṃ yad-idaṃ dhammadānaṃ.

Dve-me bhikkhave saṃvibhāgā āmisasaṃvibhāgo ca dhammasaṃvibhāgo ca, etad-aggam bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnam saṃvibhāgānaṃ yad-idaṃ dhammasaṃvibhāgo.

Dve-me bhikkhave anuggahā āmisānuggaho ca dhammānuggaho ca, etad-aggam bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnam anuggahānaṃ yad-idaṃ dhammānuggaho ti.

(v1)Yam-āhu dānaṃ paramaṃ anuttaraṃ yaṃ saṃvibhāgaṃ bhagavā avaṇṇayi |
aggamhi khetamhi pasannacitto viññū pajānaṃ ko na yaṇetha kāle ||

(v2)Ye ceva bhāsanti suṇanti cūbhayaṃ pasannacittā sugatassa sāsane |
tesaṃ so attho paramo visujjhati ye appamattā sugatassa sāsane ti ||

ItivP 100 (pp. 101–102)

Vuttaṃ hetam bhagavatā vuttam-arahatā ti me sutam.

Aham-asmi bhikkhave brāhmaṇo yācayogo sadā payatapāni antimadehadhāro anuttaro bhisakko sallakatto. Tassa me tumhe puttā orasā mukhato jātā dhammajā dhammanimmitā dhammadāyādā no āmisadāyādā.

Dve-māni bhikkhave dānāni āmisadānañ ca dhammadānañ ca, etad-aggam bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnam dānānaṃ yad-idaṃ dhammadānaṃ.

Dve-me bhikkhave saṃvibhāgā ...

Dve-me bhikkhave anuggahā ...

Dve-me bhikkhave yāgā (r1)āmisayāgo ca dhammayāgo ca, (r7)etad-aggam bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnam yāgānaṃ yad-idaṃ dhammayāgo ti.

(v1)Etam-atthaṃ bhagavā avoca, tatthetaṃ iti vuccati:

Yo dhammayāgaṃ ayajī amaccharī tathāgato sabbabhūtānukampī |
taṃ tādisaṃ devamanussasetṭhaṃ sattā namassanti bhavassa pāragun-ti ||

Ayam-pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan-ti.

AN II.13.2 (i, p. 91)⁴⁸

(r1)Dve 'me bhikkhave yāgā. Katame dve? Āmisa-yāgo ca dhamma-yāgo ca. (r5)Ime kho bhikkhave dve yāgā.

(r7)Etad aggam bhikkhave imesaṃ dvinnam yāgānaṃ yadidaṃ dhamma-yāgo ti.

c-2 “Meeting”

v3 uktam idaṃ bhagavato(ktam arhatā iti me śrutam | ... v4 ... t)ūṣṇībhāvo nāvamantavya⁴⁹
dha(r)my(... v5 ... upa)saṃ(krā)m(aṃ)⁵⁰ paryupās<at>e paryupā(samāno ... v6 ...) dh(a)rma(m)

⁴⁷ The corresponding Chinese sūtra is the second one of the third *varga*. The Sanskrit text seems to have had the same division of sūtras into *vargas*. This kind of numbering is peculiar to manuscript group B. (I wish to thank Klaus Wille for his assistance in reading the damaged numerals.)

⁴⁸ Cf. also EĀ §33.102: *dvau yogau* (read *yāgau*).

⁴⁹ A word ending is missing.

⁵⁰ Cf. MN i.480: *Idha bhikkhave saddhājāto upasaṅkamati, upasaṅkamanto payirupāsati, payirupāsanto sotam odahati, ohitasoto dhammaṃ suṇāti, sutvā dhammaṃ dhāreti, dhatānaṃ dhammānaṃ atthaṃ upaparikkhati, atthaṃ*

paryavāpno(t)i (dharmaṃ) parya<vā>pnuvan dharmam dhāra(yati ... v7 ... nidhyā)naṃ kṣamate (dha)rmeṣu nidhyā(naṃ kṣamamā)ṇ(a)sy(a) cchando jāyate ...

T. 684a21–b24

(v3)吾從世尊。聞如是語。苾芻當知。諸修行者。同集會時。應作二事。一者法言。(v4)二者宴默。由法言故。審知有德。審知德故。便深敬信。深敬信故。便往詣彼。(v5)往詣彼故。親近供事。親供事故。求聞正法。求聞法故。攝耳不亂。耳不亂故。聽聞正法。聞正法故。(v6)於法通利。法通利故。能記持法。記持法故。能觀察義。觀察義時。(v7)堪能於法。審諦思惟。堪能於法。審諦思時。便生欲樂。生欲樂已。便得勢力。得勢力已。便能稱量。由稱量故。便能決擇。能決擇故。於諦隨覺。便自了知。我生已盡。梵行已立。所作已辦。不受後有。由宴默故。心便寂定。清淨鮮白。無有瑕釁。離隨煩惱。調順堪任。安住不動。堪能引發。能引發故。如實了知。如實知故。便能厭背。能厭背故。便能離欲。既離欲已。便得解脫。得解脫已。便自了知。我已解脫。我生已盡。梵行已立。所作已辦。不受後有。汝等苾芻。應說上法。應了上法。若能如是。乃名真實。攝受仙幢。非眾集會。戲論語言。能正了知。諸法實相。能斷諸漏。能證涅槃。我常集會。宣說上法。了知上法。故名第一。攝受仙幢。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

行者集會時	應修作二事	謂寂然宴默	及說正法言
由說正法言	及寂然宴默	知諸法實相	究竟證涅槃
汝等當苾芻	若說了上法	乃得名真實	攝受大仙幢
我常處眾中	宣說照了法	是故名第一	攝受大仙幢
若依正法幢	能說能修行	定速脫生死	至究竟涅槃

d-1 Ayoniśomanasikāra

r1 (ye bhāṣamānā asamāhite)ndriyāḥ
tūṣṇīm̐bhūtā apy asamāhitendriyāḥ
na tān praśaṃsāmi parīttabuddhī<n>
na te mama⁵¹ vacanakarā⁵² bhavaṃti <|>
tasmāt t(ar)h(i)⁵³ bhikṣavo <'>pramattā⁵⁴
varjayatāyoniśomanasikār2ra(ṃ)⁵⁵
yoniśaś ca manasikurutāpramattā ...
evaṃ yūyaṃ mṛtyutarā bhaviṣyatheti <|>

ayam api śrutam || ◎ ||

T. 684b25–16

吾從世尊。聞如是語。苾芻當知。若諸苾芻。於言說時。非理作意。起欲尋思。起恚尋思。起害尋思。如是苾芻。名多惡者。行慢緩者。趣向多惡為方便故。於斷於離。棄捨善輒。放逸懈怠。下劣精進。亡失正念。有不正知。不定心亂。縱任諸根。無出離見。不知出離。如實正慧。趣向惡魔。惡不善法。為諸惡魔惡不善法之所摧伏。增長一切惡不善法。若諸苾芻。於宴默時。非理作意。廣說乃至。增長一切惡不善法。如是苾芻。為諸有智同梵行者之所訶毀。我亦於彼。常不稱讚。如是苾芻。雖得出家受具足戒。而名惡慧樂有癡人。是故汝等。應如是學。我當云何方便斷除。非理作意。方便修習。如理作意。汝等苾芻。應如是學。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

upaparikkhato dhammā *nijjhānaṃ khamanti*, *dhammanijjhānakkhantiyā sati chando jāyati*, *chandajāto ussahati*, *ussāhitvā tuletī*, *tulayitvā padahati*, *pahitatto samāno kāyena c'eva paramaṃ saccaṃ sacchikaroti paññāya ca naṃ ativijjha passati*; Caṅgīsūtra (Hartmann 2002: 15): *ay(...)so ś(r)ād(dh)ājātaḥ paryupāsati paryuṃpāsamntaḥ śuśrūṣan(ta)ḥ* (6v1 *śrotram odahati śrotrām odahaṃnta)ḥ dharmmaṃ śraṇoti dharmmaṃ śṛṇvantaḥ dharmmaṃ paryyāpuṇati dharmmaṃ paryyāpuṇaṃ(taḥ dharmmaṃ dhāreti dharmmaṃ dhārentaḥ artha)m upaparikṣati artham upaparikṣamntaḥ dharmmanidhyānaṃ kṣamat(i* 6v2 *dharmmanidhyānakṣāṃntīye prāmodyaṃ) jāyati pramuditasya cchandaḥ jāyati chaṃndajātaḥ utsahati (...)ti prajahaṃntaḥ satyam anubudhyati*.

⁵¹ Recite *mamā* m.c., cf. BHS §20.29.

⁵² Recite *vaca-* as one long syllable m.c.

⁵³ Regard *hi* as a long syllable, cf. fn. 25.

⁵⁴ Read *apramattā* m.c. The preceding word is to be read either *bhikṣavaḥ* without saṃdhi or *bhikṣavo/bhikṣava* with an irregular saṃdhi. Cf. fnn. 25 and 74.

⁵⁵ This and the following lines are metrically irregular.

(r1)言說宴默時 縱諸根造惡 不奉行我教 是愚昧癡人
故汝等苾芻 應修不放逸 離非理作意 (r2)當如理思惟
汝等若正勤 語默無放逸 不久度生死 證無上涅槃

d-2 Yoniśomanasikāra

uktam idaṃ śrutam <||>

bhāṣamāṇā⁵⁶ <’>pi ced bhikṣavo bhikṣur yoniśo manasikaroti naiṣkramyavitarkam avyār³pādavi-
tarkam avihimsāvitarkam ayam ucyate bhikṣavo bhikṣur āśaithilikāḥ abāhulikāḥ avakramaṇe⁵⁷
bāhulye nikṣiptadhuraḥ prahāṇe praviveke pūrvvaṃgamāḥ ārabdh(a)vīr⁴ryaḥ prahitātmā upa-
sthitasmṛtiḥ smṛtaḥ saṃprajāna<ḥ> samāhita ekāgracitto guptendriyaḥ niḥsaraṇadarśī niḥsaraṇaṃ
yathābhūtaṃ samyakprajñayā prajānāti <|> avakrār⁵mīn mārām <|> avakrāmīt pāpīyāmsam <|>
avakrāmīt pāpakān akuśālān dharmān <|> adhy(abhū)n mārām <|> adhyabhūt pāpīyasam⁵⁸ <|>
adhyabhūt pāpakān akuśālān dharmān <|> avadhīd anekān pāpakār⁶(n aku)ś(a)lān dharmān <||> tū-
ṣṇīmbhūto <’>pi ced bhakṣavo⁵⁹ bhikṣur yoniśo manasikaroti yāva(d avadhī)d anekān pāpakān
akuśālān dharmān <||> evaṃrūpo bhikṣavo bhikṣu<ḥ> praśasyo bhavati viduṣāṃ sabrahmacārī⁷
(ṇām | aha)m apy enaṃ praśamsāmi {} mahāprajñam <|> amoho⁶⁰ <’>sya mānuṣyako bhava + + + +
+ (pravrajyo)pasampad bhikṣubhāvaḥ <||> tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyaṃ <|> kim iti <|>
vayaṃ satatānuyuv¹(ktā yoniśo ma)nasikariṣyāma iti <|> evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyam iti || et(am
artham ucyate |

ye bhāṣa)māṇā<ḥ> susamāhitendriyāḥ
tūṣṇīmbhūtā api⁶¹ susamāhitendriyā<ḥ>
tān ahaṃ⁶² v² (praśamsā)m i prabhūtā⁶³ prajñāms
te caiva me⁶⁴ vacanakarā bhavaṃti <|>
naiṣkramyacchando⁶⁵ adhimanaso⁶⁶
yuktayogāḥ prahīnavyāpādacittā

⁶⁷avihimsakā yogaratāḥ sumedhaso

⁵⁶ Read *bhāṣamāṇo*.

⁵⁷ *avakramaṇe*: Wrong Sanskritization of *okkamana* which is cognate with *utkramaṇa* and means “transgression, violation.” See CPD s.v. ²o-kkamana. The Chinese has translated the word as 趣向 “going towards” and *bāhulya* as 多善 “many good deeds.” Cf. AN i.71 *Idha bhikkhave yassaṃ parisāyaṃ therā bhikkhū na bāhulikā honti na sāthalikā vokkamane nikkhitta-dhurā paviveke pubbaṅgamā viriyaṃ ārabhanti appattassa pattiyaṃ anadhiḡatassa adhiḡamāya asacchikatassa sacchikiriyāya*; EĀ §26.23 *yasyāṃ parṣadi ... (sthavirāś ca bhikṣavaḥ na śaithilikā bhavaṃ)ti abāhulikāḥ, avakramaṇīye nikṣipta-dhurāḥ, praviveke pūrvvaṃ-gamāḥ, śikṣāyāṃ tīvra-gauravāḥ*.

⁵⁸ *pāpīyasam*: An irregular accusative form beside the correct *pāpīyāmsam* in the preceding line.

⁵⁹ Read *bhikṣavo*.

⁶⁰ *amoho* = *amogho*, cf. BHS s.v. *amoham* “not in vain.” The Chinese has translated the passage: 不樂諸有 名不癡人 “[A monk of such a kind ...] does not delight in existences and is called ‘the non-foolish person.’”

⁶¹ Recite *api* as one long syllable m.c.

⁶² Read *te haṃ* m.c., cf. BHS §20.7, 21.30

⁶³ Read *prabhūta*-. *mi* and *ta* before *pra*- remain metrically short.

⁶⁴ Recite *vaca*- as one long syllable m.c.

⁶⁵ Read *-chandaso* (Skt) or *-chandā* (Pkt)? This line and the following are metrically irregular.

⁶⁶ Cf. CPD s.v. *adhimana* “disposed, intent on” and *adhimanasa* “with a well disposed mind, composed.”

⁶⁷ Recite *avi*- as one long syllable m.c.

⁶⁸ <’>bhyutthitā nihsarav3ñāgradarśinah <|>

⁶⁹ abhibhūya mārasya vibhīṣakā<m>s te

saṃgātiga⁷⁰ ogharatā⁷¹ vi + +

(sa)rvvān kleśāṃ⁷² vyapanudya paṇḍitā<h>

caramti loke parinirvṛtā<h> sthirāḥ <|>

tasmāt tarhi⁷³ bhikṣavo yūv4yam⁷⁴ apramattā

bhāvayata⁷⁵ yoni<m>⁷⁶ satatānuyuktā

bhāvayitvā mārgam a(m)j(asam) śucim⁷⁷

evam yūyam mṛtyutarā bhaviṣyatheti ||

ayam api śrutam || ◎ ||

T. 684c17–685a12

吾從世尊。(r2)聞如是語。苾芻當知。若諸苾芻。於言說時。如理作意。出離尋思。(r3)無恚尋思。無害尋思。如是苾芻。名多善者。無慢緩者。趣向多善為方便故。於斷於離。不捨善軛。離諸放逸。(r4)勇猛精進。正念正知。心定無亂。密護諸根。有出離見。能知出離。如實正慧。(r5)棄背惡魔惡不善法。摧伏惡魔惡不善法。損滅一切惡(r6)不善法。若諸苾芻。於宴默時。如理作意。廣說乃至。損滅一切惡不善法。如是苾芻。為諸有智同梵行者之所稱讚。(r7)我亦於彼。恒常稱讚。如是苾芻。名真出家受具足戒。有大智慧。不樂諸有。名不癡人。是故汝等。應如是學。我當云何方便修習。(v1)如理作意。方便斷除。非理作意。汝等苾芻。應如是學。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

言說宴默時	不縱根造惡	(v2)能奉行我教	是聰慧智人
修出離尋思	及無恚無害	有出離(v3)正見	於如實能知
能摧伏惡魔	諸惡不善法	永斷諸煩惱	證究竟涅槃
故汝等苾芻	(v4)應修不放逸	當如理作意	離非理思惟
汝等若正勤	語默無放逸	不久度生死	證無上涅槃

Cf. ItivP 16 (pp. 9–10)

Vuttam hetam bhagavatā vuttam-arahatā ti me sutam.

Sekhassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno appattamānasassa anuttaram yogakkhemam patthayamānassa viharato ajjhattikam aṅgan-ti karitvā na aññaṃ ekaṅgam-pi samanupassāmi evam bahūpakāram yathayidaṃ bhikkhave yoniso manasikāro. Yoniso bhikkhave bhikkhu manasi karonto akusalam pajahati kusalam bhāvetīti.

Etam-attham bhagavā avoca, tatthetam iti vuccati.

Yoniso manasikāro dhammo sekhassa bhikkhuno |

natth-añña evam bahūpakāro uttamattassa pattiya |

yoniso padaham bhikkhu khayam dukkhassa pāpuṇe ti ||

Ayam-pi attho vutto bhagavatā iti me sutan-ti.

d-3 Śaikṣabala

uktam idaṃ śrutam <||>

⁶⁸ Dissolve the saṃdhi m.c.: *sumedhaso 'bhyutthitā* → *sumedhasaḥ abhyutthitā*.

⁶⁹ Recite *abhi-* as one long syllable m.c.

⁷⁰ Read *saṃgātigā*.

⁷¹ Read *oghatarā*? Cf. *mṛtyutarā* in the last line. The following word might be *vimuktāḥ*. The corresponding Chinese stanza does not help to restore the line: 能摧伏惡魔 諸惡不善法 永斷諸煩惱 證究竟涅槃 “They are able to conquer Māra and bad and unwholesome characteristics. Having eliminated all the depravities for ever, they realize ultimate *nirvāṇa*.”

⁷² Recite *kileśāṃ* m.c.

⁷³ Regard *hi* as a long syllable, cf. fn. 25.

⁷⁴ The line is hypermetric. *yūyam* seems to have been inserted to avoid the saṃdhi between *bhikṣavo* and *apramattā*. See also fn. 54 to the line where the manuscript reads *bhikṣavo 'pramattā*.

⁷⁵ Recite *-vaya-* as one long syllable m.c.

⁷⁶ *yonī* is used once as a synonym for *yonisomanasikāra* in the *Nettipakaraṇa* (cf. PTSD s.v. *yonī*).

⁷⁷ The line is metrically irregular.

dve **v5** ime bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣasya bhikṣoḥ śaikṣabale <|> katame dve <|> yad uta (pra)tiṣaṃkhyān(a)balam ca bhāvanābalaṃ ca <|> katamac ca bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣasya bhikṣoḥ<|> pratiṣaṃkhyāna{ṃ}balam śaikṣabalaṃ <|> **v6** iha bhikṣavaḥ śaikṣo bhikṣur yān kāmście cīvarapiṇḍa-pātaśayanāsanaglāna(p)r(at)y(a)yabhaiśajyapariṣkāraṇ paribhūṃkte sarvāṃs tān pratisaṃkhyāya paribhūṃkte nāpratisaṃkhyāya | alabdhā⁷⁸ **v7** (ca c)īvarapariṣkāraṇ⁷⁹ na paritapyate <|> la(bdhvā ca c)īvarapariṣkāraṇ na hr(ṣyat)i + .i nipātayati <|> kṣamaś (ca) bhavati śītasyoṣ(ṇa)sya jighitsāyāḥ⁸⁰ pipāsāyāḥ daṃśamaśa(kavātātapa ...⁸¹)

T. 685a13–b16

吾從世尊。聞如是語。(v5)苾芻當知。有學苾芻。有二種力。云何為二。謂思擇力及修習力。(v6)云何苾芻。有思擇力。所謂一類有學苾芻。受用種種衣服飲食房舍臥具病緣醫藥資生具時。皆善思擇。非不思擇。而便受用。於所未得(v7)衣服飲食房舍臥具病緣醫藥諸資生具。不甚希求。於所已得衣服飲食房舍臥具病緣醫藥諸資生具。不深耽著。堪能忍受。寒熱飢渴。風日蚊虻。蛇蝎等觸。堪能忍受。他所毀謗。罵辱等言。堪能忍受。身內所生。猛利辛楚。酸疼難忍。奪命臨終。難治苦受。堪能忍受。一切世間。極難忍事。能善思擇。諸身語意。三種惡行。能照現法生法後法。不可愛樂苦異熟果。作是思惟。我今定當斷身語意三種惡行。我今定當修身語意三種妙行。能正了知三種惡行所有過患。復正了知三種妙行所有功德。既正知已。勤斷勤修。惡行妙行。修治自身。令其清淨。離諸罪法。如是名為有學苾芻初思擇力。云何苾芻有修習力。所謂一類有學苾芻。所得憶念。一切皆與覺支相順。而不相違。所得擇法及精進喜輕安定捨一切。皆與覺支相順。而不相違。修念覺支。皆依止厭。皆依止離。皆依止滅。迴向於捨。修習擇法及精進喜輕安定捨覺支。皆依止厭。皆依止離。皆依止滅。迴向於捨。如是名為有學苾芻後修習力。是名有學苾芻二力。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

諸有學苾芻	略有二種力	思擇及修習	能伏惡魔軍
見惡過能斷	知妙德能修	能忍受思惟	是名思擇力
依止厭離滅	及迴向於捨	而修七覺支	是名修習力

Cf. AN II.2.1 (i.52)⁸²

(v4)Dve-(v5)māni bhikkhave balāni. Katamāni dve? Paṭisaṅkhānabalaṃ ca bhāvanābalaṃ ca.

Katamaṇ ca bhikkhave paṭisaṅkhānabalaṃ? (v6)Idha bhikkhave ekacco iti paṭisaṅcikkhati – Kāyaduccaritaṃ kho pāpako vipāko dīṭṭh-eva dhamme abhisamparāyaṇaṃ ca: vacīduccaritaṃ ... pe ...: manoduccaritaṃ pāpako vipāko dīṭṭh-eva dhamme abhisamparāyaṇaṃ cā ti. So iti paṭisaṅkhāya kāyaduccaritaṃ pahāya kāyasucaritaṃ bhāveti: ... pe ... manoduccaritaṃ pahāya manosucaritaṃ bhāveti suddham attānaṃ pariharati. Idam vuccati bhikkhave paṭisaṅkhānabalaṃ.

Katamaṇ ca bhikkhave bhāvanābalaṃ? Tatra bhikkhave yam idam bhāvanābalaṃ sekhānaṃ etaṃ balaṃ. Sekhaṃ hi so bhikkhave balaṃ āgamma rāgaṃ pajahati dosaṃ pajahati mohaṃ pajahati, rāgaṃ pahāya dosaṃ pahāya mohaṃ pahāya yaṃ akusalaṃ taṃ na karoti yaṃ pāpaṃ taṃ na sevati. Idam vuccati bhikkhave bhāvanābalaṃ. Imāni kho bhikkhave dve balāni ti.

e-1 + f Pratipad

r1 (...)tir iti || ayam api śrutam || ◎ ||

uktam idam śrutam || (ime dve bhikṣavaḥ **vb** prati)padau loka vartete prā(... **r2** ... a)lpāyuṣkasam-

⁷⁸ Read *alabdhvā*. Cf. SN ii.194: *aladdhā cīvaraṃ na paritassati, laddhā ca cīvaraṃ agadhito amucchito anajjhāpano ādīnavadassāvī nissaraṇapañño paribhuñjati*.

⁷⁹ The long compound *cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaiśajyapariṣkāraṇ* (cf. v6) is abbreviated twice in v7, while it is fully translated into Chinese.

⁸⁰ Read *jighatsāyāḥ*.

⁸¹ These akṣaras are expected to be at the beginning of the next folio. Cf. AN ii.117 etc.: *Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu khamo hoti sītassa uñhassa jighacchāya pipāsāya daṃsamakasavātātapasiriṃsapasamphassānaṃ duruttānaṃ durāgatānaṃ vacanapathānaṃ uppannānaṃ sārīrikānaṃ vedanānaṃ dukkhānaṃ tippānaṃ kharānaṃ kaṭukānaṃ asātānaṃ amanāpānaṃ pāṇaharānaṃ adhivāsikajātiko hoti*.

⁸² Cf. also *Zā-āhān-jīng* 雜阿含經 661-3 (T2, 184a29–b25); EĀ §28.1A15, 33.117.

vartanī pratipat <|> iha bhikṣava **vc** ekatyah⁸³ prāṇātipā(tī ... **r3** ... u)pādāya <|> idaṃ bhikṣavo <'>lpāyuṣkasam**r3**, **vd**vartanī pratipat **r4** (...) p. ... taḥ sarvapraṇibhūteṣv aṃtaśaḥ kuṃṭa(pipīlika **r5** ...) d(v)e (prat)i(padau) ...

T. 685c06–23

(r1)吾從世尊聞如是語。苾芻當知。(vb)有二種行。世間眾生。皆共造作。云何為二。一者能感短壽之行。二者能感長壽之行。云何(r2)能感短壽之行。謂有(vc)一類補特伽羅。常樂殺生。為性兇暴。血塗其手。傷害物命。無有慚羞。無有慈愍。於諸眾生。常行殺害。乃至殺害。折脚蟻子。(r3)是名能感短壽之行。云何能感長壽之行。謂有一類補特伽羅。遠離殺生。棄捨殺具。慚羞慈愍。(r4)於諸眾生。常不殺害。乃至不害。折脚蟻子。是名能感長壽之行。如是名為有(r5)二種行。世間眾生。皆共造作。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

世間諸有情	略有二種行	由二行差別	感壽有短長
謂常樂殺生	兇暴血塗手	無慚羞慈愍	感短壽無疑
常樂離殺生	棄捨諸殺具	有慚羞慈愍	感長壽無疑

Cf. MN 135 “Cūḷakammavibhaṅgasuttaṃ” (iii.203–204)⁸⁴

(r2)Idha, māṇava, ekacco itthī vā puriso vā (vc)pāṇātipātī hoti luddo lohitapāṇī, hatapahate niviṭṭho adayāpanno pāṇabhūtesu. So tena kammena evaṃ samattena evaṃ samādiṇṇena kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātāṃ nirayaṃ uppajjati. No ce kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātāṃ nirayaṃ uppajjati, sace manussattaṃ āgacchati, yattha yattha paccājāyati appāyuko hoti. (r3, vd)Appāyukasamvattanikā esā, māṇava, paṭipadā, yad-idaṃ pāṇātipātī hoti luddo lohitapāṇī hatapahate niviṭṭho adayāpanno pāṇabhūtesu.

Idha, pana, māṇava, ekacco itthī vā puriso vā pāṇātipātāṃ pahāya pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti nihitadaṇḍo nihitasattho lajjī dayāpanno (r4)sabbapāṇabhūtahitānukampī viharati. So tena kammena evaṃ samattena evaṃ samādiṇṇena kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjati. No ce kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjati, sace manussattaṃ āgacchati, yattha yattha paccājāyati dīghāyuko hoti. Dīghāyukasamvattanikā esā, māṇava, paṭipadā yad-idaṃ pāṇātipātāṃ pahāya pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti nihitadaṇḍo nihitasattho lajjī dayāpanno sabbapāṇabhūtahitānukampī viharati.

e-2 Ākāra

vw (...) t. na ca tatonidān(a)m (a)bdhātu(r) y(āvxvat ...)o vāyudhātuḥ <|> gūthakṛtam apy <aps>u⁸⁵ dhāvati mūtravy(kṛtam api ...)yate <|> evaṃ eva khalu bhikṣavo bhikṣur vāyusamāṃ bhāvanāṃ bhāvz(vayati ...)tir vā prajñāyate | tasya bhikṣavo bhikṣur⁸⁶ anena sa ...

T. 685c24–686b2

吾從世尊聞如是語。苾芻當知。由二行相應取心相。云何為二。一者名為所緣行相。二者名為作意行相。所有一切。已取現取當取心相。皆由如是二種行相。汝等苾芻。由二行相。應當正勤善取心相。取心相已。應善作意。善作意已。應善觀察。善觀察已。應善安住。善安住已。應同地界。正勤修習。無量無損。應同水界。火界風界。正勤修習。無量無損。苾芻當知。譬如地界。若於其中。安置糞穢洩唾膿血如是等類。淨不淨物。雖置其中。而其地界。曾無違順欣感高下。如是安心應同地界。正勤修習。無量無損。既同地界。正勤修習。無量無損。雖遇種種違順眾緣。而心都無分別計著。(vw)終不由此差別因緣。其心高下。又如水界。火界(vx)風界。若於其中。安置糞穢洩唾膿血如是等類。淨不淨物。雖置其中。而其水界。火界風界。曾無違順。欣感高下。(vy)如是安心。應同水界。火界風界。正勤修習。無量無損。既同水界。火界風界。正勤修習。無量無損。雖遇種種違順眾緣。而心都無分別計著。終不由此差別因緣。其心高下。其心高下。由此定故。於有識身。及外一切所緣相中。我我所執。見慢隨眠。善伏善斷。於彼二種。其心超越。離一切相。寂靜安樂。得善解脫。所有一切。心善解脫。慧善解脫。皆於其中。我我所執。見慢隨眠。善伏善斷。於彼二種。其心超越。離一切相。寂靜安隱。得善解脫。於其所得。利譽稱樂。其心不欣。於其所遭衰毀譏苦。其心不感。是名超過世間八法。其心平等。猶如世間地水火風。世間八法。所不能染。爾時世尊。重攝此義。而說頌曰。

難調躁動心 遠行無第二 能正勤取相 是謂世聰明

⁸³ From the Chinese parallel we would expect *pudgalah* after *ekatyah*.

⁸⁴ Cf. also *Zhōng-āhán-jīng* 中阿含經 170 (T1, 705a3–16).

⁸⁵ Cf. MN i.423–424: *seyyathāpi rāhula āpasmiṃ sucim-pi dhovanti, asucim-pi dhovanti, gūthagatam-pi dhovanti, muttagatam-pi dhovanti, khelāgatam-pi dhovanti, pubbagatam-pi dhovanti, lohitāgatam-pi dhovanti, na ca tena āpo aṭṭhīyati vā harāyati vā jigucchati vā, evaṃ-eva kho tvaṃ rāhula āposamaṃ bhāvanāṃ bhāvehi*.

⁸⁶ Read *bhikṣor*?

善取心相已 復作意觀察 正念住其心 勤修同四界
如是正安住 能棄捨諸欲 於世八法中 名善巧無染

g) Sāra

v1na pariśuddhājīvaḥ pariśuddhayā dr̥ṣṭyā samanv(āgato ...) **v2** samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṃ syād vacanāya | (... samanvā)**v3**gato bhikṣur iti kalyaṃ syād vacanāya <|> ayam ucyate (...) **v4**ṇa⁸⁷ samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṃ syād vacanāya <|> a(yam ucyate ...) prativ(id)dh(a)ḥ pr(a)jñ(ā)-s(āra ...) **v5** prajñāsāreṇa samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṃ syā(d vacanāya | ...) samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṃ (... anupā)**v6**dāyāsravebhyaś cittaṃ <vimuktaṃ> bhavati vimuktisāre(ṇa ... citta)ṃ vimuktaṃ bhavati vimukti(...) **v7** bhikṣor jānataḥ paśyato <'>nupādāyāsravebhya(ś cittaṃ ...) **v8** sārāḥ <|> etam artham ucyate ||

sāram evādhigacch(anti ...

...) **v9** duḥkham upātyagur⁸⁸ iti <|>

ayam api śru(ta)ṃ (|| ◎ ||)

Cf. AN IV.150 “Sārasuttam” (ii, p. 141)

Cattāro 'me bhikkhave sārā. Katame cattāro? Sīlasāro, samādhisāro, paññāsāro, vimuttisāro ti. Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro sārā ti.

h-1 Sthāna

r3 (a)yam api śrutam | (| 9 || ◎ ||

uktam idaṃ bhagavatoktam arhatā iti me śrutam | ... **r4** ...) syām iti ādhye kule jātā ādhye kule rūḍhā⁸⁹ ... yāvad ādhye kule jātā ādhy(e ... **r5** ... mātṛgrā)masya <|> tac ca khalu kṛta(pu)ṇy(ā-yāḥ) str(yāḥ ... | ... abhi)pretāni mātṛgrāmasya <|> tāni ca khalu (... **r6** ...

...) sulabhāni yoṣitā kṛtapuṇyāyā⁹⁰

ādhye kule prasūtiś ca ādhye saṃyoga e(va ca

...) t. m eva ca

saubhāgyā⁹¹ dr̥śya .. .ṛ .v. (...

r7 ...

ayam api śrutam ||) 10 || ◎ ||

Cf. SN XXXVII.32 “Thānaṃ” (iv.249–250)⁹²

Pañcimāni bhikkhave thānāni dullabhāni akatapuññaṇa mātugāmena | Katamāni pañca || patirūpe kule jāyeyyan ti | Idam bhikkhave pathamaṃ thānaṃ dullabham akatapuññaṇa mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulaṃ gaccheyyan ti | Idam bhikkhave dutiyaṃ thānaṃ dullabham akatapuññaṇa mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulaṃ gantvā asapattī agāraṃ ajjhāvasayyan ti | Idam bhikkhave tatiyaṃ thānaṃ dullabham akatapuññaṇa mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulaṃ gantvā asapattī agāraṃ ajjhāvasantī puttavatī assan ti | Idam bhikkhave catutthaṃ thānaṃ dullabham akatapuññaṇa mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulaṃ gantvā

⁸⁷ Restore (*samādhisāre*)ṇa? The presence of *prajñāsāreṇa* (v5), *vimuktisāre*- (v6), and *sārāḥ/sāram* (v8) points to AN IV.150 as a parallel, of which the topic is the four *sāras*: *sīlasāra*, *samādhisāra*, *paññāsāra*, *vimuttisāra*. However, our text seems to treat more than four dharmas—the phrase *samanvāgato bhikṣur iti kalyaṃ syād vacanāya* occurs five times.

⁸⁸ Aor. 3. pl. of *upa-ati-√gā* “go beyond, overcome.” Cf. CPD s.v. *upaccagā*.

⁸⁹ This text is written on the bottom margin of 2382/265 and no insertion mark is found between the lines preserved on the fragment. Since the sūtra begins at the end of the third line, the passage can safely be assigned to the fourth line.

⁹⁰ Read *puṇyayā*.

⁹¹ Read *saubhāgyā*<d> *dr̥śya*-?

⁹² Parallel identified by Paul Harrison.

asapattī agāraṃ ajjhāvasantī puttavatī samānā sāmikaṃ abhibhuyya vatteyyan ti | Idam bhikkhave pañcamam thānaṃ dullabham akatapūññaṃ mātugāmena || Imāni kho bhikkhave pañcatthānāni dullabhāni akatapūññaṃ mātugāmenāti ||

Pañcimāni bhikkhave thānāni sulabhāni katapuññaṃ mātugāmena | Katamāni pañca || Patirūpe kule jāyeyyan ti | Idam bhikkhave pathamam thānaṃ sulabhāni katapuññaṃ mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulam gaccheyyan ti | Idam bhikkhave dutiyam thānaṃ sulabhāni katapuññaṃ mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulam gantvā asapattī agāraṃ ajjhāvasantī puttavatī assan ti | Idam bhikkhave tatiyam thānaṃ sulabhāni katapuññaṃ mātugāmena || Patirūpe kule jāyitvā patirūpaṃ kulam gantvā asapattī agāraṃ ajjhāvasantī puttavatī samānā sāmikaṃ abhibhuyya vatteyyan ti | Idam bhikkhave pañcamam thānaṃ sulabhāni katapuññaṃ mātugāmena || Imāni kho bhikkhave pañcatthānāni sulabhāni katapuññaṃ mātugāmenāti ||

h-2 Krodhana

r7 uktam idam bhagavatoktam arhatā iti me śrutam | p(aṃ)c(eme)⁹³ bh(ik)ṣ(avo dharmmāḥ sapat)n(akāntāḥ sapatnakaraṇāḥ krodhanam āgacchanti striya)m vā puruṣam v(ā) <||> (kata)me (... **r8** e)vam icchati | aho bata me sapatno durvvarṇaḥ syād iti <|> tat kasya hetor <|> na hi bhikṣavaḥ sapa(t)n(aḥ sapatnasya ... | krodhanaḥ khalv a)yaṃ bhikṣavaḥ strī vā (puruṣo vā ... **v1** ... ś)obhate | ayaṃ bhikṣavaḥ prathamō dharmmaḥ sapatnakāntaḥ sapatnakaraṇaḥ krodhanam āgacchati striyaṃ vā puruṣam vā ||

punar aparaṃ bhikṣavaḥ sapa(t)n(a)ḥ (sa)patnasy(aivam icchati | ... **v2** ... tat) k(a)sya hetor <|> nna hi bhikṣavaḥ sapatnaḥ sapatnasya sukhaśayyayā na(nda)ti <|> krodhanaḥ khalv aya(m) bhikṣavaḥ strī vā puruṣo vā krodhābhībhūtaḥ krodhapa)rītaḥ sv(āst)ṛte <’>pi n(a ... **v3** ... sapa)tnakāntaḥ sapatnakaraṇaḥ krodhanam āgacchati striyaṃ vā puruṣam vā ||

punar apara)m (bh)i(kṣavaḥ sapatnaḥ sapatnasyaivam icchati | aho ba)t(a) me sapatna(h) ay(aś)o niga(cched iti | ... **v4** ...) yaśovṛddhyā⁹⁴ nandati | krodhanaḥ khalv ayaṃ bhikṣavaḥ strī v(ā) puruṣo vā krodhābhi(bhūtaḥ krodhapa)rītaḥ ... | a)yaṃ bhikṣavas tṛtīyo dhar(maḥ ... **v5**... ||

punar apa)ra(m) bhikṣavaḥ sapat(na)ḥ sapat(na)syaivam i(cchat)i ... (ga)cched iti | tat kasya hetor <|> nna hi bhikṣa(vaḥ ... **v6** ...) sapatnakaraṇaḥ krodhana(m āgacchati ... **v7** ... ta)t kasya hetor <|> na hi (bhikṣavaḥ ... **v8** ...)

Cf. AN VII.60 “Kodhano” (iv.94–98)⁹⁵

(r7)**Satt’ ime bhikkhave dhammā** sapattakantā sapattakaraṇā kodhanaṃ āgacchanti itthiṃ vā purisaṃ vā. Katame satta?

Idha bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa (r8)**evaṃ icchati ‘aho vatāyaṃ dubbaṇṇo assā’ ti. Taṃ kissa hetu? Na bhikkhave sapatto** sapattassa vaṇṇavatāya nandati. Kodhano **’yaṃ bhikkhave** purisapuggalo kodhābhībhūto kodhapa-reto kiñcāpi so hoti sunahāto suvilitto kappitakesamassu odātavattavasano, atha kho so dubbaṇṇo ca hoti kodhābhi-bhūto. (v1)**Ayaṃ bhikkhave paṭhamo dhammo sapattakanto sapattakaraṇo kodhanaṃ āgacchati** itthiṃ vā puri-saṃ vā.

Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave **sapatto sapattassa** evaṃ icchati ‘aho vatāyaṃ dukkhaṃ sayeyyā’ ti. (v2)**Taṃ kissa hetu? Na bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa sukhaśayyāya nandati. Kodhano ’yaṃ** bhikkhave purisapuggalo kodhābhībhūto kodhapa-reto kiñcāpi so pallaṅke seti gonakatthate paṭikatthate paṭalikatthate kadalimigapavarapaccattharaṇe sa-uttaracchade ubhato-lohitakūpadhāne, atha kho so dukkhaṃ yeva seti kodhābhībhūto. Ayaṃ bhikkhave dutiyo dhammo (v3)**sapattakanto sapattakaraṇo kodhanaṃ āgacchati itthiṃ vā purisaṃ vā.**

Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa evaṃ icchati ‘aho vatāyaṃ na pacurattho assā’ ti. Taṃ kissa hetu? Na bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa pacuratthatāya nandati. Kodhano **’yaṃ bhikkhave** purisapuggalo kodhābhībhūto ko-

⁹³ The Sanskrit text treats five dharmas, while the Pāli as well as the Chinese parallel treat seven: 1. *vaṇṇa*, 2. *sukhaśayyā*, 3. *attha*, 4. *bhoga*, 5. *yaso*, 6. *mitta*, and 7. *sugati*. In the Chinese, the 4th and the 6th are exchanged. In the main text we find an indication of the 1st (*durvvarṇa* in r8), the 2nd (*sukhaśayyā* in v2), and the 5th dharma as the 3rd (*yaśo-vṛddhyā* in v4). The 4th and the 5th dharma cannot be ascertained due to the shortness of the text.

⁹⁴ Read -vṛddhyā.

⁹⁵ Parallel identified by Klaus Wille. Cf. also the *Zhōng-āhán-jīng* 中阿含經 129 (T1, 617b21–618b16).

dhapareto anattam pi gahetvā ‘attho me gahito’ ti maññati attham pi gahetvā ‘anatto me gahito’ ti maññati. Tass’ ime dhammā aññam aññavipaccanikā gahitā dīgharattam ahitāya dukkhāya samvattanti kodhābhībhūta. Ayam bhikkhave tatiyo dhammo sapattakanto sapattakaraṇo kodhanam āgacchati itthim vā purisaṃ vā.

Puna ca param bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa evaṃ icchatī ‘aho vatāyaṃ na bhogavā assā’ ti. Tam kissa hetu? Na bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa bhogavatāya nandati. Kodhanassa bhikkhave purisapuggalassa kodhābhībhūta kodhaparetassa ye pi ‘ssa te honti bhogā utthānaviriyādhigatā bāhābalapacitā sedāvakkhittā dhammikā dhammaladdhā te pi rājāno rājakosaṃ pavesenti kodhābhībhūta. Ayam bhikkhave catuttho dhammo sapattakanto sapattakaraṇo kodhanam āgacchati itthim vā purisaṃ vā.

Puna ca param bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa evaṃ icchatī ‘aho vatāyaṃ na yasavā assā’ ti. Tam kissa hetu? Na bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa (v4)**yasavatāya nandati. Kodhano ’yam bhikkhave purisapuggalo kodhābhībhūto kodhapareto yo pi ’ssa so hoti yaso appamādādhigato tamhā pi dhamasati kodhābhībhūto. Ayam bhikkhave pañcamo dhammo sapattakanto sapattakaraṇo kodhanam āgacchati itthim vā purisaṃ vā.**

Puna (v5)ca param bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa evaṃ icchatī ‘aho vatāyaṃ na mittavā assā’ ti. **Tam kissa hetu? Na bhikkhave** sapatto sapattassa mittavatāya nandati. Kodhanam bhikkhave purisapuggalam kodhābhībhūtam kodhaparetam ye pi ‘ssa te honti mittamaccā nātisālohitā te pi ārakā parivajjenti kodhābhībhūtam. Ayam bhikkhave chaṭṭho dhammo sapattakanto (v6)**sapattakaraṇo kodhanam āgacchati itthim vā purisaṃ vā.**

Puna ca param bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa evaṃ icchatī ‘aho vatāyaṃ kāyassa bheda parammaraṇā apāyaṃ duggatim vinipātam nirayaṃ upapajjeyyā’ ti. (v7)**Tam kissa hetu? Na** bhikkhave sapatto sapattassa sugatigamanena nandati. Kodhano ’yam bhikkhave purisapuggalo kodhābhībhūto kodhapareto kāyena duccharitam carati vācāya duccharitam carati manasā duccharitam carati. So kāyena duccharitam caritvā ...pe... kāyassa bheda parammaraṇā apāyaṃ duggatim vinipātam nirayaṃ upapajjati kodhābhībhūto. Ayam bhikkhave sattamo dhammo sapattakanto sapattakaraṇo kodhanam āgacchati itthim vā purisaṃ vā. Ime kho bhikkhave satta dhammā sapattakantā sapattakaraṇā kodhanam āgacchanti itthim vā purisaṃ vā ti.

Kodhano dubbaṇṇo hoti atho dukkham pi seti so,
atho attham gahetvāna anattam adhipajjati,
tato kāyena vācāya vadham katvāna kodhano,
kodhābhībhūto puriso dhanajāniṃ nigacchati,
kodhasammadasammatto āyasakyaṃ nigacchati,
nātimitā suhajjā ca parivajjenti kodhanam.
... (more verses) ...

i-1 Sākṣin

r5 ukt(am i)d(am) śrutam <|>

ṣ(aḍ ime) bh(i)kṣ(a)v(o ...) r6 iha bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ hānabhāgīy(ā ime dharmā iti na prajānāti ... nir)v(e)dh(a)bh(āgīyā ime dha)r7rmā iti na prajānāti asat(kṛtya ... ṣaḍbhir dharmaiḥ sa)manvāgato bhikṣu {h}r a(bhavyaḥ pra)r8jñāya sākṣātkaraṇīyānām ...

(hān)au sthitau viśeṣe ca nirvedhe + + + r9 (...)

...

a)yam api śrutam || © ||

uktam i(dam) śrutam |

v1 ... kata)maiḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ || (iha) bh(i)kṣ(avo ... v2 ...) dharmā i(t)i (... v3 ...)

Cf. AN VI.71 “Sakkhi” (iii, pp. 426–427)

Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu abhabbo tatra tatr’eva sakkhibhabbatam pāpuṇitum sati sati āyatane. Katamehi chahi? (r6)**Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu** ‘ime hānabhāgīyā dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam na ppajānāti, ‘ime tṭhitibhāgīyā dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam na ppajānāti, ‘ime visesabhāgīyā dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam na ppajānāti, ‘ime nibbedhabhāgīyā (r7)dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam **na ppajānāti asakkaccakārī** ca hoti asappāyakārī ca. Imehi kho bhikkhave chahi dhammehi **samannāgato bhikkhu** abhabbo tatra tatr’eva (r8)**sakkhibhabbatam** pāpuṇitum sati sati āyatane.

Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu bhabbo tatra tatr’eva sakkhibhabbatam pāpuṇitum sati sati āyatane. (v1)**Katamehi chahi? Idha bhikkhave** bhikkhu ‘ime hānabhāgīyā dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam ppajānāti, ‘ime tṭhitibhāgīyā dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam ppajānāti, ‘ime visesabhāgīyā dhammā’ ti yathābhūtam ppajānāti, ‘ime nibbedha-

bhāgiyā (v2)**dhammā’ ti** yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti sakkaccakārī ca hoti sappāyakārī ca. Imehi kho bhikkhave chahi dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu bhabbo⁹⁶ tatra tatr’eva sakkhibhabbatam pāpuṇitum sati sati āyatane ti.

i-2 Śītibhāva

v5 (...) .t. ... (ayam api) śrutam || (... **v6** ... iha) bhikṣavo bhikṣur yasmim s(ama)ye cittam nigṛhī(tavyam ... **v7** ... tavya)m (tasm)in sam(aye)

Cf. AN VI.85 “Śītibhāvasuttam” (iii, p. 435)

Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu abhabbo anuttaram sītibhāvaṃ sacchikātum. Katamehi chahi? Idha (v6)**bhikkhave bhikkhu yasmim samaye cittam niggaḥetabbam**, tasmim samaye cittam na niggaḥhāti; yasmim samaye cittam paggaḥetabbam, tasmim samaye cittam na paggaḥhāti; yasmim samaye cittam sampahaṃsitabbam, (v7)**tasmim samaye** cittam na sampahaṃsati; yasmim samaye cittam ajjhupekkhitabbam, tasmim samaye cittam na ajjhupekkhati; hīnādhimuttiko ca hoti; sakkāyābhirato ca. Imehi kho bhikkhave chahi dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu abhabbo anuttaram sītibhāvaṃ sacchikātum.

Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu bhabbo anuttaram sītibhāvaṃ sacchikātum. Katamehi chahi? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu yasmim samaye cittam niggaḥetabbam, tasmim samaye cittam niggaḥhāti; yasmim samaye cittam paggaḥetabbam, tasmim samaye cittam paggaḥhāti; yasmim samaye cittam sampahaṃsitabbam, tasmim samaye cittam sampahaṃsati; yasmim samaye cittam ajjhupekkhitabbam, tasmim samaye cittam ajjhupekkhati; paṇītādhimuttiko ca hoti nibbānābhirato ca. Imehi kho bhikkhave chahi dhammehi samannāgato bhikkhu bhabbo anuttaram sītibhāvaṃ sacchikātun ti.

j-1 Unidentified

r1 t(a)sm(i)m satve avyāpādam upasaṃharati ye <’>sya dharmā anīṣṭā akāmtā ...

r2 .ā apryā amanāpā samutpannā kim ity asya te dharmā apryā aman(ā ...)

ra (...)tpadyaivaṃ iti m(ait)r. ...

rb (...)janayati vyāpādam prajahāti ye ...

rc (...)te dharmā (ku)ś(a)lāḥ (ku)ś(a)l(a)pakṣā vidvatpra ...

j-2v + k-1 Aṣṭapudgala

v9 (ukta)m idaṃ śrutam || aṣṭāv ime bhikṣavaḥ pudgalā dakṣiṇīyāḥ pratigrāha ...

v1 ...

catvāraś ca pratipannās catvār(aś ca) phale sthit(āḥ |)⁹⁷

pratyekabuddh. ...

... (anu)**v2**ttarāḥ

pūjyā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ āhūtīnāṃ pratigrah(ā) iti ||⁹⁸

ayam apy artha ukto (bhagavatā iti me śrutam ||)

Cf. AN VIII.59 “Aṭṭhapuggalo (1)” (iv, p. 292)

(v9)**Aṭṭh’ ime bhikkhave puggalā** āhuneyyā pāhuneyyā **dakḍḍhiṇeyyā** añjalikaraṇīyā anuttaram puññakkhettaṃ lokassa. Katame aṭṭha? Sotāpanno sotāpattiphalasacchikiriyāya paṭipanno sakadāgāmī sakadāgāmiphalasacchikiriyāya paṭipanno anāgāmī anāgāmiphalasacchikiriyāya paṭipanno arahā arahattāya paṭipanno. Ime kho bhikkhave aṭṭha puggalā āhuneyyā ... pe ... anuttaram puññakkhettaṃ lokassā ti.

⁹⁶ The word is missing in the PTS edition.

⁹⁷ See the section “Textual Analysis.”

⁹⁸ Cf. Lv: 358, chapter 23, verse 11: *dakṣiṇīyās ca te loke āhūtīnāṃ pratigrahāḥ | na teṣu dakṣiṇā nyūnā sattvānirvāṇa-hetukī ||*; *Bhaiṣajya-vastu*, ed. Dutt 1947: 277.8–9: *arhaṃś ca dakṣiṇeyo ’smi ṣaḍabhiṇṇo balodyataḥ | suḥsetre pratipannānāṃ āhūtīnāṃ pratigrahaḥ ||* (information received from Gudrun Melzer).

Cattāro ca paṭipannā cattāro ca phale t̥hitā:
 esa saṅgho ujubhūto paññāsīlasamāhito.
 Yajamānānaṃ manussānaṃ puññaṃpekkhāna pāṇinaṃ
 karotaṃ opadhikaṃ puññaṃ saṅghe dinnāṃ mahapphalan ti.

k-2 Colophon

(...) v3 sūtrāṇi ttriṃśaṃ samāptaś cetivṛttakaḥ sahasr(āṇi) p(am)ca śatāṇi ṣaṭ || ❀ ||
 deya(dharmo yaṃ ... pa)v4ryuṣitasya buddhabalasya⁹⁹ sārdhaṃ mātā k. ... y.m ||

⁹⁹ The name “Buddhabala” appears also in a stone inscription in Shigar/Skardu (Baltistan) as composer of the text written in Śikhariṇī metre. The inscription is dated to the 6th century A.D. Cf. von Hinüber 2004: 68–70 (information received from Gudrun Melzer).

A Folio of a Parallel to the Śālyasūtra or Sunakkhattasutta

Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille

Introduction

The Schøyen Collection contains a fairly large number of fragments from canonical sūtra texts written in a specific language consisting of a mixture of Sanskrit and Middle Indian elements. Characteristically, orthography and morphology tend to be rather inconsistent within the same text, and this often renders it difficult not only to assess a form or a writing as “correct,” but also to restore missing or partially preserved words and sentences. The language is so close to that of the fragments from the vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins that one is inclined to attribute the sūtra fragments to the canonical literature of the same school. However, in the absence of any definite proof and in view of the unknown genesis of the collection, questions of school affiliation are better left open. Examples of two other sūtras in the same or a very similar language—several folios from a version of the *Caṅgīsūtra* and a folio from the *Śikhalakasūtra/Siṅgālovādasutta*—were published in the previous volumes of this series.¹

The Sanskrit title of the present sūtra, *Śālya* or “Arrow,” is derived from a well-known simile that the Buddha brings forward in order to exemplify his point in a discussion with Sunakṣatra, a member of the Licchavis. The Pāli redactors chose the name of the interlocutor, Sunakkhatta, as a title for the text. Not only does the title differ, but also the classification: in the Pāli tradition the sūtra is incorporated into the *Majjhimanikāya* (sutta 105, MN II 252–261), while the redactors of the Sanskrit version opted for the *Dīrghāgama*. Of the latter version, only fragments have survived; all of them were found in Central Asia along the northern route of the Silk Road. Although only a few pieces of the Sanskrit text are preserved, its exact place in the *Dīrghāgama* is established beyond doubt. It is preceded by the *Bhārgavasūtra* (a Sanskrit version of the *Pāṭikasutta*, DN III 1–35) and followed by the *Bhayabhairavasūtra* (corresponding to the *Bhayabheravasutta*, MN I 16–24).² The specific section it belongs to is named *yuga-nipāta*, “section of pairs,”³ and within this it forms a pair with the *Bhārgavasūtra*. Most likely the connecting element is provided by Sunakṣatra, the interlocutor of the Buddha, who figures in both texts.

¹ *Caṅgīsūtra*: BMSC I: 53–62, BMSC II: 1–16, and *Śikhalakasūtra/Siṅgālovādasutta*: BMSC III: 1–6.

² The order is preserved in an *uddāna* in SHT IV 32, fragment 66 r5 (p. 149). It is confirmed by several fragments containing either the end of the *Bhārgava*- and the beginning of the *Śālya-sūtra* or the end of the latter and the beginning of the *Bhayabhairavasūtra*: SHT IV 32, fragment 25 r2 (p. 124), 33 v5 (p. 128), SHT IV 165, fragment 6 r6–7 (p. 182), SHT IV 500, fragment 4 r/v (p. 221f.). Although the folios of the section with the *Śālyasūtra* have not yet surfaced, the new manuscript of the *Dīrghāgama*, probably found in the area of Gilgit, preserves an *uddāna* in folio 299v2–3 that confirms the same order, cf. Hartmann 2004: 126 for the *uddāna* and Hartmann/Wille 2014: 139–141 for the order of sūtras.

³ Hartmann 2004: 121f.

The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins included the sūtra in their *Dīrghāgama*, and the Chinese translation of the *Madhyamāgama* does not contain the work, another indication that this version of the *Madhyamāgama* most likely belongs to the same school. Therefore the Pāli canon offers the only complete version, and it must serve as the point of reference for the identification of fragments in other Indian languages and for their location within the text. So far altogether 25 fragments of seven manuscripts have been identified as belonging to the Sanskrit version of the sūtra:

- Or.15002/19+32 (Hoernle Collection, London; identified in Wille 2005: 61f., fragment 49, 60; ed. see below, Appendix);
- Or.15004/54(?) (Hoernle Collection, London; ed. Wille 2009: 86);
- Or.15007/300 (Hoernle Collection, London; ed. Wille 2015: 88);
- Pell.Skt. vert 26 and 27 (Pelliot Collection, Paris; identified in Hartmann/Wille 1997: 169; unpublished);
- SHT 32, fragments 25–33 (Turfan Collection, Berlin; published in vol. IV: 122–128);
- SHT 165, fragments 6 (+ SHT 2578), 7–14 (Turfan Collection, Berlin; published in vol. IV: 182–189, and IX, p. 239);
- SHT 500, fragments 3 (+ SHT 3274), 4 (Turfan Collection, Berlin; published in vol. IV: 219–221, and X, p. 23).

Description of the fragments

The folio in the Schøyen Collection consists of four pieces. Its left margin is not preserved, and therefore the folio number is lost which could have provided information on the wider context of the leaf. A high folio number would speak for a collection, be it canonical or paracanonical, while a very low number would point to an isolated text. The name Sunakṣatra occurs several times; this and the contents leave little room for doubt that the folio indeed comes from a version of the *Śālyasūtra/Sunakkhattasutta*. Why only one folio of this text is at least partly preserved is a question that pertains to practically all the texts in the collection. However, without any background information on the history and function of the original collection in the Bamiyan cave this will remain a matter of speculation.

Two of the four fragments connect perfectly, but there is a gap of unknown size between the two larger units. It is impossible to reconstruct this gap with certainty in any line, but it appears that the remaining gap in lines v1, 2, 4, and 6 is very small. The recto of the folio contains five lines, the verso six. The material is palm leaf; the script is close to Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I, probably dating to the 5th century.⁴

Language

As mentioned above, it is difficult to establish a standard. Forms alternate without a recognizable preference, cf. *kho* (r1, v6): *khu* (v1), *anijya*^o (r2): *ānijya*^o (v6), *anyāyaṃ cittam* (v2, for Skt *ājñācitta*, Pāli *aññācitta*): *anyāye cittam* (r5), *priya* once (v1): seven times *prya* (r3, r4, v1),

⁴ Cf. Sander 2000: 291–295; the script corresponds to the Gupta alphabet i (cf. Sander 1968).

śuśruṣati (r2) : *śuśruṣati* (r5) : *śuśruṣate* (v2). Such variations also complicate the assessment of mistakes, as in the case of *paryupāsati* (r2) : *paryyupāsati* (v4) : *paryapāsati* (v5), where the last variant normally would be considered a writing mistake and corrected to *paryupāsati*. With no variation at all *vetti* stands for *vitti* (r5, v4, v5); the name Sunakṣatra, occurring only in the vocative, is always written *sunakṣatrā* with a *pluti* (r1 2x, r3, v3, v6).

Contents

The first part of the Pāli sutta is devoted to a discussion of how various persons intent on different mental objects are all interested in talk only about the respective object. It starts with the sense objects and leads step by step up to nirvāṇa. On every step the previous object is fully abandoned. In order to illustrate the situation of the first person intent on the sense objects, the Buddha gives the example of a man who has left his village long ago and now meets another man coming from the same village. The first man would be interested in news from the village and therefore would listen very attentively to the second. In the Pāli text, this example occurs only once; in the Schøyen fragment, however, it is repeated at least once (cf. r3, v1), as will be explained below. Of the various steps listed in the Pāli text, only the first (*lokāmiṣādhimutto* MN II 254.6; cf. v3 *lokāmiṣā-dhi(mukto)*) and the second (*āṇaṇjādhimutto* MN II 254.16; cf. v6 *āṇijyādhimu(k)t(o)*) are clearly preserved.

Regrettably, nothing is preserved of the famous simile describing a man hit by a poisoned arrow (MN II 256ff.) that gave the Sanskrit version its title and connects it with the even more famous metaphor of the Buddha as the best physician.⁵

Transliteration

MS 2378/7 + 2379/10 + 2379/11 + 2378/14; recto

- 1 /// .. kho pun eta sunakṣatrā vidyat[i] ya. i[h e]katyo pudgalo lokāmiṣādhimukto⁶ as[t]i + + /// + + + + + + + .u[na]kṣatrā [p]u .g. [l]. .y. [t]. [t]pratiru .. ///
- 2 /// + + .i paryupāsati tena pi pudgalenaṃ .[e] + + [p]. d[y]ati [s]o ani[j]yapratisaṃyuktāye .. + /// + + + + + + [n]. śuśruṣati na śrotram [o]dahati a[n].. + + + ///
- 3 /// + .i + ○ [p]adyati saṃyya[thāp]. [n]. [m]aṃ sunakṣatrā iha puruṣo āgacche[y]. .. /// + + + + + .. [na]garam vā prīyaputram prahāyaṃ prīyadār[aṃ] .. + ///
- 4 /// + + .. vā nag[ar]ā vā prīyaputram || prīya[d]āram || prīya[j]ñāti || atha so pu[ruṣo] /// + + .[uruṣ]. sya saṃtike tasya grāmasya vā nagarasya vā varṇa[m] bh[ā]ṣe ///
- 5 /// [ta]ṃ na śuśruṣati na śrotram odahati na any[ā]ye c[i]tta[m] pratyupasth[ap]. + + + + + /// + .. vati na bhajati na paryupāsati tena pi pudgalenaṃ na vettim ā[p]. + + ///

⁵ MN II 260, 19–21; for Sanskrit occurrences of the phrase *anuttaro bhiṣac chalyāhartā* cf., for instance, the *Pravāraṇāsūtra* (Pelliot Sanskrit numéro rouge 14,1 r4 and v2, SHT V 1193 v5–6 with supplements in SHT VI: 224), the fragment of a commentary to the sūtra passage (Or.15009/127 (H.149.67), edited in BLSF II: 184) and Abhidh-k-vy 606.

⁶ The scribe had first written *śo* and then corrected to *ṣā*.

verso

- 1 /// .[o]ti atha khu aparo pi puruṣo ā[g]acch[e] ta[s]mā grāmā vā nagarā vā [y]a /// [ru]ṣo āgato priyaṃ putraṃ prahāyaṃ pryadāraṃ [p]ryaj[ñ]ātīsā[lo] ///
- 2 /// .. r[ṇ]. [bh]āṣe [a/su]bhikṣato pi susīmeto pi sukhavihārato pi atha so .[uru] y. + + + /// + .[i t]aṃ suśruṣate śrotraṃ⁷ odahati anyāyaṃ cit[t]aṃ pratyupasthapet[i] .. ///
- 3 /// + + + [hi] .. sunakṣatrā grāme vā nagare v[ā] rāgapratibaddhaṃ vijñāna [bho]ti • evam e[va] .. /// + + + .ā nam etaṃ vidyati yaṃ ih ekatyō pudgalo lokāmiṣā[dh]i + + ///
- 4 /// + .. sk. [r]. ○ ti taṃ pi pudgalaṃ [s]e .. .i [bh]. [j]ati paryyupāsati tena pi pudgalena ve[t].i[m]. + + + /// + + + + + .[i]jyapratisaṃghuktāye kathāye kathīyaṃ .[e] + + ///
- 5 /// [bh]. jati na paryapāsati tena pi [p]u .[g]. + + na v[e]ttim āpadyati tat kisyā hetu yaṃ .. + + /// + + + + + + [p].. tisaṃyuktaṃ saṃyojanaṃ tena saṃ[yo] ///
- 6 /// + nakṣatrā pudgalo sthāna kho pun etaṃ sunakṣa[tr]. [vi]dyati yaṃ ih ekatyō pudgalo ānīyā-dhimu .t. + + /// + + + + + + + + .. sunakṣatrā [p]. [d].. [l]. s[y]. tat[pr]. tiru ///

Reconstruction

The reconstruction is generally based on the Pāli version, since the five fragments from the three Central Asian manuscripts belonging to the same passage (Or.15002/19+32, SHT IV 32 fragment 27, SHT IV 165 fragments 7, 8, 10) do not preserve enough text to establish the Sanskrit version. They mostly contain parts of the phrases in this fairly repetitive section. In one point, however, they seem to confirm a decisive difference between the Pāli version and the text in the Schøyen fragment. In the Pāli, the example of the man who has left his village long ago only knows of the meeting with one other man coming from the same village. In the Schøyen fragment there must be two meetings, one with a man who apparently does not raise the interest of the first man (cf. the negations in line r2), and a second meeting with another man (cf. v1 *atha khu aparo pi puruṣo āgacche*) who fully catches his attention. The reason for this difference in the attention of the first man is not preserved, but apparently has to do with news about the relatives he has left behind (cf. v1 *priyaṃ putraṃ*, etc., in neither the Pāli nor the Sanskrit, as far as the fragments permit us to judge). The two meetings with opposite results fit very well with the message that is to be exemplified by the story: a person intent on a specific mental object is interested in nothing but talk about that object. The Hoernle fragment Or.15002/19+32 possibly preserves a reason for the two different reactions: one of the two interlocutors seems to come from a village where the first man has no personal connections (Ac *(grāmani)game na cchandarāgavinibad[dh](a)m*), while the other comes from a village where such connections exist (Bg *tasmim grāmanigame chanda*///). In any case, the version preserved in Or.15002/19+32 must also have two meetings since the whole folio (at least seven lines) contains only the story about the news from the home village (*grāmanigama* in the first line of A and the last line of B) and the numerous repetitions would otherwise be difficult to explain. In order to allow this argument to be assessed, a transliteration of the unpublished Hoernle fragment is given below in the appendix.

⁷ The scribe seems first to have written *śru* and then added *-o* without cancelling *-u*.

In the following, the references to the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments usually never point to an exact parallel, but only to an occurrence of the same or a directly related phrase. As will be seen, in various places the wording of the Schøyen fragment seems closer to the Sanskrit text than to the Pāli.

1. (r1) (... sthānaṃ) kho pun' eta sunakṣatrā vidyati ya(m) ih' ekatyo pudgalo lokāmiṣādhimukto asti ...

A person may be intent on wordly material things, cf. below, no. 15, and MN II 253.16–17 (MN(ChS) 41.6–7): *Thānaṃ kho pan' etaṃ, Sunakkhatta, vijjati yaṃ idh' ekacco purisapuggalo lokāmiṣādhimutto assa.*

2. (lokāmiṣādhimuktasya khu s)unakṣatrā pu(d)g(a)l(as)y(a) t(a)tpatirū(pī⁸ kathā ...)

A person intent on wordly material things will only be interested in talk on that ..., cf. below, no. 16, and MN II 253.17–20 (MN(ChS) 41.7–9): *Lokāmiṣādhimuttassa kho, Sunakkhatta, purisapuggalassa tappatirūpī c'eva kathā saññhāti, tadanudhammañ ca anuvitakketi anuvicāreti*; cf. also Or.15002/19+32 Ad,h, SHT 165(10) B2 ///(*kathā*)yāṃ kathyamā[n]āyāṃ tatpra(t)i///.

3. (r2) (... taṃ pi pudgalaṃ sevati bhajati)⁹ paryupāsati tena pi pudgalena {m} (v)e(ttim ā)p(a)dyati <|>

... and he will associate only with this kind of person, cf. MN II 253.20: *tañ ca purisaṃ bhajati, tena ca vittim āpajjati*; cf. also SHT IV 32(27) r2,3,5, v4, SHT IV 165(7) va, 165(8) re, vc, 165(10) A8, B3 *tena prīyeta tena ca vittim āpadyeta/āpadyate taṃ ca pudgalaṃ sevate bhajate paryupāste* (tentatively reconstructed from all the fragments).

4. so anijyapratisaṃyuktāye (kathāye kathīyaṃte)¹⁰ ... (taṃ) n(a) śuśruṣati na śrotram odahati <na> an(yāyaṃ cittam¹¹ pratyupasthapeti) ... (r3) ... (vett)i(m ā)padyati <|>

However, he will not be interested in talk on the unperturbable and will not associate with that kind of person, cf. MN II 253.20–23 (MN(ChS) 41.10–12): *āṇaṇjapaṭisaṃyuttāya¹² ca pana kathāya kacchamānāya na sussūsati, na sotaṃ odahati na aññā cittam upaṭṭhapeti¹³ na ca taṃ purisaṃ bhajati, na ca tena vittim āpajjati*; cf. also Or.15002/19+32 Ae, Ba ///āñija[p]r(a)[t](i)-[s](aṃ)[y]uktā[yā](m)/// and SHT IV 32(27) r1 *lokāmiṣappatī(saṃyuktāyāṃ kathāyāṃ kathyamānā)[y]āṃ na śuśrūṣat(i) [na]///*. Finally, cf. Or.15002/19+32 Ab, Bf ///(*cit*)[t](a)m upasthāpa[ye]t/upasthāpa[ye]ta and SHT IV 32(27) v4 ///(*u*)[pa]sthāpayet.

For the word formation in *n(a) śuśruṣati na śrotram odahati* cf. *Caṅgīsūtra* 6v5 (*śuśrū*)ṣati *śuśrūṣaṃntaḥ śrotram odahati*, BMSC II: 16; for the Sanskrit formula cf. Abhidh-k-vy 647.10f. *tasya te śrāvakā na śuśrūṣante. na śrotram avadadhāti. nāññācittam upasthāpayanti.*

⁸ Ms °ru°.

⁹ Reconstructed after line v4.

¹⁰ Cf. v4.

¹¹ For the reconstruction cf. r5 and v2; for Sanskrit *āññā-citta* and Pāli *aññā-citta*, see SWTF and CPD s.v.

¹² ChS: *āneñja*°.

¹³ ChS: *upaṭṭhā*°.

5. saṃyyathāp(i) n(ā)maṃ sunakṣatrā iha puruṣo āgacchey(a) ... nagaraṃ vā pr̥yaputraṃ prahāyaṃ pr̥yadāraṃ (pr̥yajñātīsālohitān ...)

Suppose a man came who had left his village or town and left behind his son and the other beloved ones, cf. below, no. 8, and MN II 253.24–26 (MN(ChS) 41.12–13), less expanded: *Seyyathāpi, Sunakkhatta, puriso sakamhā gāmā vā nigamā vā ciravippavuttho assa.*

6. (r4) ... vā nagarā vā pr̥yaputraṃ || pr̥yadāraṃ || pr̥yajñāti || atha so puruṣo ... (p)uruṣ(a)sya saṃtike tasya grāmasya vā nagarasya vā varṇaṃ bhāṣe ...

Another man from the same village or town comes and talks about the home village, but apparently does not know or speak about those near and dear to the first man, since the next line makes it clear that he is not interested and does not listen. This unsuccessful case is not contained in the Pāli version that knows only of a positive reaction, cf. MN II 253.28–254.1 (MN(ChS) 41.16–17): *tassa so puriso tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā khemattañ¹⁴ ca subhikkhattañ¹⁴ ca appābādhattañ¹⁴ ca saṃseyya.*

7. (r5) ... taṃ na suśruṣati na śrotraṃ odahati na anyāye cittaṃ pratyupasthap. ... (taṃ pi pudgalaṃ na se)vati na bhajati na paryupāsati tena pi pudgalena{m} na vettim āp(adyati ...)

The first man will not be interested and not associate with the second. In the Pāli a negated version of this passage precedes the story, cf. MN II 253.21–23 (MN(ChS) 41.10–12): *na sussūsati, na sotam odahati na aññā cittaṃ upaṭṭhapeti¹⁵ na ca taṃ purisaṃ bhajati, na ca tena vittiṃ āpajjati*; cf. above, no. 4.

8. (v1) (...)oti <|> atha khu aparo pi puruṣo āgacche tasmā grāmā vā nagarā vā ya ... (pu)ruṣo āgato priyaṃ putraṃ prahāyaṃ pr̥yadāraṃ pr̥yajñātīsālo(hitān ...)

Then comes yet another man from the same village or town and he knows about the loved ones left behind, cf. above, no. 5, and MN II 253.24–26 (MN(ChS) 41.12–14), less expanded: *Seyyathāpi, Sunakkhatta, puriso sakamhā gāmā vā nigamā vā ciravippavuttho assa; so aññataram purisaṃ passeyya tāmhā gāmā vā nigamā vā acirakapakkantaṃ.*

9. (v2) (... tasya grāmasya vā nagarasya va)ṇ(aṃ)¹⁶ bhāṣe subhikṣato pi susīmeto pi sukhavihārato pi <|>

The third man also speaks about the situation at home, cf. MN II 253.26–254.1 (MN(ChS) 41.14–17): *so taṃ purisaṃ tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā khemattañ¹⁷ ca subhikkhattañ¹⁷ ca appābādhattañ¹⁷ ca puccheyya; tassa so puriso tassa gāmassa vā nigamassa vā khemattañ¹⁷ ca subhikkhattañ¹⁷ ca appābādhattañ¹⁷ ca saṃseyya*; cf. also Or.15002/19+32 Bd ///tāyā varṇaṃ bhāṣeta śi///, Be ///masya kṣematāyā varṇe/// (possibly writing mistake for varṇaṃ), Bh ///[sy](a)[gr]āmani[g](a)masya k[ṣ]ema///, SHT IV 165(8) vb ///tāyāḥ sauṣīmatā [y].///, vf ///varṇaṃ///, vg ///[sau]bhi[kṣ](ā)///.

¹⁴ ChS: °tañ.

¹⁵ ChS: upaṭṭhā°.

¹⁶ Cf. r4.

¹⁷ ChS: °tañ.

10. atha so (p)uru(ṣa) .. y. ... i taṃ suśruṣate śrotram odahati anyāyaṃ cittaṃ pratyupasthapeti ...

This time the first man will listen attentively, cf. MN II 254.1–4 (MN(ChS) 41.17–19): *taṃ kiṃ maññasi, Sunakkhatta? Api nu so puriso tassa*¹⁸ *sussūseyya, sotaṃ odaheyya, aññā cittaṃ upaṭṭhāpeyya*,¹⁹ *tañ ca purisaṃ bhajeyya, tena ca vittiṃ āpajjeyyāti?* For *anyāyaṃ cittaṃ* cf. above, nos. 4 and 7. If it were possible to reconstruct to *atha so (p)uru(ṣas tasya puruṣasya bhāṣ)itaṃ suśruṣate*, the gap between the two pieces could be filled at least in this line. However, there is no corroborating evidence for this very tempting suggestion.

11. (v3) ... hi .. sunakṣatrā grāme vā nagare vā rāgapratibaddhaṃ vijñāna bhoti • evam eva ...

Without immediately recognizable parallel in the other versions, but cf. Or.15002/19+32 Ac *///(ni)game na cchandarāgavinibad[dh](a)m///*, Bg *///[sy]. tasmim grāmanigame chanda///*, SHT IV 165(8) vd *///nigame chandarāgaviniba///*.

12. (sth)ānam etaṃ vidyati yaṃ ih' ekatyo pudgalo lokāmiṣādhi(mukto) ... (v4) ... sk(a)r(o)ti²⁰ <|> taṃ pi pudgalaṃ se(vat)i bh(a)jati paryyupāsati tena pi pudgalena vet(t)im (āpadyati ...)

Such a person intent on wordly material things associates only with this kind of person, cf. above, nos. 2 and 3, and MN II 254.6–10 (MN(ChS) 41.20–24): *Evam eva kho, Sunakkhatta, thānam etaṃ vijjati yaṃ idh' ekacco purisapuggalo lokāmiṣādhimutto assa; lokāmiṣādhimuttassa kho, Sunakkhatta, purisapuggalassa tappatirūpī c' eva kathā saṇṭhāti, tad anudhammañ*²¹ *ca anuvi-takketi anuvicāreti, tañ ca purisaṃ bhajati, tena ca vittiṃ āpajjati*; cf. also Or.15002/19+32 Ag *///lokāmiṣādhimukta eṣ.///*.

13. (ān)ijyapratisaṃyuktāye²² kathāye kathīyaṃ(t)e ... (v5) ... (taṃ pi pudgalaṃ na sevati na) bh(a)jati na paryupāsati tena pi pu(d)g(alena) na vettim āpadyati²³ <|>

However, he will not be interested in talk on the unperturbable and will not associate with that kind of person, cf. above, nos. 4 and 7, and MN II 254.11–13 (MN(ChS) 41.24–26): *āṇaṇja-paṭisaṃyuttāya*²⁴ *ca pana kathāya kacchamānāya na sussūsatī, na sotaṃ odahati na aññā cittaṃ upaṭṭhāpeti*²⁵ *na c' etaṃ*²⁶ *purisaṃ bhajati, na ca tena vittiṃ āpajjati*; cf. also Or.15002/19+32 Ae, Ba *///ānījya[p]r(a)[t](i)[s](a)m[y]uktā[yā]///* and SHT IV 32(27) r1 *///.h lokāmiṣapratī(saṃyuktāyāṃ kathāyāṃ kathyamānā)[y]āṃ na suśruṣat(i) [na]///*.

14. tat kisya hetu <|> yaṃ ... p(ra)tiṣaṃyuktaṃ saṃyojanaṃ tena saṃyo ... (v6) ... (su)nakṣatrā pudgalo

It is difficult to reconstruct the exact meaning of this passage, but interestingly the Burmese edition preserves a reading that appears to be closely related, cf. MN II 254.13–14 (MN(ChS)

¹⁸ ChS: *tassa purisassa*.

¹⁹ ChS: *upaṭṭhā*.

²⁰ Reconstruct to *(abhisam)skaroti*? Cf. SHT IV 32(27) r2 and SHT IV 165(8) rc.

²¹ ChS: *tadanu*.

²² The ms. has *pratisaṃghuktāye*, a confusion due to the similarity of *y* and *gh*.

²³ For the reconstruction of the line cf. r5.

²⁴ ChS: *āneñja*.

²⁵ ChS: *upaṭṭhā*.

²⁶ ChS: *ca taṃ*.

41.26–28): *So evam assa veditabbo*: (ChS adds: *āneñjasamyojanena hi kho visamyutto*) *Lokāmisādhimukto purisapuggalo ti*; cf. SHT IV 165(8) rf ///(*tat kasmā*)*d [dh]etor*.

15. *sthāna kho pun' etaṃ sunakṣatr(ā) vidyati yaṃ ih' ekatyo pudgalo āniyyādhimu(k)t(o asti ...)*

Another person may be intent on the unperturbable, cf. above, no. 1, and MN II 254.15–16 (MN(ChS) 42.1–2): *Thānaṃ kho pan' etaṃ*,²⁷ *Sunakkhatta, vijjati yaṃ idh' ekacco purisapuggalo ānañjādhimutto*²⁸ *assa*.

16. (āniyyādhimuktasya khu) *sunakṣatrā p(u)d(ga)l(a)sy(a) tatpr(a)tirū(pī²⁹ kathā ...)*

A person intent on the unperturbable will only be interested in talk on that, cf. above, no. 2, and MN II 254.16–18 (MN(ChS) 42.2–3): *Ānañjādhimuttassa*³⁰ *kho, Sunakkhatta, purisapuggalassa tappatirūpī c' eva kathā saṇṭhāti*.

Appendix

As explained above, the Pāli version does not provide a full understanding of the Schøyen folio, while a fragment of the Hoernle collection yields important clues. It belongs to a Sanskrit version of the sūtra, as indicated by the characteristic phrases and by several overlappings with fragment 8 of SHT IV 165. Therefore the Hoernle fragment is included here. It consists of two joining pieces.

Or.15002/19 (H.150.75; 8.6 x 4.9 cm) and Or.15002/32 (H.150.91; 8.2 x 3.3 cm); Or.15002/32 is given in italics; the script is the North Turkestan Brāhmī, type a; for digitized images see idp.bl.uk.

- Aa /// ++ ..*h anyatamasya grāman[i]ga[m].* + ///
- b /// + (*cit*)[*t*](*a*)*m upasthāpa[ye]* tena ca īrye .. ///
- c /// + (*ni*)*game na cchandarāgavinibad[dh](a)m* + ///
- d /// (*kathā*)*yāṃ kathyamā[n]āyāṃ tat pra .i* ++ ///
- e /// ++ *jate paryupāste āniyya[p]r(a)* ++ ///
- f /// (*vitti*)*m āpadyate [t]am ca pudgalaṃ* .. ++ ///
- g /// ++ *lokāmiśādhimukta eṣ.* ++ ///
- h /// ++ (*ka*)[*th*](*ya*)[*m*]ā[*nā*]yāṃ tat pra[t]i .. ++ ///
- Ba /// ++ (*ā*)[*n*]. [*jy*](*a*)[*pr*](*a*)[*t*](*i*)[*s*](*aṃ*)[*y*]uktā[*yā*] ++ ///
- b /// ++ *jate na paryupāste sa* .. ++ ///
- c /// (*sunā*)*kṣatra puru[s]aḥ anyatara[sy].* + ///
- d /// ++ *tāyā varṇaṃ bhāṣeta śi* .. ++ ///
- e /// ++ *masya kṣematāyā varṇe* .. ++ ///
- f /// ++ *m upasthāpa[ye]ta tena ca īr[ye]* ///
- g /// ++ [*sy*]. *tasmiṃ grāmanigame chanda* ///
- h /// ++ .. [*sy*]. [*gr*]āmani[*g*](*a*)*masya k[s]ema* + ///

²⁷ ChS: *etaṃ*.

²⁸ ChS: *āneñja*°.

²⁹ Ms °*ru*°.

³⁰ ChS: *Āneñja*°.

A Possible Sanskrit Parallel to the Pali Uruvelasutta*

Peter Skilling, Saerji and Prapod Assavavirulhakarn

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I. Description of the Schøyen fragments of the Uruvela-sutta

* We are grateful to Prof. Jens Braarvig for giving us the opportunity to study and publish this folio from the Schøyen Collection, and to Martin Schøyen for preserving the fragments and making them freely accessible to scholars. We thank the Khyentse Foundation for the support that has made our research possible, and we deeply appreciate Dzongsar Khyentse Rinpoché's continued interest in the legacies of the Buddhist textual heritage. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are our own. They are provisional.

¹ Since no other fragments have so far been identified, we assume for the time being that the three fragments are all that survives of the folio.

+++++ [k]. tvā u .. ++ ///
 6 m ājñāya mahābrahmāṇas ca yāvatām vi[d]i .. ++ + + /// /// .. gham apy adrākṣī dha .m. .. ///
 7 sam aṃtarīkṣe sthito yena tathāgata .. + + + + + + /// /// ye ca b[u]d[dh]ā anāgatā[h] .. ///
 8 tvā vihareyur viharāṃti ca • a .. + + + + + + + + ///

1.2 Tentative restoration (beginning from the fifth line)

(ekam bhikṣa)r5vaḥ samayaṃ urubilvāyāṃ viharāmi nadyā neraṃjanāyās tī(re ... 'cirābhisambud-
 dho ...) bh(i)kṣava ekasya (...)r6vastya viharāḥ kaṃ nu khalv ahaṃ anyam śramaṇam vā
 brā(hmaṇam vā satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛ)ty(a) vihareyaṃ (ta)sya me bhikṣava etad a(bhūt ...) r7
 satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya vihareyaṃ || (...)sya na khalu punar ahaṃ taṃ samanupaśy(āmi ...
 sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāṃ prajāyāṃ) r8 sadevamānuṣāsu-
 rāyāṃ ātmanaḥ śīlas(a)m(pa)m(nataram samādhisaṃpannataram prajñāsaṃpannataram vimukti-
 saṃpannataram vimuktijñānadarśanasampannataram ... satkṛ)tya² gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛtya vi-
 hareyaṃ (... śra)v1maṇam vā brāhmaṇam vā satkṛtya gurukṛtyopani-śṛ(tya vihareyaṃ ...) punar
 ayaṃ mayā dha(rmo) gaṃbhīro nipu(ṇo ...)v2yaṃ nāhaṃ dharmam eva satkṛtya gurukṛtyo-
 paniḥśṛtya vihareyaṃ ... tathāgatasya idam evaṃrūpaṃ cetasā cetah(parivitarkam ājñāya ...
 evam e)v3tad bhagavaṃn evam etad sugata | dharmam eva bhag(avān ... satkṛtya
 gurukṛtyopa)niḥśṛtya viharatu | ye 'pi te 'bhūva(nn atīte 'dhvani tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksam-
 buddhās teṣāṃ api bhagavanto) v4 dharmam eva satkṛtvā gurukṛtvā upaniḥśṛtya (...)vaṃ
 bhaviṣyaṃty anāgate 'dhvani tathāga(tā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhās teṣāṃ api bhagavanto dhar-
 mam eva satkṛtya gurukṛtyopaniḥśṛ)v5tya vihariṣyaṃti | bhagavān apy etarhi tathāgato 'rhāṃ
 s(samyaksambuddhas tasya api bhagavān dharmam eva sa)tkṛtvā guru(kṛtvā upaniḥśṛtya viharatu
 ... satkṛtvā guru)k(r)tvā u(paniḥśṛtya viharatu ...)v6m ājñāya mahābrahmāṇas ca yāvatām vidi(tvā
 ...)gham apy adrākṣī dha(r)m(a... vaihāya)v7sam aṃtarīkṣe sthito yena tathāgata(s tenāñjaliṃ
 praṇamya tathāgataṃ gāthayādhyabhāṣata ...) ye ca buddhā anāgatāḥ (...)v8tvā vihareyur
 viharāṃti ca | a(...)

II. Parallels

The main part of the three fragments appears to represent a Sanskrit parallel to the Pali *Uruvela-sutta*; to a short sūtra cited by Śamathadeva in his Essential Commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* (*Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-ṭīkā*); and to two Chinese translations, one in each of the two Chinese *Samyuktāgamas*.³ It appears that the sūtra proper starts from the fifth line of the recto (*samayaṃ urubilvāyāṃ viharāmi*); we have been unable so far to identify the first four lines. The fragments do not preserve any title; for convenience we will call the text studied here the **Urubilvā-sūtra*.

² The gap is much too small for the reconstructed text; it was probably abbreviated with *yāvat* or a similar word.

³ MS 2381/186 was identified as a parallel to the *Gārava-sutta* by Peter Skilling, 14 June 2002; MS 2381/241 and 2382/uf18/2d were identified by Saerji, 5–8 August 2012, both using preliminary transcriptions made by Klaus Wille, to whom we are grateful for his painstaking work. For reasons given below, we now see the fragments as from a possible parallel to the *Uruvela-sutta* rather than to the *Gārava-sutta*.

II.1. The Pali Uruvela-sutta

The Pali *Uruvela-sutta* is included in the *Uruvela-vagga*, the third *vagga* of the *Catukka-nipāta* of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*.⁴ Here it opens the *vagga*, which is so named because this and the following sutta are associated with the town of Uruvelā.⁵ The sutta may be named “The first *Uruvela-sutta*” on the basis of the *uddāna* at the end of the *vagga*.⁶ The sutta is placed in the *Catukka-vagga* because it refers to four *khandha*, that is, *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, and *vimutti* (see below).

II.1.1. Pali text⁷

ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccasossum.

Bhagavā etad avoca ekaṃ samayaṃ bhikkhave Uruvelāyaṃ viharāmi najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Aja-pālanigrodhe pathamābhisambuddho tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave rahogatassa paṭisallīnassa evaṃ cetaso parivittakko udapādi dukkhaṃ kho agāravo viharati appatisso kannu kho ahaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan ti

Tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave etad ahosi aparipūrassa kho **me**⁸ sīlakkhandhassa pāripūriyā aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ na kho panāham passā-mi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā attanā sīlasampannataram yam ahaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upa-nissāya vihareyyaṃ

aparipūrassa kho **me**⁹ ... samādhikkhandhassa ... paññākkhandhassa ... vimuttikkhandhassa pāripūriyā aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyaṃ na kho panāham passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya aññaṃ samaṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā attanā vimuttisampannataram yam ahaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan [¹⁰] ti

tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave etad ahosi yannūnāhaṃ yo pāyaṃ dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya vihareyyan ti.

atha kho bhikkhave Brahmā Sahampati mama cetasā cetoparivittakkam aññāya seyyathāpi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya evam eva Brahmaloce antarahito mama purato pāturahosi.

atha kho bhikkhave Brahmā Sahampati ekaṃsam uttarāsaṅgam karitvā dakkhiṇajānumaṇḍalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihantvā yenāhaṃ tenaṇjalim paṇāmetvā maṃ etad avoca.

evam etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata ye pi te bhante ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammāsambuddhā te pi bhagavanto dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharimsu ye pi te bhante bhavissanti anāgatam addhānam arahanto sammāsambuddhā te pi bhagavanto

⁴ Morris 1976.

⁵ For this locality in Pali literature, see DPPN I 435. The Sanskrit form is *Urubilvā* or *Uruvilvā*.

⁶ *dve uruvelā*: SyR 41.9, PTS 31.30.

⁷ We present here a transliteration of the Pali from the Thai-script, Aruṇanibhāḡuṇākara *et al.* 1980. We note a few variants from the PTS version (AN II 20–21). For English translations see, most recently, Bhikkhu Bodhi 2012: 406–408; see also Woodward 1973: 20–22, Nyanaponika Thera and Bhikkhu Bodhi 1999: 81–83. For translations of the *Gāṛava-sutta*, see Caroline Rhys Davids 1917: 174–176, and Bhikkhu Bodhi 2000: 233–235.

⁸ *me* SyR : *ahaṃ* PTS.

⁹ *me* SyR : *ahaṃ* PTS.

¹⁰ Here the *Gāṛava-sutta* has a fifth passage on *vimuttiññāḍassana-kkhandha*.

dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharissanti bhagavā pi bhante etarahi araḥaṃ
sammāsambuddho dhammaṃ yeva sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viharatū ti

idam avoca Brahmā Sahampati idam vatvā athāparam etad avoca

ye ca atītā¹¹ sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā
yo cetarahi sambuddho bahunnaṃ sokaṇāsano [1]
sabbe saddhammagaruno **viḥariṃsu viḥāti ca**¹²
athā pi¹³ viharissanti esā buddhāna dhammatā [2]
tasmā hi attakāmena mahattam abhikaṇkhatā
saddhammo garukātabbo saraṃ buddhāna sāsanan ti | [3]

idam avoca bhikkhave Brahmā Sahampati idam vatvā maṃ abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā
tatthevantaradhāyi |

idha¹⁴ khvāhaṃ bhikkhave brahmuno ajjhesanaṃ veditvā attano ca paṭirūpaṃ yopāyaṃ
dhammo mayā abhisambuddho tam eva dhammaṃ sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya viḥasiṃ yato
ca kho bhikkhave saṅgho pi mahattena samannāgato atha me saṅghe pi gāravo¹⁵ ti.

II.1.2. Translation

Once the Fortunate One was staying in Sāvattḥī at Anāthapiṇḍika's Pleasance in Jeta's Grove. The
Fortunate One addressed the monks: O monks. Sir, the monks replied.

The Fortunate One said:

Once, monks, when I was dwelling at Uruvelā¹⁶ on the bank of the river Nerañjarā¹⁷ at the
foot of the goatherd's banyan tree just after I had realized awakening, when I was alone and with-
drawn in contemplation, this thought came to me: He who has no respect and has no reverence
dwells in suffering. Now, what samaṇa or brāhmaṇa can I honour and respect and dwell in
dependence upon?

I then reflected:

I could honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon another samaṇa or brāhmaṇa in
order to fulfill the aggregate of virtue which is not yet fulfilled in myself. But in the world with its
deities, its māras, its brahmās, in this human world with its samaṇas and brāhmaṇas, its deities and
men, I do not see any other samaṇa or brāhmaṇa who is more perfect in virtue than myself, whom
I might honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon.

I could honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon another samaṇa or brāhmaṇa in

¹¹ *ye ca atītā* SyR : *ye cabbhatītā* PTS. The latter is closer to the Sanskrit versions. SyR gives the same reading for the *Sāgātha-vagga* version, while PTS has *ye ca atītā* with v.l. *ye cabbhatītā* from Sinhalese manuscripts.

¹² *viḥariṃsu viḥāti ca* SyR: *viḥāmsu viharanti ca* PTS. SyR and PTS both have *viḥariṃsu viharanti ca* in the *Sāgāthā-vagga* version.

¹³ *athā pi* SyR : *atho pi* PTS.

¹⁴ *idha* SyR : *atha* PTS.

¹⁵ *gāravo* SyR : *tibba-gāravo* PTS. Note that the phrase *tibba-gārava/tivra-gaurava* occurs elsewhere in Buddhist texts. For Sanskrit *tivra-gaurava*, see e.g. Tripāthī 1995: 94, 187, and Vaidya 1961a: 33.11.

¹⁶ For Uruvelā, see DPPN I 435–436. For Uruvilvā, see BHSD 148. In Uruvilvā, the Buddha also reflected on the four *smṛtyupasthāna*: see *Samyutta-nikāya*, Part V, *Mahā-vagga*, p. 167. This event at Uruvilvā is also cited in Prajñāvarman's *Udānavargavivaraṇa*: see Balk 1984: 442.12–443.23. In the two Chinese *Samyuktāgamas*, the Buddha reflects on the four *smṛtyupasthāna* in a sūtra which follows the **Uruvilvā-sūtra*.

¹⁷ For the Nerañjarā river, see DPPN II 85–86. The Sanskrit form in the Schøyen fragment is Nerañjanā (recto, line 5). Śamathadeva has *chu bo nai rañdza na* = Nairañjana. See BHSD 312.

order to fulfill the aggregate of concentration ... the aggregate of wisdom ... the aggregate of liberation which is not yet fulfilled in myself. But in the world with its deities, its māras, its brahmās, in this human world with its samaṇas and brāhmaṇas, its deities and men, I do not see any other samaṇa or brāhmaṇa who is more perfect in liberation than myself, whom I might honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon.

Then I reflected:

Let me then honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon this very Dhamma to which I have fully awakened.

Therupon, Brahmā Sahampati,¹⁸ knowing my thoughts with his mind, disappeared from the Brahma world and reappeared before me, just as [easily] as a muscular man might stretch out his folded arm or fold in his stretched out arm.

Brahmā Sahampati arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, knelt with his right knee placed on the ground, raised his hands, palms together, towards me, and said to me:

So it is, Fortunate One. So it is, Sugata. Those who in the past were arahants, truly and fully awakened Buddhas, those Fortunate Ones honoured and respected and dwelt in dependence upon the Dhamma. Those, sir, who in the future will be arahants, truly and fully awakened Buddhas, those Fortunate Ones as well will honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon the Dhamma. The Fortunate One is at present an arahant, a truly and fully awakened Buddha: let him honour and respect and dwell in dependence upon the Dhamma.

Thus spoke Brahmā Sahampati. Having said this, he spoke further:

The Sambuddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future.

And the Sambuddha of the present, destroyer of sorrow for many:

All dwelled, dwell, and will dwell with respect for the Saddhamma.

This is a natural law for Buddhas.

Therefore, one who seeks the self, who aspires to greatness

Should pay respect to the Saddhamma, recollecting the teachings of the Buddhas.

Thus, monks, spoke Brahmā Sahampati. Having said this, he paid homage to me, circumambulated me, keeping me to his right, and disappeared right there.

Here indeed, O monks, having understood Brahmā's request, realizing that it was appropriate for myself, I dwelt honouring and respecting and dwelling in dependence upon exactly the Dhamma that I had realized. And when, O monks, the monastic order attained the state of greatness, then for me there was respect for the order as well.¹⁹

¹⁸ For Brahmā Sahampati, see DPPN II 337–338, 1080–1081. His most important narrative role is inviting the newly awakened One to teach, the famous *ajjhesanā*. He also visited the Buddha on several occasions at the Jetavana and elsewhere. The *Brahmasaṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* contains fifteen discourses in prose and verse in which Sahampati plays a role.

¹⁹ *yato ca kho bhikkhave saṅgho pi mahattena samannāgato atha me saṅghe pi gāravo ti*. The commentary explains as follows (PTS II 26.15): *yato ti yasmiṃ kāle. mahattena samannāgato ti rattaññumahattaṃ vepullamahattaṃ brahmacariyamahattaṃ lābhaggaṃ mahattaṃ ti iminā catubbidhena mahattena samannāgato. atha me saṅghe pi gāravo ti atha mayhaṃ saṅghe pi gāravo jāto. kasmim̐ pana kāle bhagavatā saṅghe gāravo kato ti. mahāpajāpatiyā dussayagadānakāle; tadā hi bhagavā attano upanītaṃ dussayugaṃ saṅghe Gotami dehi, saṅghe te dinne ahañ c'eva pūjito bhavissāmi saṅgho cā ti vadanto saṅghe gāravaṃ akāsi nāma.*

II.2. Śamathadeva's Tibetan citation

We know nothing about the life of Śamathadeva except that he was a bhikṣu born in Nepal (Bal po). His only known work is an important commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur: the *Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-ṭīkā*.²⁰ The *Upāyikā-ṭīkā* was translated by the Indian *upādhyāya* Jayaśrī and a Tibetan *bhikṣu* from Khams (eastern Tibet), Shes rab 'od zer, in the "Cool Pavilion"²¹ in the north of the *Jarame *vihāra*, in the centre of the great Kashmiri city "Matchless" (*kha che'i groñ khyer chen po dpe med kyi dbus dza ra me'i gtsug lag khañ gi byaṅ phyogs kyi bsil khañ*).²² The location of the *Jarame *vihāra* and the exact date of the translation are unknown; the work might have been translated in the second half of the eleventh century.²³

Śamathadeva cites the complete sūtra with reference to Vasubandhu's citation of the first of the three verses of the sūtra in the concluding section of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the *Pudgalaviniścaya*. He gives the abbreviated *nidāna* "at Śrāvastī" (*gleñ g'zi ni mñan du yod pa na'o* = *śrāvastyāṃ nidānaṃ*). The progression of thought is similar to that of the Pali, and the Fortunate One relates the story in the first person. Śamathadeva does not identify the source of his citation.

II.2.1. Tibetan text²⁴

gleñ g'zi ni mñan du yod pa na'o || de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge sloñ rnam la bos te | dge sloñ dag **dus gcig gi tshe ña** mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon pa na **chu bo nai rañdza na'i 'gram** byaṅ chub kyi śiñ druñ na gcig pu dben pa nañ du yañ dag 'jog la **bzugs pa na** | 'di lta bu'i sems la sems kyi yoñs su rtogs pa skyes te | gus pa med pa ni sdug bsñal ba ste | bdag po med ciñ 'jigs par dbaṅ sgyur ba med pa ni don chen po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur ro || gus pa dañ bcas pa ni bde ba ste | bdag po dañ bcas śiñ 'jigs pa dbaṅ sgyur ba dañ bcas pa ni don chen po yoñs su rdzogs par 'gyur te | gañ bdag²⁵ las **tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa** khyad par du 'phags pa'am tiñ ñe 'dzin phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | śes rab phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa lha dañ bcas pa dañ bdud dañ bcas pa dañ tshañs pa dañ bcas pa dañ **dge sbyoñ dañ bram ze'i** skye dgu'i lha dañ mi'i 'jig rten na 'ga' žig yod na bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba bdag²⁶ gis **bkur stir byas** | **bla mar byas** | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te **yoñs su bsten ciñ gnas par bya'o** žes dgoñs so ||

yañ 'di sñam du | gañ yañ bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag **bdag gis bkur stir byas** | **bla mar byas** | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te

²⁰ See the remarks on this work in Skilling and Harrison 2005.

²¹ Cool Pavilion stands for *bsil khañ* = *harmikā*, *harmya*. *Bsil khañ* belongs to the technical vocabulary of Indian Buddhist architecture, but exactly what sort of physical structure the term stands for is not known. It might be a pavilion set on a flat roof. For a recent discussion of the term *harmya/harmika* with references, see Karashima 2012: 109, §13.9. See also BHSD 618.

²² For *Groñ khyer chen po dpe med* (Anupama, Nirupama?) see Naudou 1968: 169–171.

²³ Mejer: 1991: 64.

²⁴ D 4094, *mñon pa, ñu*, 84a3–85b4 = P 5595, *mdo 'grel, thu*, 130b1–132a6. Text in bold face corresponds to words preserved in the manuscript.

²⁵ *bdag*: Derge and Peking read *dag*; we emend to *bdag*.

²⁶ *bdag*: Derge and Peking read *dag*; we emend to *bdag*.

yoñs su bsten ciñ gnas par bya ba gañ bdag las tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | tiñ ñe 'dzin phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | śes rab phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa lha dañ bcas pa dañ | bdud dañ bcas pa dañ | tshañs pa dañ bcas pa dañ | dge sbyoñ dañ bram ze'i skye dgu'i lha dañ mi'i 'jig rten na 'ga' yañ med de | gžan du na ñas rañ ñid kyis chos mñon par mkhyen nas mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas te gañ yañ bdag gis chos la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag | bdag gis bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed par byas | mchod par byas nas bsten ciñ lan mañ du gnas par bya'o žes dgoñs so ||

de nas tshañs pa stoñ gi bdag po'i sams kyis ña'i thugs rnam par śes nas skyes bu stobs dañ ldan pa'i lag pa brkyañ ba las bskum pa'am bskums pa las brkyañ ba tsam gyis tshañs pa'i 'jig rten na mi snañ bar gyur te ña'i mdun du 'dug nas 'di skad ces smras so || bcom ldan 'das de de bžin no || bde bar gšegs pa de de bžin te | gus pa med pa ni sdug bsñal ba ste | bdag po med ciñ 'jigs par dbañ sgyur ba med pa ni don chen po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur ro || gus pa dañ bcas pa ni bde ba ste bdag po dañ bcas śiñ 'jigs par dbañ sgyur ba dañ bcas pa'i don chen po yoñs su rdzogs par 'gyur te | gañ yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag bcom ldan 'das kyis bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te yoñs su bsten ciñ lan mañ du gnas par bya ba bcom ldan 'das las tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | tiñ ñe 'dzin phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | śes rab phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa'am | rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba phun sum tshogs pa khyad par du 'phags pa lha dañ bcas pa dañ bdud dañ bcas pa dañ tshañs pa dañ bcas pa dañ dge sbyoñ dañ bram ze'i skye dgu'i lha dañ mi'i 'jig rten na 'ga' yañ med do || gžan du na bcom ldan 'das rañ ñid kyis chos mñon par mkhyen nas mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas te | gañ yañ bcom ldan 'das kyis chos la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis bcom ldan 'das kyis chos la bkur stir mdzad ciñ bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par mdzad nas brten ciñ lan mañ du gnas par mdzod cig | btsun pa de ci'i phyir ze na | gañ yañ 'das pa'i dus na byuñ bar gyur pa'i sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de bžin gšegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas de dag kyañ chos ñid la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis chos ñid la bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed bar byas | mchod par byas nas ñe bar bsten ciñ bžugs so || gañ yañ ma 'oñs pa'i dus na 'byuñ bar 'gyur ba'i sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de bžin gšegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas de dag kyañ chos ñid la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis bkur stir mdzad pa dañ | bla mar mdzad pa dañ | rjed par mdzad pa dañ | mchod par mdzad ciñ bsten ciñ gnas par 'gyur ro || da ltar byuñ ba'i dus kyi bcom ldan 'das de bžin gšegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas kyañ chos ñid la bkur stir bya ba dañ | bla mar bya ba dañ | rjed par bya ba dañ | mchod par bya ba dag gis bkur stir mdzad ciñ bla mar mdzad pa dañ | rjed par mdzad pa dañ | mchod par mdzad nas bsten ciñ lan mañ du bžugs par mdzod cig |

gañ yañ 'das pa'i rdzogs sañs rgyas || **gañ yañ ma byon sañs rgyas dañ** ||
 mya ñan mañ po 'jig byed pa'i || gañ yañ da ltar rdzogs sañs rgyas || [1]
 de dag thams cad dam chos la || bkur stir mdzad ciñ ñe bar bžugs ||
 gžan yañ gnas par 'gyur ba ste || 'di ni rdzogs sañs chos ñid yin || [2]
 de phyir 'dod khams 'di na ni || che ba'i bdag ñid 'dod pa mams ||
 sañs rgyas bstan pa rjes dran nas || dam pa'i chos la bkur sti bya || [3]

de nas tshañs pa stoñ gi bdag po mñon par dga' žiñ rjes su yi rañs nas de ña'i žabs la spyi bos
 phyag byas nas mi snañ bar gyur to žes gsuñs so ||

II.2.2. Translation

The *nidāna* at Śrāvastī.²⁷ Then the Fortunate One addressed the monks:

O monks, on one occasion, not long after I realized full awakening, when I was staying on the bank of the River Nerañjanā, beneath the Bodhi tree, alone and withdrawn in contemplation, this thought came to me: To be without respect is suffering. To be without reverence and without deference,²⁸ one fails in the great aim.²⁹ To have respect is happiness. To have reverence, to have deference, one succeeds in the great aim. If in this world of ascetics and brahmins populated by gods and humans, with its gods, with its māras, with its brahmās, there existed anyone who is endowed with superior ethics, is endowed with superior concentration, is endowed with superior wisdom, is endowed with superior liberation, is endowed with superior insight and vision of liberation, and should be respected, revered, honoured, and venerated, I should dwell resorting to [such a person], respecting, revering, honouring, venerating – so I reflected.

I thought further, There is no one in this world of ascetics and brahmins populated by gods and humans, with its gods, with its māras, with its brahmās, who is endowed with superior ethics, who is endowed with superior concentration, who is endowed with superior wisdom, who is endowed with superior liberation, who is endowed with superior insight and vision of liberation, who should be respected, revered, honoured, and venerated, whom I should dwell resorting to, respecting, revering, honouring, and venerating. On the contrary, I should respect, revere, honour, and venerate the Dharma that I have myself directly realized and thereby become fully awakened.

Then Brahmā Sahampati, reading my thoughts with his mind, just as swiftly as a muscular man might fold his extended arm, or stretch out his folded arm, disappeared from the Brahmā world, and seated in front of me said this: Fortunate One, it is so! Sugata, it is so! To be without respect is suffering. To be without reverence and without deference, one fails in the great aim. To have respect is happiness. To have reverence, to have deference, one succeeds in the great aim. In this world of ascetics and brahmins populated by gods and humans, with its gods, with its māras,

²⁷ This refers to the full Śrāvastī *nidāna*, “Once the Fortunate One was staying in Śrāvastī at Anāthapiṇḍada’s Pleasance in Jeta’s Grove.”

²⁸ For the string of terms “respect, reverence, deference” see below.

²⁹ For the phrase, cf. e.g. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā: mahataḥ svārthāt parihīṇo bhaviṣyati, mahataś ca parārtharatnarāśeḥ parihīṇo bhaviṣyati, yaduta sarvajñatāmahārtharatnākarāt parihīṇatvād iti*. Vaidya 1960a: 144.17–18. For the Tibetan, see D 12, *śes phyin, ka*, 160a7–b1: *rañ gi don chen po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur žiñ gžan gyi don chen po'i rin po che'i phuñ po las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur te | 'di lta ste | thams cad mkhyen pa'i don chen po'i rin po che'i 'byuñ gnas las yoñs su ñams par 'gyur bar rig par bya'o*.

with its brahmās, there is no one who is endowed with superior ethics, who is endowed with superior concentration, who is endowed with superior wisdom, who is endowed with superior liberation, who is endowed with superior insight and vision of liberation, and should be respected, revered, honoured, and venerated, whom the Fortunate One might dwell resorting to, respecting, revering, honouring, and venerating.

The Fortunate One should respect, revere, honour, and venerate the Dharma and should dwell regularly³⁰ resorting to [the Dharma]. Why, sir, is that? In the past, the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, the Tathāgatas, the arhats, the truly and fully enlightened ones dwelled resorting to, and respected ... the very Dharma. In the future, the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, the Tathāgatas, the arhats, the truly and fully enlightened ones will dwell resorting to, and respect ... the very Dharma. In the present time, the Fortunate One, the Tathāgata, the arhat, the truly and fully enlightened one should dwell regularly resorting to, and respect ... the very Dharma.

The Sambuddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future,
the Sambuddha of the present, who destroys much suffering:³¹ [1]
All of them respected and relied on the Saddharma
And will dwell doing so: this is the natural law for Sambuddhas. [2]
Therefore, here in this sensual realm,³² those who seek greatness
Recollecting the teaching of the Buddhas, should pay respect to the Dharma. [3]

Then Brahmā Sahampati, elated and satisfied, paid homage at my feet with his head, and vanished.

II.3. Chinese Saṃyuktāgamas

The progression of the narrative and thought in the two Chinese versions is basically the same as the texts studied so far. They both open with common formula *evaṃ mayā śrutam*. The prologue is related in the third person: The Fortunate One was staying at Urubilvā on the banks of the Nerañjarā river, just after his awakening. In both cases, he is seated beneath the Bodhi tree as in the Tibetan version, against the Ajapāla fig tree of the Pali version. Neither Chinese version describes the audience or addresses the monks—the narrative is presented as an episode in the life of the Buddha.

³⁰ *lan mañ du = bahulam*, here and below: not in the Pali, but the usage is well attested in both Sanskrit and Pali.

³¹ If not a translation of a variant reading, *mya nan mañ po 'jig byed pa'i* might be a misinterpretation of Sanskrit *bahūnām śokanāśakaḥ*. Other Tibetan translations of the line include *mañ po'i mya nan sel mdzad pa* (*Udānavarga*: D 326, *mdo sde, sa*, 227b7); *mañ po'i mya nan 'joms mdzad pa* (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*: D 1, 'dul ba, kha, 9a4); *sañs rgyas mya nan sel mdzad pa || da ltar mañ po gañ bžugs dag* (*Vinayavibhaṅga*: D 3, 'dul ba, ja, 224a4; ña, 81b2).

³² The Tibetan reads “here in this sensual realm (*kāmadhātu*)” (*'dod kham s 'di na ni*), where the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* has *tasmād iha ātmakāmena*, the Pali *tasmā hi attakāmena*, with v. l. *atthakāmena*. The Tibetan variant is difficult to explain.

II.3.1. Chinese texts

1) Sūtra 1188 (T. 99, pp. 321c18–322a27)	2) Sūtra 101 (T. 100, pp. 410a3–410b10)
如是我聞。	如是我聞。
<p>一時，佛住鬱毘羅聚落尼連禪河側菩提樹下，成佛未久。爾時，世尊獨靜思惟，作是念：“不恭敬者，則為大苦，無有次序，無他自在可畏懼者，則於大義有所退減。有所恭敬，有次序，有他自在者，得安樂住；有所恭敬，有次序，有他自在，大義滿足。</p>	<p>一時，佛在優樓頻螺聚落，泥連河岸菩提樹下，成佛未久。爾時，世尊獨坐思惟，而作是念：“夫人無敬心，不能恭順於其尊長，不受教誨，無所畏懼，縱情自逸，永失義利。若如是者，眾苦纏集。若人孝事尊長，敬養畏慎，隨順不逆，所願滿足，得大義利。若如是者，觸事安樂。”</p>
<p>頗有諸天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門、天神、世人中，能於我所具足戒勝、三昧勝、智慧勝、解脫勝、解脫知見勝，令我恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住？”</p> <p>復作是念：“無有諸天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門、天神、世人能於我所戒具足勝、三昧勝、智慧勝、解脫勝、解脫知見勝，令我恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住者。唯有正法令我自覺，成三藐三佛陀者，我當於彼恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。所以者何？過去如來、應、等正覺亦於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住；諸當來世如來、應、等正覺亦於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。”</p> <p>爾時，娑婆世界主梵天王知世尊心念已，如力士屈伸臂頃，從梵天沒，住於佛前，歎言：“善哉！如是，世尊！如是，善逝！懈怠不恭敬者，甚為大苦……廣說乃至……大義滿足，其實無有諸天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門、天神、世人於世尊所戒具足勝、三昧勝、智慧勝、解脫勝、解脫知見勝，令世尊恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住者。唯有正法，如來自悟成等正覺，則是如來所應恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住者。所以者何？過去諸如來、應、等正覺亦於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住；諸未來如來、應、等正覺亦當於正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。世尊亦當於彼正法恭敬宗重，奉事供養，依彼而住。”</p>	<p>復作是念：“一切世間，若天、若人，若天世界、若人世界、若魔世界、若梵世界、沙門、婆羅門，一切世間有生類中，若有戒、定、慧、解脫、解脫知見勝於我者，我當親近，依止於彼，供養恭敬。遍觀察已，都不見於世間人、天、魔、梵、沙門、婆羅門，一切世間有勝於我戒、定、慧、解脫、解脫知見，為我依止。”</p> <p>復作是念：“我所覺法，我今應當親近、供養、恭敬、誠心、尊重。何以故？過去諸佛，一切皆悉親近、依止、供養、恭敬、尊重斯法，未來、現在諸佛，亦復親近、依止斯法，供養、恭敬，生尊重心。我今亦當如過去、未來、現在諸佛，親近、依止、供養、恭敬、尊重於法。”</p> <p>爾時，梵主天王遙知世尊在優樓頻螺聚落，泥連河岸菩提樹下而作是念：“觀察世間，若天、若人、若魔、若梵、沙門、婆羅門，一切生類，若有勝我戒、定、慧、解脫、解脫知見者，我當依止，然都不見有能勝我者。又復觀察過去、未來、現在諸佛，悉皆親近、依止於法，供養、恭敬，生尊重心，我今亦當隨三世佛之所，應作親近、依止、供養、恭敬、尊重於法。”時，梵主天復作是念：“我當從此處沒，往到佛所。”時，梵主天譬如壯士屈伸臂頃，來至佛所。白佛言：“世尊！實如所念，誠如所念。”</p>

<p>時，梵天王復說偈言：</p> <p>“過去等正覺，及未來諸佛， 現在佛世尊，能除眾生憂。 一切恭敬法，依正法而住； 如是恭敬者，是則諸佛法。”</p> <p>時，梵天王聞佛所說，歡喜隨喜，稽首佛足， 即沒不現。</p>	<p>即說偈言：</p> <p>“過去現在諸如來，未來世中一切佛， 是諸正覺能除惱，一切皆依法為師。 親近於法依止住，斯是三世諸佛法 是故欲尊於己者，應先尊重敬彼法。 宜當憶念佛所教，尊重供養無上法。”</p> <p>爾時，梵王讚歎世尊，深生隨喜，作禮而去。</p>
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III. A note on Brahma's verses

In all versions studied here, Brahmā Sahampati utters three verses at the end to recapitulate and confirm the message of the sūtra. The Schøyen fragment preserves only part of a sentence stating that [Brahmā] stood in the air, performed an *añjali* towards the Tathāgata, and spoke to the Tathāgata in verse, with a fragment of verse [1b]:

(vaihāya)sam amtarīkṣe sthito yena tathāgata(s tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya tathāgataṃ gātha-
yādhyabhāṣata)
... ye ca buddhā anāgatāḥ ... tvā vihareyur viharanti ca a ...

The three verses occur as a set in several places in (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin literature, as well in several combinations elsewhere. In all cases the *nidāna* is different from that studied above.

III.1. Udānavarga (verses 1–3)

The three verses are included in the *Tathāgatavarga* of the great compendium of verse, the *Udānavarga* (XXI 11–13).³³

ye cābhyatītāḥ sambuddhā ye ca buddhā hy anāgatāḥ |
yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho bahūnām śokaṇāśakaḥ ||
sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca |
athāpi vihariṣyanti eṣā buddheṣu dharmatā ||
tasmād ihātmakāmena mātmyam abhikāṅkṣatā |
saddharmo gurukartavyaḥ smaratā buddhaśāsanam ||

In his *Udānavargavivaraṇa*, Prajñāvarman gives the following *nidāna*:³⁴

khyim bdag bzan sbyin bcom ldan 'das la chos ñan ciñ 'dug pa na | ko sa la'i rgyal po
gsal rgyal bcom ldan 'das kyi spyen snar 'oñs te | mdun bsu ba ma byas pas de 'khrugs

³³ Bernhard 1965: 281–282.

³⁴ Balk 1984: 616.30–618.30.

*par gyur to || des chos ñan pa'i phyir gsol ba btab pa las ji tsam na tshigs su bcad pa
gsum po 'di gsuñs so ||*

The Gr̥hapati Sudatta was sitting, listening to the Dharma from the Fortunate One. Prasenajit, King of Kosala, came into the presence of the Fortunate One. When no one made him welcome, he was perturbed. When he requested to hear the Dharma, [the Fortunate One] spoke these three stanzas.

The three verses are included in the Chinese translation of the *Udānavarga* (T. 212, 出曜經 *Chūyào jīng*, translated by 竺佛念 *Zhú Fóniàn*). The text states that the verses are from the *Samyuktāgama*, placing the delivery of the sūtra at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍada,³⁵ as in the Pali *Uruvela-sutta*. The substance is similar, but the Dharma is expanded to include a list from four *smṛtyupasthāna* to *ārya-aṣṭāṅgamārga*. The narrative is concise, and does not mention Urubilvā or Brahmā's intervention.

III.2. *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (verses 1–3)*

The set of three verses occurs three times in the Tibetan translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, once in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and twice in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*. As far as we know, no Sanskrit fragments of the relevant passages are preserved or have been identified. The three verses also occur in Yijing's Chinese translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* [*vibhaṅga*] and *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. The narratives are similar to those of the Tibetan translations.

III.2.1. *Bhaiṣajyavastu*³⁶

The narrative takes place at Rājagṛha. The Nāgarājas Grog mkhar (Valmīka) and Ri bo (Girika) saw Śreṇya Bimbisāra, King of Magadha, from afar, and then said to the Fortunate One: How is it: should one pay homage first to the Saddharma, or to the king? O Nāga kings, one should pay homage to the Saddharma: the Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, respect the Saddharma, and the arhats as well venerate the Saddharma. Then, on this occasion the Fortunate One recited these verses.

III.2.2. *Vinayavibhaṅga (1)*³⁷

The setting is the Kalandaka residence (Kalandakanivāsa) in the bamboo grove at Rājagṛha (*rgyal po'i khab na 'od ma'i tshal ka lan da ka'i gnas*). The basic story is the same as that of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, but the Nāgarājas are Ri bo (Giri) and Yig 'ong (Valgu).

³⁵ T. 212, 718b26–27.

³⁶ 'Dul ba gzi, Sman gyi gzi, in section on *ltuñ byed 'ba' śig tu 'gyur pa rnams* (= *pātayantika*), translated by Sarvajñadeva, Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmākara, and Dpal gyis lhun po, revised by Vidyākaraprabha and Dpal brtsegs: D 1, 'dul ba, kha, 9a4–5 = P 1030, 'dul ba, ge, 8b2–4. The story is summarized in Panglung 1981: 20.

³⁷ 'Dul ba rnam par byed pa, translated by Jinamitra and Klu'i rgyal mtshan, see D 3, 'dul ba, ja, 222a4–5 = P 1032, 'dul ba, ñe, 209a6–7. The story is translated in von Schiefner 1906: 142–143, and summarized in Panglung 1981: 142–143.

III.2.3. *Vinayavibhaṅga* (2)³⁸

The setting is the Jetavana at Śrāvastī, in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍada. The basic story is the same as in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, but Nāgarājas are dGa' bo (Nanda) and Nye dga' (Upananda), while the king is Prasenajit, King of Kosala.

III.3. *Prātimokṣa* of the Dharmaguptaka school (verses 1–3)

The Chinese translation of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Dharmaguptaka School includes the three verses near the end (T. 1429, 四分律比丘戒本 *Sīfēnlǚ bīqīu Jièběn*, translated by Buddhayaśas), but combines the first two verses into one verse (six stanzas); the fifth stanza is slightly different, to reflect the context: it states that one should respect *śīla*, that is, *dharma*. While other *Prātimokṣas* – for example those of the Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, and Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghikas – have verses at the end, none of those available for consultation has any verses that correspond to “Brahmā’s verses.”

III.4. *Mahāvastu* parallel to verse [1]

A close parallel to verse [1] occurs in the *Mahāvastu* in connection with the meeting with Upako Ājīvaka, in the section which Senart called “de la Bodhi au Ṛishipatana,” with a single line which bears a resemblance to v. 2d.³⁹

ye cābhyatītā sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā |
ye caitarahiṃ sambuddhā bahūnāṃ śokanāśakā |
dharmam deśenti satvānāṃ buddhānaṃ eṣā dharmatā ||

Although only one verse is a close parallel, and it is addressed to Upaka en route to Vārāṇasī, it is interesting that it is somewhat connected with the awakening cycle.⁴⁰

III.5. Parallel to verse [1] in an unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra fragment from Central Asia

A condensation of verse [1], which collapses the first stanza into a single line, occurs in an unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra fragment in “nordturkestanische Brāhmī, Type a” from the “Handschriften-Höhle” at Šorcuq, recovered on the third German Turfan expedition.⁴¹ It is spoken by Brahmā Sabhāvatī⁴² in a quite different context, and is connected with *Prajñāpāramitā*:

prajñāpāramitā śrutvā uttīrṇa bhavasāgarā
ye [c-ābhya]tītā sambuddhā bahūnaṃ śokanāśanā.

III.6. Citations of the verses in technical literature

Vasubandhu cites verse [1] in a discussion of the capacity of a continuum called “Buddha” to give

³⁸ 'Dul ba rnam par byed pa, as preceeding: D 3, 'dul ba, ña, 81b1–3 = P 1032, 'dul ba, te, 74b5–6.

³⁹ Senart 1897: 327.10.

⁴⁰ The meeting with Upaka is also related in *Vinaya Mahāvagga* with the same verses (PTS ed. I, 8.21).

⁴¹ Waldschmidt 1971: 211–212.

⁴² Sabhāvatī is a variant form of Sahāpati, perhaps not recorded elsewhere so far: see BHSD 560 (*sabhāpati*), 587 (*sahāpati*), 588 (*sahāpati*, *sahāmpati*, etc.).

rise to unmistakable knowledge by simply adverting.⁴³ It is this citation of verse [1] that is the occasion for Śamathadeva to cite the sūtra studied here. Another *śāstrakāra* who resorts to the verses is Bhavya,⁴⁴ who cites two verses in his *Madhyamakahrdayatarkajvālā* to prove that many Buddhas can appear in many worlds, against the dogma that only one Buddha appears in one world.⁴⁵

III.7. Remarks on the verses

In sum, the verses are either spoken by Brahmā Sahampati (**Urubilvā-sūtra*, *Uruvela-sutta*, *Gārava-sutta*, Śamathadeva) or by the Buddha (*Vinayavibhaṅga*, *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, *Mahāvastu*). The texts are instructive examples of how verses are put to different purposes in Buddhist literature. In the Uruvela/Urubilvā cycle of texts, Brahmā Sahampati recites the verses to epitomize the message of the sūtra: Buddhas of the past, future, and present all revere the Dharma. This idea is retained in the *Mahāvastu* but in a different context: and here it is spoken by the Buddha to Upaka, “the passer-by.” In the Dharmaguptaka *Prātimokṣa*, the verse is adapted to fit the context: it is not the Dharma, but the *Prātimokṣa* that is emphasized. And in the “nāga narratives” of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the stanzas are used to illustrate the necessity of paying homage to the Dharma before saluting a ruler, a king, thus applying the verse to political/hierarchical ends. Bhavya cites the verses to demonstrate that many Buddhas can arise in many universes. The question of multiple Buddhas in the present is brought up by Buddhaghosa in the *Manorathapūraṇī* (PTS III, 26.3):

*ye ca atītā sambuddhā ye ca buddhā anāgatā
yo cetarahi sambuddho bahunnaṃ sokaṇāsano
sabbe saddhammagaruno viharīṃsu vihātī ca
athā pi viharissanti esā buddhāna dhammatā
viharīṃsu viharanti cā ti ettha yo vadeyya viharantī ti vacanato paccuppanne pi
bahū buddhā ti so bhagavā pi bhante etarahi araham sammāsambuddho ti iminā
vacanena paṭibāhitabbo.
na me ācariyo atthi sadiso me na vijjati
sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ n’atthi me paṭipuggalo⁴⁶ ti
ādīhi c’assa suttehi aññesaṃ buddhānaṃ abhāvo dīpetabbo.*

The Sambuddhas of the past, the Buddhas of the future.
And the Sambuddha of the present, destroyers of sorrow for many:
All dwelled, dwell, and will dwell with respect for the Saddhamma:
This is a natural Law for Buddhas.

⁴³ Pradhan 1967: 467.13–22. For Yaśomitra’s comments, see Shastri 1973: 1205.27–30. Also see Wogihara: 705.28–706.2.

⁴⁴ The author’s name is uncertain. Here we follow the form given in the Tanjur for this work. Recently some scholars have preferred the form Bhāviveka.

⁴⁵ D 3854, *dbu ma, dza*, 182b4. For verses 1–2, see 182b1–2 = P 5256, *dbu ma, za*, 198b1–3. Cf. Eckel 2009: 178 (tr.), 359 (text).

⁴⁶ See, e.g., *Ariyapariyesanasutta*, MN 26, PTS ed. I, 171.7.

If someone [takes up this verse, and] says, “[the expression] ‘they dwelled and dwell’ (viharanti, 3rd pers. pl.) [shows that] according to the word [of the Buddha] there are many buddhas in the present as well,” [then] this should be countered by means of *this* statement, [by saying,] “The Fortunate One, good sir, [is mentioned in the singular] here as, “at present, the arhat, the truly and fully awakened one.” The non-existence of other buddhas [at present] should be explained by citing other suttas, such as,

I do not have any teacher, there is no one like me:
in the world with its devas, I have no counterpart.

For the *Mahāvastu* to refer to Buddhas of the present in the plural – *ye caitarahiṃ sambuddhā bahūnāṃ śokanāśakā, dharmam deśenti* – is to be expected, since the Mahāsāṃghika school accepted the existence of many Buddhas at the same time in different universes, as did some other schools, as well as Mahāyāna thought in general. For the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, it does not seem doctrinally appropriate, and the *Udānavarga* stanzas as they stand are ambiguous, with *yaś cāpy etarhi sambuddho bahūnāṃ śokanāśakaḥ* followed by *sarve saddharmaguravo vyāhārṣu viharanti ca*. But redaction need not necessarily be doctrinally correct; Siamese liturgical texts, for example, include verses like *paccuppannā ca ye buddhā* and chants on the “Buddhas of the ten directions.”⁴⁷

IV. The Perfection of Wisdom and the **Urubilvā-sūtra*

The event of the **Urubilvā-sūtra* seems to have been well known, and its vocabulary was assimilated into other texts. Some passages in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* evoke the primary concept: that the Buddha himself, or Buddhas in general, pay homage to the Dharma, with the predictable hermeneutic turn that the Dharma means the Perfection of Wisdom. In some cases, such as in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, the Fortunate One, addressing Śakra, refers directly to the event with the same vocabulary, and identifies the Dharma explicitly with *Prajñāpāramitā*.

IV.1. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*⁴⁸

imam api cārthavaśam sampaśyamānasya mamānuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhasyaitad abhūt; kaṃ nv ahaṃ dharmam upaniśritya vihareyaṃ satkuryāṃ gurukuryāṃ mānayeyaṃ pūjayeyam iti. so 'haṃ kauśika yadā nādrākṣaṃ sadevake loke sabrahmake samārake saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāṃ prajāyāṃ sadevamānuṣāsuraṇāṃ sadṛśam. tasya me sadṛśam asamanupaśyamānasya⁴⁹ etad abhūt; yaṃ nūnam ahaṃ ya eva mayā dharmābhisambuddhas tam eva dharmam satkuryāṃ gurukuryāṃ mānaye-

⁴⁷ See Skilling 1996a: 151–183.

⁴⁸ Kimura 1986: 102.9–19. Cf. Vajracharya 2006: 590.12–591.5. For the Tibetan translation, see D 9, *śes phyin, kha*, 116b5–117a3.

⁴⁹ *asamanupaśyamānasya*: the Sanskrit editions read *samanupaśyamānasya*, but the context leads us to prefer *asamanupaśyamānasya*.

yaṃ pūjayeyam iti, dharmam eva copaniśrāya vihareyam iti. ayam eva kauśika saddharma yeyam prajñāpāramitā. aham eva kauśika imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ satkaromi gurukaromi mānayāmi pūjayāmi satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjayitvā upaniśrāya ca viharāmi.

It was when I saw just this fact, that upon having awakened to unsurpassed true and complete awakening, I wondered, “Upon what Dharma should I dwell in dependence, [what Dharma] should I respect, should I revere, should I honour, should I worship?” And when, Kauśika, I did not see anyone equal to me in the world with its gods, with its Brahmās, with its Māras, among its people with śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, with its gods, humans, and titans, I realized, “there is the Dharma to which I have awakened: it is just this Dharma that I should respect, that I should revere, that I should honour, that I should worship. I should dwell in dependence on that very Dharma. This very Saddharma, Kauśika, is the Perfection of Wisdom. Kauśika, I indeed respect, revere, honour, and worship the Perfection of Wisdom. Respecting, revering, honouring, and worshipping [it], I dwell in dependence [on the Perfection of Wisdom].

V. Comparison of the versions

No other fragments apart from 2381/186, 2381/241 and 2382/uf18/2d have been so far identified in the Schøyen collection, and it is impossible to suggest the nature of the collection to which the fragments might have belonged – whether to a *Samyuktāgama*, an *Ekottarikāgama*, or to some other collection. There do not seem to be any citations of the prose part of the *sūtra* in known scholastic literature, although, as seen above, the verses are well known, and the possibility remains that our fragment belongs to a citation in a scholastic text, although this strikes us as unlikely.

The Schøyen fragments are clearly not identical to any of the complete versions of the **Urubilvā-sūtra*. It describes the Dharma as *dharmo gaṃbhīro nipuṇo*; although the other versions do not do this, the phrase evokes a famous description of the Dharma in the *sūtras* that describe the Buddha’s realization, such as the *Sanḥabhedavastu*, the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra*, and the Pali *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* (*Majjhimanikāya*, no. 26). Thus it is a natural connection.

The sequence of some parts seems different. In the other versions, the verses follow the prose, and come at the end. In the Schøyen fragments, it seems as if the prose follows the verses.

The Theravādin tradition transmits a second version of the text known as *Gārava-sutta*, which is the second sutta in the first Vagga of the *Brahma-samyutta* of the *Sagātha-vagga* of the *Samyutta-nikāya*.⁵⁰ This text takes its name from the *uddāna* at the end of the Vagga.⁵¹ It is included in the *Brahma-samyutta* because, as in the *Uruvela-sutta*, at the end of the *sutta* Brahmā Sahampati descends from his heaven, confirms and applauds the Buddha’s thought, and pronounces three verses.

⁵⁰ Feer 1973: 138.29–140.16.

⁵¹ SyR 224.2; PTS 153.5, *gāravo*.

The two Pali versions are not quite identical. The *Gārava-sutta* opens with “once I have heard” (*evaṃ me sutam*): the Fortunate One was staying at Uruvelā on the banks of the Nerañjarā river under the Ajapāla fig tree, just after his awakening. As seen above, the *Uruvela-sutta* does not begin with *evaṃ me sutam*.⁵² It opens by stating that the Fortunate One was staying at Sāvattihī in the Jetavana in the pleasure garden of Anāthapiṇḍika; he then addressed the monks, and related the events that had occurred after his awakening. That is, the significant difference between the two suttas is that in the *Gārava-sutta* the narrator – the presumed Ānanda at the First Communal Recitation – relates the events, referring to the Buddha in the third person, but in the *Uruvela-sutta* the Fortunate One relates the events to the assembled monks himself, in the first person.⁵³ This places the *Uruvela-sutta* among the “autobiographical discourses” in which the Buddha relates episodes of his own life and career, specifically among the relatively small number of texts that take place just after the awakening.

Pali sources use the phrase *paṭhamābhisambuddha* for Buddha’s recent achievement of awakening. This is the usual form in Pali, for example at the beginning of the post-awakening cycle in *Vinaya Mahāvagga* I or in the openings of suttas 1–4 in the *Bodhivagga* of the *Udāna*. Śamathadeva has *mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon pa na* = *acirābhisambuddha*, agreeing with the Sanskrit of the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*.⁵⁴ Both Chinese *Saṃyuktāgamas* have 成佛未久 *chéngfó wèijǐu*, suggesting an underlying Sanskrit *acirābhisambuddha*. In addition, Chinese also has 初成正覺 *chūchéng zhèngjué*, indicating *prathamābhisambuddha*. In the Schøyen fragments, the expression in question is not available.

In both Pali versions, the Buddha is sitting under the Ajapāla fig tree. Śamathadeva has instead Bodhi tree (*byañ chub kyi śing druñ* = *bodhimūle*),⁵⁵ as in the two Chinese *Saṃyuktāgamas*. Unfortunately, the Schøyen fragment is broken at the corresponding place.

Another major difference is that the *Gārava-sutta* ends with the verses spoken by Brahmā Sahampati, while the *Uruvela-sutta* goes on to state that Brahmā then paid homage and vanished, after which the Fortunate One reflected further on the need for respect to the saṃgha, the community of monks, when it grew to size. The latter statement is not found in the Tibetan or Chinese versions.

The Schøyen fragment is addressed to the monks and is related in the first person; it thus agrees with the *Uruvela-sutta* and Śamathadeva. We therefore place it as a parallel to the *Uruvela-sutta* rather than the *Gārava-sutta*.

As seen above, the *Uruvela-sutta* is placed in the *Catukka-vagga* because it refers to four *khandha*, that is, *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, and *vimutti*. This is a less common enumeration of what are

⁵² The omission of *evaṃ me sutam* or other formulas in the collections of short suttas is common; phrases are omitted as editorial shortcuts, and the omissions are rarely if ever significant.

⁵³ Here too, the intermediary would have been Ānanda, relating this at the Recitation.

⁵⁴ Waldschmidt’s reconstruction as *prathamābhisambuddha* earlier on at CPS 1.2 is a wrong retranslation influenced by the Pali. CPS 2.4 has *ayaṃ (buddho bhaga)vān urubilvāyāṃ viharati (na)dyā nairañjanāyās (t)ī(re bodhimūle ‘cirābhisambuddho* – but this is also a reconstruction. The Tibetan *Vinaya* has *mñon par rdzogs par sañs rgyas nas riñ por ma lon par* = *acirābhisambuddha*. For the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, see Gnoli 1977: 121.7: *ayaṃ buddho bhagavān urubilvāyāṃ viharati nadyā nairañjanāyās tīre bodhimūle acirābhisambuddhabodhis tejodhātusamāpannaḥ*...

⁵⁵ For *bodhimūle*, cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, loc. cit.

normally five *khandha*, ending with *vimuttiñāṇadassana*.⁵⁶ The other versions of the *sūtra*, including the Pali *Gāraṇa-sutta*, give all five attainments, but describe them differently: – Śamathadeva gives five *tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa*, etc., which should translate a form of *sampad*, while one Chinese *Samyuktāgama* also gives an equivalent of *sampad* (具足 *jùzú*). As in Pali, Sanskrit Buddhist texts regularly have *skandha* here,⁵⁷ and the forms with *sam-pad* seem unusual, although there are instances with *sampanna*, as for example in the *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*.⁵⁸

In the prose, Śamathadeva and the *Uruvela-sutta* refer to the Sambuddhas of the three times rather than Tathāgata. The variation between “Tathāgata” and “Sambuddha” as a subject is common in different recensions of Āgama materials, although it has not been adequately analysed.

VI. Notes on terminology

There are three aspects of terminology that we propose to discuss here. First is a vocabulary of hierarchy, with a string of three terms which is prominent in the **Urubilvā-sūtra* and a few other texts, but otherwise rare. Second is a terminology of respect, seen in a sequence of verbs which are near synonyms. Third is a terminology of spiritual accomplishment, which combines with the first in particular in many of the texts.

VI.1. The vocabulary of hierarchy: *gaurava*, *pratīṣa*, *sabhayavaśavartin*

A string of absolutes *sakṛtya(-tvā)* *gurukṛtya(-tvā)* *upaniḥśṛtya(-tvā)* occurs with forms of *√har* several times in the Schøyen fragment. The parallel texts have in addition a string of adverbial phrases *(sa/-a)gaurava*, *(sa/-a)pratīṣa*, *(-a)sabhayavaśavartin*, which is not available in the Schøyen fragment. This terminology links the **Urubilvā-sūtra* to several other texts, which might be called a cycle on the importance of respect. Here we may cite the exemplary *jātaka* of the partridge, which inculcates an ideology of respect and hierarchy within the monastic order. This story is known in Pali versions, both in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* and the *Jātaka-aṭṭhakathā*, and in the Gilgit *Śāyanāsanavastu*. These texts, as do several *suttas* in the Pali *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, use some of the same strings of phrases. There include, especially:

Pali	Sanskrit <i>Śāyanāsanavastu</i>	Tibetan	
		<i>Śāyanāsanavastu</i>	Śamathadeva
sagāraṇa agāraṇa	sagaurava agaurava	bkur sti dañ bcas bkur sti med	gus pa dañ bcas pa gus pa med pa

⁵⁶ The Pali *Samgīti-sutta* gives four *dhammakkhanda*: *sīlakkhandho*, *samādhikkhandho*, *paññakkhandho*, *vimuttikkhandho*. A similar category is given in the Central Asian Sanskrit *Samgītisūtra* but not in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* version. Cf. also the *Anupādasutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*, 111, III 28, penult), which refers to the arahant as *vasippatto pāramipatto ariyasmiṃ sīlasmiṃ ... ariyasmiṃ samādhismiṃ ... ariyāya paññāya ... ariyāya vimuttiyā*. According to Anālayo 2011: 635, no parallel to this discourse has been identified so far.

⁵⁷ See for example BHSD 607–608, *skandha* (3).

⁵⁸ Skilling 1994: 272–275. Cp. *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 47.6 for another list.

sapatissa apatissa	sapratīśā apratīśā	že sa dañ bcas ⁵⁹ že sa med	bdag po dañ bcas bdag po med
sabhāgavutti asabhāgavutti	sabhayavaśavartin abhayavaśavartin	'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba dañ bcas pa 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du mi 'gro ba	'jigs pa dbaṅ sgyur ba dañ bcas pa 'jigs par dbaṅ sgyur ba med pa



An important source for the Pali items is the *Tittirajātaka*,⁶⁰ which occurs in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya* and in the *Jātaka*,⁶¹ its parallel in the Sanskrit *Śayanāsana-vastu* also uses the terms (see above). The Pali *Jātaka* version uses the phrases *agāravā appatissā/sagāravā sappatissā* with forms of *vi-* *√har* several times. The third member of our group is used in both the *Vinaya* and the *Jātaka* in both the negative – *Vinaya* 161.21, *Jātaka* 218.14, 218, 20, *agāravā appatissā asabhāgavuttino* – and with *sa-* – *Vinaya* 162.7, 14, *Jātaka* 219.15, *sagāravā sappatissā sabhāgavuttino*. The *Index of the Jātaka* records the terms for the *Tittira-jātaka* and nowhere else.⁶²

The first two terms do not pose any real problem: *gaurava* occurs alone in various contexts, and *(sa/a)-gaurava* and *(sa/a)-pratīśā* occur together regularly in a number of sources. In Pali *(sa/a)-gāravo* *(sa/a)-ppatissavo* are often used together.⁶³ The inclusion of *(sa/a)-bhayavaśavartin/* *(a)sabhāgavutti* as a third and final term seems rare, and the compound rarely if ever stands alone. Its use appears to be limited to the texts noted here, and it seems to have been retired from active use quite early.

It is this third term that is difficult: how to understand and reconcile the Sanskrit *sa/a-bhayavaśavartin* and the Pali *sabhāgavutti*?⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the term does not seem to be attested in any other Prakrit or Sanskrit forms, so our investigation is restricted to Sanskrit and Pali sources and Tibetan and Chinese translations. If the terms were in vernacular usage in early northern India, we have no other evidence at present. Therefore the examination of the textual context is important.

It is not difficult to see a connection between Pali *sabhāgavutti* and Sanskrit *sabhayavaśavartin*, but at present we cannot explain the evolution of the two forms.

As seen above, *sabhayavaśavartin* occurs in the Gilgit *Śayanāsana-vastu*; a similar narrative structure and content is found in the Chinese *Samyuktāgama*, sūtra no. 1242 (T. 99, pp. 340c3–20), which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the first half of the fifth century. It has a phrase “awe (deference, fear), following another’s authority” (畏慎隨他自在 *wèishèn suītāzìzài*), which points to Sanskrit *sabhayavaśavartin*. There is no Pali counterpart to compare.

⁵⁹ For *že sa dañ bcas*, cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti*, no. 1776.

⁶⁰ See Skilling 2008: §77.2; for parallels see Grey 1994: 413–414.

⁶¹ *Vinaya* II, 160–162; *Jātaka* no. 37, I 217–220.

⁶² Yamazaki and Ousaka 2003.

⁶³ See *appatissa/apatissa*, CPD I 304.

⁶⁴ Schopen’s explanation of the Sanskrit form takes the components literally (as does the Tibetan translation), but is unsatisfactory in that it depends only on the context in the *Śayanāsana-vastu*, and does not take the other Sanskrit versions or the Pali into account. See Schopen 2000: 149, ad II.28.

The Pali seems to make sense: commenting on *Āṅuttara-nikāya* III 14.23, Buddhaghosa says *asabhāgavuttiko ti asabhāgata visasisāya jīvitavuttiyā samannāgato* (*Manorathapūraṇī* [PTS] III 228, 2). CPD, I 499, defines *asabhāga* as “not being in community with others, unsociable,” and refers to the *Āṅuttara-nikāya* passage just quoted. For *asabhāgavutti*, it cites *Vinaya* I 84, 6, in which the *sāmaṇeras* dwell *agāravā appatissā asabhāgavuttino* towards the *bhikkhus*, and *asabhāgavuttika*, “not living in mutual courtesy,” from the *Cullavagga* and *Āṅuttara-nikāya* passages referred to above.

Is the Pali then the “correct” form, the oldest form, which somehow became corrupted and obscured in the process of Sanskritisation? Or is the Pali a rationalization of an early Prakrit form, a predecessor of both the Pali and the Sanskrit forms? It is possible to explain Pali *vutti* becoming *vartin*, or also *vṛtti*. As for *bhāga* – can there have been changes in the consonant, $g > j > y$, or $y > j > g$?

The Gilgit *Ekottarikāgama* uses the three terms in the definition of the “community that does not have a superior and the community that does have a superior” (*anagravat-parṣat* and *agravatī parṣat*;⁶⁵ the Pali parallel, *Āṅuttara-nikāya* II 70–71 does not use the terms. The *Abhidharmakośa* uses the phrases to define *ahrī*: *ahrīr agurutā*,⁶⁶ which the *Bhāṣya* explains as follows: *guṇeṣu guṇavatsu cāgauravatā apratīsatā abhayam avaśavartitā* [read *abhayavaśavartitā*] *āhrikyam gauravapratidvandvo dharmah*.⁶⁷

VI.2. Terminology of respect

As seen above, the Schøyen fragment only preserves a string of phrases, which occurs several times: *satkṛtya(-tvā) gurukṛtya(-tvā) upaniṣṛtya(-tvā)* with forms of *vi-√har*. In addition to the string *gaurava pratīṣa sabhayavaśavartin*, which we have already discussed, the Pali *Uruvelasutta* has the phrase *sakkatvā garuṃ katvā upanissāya + vi-√har* as parallel to the Schøyen fragment. Śamathadeva has *bkur stir byas | bla mar byas | rjed par byas | mchod par byas te yonś su bsten ciñ gnas par bya ba*. This represents a longer sequence, probably with four terms: *satkṛtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjayitvā upaniṣṛtya ca + vi-√har*. The Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* (T. 99, sūtra no. 1188), 恭敬 宗重 奉事 供養 依彼而住 *gōngjìng zōngzhòng fèngshì gòngyǎng yībērzhu*, also points to the same four terms.

The Buddha’s reflections on respect at Urubilvā may be further amplified by reference to a sutta in the *Puggala-vagga* of the *Tikanipāta* of the *Āṅuttara-nikāya*.⁶⁸ Here the Buddha defines three types of persons (*puggala*): one who is not to be resorted to or sought out, one who is to be resorted to and sought out, and one who is to be resorted to and sought out by paying respect and homage. The first individual is inferior in virtue, concentration, and wisdom. The second individual is one’s equal in virtue, concentration, and wisdom. The third individual is a person who is one’s better in all three qualities: to such a person one should resort. Why?

⁶⁵ Tripāṭhī 1995: 94, 187. We use here the form *Ekottarikāgama*, rather than Tripāṭhī’s *Ekottarāgama*. For a discussion of the title, see Allon 2001: 9–12.

⁶⁶ *Abhidharmakośakārikā* II 32a: Pradhan 1967: 59.18.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ *Āṅuttara-nikāya* I 124–126: we owe the reference to Woodward’s footnote 4, p. 20.

iti aparipūraṃ vā sīlakkhandhaṃ paripūressāmi paripūraṃ vā sīlakkhandhaṃ tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi, aparipūraṃ vā samādhikkhandhaṃ paripūressāmi paripūraṃ vā samādhikkhandhaṃ tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi, aparipūraṃ vā paññākkhandhaṃ paripūressāmi paripūraṃ vā paññākkhandhaṃ tattha tattha paññāya anuggahessāmi, ...

Because I will fulfill the aggregate of virtue which is not yet fulfilled, and I will utilize the aggregate of virtue wisely, as occasion demands; I will fulfill the aggregate of concentration which is not yet fulfilled, and I will utilize the fulfilled aggregate of concentration wisely as occasion demands; I will fulfill the aggregate of wisdom which is not yet fulfilled, and I will utilize the aggregate of wisdom wisely, as occasion demands; ...

The importance of these ideas is seen in their import into the Perfection of Wisdom thought. The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* has the same four terms:

*aham eva kauśika imāṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ satkaromi gurukaromi mānayāmi pūjayāmi satkrtya gurukṛtya mānayitvā pūjayitvā upaniśrāya ca viharāmi.*⁶⁹

kau śi ka de ltar ña ñid kyañ śes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa 'di la rim gror byed | bkur stir byed | bsti stan du byed | mchod par byed de | de ltar rim gro dan | bkur sti dan | bsti stan dan | mchod pa byas śiñ rnam par spyod na |⁷⁰

A study of the terms for respect and worship in Buddhist texts is a desideratum, but it is beyond the scope of this essay.

VI.3. Terminology of spiritual accomplishment

Pali and Sanskrit texts present an interdependent sequence of spiritual development that leads to achievement of nirvana, starting with respect. There is some variation in the terms, but the general structure of the development is the same. The *Śāyanāsanavastu*⁷¹ states that respect for fellows in the holy life (*sabrahmacārin*) leads to fulfillment of the *āsamudācārika dharma*;⁷² this leads to fulfillment of the *śaikṣadharmā*, which in turn leads to fulfillment of the aggregates of virtue, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge and vision of liberation – it is then possible for a monk to realize nirvana without attachment. The Fortunate One concludes: Therefore, O monks, you should train thus: we should dwell with respect, with reverence, with deference towards fellows in the holy life, senior, middling, and new.

⁶⁹ Kimura 1986: 102.17–19.

⁷⁰ D 9, *śes phyin, kha*, 117a2–3.

⁷¹ Gnoli 1977: 9.21. For an annotated English translation, see Schopen 2000: 107–108.

⁷² For this term, see Schopen 2000: 150, ad II. 31.

[Śayanāsanavastu, Sanskrit from Gilgit]

tasmāt tarhi bhikṣavaḥ sagauravā viharata sapratīśāḥ sabhayavaśavartinaḥ sabrahmacāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu. tat kasya hetoḥ. sa tāvad bhikṣavo bhikṣur agauravo viharann apratīśaḥ abhayavaśavartī sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate; āsamudācārikān dharmān aparipūrya śaikṣān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate; śaikṣān dharmān aparipūrya śīlaskandhaṃ samādhiskandhaṃ prajñāskandhaṃ vimuktiskandhaṃ vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ paripūrayiṣyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate; vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ aparipūryānupādāya parinirvāsyati nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyate. sa tāvad bhikṣavo bhikṣuḥ sagauravo viharan sapratīśaḥ sabhayavaśavartī brahmacāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; āsamudācārikān dharmān paripūrya śaikṣān dharmān paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; śaikṣān dharmān paripūrya śīlaskandhaṃ samādhiskandhaṃ prajñāskandhaṃ vimuktiskandhaṃ vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ paripūrayiṣyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhaṃ paripūryānupādāya parinirvāsyati sthānaṃ etad vidyate; tasmāt tarhi bhikṣava evaṃ śikṣitavyam: yat sagauravā vihariṣyāmaḥ sapratīśāḥ sabhayavaśavartinaḥ sabrahmacāriṣu sthavireṣu madhyeṣu navakeṣu; ity evaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyam.

[Śayanāsanavastu, Tibetan translation]

Gnas lam gyi gzi, D 1, 'dul ba, ga, 192a7–b7 = P 1030, 'dul ba, ñe, 183b7–184a7

dge sloṅ dag de lta bas na tshaṅs pa mtshuṅs par spyod pa'i gnas brtan daṅ | bar ma daṅ | gsar bu rnams la bkur sti daṅ bcas | 'je sa daṅ bcas | 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba daṅ bcas pas gnas par bya'o | dge sloṅ dag de ci'i phyir 'je na | re 'zig dge sloṅ de gnas brtan daṅ | bar ma daṅ | gsar bu rnams la bkur sti med | 'je sa med ciṅ 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du mi 'gro bas gnas na kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su rgyas par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su ma rgyas par slob pa'i chos rnams yoṅs su rgyas par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || slob pa'i chos rnams yoṅs su ma rgyas par tshul khrims kyi phuṅ po daṅ | tiṅ ñe 'dzin gyi phuṅ po daṅ | 'śes rab kyi phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i ye 'śes mthoṅ ba'i phuṅ po yoṅs su rgyas par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || rnam par grol ba'i ye 'śes mthoṅ ba'i phuṅ po yoṅs su ma rgyas par len pa med par yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'da'bar 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di med do || dge sloṅ dag re 'zig dge sloṅ de tshaṅs pa mtshuṅs par spyod pa'i gnas brtan daṅ | bar ma daṅ | gsar bu rnams la bkur sti daṅ bcas | 'je sa daṅ bcas | 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba daṅ bcas pas gnas na kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su rgyas bar 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || kun du spyod pa'i chos yoṅs su rgyas na slob pa'i chos rnams yoṅs su rgyas bar 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || slob pa'i chos rnams yoṅs su rgyas na tshul khrims kyi phuṅ po daṅ | tiṅ ñe 'dzin gyi phuṅ po daṅ | 'śes rab kyi phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i phuṅ po daṅ | rnam par grol ba'i ye 'śes mthoṅ ba'i phuṅ po yoṅs su rgyas par

'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoñ ba'i phuñ po yoñs su
 rgyas na len pa med par yoñs su mya ñan las 'das par 'gyur ba'i gnas 'di yod do || dge
 sloñ dag de lta bas na 'di ltar bslab par bya ste | gnas brtan dan | bar ma dan | gsar bu
 rnams la bkur sti dan bcas | že sa dan bcas | 'jigs pa'i dbaṅ du 'gro ba dan bcas pas
 gnas par bya ste | dge sloñ dag khyed kyis de lta bu la bslab par bya 'o ||

VII. Conclusion: the *Urubilvā-sūtra and the Urubilvā cycle

The *Urubilvā-sūtra belongs to the cycle of texts in which the Buddha as teacher recalls and relates events that took place in the vicinity of Urubilvā or, in Pali, Uruvelā. The cycle includes events before the awakening, the awakening itself, and events after the awakening. Our sūtra belongs to the last cycle, the events in the vicinity of the bodhi-tree in the several weeks after the awakening, before the newly awakened one set out for Vārāṇasī to begin his teaching career. Primary sources for these events include the *Vinayas* (Pali *Mahāvagga*, Sanskrit *Mūlasarvāstivāda Saṅghabhedavastu*, etc.) and sūtras of the several schools (for example, *Catuspariṣat-sūtra*); the chronologies of his movements do not always agree, and later texts extend the cycle with further events.⁷³ These details need not concern us here.⁷⁴ What does concern us here is this: that the story studied in this paper differs from the well-known account of Brahmā Sahampati's intervention after the Awakening related in the various *Vinayas*. That story, of the awakened one's hesitation to teach his newly found Dharma, and of how Brahmā convinces him to do so,⁷⁵ is well known as the *brahmādhyeṣana*, "Brahmā's entreaty [to the Buddha to teach]." Embedded references to the event are part of modern Thai liturgy.⁷⁶ In contrast, although Brahma's ratification in our text of the Fortunate One's decision to take the Dharma as his resort belongs to the same textual and metaphysical genre, it is not included in any of the *Vinaya* narratives.⁷⁷

⁷³ For one example in the *Zá āhán jīng*, see Lin 2010: 125–137.

⁷⁴ For an analytical and synoptic study of the early texts, see Bareau 1963 and Nakamura 2000.

⁷⁵ See Bareau 1963: 135–143; Nakamura 2000: 227–235.

⁷⁶ See Skilling 2002: 84–92.

⁷⁷ It does not seem to be discussed by Bareau 1963 or Nakamura 2000.

Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the Bhadrakalpikasūtra

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Introduction

The *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (or **Bhadrakalpikasamādhi*, cf. Skilling 2010: 216) presents, in the form of a dialogue between the bodhisattva **Prāmodyarāja* and the buddha Śākyamuni, a compendium of the six perfections under 350 different aspects,¹ and of the 1,004 buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (our present ‘Fortunate Aeon’) from which the text takes its name. In the opening part of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (hereafter Bhk) set in Vaiśālī, **Prāmodyarāja* asks the Buddha about the bodhisattva path and, in reply, is told about the existence of a samādhi called 了諸法本三昧 (‘samādhi that reveals the essence of all dharmas’) in the Chinese translation, and *chos thams cad kyi tshul la nes par ston pa zes bya ba’i tiñ ñe ’dzin* (“definitive instruction on the method of all phenomena,” Skilling 2010: 215–216) in the Tibetan. The Buddha describes the samādhi in detail, and **Prāmodyarāja* declares his dedication to practising it. The opening so far resembles a Mahāyāna sūtra in its own right, and a concluding chapter title occurs at this point, leading Skilling (2010: 217–218) to suggest that it may have originated as an independent samādhi text and that the Bhk as we have it in Chinese and Tibetan thus underwent a process of textual amalgamation. It is noteworthy in this connection (cf. Skilling 2010: 216) that another samādhi text, the *Sarvapūnyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra*, is preserved among the Bamiyan Gāndhārī fragments and edited in the present volume.

The Buddha goes on to explain how the buddha Amitāyus practised this samādhi in a previous birth as a king, and that the one thousand sons of Amitāyus in this birth, who likewise studied the samādhi, will be reborn as the thousand future buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa. This sets the scene for the main part of the Bhk. The Buddha adds a number of jātaka stories about the samādhi being practised in the past and finally, after being entreated by a long succession of his listeners, emerges from the samādhi himself, concluding the opening section.

**Prāmodyarāja* next asks about the perfections that can be obtained by means of the samādhi, and the Buddha first lists and then describes in detail the 350 groups of six perfections,

¹ An overview section at the beginning of the text has, by our count, 203 items in the Chinese translation and 225 items in the Tibetan, several of which, however, cover multiple groups of six perfections. Just before and after this overview, the Buddha states that the total number of perfections is *rgya ñi śu rtsa gcig*. While at first sight, this appears to mean ‘121’ (and was so taken by Skilling 2010: 216), it is actually ambiguous and can also mean ‘twenty-one times hundred’ = 2,100 perfections = 350 groups of six perfections (we thank Brandon Dotson for pointing this out), and is translated as such in Dharma Publishing 1986. The Chinese translation has 二千一百 in both places, confirming the latter interpretation of the Tibetan. The detailed treatment of the perfections (parts of which are quoted as parallels below) contains, again by our count, 333 sections in the Chinese translation and 329 sections in the Tibetan. Following the detailed treatment, the Buddha speaks of a total of 二千一百 / *ñis ston chig brgya*, i.e., unambiguously 2,100 perfections = 350 groups of six perfections.

again illustrating many of them with jātaka stories. The Perfections Section concludes with the prediction that the total of 2,100 perfections will turn into 8,400 and finally 84,000.

In the second main part of the text, the Buddhas Section, the Buddha recounts to *Prāmod-yarāja the 1,004 buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, starting with Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni himself, and continuing with 1,000 buddhas of the future from Maitreya up to a buddha called *Roca. As was the case with the Perfections, the names of the buddhas are first summarized, here in verse form, and then a description of the biographical parameters of each buddha (see below) is given in turn, in alternating blocks of approximately 100 prose and verse descriptions each. The Buddhas Section ends with an account of the first resolution to reach enlightenment of each future buddha under a buddha of the past, as part of which 1,000 buddhas of the past are named (Skilling and Saerji 2014).

The Bhk concludes with the Buddha returning to the topic of the samādhi named in its opening, and recounts further previous lives of the buddha Amitāyus and his thousand sons as well as of the buddhas Dīpaṃkara and Vipāśyin. The 800,000 listeners become irreversible on the bodhisattva path, scatter flowers and praise the Buddha.

The text of the Bhk was until recently not preserved in any Indian language, apart from short quotations in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (before 6th c. CE), *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (8th c. CE) and by Daśabalaśrīmitra (12th–13th c. CE; cf. Skilling 2010: 198–199). The identified Gāndhārī and Sanskrit fragments that have now become available are all from the Perfections and Buddhas Sections and thus unfortunately do not tell us anything about the frame structure of the Indian text as it existed in early Gandhāra and Khotan. The ultimate geographical origin of the Bhk also remains unresolved by the new discoveries. The use of the mystical Arapacana alphabet (originally the order of the letters of the Kharoṣṭhī script; cf. Skilling 1996b) can be due either to a northwestern origin, or to later redactional processes. The use of writing and the copying of texts are mentioned in the Bhk, but not with reference to any particular regional script (Skilling 2010: 224).

The fifty-eight Bamiyan fragments of the Gāndhārī Bhk now kept in the Schøyen Collection, the Hirayama Collection and the Hayashidera Collection make it the best-represented Gāndhārī text in this manuscript find. Additional fragments of the manuscript were photographed in a private collection in Pakistan in 1996. Some of these subsequently entered the Hirayama Collection, while the current location of others (additional fragments A1, A2, A3, A4, A5 and N1, N2) remains unknown. The Kharoṣṭhī fragments in the Schøyen Collection were first transcribed by Richard Salomon, Collett Cox, Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums in August 2001. The text of the Bhk fragments was identified by Kazunobu Matsuda in October 2003 on the basis of the formulaic description of the Buddhas, their families, attendants and other characteristics. Andrew Glass located the text of eleven of these fragments (MS 2179/29a, 33, 36, 116, HG 45, HI 3, 4, 7, 13, 22 and AF A3) in the Tibetan translation of the Bhk. Seven additional fragments (MS 2179/28, 31, 34, 106, 130t, HG 46 and AF A2) were located by Stefan Baums between May 2010 and February 2016. The identification of the fragments of the Bhk held special significance since it was the first discovery of a Gāndhārī version of a text that came to be regarded as a Mahāyāna sūtra in the Buddhist traditions of China and Tibet (Glass 2004: 141, Matsuda 2009: 8).

The age of the Bhk manuscript has been broadly determined on the basis of radiocarbon

dating conducted by the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation (ANSTO) using a sample from one of the fragments (MS 2179/116). The results were published in volume III of this series (Allon, Salomon, Jacobsen and Zoppi 2006: 284). The sample yielded a calibrated date range (2σ) of 210–417 CE.

This coincides neatly with the period of the early Chinese translations in general, and in particular with the translation of the Bhk (*Xiánjié jīng* 賢劫經, T. 14 no. 425) made by Dharmarakṣa (Zhú Fǎhù 竺法護), most likely in Luòyáng 洛陽 in 300 CE (Boucher 2006: 28). The possibility of a Gāndhārī background of Dharmarakṣa's translation receives support from the *Chū sānzàng jì jí* (出三藏記集, T. 55 no. 2145 p. 48c4) which reports that his source manuscript was obtained from a monk from Jībīn 罽賓, which apart from its usual association with Kashmir may also refer to Gandhāra when used in early Chinese sources (Boucher 2006: 31 n. 71). Unfortunately the usefulness of Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Bhk is reduced by the fact that his text is abridged, and it thus does not include parallels to many of the Gāndhārī fragments. About one hundred years after Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva (344–413 CE) retranslated the Bhk into Chinese. Unfortunately, his translation is lost, with the exception of a single small fragment from Khara Khoja near Turfan that can be dated to before 518 CE (Li 2015: 245–248). The Bhk is also cited in Kumārajīva's translation or compilation *Dà zhìdù lùn* 大智度論 (Skilling 2010: 199).

Two Sanskrit fragments of the Bhk from Khotan have recently been identified and published in Duan 2009, 2010, 2013a and Li 2015: 237–245. They belong to the same folio and correspond to the end of chapter 17 and the beginning of chapter 18 in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Perfections Section, but do not overlap with any of the Gāndhārī fragments. Duan used two peculiar readings in the Sanskrit fragment to argue that it was copied from an exemplar in Kharoṣṭhī script (2009: 18–19, 38). The first of these, *ṣṭa* for expected *ṣaṭ* 'six,' has been reinterpreted as regular *ṣaṭ* (with *virāma*) by Li, but could in our opinion also be read *ṣū* (cf. Sander 1968: Tafel 34) and thus possibly preserves at least a trace of a Gāndhārī substrate. The second, *ākīr[ṇṇa]vihārida*, was taken by Duan as a Gāndhārī-influenced instrumental of the agent noun **ākīrṇavihāriṇā*, but has been reinterpreted by Li (probably correctly) as the abstract noun **ākīrṇavihāritā* in compound with following *aparihāni*.

A Sanskrit Bhk thus evidently circulated in the Khotan area in the mid-first millennium CE, and a Khotanese-language literature on the buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (a 'Bhadrakalpika cycle') appears to have grown up around it. One Khotanese text listing 1,005 buddha names, preserved in a manuscript dated to 943 CE (Konow 1929, Emmerick 1992: 20–22, Skjærvø 2002: 542–550), betrays a distinct Middle Indo-Aryan (and probably Gāndhārī) linguistic background (Bailey 1946: 775–778).

A Tibetan translation of the Bhk (*bsKal pa bzai po pa*, D no. 94) was prepared by Vidyākaraśiṃha and Dpal dbyaṅs and subsequently revised by Ska ba dpal brtsegs in the 9th century (Ui, Suzuki, Kanakura and Tada 1934: 23). This translation is complete, taking up an entire volume in the *Derge Kanjur*, and is our best witness for the Indian text of the Bhk.² It has served as our main basis for identifying parallel passages for the Gāndhārī fragments. The Tibetan

² Skilling 2010: 198: calls it "the primary source for *a* (I dare not say the) full text of the sūtra." Skilling 2011, 2012 and Skilling and Saerji 2014 continue his investigation of the Bhk through its Tibetan translation.

text has been translated into English in Dharma Publishing 1986. This translation, while intended for a popular audience and often not very precise, is nonetheless valuable as the only rendering of the text into a Western language and provides useful indices (cf. the review in Skilling 1992b).



The Manuscript

The fact that the Gāndhārī fragments have parallels in almost all parts of the Perfections and Buddhas Sections of the Tibetan translation makes it very likely that they represent the remains of a once complete Gāndhārī manuscript of the Bhk. It is also remarkable that all of the fragments are the work of a single scribe (Bamiyan Scribe 18 in Baums and Glass 2002b), rather than of several scribes sharing the labor of producing the manuscript. Since this hand is not associated with any other known text in Gāndhārī, it is likely (though by no means certain) that all the fragments in this hand formed part of the Bhk manuscript, and they are accordingly included in this edition even where, due to their state of preservation, no parallel could be identified. The manuscript had five lines per folio throughout, with each line containing approximately 81 akṣaras. Based on a comparison with the Tibetan translation, we estimate the size of the complete Gāndhārī text—if it contained all the same material—at approximately 390–400 folios.

Paleography, Orthography and Language

As mentioned above, radiocarbon dating of a sample from one of the fragments of our manuscript yielded a calibrated date range of 210 to 417 CE. This range is the youngest produced by any of the radiocarbon tests performed on Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts to date. The lateness of this range relative to other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts and, in particular, the lack of evidence for Kharoṣṭhī script in general in the fourth and fifth centuries, suggest that our manuscript should belong to the earlier end of the range, namely the third century CE. As such, this hand contributes to the emerging picture of the development of the Kharoṣṭhī script (see Glass 2007: 106), but further study, particularly of the Bamiyan material, is necessary in order to increase the value of paleographic analysis in dating materials without proper archeological context.

At this point, the basic forms of the Kharoṣṭhī script are fairly well documented (cf. Glass 2000). Remarks in the remainder of this section focus on distinctive features of this scribe's work rather than attempting a comprehensive study of his hand of the kind attempted elsewhere (such as Glass 2007: 85–106).

The hand of Bamiyan Scribe 18, who produced the Bhk manuscript, is easily recognized from the short and neat letter forms written with strongly contrasting thick and thin strokes. He used a broad-edged pen with the nib cut flat and held so that the thin stroke is parallel to the writing line (e.g., ) . This technique is common among the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribes (compare, for instance, MS 2179/22) but less common in manuscripts from other regions. The letter stems clearly illustrate the mix of slanting and vertical strokes that is typical of Kharoṣṭhī (e.g., the stem of *ka* is slanted, whereas the stem of *ṇa*  is vertical). The stem strokes terminate consistently with a neat hook to the left (i.e., a leftward footmark, cf. Glass 2009: 90, table 1).

Our scribe writes forms of a few letters that are typical of the Bamiyan fragments but are less common or unknown elsewhere in the Kharoṣṭhī area. Namely, the triangular style of *kha* 𑖕 (Glass 2000: 53–6), the elongated type of *ba*, e.g., 3v2 *bu* 𑖃 (Glass 2000: 85–6) and the fourth type of *bha* (Glass 2009).

The shapes of *ya* (𑖚) and *śa* (𑖛) have merged so that it is impossible to distinguish them consistently. This phenomenon is well attested in Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts and other documents from the second century CE onwards (Glass 2000: 94). Several rare conjuncts are attested, such as 2r1 *tma* 𑖔𑖚, 7Ac *ṣka* 𑖛𑖕, 2r1 *smi* 𑖛𑖓, 32B2 *sya* 𑖛𑖙 and 22A4 *hma* 𑖛𑖕. The scribe sometimes writes the number signs for 1 to 3 horizontally, e.g., 15v3 𑖀 (so-called ‘Brāhmī style’), and sometimes vertically (e.g., 27Aa).

The language of the Gāndhārī Bhk is more archaic than that of the Gāndhārī *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* from the same findspot (cf. Allon and Salomon 2000: 266–271). It is basically a middle-period Gāndhārī, corresponding to the language of the first- to third-century CE birch-bark manuscripts from Gandhāra proper, with only very few and moderate orthographic Sanskritizations. Examples include the genitive singular ending *-sya* (rather than *-sa*) and the gerundive suffix *-vya-* (rather than *-va-*) throughout, and the spellings 2r1 *(bra)hmalokaḥhidasya* (rather than *brahma-*), 2r1 *mahasamudrasmi* (rather than *-ammi*), 2r1 *atma(ṇa)* (rather than *atvaṇa*), 2v5 *samadhi* (rather than *samasi*), 3r3 *(a)ṭhamabhumistidasya* (rather than *-ḥhida-*), 7Ac *ṣka* (in an unclear word) and 15r2 *sadharmavasthiti* (rather than *-ḥhidi-*). The morphology of the text is entirely Middle Indo-Aryan.

There are some indications that the Indian original of Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese translation of the Bhk was in a very similar type of Middle Indo-Aryan (and probably Gāndhārī) rather than Sanskrit, though a comprehensive study from the side of the Chinese text still has to be undertaken. In Dharmarakṣa’s presentation of the Arapacana abecedary, for instance, item no. 16 is 燒 *shāo* ‘to burn’ (T. 5a3), which together with its correspondent *ḍha* in the Tibetan translation (D 11a3) points to a MIA original *ḍah-* ‘to burn’ ← OIA *dah-* (Baums 2009: 195; the Sanskrit *Pañca-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* uses *ḍamara* in place of *ḍah-*, Brough 1977: 88). Similarly, item no. 14 is 已 *yǐ*, which in light of the corresponding item no. 31 己 *jǐ* in Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Lalitavistara* (*Pūyào jīng* 普曜經, T. 3 no. 186, prepared in 308 CE) should be taken as a corruption of 己 *jǐ* ‘self.’ Together with corresponding *pa* in the Tibetan translation (D 11a3) this points to a Gāndhārī original *spaya* ‘self’ < OIA *svaya*.³ A Gāndhārī original receives further support from the phonetic shape of 1v3 *kokuca-* in our manuscript. Dharmarakṣa’s 懷狐 *huáihú* clearly corresponds to our Gāndhārī term (= Skt *kaukṛtya*) since in his text as in general it forms a group with 疑永 *yíyǒng* (= Skt *vicikitsā*) and 猶豫 *yóuyù* (= Skt *kāṅkṣā*). Its reconstructed Old Northwest Chinese pronunciation *yuēiyo* (Coblin 1994) corresponds very closely to the likely Gāndhārī pronunciation of *kokuca-*, namely [ko:kuc:ə] or [ko:juc:ə]. But here, as always with arguments from technical terms, one has to keep in mind that Dharmarakṣa may well have been using an established translation equivalent rather than deriving his own phonetic description based on his own Indian exemplar. In the end, the strongest evidence for a Gāndhārī source of Dhar-

³ Interestingly, the Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara* preserves in its corresponding form *sma* a trace of the Gāndhārī intermediate pronunciation [smə] proposed in Baums 2009: 176–177 on independent grounds (the Sanskrit *Pañcasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* uses *smaraṇa* in place of [sməjə]; Brough 1977: 92).

marakṣa's translation derives from observation of a series of puzzling mistranslations throughout the passages edited here, at least some of which can be explained well on a Gāndhārī linguistic background. Examples include the strange term *talunajivhada* (5v4) and its translations and the case of the buddha Aṅgaja (15r1–2), all explained in detail in the commentary below.

Following the standard format of BMSC editions, we do not here provide a glossary for the Bhk fragments. For full lexicographic coverage the reader is instead referred to the *Dictionary of Gāndhārī* (Baums and Glass 2002a).

The Perfections Section

At least fourteen fragments (nos. 1–14) belong to the Perfections Section of the Bhk. Five of these (nos. 1–5) can be assigned to specific passages on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan translations, and four of the five (nos. 1–4) belong to five consecutive folios of the manuscript (with the second of these folios missing). The following gives an overview of the twenty-five groups of six perfections covered by the identified fragments. Each entry starts with the number of the group in the manuscript where this is preserved or can be inferred, followed by a translation of the name of the group (based on the Gāndhārī, where preserved, Tibetan and Chinese in that order of relevance) and the Chinese and Tibetan sequential numbers and names of the group.

Fragment 1 (folio 60?)

- (92) The perfections (of having gone forth / of having attained renunciation) (Chin. 94 出家來度無極, Tib. 91 *nes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- 9(3) *The perfections of having attained great learning (Chin. 95 愍哀博聞來度無極, Tib. 92 *mañ du thos pa bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- 94 The indestructible perfections of the virtue (of one who has gone forth) (G (*pravrayidaśi*)*laañachejaparamida*, Chin. 96 出家不斷戒度無極, Tib. 93 *rab tu byuñ ba'i dan tshul rgyun mi 'chad pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)
- (95) The perfections (of one who abides in the recognitions) (Chin. 97 住神通度無極, Tib. 94 *mñon par śes pa la gnas pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)

Fragments 2–4 (folios 62–64?)

*The perfections of many maturations (Chin. 102 眾報應度無極, Tib. 99 *rnam par smin pa mañ po'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)

*The perfections without maturation (Chin. 103 無報度無極, Tib. 100 *rnam par smin pa med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)

*The perfections without joy (Chin. 104 無樂度無極, Tib. 101 *mñon par dga' ba med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)

(The perfections associated with) timely (generosity) (Chin. 105 時進度無極, Tib. 102 *dus su byin pa dan mtshuñs par ldan pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa*)

*The perfections of light (Chin. 106 光明度無極, Tib. 103 *'od kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*)

*The perfections of unlimited light (Chin. 107 無量光度無極, Tib. 104 *'od mtha' yas*)

pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)

*The perfections of joyful maturation (Chin. 108 報安光度無極, Tib. 105 *rnam par smin pa bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

The perfections (of not turning back) (Chin. 109 不迴還度無極, Tib. 106 *phyir mi ldog pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of happiness (Chin. 110 為娛樂度無極, Tib. 107 *dga' ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of purity (Chin. 111 鮮潔度無極, Tib. 108 *rnam par dag pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections that transcend the worldly dharmas (Chin. 112 成世法度無極, Tib. 109 *'jig rten pa'i chos las 'das pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of the array of births (Chin. 113 淨俗度無極, Tib. 110 *skye ba bkod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of family fortune (Chin. 114 成種度無極, Tib. 111 *phun sum tshogs pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

*The perfections of attaining fortune of the retinue (Chin. 115 來成眷屬度無極, Tib. 112 *'khor phun sum tshogs pa sgrub par byed pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

Fragment 5

⟨2⟩(40) *The perfections of escape through meditation (Chin. 240 寂度無極, Tib. 237 *bsam gtan las nes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩41 The perfections of escape through understanding (*(prañā)ñiriyadaparamida*) (Chin. 241 智慧度無極, Tib. 238 *śes rab las nes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(42) *The perfections of maturation of the eyes (Chin. 242 眼報度無極, Tib. 239 *rnam par smin pa mig gi pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(43) *The perfections of maturation of the ears (Chin. 243 耳報度無極, Tib. 240 *rnam par smin pa rna ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(44) *The perfections of maturation of the nose (Chin. 244 鼻報度無極, Tib. 241 *rnam par smin pa sna'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(45) The perfections of maturation of the tongue (*jivhavipagaramida*) (Chin. 245 舌報度無極, Tib. 242 *rnam par smin pa lce'i pha rol tu phyin pa)*

⟨2⟩(46) *The perfections of maturation of the body (Chin. 246 身報度無極, Tib. 243 *rnam par smin pa lus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa)*

The sequential position of the seven groups with preserved or inferred numbering (in fragment nos. 1 and 5) corresponds quite closely with that of the corresponding groups in the Chinese and Tibetan translations⁴ if one makes the reasonable assumption that in each of the Gāndhārī sections of fragment 5 the number signs for 200 (2 100) are omitted by way of abbreviation. The numbers of the Gāndhārī groups in fragment 1 are lower by two than the corresponding sequential position in the Chinese translation, and higher by one than the corresponding sequential position in the

⁴ The Taishō and Derge editions do not explicitly number the groups of six perfections, and we arrived at the above figures by a manual count.

Tibetan translation. The Gāndhārī numbers in fragment no. 5 agree exactly with the Chinese sequential positions, but are higher by three than the Tibetan sequential positions.

The internal structure of the descriptions of the groups is as follows (Sanskrit according to the fragments edited in Duan 2009 and Li 2015: 237–245):

tatra kadara ... paramida ṣo °	tattra katamaḥ ... pāramita ṣaṭ	何謂 ... X 度無極有 六事 °	de la ... pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na
ya ... ayaṃ daṇa °	ya ... aya dāna	... ° 是曰布施 °	... gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o
ya ... ayaṃ śīla °	ya ... aya śīla	... ° 是曰持戒 °	... gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so
ya ... ayaṃ kṣati °	ya ... aya kṣānti	... ° 是曰忍辱 °	... gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o
ya ... ayaṃ virya °	ya ... aya vīrya	... ° 是曰精進 °	... gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so
ya ... ayaṃ jāṇa °	ya ... aya dhyāna	... ° 是曰一心 °	... gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no
ya ... ayaṃ prañā °	ya ... aya prajñā	... ° 是曰智慧 °	... gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste
ime ... paramida ṣo (<i>number</i>) °	ime ... pāramita ṣaṭ	是為六 °	'di dag ni ... pha rol tu phyin pa drug go

The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions on the one hand and the Chinese on the other differ in that the former repeat the name of the group at the end of its description, whereas the latter does not do so. The Gāndhārī fragments preserve one instance each of the name of a group occurring at the beginning and at the end of their section (2v3–4 (*tatra*) *kadara kalaṇa* ? ?, 5r3 (*ime prañā*)-*ṇīryadaparamida ṣo 20 20 1*), suggesting that the Gāndhārī text sides with the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions in this regard. In the body of the descriptions of groups, the preserved fragments attest two variants for the simple naming of the perfections: 2v2 (*ayaṃ daṇa*) *ñatavya*, 5v5 *ayaṃ daṇada*, and at least once the simple expository pattern is interrupted by what appears to be a brief excursus: 3v1 *aya {da} < jāṇa ° paṃcaṇa kaṃñāṇa rayadhidaraṇaṃ*.

The Buddhas Section

At least twenty fragments (nos. 15–34) belong to the Buddhas Section of the Bhk. Six of these (nos. 15–20) can be assigned to specific passages on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan translations, all of them belonging to different folios of the manuscript. The following gives an overview of the thirty-one buddhas covered by the identified fragments. Each entry starts with the number of the buddha, where this is preserved or can be inferred, followed by his name (preserved or reconstructed on the basis of W = Weller 1928⁵ and the Tibetan and Chinese Bhk translations in that order of weight) and by his sequential number and name in the Chinese and Tibetan translations. Since Dharmarakṣa only covers the first ninety-nine buddhas in his translation, Chinese parallels are only available for fragment no. 15. Only seven buddha names (Ra(ś)m(i), Driḍhabra-da, Maṃgali, Uraḍa(garbha), Giriṇaṃ +, Guṇateya and Ugama) are directly preserved in the Gāndhārī fragments; the identity of the other buddhas is inferred from their descriptions and relative position in the text.

⁵ This polyglot (Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu) list of the buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa contains, from Krakucchanda to Roca, a total of only 1,000 entries.

Fragment 15

- <8>(9) *Aṃgaya (Chin. 88 虛空, Tib. 89 Yan lag skyes; cf. W 88 Aṅgaja/Aṅgada)
 90 *Amidabudhi (Chin. 89 無量覺, Tib. 90 Blo mtha' yas; cf. W 89 Amitabuddhi)
 <9>(1) *Suruva (Chin. 90 善顏, Tib. 91 gZugs bzañ; cf. W 90 Surūpa)
 <9>2 *Ñāṇi (Chin. 91 聖慧, Tib. 92 mKhyen ldan; cf. W 91 Jñānin)
 <9>3 Ra(ś)m(i) (Chin. 92 光明, Tib. 93 'Od zer; cf. W 92 Raśmi)
 <9>(4) Driḍhabrada (Chin. 93 堅誓, Tib. 94 brTul śugs brtan; cf. W 93 Dṛḍhavrata)
 <9>(5) Maṃgali (Chin. 94 吉祥, Tib. 95 bKra śis; cf. W 94 Maṅgalin)

Fragment 16

- *Sihaseṇa (Tib. 596 Señ ge'i sde; cf. W 597 Siṃhasena)
 *Vasava (Tib. 597 Nor lha'i bu; cf. W 598 Vāsava)
 *Yaśa (Tib. 598 Grags pa; cf. W 599 Yaśas)
 *Jaya (Tib. 599 rGyal ba; cf. W 600 Jaya)
 Uraḍa(garbha) (Tib. 600 rGya chen sñiñ po; cf. W 601 Udāragarbha)

Fragment 17

- (627) *Sacaraśi (Tib. 630 bDen pa'i phuñ po; cf. W 629 Satyarāśi)
 <62>8 *Susvara (Tib. 631 dByaṅs sñan; cf. W 630 Susvara)
 (629) Girīṇaṃ + (Tib. 632 Ri dbaṅ mtshuṅs; cf. W 631 Girīndrakalpa)
 (630) *Dharmakuḍa (Tib. 633 Chos brtsegs; cf. W 632 Dharmakūṭa)
 (631) *Mokṣateya (Tib. 634 Thar pa'i gzi byin; cf. W 633 Mokṣatejas)
 (632) *Śobhida (Tib. 635 Legs mdzad; cf. W 634 Śobhita)

Fragment 18

- <72>(1) *Maṃjughoṣa (Tib. 718 dByaṅs dag sñan pa; cf. W 714 Mañjughoṣa)
 <72>(2) *Supakṣa (Tib. 719 Nos bzaṅs; cf. W 716 Supakṣa/Supārśva)
 <72>3 *Īthidārtha (Tib. 720 Don la gnas pa; cf. W 717 Sthitārtha)
 <72>4 Guṇateya (Tib. 721 Yon tan gzi brjid; cf. W 718 Guṇatejas)
 <72>(5) *Asamañāṇi (Tib. 722 mKhyen ldan zla med pa; cf. W 719 Asamajñānin)

Fragment 19

- *Praśaṃtamala (Tib. 788 Dri ma rab ŷi ba; cf. W 785 Praśāntamala)
 *Deśamuḍha (Tib. 789 Phyogs ma bslad pa; cf. W 786 Deśāmūḍha/Deśitāmūḍha)
 *Laḍida (Tib. 790 mDzes pa; cf. W 787 Laḍita)

Fragment 20

- <80>(9) *Guṇacuḍa (Tib. 812 Yon tan gtsug; cf. W 810 Guṇacūḍa/Guṇakūṭa)
 (810) *Aṇuvamaśiri (Tib. 813 dPal rdzogs; cf. W 811 Anupamaśrī)
 <8>11 *Sihagadi (Tib. 814 Señ ge'i stabs; cf. W 812 Siṃhagati)
 <8>12 Ugama (Tib. 815 Gyen du 'phags; cf. W 813 Udgata)
 <8>13 *Puṣpadata (Tib. 816 Me tog byin; cf. W 814 Puṣpadatta)

As in the case of the Perfections Section, the sequential position of the 23 buddhas with preserved or inferred numbering (in fragment nos. 15, 17, 18 and 20) corresponds quite closely with that of the corresponding buddhas in the Chinese and Tibetan translations,⁶ under the assumption that the number signs for 620 (4 2 100 20), 710 (4 3 100 10) and 800 (4 4 100), respectively, are omitted by way of abbreviation. The numbers of the Gāndhārī buddhas in fragment no. 15 are higher by one than those in the Chinese translation, and correspond exactly to those in the Tibetan translation. As explained below, our manuscript appears to have contained only one single section corresponding to the two buddhas *Suruva and *Ñañi, but the preserved numbers (90 followed by <9>2) suggest that both of these buddhas were part of the exemplar of our manuscript, and that in copying they were by accident telescoped into a single section. The reconstructed numbers in fragment nos. 17 and 18 are slightly more speculative since only three units and no decades are preserved. As reconstructed, the numbers in fragment no. 17 are lower by three than those in the Tibetan translation; as explained above, the Chinese translation does not contain the buddhas in question. One could alternatively, though perhaps less likely, reconstruct the numbers as (637) to (642), in which case they would be higher by seven than those in the Tibetan translation. Similarly, the numbers in fragment no. 18 as reconstructed are higher by three than those in the Tibetan translation. Here too, one could alternatively reconstruct the numbers as <71>(1) to <71>(5), in which case they would be lower by seven than those in the Tibetan translation. The numbers reconstructed for fragment 20, however, are quite secure thanks to the presence of the decad in <8>11 to <8>13. They are lower by three than the corresponding numbers in the Tibetan translation, which is somewhat surprising since it means a reversal of the direction of difference between fragments 17 and 18, only to return to the original direction and amount of difference in fragment 20.

The internal structure of the prose descriptions of buddhas (fragment nos. 15, 17 and 20) is as follows:

...sya tathagadasya ... ṇama jadabhumi °	...如來所生土地地名... °	de bzin gśegs pa ... skye ba'i yul ni ... žes bya'o
... yoviṇa / yoviṇasāda / yoviṇasahasra prabha °	其佛光明照...里/百里/千里 °	rigs ni rgyal rigs so / bram ze'o
kṣatriyo / brahmaṇo jadiye °	君子/梵志種 °	'od ni dpag tshad ... 'o brgya'o stoñ ño
... ṇama pida °	父名... °	yab ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama mada °	母字... °	yum ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama putro °	子曰... °	sras ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama vaṭṭhaya °	侍者曰... °	rim gro pa ni ... žes bya'o
... ṇama pramāṇamantaṇa agro	上首智慧弟子曰... °	śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni ... žes bya'o

⁶ Also as in the Perfections Section, the Taisho and Derge editions do not explicitly number the buddhas, and we again arrived at the above figures by a manual count.

... ṇama irdhimamtaṇa agro °	神足弟子曰... °	rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni ... žes bya'o
... varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo °	一會說經...億。二會...億。三 會...億。皆得道證。	'dus pa daṅ po la ni ṇan thos ... 'o gñis pa la ni ... 'o gsum pa la ni ... 'o OR dus pa ṇan thos 'dus pa dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan ... ste thams cad la yaṅ ... 'o
... koḍi / koḍisāda / koḍisahasra prathamo saṃṇipado ° ... dudiyo ° ... tridiyo ° OR ... saṃṇipada / śravagasamṇipada / arahasaṃṇipada ° ...- ṇayudaga / ...-koḍisātiya / ...- koḍisahasraga sarve °	(佛在世時)人壽...千/萬歲。	sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ... 'o
... varṣa / varṣasāda / varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhidi °	舍利普流遍布十方 OR 并合興一大寺。	dam pa'i chos kyaṅ lo ... bar du gnas so
vestariga śarira ° OR ekaghaṇa śarira ° eko thubo °	正法存立...千/萬/億歲。	sku gduṅ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro OR sku gduṅ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go mchod rten yaṅ gcig tu zad do

The relative order of the two last items (*sadharmavaṭṭhidi* and *śarira*) reverses between fragment nos. 15 and 17. The Chinese translation follows the reversed order (舍利 and 正法存) already for the buddhas of fragment no. 17 and throughout for the selection of buddhas that it covers, whereas the reversal does not occur in the Tibetan translation. Both the Chinese and the Tibetan translations consistently give 說經 / 'dus pa and 人壽 / sku tshe'i tshad in opposite order to the corresponding Gāndhārī items *saṃṇipado* and *ayupramaṇo*, and in addition the Tibetan translation consistently gives *rigs* and 'od in opposite order to corresponding *jadi* and *prabha*.

The verse descriptions of buddhas (fragment nos. 16, 18 and 19) vary more widely in structure. At the beginning of each description, for instance, the buddha is not always referred to as *tathagada*, but we find variations in word order and choice such as 16v4 *budhasya ur(u)ga(r-bhasya)* and 18v2 *guṇateyamahidasya jīnasya*. At the same time, the verse sections also draw on recurring building blocks and patterns. Particularly noticeable is a strong inclination to end verse pādas with the word form *jīnasya*; in addition to the preceding example we can cite 16r3 *ṇakṣatraraja mada jīnasya*, 16r5 *yaśapuyida mada jīna(sya)* and 18r3 ? *kuṇaṭhala mada jīnasya*, as well as 16r4 *ekaghaṇo thubo jīnasya* and even 18r5 *p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(na)sya*. An example that extends over two pādas is 18v4 ... (va)rṣasahasra ° *triśa ṭhahiśati dharma jīnasya*. A preference for analytic expression is visible in the fragmentary pādas 16v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti ṇiy(uda)* and 18v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa ? .u + ? ṇi ?*, eschewing the rhythmically comparable compound *ayupramaṇa* of the prose descriptions.

Verse divisions are marked by punctuation: *pādas* are separated by dots, half-stanzas and stanzas by *daṇḍas*, and just as in the prose sections, the final stanza of a particular buddha's description terminates in a number sign. All stanzas occurring in our fragments are translated into Tibetan using nine-syllable verse, suggesting that the Indian text used one of the longer meters, and certainly not *anuṣṭubh*. One immediately suspects *triṣṭubh* meter, which would fit well with the rhythmic tendency observed above of *pādas* ending in trochaic cadences (*-jīnasya*) and also match closely the number of missing akṣaras estimated on physical grounds. The situation is rather more complicated, however. As the following table shows, among the sixteen *pādas* that are preserved completely or securely reconstructed, four have nine syllables, five have ten syllables, and seven have eleven syllables. *Pādas* of different syllable count are freely mixed with each other in verses. Among eleven-syllable *pādas*, only two (16v3 *ayu naraṇa aṣiti (sahasra)* and 18v4 *triśa śhahiṣati dharma jīnasya*) fit the *triṣṭubh* metrical scheme disregarding caesuras (◡ – ◡ – ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ – ◡). Generally, the metrical patterns of Gāndhārī (cf. Baums 2009: 402) as well as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1946) verses cannot simply be parsed from their written form since in principle each word-final vowel can be pronounced either short or long, as the (unknown) meter requires. We can at this point only say that overall a *triṣṭubh*-like pattern appears to have been intended in the Bhk verses, and suspect that the requirement of fitting the buddhas' names and other parameters into the verses caused a high degree of license.

Pādas	Syllables
16r4 <i>ekaghaṇo thubo jīnasya</i>	9
16v2 (<i>jayasya logaṇa</i>) <i>thasya</i>	
16v2 <i>durjaya nāma jadabhumi</i>	
16v4 <i>budhasya uraḍa(garbhasya)</i>	
16r3 <i>nakṣatraraja mada jīnasya</i>	10
16r5 <i>yaśapuyida mada jīna(sya)</i>	
18r2 (<i>dhar</i>) <i>ma satati varṣasahasra</i>	
18r5 <i>p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(na)sya</i>	
18v2 <i>sarvaguṇodasa ja(dabhumi)</i>	11
16v1 <i>ayu naraṇa aṣiti nīy(uda)</i>	
16v3 <i>ayu naraṇa aṣiti (sahasra)</i>	
18r4 <i>koḍiṣatiya sarve te nīpada</i>	
18v2 <i>guṇateyamahidasya jīnasya</i>	
18v3 (<i>marapra</i>) <i>mardaṇo irdhimadaṇa</i>	
18v4 <i>triśa śhahiṣati dharma jīnasya</i>	
19r4 (<i>sa</i>) <i>rv(e) kileśamaramamṭhaṇaṇa</i>	

5 śravagasya a[ve] ///

2 /// [ma]ṇavaghayid[ada a] ///

3 /// [vha]vipagaparamida ṣo ///

4 /// [yaṁ] virya ° ya taluṇajivhada aya jāṇa ° ///

5 /// [a]yaṁ daṇada ° ya bahujaṇa[o]loca[niya] ///

6) MS 2179/29b; A

- a /// ? .idaparamida ///
- b /// ? yathabhipraya[do] ///
- c /// aṇachejasvati [a] ///
- d /// [ra]moṣa aya [pra] ///

B

- a /// yas[y]a [a]bhaśa ///
- b /// [pra]caya ci[ta upa] ///
- c /// [a]ya praña ime du[ṣ]. ///
- d /// [ṇa] ° ya pratipakṣa ///

7) MS 2179/30c; A

- a /// praṇihi[d]. ///
- b /// ga citasya [a] ///
- c /// .[e]ṣkara a ? ///

B

- a /// [st]i ti pa ? ///
- b /// ? ayaṃ virya [°] ///
- c /// ñaa[ṇa]che[ja] ///

8) MS 2179/30e; A

- a /// [r]ihaṇaparami ///
- b /// praña ° [i] ///

B

- a /// rvatra u.[e] ///
- b /// 20 10 1 1 tatra ka ///

9) MS 2179/130j; A

- a /// ? + ? ///
- b /// [pa]ramida ṣo ° ya [sa].[va] ? ///

B

- a /// ? [im]. [sarva] ///
- b /// ? ? ? ? da ayaṃ kṣati ? ///

10) MS 2179/130k; A

- a /// [ra]mida [u] ? ṇ[e] °
- b /// ? ñaṇaüpatikṣ[e]tre ca

B

- a /// sarva kamaguṇa sagradhi
- b /// śamo ayaṃ virya
- c /// ? /// + + + /// ? ? ///

11) MS 2179/uf3/2e; A

- a /// ? ṣo [g]. ? gata[s]. ? ///
- b /// [yaṃ] kṣati peyalo ° ? ///

B

- a /// + + + ? ? ? ///
- b /// + + + ? parami ///

12) MS 2179/uf3/2f; A

- a /// ? ? da [śa lo °] ? ///

B

- a /// .[i]da ayaṃ pra ///
- b /// ? ///

13) AF A1; A

- a /// ? ? go va ? ///
- b /// ga ayaṃ praña ° i[me] ///
- c /// ? ? ///

B

- a /// paṃcavarṣi daṇa ma ? ///
- b /// ? [ṇiye pravi] ///

14) AF A4; A

- a /// ° 10 4 ///
- b /// ? ? ///

B

- a /// ? ? ? ///
- b /// ? [kṣati] ///

- 4 /// [ko]ḍiṣatiya sarve te ṇipada ? vestari[ga dha] ///
- 5 /// ye ṇama ° p.abha yoviṇa [pa].[ca ji] + [sya] + ? [ra]ti[ś]ekṣa ? ///

verso

- 1 /// [a]yu ṇa[raṇa] ? .u + ? ṇi ? + a ? ? a ma maruda ? ///
- 2 /// 3 guṇateyamahidasya jīṇasya ° sarvagūṇodasa j[a] ///
- 3 /// [ma]rdaṇo irdhimadaṇa [°] ? viṣati varṣasaha[sra] ///
- 4 /// ? [va]rṣasahasra ° triśa ṭhahiṣati dharma jīṇasya [4] ///
- 5 /// .[uñ].ṇo vaṭṭhaya ° ṇaṇesvaro ? ? [mido ṇama] ° irdhi[mada] ///

19) MS 2179/28; recto

- 3 /// ? daṇ te ///
- 4 /// [rv]. [kile]śamara[maṇ]thaṇ[a]ṇ[a] ///
- 5 /// [ṇameṇa] ° ekaviṣati yoviṇa ///

verso

- 1 /// ? .i[d]o ṇama ° irdh[i]ma[daṇa] pra ? ///
- 2 /// ? ṇivride varṣasahasra ° satati ? ///
- 3 /// ? + ? ? [°] pratimaṇ[ṭid]. ///

20) HG 46, HI 3; recto

- 1 /// irdhimamṭaṇa agra ° paṇcaīśa varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° troda[śa sa]ṇ
- 2 /// jadabhumi ° yoviṇasahasra prabha brahmaṇo jatiye ° brahma[de]vo ṇama pida °
- 3 /// [va]rṣasahasra ayu[pra]maṇ[o] ° caturaṣīti sa[ṇ]ṇipada ° daśaṇayudaga sa
- 4 /// [daśa yoviṇa]śada prabha ° kṣat.iyo jatiye ° achabivikramaṇ ṇama
- 5 /// [ma i]rdhimamṭaṇa [agro] ° aṣīti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° sata

verso

- 1 /// [sa]hasra sadharmavaṭṭh[i]ti 10 1 ugamasa tathagadasa ° aṇamṭa
- 2 /// putro ° ṇaṇakusuma ṇama [vaṭṭha]yo ° praṇaprabhaso ṇama praṇamamṭa
- 3 /// [gha]ṇa śarira ek[o] thubo ° ṇavati varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhiti 10 2
- 4 /// [va]pu[ṣpa] ṇama mada ° [a]mridagaṇdho ṇama putro ° gaṇdhaprabhaso ṇama vaṭṭha
- 5 /// sarve ° vestariga śarira ° daśa varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhiti 10 3

21) MS 2179/32a, 32b; A

- 1 /// ? .o [a] ? ? ? ° prabha ke[du] ///
- 2 /// .[ub]o jīṇasya ° ekaghaṇo prithu [ra] ? ///
- 3 /// [ṇ].maṇṭida mada jīṇasya ° maṇṭido putro ///
- 4 /// ? ? ? [y]. ? ? ? ° [y]a tri [y]o [dh]e [ṇ]i [y]. ? ///
- 5 /// ? ///

B

- 2 /// ? ? ? ? ? [ṇ]. ma ? ? ? + + .u ? ///
- 3 /// [a]yupramaṇo ° traye koḍiśada prathama [śra] ///
- 4 /// ? yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jatiye ° ///
- 5 /// [sa].ṇipa[da] k.[ḍ]iṣatiya [sa] ///

22) MS 2179/32c; A

- 1 /// [va]rṣasahasra ayupra[ma] ///
- 2 /// [ṇa] prabha kṣatriyo jatiye ° vi ///
- 3 /// [śatasaha]sra ayupramaṇo ° sata ///
- 4 /// sro prabha brahmaṇo jatiye ° viyu ? ///
- 5 /// ? + + .[śasaha]sra ayupramaṇ. ///

23) MS 2179/35; A

- 1 /// ? ? ? ///
- 2 /// su[rya]prabha te ? ///
- 3 /// da ° daśakoḍisa ///
- 4 /// ? raṭha ṇama pi ///
- 5 /// [sahasra ay]. ///

24) MS 2179/105; A

- a /// ? pida sude[vo] ° devi [mu] ///
- b /// ? ° sarve rahaṃta aṣa ///

25) MS 2179/130s; A

- 1 /// du ṇama vaṭha[y]. ///
- 2 /// ? hagamhasy[a] ///
- 3 /// [ray]o ? ///

26) MS 2179/uf2/6e; A

- a /// ? ? r. ? ? ///
- b /// ? ṇa ta ma ti ///
- c /// ? ? ? ? ///

27) MS 2179/uf3/1a; A

- 1 /// arahaṇa 1 1 1 [k]. ///
- 2 /// ? ° brahmaṇo jati[ye] ///
- 3 /// ? ? [ti] ? + ? ///

28) MS 2179/uf3/1c, uf3/1e;

folio /// 20 [1 1] /// recto

- a + + ? ? ? ? [v].haro ///
- b sa jīṇasya ° jatiye iṇa ///
- c ti varṣas[ahas].[a] ° [ay]. ///

B

- 1 /// .[maṇo ja]ti[ye citra] ? ///
- 2 /// rṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° masthi ? ///
- 3 /// ṇa prabha brahmaṇo jatiye ° a[ṇ]. ///
- 4 /// sahasra ayupramaṇo ° ekuṇa ///
- 5 /// [kṣa]triyo jatiye sudar[śa] ///

B

- 1 /// ? r. ? ? ? ///
- 2 /// ? ṇatirthara[y]i ṇa ///
- 3 /// ? ma [praṃ]ṇamaṃtaṇa ///
- 4 /// [sa]dharmavaṭṭhiti ? ///
- 5 /// [p].[t].[o] ° akh. ///

B

- a /// ? ? ///
- b /// mada ° varṇilo putro ///
- c /// ? ///

B

- 3 /// r[śa]sa[ha] ///
- 4 /// [ṇa]ma praṃ[ṇa] ///
- 5 /// [y]a śarira ° ṣ. ///

B

- a /// [sya] jīṇa[sya] ///
- b /// irdhimadaṇa ? ///

B

- 4 /// [maṃ]ta [vic]. ? ///
- 5 /// [ji]ṇasya ° saṇa[śo] ///

verso

- a ṇo mati [śa] ? ? ? ? ///
- b ṇa abha ° brahmaṇo jati[ye] ///
- c + + [catu]viṣati koḍi ///

29) MS 2179/uf3/1d; A

- a /// ? [šo a] ? ///
- b /// [kṣa]triyo [ja] ///
- c /// [ko]ḍīśa[t]. ///

B

- a /// ? samaṇa ? ///
- b /// .[iya] ṇipa[da] ///
- c /// jatiye [°] ///

30) MS 2179/uf3/2a; A

- a /// ? ? da [saṇipa] ///
- b /// brahmaṇo ja[tiye] ///

B

- a /// ? kha 3 tra[y]. ? ///
- b /// [ma]da jīṇ[a]s[ya] ° [r]. ///

31) MS 2179/uf3/2b; A

- a /// ? ? ? + ? ? ///
- b /// ? ṇivrade varṣasahasra ° [ṭha] ///

B

- a /// ? ? ? ? [yo °] .u ? ? ? ///
- b /// ? [to ra ṇa mu ti vadaṇo] ° [p]. [ri] ///

32) MS 2179/uf3/3a; A

- a /// [g].[o] ° ṣaṭhi [va].[ṣa] ///

B

- a /// [prabha] + .[ra]hm[a] ///

33) AF N1; A⁷

- a /// [bh]umi [kṣatri]yo [ja] ///
- b /// [ṇa]ma [i]dhimaṁtaṇa agro ° [tr]. ///

34) AF N2; A⁸

- a /// capariśa ° paṁca ? ///
- b /// saṁ ? [va] ? [ṇa] ///
- c /// praṇama ///

35) MS 2179/107; A

- a /// gado ° yatra [a]ridam[e]ṇa ta[thaga] ///
- b /// [r]eṇa 1 1 bhagir[a]si ṇa ? ///
- c /// [ṇ]ido ? ? ? ? ? ///

B

- a /// ? ///
- b /// ? ? [ka]reṇa 4 [oya] ///
- c /// .o prekṣitva ludhagadarake[ṇa] ///

36) MS 2179/130Q; A

- a /// ? ///
- b /// [pra]thamaṁ bodh[a] ? ///
- c /// [tha]gado ° ///

B

- a /// .o [ṇama] ? ///
- b /// ? śi[ṇ]o da ? ///
- c /// ? ? ? ? ? ///

37) MS 2179/uf2/3c; A

- a /// ? [šo] ? ///
- b /// ? ? ? ///

B

- a /// v. ṣya m. ///

38) MS 2170/uf3/1b; A

- a /// .o pa ma [mi kri] ? ///
- b /// ? [jad]. gami ? ? [°] .[e] ///
- c /// ? ? [mu] ? ///

B

- a /// ? ? ? ///
- b /// ? rtha vahaṇ. ///
- c /// [dharme]ṣu suviṇi ? ///

⁷ Only one side of this fragment is visible in the available photograph.

⁸ Only one side of this fragment is visible in the available photograph.

39) MS 2179/uf3/3b; A

a /// [śa] .[u kr]. ///

b /// ra vi kr. ///

B

a /// ? ///

b /// .o da ṇa a ? ///

40) MS 2179/uf4/2b; A

a /// [ti] ° su [vi] ///

b /// [yo] karma ? ///

c /// ? ///

B

a /// [saṃ]sriṭha pr. ///

b /// ? [bhi ṇ]. ? ///

41) MS 2179/uf4/2c; A

a /// ka ca [ṇi] ///

b /// ? ° ? ? ///

B

a /// v[a]ti ? ///

42) MS 2179/uf4/2d; A

a /// varṣa ///

B

a /// ? ? ///

b /// ? [m]. ///

43) MS 2179/uf4/4b; A

a /// ? [ṇa] pa [ra] ///

b /// ? ///

B

a /// [ca y]e pra ///

b /// ? ///

44) MS 2179/uf4/4f; A

a /// ? [ya] bhumi ? ///

b /// ? ? ///

B

a /// ? pariṇa ? ///

45) MS 2179/uf5/2a; A

a. /// [abhi] ? ///

B

a. /// [rma t]. ? ///

46) MS 2179/uf5/2c; A

a /// ? ///

b /// vekṣida ///

c /// ? ? ///

B

a /// ? davya ///

b /// davya [°] ///

47) MS 2179/uf5/4b; A

5 /// [pa]raga ? ///

B

1 /// su vimu ///

2 /// ? ? ? ///

48) HI 21; A

a /// ? vakṣati budho bheṣe [taṃ] ? ///

b /// ? spe 10 4 śruda teṇa bh[u]da[m eṣ]a ///

c /// ? daridra p[ra]ṇa[h]iṇa ° ? ? ? ? ? ///

B

a /// ? [t]. ? ? ? ? ? ///

b /// riprichati ca sarv[e] sarv. ? ///

c /// ? [c]. [bh]ogaṇe pi sokha ° ṇa ///

B

a */// ?? ///*

b */// ?? ///*

Our textual reconstructions are based primarily on text-internal patterns, especially the formulaic structures of the Perfections and Buddhas Sections, and secondarily on the Chinese and Tibetan translations (in which we highlight in bold those words corresponding to the Gāndhārī fragments). Another important concern for us was to provide as precise as possible an indication of the amount of missing text between preserved snippets on each fragment, since in the Bhk more than many other texts the distances between preserved expressions and the way that these do (or do not) match up with the locations of corresponding expressions in the Chinese and Tibetan parallels form an important part of the argument for each textual identification. Based on the average reconstructed line length of 81 akṣaras as well as (in verse passages) an expected pāda length of 10–11 syllables, we thus indicate missing material by the approximate number of crosses. The reader is asked to take these as intended: guidance rather than precise measurements. As a matter of principle, we do not attempt to back-translate proper names from the Chinese or Tibetan except where these are independently attested (usually in Weller’s list of buddhas names).

de la ñes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | zag pa med pa'i sbyin pa
dañ ldan pa ma yin pa'i sems kyī sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || mya ñan las 'das pa dañ
ldan pa'i tshul khrims gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || khams gsum gyis yid byuñ ba'i bzod pa
gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || dran pa ñe bar g'zag pa las ñes par byuñ ba'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa
de ni brtson 'grus so || byams pa la gnas śīn srid pa la smod par gnas pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de
ni bsam gtan no || yid mi bde bas rab tu phye ba'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni
ñes par 'byuñ ba bsgrub pa'i **pha rol tu phyin pa drug go** |

No less problematic is the concluding heading of this section. The Chinese and Tibetan translations (博聞 and *mañ du thos pa*) point to a compound containing **bahuśruca* ‘learning’ that should, as usual, have concluded with *paramida ṣo*, but instead our fragment preserves a clear *riga*, preceded by a less certain *ha* and followed by the section-concluding number sign 20 20 20 20 10 (3). This in turn, however, is followed by an ink trace that cannot be interpreted as part of the number, but very well fits the punctuation mark €. As the following section shows, this punctuation mark did not invariably conclude each group of perfections, raising the possibility that here a special function word or summary followed the last words (presumably *paramida ṣo*) of the section proper.

⁹ The Taisho edition adds: (上文第十二幅初六度無極下丹本有注云准標文脫佛興盛度無極。神通品第十佛告喜王菩薩。)

This section is one of two that preserve part of the introductory phrase *tatra kadara* and together confirm it: 1v2–3 *tatra (kadara)* and 2v3–4 (*tatra*) *kadara*. In the passage on patience, the reconstruction 1v3 (*a*)*kokucasya* (Skt *akauṛtyasya*) ‘without regret’ is supported by Chinese 不懷狐 (see the introduction for the phonetic implications of this transcription) and Tibetan *’gyod pa med pa*. The following passage on bravery is only partly preserved, and we cannot be certain about the further reconstruction of 1v3–4 *praṇidha(ṇa)*. The Tibetan translation *smon lam gyis rnam par ’phrul pa* suggests *praṇidha(ṇavikurvīdasya)* ‘transformed by a resolution,’ but *vikurvita* is only attested as a noun in the meaning ‘miracle’ in Buddhist Sanskrit (BHSD s.v.). At the end of this section, one should probably reconstruct (*abhiṃñavihar*)*idaparamida* or a variant thereof, corresponding to Chinese 住神通度無極 and Tibetan *mñon par śes pa la gnas pa’i pha rol tu phyin pa*.

The right margin of fragment no. 2 contains partially preserved folio numbering, separated from the text block by a vertical line. The numbering presents several problems of interpretation. It commences with a small circle that does not resemble any number sign (such as that for 100, which consists of two strokes touching each other at an angle) and has therefore been interpreted as a leading punctuation mark setting off the folio number proper. It is followed by three clear number signs 20 20 20. These in turn are followed by what appear to be two separate number signs 1 1, slightly curved to the bottom left. After this there is a gap in the margin that could have contained one or two more number signs, followed by a trace of ink and a horizontal line. The trace of ink is puzzling since the general syntax of Kharoṣṭhī number signs means that at most one further number sign could have followed the sequence 20 20 20 1 1, namely another number sign 1 that would have been lost in the gap. While the interpretation of the trace of ink remains thus uncertain, we interpret the final horizontal line as another punctuation mark framing the folio number together with the leading small circle. The folio number on this fragment could thus have been either 62 or 63, and we somewhat arbitrarily chose the former of these possibilities. Accordingly, fragment nos. 1, 3 and 4 belonged either to folios 60, 63 and 64 or to folios 61, 64 and 65 of the manuscript.

[illegible]

何謂眾報應度無極有六事。若愍世人有所救濟。猶如離垢化眾行淨。是曰布施。所奉至行住於梵天。為閻浮利人造立德本令得入法。是曰持戒。所行仁和加於眾生不惜身命。猶如在海見其船壞自殺其身以度眾人。是曰忍辱。所行精進開化無數多所成就。猶如導師名曰福事。採海眾寶以濟窮匱。是曰精進。所以禪思愍傷他人而行勸助。猶如童子名曰意義。

¹⁰ We thank Thomas Cruijsen and Anne Kuyvenhoven for their assistance in the interpretation of this fragment.

於八萬歲奉行慈心用安眾生。是曰一心。若以聖明了解現世度世智慧。以是智慧覺了空無。如須菩提解空識喻。眾塵樹葉悉能分別。其勸助者報應過是。是曰智慧。是為六。

D 53b5–54a3.

| de la rnam par smin pa mañ po'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | 'jig rten la phan par bya ba'i sbyin pa ni dper na 'bel ma'i lta bu gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || **tshañs pa'i 'jig rten la gnas te 'dzam bu'i gliñ** gi mi rnams las bya ba la 'jug par byed pa'i tshul khirms gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms so || sems can gyi phyir bdag yoñs su gtoñ ba'i bzod pa ni dper na rgya mtsho ni śi ba'i ro dañ mi **gnas pas** sems can rnams dgrol ba'i don du **rgya mtsho chen por bdag ñid** yoñs su gtoñ ba lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni bzod pa'o** || skye bo mañ po yoñs su smin par 'gyur ba'i brtson 'grus ni dper na rgya mtshor ded dpon bsod nams khyim lag rkyal gyis rgal ba las rig par bya ba lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni brtson 'grus so** || gzan la phan par yoñs su bsños pa'i bsam gtan ni dper na bram ze'i bu nor gyi blo gros kyis sems can rnams bde ba la sbyar ba'i phyir **lo stoñ phrag** brgyad cur byams pa bsgoms pa gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || 'jig rten pa dañ 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnams las śin tu rnam par gdon mi za ba'i śes rab ni dper na rgyal po blo bzañs kyis sñon gyi tshul śiñ loñ las rig par bya ba lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni śes rab ste** | **'di dag ni** rnam par smin pa mañ po'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

This section contained several interesting references to Buddhist stories (cf. Skilling 2010: 219 for such narrative references in general) from which just enough is preserved to ascertain their presence in the background of the Chinese and Tibetan translations: (1) A dweller of the Brahmalo-ka (2r1 (*bra*)*hmalokañhidasya* = Skt *brahmalokasthitasya*) takes rebirth as a human in Jambudvīpa (*ja(mbudvipa)-*), illustrating the perfection of virtue. This appears to be a general statement of an ideal rebirth pattern rather than a reference to a particular story. (2) The Buddha (in the first person) in a previous life sacrifices himself (2r1 *atma(ṇa)* = Skt *ātmānam*) for travellers on the great ocean (2r1 *mahasamudrasmi* = Skt *mahāsamudre*), saying that the ocean 'does not stay with' (2r1–2 (*na*) *savasati* = Skt *saṃvasati*, Chin. 不惜, Tib. *mi gnas pas*) dead bodies for long. This is probably a reference to a jātaka story of the *Mahāvastu* (*pañcakānāṃ bhadravargikānāṃ jātaka*, Mvu III 353.14–356.19) in which the Buddha in a former life as a seafaring merchant saves the lives of his shipwrecked fellow travellers by telling them to cling to his corpse after he kills himself because the deity of the ocean does not like to stay with corpses (*mṛtakuṇapena sārđhaṃ na prativasati*, Mvu III 354.7 [prose], *mṛtakuṇapena na saṃvasati* Mvu III 355.9–10 [verse]) and will wash his body ashore together with them.¹¹ (3) A young brahman called *Ratnamati (Tib. Nor gyi blo gros) meditates for a long time on benevolence (2r3 *met(r)a* = Skt *maitrā*, Chin. 慈心, Tib. *byams pa*). The Chinese and Tibetan translations specify the duration of his meditation as 80,000 (八萬歲, *stoñ phrag brgyad cu*) years, matching the remains of the Gāndhārī text (2r2–3 (*aśiti*) *varṣasahasra* = Skt *aśītiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi*). While we have not been able to identify a clear parallel for this story, the name Ratnamati occurs at least twice in Buddhist Sanskrit literature: in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (19.3) as one of eight princes who follow their father, the buddha Candrasūryapradīpa, into renunciation, and in the *Avadānaśataka* (1.12.18) as a future buddha.

¹¹ We thank Vincent Tournier for pointing us to this parallel.

In 2r2 *ñatavya ayam virya*, *ñatavya* (Skt *jñātavya*-) appears to conclude a preceding expression, and *ayam virya* alone to constitute the conclusion of the passage on *virya*. This stands in contrast to 2v2 (*ayam daṇa*) *ñatavya* below.

何謂無報度無極有六事。其所救濟。不受報應乃至滅度。猶如大蓋有所覆護。菩薩所修如是無極。如江河沙眾生得度。是曰布施。所奉法行諸漏已盡。至**不退**轉攝受普護。是曰持戒。所志仁和未曾有恨逮致佛道。是曰忍辱。所以勤修捨棄身命。一切萬物供養三寶。是曰精進。所修禪定在佛樹下。宣歎頌偈遵承法觀以此行護。**是曰一心**。所遵聖明不論道**慧**。猶如海中舍和樹葉香美療病。菩薩如是。以道德香化於一切使發大道心。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | yoñs su mya ñan las 'das
pa'i sbyin pa'i rnam par smin pa mi ldog pa ni dper na rgyal rigs kyis chu bo gañ gār de la sogs
pa'i sbyin pa'i lta bu gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || btañ sñoms yoñs su bzuñ žiñ **phyir mi ldog pa**
zag pa zad pa'i tshul khrims gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || byañ chub thob pa'i bzod pa gañ
yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || lus kyi 'du byed 'dor ba'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so ||
chos la btañ sñoms pas rab tu phye bas byañ chub kyi sñiñ por skyo ba med pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin
pa **de ni bsam gtan no** || byañ chub kyi ye śes ston pas **śes rab** kyis rab tu bzuñ ba ni dper na bram
ze'i bu byis pa dper brjod pa lta bu gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa med
pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

T. 23b13–23b23.¹²

何謂時進度無極有六事。若得止處次第惠救眾厄難。是曰布施。所行謹慎如生鱉中。其為鱉王時將護己身又濟他人。是曰持戒。所志仁和親近眾行歸護身口。猶如人賢所行慈忍。斷其諸節不抱傷害。是曰忍辱。所修精勤。佛興世時所在見佛。如來平等其三昧印於一切行。三千歲未曾休懈。是曰精進。所曰禪思在於中宮妓嫖女間。常修清白而不放逸。是曰一心。順智慧時在於生死。在在所至將護諸我使了無我。是曰智慧。是為六。

D 54b3–6.

| de la **dus su** byin pa dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug **gañ ze na** | sdug bsñal bar 'gyur ba rnams la sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || ru sbal gyi skyes pa'i rabs kyi tshul khrims gañ yin pa **de ni tshul khrims so** || mñon du sdug bsñal bas lus dañ ñag la gnod pa med pa'i **bzod pa ni** dper na bzañ brtsams yan lag bcañ kyañ 'khrug pa med pa'i **bzod pa** gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || sangs rgyas 'byuñ ba na brtson pa ni dper na sañs rgyas mñon sum du byed ciñ de bzin gsegs pa'i **tiñ ñe 'dzin** rgya mtsho la **lo sum khri**'i bar du rmugs pa dañ gñid ma 'byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || btsun mo'i 'khor na gnas pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || 'khor ba na gañ dus dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i śes rab gañ dañ gañ du bdag dañ gzan la phan par 'gyur ba'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni dus su sbyin pa dañ mtshuñs par ldan pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

The name of this group of six perfections is partially preserved, but not entirely clear. The first member is *kala*, corresponding to Chinese 時 and Tibetan *dus su*. The following punctuation dot is unexpected. Gāndhārī scribes did occasionally use dots to set off members of complex compounds (for instance *vedaīda°uaśamapayīṭhi* ‘search for calming of feelings’ in British Library verse commentary II, cf. Baums 2009: 674), but simple *kala* in our manuscript does not seem to call for such a treatment. Nonetheless, there is no reason not to think that the Gāndhārī name of this group of perfections was given in the form of a compound. The following three akṣaras are, however, only partially preserved, and while the interpretation of the first as *ñā* is certain enough, the following traces can be taken as either the remnants of two separate akṣaras, or possibly as one (in which case it would have contained subscript *ya*). In either case, the Gāndhārī does not appear to match either the Chinese (進 suggesting \sqrt{gam} or a synonym) or the Tibetan (*byin pa* suggesting $\sqrt{dā}$). We can only suggest that paleography may be partly to blame for this situation, since Kharoṣṭhī *ñā* (as in our manuscript) and *daṇa* (as suggested by the Tibetan) are often similar and sometimes confused in cursive writing.

The passage on *kṣati* evidently consists of two parts, each of them starting with *ya kṣati*. The first of these probably corresponds to the general statement of the parallels (‘patience is not to do harm even when suffering,’ Chin. 所志仁 ... 身口, Tib. *mñon du sdug bsñal bas ... bzod pa ni*), the second to the exemplification (‘the patience of a certain forest-dweller as his limbs were cut off,’ Chin. 猶如 ... 傷害, Tib. *dper na ... bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni*). It remains unclear how to interpret the akṣara *mi* at the end of the first statement (a locative ending seems most likely) and the word fragment *agache* near the beginning of the second (an optative form of \bar{a} - \sqrt{gam} seems most likely, but does not appear to be reflected in the Chinese or Tibetan translations).

¹² We thank Lin Qian 林倩 for his assistance in identifying the Chinese parallel for the right half of this fragment.

As discussed above, the space attested to by the Gāndhārī fragments on this folio and the preceding is barely enough to accommodate the present section, of which moreover no identifiable word is preserved. Nonetheless, in the absence of conclusive proof to the contrary, we tentatively assume that our Gāndhārī manuscript did, in fact, contain the section in question, possibly in a shorter version than the Chinese and Tibetan translations, taking up approximately one line of our manuscript.

(3r4) (tatra kadara) + ? predana jighitsa
viṇida <ayaṃ daṇa> ° ya śilo maraṇap(rata) +
+ + + + + (3r5) + da bhavatu
bhuñamtu ayaṃ kṣati ° ya virya +
+ + + + + (3v1) + ? aya {da}<jā>ṇa °
paṃcaṇa kaṃṇaṇa rayadhidaṇa ? +
+ + + + + (3v2) +

何謂報安光度無極有六事。若至魔徑臨壽終時。其功報應。猶兜術天忽沒來下。**開化鐵鬼除其飢厄**。是曰布施。降伏魔徑所奉愍哀。**放捨身縛**亦脫罪厄。猶如往古國王太子名曰須賴。所脫苦患,是曰持戒。其行仁和在於魚中。安諸鼃鼃隱**樂得食**。**是曰忍辱**。所勤修行諸王女等。而在恐懼危厄艱難愍傷濟之。是曰精進。所修禪思。在疾疫劫以藥療之。猶如往古童子所作長益。以五頭首救寂闍浮提諸非邪惡。**是曰一心**。以此聖明救濟一切。猶往古喻五百賈客。以**五百玉女**及諸玉女。就為導師護五億人一心宿衛。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | ši ba la thug pa'i sbyin pa gañ gi rnam par smin pas dga' ldan nas ši 'phos pa na **yi dags rnams kyi bkres pa phyid pa** gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || **ši ba la thug pa rnams** bcins pa las dgrol ba'i phyir bdag ñid gtoñ ba'i **tshul khrims** ni dper na rgyal po'i bu legs byin gyi sñon gyi tshul **gañ** yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || bzod pa ni dper na ña'i skyes pa'i rabs las grog sbur de dag gis bdag gi ša **zos** nas bde bar gyur na legs so žes bya ba gañ yin pa **de ni bzod pa'o** || rta'i rgyal po rñog ldan sdug bsñal ba rnams la sñiñ brtse ba'i phyir **brtson pa gañ** yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || nad kyi bar gyi bskal pa'i bsam gtan ni dper na bram ze'i bu de bi dha 'dzam bu'i gliñ du reg pa lña ži bar byed pa lta bu gañ yin pa **de ni bsam gtan no** || tshoñ pa lña brgya dañ **rgyal po'i sras mo bu mo lña brgya** dag thar par byas pa dañ | srin mo bye ba phrag lña mir byas pa'i šes rab ni ded dpon gyi sñon gyi tshul las šes par bya ba gañ yin pa de ni šes rab ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa bde ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂不迴還**度無極有六事**。既有所濟不樂**聲聞緣覺**之業。願求無上正真之道。是曰布施。所奉謹慎觀於至義而不懈廢。是曰持戒。所遵仁和能暢究竟不中懷恨。是曰忍辱。所行遵修**執權方便**。有所救濟使不放逸。是曰**精進**。所修禪定顯明章句而不迷憤。是曰一心。所謂聖明得至七住不退轉地。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la phyir mi ldog pa'i **pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ** ze na | **ñan thos dañ rañ sañs rgyas** kyi theg pa la re ba med ciñ mi dmigs pas bla na med pa'i byañ chub tu yoñs su bsños pa'i **sbyin pa gañ** yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || mi blta ba'i tshul khirms gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms so || de'i ño bo ma yin pa'i bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || **thabs mkhas pa'i** brtson 'grus gañ yin pa **de ni brtson 'grus so** || **rig pa skyed pa'i** bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || mñam pa ñid kyi sa'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni phyir mi ldog pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

The section provides abstract definitions of the six perfections, three of which are partially preserved. Giving is the giving of one seeking enlightenment who does not observe the practices (Chin. 業, but Tib. *theg pa*) of the disciples or individually awoken ones. It is unclear whether the word in question (3v2 *śravagapracegabudha*- = Skt *śrāvaka-pratyekabuddha*-) carried a genitive plural case ending or formed the prior member of a compound. It is interesting to note that while some Gāndhārī texts clearly interpreted the word as containing G *pracaya* (Skt *pratyaya*) ‘condition’ (e.g., Nird^{L2} 9·150 *ṣavagapracaaabudhaṇa*; Baums 2009)—an understanding also reflected in Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese translation 緣覺—the spelling of our Gāndhārī manuscript sides with the understanding as G *pracega* (Skt *pratyeka*) ‘individual’ (so for instance also Anav^s 7 *pracek-abudhasa*; Salomon 2008).

[illegible]

何謂為娛樂度無極有六事。有所給與以開難化眾令發道意。**是曰布施**。若眷屬羸護奉行業。其有人來節節解之。不生毒心慈勸道法。如射獵師心懷怨結。若有人來節節解之。獵師心悅不以懷害。**是曰持戒**。若以仁和宣善義理。投之於火欲危其身不以懷結。**是曰忍辱**。所以勤修竟至滅度。觀於有為如火熾然。消之以法。**是曰精進**。所謂禪思除一切塵獨樂一處。若以戒法救眾人愚。**是曰一心**。慧無所樂而等其心。猶國王子施得土地。令其無罪而有勢力。**是曰智慧**。是為六。

| de la dga' ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | **sañs rgyas 'byuñ ba na sems can** thams cad
la sbyin pa gañ yin pa **de ni sbyin pa'o** || sañs rgyas 'byuñ ba'i dus su rnam par smin pa'i tshul
khrims ni dper na g'zon nu dpal mthu'i sñon gyi tshul lta bu'o || bzod pa ni dper na rgyal po bsod
nams rgya chen gyis bdag 'ba' zig bde bar ma gyur cig || bdag kyañ bde bar gyur la gañ g'zan yañ
bde bar gyur cig ces gañ smras pa lta bu gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || gzuñs rab tu thob par 'gyur
ba'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || sems can rnams kyi rnam par smin pa bde bar
yoñs su bsños pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || sa brgyad pa phyir mi ldog pa'i śes
rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni dga' ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂鮮潔度無極有六事。若有所興無所依倚。亦不相報加於眾生。是曰布施。所修謹慎常抱篤信。懷來七覺覺諸不覺。是曰持戒。所修仁和慈念眾生。不貪其身亦不惜命。是曰忍辱。所志勤修選擇諸法。合會至行致諸覺意。是曰精進。若以禪思無所想念而不放逸。是曰一心。所以聖明致得佛道而度一切。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par dag pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | mñon par zen pa med pa'i sbyin pa
gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || śin tu sbyaṅs pa byaṅ chub kyi yan lag bsgrub pa'i tshul khrims gañ
yin pa de ni tshul khrims so || lus la mi lta ba dañ | srog la mi lta ba'i bzod pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod
pa'o || chos rnam par 'byed pa byaṅ chub kyi yan lag dañ mtshuṅs par ldan pa'i brtson 'grus gañ
yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so || rtog pa med pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no || byaṅ
chub bsgrub pa'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni rnam par dag pa'i pha rol tu phyin
pa drug go |

(tatra kadara) ++++++
++++++(4r3)++(ayam)
śilo ° ya kṣati bodhiñīśāsagas(y)a ++++++
++++++
++++++(4r4)++++++ saca parigrahida ° ayam praña i(m)e ++++++

何謂成世法度無極有六事。若以所濟報應無數。致於永安無復眾難。是曰布施。所以謹慎慕求道法。八正之業至平等慧。是曰持戒。所念仁和不疑道義決壞羅網。是曰忍辱。所行勤修於現在法長得安隱。是曰精進。所謂禪思精進本行滅寂正受。是曰一心。其遵聖明所作已辦受四意止。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la 'jig rten pa'i chos las 'das pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | rnam par smin pa 'dus
ma byas dan lam bde ba sgrub pa'i sbyin pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || lam la žugs pa'i tshul
khrims gañ yin pa de ni **tshul khrims so || byañ chub la the tsom med pa'i bzod pa gañ yin pa**
de ni bzod pa'o || mthoñ ba'i chos la bde ba sgrub pa'i brtson 'grus gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus so
|| 'gog pa'i sñoms par 'jug pa dan mtshuñs par ldan pa'i bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan no ||
dran pa ñe bar gžag pa yoñs su sbyañ ba byas śiñ | **bden pa yoñs su bzuñ ba bya ba byas pa'i** śes
rab gañ yin pa **de ni śes rab ste** | 'di dag ni 'jig rten pa'i chos las 'das pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa
drug go |

Among the ‘perfections that transcend the worldly dharmas,’ patience is the patience of one without doubt concerning awakening: 4r3 *bodhiṇīśaśagas(y)a* (Skt *bodhinīrśaśayasya*). The right tip of the *s* is preserved, making the reconstruction of the genitive ending (further supported by the Tibetan translation) very likely. The word shows a type of sibilant assimilation typical of Gāndhārī (Baums 2009: 187–188) and writes *g* instead of *y* as a hyperetymological spelling. Understanding is the understanding in which the foundations of mindfulness have been practised and the truths acquired. While the Tibetan translation suggests a construction involving *bahuvrīhi*

[illegible]

何謂淨俗度無極有六事。其以所行救三千世界從始至終無有異心。是曰布施。從始生來普安一切。周旋往來三界眾生。是曰持戒。發意以來教化群黎。至無所至使無處所。是曰忍辱。使三千世界一切眾生精進滅度。猶初發意出家學故其心難當。是曰精進。所謂禪思令諸眾生得攝其意。專惟經法而不放逸。是曰一心。其以聖明至於地獄。救濟危厄適生墮地。口有所宣論講經道逮得法典。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la skye ba bkod pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | skyes pa tsam gyis stoñ gsum du
sbyin pa sbyin par byed pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'o || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can thams cad
bde bar gyur pa gañ yin pa **de ni tshul khrims so** || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can gnod sems can
rnams gnod par mi byed pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'o || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can stoñ phrag
rnams mya nan las 'das pa la brtson pa ni dper na 'od sruñ dañ por rab tu byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni
brtson 'grus so || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can rnams **dran pa thob pa'i** bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni
bsam gtan no || skyes pa tsam gyis sems can dmyal bar gyur pa chos brjed pa rnams tha na kun tu
brjed ciñ mñon par brjed pa'i śes rab gañ yin pa de ni śes rab ste | 'di dag ni skye ba bkod pa'i pha
rol tu phyin pa drug go |

Understanding, according to the Tibetan translation, is the understanding of one who through his mere birth thoroughly explains the dharma to those who were reborn as hell beings and forgot it. The Gāndhārī passage begins with what can be quite clearly read as *a*, but it remains unclear, even with the help of the translations, what the word in question could have been.

何謂來成眷屬度無極有六事。於五百歲開化勸誨。諸大眾會使發道心。是曰布施。所奉謹

D 56b3–57a1.

Of the section on the ‘perfections of attaining fortune of the retinue,’ only the tops of six akṣaras are partially preserved. The first and second of these, separated by a gap of two lost akṣaras, are unidentifiable. The third preserved akṣara has the round top of an *a* or a *ha*, and the fourth could be a *ta* or the top of a *sa*. The fifth and only securely legible akṣara is *ṇi*, followed by the top of what could be a *pa* or a *ṭha*. The meaning or location of these remnants within the section remain entirely unclear.

[illegible]

何謂寂度無極有六事。若以慈心向於諸人愍傷眾生。是曰布施。憐念一切三界眾生。而降化之入於深法。是曰持戒。傷於世俗愚冥之眾。示以道宜心導御之。是曰忍辱。若出家學無上正真。志存寂然不為放逸。是曰精進。諦思法施以開化眾。諸不達者而頒宣法。是曰一心。志性清淨而無垢濁。順從滅度不中寂滅。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la bsam gtan las ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | byams pa gtso bo'i
bsam gtan sems can la phan pa dañ ldan pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o || sems can la phan pa'i
'du śes can gyi bsam gtan gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms kyi'o || 'jig rten la phan par sems spro ba
gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || ñe bar ži ba'i phyir ñes par 'byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus
kyi'o || chos kyi sbyin pa legs par bsams nas smra ba gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || **rañ bžin**
gyis gnas pa'i ñes pa'i tshig gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste | 'di dag ni bsam gtan las ñes par
byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂智慧度無極有六事。若以經典法施於人使發道心。是曰布施。若有所說離於衣食不貪利養。是曰持戒。**若以法施不徇俗業不用懈倦。是曰忍辱。**入於一切總持諸法。無所不攝各令亘然。是曰精進。以諦思惟三世大難敷演法施。是曰一心。若以本淨本無之義宣布道教有所導示不失其原。是曰智慧。是**為六。**

| de la śes rab las űes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ že na | chos kyi sbyin pa rab tu sbyin par byed pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o || chos kyi sbyin pa zañ zñ med par smra ba gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o || **chos kyi sbyin pa la yoñs su skyo ba med pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o** || dad pas űes par 'byuñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o || chos kyi sbyin pa legs par bsams nas smra ba gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || rañ bzin gyi de bzin ñid dañ űes pa'i tshig śes pa gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste | 'di dag ni śes rab las **ñes par byuñ ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go** |

The heading of this section is partially preserved in its concluding occurrence and can be securely reconstructed as *(prañā)niryadaparamida* ‘the perfections of escape through understanding.’ We

[illegible]

何謂眼報度無極有六事。若以好眼愛敬眾人不以加害。是曰布施。若以其眼有所觀察。悉了無益唯法可恃。是曰持戒。所見廣遠而無限量。不得邊際無不可盡。是曰忍辱。**其眼寂靜**而無所著。一切眾色悉空本無。**是曰精進**。所睹悅豫見者歡喜以法為樂。是曰一心。諸來見者心身歸伏。普共踊躍能至究竟。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa mig gi pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | mthoñ na dga' bar 'gyur ba'i mig gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i rnam par smin pa'o || mig blta na sdug pa gañ yin pa de ni tshul khirms kyi'o || thag riñ por mthoñ ba gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o | **mig dkyus riñ ba gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o** | bltas pas dañ bar 'gyur ba gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || kun nas śin tu dañ ba gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa mig gi pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

[illegible]

何謂耳報度無極有六事。耳有所聽無所違失常存在法不為俗想。是曰布施。其耳清淨無有穢濁。解一切音本悉寂然。是曰持戒。若有所聽其音清徹而無邪想。是曰忍辱。耳有所存睹其微細不可限量。是曰精進。察其懸遠耳悉逮聞。知之皆空無益於人。是曰一心。聞無所有聽無堅固猶如呼響。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa rna ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | rna ba ñams pa med pa gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o || rna ba rnam par dag pa gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o || rna ba'i khams śin tu dañ ba gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || rna ba cha phra ba thos pa gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o || rna ba thag rin ba thos pa gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || bkur sti ma yin pa thos na mi dga' ba med pa'i rna ba gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa rna ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

(tatra kadara ghanavipagaparamida so o ya) + + + + + + + + + + (**5v2**) + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + (ayam śila o ya) **maṇavaghayidada a**(yam kṣati o ya) + + + + + + + +
+ (**5v3**) + + + + + + + + + + (ayam praña o ime
ghanavipagaparamida so 20 20 4)

何謂鼻報度無極有六事。若鼻清徹了一切空不有所嗅。是曰布施。而其鼻根息無所念。惟志道心無所損失。是曰持戒。寂然惔怕而知止足。是曰忍辱。所嗅順宜無所犯負不在情欲。是曰精進。鼻無所受不貪眾香而無放逸。是曰一心。鼻有所嗅知其瑕穢無益一切損耗學心。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa sna'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | dañ bar 'gyur ba'i sna gañ yin pa
de ni sbyin pa'i'o || sna'i dbaṅ po ma ṅams pa gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o || **yid du 'on ba**
snom pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || mi 'thun pa snom pa gañ yin pa de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o ||
sna ma gtugs pa gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || skyon snom pa gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste |
'di dag ni rnam par smin pa sna'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug go |

The title of this section is vouched for by the Tibetan translation (*rnam par smin pa sna'i pha rol tu phyin pa*) and the preceding and following sections: (*ghaṇavipagaparamida*) (Skt *ghrāṇavipākāpāramitāḥ*) ‘the perfections of ripening of the nose.’ Patience is the state of having a charming smell: *manavaghayidada* (Skt *manāpaghrāyitatā*, with *ghrāyita* as a noun in the sense of

[illegible]

何謂舌**報度無極有六事**。舌雖得味不以貪樂。離於喜悅甘于戒宜。是曰布施。語言了了惟宣法教。是曰持戒。若無數眾正及其所言辭宣示同學。是曰忍辱。設使識念無限之慧為人解說。**是曰精進**。滅其鹹酢舌之所習五味所利。**是曰一心**。舌有所說常傳道教廣有所耀。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la **rnam par smin pa lce'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug** gañ že na | lces ro myaṅs na dañ bar
'gyur ba gañ yin pa de ni sbyin pa'i'o || kheṅs tsig med pa gañ yin pa de ni tshul khrims kyi'o ||
skye bo mañ po 'dod pa'i tshig gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || yi ge mañ po rjes su dran par byed
pa gañ yin pa **de ni brtson 'grus kyi'o** || **lce rkan la gžar ba gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o** ||
lce mchog gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa lce'i pha rol tu phyin pa
drug go |

It is the title of this section, almost completely preserved and supported by the Tibetan translation (*rnam par smin pa lce'i pha rol tu phyin pa*), that also provided the basis for reconstructing the preceding and following section titles: 5v3 (*ji*)*vhavipagaparamida* (Skt *jihvāvīpākāpāramitāh*) ‘the perfections of ripening of the tongue.’ The only preserved passage is the one on meditation, which is said to be the 5v4 *talūñajihvada*. There is no doubt about the reading of this word, but its interpretation and its relationship with the translations present many difficulties. The Tibetan translation has *lce rkan la g'zar ba* ‘scraping of the tongue on the palate,’ the Chinese translation speaks of the ‘destruction of the salty and sour habits of the tongue’ (滅其鹹酢舌之所習). Neither of these is easy to reconcile with the Gāndhārī reading as we have it. The Tibetan clearly presupposes the word Skt *tālu* ‘palate,’ and we can only suggest that *g'zar ba* rather indirectly reflects a compound Skt *tālūñajihvatā* ‘state of the tongue being short of the palate,’ i.e., of the tongue not quite reaching the palate. (In Sanskrit, *tālujihvā* ‘tongue of the palate’ is a separate lexical item referring to the uvula that, however, does not agree with the Gāndhārī form and seems irrelevant here.) The Chinese 鹹, on the other hand, points to a reading G **loṇa* = Skt *lavaṇa* in place of our manuscripts *luṇa*, and the presence of 滅 further suggests that in the preparation of the Chinese translation, the introductory conjunction *ya* was misread as *śa* (cf. **śata* for (*ya*)*da* in line 5r4). Taken together with the following it then yielded a compound along the lines of G **śataloṇajivhada* = Skt *śāntalavaṇajihvatā* ‘state of the tongue with salty (taste) calmed.’ The Tibetan interpretation thus presupposes a stylistically awkward compound, and the Chinese is based on a

[illegible]

何謂身報度無極有六事。身有所豐財業經典以惠世間。是曰布施。無數眾人咸瞻仰之。以奉受言。是曰持戒。其身所以作人尊貴。用供順佛而有威德。是曰忍辱。體強有勢靡不依之。一切眾生悉共蒙荷。是曰精進。形柔軟好常以和悅顏貌光澤。是曰一心。清白潔白多所堪任開化眾生。是曰智慧。是為六。

| de la rnam par smin pa lus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa drug gañ ze na | lus śas rgyas śiñ mdog dmar
ser gañ yin pa **de ni sbyin pa'i'o** || **skye bo mañ pos blta na sdug pa gañ yin pa** de ni tshul
khrims kyi'o || lus dbañ che bar grags pa gañ yin pa de ni bzod pa'i'o || lus brtan pa gañ yin pa de
ni brtson 'grus kyi'o || lus śin tu g'zon śa chags pa gañ yin pa de ni bsam gtan gyi'o || gtso bor 'gro
ba gañ yin pa de ni śes rab kyi ste | 'di dag ni rnam par smin pa lus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa drug go

6) MS 2179/29b

In the first of these fragments, 6Aa ? *idaparamida* is in all probability part of a compound giving the title of a section on the perfections (ending in Skt *-pāramitāh*). Judging from the general

style of these titles, the first member of the compound is likely to be either a past participle or an abstract noun. The akṣara preceding *da* could be read as *vi* or, more likely in view of the shape of the left arm, as *li*. As per the general pattern, this word could belong either to the introduction or to the conclusion of the passage.

The expression 6Ab *yathabhiprayado* appears to be a rare example of a noun (in ablative case) in vowel sandhi with another word, corresponding to Skt *yathābhiprāyataḥ* ‘according to intention.’

We tentatively take *aṇachejasvati* as a compound word corresponding to Skt *anāchedyasmṛtiḥ* or *anāchedyasmṛtim* ‘unseverable mindfulness,’ though an interpretation as two separate words (noun with dependent adjective) is also possible. The following akṣara *a* may well be the beginning of *a(yaṃ)*, concluding a particular subpassage of the section.

In the next line (6Ad), we can maybe reconstruct (*apa*)*ramoṣa* (Skt *aparāmarśa*) ‘non-clinging.’ We are reminded of the passage Nird^{L2} 9°34 (Baums 2009) *a[ṇa]chejada va ° aparamoṣado va*, conjoining these two terms. The following expression on our fragment is certainly *aya pra(ṇa)*, concluding a passage on understanding.

On the other side of the fragment, 6Ba *yasya* is a word or part of a word in the genitive singular, quite possibly the relative pronoun. There is some doubt about the reading of the following word since our scribe does not distinguish *śa* and *ya*. We tentatively read *abhaśa* (Skt *abhyāśam*) ‘proximity,’ to yield a phrase ‘into whose proximity’ Not much less likely, however, would be a reading *abhaya* (Skt *abhaya-*) ‘fearless.’

In line 6Bb, *pracaya* (Skt *pratyaya-*) seems likely; only the left side of the first akṣara is preserved, but it does have the bend typical of *pra*. The second syllable of *cita* and the first of *upa* are both abraded and indistinct, but if the reading is correct, then the first word is certainly Skt *citta* ‘mind,’ and the second possibly Skt *upa-pad-* or **ut-pad-* (or another word with the prefix *upa-*).

The next line contains the conclusion of a passage on understanding (*aya praṇa*), followed by the repetition of the title of the section introduced by *ime*. It is regrettable that not much of this title is preserved, since in combination with the other fragmentary title in 6Aa it might have helped locate the fragment in the overall text. As it is, all that can be read clearly is initial *du*, followed by what appears to be a consonant *ṣ*, but with an unusual bend to the right and then left at the foot of the stem that may be an anusvāra.

The last line of the fragment (6Bd) starts with part of a single akṣara that in light of what follows must be the conclusion of a passage on one of the first five perfections. The remains of the akṣara most closely resemble a *ṇa*, suggesting either *daṇa* ‘giving’ or *jāṇa* ‘meditation.’ The following section (which would then be either on virtue or on understanding) contains introductory *ya* followed by the word (or first member of a compound) *pratipakṣa* (Skt *pratipakṣa*) ‘opposed.’

7) MS 2179/30c

The first word on this fragment, partially preserved, can be read as 7Aa *praṇihid*. and will correspond either to Skt *praṇihita* ‘purposeful’ or to Skt *apraṇihita* ‘without purpose.’ In the next line (7Ab), the genitive *citasya* (Skt *cittasya*) ‘of the mind’ is certain, but it remains unclear

whether the word stood on its own or formed the posterior member of a compound. The last line on this side of the fragment (7Ac) contains the sequence of akṣaras *.[e]ṣkara*. One immediately thinks of the word Skt *duṣkara* ‘difficult’ (as the deeds of a bodhisattva), but the first, partially preserved akṣara looks distinctly like a *te* or the top of *se*, the vowel mark being quite clear. No other likely word fitting this pattern suggests itself.

On the other side of the fragment, the first line (7Ba) does not resolve into words, though the fairly clear akṣara *sti* at least suggests *asti* (Skt *asti*) or *ṇasti* (Skt *nāsti*). In the next line (7Bb), we have the conclusion of a passage on bravery (*ayaṃ virya*). The last line contains an apparent compound whose last member can probably be reconstructed as *aṇacheja(da)* (Skt *anāchedyatā*) ‘unseverability’, and the whole probably as either (*prañā*)*aṇacheja(da)* (Skt *prajñānāchedyatā*) ‘unseverability of understanding’ or (*puñā*)*aṇacheja(da)* (Skt *punṇyānāchedyatā*) ‘unseverability of merit.’ As such, the term gives the impression of being the title of a particular section on the perfections.

What is more, the occurrence of *cita*- and of *aṇacheja(da)*- appears to provide a connection of content between this fragment and fragment no. 6, although they are no immediate physical fits and the surface structure of the palm leaf suggests that they belonged to two different (though possibly consecutive) folios. The two fragments may possibly be associated, in the Tibetan translation, with perfection groups no. 287 (*dran pa yoṅs su ṇams pa med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa* ‘the perfections of the non-diminution of mindfulness’) and no. 289 (*śes rab yoṅs su ṇams pa med pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa* ‘the perfections of the non-diminution of understanding’), though *yoṅs su ṇams pa* usually translates Skt *pari-hā-* ‘diminish’, not *anāchedya*, and *aṇacheja* (Skt *anāchedya*) is in fact translated *rgyun mi 'chad pa* in the Tibetan parallel of fragment no. 1. (See also the discussion of the following fragment.)

8) MS 2179/30e

This fragment begins (in line 8Aa) with another partially preserved title for a group of perfections. A likely partial reconstruction would be *-(apa)rihaṇaparami(da)* (Skt *-aparihāṇapāramitāḥ*) ‘the perfections of the non-diminution of ...’, which would make this fragment another candidate for one of the sections corresponding to sections no. 285 to 291 in the Tibetan translation (see discussion of the preceding fragment). The second line on this side of the fragment (8Ab) clearly contains the end of a passage on understanding and the beginning of the concluding phrase of a section, and can be reconstructed as (*ayaṃ*) *prañā ° i(me)*.

On the other side of the fragment, we can with some certainty reconstruct 8Ba (*sa*)*rvatra*. The interpretation of the following akṣaras is less certain, but *upe(kṣa)* (Skt *upekṣā*) ‘equanimity’ is one of several possibilities. The second line (8Bb) contains part of the concluding numbering of a section on the perfections. It is tempting to reconstruct (20 20 20) 20 10 1 1, interpret the number as 92 and associate this fragment with fragment no. 1, but the two are not a good fit either physically or in content. In view of the possible parallels for the partial title on the other side of this fragment, it may be better to interpret the same reconstruction (20 20 20) 20 10 1 1 as 292 with (regularly) omitted hundreds.

9) MS 2179/130j

One side of this fragment preserves the end of the title of a section, but since everything before 9Ab *paramida ṣo* is lost we have no means to attempt an identification. The following passage on giving begins with what should probably be reconstructed as *ya sa(r)va* (Skt *ya-sarva-*). The other side of the fragment contains the lower halves of what can quite confidently be read 9Ba *im(e) sarva* (Skt *ime sarve*), presumably the beginning of the concluding formula of a section. This agrees well with the following line, which contains the concluding formula of a passage on patience in 9Bb *ayaṃ kṣati*, i.e., approximately the middle of the following section.

10) MS 2179/130k

The shape of this fragment suggests that it is from the left edge of a folio. In its first line (10Aa), we can securely reconstruct *(pa)ramida* (Skt *pāramitāḥ*). More puzzling is what follows: the next akṣara is almost certainly *u* (with *lu* as a less likely alternative), which means that we are not in the title of any of the perfections sections since there *paramida* is invariably followed by *ṣo*. What is more, the akṣara after *u* remains entirely obscure, and the last akṣara, here tentatively read as *ṇe*, features a placement of the vowel mark that, for this base consonant, is highly unusual. The next line, after one partially preserved unclear akṣara, has the word (or tail end of a compound) 10Ba *ñāṇaūpatikṣetre* (Skt *jñānotpattikṣetre*) ‘in the field where knowledge arises,’ followed by what is either the conjunction *ca* (Skt *ca*) ‘and’ or the beginning of another word continued in the next line.

On the other side of this fragment, we have the clear reading and likely reconstruction 10Ba *sarva kamaguṇa sagradhi(da)* (Skt *sarve kāmaguṇāḥ saṃgrathitāḥ*) ‘all strands of desire are entwined.’ It is also possible to read a compound *sarvakamaguṇasagradhi(da)* ‘entangled by all strands of desire,’ the matter not being decided by *sarva* (rather than *sarve*), which is a legitimate nominative plural form in Gāndhārī. The next line (10Bb) contains the end of a passage on bravery that should probably be reconstructed *(upa)śamo ayaṃ vīrya* (Skt *upaśamo ’yaṃ vīryam*) ‘... calming, this is bravery.’ The uninterpretable tops of three akṣaras from a third line are preserved at the lower edge of the fragment.

11) MS 2179/uf3/2e

The first line of this fragment (11Aa) remains obscure. Its first completely preserved akṣara is *ṣo*, but here it clearly is not part of a title containing *paramida ṣo* since it is neither followed by *ya* (as in the introductory part of a section) nor by a number (as in the concluding part). The scant traces preceding it are compatible with *do*, so one may at least suggest the very uncertain reading *doṣo* (Skt *dveṣaḥ*) ‘hate.’ Following this we appear to have a compound consisting of a two-syllable unclear prior member and possibly *-gatas(y)a* (Skt *-gatasya*) ‘gone’ as posterior member; since the subscript *ya* is not preserved, we can, however, not rule that *-gata-* was followed by a third compound member commencing with *sa*. The second line (11Ab) contains the concluding formula of a passage on patience: *(a)yaṃ kṣati*, followed by what appears to be the abbreviatory device *peyalo* (BHS *peyāla*, P *peyyāla*) ‘and so on.’ An alternative interpretation as Skt *peśala* ‘amiable’ is paleographically equally possible, but not likely in this position immediately following the end

of a passage. The likely use of abbreviatory devices in our manuscript has implications for our calculations of the distances between preserved text fragments, the length of lines and the overall size of the manuscript, but since this is the only instance of preserved *peyala*, and since it occurs in a position where it appears to abbreviate only the end of the section in question, i.e., three perfections filling a total of approximately one line, we still believe our calculations to be quite accurate. We suggest that the use of *peyala* in this passage was triggered by exceptional repetitive-ness of the descriptions of the six perfections, and that overall *peyala* was not regularly used in the manuscript.

The other side of the fragment is not completely visible in the available photographs: in each of the two preserved lines, approximately the first three akṣaras are obscured by a folded-over piece of palm leaf at the right edge of the fragment. The only expression that is visible, in the second of the two lines (11Bb), can be reconstructed as *parami(da)* (Skt *pāramitāḥ*).

12) MS 2179/uf3/2f; A (CKM 358)

Line 12Ba of this fragment can be reconstructed as *.ida ayaṃ pra(ñā)*, with a typical abstract noun in *-da* (Skt *-tā*) preceding *ayaṃ*.

13) AF A1

The first line of this fragment (13Aa) remains completely obscure. In the second line (13Ab), we have the clear conclusion of a passage on understanding and the beginning of the conclusion of the overall section: *ayaṃ prañā ° ime* (of the vowel mark on *me*, only the very base is visible where it attaches to the left arm of the *ma*).

On the other side of the fragment, the first line (13Ba) preserves two recognizable word elements, but their exact relation to each other (separate words or compound) and the rest of the clause remain unclear. The numeral *pañca* (Skt *pañca*) ‘five’ is followed by what is either *varṣi* or *varṣe*. We prefer the former reading as it allows us to read the Gāndhārī form *pañcavarṣi* of a fairly common compound Skt *pañcavarṣika* or *pañcavarṣiya* ‘five years old’ or ‘occurring every five years.’ Whether this in turn should be joined to the following akṣara to give *pañcavarṣida* (Skt *pañcavarṣikatā*) ‘state of being five years old or occurring every five years’ and then *ṇama* (Skt *nāma*) ‘indeed,’ or whether we should rather separate *pañcavarṣi daṇa* (Skt *pañcavarṣikaṃ dānam*) ‘gift on a fifth anniversary’ or *pañcavarṣi daṇama* with incomplete second word is quite uncertain. The second line contains five akṣaras of unclear meaning that seem to belong to two separate words, one ending in *ṇiye*, the other starting with *pravi*.

14) AF A4

The first line on one side of this fragment (14Aa) carries the remains of a number sign *10 4* which could have formed any number between 14 (*10 4*) and 19 (*10 4 4 1*) and, by regular omission of hundreds, could have signified this number added to any multiple of one hundred. The number sign appears to be preceded by a punctuation sign in the form of a small circle. The other side of the fragment contains, in its second line (14Bb), what we very tentatively read as *kṣati*. The identity of the preceding akṣara remains unclear, but it appears to carry a vowel mark *i* or *e* and, in any case, cannot be interpreted as common *ya* or *ayaṃ*.

15) MS 2179/29a

This is the first preserved fragment from the Buddhas Section of our Bhk manuscript. Nothing remains of the descriptions of the first eighty-eight buddhas.

(aṃgayasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° traye yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama pu)(15r1)tro ° **prañacuḍo ṇama vaṭṭha**(ya °) + + + + (ṇama pramāṇamantaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamantaṇa agro ° varṣasahasro ayupramaṇo ° ṇavadi koḍi śravagaṇa prathame saṃnipade ° aśiti koḍi dudiye ° satadi koḍi tridiye ° duvadaśa va)(15r2)**rṣasahasra sadharmavasthiti ° vestha**(riga śarira 4 4 1)

“89: The native country of the tathāgata Aṃgaya is called + + + + His radiance extends three yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Prañacuḍa. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is a thousand years. Nine hundred million listeners are in his first assembly; eight hundred million in the second; seven hundred million in the third. The duration of the good dharma is twelve thousand years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 57c4–57c10.

虛空如來所生土地。城名愛居。其佛光明照百二十里。君子種父名根施母字天豪。子曰水天。侍者曰智結。上首智慧弟子曰上意。神足弟子曰法首。一會說經九十億弟子集。二會八十億。三會七十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽千歲。正法存立萬二千歲。舍利普流遍布十方。

D 119a6–b1.

| de bzin gśegs pa yan lag skyes skye ba'i yul ni gnas dga' zes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad gsum mo || yab ni dbaṅ po'i mtshon cha zes bya'o || yum ni lha mo'i dbaṅ phyug ces bya'o || **sras ni** chu lha'i lha zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni śes rab gtsug ces bya'o** || śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni blo gros bla ma zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni chos dpal zes bya'o || 'dus pa daṅ po la ni ṇān thos duṅ phyur phrag dgu'o || gñis pa la ni duṅ phyur phrag brgyad do || gsum pa la ni duṅ phyur phrag bdun no || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoṅ ṇo || **dam pa'i chos ni lo khri** ṇis stoṅ gi **bar du gnas** so || sku gduṅ ni **rgyas par** 'gyur ro |

The buddha that forms the subject of this section has two name variants in Weller's list (see introduction): Aṅgaja and Aṅgada. The former of these variants is supported by the evidence of the Tibetan (Yan lag skyes) and, indirectly, the Chinese: 虛空 is a translation equivalent of Skt *ākāśa* 'space.' The Gāndhārī pronunciation of this word, after regular voicing of medial consonants, would have been [a.ja.jə], with the possible spelling *agaśa* (so attested in Nird^{L2}; Baums 2009). Since anusvāras are commonly omitted in Kharoṣṭhī orthography and *ya* and *śa* came to assume an identical shape (both properties of the Bhk hand), the name spelling *Agaya (Skt Aṅgaja) could thus easily have been mistaken for *Agaśa (Skt Ākāśa). We therefore reconstruct (*aṃgayasaya*) (with anusvāra for clarity).

The name of the attendant is given as Prañacuḍa (Skt Prajñācūḍa), which agrees well with the Tibetan translation Śes rab gtsug, but less well with the Chinese translation 智結. It is difficult to find semantic agreement between G *cuḍa* and Chin. 結, and it is worth considering whether the Chinese syllable (Old Northwest Chinese pronunciation *kêt; Coblin 1994: 346–347) was not meant as a transcription of the Gāndhārī sound. For the form 15r1 *vaṭha(ya)* (Skt *upasthāyakaḥ*) with apheresis and contraction of the termination compare *vaṭhayaga* and *vaṭhaye* in the Central Asian Gāndhārī documents (Burrow 1937: 118), but *uvaṭhayaga* in the story collection Av^{L1} (Lenz 2010).

The ‘persistence of the dharma’ (15r2 *sadharmavastīti*, Skt *saddharmāvasthitiḥ*) is translated into subject-predicate constructions in the Chinese (正法存立) and the Tibetan (*dam pa'i chos ni ... gnas so*). In this passage, the translations agree that the dharma will persist for twelve thousand years, and we accordingly reconstruct 15r1–2 (*duvadaśa va*)*rṣasahasra*.

Out of the two general possibilities, the relics of the buddha *Aṃgaya are ‘scattered’ (Tib. *rgyas par 'gyur ro*) or ‘completely scattered everywhere in the ten directions’ (Chin. 普流遍布十方). The partially preserved Gāndhārī expression can be reconstructed as 15r2 *vesta(riga śarira)* (Skt *vaistārikāṇi śarīrāṇi*).

(amidabudhisya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° sata yoviṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama va)(15r3)ṭhaya <°> **citarudo ṇama prañamamṭaṇa** (agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro ° varṣakoḍi ayupramaṇo ° satadi koḍi śravagaṇa prathame samṇipade ° paṃcaśa koḍi dudiye ° capariśa koḍi tridiye ° ṣo varṣakoḍi sadharmavaṭhidi °) (15r4) **vestariga śarira 20 20 20 20 10**

“90: The native country of the tathāgata Amidabudha is called + + + + His radiance extends seven yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called Citaruda. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is ten million years. Seven hundred million listeners are in his first assembly; five hundred million in the second; four hundred million in the third. The duration of the good dharma is sixty million years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 57c11–57c17.

無量覺如來所生土地。城名善蓋。其佛光明照三百八十里。梵志種父名生明眼母字龍施子曰妙好。侍者曰賢天。上首**智慧弟子曰心音**。神足弟子曰大枝步。一會說經七十億。二會五十億。三會四十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽億歲。正法存立六十億歲。**舍利普流遍布十方**。

D 119b1–4.

| de bzin gśegs pa blo mtha' yas skye ba'i yul ni me tog gi gdugs zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun no || yab ni mig dmar zes bya'o || yum ni klus byin zes bya'o || sras ni mdzes pa zes bya'o || **rim gro pa** ni lha bzañs zes bya'o || **śes rab can rnams kyi** mchog ni **sgra sñan zes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni dal 'gro zes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan

thos duñ phyur phrag bdun no || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag lña'o || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur
phrag bzi'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo bye ba'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo bye ba phrag drug gi bar du gnas
so || **sku gduñ ni rgyas par** 'gyur ro |

Our reconstruction of the buddha name as Amidabudhi is directly supported by Weller's form Amitabuddhi as well as the Chinese (無量覺) and Tibetan translations (Blo mtha' yas).

The follower of the buddha 'foremost among those in understanding' is expressed as 15r3 *prañamaṃtaṇa (agro)* (Skt *prajñāmatām agraḥ*) in our manuscript. Both the Tibetan and the Chinese translate this quite literally as *śes rab can rnams kyi mchog* and 上首智慧弟子 'most excellent student of wisdom.' In the case of this buddha, his name is given as Citaruda. The Chinese and Tibetan translations reflect two different interpretations of this name, 心音 corresponding to Skt Cittaruta, sGra sñan apparently to Citraruta. The spelling of our manuscript favors the former interpretation.

The section ends with the number signs 20 20 20 20 10, breaking off at the left edge of the fragment. We cannot be entirely sure that no further number signs followed, but since the general convention of the manuscript is to only write whole decades in full and abbreviate all intermediate number signs to the units, it is very likely that the intended number is indeed 90, agreeing with the sequential position of this buddha in the Tibetan translation.

++++ (tathagadasya) ++++ (ṇama jadabhumi °) ++++ (yoviṇa prabha °) +++ (jadiye °) +
+++ (ṇama pida °) ++++ (ṇama mada °) ++++ (ṇama putro °) ++++ (ṇama vaṭṭhaya °) +++
+ (ṇa)(15r5)ma **prañamaṃta**(ṇa agro °) ++++ (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro °) +++++
(ayupramaṇo °) +++++ (prathame samṇipade °) +++++ (dudiye °) ++++ (tridiye °) ++++
++ (sadharmavaṭṭhidi ° ekaghaṇa śarira ° eko) (15v1) (th)ubo 2

T. 57c18–57c24.

善顏如來所生土地。城名威氏。其佛光明照五百二十里。君子種父名樂音母字樂氏。子曰
所在吉。侍者曰上與。上首智慧弟子曰福慧。神足弟子曰無懼。一會說經七億弟子集。二
會九億。三會十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽三千歲。正法存立萬六千歲。舍利并合興一
大寺。

T. 57c25–58a2.

聖慧如來所生土地。城名善清白。其佛光明照五百六十里。梵志種父名伊師檀母字離塵。
子曰勇猛。侍者曰名阿難。上首智慧弟子曰意行。神足弟子曰須達。一會說經二十二億弟
子集。二會二十一億。三會二十億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽二萬八千歲。正法存立六萬
歲。舍利并合興一大寺。

D 119b4–6.

| de bzin gśegs pa gzugs bzañ skye ba'i yul ni gzi brjid can zes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni
dpag tshad bcu gsum mo || yab ni dga' ba'i dbaṇ phyug ces bya'o || yum ni dga' ldan ma zes bya'o
|| sras ni 'gro don grub ces bya'o || rim gro pa ni bla mas byin zes bya'o || **śes rab can rnams kyi**

mchog ni bsod nams rgya chen **žes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnam ki mchog ni bag mi tsha ba žes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag bdun no || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag dgu'o || gsum pa la ni ther 'bum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo sum khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo khri drug stoñ gi bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || **mchod rten** yañ gcig tu zad do |

D 119b6–120a2.

| de bzin gsegs pa mkhyen ldan skye ba'i yul ni bde ba bkod pa žes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad bcu bzi'o || yab ni drañ sroñ byin žes bya'o || yum ni rdul bral žes bya'o || sras ni dpa' bo žes bya'o || rim gro pa ni kun dga' bo žes bya'o || **šes rab can rnam ki mchog ni** spyod pa **žes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnam ki mchog ni des pa žes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag gñis dañ bye ba phrag gñis so || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag gñis dañ bye ba phrag gcig go || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag gñis so || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo ñi khri brgyad stoñ ño || dam pa'i chos ni lo drug khri'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || **mchod rten** yañ gcig tu zad do |

Judging from the available space, here the scribe of our manuscript either accidentally skipped section *91 (on the buddha *Suruva), or he skipped from within that section to the next section (that on the buddha *Ñañi) and in effect amalgamated the two. The fact that the section that we have, coming immediately after section 90 in our manuscript, carries the number <9>2 (which on the Chinese and Tibetan evidence belonged to *Ñañi) rather than adjusted *91, shows that our scribe was working from a written exemplar that already contained section numbering.

The conclusion of the section agrees with the information given by the translations for both of the two buddhas in question: they each had a single stūpa. The Chinese expression is 興一大寺 'they raised one large stūpa,' and the Tibetan *mchod rten yañ gcig tu zad do* 'the stūpa also was in one piece.' On the basis of these translations and with the support of 19v3 *eko thubo*, we reconstruct 15r5–v1 (*eko thubo*) (but compare also 16r4 *ekaghaṇo thubo* in a metrical passage).

ra(ś)m(isa tathagadasya veḍuryaprabha ṇama jadabhumi ° triaṣīti yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jadye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭṭhaya °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṇṭaṇa) (15v2) **agro** ° **datamitro ṇa**(ma irdhimamṭaṇa agro ° aṣīti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° duvaṣīti koḍi śravagaṇa prathame samṇipade ° sataaṣīti koḍi dudiye ° ṣaaṣīti koḍi tridiye ° triṃśa varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhidi ° vestariga) (15v3) **śarira 3**

“93: The native country of the tathāgata Raśmi is called + + + + His radiance extends eighty-three yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty thousand years. Eight hundred and twenty million listeners are in his first assembly; eight hundred and seventy million in the second; eight hundred and sixty in the third. The duration of the good dharma is thirty thousand years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 58a3–58a9.

光明如來所生土地。城名琉璃光。其佛光明照三千三百二十里。君子種父名愛敬母字意樂。子曰愛光。侍者曰園觀。上首智慧弟子曰樂愛。神足弟子曰調友。一會說經八十二億弟子集。二會八十七億。三會八十六億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽萬歲。正法存立三千歲。舍利普流遍布十方。

D 120a2–5.

| de bzin gśegs pa 'od zer skye ba'i yul ni bai dūrya'i 'od ces bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad brgyad cu rtsa gsum mo || yab ni phan par dga' zes bya'o || yum ni yid dga' zes bya'o || sras ni yid smon zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni chog dga' zes bya'o || śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni 'phags dgyes dga' zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni **dul ba'i bśes gñen zes bya'o** || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag gñis dañ bye ba phrag brgyad do || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag brgyad dañ bye ba phrag bdun no || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag brgyad dañ bye ba phrag drug go || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo brgyad khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo sum khri'i bar du gnas so || **sku gduñ** ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

Our reconstruction of the partially preserved buddha name Ra(ś)m(i) is directly supported by Weller's list (Raśmi) as well as the Chinese (光明) and Tibetan translations ('Od zer).

The follower of the buddha 'foremost among those in supernormal power' is expressed as 15v2 (*irdhimamṭaṇa agro*) (Skt *ṛddhimatām agraḥ*) in our manuscript. The literal Tibetan translation is *rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog*, the Chinese translation 神足弟子 '(most excellent) student of spiritual power.' His name is preserved as Datamitra. The Chinese (調友) and Tibetan (*Dul ba'i bśes gñen*) translations show that this should be interpreted as Skt Dāntamitra (rather than Dattamitra, another possibility of the Kharoṣṭhī orthography).

driḍhabradasya tathaga(dasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° yoviṇo prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhayo °) + + + + (ṇama prañamamṭa)(15v4)**ṇa agro ° masura ṇama irdhimamṭa**(ṇa agro ° varṣakoḍi ayupramaṇo ° koḍiśado śravagaṇa prathame saṃṇipade ° sataṇavadi koḍi dudiye ° paṃcaṇavadi koḍi tridiye ° capariśa varṣakoḍi sadharmavaṭhidi ° vestariga śarira 4)

“94: The native country of the tathāgata Driḍhabhadra is called + + + + His radiance extends a yojana. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called Masura. His lifespan is ten million years. One billion listeners are in his first assembly; nine hundred and seventy million in the second; nine hundred and fifty million in the third. The duration of the good dharma is four hundred million years. His relics are dispersed.”

T. 58a10–58a16.

堅誓如來所生土地。城名日遊。其佛光明照四十里。梵志種父名天愛母字善意音。子曰尊

寶。侍者曰柔音。上首智慧弟子曰言施。神足弟子曰柔軟。一會說經百億弟子集。二會九十七億。三會九十五億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽一億歲。正法存立四十億歲。舍利并合興一大寺。

D 120a5–120b1.

| **de bzin gsegs pa brtul śugs brtan** skye ba'i yul ni ñi ma 'dod ces bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad gcig go || yab ni lha dga' zes bya'o || yum ni ña ro yid bzañ zes bya'o || sras ni dbaṅ phyug byin zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni yid 'oñ ña ro zes bya'o || śes rab can rnam ki **mchog ni** ñi mas byin zes bya'o || **rdzu 'phrul can rnam** ki mchog ni **sbrañ rtsi zes bya'o** || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos ther 'bum mo || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag dgu dañ bye ba phrag bdun no || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag dgu dañ bye ba phrag lña'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo bye ba'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo duñ phyur phrag bzi'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The preserved buddha name Driḍhabrada agrees with Weller's list (Dṛḍhavrata) as well as the Chinese (堅誓) and Tibetan translations (if the Derge text is adjusted to brTul žugs brtan). His follower foremost among those in supernormal power is called Masura (Skt Madhura), agreeing in principle with both the Chinese (柔軟) and Tibetan (*sBrañ rtsi*) translations. We note, however, that the Chinese more commonly translates Skt *mṛdu* 'soft,' and that a certain confusion or conflation of Skt *madhu* and *mṛdu* has been previously observed in connection with the Buddhist Sanskrit plant name *madhugandhika* / *mṛdugandhika* (BHSD s.v.).¹³ It has been suggested that a (partial) phonetic merger of these terms in Gāndhārī may be at the root of the confusion (von Hinüber 1985: 72–73). In general, however, intervocalic *dh* [dʰ] > *s* [z] and *d* [d] > *d* [ḍ] remain distinct in Gāndhārī—as also in this name in our manuscript—and if indeed the Buddhist Sanskrit confusion does go back to Middle Indo-Aryan, then another dialect than Gāndhārī would seem to have formed the basis.

(15v5) **maṅgalisya tathagadasya p(r)iya** + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° satadi yoviṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhaya °) + + + + (prañamantaṇa agro °) + + + + (irdhimantaṇa agro ° paṃcaīśa varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° paṃcaīśa koḍi śravagaṇa prathame saṃṇipade ° aṭhacapariśa koḍi dudiye ° śacapariśa koḍi tridiye ° vestariga śarira 4 1)

“95: The native country of the tathāgata Maṅgali is called Priya + + His brilliance extends seventy yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is fifty thousand years. Five hundred million listeners are in his first assembly; four hundred and eighty million in the second; four hundred and sixty in the third. His relics are dispersed.”

¹³ Also the Indian tradition connected the two words, cf. *Harivaṃśa* 42.18c: *mṛdus tv ayaṃ madhur nama*. (We thank Oskar von Hinüber for bringing this passage to our attention.)

T. 58a17–58a23.

吉祥如來所生土地城名母愛。其佛光明照二百八十里。梵志種父名錦王母字華元。子曰無量手。侍者曰養友。上首智慧弟子曰法事。神足弟子曰勝友。一會說經五十億弟子集。二會八十二億。三會八十六億。皆得道證。佛在世時人壽五萬歲。正法存立億歲。舍利普流遍布十方。

D 120b1–3.

| **de bzin gsegs pa bkra śis** skye ba'i yul ni **dga' 'dul** zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun cu'o || yab ni sems kyi rgyal po zes bya'o || yum ni me tog 'od ces bya'o || sras ni mtha' yas lag ces bya'o || rim gro pa ni bśes gñen rgyal po zes bya'o || śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni chos kyi 'byuñ gnas zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni rnam par rgyal ba'i bśes gñen zes bya'o || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos duñ phyur phrag lña'o || gñis pa la ni duñ phyur phrag bži dañ bye ba phrag brgyad do || gsum pa la ni duñ phyur phrag bži dañ bye ba phrag drug go || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo lña khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo bye ba'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The preserved buddha name Maṃgali agrees with Weller's list (Maṅgalin) as well as the Chinese (吉祥) and Tibetan (bkra śis) translations. This is one of only two passages (the other being 19v2 *ugamasa tathagadasa*) preserving the buddhas' title *tathagadasya* (Skt *tathāgatasya*).

This fragment also preserves part of the specification of Maṃgali's birthplace. The term in question—reconstructed here, but preserved in 16v2 and 19r2—is *jadabhumī* (Skt *jātabhūmīḥ*), rather than expected **jadibhumi* (Skt *jātibhūmīḥ*). For this use of *jāta-* in compound, cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *jātamaha* in place of *jātimaha* (BHSD s.v.). The name of the birthplace is partially preserved, and the Chinese (母愛) and Tibetan (dGa' 'dul) translations allow us to reconstruct its prior member as *p(r)iya* (Skt *priya-*). The lost second member remains obscure as its translations do not appear to agree with each other.

16) HG 45

This fragment contains the remains of five buddha sections in verse, all of which are also in verse in the Tibetan translation. From here onwards, the Chinese translation is no longer available and we have to rely on the Tibetan alone for our reconstructions. The verse passages do employ some recurring building blocks (see introduction), but are overall much less rigidly formulaic than the prose passages, and thus further limit our ability to restore lost text.

++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) **(16r1)** ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
(16r2) ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)

++++++(◦) + ? **vesthari(ga)** +++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)

D 212a7–212b3.

| de bzin gśegs pa seṅ ge'i sde dag gi || skye ba'i yul ni bzod par dka' zes bya |
 | rgyal ba'i rigs ni bram ze 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad brgyad yod mchod sbyin bzañ po yab |
 | 'phags pa'i 'od ces bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po 'brug sgra tog ni rim gro pa |
 | dpa' stobs can zes bya ba mkhas pa ste || seṅ ge'i stabs kyis 'gro ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs drug cu drug kun la'añ || mchod pa mchog gis mchod par 'os pa po |
 | dgra bcom tha spañs ther 'bum ther 'bum yod || mi tshe lo grañs sum khri drug stoñ yin |
 | gzuñ ba med par phyin pa'i dam chos dag || lo grañs ñi khri bži stoñ bar du gnas |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduñ dag ni **rgyas** 'gyur la || mchod rten bye ba 'bum phrag dgu bcu dgu |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved. On the basis of Weller's list (Siṃhasena) and the Tibetan translation (Seṅ ge'i sde) we can reconstruct *Sihasena, but the placement of this name in the verse remains uncertain. The only preserved word from what appears to have been a sequence of four stanzas is 16r2 *vesthari(ga)*, indicating (in agreement with the Tibetan translation) that the relics of the buddha *Sihasena were scattered. The minute tip of a foot preceding this may (or may not) have belonged to a *ra* (as in the word *śarira*).

++++++(◦) (**16r3**) +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(camdrim)**dro** |
ṇakṣatraraja mada jñasya (◦) +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)
 (**16r4**) +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) +++++++(◦)
ekaghaṇo thubo jñasya ◦ **ra(dāṇa)** +++++++(◦)
 +++++++(◦) (**16r5**) +++++++(◦)

D 212b3–6.

| sems can sñiñ po nor lha'i bu skye ba'i || yul ni gzi brjid 'byuñ ba zes kyañ bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || sum cu rtša gñis **zla ba'i dbaṅ po** yab |
 | **rgyu skar rgyal po rgyal yum** sras po ni || legs 'oñs pañ nas skyes pa rim gro pa |
 | lha yi 'od ces bya ba mkhas pa ste || lha yi mig ces bya ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs dgu bcu kun la yañ || dgra bcom bsod nams 'bras bu mchog thob pa |
 | bye ba phrag ni bdun cu gñis gñis yod || mi tshe lo grañs dgu khri bži stoñ yin |
 | srid pa ži bar phyin pa'i dam chos dag || lo grañs dgu khri ñis stoñ bar du gnas |
 | **rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten gcig yin te** || dpag tshad lña pa **rin po che** yis spras |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Vāsava) and the Tibetan translation (Nor lha'i bu) we can confidently reconstruct, though not place in its

pāda, *Vasava. The last akṣara of the first stanza (marked by a daṇḍa punctuation mark) is 16r3 *dro*, and the Tibetan translation makes it likely that this belonged to the name of the father of this buddha (Zla ba'i dbaṅ po) which can then be reconstructed as (Caṃdrim)dro.

The beginning of the second stanza provides the name of the mother: 16r3 *ṇakṣatrarāja mada jīnasya* (Skt *nakṣatrarājā mātā jīnasya*) 'the mother of the conqueror was called Nakṣatrarāja.' The Tibetan translation confirms this, but curiously gives the name of the mother the masculine form rGyu skar rgyal po, presumably misled by the well-known buddha and bodhisattva name Skt Nakṣatrarāja (BHSD s.v.). If our reconstruction of the preceding passage on the buddha's father was correct, then this passage on his mother shows that in the verse passages, even the word order of such parallel formulations was not fixed, but rather obeyed the (obscure) metrical requirements of its position in the verse.

The beginning of the fourth stanza informs us that the stūpa of the buddha was in one mass: 16r4 *ekaghaṇo thubo jīnasya* (Skt *ekaghaṇaḥ stūpo jīnasya*). This agrees precisely with the third pāda of the fourth stanza of the Tibetan translation (*rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten gcig yin te*), supporting our reconstruction of this section's division into verses and pādas. It seems likely that the following akṣara *ra* corresponds to *rin po che* in the Tibetan, leading us to tentatively reconstruct 16r4 *ra(daṇa)* at the beginning of pāda b. We noted, however, that as a rule pādas have trochaic cadences, making a Sanskrit form *ra(tna)* a plausible alternative.

+++++ (◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (maha)rdha |
yaśapuyida mada jīṇa(sya ◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (|)
(16v1) ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (koḍisaha)sra ◊ **ayu ṇaraṇa aśīti ṇiy**(uda |)
 ++++++ (◊) ++++++ (◊)
 ++++++ (◊) **(16v2)** ++++++ (|)

D 212b6–213a1.

| mtshuṅs pa med pa grags pa skye ba yi || yul ni mchod pa dag gis brgyan ṅes bya |
 | rgyal ba'i rigs ni rgyal rigs 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad dgu yod yab ni **'byor ldan** yin |
 | **grags mchog ma ṅes bya ba rgyal yum** || sras po skar ldan legs byin rim gro pa |
 | mthu rtsal zla ba ṅes bya mkhas pa ste || mtha' yas 'od ces bya ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa dag ni lan graṅs brgyad cu ste || kun la'aṅ chags pa med par gyur de dag |
 | **bye ba phrag ni stoṅ stoṅ** 'dus par 'gyur || **mi tshe lo** graṅ bdun khri sum stoṅ yin |
 | 'gro la phan phyir dam pa'i chos dag kyaṅ || lo graṅs dgu khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur |
 | rgyal ba yoṅs su mya ṇan 'das nas kyaṅ || sku gduñ rgyas 'gyur mchod rten bye ba stoṅ |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Yaśas) and the Tibetan translation (Grags pa) we can reconstruct *Yaśa. Just as the preceding section, this section gives the name of the father at the very end of the first stanza, and the name of the mother

(also using the same formulation as in the preceding section) at the beginning of the second stanza. On the basis of the Tibetan translation 'Byor ldan, we can reconstruct the Gāndhārī name of the father as (Maha)rdha (Skt Maharddha). The mother's name is preserved as Yaśapuyida (Skt Yaśahpujītā), differing in its second element from her name in the Tibetan translation (Grags mchog).

Each of the assemblies of the buddha Yaśa according to the beginning of the third stanza contained a thousand times ten million followers, expressed as 16v1 (*koḍisaha*)sra (Skt *koṭisahasram*) in the Gāndhārī and as *bye ba phrag ni stoṅ stoṅ* in the Tibetan. The following pāda specifies the lifespan of men, and we very tentatively reconstruct 16v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti ṇiy(uda)* (Skt *āyur narāṇām aśītir ṇiyutāni*). One problem is that the value of Skt *niyuta* is not well-defined, but one million is a common interpretation (MW, BHSD s.v.). The other problem is that the Tibetan translation in any case specifies the much lower number *bdun khri sum stoṅ* = 73,000. Keeping further in mind that *ṇiyuda* is in fact nowhere unambiguously preserved in our fragments, the degree of uncertainty of our reconstruction becomes clear. The fact remains, however, that no other numeral exists that starts with the required syllable *ṇi* and would fit into the pāda.

(jayasya logaṇa)thasya ° durjaya ṇama jadabhumi (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) (16v3) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (sa)hasra ° ayu ṇaraṇa aśiti (sahasra °)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) (16v4) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (4) 4 1

D 213a1–4.

| 'jig rten mgon po rgyal ba skye ba yi || yul ni rgyal bar dka' ba zes kyañ bya |
 | rigs ni rgyal rigs yin te 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad ñi khri dbaṅ po chen po yab |
 | rgyags sred ma zes bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po rnam ñes zla ba rim gro pa |
 | chos kyi 'gros zes bya ba mkhas pa ste || phyir zin legs par sems pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs brgyad cu rtsa bzi ste || kun la'añ dgra bcom legs par tshogs pa'i graṅs |
 | bye ba phrag ni 'bum 'bum 'dus par 'gyur || mi tshe lo graṅs dag ni dgu khri yin |
 | dam chos lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoṅ gnas || rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten gcig yin te |
 | dpag tshad gsum pa gser gyi bla rer ldan || rta babs bye ba stoṅ phrag bcu yañ |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Jaya) and the Tibetan translation (rGyal ba) we can reconstruct *Jaya. The title 16v2 (*logaṇa*)thasya (Skt *lokanāthasya*) 'protector of the world' occurs only here among our fragments, but is confirmed by the Tibetan translation 'jig rten mgon po. The name of the birthplace of the buddha is specified in the second pāda: 16v2 *durjaya ṇama jadabhumi* (Skt *durjayā nāma jātabhūmiḥ*) 'the birthplace is called Durjaya,' in agreement with the Tibetan translation (rGyal bar dka' ba).

The beginning of the third stanza gives the number of assemblies of the buddha Jaya. The number word is only partially preserved and ends in 16v3 (*sa*)*hasra*. This does not agree with the Tibetan, which gives the much lower number eighty-four (*brgyad cu rtsa bži*). In the following pāda, we reconstruct the lifespan of men as 16v3 *aśiti* (*sahasra*) (Skt *aśītiḥ sahasrāṇi*) with some support from the number in the Tibetan translation which, even though it does not agree precisely (*dgu khri*), is in the same general range.

budhasya uraḍa(garbhasya °) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) **(16v5)** + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + ? + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)
(r1) + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + + (|)

D 213a4–7.

| **de bzin gsegs pa rgya chen sñiñ po** yi || skye ba'i yul ni mchod pa mtha' yas yin |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa gñis yab ni legs rtogs yin |
 | thar 'dod ma zes bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po legs grol nam grol rim gro pa |
 | sa yi 'od ces bya ba mkhas pa ste || bdud mams phuñ bar byed pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs brgyad cu kun la yañ || mkha' dañ mtshuñs pa'i sems thob drañ sroñ dag |
 | bye ba phrag ni dgu bcu gñis gñis yod || mi tshe lo grañs ñi khri bži stoñ yin |
 | dam pa'i chos dag lo grañs chig 'bum dañ || ñi khri chig stoñ bar du gnas par 'gyur |
 | sku gduñ mchod rten dpag tshad lña pa gcig || gtsug gi nor bu stoñ phrag sñed kyañ sbyañs |

Weller's list and the Tibetan translation agree in giving the name of the buddha of this section as Udāragarbha and rGya chen sñiñ po, respectively. The remains of the name in our manuscript do not allow us to reconstruct **udara-*, but are consistent with a reading *uraḍa-*. This is in fact the attested spelling of the word in verses 24 and 32 of the Gāndhārī *Khaḍgaviṣṇāṇasūtra* (ed. Salomon 2000), and fragment 20, line 6 of the Senior collection similarly has *oraḍi* (Skt *audārika-*; cf. Marino 2015: 94). The consonant pattern *-r-ḍ-* is thus regular in the Gāndhārī reflexes of this word family (though not exclusive, cf. *odariaṇa* in British Library verse commentary II, ed. Baums 2009, and cf. further the different but similarly irregular development in Pali *uḷāra*, *oḷārika*). In this section, the title of the buddha is quite simply 16v4 *budhasya* (Skt *buddhasya*). The remainder of the section is lost.

17) HI 4, 7, MS 2179/36, 130t

(17r1) (sacaraśisya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° sata yoviṇaśada prabha ° kṣatriyo jadye ° vimalakirti ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro ° dha)**rmaghoṣo**
ṇama vaṭhayo ° akhali(tacito ṇama prañamamṭaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro °

pañcaśaṭhi varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° pañcaśa arahasamṇipada ° pañcaśada gasasahasra sarve ° vesta)(17r2)riga śarira ° ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra (sadharmavaṭhidi 4 3)

“627: The native country of the tathāgata Sacaraśi is called + + + + His brilliance extends seven hundred yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called Vimalakirti. His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Dharmaghoṣa. The foremost in understanding is called Akhalitacita. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is sixty-five thousand years. He has fifty assemblies of arhats; five hundred thousand verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is sixty thousand years.”

D 218a2–5.

| de bzin gsegs pa bden pa'i phuñ po skye ba'i yul ni bden pa'i tog ces bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun brgya'o || yab ni dri ma med par grags pa zes bya'o | yum ni chos mthoñ ma zhes bya'o || sras ni rnam par snañ byed ces bya'o || **rim gro pa ni chos dbyañs zes bya'o** || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni **'khrul med sems** zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni mñam pa dañ mi mñam pa lta ba zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan lña bcu ste | thams cad la yañ lña 'bum lña 'bum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo drug khri lña stoñ ño || dam pa'i chos ni **lo** dgu khri ñis **stoñ** gi bar du gnas so || **sku gduñ ni rgyas par** 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Satyarāśi) and the Tibetan translation (bDen pa'i phuñ po) we can reconstruct *Sacaraśi. The name of his attendant can be reconstructed 17r1 (*dha*)rmaghoṣo (Skt Dharmaghoṣa), and that of his foremost in understanding as 17r1 *akhali(tacito)* (Skt Askhalitacitta), both supported by the Tibetan translations (Chos dbyañs and 'Khrul med sems). The relics of the buddha *Sacaraśi are scattered as in the Tibetan translation: 17r1–2 (*vesta*)riga. In the duration of the dharma, however, our manuscript differs from the Tibetan: the Gāndhārī number is completely preserved as 17r2 *ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra* (Skt *ṣaṣṭir varṣasahasrāṇi*) 'sixty thousand years,' whereas the Tibetan has *dgu khri ñis stoñ* 'ninety-two thousand years.' This difference of numbers, while staying in the same general range, reminds us of the situation in the fourth section on fragment no. 16.

(susvarasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° ṣoḍa)śa **yoviṇa** (prabha ° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17r3) **putro** <°> **sudarśaṇa ṇama vaṭhay**(o °) + + + + (ṇama prañamaṇṭaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro) ° **aśiti varṣa**(sahasra ayupramaṇo ° satadi arahasamṇipada ° daśa koḍi gasaṇa sarve ° vestariga śarira ° a) (17r4)śiti varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭh(id)i 4 4

“628: The native country of the tathāgata Susvara is called + + + + His brilliance extends sixteen yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Sudarśana. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty thousand years. He has

seventy assemblies of arhats; one hundred million verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is eighty thousand years.”

D 218b5–7.

| de bzin gśegs pa dbyaṅs sñan skye ba'i yul ni yul 'khor yul bzaṅs źes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so
|| 'od ni **dpag tshad bcu drug go** || yab ni mthu rtsal spyod ces bya'o || yum ni chos ldan ma źes
bya'o || **sras** ni ston dga' źes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni legs mthoñ źes bya'o** || śes rab can rnams kyi
mchog ni tog chen źes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni blo mchog ces bya'o || dgra
bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan bdun cu ste | thams cad la yañ duñ phyur duñ phyur ro || sku tše'i tshad ni
lo brgyad khri'o || **dam pa'i chos kyañ lo brgyad khri'i bar du gnas so** || sku gduñ ni rgyas par
'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Susvara) and the Tibetan translation (dByaṅs sñan) we can reconstruct *Susvara. The brilliance of this buddha *Susvara extends (as reconstructed with the help of the Tibetan) for sixteen yojanas: 17r2 (*ṣoḍaśa yoviṇa* (*prabha*) (Skt *ṣoḍaśa yojanāni prabhā*). It is not entirely clear whether we should read two words (*ṣoḍaśa yoviṇa* (the brilliance 'is' sixteen yojanas) or a bahuvrīhi compound (*ṣoḍaśayoviṇa* (the brilliance 'has' sixteen yojanas). We opted for the former alternative because its simplicity seems more in line with the general style of the text and also because it agrees with the construction of the Tibetan (though of course cross-linguistic syntactic comparison carries limited weight). A peculiarity of the word *yoviṇa* here and elsewhere in our text is its medial *v*. The basis of an explanation are the regular Gāndhārī sound changes *j* [j] > [j̥] and palatalization of following *a* [a] to [i], which would lead us to expect a spelling **yoyiṇa*. It seems, however, that between a labial and a palatal vowel, the notation of either a labial or a palatal glide is orthographically equivalent, and that our scribe chose the former of these options to write *yoviṇa*.

The name of the attendant is preserved as 17r3 Sudarśaṇa (Skt Sudarśana), agreeing with the Tibetan translation Legs mthoñ. The lifespan of men is expressed as 17r3 *aśiti varṣa* (*sahasra ayupramaṇo*) (Skt *aśītir varṣasahasrāṇy āyupramāṇam*), a number that agrees with the Tibetan, as does the following specification of the duration of the dharma as, likewise, 17r3–4 (*aśiti varṣa-sahasra*. The section concludes with a preserved number 17r4 4 4, which in view of the position of this buddha in the Tibetan translation and in Weller's list we probably have to interpret as <62>8 with omitted hundreds and tens.

giriṇaṃ + (sya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi °) **yoviṇasahas**(ra prabha ° brahmaṇo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17r5) (p)**utro** ° **śrudasaṃcayo ṇamo vañhaya** ° **ñāṇasaṃca**(yo ṇama prañamantaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimam)**taṇa agro** ° **cadura**(śiti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° aśiti arahasaṃnipada ° ekaghaṇa śarira ° ekaghaṇo thub)(17v1)**o** ° **caturaśiti varṣasahasra sadharmavañhiti** (4 4 1)

“(629:) The native country of the tathāgata Giriṇaṃ + is called + + + + His brilliance extends a thousand yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + +

+ His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Śrudasaṃcaya. The foremost in understanding is called Ānasaṃcaya. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty-four thousand years. He has eighty assemblies of arhats. His relics are in one mass. There is one stūpa. The duration of the good dharma is eighty-four thousand years.”

D 218b7–219a3.

| de bzin gsegs pa **ri dbaṅ mtshuṅs** skye ba'i yul ni sna tshogs rjes su || 'brel ba zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni **dpag tshad stoṅ ṅo** || yab ni bkod pa'i rgyal po zes bya'o || yum ni bkod pa mtha' yas ma zes bya'o || **sras** ni bkod pa chen po zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni thos pa bstsags zes bya'o** || śes rab can rnams kyi mchog ni ye **śes bstsags** zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi **mchog** ni nor sbyin gsal zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan brgyad cu'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo brgyad khri **bḥi** stoṅ ṅo || **dam pa'i chos** kyaṅ **lo brgyad khri bḥi stoṅ gi bar du gnas so** || sku gduṅ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || mchod rten yaṅ gcig tu zad do |

In this section, Weller's list (Girīndrakalpa) and the Tibetan translation (Ri dbaṅ mtshuṅs) agree on the name of the buddha, but the remains of the name in our manuscript cannot be made to match this information. While the first member of the compound name is, as expected, *giri*, the second part begins with what we can only read as *ṇaṃ* and then breaks off. We somewhat arbitrarily assume that the name consisted of a total of four syllables and read *giriṇaṃ* + (*sya*). As a very tentative further reconstruction we propose *Giriṇaṃda.

The brilliance of this buddha extends a thousand yojanas: 17r4 *yoviṇasahas(ṛa prabha)* (Skt *yojanasahasraṃ prabhā*). His attendant is called 17r5 Śrudasaṃcaya (Skt Śrutasaṃcaya), and his foremost in understanding Ānasaṃca(ya) (Skt Jñānasaṃcaya). The lifespan of men and the duration of the good dharma are both eighty-four thousand years (17r5 *cadura(śiti) varṣasahasra*, 17v1 *caturaśiti varṣasahasra*; Skt *caturaśītir varṣasahasrāṇi*). All of these values agree with those of the Tibetan translation.

(dharmakuḍasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama ja)**dabhumī** ° **ṇava yo**(viṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17v2) **putro** ° **ukadhari** **ṇama vaḥhaya** ° **guṇasacayo ṇama** (praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa a)**gro** ° **aṭhatriśa va**(rṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° duvatrimśa arahasaṃṇipada ° trimśa koḍi gasaṇa sarve ° vestariga śari)(17v3)**ra** <°> **aṭhatriśa varṣasahasra** (sadharma)**vaḥhi(d)i** (20 10)

“(630:) The native country of the tathāgata Dharmakuḍa is called + + + + His brilliance extends nine yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Ukadhari. The foremost in understanding is called Guṇa + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is thirty-eight thousand years. He has thirty-two assemblies of arhats; three hundred million verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is thirty-eight thousand years.”

D 219a3–5.

| de bzin gsegs pa chos brtsegs **skye ba'i yul ni** bkod pa sna tshogs bzañ po zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad **dgu'o** || yab ni spobs pa mdzes zes bya'o || yum ni gzi brjid bkod pa zes bya'o || **sras ni** lta ba gsal zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni skar mda' 'chañ zes bya'o** || ses rab can rnams kyi mchog ni **yon tan gyi tshogs zes bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni bden pa'i mthu rtsal zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan sum cu rtsa gñis te | thams cad la yañ duñ phyur phrag gsum gsum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni **lo sum khri brgyad** stoñ ño || dam pa'i chos kyañ **lo sum khri brgyad stoñ gi bar du gnas so** || **sku gduñ** ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Dharmakūṭa) and the Tibetan translation (Chos brtsegs) we can reconstruct *Dharmakuṭa. His brilliance extends nine (17v1 *ṇava*, Skt *nava*) yojanas, as in the Tibetan. The name of his attendant is preserved as 17v2 Ukadhari (Skt Ulkādhārī) and loosely translated into Tibetan as sKar mda' 'chañ. The name of his foremost in understanding 17v2 Guṇasacaya (Skt Guṇasaṃcaya) is translated into Tibetan as Yon tan gyi tshogs, using the common word *tshogs* for the second part of the compound rather than the more obscure *bstsags* in the translations of the names Śrudasaṃcaya and Ñaṇasaṃca(ya) in the preceding section. Both the lifespan of men and the duration of the good dharma are thirty-eight thousand years (17v2 *aṭṭhatriśa va(r)ṣasahasra*), 18v3 *aṭṭhatriśa varṣasahasra*; Skt *aṣṭātriṃśad varṣasahasrāṇi*) as in the Tibetan.

(mokṣateyasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi °) **cadudaśa yovi**(ṇa prabha ° brahmaṇo jadye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama) (17v4) **putro ° aryamardana ṇama vañhay**(o °) + + + + (ṇama prañamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamṭaṇa agro °) **ṣaṭhi varṣasa**(hasra ayupramaṇa ° ṇavapaṃcāśa arahasamṇipada ° śada koḍisahasra gasaṇa sarve ° vestariga śa)(17v5)**rira ° ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra sadharmava**(ṭhidi 20 10 1)

“631: The native country of the tathāgata Mokṣateya is called + + + + His brilliance extends fourteen yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Aryamardana. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is sixty thousand years. He has fifty-nine assemblies of arhats; one trillion verses are in each. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is sixty thousand years.”

D 219a5–219b1.

| de bzin gsegs pa thar pa'i gzi byin skye ba'i yul ni gzi byin bkod pa zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni **dpag tshad bcu bzi'o** || yab ni gzi byin mtha' yas zes bya'o || yum ni bkod pa mtha' yas ma zes bya'o || **sras ni** dge bar sems zes bya'o || **rim gro pa ni 'phags 'dul zes bya'o** || ses rab can rnams kyi mchog ni chos grags zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni mthu rtsal dri med ces bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan lña bcu rtsa dgu ste | thams cad la yañ bye ba phrag 'bum 'bum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo drug khri drug stoñ ño || **dam pa'i chos kyañ lo drug khri drug stoñ gi bar du gnas so** || **sku gduñ** ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Mokṣatejas) and the Tibetan translation (Thar pa'i gzi byin) we can reconstruct *Mokṣateya. The buddha's brilliance extends fourteen yojanas (17v3 *cadudaśa yovi(ṇa)*, Skt *caturdaśa yojanāni*), and his attendant is called Aryamardana (Skt *Āryamardana*), both as in the Tibetan. Unlike the Tibetan, in which the duration of the good dharma is sixty-six thousand (*drug khri drug stoṅ*) years, the Gāndhārī gives its duration as only sixty thousand years (18v5 *ṣaṭhi varṣasahasra*, Skt *ṣaṣṭir varṣasahasrāṇi*).

(śobhidasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° duve yoviṇaśada) **p(r)abha** (° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama pu)(**r1**)(tro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhaya °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (varṣasahasro ayupramaṇo ° ṣo arahasaṃṇipada ° koḍisahasra gasaṇa sarve ° ekaghana śari)(**r2**)(ra ° eko thubo ° varṣasahasro sadharmavaṭhidi 20 10 2)

“632: The native country of the tathāgata Śobhida is called + + + + His brilliance extends two hundred yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is a thousand years. He has six assemblies of arhats; ten billion verses are in each. His relics are in one mass. There is one stūpa. The duration of the good dharma is a thousand years.”

D 219b1–3.

| de bzin gśegs pa legs mdzad skye ba'i yul ni mya ṇan daṅ bral ba zes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad ṇis brgya'o || yab ni legs mthoṅ zes bya'o || yum ni kun mthoṅ ma zes bya'o || sras ni zil mi non zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni yon tan gyi tshogs zes bya'o || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni śes rab 'od ces bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni mthu rtsal rdo rje zes bya'o || dgra bcom pa 'dus pa ni lan drug ste | thams cad la yaṅ bye ba phrag stoṅ stoṅ ṇo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo stoṅ ṇo || dam pa'i chos kyaṅ lo stoṅ gi bar du gnas so || sku gduṅ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || mchod rten yaṅ gcig tu zad do |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Śobhita) we can tentatively reconstruct *Śobhida. The Tibetan translation Legs mdzad is rather vague, but consistent with our reconstruction. The rest of this section is lost, with the exception of the single word 17v5 *p(r)abha* in the passage on the extent of the buddha's brilliance.

18) HI 22, AF A3

This fragment contains another set of five sections in metrical form. It is in a worse state of preservation than fragment no. 16, exacerbating the problems of reconstruction and interpretation that applied there.

+ + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) **(18r1)** + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + .(i)**svaro matimaṃto** ◊ **lokavihara da ?** + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
(18r2) + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + **ṇo yu ? ? sa ye** ◊
(dhar)ma satati varṣasahasra ◊ **ḥha**(hiśati) + + + + + + (1)
 | mi yi 'dren pa dbyaṅs dag sñan pa yi || skye ba'i yul ni dbyaṅs kyi yan lag yin |

D 235a7–235b3.

| rgyal ba'i rigs ni rgyal rigs 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad brgya yod yab ni dbyaṅs sñan yin |
 | gdaṅs sñan ma ni rgyal yum sras po ni || mchog ma śin tu rgyal dka' rim gro pa |
 | yon tan grags pa'i **dbaṅ phyug blo can te** || **'jig rten** dag gis mi 'jigs rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs bdun cu drug kun la'aṅ || rigs ni 'od ldan luṅ na mtshuṅs pa po |
 | bye ba phrag ni dgu bcu dgu dgu yod || mi tshe lo graṅs dag ni drug khri yin |
 | dños po med par phyin pa'i dam **chos dag** || **lo graṅs bdun khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur** |
 | mi mchog mya ṇan 'das nas sku gduṅ ni || mchod rten dpag tshad sum cu pa gcig 'byuṅ |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Mañjughoṣa) and the Tibetan translation (dByaṅs dag sñan pa) we can reconstruct *Mañjughoṣa.

The first preserved words of the fragment occur in the second stanza and identify the foremost in understanding, here designated as 18r1 *matimaṃto* (Skt *matimān*) 'having intelligence.' Only the last two akṣaras of his name are preserved, and following the Tibetan we can read the last element of the name as 18r1 *-(i)svaro* (Skt *-īśvaraḥ*). The Tibetan translation Yon tan grags pa'i dbaṅ phyug further suggests that the name started with Skt Guṇa- and contained Skt -kīrti-, -yaśa- or the like as middle element, but we resist the temptation to reconstruct a speculative complete Gāndhārī form. The following pāda identifies the foremost in supernormal power, whose name is translated into Tibetan as 'Jig rten dag gis mi 'jigs. We recognize the first element of his name in 18r1 *lokavihara da ?*, but are unable to connect the following element (apparently derived from Skt *vi-√hr*) with the Tibetan name.

The fourth stanza contains a number of unintelligible akṣaras in pāda b, followed in pāda c by the duration of the dharma, expressed as 18r2 *(dhar)ma satati varṣasahasra* ◊ *ḥha*(hiśati) (Skt *dharmāḥ saptatiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi sthāsyati*) 'the dharma will remain seventy thousand years,' agreeing with the Tibetan translation.

+ + + + + + + + + (◊) **(18r3)** + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (|)
? kuṇaḥhala mada jīṇasya ◊ **putro mahatavo ṇa**(ma) + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (|)
(18r4) + + + + + + + + + (◊) + + + + + + + + + (◊)
 + + + + + + + + + (◊) **koḍīśatiya sarve te ṇipada ?**

vestariga dha + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (2)

D 235b3–6.

| de bzin gśegs pa ños bzañs skye ba yi || yul ni gzi brjid snañ bar byed ces bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa gñis yab ni lha bzañ yin |
 | **ril ba** stobs brtan **rgyal yum sras po ni** || **dka' thub chen po** mthoñ ldan rim gro pa |
 | phyogs nmams nam par lta ba mkhas pa ste || 'jig rten sgron ma 'byin pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | '**dus pa** lan grañs bdun cu **kun la yañ** || dri gsum dri med **ther 'bum ther 'bum yod** |
 | mi nmams dag gi tshe yi tshad dag kyañ || lo grañs bdun khri sum stoñ tham pa yin |
 | yoñs su mya ñan 'das nas dam chos dag || lo grañs bdun khri tshañ ba'i bar du gnas |
 | rgyal ba'i **sku gduñ dag ni rgyas 'gyur la** || lha mi dag gis bstod ciñ mchod par 'gyur |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved. Weller's list gives two phonetically and semantically similar names: Supakṣa and Supārśva. The Tibetan translation Ños bzañs does not help us decide between these two alternatives, and we somewhat arbitrarily follow the first of Weller's alternatives and reconstruct the Gāndhārī name as *Supakṣa.

The second stanza of the section gives the name of the mother of this buddha: 18r3 ? *kunañhala*. Her name in the Tibetan translation is Ril ba stobs brtan, the first part (*ril ba*) of which appears to correspond with *-ñhala* (Skt *-sthālā*) of the Gāndhārī. The second part (*stobs brtan*), however, remains unrecognized in the remains of the Gāndhārī. (It is possible that more than one akṣara preceded *kuna* in the name of the mother.) The following pāda names the buddha's son: 18r3 *putro mahatavo ña(ma)* (Skt *putro mahātāpo nāma*) 'the son is called Mahatava,' agreeing with the Tibetan dKa' thub chen po.

From the third stanza our fragment preserves a passage specifying the size of each assembly of this buddha: 18r4 *koḍṣatiya sarve te ñipada* (Skt *koḍṣatikāḥ sarve te nipātāḥ*), corresponding to Tibetan '*dus pa ... kun la yañ ... ther 'bum ther 'bum yod*. The use of *ñipada* in place of *saṃñipada* is peculiar and may be due to metrical requirements, unless we are to reconstruct *⟨saṃ⟩ñipada*. This word is followed by what looks like the unexpected number sign 3, or possibly one or two daṇḍa punctuation marks.

The final stanza of this section concerns the relics of this buddha, which are said to be scattered in agreement with the Tibetan translation. An akṣara *dha* appears to follow the word 18r4 *vestariga* in the photograph of this fragment, but it remains somewhat unclear whether it really belongs to the same writing surface. If it does, we may here have either **dhadu* (Skt *dhātavaḥ*) or **dhaduśarira* (Skt *dhātuśarīrāṇi*) as an alternative for simple *śarira*.

(18r5) + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + **ye ñama ° p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(ṇa)sya** (|)
 ? **ratiśekṣa** ? + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) (18v1) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
ayu ñaraṇa ? .u + ? ṇi ? (°) a ? ? a ma maruda ? + + (|)

++++++(°)++++++(°)
(18v2)++++++(°)++++++**3**

D 235b6–236a1.

| mi yi 'dren pa don la gnas pa yi || skye yul don ston blo gros žes kyañ bya |
 | rgyal ba'i **rīgs** ni rgyal rigs 'od **kyi tshad** || **dpag tshad lña yod** yab ni don byas yin |
 | don sgra žes ni bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po mchog ma 'gros ldan rim gro pa |
 | 'gro don skyoñ žes bya ba mkhas pa ste || 'jig rten sgron ma 'byin pa rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs sum cu drug kun la'añ || dgra bcom ñar mi 'dzin pa sdig sbyañs pa |
 | legs gnas de dag ther 'bum ther 'bum yod || **mi tshe** lo grañs ñi khri ñis stoñ yin |
 | rgyal ba mya ñan 'das nas dam chos dag || lo grañs sum khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduñ dag ni rgyas 'gyur la || mchod rten 'bum phrag sñed kyis brgyan par 'gyur |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Sthitārtha) and the Tibetan translation (Don la gnas pa) we can reconstruct *Īhidārtha. The first preserved part of the first stanza is 18r5 *ye ṇama* in pāda c. We expect here a specification of the buddha's family background (kṣatriya according to the Tibetan), and on the model of the prose passages should maybe reconstruct (*jadi*)*ye ṇama* (Skt *jātyā nāma*) 'by birth indeed.' The final pāda of this verse states in agreement with the Tibetan: 18r5 *p(r)abha yoviṇa pa(m)ca ji(ṇa)sya* (Skt *prabhā yojanāni pañca jinasya*) 'the brilliance of the conqueror extends five yojanas.'

The second stanza should start with the name of the father of the buddha—Don byas in the Tibetan—but the sequence of akṣaras visible in the photograph (18r5 ? *raṭiśekṣa* ?) does not correspond at all. It is unclear how to explain this situation, unless the photograph is misleading and these akṣaras do not in fact belong to the same surface as the rest of the fragment.

The third stanza specifies the lifespan of men (18v1 *ayu ṇaraṇa*), but we are unable to recognise the actual number (twenty-two thousand) in the string of disjointed and damaged akṣaras that follows. Pāda b appears to contain the word *maruda*– (Skt **marut*–), suggesting a name, but we expect the duration of the dharma to be specified in this part of the passage. We had some doubt whether the corresponding corner of the recto belonged to the fragment, but there is no physical indication on the verso that it does not.

From the last stanza, only the concluding number of the whole section is preserved: 18v2 3, which on the basis of the Tibetan numbering we should probably understand as <72>3 with omitted hundreds and tens.

guṇateyamahidasya jinasya (°) **sarvaguṇodasa ja**(dabhumi °)
 +++++++(°)++++++(°)
 +++++++(°) **(18v3)**++++++(°)
 +++++++(°) (marapra)**mardaṇo irdhimadaṇa** |
 ? **viśati varṣasahasra** +++++(°)++++++(°)
 +++++++(°)++++++(°)
(18v4)++++++(°)++++++(°)
 +++++++ ? **varṣasahasra** ° **triśa īhahiśati dharma jṇasya** **4**

D 236a1–4.

| de bzin gśegs pa **yon tan gzi brjid dpal** || **skye yul yon tan thams cad 'byuñ** žes bya |
 | rigs ni rgyal rigs yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi šu rtsa bži yab ni gzugs bzañ yin |
 | gzi brjid 'od ni rgyal yum sras po ni || gzi byin yon tan gzi brjid rim gro pa |
 | phyogs mchod pa žes bya ba mkhas pa ste || **bdud rab 'joms žes bya ba rdzu 'phrul can** |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs sum cu drug kun la'añ || dgra bcom bye ba bcu drug bcu drug yod |
 | mi rnams dag gi tshe yi tshad dag kyañ || **lo grañs ñi khri bdun stoñ** tham pa yin |
 | rgyal ba mya ñan 'das nas dam chos dag || **lo grañs sum khri'i bar du gnas par 'gyur** |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduñ dag ni rgyas 'gyur la || pad ma 'bum phrag sñed kyis brgyan par 'gyur |

The name of the buddha of this section is given as Guṇatejas in Weller's list and as Yon tan gzi brjid in the Tibetan translation. Both of these agree with our manuscript's Guṇateya, whose name in the context of its verse is embedded in a compound and phrase *guṇateyamahidasya jinasya* (Skt *guṇatejamahitasya jinasya*) 'the conqueror celebrated as Guṇateya.' Pāda b of this stanza identifies the birthplace of the buddha as 18v2 Sarvaguṇodaya. On the basis of Tibetan Yon tan thams cad 'byuñ we should have expected Sarvaguṇodaya (Skt Sarvaguṇodaya), and the Gāndhārī spelling remains unexplained.

The next preserved passage is from the second stanza of this section, naming the foremost in supernormal power as 18v3 (Marapra)mardaṇa, reconstructed with the help of the Tibetan bDud rab 'joms. This is followed by a stanza-final daṇḍa punctuation mark.

At the beginning of the third stanza, we appear to have the specification of the lifespan of men, which according to the Tibetan should be twenty-seven thousand (*ñi khri bdun stoñ*) years. Our manuscript has 18v3 -*viśati varṣasahasra* (Skt -*viṃśatir varṣasahasrāṇi*), preceded by a large shape that may correspond to one or to akṣaras and has defied interpretation. We can only assume that one way or another, possibly by miswriting, it corresponds to the expected *sata-* (Skt *sapta-*).

The fourth stanza states in pādas c and d that 'the dharma of the conqueror will remain for thirty thousand years' (18v4 *varṣasahasra* ° *triśa śhahiśati dharma jīṇasya*, Skt *varṣasahasrāṇi triṃśat sthāsyati dharmo jinasya*), in agreement with the Tibetan. The stanza concludes with the final numbering for the section: 18v4 4, probably to be interpreted as <72>4 with omitted hundreds and tens.

++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) (18v5) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ .uñ.ṇo vaṭhayo °
 ñaṇesvaro ? ? mido ṇama ° irdhimada(ṇa) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)

D 236a4–7.

| de bzin gśegs pa mkhyen ldan zla med pa || skye yul śes ldan snañ bar byed ces bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || bdun cu rtsa gsum mchod sbyin bzañ po yab |
 | ye śes can ni rgyal yum śes ldan byin || sras yin legs pa'i mchod sbyin **rim gro pa** |
 | **ye śes dbañ phyug ces bya mkhas pa ste** || chags med rnam par grol ba **rdzu 'phrul can** |
 | 'dus pa lan grañs ñi śu gñis kun la'añ || sred phyogs dri ma dag ni bral ba po |
 | bye ba phrag ni ñi śu gñis gñis yod || mi tshe lo grañs dag ni stoñ yañ yin |
 | dam chos lo grañs bdun khri drug stoñ gnas || rgyal ba'i sku gduñ mchod rten dpag tshad grañs |
 | bcu gsum pa ste gcig cig 'byuñ 'gyur la || gser gyi bla re brgya phrag sñed kyis brgyan |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Asama-jñānin) and the Tibetan translation (mKhyen ldan zla med pa) we can reconstruct *Asamañāni.

The first preserved passage, in the second stanza, names the attendant of the buddha. The name is badly damaged, but nonetheless a reading 18v5 .uñ.ṇo (or similar) seems likely, which does not match the name given in the Tibetan translation (Legs pa'i mchod sbyin). The stanza continues with the identification of the foremost in understanding, whose name 18v5 Ñaṇesvara (Skt Jñāneśvara) agrees with the Tibetan translation Ye śes dbañ phyug. What remains unclear is the following word 18v5 ? ? *mido*, evidently a variant or synonym of 18r1 *matimaṇṭo*. The stanza concludes by naming the foremost in supernormal power, whose name—like the rest of the section—is lost.

19) MS 2179/28

The identification of this fragment is based on the following: (1) the expression 19r4 *kileśamaramaṇṭhaṇa* occurs in the description of one buddha; (2) the brilliance of the following buddha extends twenty-one yojanas, and his dharma will last seventy-thousand years; (3) the description of the next following buddha contains the word (or part of a compound) 19v3 *pratimaṇṭid*. (Skt *pratimaṇḍita*). The only sequence of three buddhas in the Tibetan translation meeting these requirements is nos. 788–790.

+++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (19r3) ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ ? **dam te** (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (19r4) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (° sa)rv(e) **kileśamaramaṇṭhaṇa** (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)

D 248b2–5.

| de bzin gśegs pa dri ma rab źi ba'i || skye ba'i yul ni źi ba'i 'od ces bya |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od dpag tshad || ñi śu rtsa bzi rab tu źi ba yab |

| dbaṅ po dul žes bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po mdzes pa legs ži rim gro pa |
 | yon tan tshogs žes bya ba mkhas pa ste || thar par gžol žes bya ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs drug cu gñis **kun la'aṅ** || **bdud daṅ ñon moṅs rab tu 'joms pa po** |
 | de dag ther 'bum gñis gñis 'dus par 'gyur || mi tshe lo graṅs bdun khri bdun stoṅ yin |
 | mya ṇan 'das pa de yi dam chos dag | lo graṅs chig khri sum stoṅ bar du gnas |
 | rgyal ba'i sku gduṅ mchod rten gcig yin te || dpag tshad brgyad pa kun nas mdzes par byas |

The recto of this fragment contains the scant remains of a first preserved line with the akṣaras 19r3 *dam te*, possibly representing a third-person singular verb form. At the beginning of the next preserved line, we can securely reconstruct 19r4 *(sa)rve* (Skt *sarvasmin*), followed by 19r4 *kileśamaramamṭhanaṇa* (Skt *kleśamāramanṭhanānām*). The only point of uncertainty is the peculiar shape of what we read as single-stroke *maṃ*, with a loop on the right representing the anusvāra rather than the usual floating hook underneath separate *ma*. While Sanskrit has both *manthana* and *mathana*, the latter is usually used in the requisite sense of 'crushing.' There is also a partial Pali parallel in Ap 496.19–20 *namo te māmamathana*, also without *n*.¹⁴ Nonetheless, an anusvāra seems to us the only way to account for the loop on our Kharoṣṭhī akṣara, and we suggest that in Gāndhārī at least, forms of this word with and without the nasal alternated freely, the requirements of the metre prompting the particular choice in our verse. The sentence in question states, then, that the assemblies of this buddha are made up of 'those who crush Defilement Māra' (i.e., Māra as an allegory for defilement, cf. BHSD s.v. *māra*). The Tibetan translators misunderstood the first part of the compound as a dvandva and translated *bdud daṅ ñon moṅs* 'Māra and the defilements.'

(19r5) + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + **ṇameṇa** °
ekaviśati yoviṇa + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + (19v1) + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + ? **.ido ṇama** ° **irdhimadaṇa pra** ? + + + + + (|)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + (19v2) + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + (|)
 + + ? **ṇivride varṣasahasra** ° **satati** ? + + + + + + + (°)
 + + + + + + + + + (°) + + + + + + + + + +

D 248a4–7.

| de bžin gśegs pa phyogs ma bslad pa yi || skye yul ku mu da yi gzi brjid yin |
 | rigs ni bram ze yin te 'od **dpag tshad** || **ñi śu rtsa gcig** chos kyi skar mda' yab |
 | phyogs lta rgyal yum sras po gzi brjid can || gi mi la žes bya ba rim gro pa |
 | **yon tan mthu rtsal** žes bya mkhas pa ste || **spaṅ spobs žes ni bya ba rdzu 'phrul can** |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs bdun cu kun la yaṅ || sred pa kun la chags bral yid ldan pa |

¹⁴ Interestingly, the Pali Text Society edition notes the variant readings *māramaraṇa*, *māramasana*. Neither of these can be explained on Pali grounds, but in Kharoṣṭhī script *ra* and the younger type of *sa* can be confused, and in Gāndhārī intervocalic *th* developed into *s*. It is thus at least possible that the Pali variants reflect a Gāndhārī background of this *Apadāna* verse.

| bye ba phrag ni bcu bži bcu bži yod || mi tshe lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoṅ yin |
 | **mya ṇan 'das pa de yi** dam chos dag | **lo graṅs bdun khri'i bar du** gnas par 'gyur |
 | 'gro la phan phyir rgyal ba'i sku gduṅ dag | žiṅ nams rgyas śiṅ nam par gaṅ bar 'gyur |

The last preserved line on the recto commences with 19r5 *ṇameṇa* (Skt *nāmnā*) ‘by name,’ which from context must conclude the identification of the birthplace of the buddha. This is followed by the beginning of a description of the extent of his brilliance: 19r5 *ekaviṣāti yoviṇa* (Skt *ekaviṃśatir yojanāni*). The description of the same buddha continues on the verso with the end of the phrase naming his foremost follower in understanding and the beginning of the phrase naming the one foremost in supernormal power. The first name (Tib. Yon tan mthu rtsal) evidently ended in 19v1 *do*; the akṣara preceding that is damaged, but could among other things be a *ka*, a *to* or, maybe most likely, a *ti*. What appears to be the second name (Tib. sPaṅ spobs) starts with 19v1 *pra*, followed by what looks like the right half of a *ma*. It remains unclear how these names should be reconstructed. In order for the verse division between the sections on the birthplace and that on the followers to agree with that of the Tibetan (as it does elsewhere), we have to assume that line 19r5 was approximately 24 akṣaras shorter than regular lines in this manuscript. In general, the shape of the raw material often means that palm-leaf folios are not perfectly rectangular, but sometimes taper toward one end or the other, leading to slightly shorter first and last lines. While no such tapering is directly observable in the Bhk fragments, it is apparent in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* fragments edited in BMSC I, and we feel it provides the best explanation for the required shorter line length in our fragment.

The next line contains part of a dating formula: 19v2 *ṇivride varṣasahasra ° satati* (Skt *nirvṛte varṣasahasrāṇi saptatim*) ‘seventy thousand years after (the buddha) had become extinguished.’ Only a small corner of the next akṣara is preserved, but it would at least be consistent with a reconstruction *’h(ahiśadi dharma jīṇasya)* ‘the dharma of the conqueror will remain’ (cf. 18v4), yielding a twelve-syllable pāda. In order for the verse division between the section on the followers and that on the duration of the dharma to match the Tibetan, either line 19v1 (the solution adopted here) or line 20v2 had to be approximately 12 akṣaras shorter than normal, again presumably due to the shape of the palm-leaf folio.

++++++ (°) **(19v3)** ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ ? + ? ? ° **pratimaṃṭid.** ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ **(19v4)** ++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (|)
 ++++++ (°) ++++++ (°)
 ++++++ **(19v5)** ++++++ (°) ++++++

D 236a4–7.

| mi yi 'dren pa mdzes pa skye ba yi || yul ni *rnam par brgyan pa'i mchod* ces bya |
 | rgyal ba'i rigs ni rgyal rigs 'od kyi tshad || dpag tshad brgya yod yab ni lha dbaṅ yin |
 | 'jig rten 'od ces bya ba rgyal ba'i yum || sras po gtso bo thar 'byor rim gro pa |
 | rab tu brgyan ces bya ba mkhas pa ste || mthu rtsal gnas zes bya ba rdzu 'phrul can |
 | 'dus pa lan graṅs brgyad cu kun la yaṅ || lta ba phal chen ma lus spoṅ ba po |
 | bye ba phrag ni dgu bcu dgu dgu yod || mi tshe lo graṅs dgu khri bži stoṅ yin |
 | dam chos lo graṅs bdun khri drug stoṅ gnas || mchod rten dpag tshad bcva lña pa gcig ste |
 | gser daṅ nor bu kun gyi lda ldi bśams || gdugs graṅs brgya sñed dag gis 'khor bar bskor |

The third line contains, after a number of indistinct tops of akṣaras, what appears to be a past participle 19v3 *pratimaṇḍita-* (Skt *pratimaṇḍita-*) 'adorned.' In the Tibetan translation, this can correspond either to rNam par brgyan pa'i mchod (the name of the birthplace of the third buddha in sequence) or to Rab tu brgyan (the name of his foremost in understanding). The position of this word close to the beginning of the passage is in favour of the former identification. The phonetic correspondence of Skt *-ṇḍ-* (with voiced stop) to Gāndhārī *-ṇṭ-* (with voiceless) is unexpected and may be a hypercorrection based on a merger of voiced and voiceless stops after nasals (as observed in the Khotan *Dharmapada* and the Central Asian documents). The comparatively large empty vertical space at the bottom of the verso of this fragment may suggest a string-hole (in which case the placement of our fragment would most likely have been in the right third of its folio), but a similarly large space without string-hole occurs between the third and fourth lines of fragment no. 22.

20) HG 46, HI 3

The identification of subfragment HG 46 was based on the following considerations: (1) The name of the mother in line v4 ends in *-[va]puṣpa* or, possibly, *-[ta]puṣpa*; (2) the relics of this buddha are dispersed; (3) the relics of the buddha preceding him are in one mass. This leaves only two candidates: buddha no. 678 in the Tibetan translation (whose mother's name is bDud rtsi'i me tog = Skt Amṛtapuṣpā) and buddha no. 816 (whose mother's name is lHa'i me tog = Skt Deva(tā)puṣpā). We can decide between these two on the grounds that the extent of the brilliance of the buddha three positions before the one in line 20v4 is said (in line 20r2) to be *yoviṇa*-... with no preceding word, i.e., possibly a full yojana, a full hundred of yojanas, or a full thousand of yojanas, but certainly no multiple thereof. For buddha no. 675 it is twenty-two yojanas, but for buddha no. 813 it is one thousand yojanas, which latter thus fulfills the condition. In principle, the assignment of recto and verso of this fragment could also be the other way around, in which case the buddha two positions after the one whose mother's name is partially preserved would have to fulfill our condition on the extent of his brilliance. Since, however, for buddha no. 680 the extent is nine hundred yojanas, and for buddha no. 818 it is eighty thousand yojanas, this leaves us only with the identification presented below. The physical joining of the two subfragments HG 46 and HI 3 fully supports this conclusion.

(guṇacuḍasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° cadusatadi yoviṇa prabha ° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + **(20r1)** + (ṇama pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhaya °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama) **irdhimamṭaṇa agra ° paṃcaīśa varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° trodaśa saṃ(20r2)**(ṇipada ° koḍisahasraga sarve ° vestariga śarira ° aṭhaṇayuda varṣa sadharmavaṭhidi 4 4 1)

“9: The native country of the tathāgata Gunacuḍa is called + + + + His brilliance extends seventy-four yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is fifty thousand years. He has thirteen assemblies, all consisting of ten billion. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is eighty thousand years.”

D 253a1–3.

| de bzin gśegs pa yon tan gtsug skye ba'i yul ni rin po ches brgyan pa źes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad bdun cu rtsa bži'o || yab ni me tog sgron ma źes bya'o || yum ni zla legs źes bya'o || sras ni lha dga' źes bya'o || rim gro pa ni ston pa mtha' yas źes bya'o || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni ston gsal sems źes bya'o || **rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni** mdzes dga' źes bya'o || **'dus pa ni lan bcu gsum ste** | thams cad la yañ bye ba phrag ston ston ño || **sku tshe'i tshad ni lo lña khri'o** || dam pa'i chos ni lo brgyad khri'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved. Weller's list gives the two phonetically and semantically related name variants Guṇacūḍa and Guṇakūṭa, both of which are compatible with the Tibetan translation's Yon tan gtsug. We somewhat arbitrarily follow the first variant and reconstruct *Guṇacuḍa. The lifespan of men is given as 20r1 *paṃcaīśa varṣasahasra* (Skt *pañcāśad varṣasahasrāṇi*), corresponding to the Tibetan (*lña khri*). The number of assemblies of this buddhas is specified as 20r1 *trodaśa*, likewise in agreement with the Tibetan translation (*bcu gsum*).

(aṇuvamaśirisya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama) **jadabhumi ° yoviṇasahasra prabha <°> brahmaṇo jatiye ° brahmadevo ṇama pida ° (20r3)** + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhaya °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (irdhimamṭaṇa agro ° aśīti) **varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° caturaśīti saṃṇipada ° daśaṇayudaga sa(rve ° ekaghaṇa śarira ° eko thubo ° caduraśīti varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭhidi 10)**

“10: The native country of the tathāgata Anuvamaśri is called + + + + His brilliance extends a thousand yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called Brahmadeva. His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty thousand years. He has eighty-four assemblies, all consisting of one hundred thousand. His relics are in one mass. There is one stūpa. The duration of the good dharma is eighty-four thousand years.”

D 253a3–6.

| de bzin gsegs pa dpal rdzogs **skye ba'i yul ni** rin po che'i bkod pa mtha' yas pa zes bya'o || **rigs ni bram ze'o** || 'od ni dpag tshad ston ño || **yab ni tshañs lha zes bya'o** || yum ni tshañs bdag ma zes bya'o || sras ni rin chen mchog ces bya'o || rim gro pa ni ston bzod ces bya'o || ses rab can rnams kyi mchog ni mchod rten zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnams kyi mchog ni 'od bzañs zes bya'o || **'dus pa ni lan brgyad cu rtsa bži ste** | thams cad la yañ **'bum 'bum mo** || **sku tshe'i tshad ni** lo brgyad khri'o || dam pa'i chos ni lo brgyad khri bži ston gi bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni ril po gcig tu 'dug go || mchod rten yañ gcig tu zad do |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Anupamaśrī) and the Tibetan translation (dPal rdzogs) we can reconstruct *Aṇuvamaśiri. His brilliance extends a thousand yojanas (20r2 *yovīṇasahasra*, Skt *yojanasahasram*) and his father is named 20r2 Brahmadeva (Skt Brahmadeva), both in accordance with the Tibetan. On the basis of the Tibetan (*brgyad khri*), we can reconstruct the lifespan of men as eighty thousand years (20r3 (*aśiti*) *varṣasahasra*, Skt *aśītir varṣasahasrāṇi*).

The section on the assemblies introduces an important new pattern. After stating that this buddha will have eighty-four assemblies (20r3 *caturaśīti saṃṇipada*, Skt *caturaśītiḥ saṃṇipātāḥ*), it continues to say that each of these will consist—in our reconstruction—of one hundred thousand (followers): 20r3 *daśaṇayudaga sa(rve)* (Skt *daśaṇayutakāḥ sarve*). We support this reconstruction by comparison with 20v5 (*aṭhakoḍisahasraga*) *sarve*. The Tibetan translation confirms the number, but does not specify what is being counted (*thams cad la yañ 'bum 'bum mo*). In those passages where both the Chinese translation and the Tibetan are available (cf. above under fragment no. 15), however, they agree that the number of followers in each assembly is meant.

(20r4) (sihagadisya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° cadu)**daśa yovīṇasāda prabha ° kṣat(r)iyo jatiye ° achabivikramaṃ ṇama (20r5)** (pida °) + + + + (ṇama mada °) + + + + (ṇama putro °) + + + + (ṇama vaṭhayo °) + + + + (ṇama prañamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇa)**ma irdhimamṭaṇa agro ° aśiti varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ° sata(20v1)**(ti koḍisāda śravagaṇa prathame saṃṇipade ° aśiti koḍisāda dudiye ° ṇavati koḍisāda tridiye ° sahasra koḍisāda caduṭhe ° vestariga śarira ° aśiti varṣa)**sahasra sadharmavaḥṭhi 10 1**

“11: The native country of the tathāgata Sihagadi is called + + + + His brilliance extends one thousand four hundred yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called Achabivikrama. His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is eighty thousand years. Seventy billion listeners are in his first assembly; eighty billion in the second; ninety billion in the third; one trillion in the fourth. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is eighty thousand years.”

D 253a6–b2.

| de bzin gsegs pa seṅ ge'i stabs skye ba'i yul ni gtsug gi yon tan 'od ces bya'o || **rigs ni rgyal rigs**

so || 'od ni dpag tshad stoñ **bži brgya'o** | yab ni **mthu rtsal bag mi tsha zes bya'o** || yum ni mthu rtsal 'jigs med ma zes bya'o || sras ni 'jig rten mchod ces bya'o || rim gro pa ni brtson 'grus brtan zes bya'o || śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni brtson pa mi 'dor ba zes bya'o || **rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni gzan gyis mi thub pa'i rgyal mtshan zes bya'o** || 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos ther 'bum phrag **bdun** cu'o || gñis pa la ni ther 'bum phrag brgyad cu'o || gsum pa la ni ther 'bum phrag dgu bcu'o || bži pa la ni ther 'bum phrag stoñ ño || **sku tshe'i tshad ni lo brgyad khri'o** | **dam pa'i chos** kyañ lo brgyad **khri'i bar du gnas so** | sku tshe'i tshad ni lo brgyad khri'o || dam pa'i chos kyañ lo brgyad khri'i bar du gnas so | sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (Simhagati) and the Tibetan translation (Señ ge'i stabs) we can reconstruct *Sihagadi. We reconstruct the extent of his brilliance as one thousand four hundred yojanas (20r4 (*cadu*)*daśa yoviṇāśa-da*, Skt *caturdaśa yojanaśatāni*) on the basis of the Tibetan translation (*dpag tshad stoñ bži brgya*). The name of the buddha's father is preserved (20r4–5 Achabivikrama, P Acchambhivikkama) and agrees with the Tibetan (mThu rtsal bag mi tsha), as does the lifespan of men (20r5 *aśiti varṣasahasra*, Skt *aśītir varṣasahasrāṇi*, Tib. *brgyad khri*). The number of followers in the first assembly (20r5–v1 *sata(ti koḍīśada)*, Skt *saptatiḥ koṭīśatāni*) and the duration of the good dharma (20v1 (*aśiti varṣa*)*sahasra*, Skt *aśītiḥ varṣasahasrāṇi*) are partially reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan translation. The section concludes with the number 18v1 *10 1*, to be interpreted as <8>11 with omitted hundreds.

ugamasa tathagadasa ◦ **aṇamta(20v2)**(vyuha ṇama jadabhumi ◦ traye yoviṇāśada prabha ◦ brahmaṇo jadye ◦) + + + + (ṇama pida ◦) + + + + (ṇama mada ◦) + + + + (ṇama) **putro** ◦ **ñanakusuma ṇama vaṭhayo** ◦ **prañaprabhaso ṇama prañamamta(20v3)**(ṇa agro ◦) + + + + (ṇama irdhimamtaṇa agro ◦ navadi varṣasahasra ayupramaṇo ◦ triṃśa samṇipada ◦ triṃśaṇayudaga sarve ◦ eka)**ghaṇa śarira** ◦ **eko thubo** ◦ **ṇavati varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhiti 10 2**

“12: The native country of the tathāgata Ugama is called Aṇamtavyuha. His brilliance extends three hundred yojanas. He is a brahman by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called + + + + His son is called + + + + His attendant is called Ñanakusuma. The foremost in understanding is called Prañaprabhasa. The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is ninety thousand years. He has thirty assemblies, all consisting of three million. His relics are in one mass. There is one stūpa. The duration of the good dharma is ninety thousand years.”

D 253b2–4.

| de bzin gśegs pa **gyen du 'phags** skye ba'i yul ni dga' ba bkod pa **mtha' yas** pa zes bya'o || rigs ni bram ze'o || 'od ni dpag tshad sum brgya'o || yab ni lha gdugs zes bya'o || yum ni bdud rtsi'i me tog ces bya'o || **sras ni** spobs pa'i gzi brjid ces bya'o || **rim gro pa ni ye śes me tog ces bya'o** || **śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni śes rab 'od ces bya'o** || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni grol ba'i phuñ po zes bya'o || 'dus pa ni lan sum cu ste | thams cad la yañ sa ya phrag gsum gsum mo || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo dgu khri'o || **dam pa'i chos kyañ lo dgu khri'i bar du gnas so** || **sku gduñ ni ril po** gcig tu 'dug go || **mchod rten yañ gcig tu zad do** |

This section gives the name of its buddha as Ugama, providing a partial match with the phonetically and semantically similar Skt Udgata in Weller's list. The Tibetan translation Gyen du 'phags is too vague to help us decide between the two name variants. The name of the buddha's birthplace is given as dGa' ba bkod pa mtha' yas pa in the Tibetan translation. We recognize the middle element of this name in 20v1 *ananta* and reconstruct 20v1–2 *Aṇanta(vyuha)* (Skt *Anantavyūha*); the initial element dGa ba of the Tibetan name appears to have been missing in the Gāndhārī text. The preserved names of the attendant (20v2 *Ñānakusuma*, Skt *Jñānakusuma*) and of the foremost in understanding (20v2 *Prañaprabhasa*, Skt *Prajñāprabhāsa*) both agree with the Tibetan translation. The section concludes with the number 20v3 10 2, to be interpreted as <8>12 with omitted hundreds.

(20v4) (puṣpadatasya tathagadasya) + + + + (ṇama jadabhumi ° traye yovinaṇiyuda prabha ° kṣatriyo jadiye °) + + + + (ṇama pida ° de)vapuṣpa ṇama mada ° amridagaṃdho ṇama putro ° gaṃdhaprabhaso ṇama vaṭṭha(20v5)(yo °) + + + + (ṇama praṇamaṃtaṇa agro °) + + + + (ṇama irdhimaṃtaṇa agro ° ṣo varṣakoḍi ayupramaṇo ° ṣaṭhi saṃnipada ° aṭhakoḍisahasraga) sarve ° vestariga śarira ° daśa varṣasahasra sadharmavaṭṭhiti 10 3

“13: The native country of the tathāgata Puṣpadata is called + + + + His brilliance extends three million yojanas. He is a kṣatriya by birth. His father is called + + + + His mother is called Devapuṣpa. His son is called Amridagaṃdha. His attendant is called Gaṃdhaprabhasa. The foremost in understanding is called + + + + The foremost in supernatural power is called + + + + His lifespan is sixty million years. He has sixty assemblies, all consisting of eighty billion. His relics are dispersed. The duration of the good dharma is ten thousand years.”

D 253b4–7.

| de bzin gsegs pa me tog byin skye ba'i yul ni me tog bkod pa zes bya'o || rigs ni rgyal rigs so || 'od ni dpag tshad sa ya phrag gsum mo || yab ni yon tan me tog lha zes bya'o || **yum ni lha'i me tog ces bya'o || sras ni bdud rtsi'i sñiñ po zes bya'o || rim gro pa ni spos 'od ces bya'o ||** śes rab can rnam kyī mchog ni 'jig rten rnam par grags zes bya'o || rdzu 'phrul can rnam kyī mchog ni bdud rtsi grags zes bya'o || 'dus pa ni lan drug cu ste | **thams cad la** yañ ther 'bum phrag brgyad cu brgyad cu'o || sku tshe'i tshad ni lo bye ba phrag drug go || **dam pa'i chos ni lo khri'i bar du gnas so || sku gduñ ni rgyas par 'gyur ro |**

The name of the buddha of this section is not preserved, but on the basis of Weller's list (*Puṣpadatta*) and the Tibetan translation (*Me tog byin*) we can confidently reconstruct **Puṣpadata*. Three other names are preserved in this passage. Those of the mother (20v4 (De)vapuṣpa, Skt *Devapuṣpā*) and attendant (20v4–5 *Gaṃdhaprabhasa*, Skt *Gandhaprabhāsa*) of the buddha agree with their Tibetan equivalents, but the name of the buddha's son (20v4 *Amridagaṃdha*, Skt *Amṛtagandha*) differs from the Tibetan (*bdud rtsi'i sñiñ po*, apparently Skt *Amṛtagarbha*) in its second element, which may have been replaced under influence from the surrounding names. For our reconstruction 20v5 (*aṭhakoḍisahasraga*) *sarve* (Skt *aṣṭakoṭisahasrakāḥ sarve*) compare our note on line 20r3. The section concludes with the number 20v5 10 3, to be interpreted as <8>13.

21) MS 2179/32a, 32b

We feel we came very close to a satisfactory identification of this fragment from the Buddhas Section, but complete certainty still eluded us, and we thus place it at the head of the unidentified fragments. The recto and verso of this fragment each contain the beginning and the end of a section, making for a total of four partially preserved sections. Judging from word order and phrasing, the ones on the recto appear to be in verse, those on the verso in prose. Lines 21r5 and 21v1 provide space for one (but not more) additional section.

The parameters given on the verso match, as far as we can tell uniquely, buddhas no. 403 (first assembly of disciples numbers three billion, in prose) and no. 404 (the buddha is a kṣatriya, assemblies number one billion each, in prose) in the Tibetan translation. Those on the recto are consistent with buddhas no. 399 (relics in one single stūpa, in verse) and 400. The Tibetan name of the mother of buddha 400, Yon tan brgyan, further agrees very well with the preserved part of her name in the fragment (which could be reconstructed as 21r3 (Gu)ṇamaṃṭida = Skt Guṇamaṇḍitā). Taken together, these agreements strongly support an identification of this fragment with buddha sections 399 to 404 of the Tibetan translation. Speaking against the identification are the fact that the Tibetan name of the son of buddha 400, mKhas ldan, does not match that in the fragment (21r3 Maṃṭida = Skt Maṇḍita), as well as the lack of space in lines 21r5 and 21v1 to accommodate equivalents of both Tibetan buddha sections no. 401 and no. 402. It is of course quite possible that the name of the son changed in the course of transmission (perhaps by confusion of *Maṇḍita leading to *Matimant, translated as Tibetan mKhas ldan), and equally possible that one buddha section was omitted in the Gāndhārī manuscript or inserted in the Tibetan version (cf. fragment no. 15). It is suspicious, however, that both should have occurred in connection with the same Gāndhārī fragment, and we thus err on the side of caution in our classification of fragment no. 21.

Going through the preserved text on the fragment, line 21r1 starts off with six unclear fragmentary akṣaras, followed by a punctuation dot and the akṣaras *prabha kedu* referring to the extent of the brilliance of the buddha in question. The second part of these likely belongs to the word family of Skt *ketu* ‘bright light,’ but the exact formation remains unclear, and also whether it formed a compound with preceding *prabha* or a word of its own. The beginning of the second line can with strong likelihood be reconstructed as (*th*)*ubo jīnasya* (Skt *stūpo jīnasya*) ‘the stūpa of the conqueror.’ This is followed by *ekaghaṇo* (Skt *ekaghaṇaḥ*) ‘in one mass,’ in view of its ending probably referring to the stūpa rather than the relics, the word (or part of a word) *prithu* (Skt *pr̥thu*) ‘broad,’ and the akṣaras *ra* and what, unexpectedly in context, looks like an old form of *kha*. The third line contains in the most likely reconstruction (see discussion above) (*gu*)*ṇamaṃṭida mada jīnasya* ° *maṃṭido putro* (Skt *guṇamaṇḍitā mātā jīnasya* ° *maṇḍitaḥ putraḥ*) ‘the mother of the conqueror was Guṇamaṃṭida, his son Maṃṭida.’

The first line of the verso of the fragment (21v2) consists mostly of disjoint feet of akṣaras and remains unintelligible. Line 21v3 contains the end of a passage on the lifespan of men. The following beginning of a passage on the assemblies can with great likelihood be reconstructed as 21v3 *traye koḍisāda prathama śra(vagasamnipada)* (Skt *trayaḥ koṭiśatāni prathamāḥ śrāvakasamnipātāḥ*) ‘the first assembly of listeners is three billion’ (see also discussion above). While this exact formulation is not preserved in any of the other fragments, we can compare the

Chinese and Tibetan translations given under fragment no. 16: 一會說經 ... 弟子集 and 'dus pa dañ po la ni ñan thos The next line contains, from the beginning of a new section, the end of the extent of the brilliance of a buddha (value lost) and the statement that he was a kṣatriya by birth. The last line of the recto is badly damaged in its first half, but on the basis of 18r4 *koḍīṣatiya sarve te nīpada* (compare the discussion above) we can confidently reconstruct *sa(m)nīpada* <◦> *k(o)ḍīṣatiya sa(rve)* (Skt *saṃnipātāḥ* ◦ *koṭīṣatikāḥ sarve*) '(There are ...) assemblies. Each (of these assemblies) had ten million followers.'

22) MS 2179/32c

The size of this fragment is substantial, but it consists almost entirely of formulaic elements shared by all prose descriptions of buddhas. The only distinct features of side A are the following: The lifespan under one particular buddha is one or several thousands of years (22A1 *varṣasahasra ayuprama(ṇo)*). The following buddha is a kṣatriya by birth (22A2 *kṣatriyo jadye*), and the name of his father starts with 22A2 *vi*. The lifespan under this buddha is, probably, one or several hundred thousands of years (22A3 *śatasahasra ayupramaṇo*), and the duration of his dharma in years or multiples thereof begins with 22A3 *sata* 'seven.' The extent of the brilliance of the third buddha on this fragment is one or several thousands (22A4 *(saha)sro*) of yoyanas. He is a brahman by birth and, similarly to the preceding buddha, the name of his father starts with 22A4 *viyu*. The lifespan under this third buddha is one or several thousands of years (22A5 *(var)ṣasahasra*).

From side B of the fragment we learn that the name of the father of a particular buddha began with 22B1 *citra-* (Skt *citra-*). The lifespan under this buddha was one or several thousands of years (22B2 *(va)rṣasahasra ayupramaṇo*). Strangely, this is immediately followed by the clear syllables *masthi*, which can hardly form part of the expected description of the assembly or assemblies of the buddha. The beginning of line 22B3 can be securely reconstructed as *(yovi)ṇa prabha*, so the extent of the brilliance of the following (second) buddha on this side is less than a hundred yojanas. He is a brahman by birth, the name of his father starts with 22B3 *aṇ*.. The lifespan under this buddha is one or several thousands of years (22B4 *sahasra*), and the number of his assemblies (or, less likely, the size of one or more of his assemblies) begins with 22B4 *ekuṇa-* (Skt *ekona-*). The third buddha on side B of the fragment is a kṣatriya by birth, and the name of his father starts with 22B5 *sudarśa*. The reconstruction *sudarśa(ṇo)* (Skt *sudarśanaḥ*) suggests itself, but as far as we can tell from the Tibetan translation, there is no buddha whose father bears this name.

23) MS 2179/35

The first intelligible akṣaras on side A of this fragment are 23A2 *suryaprabha*, which probably corresponds to a name starting with Skt *Sūryaprabha-*. If the name is complete, it should then be followed by a relationship term specifying who in the surroundings of the buddha in question bears the name, but the next akṣara is a clear *te* that cannot form part of any of the usual terms. We therefore have to consider the possibility that the name, complete as it sounds, had a third element after *-prabha-*. The beginning of line 23A3 can with some likelihood be reconstructed as *(saṃṇi-pa)da*, and the following words would then probably be *daśakoḍisa(hasraga sarve)* (Skt *daśakoṭi-sahasrakāḥ sarve*), specifying that each assembly of this buddha numbered one hundred billion.

Line 23A4 ? *raṭha ṇama pi(da)* tells us that the name of the father of the next buddha ended in -*raṭha* (Skt -*rāṣṭra*). The lifespan under this second buddha was one or several thousands of years (23A5 *sahasra ay(upramaṇo)*). We were able to find one passage in the Tibetan translation that has names corresponding to those on side A of our fragment at a suitable distance: D 150a2 *Ñi ma'i sgron ma* (possibly Skt *Sūryaprabha*, name of the son of a buddha) and D 150a4 *Yul 'khor bzang po* (Skt *Surāṣṭra*, name of the father of the following buddha), but feel that in view of the tentative interpretation of the *Gāndhārī* fragment this is not sufficient for a secure identification.

On side B, after an almost completely lost first line, we tentatively read and divide 23B2 ? *ñatirtharayi ṇa*. For *y*, the handwriting of our scribe would also allow us to read *ś*, but Skt *tīrtharājī* is lexicographically attested as a name for the city *Vārāṇasī* (MW s.v.), suggesting that we have to do with a similar place name and thus the native country of a buddha. What appears to be the first of three parts of the name ends in *ña*, and in view of Skt *punyaṭīrtha* (MW s.v.), we tentatively propose a complete reconstruction of the name as *(pum)ñatirtharayi*, followed by the usual *ṇa(ma jadabhumī)*. From line 23B3 we learn that the name of the foremost in wisdom of this buddha ended in *ma*. The last line of side B of the fragment preserves what is probably the beginning of the name of the attendant of the next buddha in 23B5 *p(u)t(r)o ° akh..*

24) MS 2179/105

The wording of this fragment suggests that it belonged to a verse passage. The first line of side A names the father of a buddha as 24Aa *Sudeva* (Skt *Sudeva*), matching buddhas 193 (verse), 242 (prose) and 349 (verse) in the Tibetan translation of the text. The damaged name of the mother begins with what looks like *mu*. The second line contains part of the description of the assembly or assemblies of this buddha, and appears to say that all contained therein were arhants, though the precise interpretation of *aṣa* remains uncertain.

Side B of this fragment contains, after an almost completely lost first line, the end of the specification of the mother of a buddha in 24Bb *mada* (the name itself being lost), followed by the name of the son *Varṇila* (Skt *Varṇila*), matching buddha 188 (a verse passage) in the Tibetan translation. Taken together with the matches for the name of the father on side A, this appears to suggest a placement of this fragment in the verse passage covering buddhas nos. 188 to 193. But even if we were to take side B of this fragment to cover lines 1–3 of the recto, and side A to cover lines 3–4 of the verso, there would not have been sufficient space between the two to accommodate buddhas nos. 189 to 192. The identification of this fragment thus remains unresolved.

25) MS 2179/130s

Line 25A1 of this fragment gave the name of the attendant of a buddha, which ended in *du*. The interpretation of the next line, which we read as 25A2 ? *hagadhasya*, remains entirely unclear, though apparently it contains a genitive form. The last line of side A contains what should likely be read as *rayo* (although *raśo* would also be possible), and probably corresponds to Skt -*rājah* as part of a name.

Line 25B3 can be reconstructed as *(va)rṣasaha(sra)* and thus indicated either the lifespan under a particular buddha or the duration of his dharma. The following line gave the name of his

foremost in understanding (25B4 *ṇama praṇṇā(mamtaṇa agro)*), now lost. The last line appears to describe the relics (25B5 *śarira*) of the same buddha, but it remains unclear what to make of preceding *śa* (or *ya*). Following *ṣ.*, occurring after a punctuation dot at the beginning of a word, with some likelihood belonged to a number word starting with *ṣa-* (Skt *ṣaṭ-*) ‘six,’ even though in the usual pattern the passage on the relics is the very last of a buddha section.

26) MS 2179/uf2/6e

Side A of this small fragment does not preserve any intelligible words. The phrasing of side B suggests a verse passage, starting with what appears to be the genitive ending of the name of the buddha in question followed by his title 26B1 *jīṇasya*. The next line was on the foremost in supernormal power, but all identifying characteristics are lost.

27) MS 2179/uf3/1a

Line 27A1 of this fragment contains the genitive plural *arahāṇa* (Skt *arhatām*) ‘of arhants’, followed by three short vertical lines that we can only interpret as three numeral signs *1* indicating the number 3. We evidently have to do with the description of the assembly or assemblies of a buddha. Line 27A2 states that the following buddha was a brahman by birth (*brahmaṇo jatiye*). The last line of side A, like the first line of side B, remains unclear. Line 27B5 contains the beginning of a buddha section in verse, giving the name of this buddha’s native country which started with *sañāso* (more likely than *sañayo*).

28) MS 2179/uf3/1c, uf3/1e

This fragment contains contains a partially preserved folio number consisting of the number sign 20 followed by two vertical lines. Even though these lines are straight, not curved as in the folio number on fragment no. 2, there can be little doubt that they represent a sequence of number signs *1 1*. This could have been followed by at most one more number sign *1*, so that the overall folio number must have been $x + 22$ or $x + 23$.

The wording of the fragment does not allow an identification, but 28r2 *jīṇasya* immediately followed by *jatiye* suggests a verse description. The meaning of the following two akṣaras *ina* remains unclear. Line 28rc specifies the lifespan under this buddha and can be reconstructed as (*sata*)*ti varṣasahas(r)a ° ay(upramaṇo)*. The word order in line 28vb is very similar to that of a prose description, but the line contains the word *abha*, apparently preceded by (*yovi*)*ṇa*, rather than the usual prose formulation *yoviṇa prabha*, suggesting that the block of verse descriptions may have continued from the recto onto the verso. The same buddha is said to have been a brahman by birth (28rb *brahmaṇo jatiye*). The last line contained one of the numbers 240 million, 24 billion or 240 billion (*catuviśati koḍi*, *catuviśati koḍi(śata)* or *catuviśati koḍi(sahasra)*, or any of these as bahuvrīhi compound), referring most likely to the size of the assembly or one of the assemblies of this buddha.

29) MS 2179/uf3/1d

In line 29Ab, we can reconstruct *kṣatriyo ja(tīye)*. The single preserved word in line 29Ac will

have been either *koḍīśata* or *koḍīśat(iya)*. It is possible though not certain that 29Ba *samaṇa* is the present participle Skt *samāna*. In line 29Bb, we should probably reconstruct *(koḍīśat)iya ṇipada* (cf. 18r4 *koḍīśatiya sarve te ṇipada*). Following the usual pattern, the word 29Bc *jatiye* must have been preceded either by *brahmaṇo* or by *kṣatriyo*.

30) MS 2179/uf3/2a

In line 30Aa, we can probably reconstruct *saṇipa(da)*. Line 30Ab states that the following buddha was a brahman by birth. On side B of the fragment, in line 30Ba we appear to have the number sign 3, followed possibly by the number word *tray(o)*, indicating in all likelihood the end of a buddha section. Line 30Bb contained the name of the mother of the following buddha (now lost) in wording typical of a verse passage.

31) MS 2179/uf3/2b

The reading 31Ab *ṇivrade* does not make any sense as it stands and should almost certainly be emended to *ṇivr(i)de*. In comparison with 18v4 *varṣasahasra ° triśa ḥhahiśati dharma jñasya* and 19v2 *ṇivride varṣasahasra ° satati ḥh(ahiśadi)*, we can then reconstruct this line as *ṇivr(i)de varṣasahasra ° ḥhahiśadi* and in all likelihood assign it to a verse passage. The interpretation of line 31Bb remains regrettably unclear, even though most of the akṣaras are legible.

32) MS 2179/uf3/3a

Line 32Aa can be reconstructed as *(irdhimamṭaṇa a)g(r)o ° ṣaṭhi va(r)ṣasahasra* (or *varṣa* or *var-ṣasada*) *ayupramaṇo*. In line 32Ba, we can read *prabha (° b)rahma(ṇo jatiye)*. Both expressions most likely belonged to prose passages.

33) AF N1

Only one side of this fragment is visible in the available photograph, which is moreover so blurry that our readings can only be taken as approximate. The beginning of line 33A1 can be reconstructed as *(jada)bhumi*, and the end, less securely, as *kṣatriyo ja(diye)*. If this is correct, then an empty space approximately four akṣaras wide separated the two phrases at the upper edge of the fragment. It is likely that this space was due to a string-hole, and thus that line 33Aa was the third line of the folio (if the string-hole space interrupted only a single line) or the fourth line (if it interrupted three lines). In line 33Ab, the secure formula for the foremost in supernormal power (whose name is lost) is followed by what appears to be *tr.* and thus may belong to a number word containing ‘three’ and introducing the passage on the lifespan under the buddha in question.

34) AF N2

This fragment is known from the same low-resolution photograph as fragment no. 33, and the same caveats concerning our readings apply. Line 34Aa appears to contain two number words, first *capariśa* (Skt *catvāriṃśat*) ‘forty,’ then *paṃca* (Skt *pañca*) ‘five,’ separated by a punctuation dot. It is unclear why these two words would have occurred next to each other. After a completely illegible second line, line 34Ac preserves a fairly clear *prañama(mṭaṇa)* specifying the foremost in understanding of a buddha.

35) MS 2179/107

We now begin our discussion of the last group of fragments: those that contain no clear textual indication of belonging to the Bhk, but are written in the hand of the Bhk scribe.

The first of these is very different in style from the formulaic Perfection and Buddha sections and appears to recount a story. Line 35Aa begins with *gado*, presumably either Skt *gataḥ* ‘he went’ or Skt *āgataḥ* ‘he came.’ The following phrase would then indicate the destination of the movement and can be reconstructed as *yatra aridameṇa tathaga(deṇa)* (Skt *yatra arimḍamena tathā-gatena*) ‘where the tathāgata Arimḍama (carried out some action).’ Line 35Ab begins with an unclear word, possibly in the instrumental, followed by the number sign *1 1* probably concluding a section. The next word is clearly the river name Bhagirasi (Skt Bhāgīrathī). It is tempting to read the following two akṣaras either as *ṇadi* (Skt *nadī*) ‘river’ or as *ṇama* (Skt *nāma*) ‘called,’ but the second of the two does not have quite the right shape for either interpretation. It is possible that *bhagirasiṇa* should be taken as an instrumental, or that *bhagirasi* was part of a compound with unclear posterior member. The only legible word in line 35Ac is *ṇido*, which may correspond either to Skt *nītaḥ* ‘was led’ or to Skt *ānītaḥ* ‘was brought.’

On the other side of the fragment, unclear 35Ba *kareṇa* (apparently an instrumental) is followed by the number sign *4* (probably again concluding a section) and what we tentatively read as *oya* (with *ośa* and *aśra* as alternative readings). If this reading is correct, we may here have the common Gāndhārī word *oya* (Skt *avacat*) ‘said’ introducing direct speech. Line 35Bb contains, after one unclear akṣara, the gerund *prekṣitva* (Skt *prekṣitvā*) ‘having seen.’ This is followed by *ludhagadarakeṇa*, apparently corresponding to Skt *lubdhakadārakena* ‘by the son of a hunter.’

While the Bhk does contain a section for a buddha Arimḍama (no. 259, dGra ’dul, in the Tibetan translation), here we clearly do not have the usual description of a buddha. If the fragment belongs to the Bhk at all, it most likely hails from a part of the text outside the Perfections and Buddhas Sections.

36) MS 2179/130Q

In line 36Ab, *prathamam* appears to be adverbial (‘for the first time’). The following *bodha-* (Skt *bodha-*) may be the first part of a compound. In the following line, we can reconstruct 36Bc *(ta)thagado*. The reading *ṇama* in line 36Ba is tentative. In line 36Bb, *daśiṇo* (Skt *darśiṇaḥ*, either genitive singular or nominative plural) is a possible reading, and the word may then have formed the posterior member of a compound.

37) MS 2179/uf2/3c

No legible words remain on this fragment.

38) MS 2170/uf3/1b

The first line of this fragment does not yield any unambiguous readings, but it is possible that it contained the word *opama* (Skt *aupamya*) ‘simile.’ The following letter can be read as either *mi* or *ga*. In line 38Ab, *aṇagami-* (Skt *anāgami-*) ‘non-returner’ is a likely reading, even though its first letter (which has a crack running through it) at first glance looks more like a *ja* or *ḍa*. In line 38Bb, the reconstruction *sarthavaha-* (Skt *sarthavāha-*) ‘merchant leader’ suggests itself, and it is

possible that this formed a compound with a posterior member starting with *ñā-* and belonging to the word family of Skt *jñā-* ‘to know.’ In line 38Bc, *dharmeṣu suviṇīc(ita)* ‘well convinced with regard to the dharmas’ is a tempting reconstruction, but it is not clear how the trace of ink after *ṇi* could belong to *cā*. The overall tenor of this passage is didactic.

39) MS 2179/uf3/3b

No legible words remain on this fragment.

40) MS 2179/uf4/2b

This fragment appears to contain the words 40Ab *karma* (Skt *karman*) ‘action’ and 40Ba *saṃsriṭha* (Skt *saṃsṛṣṭa*) ‘combined,’ but in the absence of context their significance remains unclear.

41) MS 2179/uf4/2c

No legible words remain on this fragment.

42) MS 2179/uf4/2d

The only legible word on this small fragment is 42Aa *varṣa*, which might have formed part of one of the expressions for duration in the Bhk’s Buddhas Section, but could of course also occur in any number of other contexts.

43) MS 2179/uf4/4b

Line 43Ba appears to contain the words *ca ye* (Skt *ca ye*) ‘and ... which.’

44) MS 2179/uf4/4f

Line 44Aa contains the word *bhumi*, but here it is preceded either by *ya* or by *śa* and thus clearly does not form part of the common compound *jadabhumi* in the Buddhas Section.

45) MS 2179/uf5/2a

The handwriting on this fragment is unusually large, but appears to be by the Bhk scribe. Line 45Aa appears to contain part of a word with the prefix *abhi-* (Skt *abhi-*).

46) MS 2179/uf5/2c

Line 46Ab could possibly be reconstructed as *(a)vekṣida* (Skt *apekṣita*) ‘considered.’ Lines 46Ba and 46Bb both appear to contain gerundives ending in *-davya* (Skt *-tavya*).

47) MS 2179/uf5/4b

The writing on this fragment is somewhat larger than that of most of the other fragments, but otherwise consistent with the hand of the Bhk scribe and therefore included here. One side of the fragment (line 47A5) reads *paraga*, presumably corresponding to Skt *pāraga* ‘going to the far side.’ The first line on the other side (47B1) reads *su vimu*, probably containing the beginning of either *vimuta* (Skt *vimukta*) ‘liberated’ or *vimuti* (Skt *vimukti*) ‘liberation.’ The preceding *su* could be part of the same word (‘properly liberated’ or ‘proper liberation’) or possibly the termination of a preceding word or compound member.

48) HI 21

It is not clear that fragment no. 48, comparable in size to fragment no. 35, belonged to the Bhk. Where fragment no. 35 was narrative in tone, the wording of fragment no. 48 suggests a didactic dialogue.

Line 48Aa starts off with the verb *vakṣati* (Skt *vakṣyati*) ‘he will say,’ introducing direct speech consisting of (or beginning with) *budho bheṣe* (Skt *buddho bhaviṣyāmi*) ‘I will become a buddha.’ Line 48Ab contains the number signs *10 4*, presumably again signalling the end of a section. The following sentence begins with *śruda teṇa* (probably Skt *śrutam teṇa* ‘he heard’), which is followed by less clear *bhudaṃ eṣa* (possibly Skt *bhūta eṣa* ‘he has become’). Line 48Ac contains the two words *daridra prañahīṇa* (Skt *daridrāḥ prajñāhīnāḥ*) ‘poor and devoid of understanding.’

In line 48Bb on the other side of the fragment, we can surely reconstruct *(pa)riprichati ca* (Skt *paripṛcchati ca*) ‘and he asks.’ If our interpretation as singular verb is correct, then the following *sarve* (Skt *sarve*) ‘all’ must be part of the content of the question. It is in turn followed by another form of *sarva-* with unclear case ending. In line 48Bc, *bhogane pi sokha* will correspond to Skt *bhojane ’pi saukhyam* ‘also in eating there is enjoyment,’ with hypercorrect *g* for *j*. In light of *na* at the beginning of the following sentence, it is possible that also this sentence was negated, in which case we would wish to read *na ca* at the beginning of the line.

49) AF A5

A possible reconstruction for line 49Aa is *(ni)vride* (Skt *nirvṛte*) ‘having become extinguished.’

Concordance of Fragment and CKM Numbers

The following table provides a concordance between fragment numbers as used in this article and the corresponding entries in the *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* (Baums and Glass 2002b).

| Fragment no. | CKM no. | | |
|--------------|------------------|----|-----|
| 1 | 128, 131 | 25 | 401 |
| 2 | 130, 203 | 26 | 350 |
| 3 | 213 | 27 | 351 |
| 4 | 373 | 28 | 353 |
| 5 | 62 | 29 | 354 |
| 6 | 317 | 30 | 355 |
| 7 | 319 | 31 | 356 |
| 8 | 321 | 32 | 359 |
| 9 | 392 | 33 | 409 |
| 10 | 393 | 34 | 410 |
| 11 | 357 | 35 | 204 |
| 12 | 358 | 36 | 399 |
| 13 | 372 | 37 | 349 |
| 14 | 375 | 38 | 352 |
| 15 | 126 | 39 | 360 |
| 16 | 44 | 40 | 361 |
| 17 | 53, 56, 133, 402 | 41 | 362 |
| 18 | 71, 374 | 42 | 363 |
| 19 | 125 | 43 | 364 |
| 20 | 45, 52 | 44 | 365 |
| 21 | 129, 322 | 45 | 412 |
| 22 | 323 | 46 | 413 |
| 23 | 132 | 47 | 414 |
| 24 | 202 | 48 | 70 |
| | | 49 | 376 |

The Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra in Gāndhārī

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Introduction

In July 2008 a small fragment in the Schøyen collection (Schøyen MS 2179/17) written in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language was identified by Kazunobu Matsuda as corresponding to a portion of the ninth chapter, entitled Vīryapāramitā, of the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* (Bspt), on the basis of parallels with the Tibetan¹ and Chinese² translations of this text. Subsequently, a complete Sanskrit manuscript of the Bspt has come to light, and this has confirmed Matsuda's original identification.³ Another fragmentary manuscript of the Sanskrit Bspt, dating from about the fifth or sixth century A.D., had previously been identified among the Bamiyan fragments in the Schøyen Collection (Braarvig and Pagel 2006).

The contents and history of the Bspt had been studied in detail by Ulrich Pagel (1995) before the recent discoveries, which provide further confirmation of the popularity and importance of this text. However, the long and comprehensive sūtra is rather surprisingly not often quoted in the śāstra literature when compared with, e.g., the various *Mahāsannipāta* chapters, to which the Bspt bears great similarity and with which it has many paragraphs verbatim in common.⁴ But clearly the text was much copied and attracted great interest apart from the śāstras, since it is extant in so many periods, as evidenced by the very early fragments edited here, the Schøyen Bamiyan fragments from about 500 A.D., and the probably 10th century complete Bspt manuscript from Lhasa (Braarvig et al. forthcoming).

The existence of a manuscript of the Bspt in Gāndhārī rather than in Sanskrit is of particular interest. First of all, this shows that Sanskrit was not “the sūtra's likely language of conception,” as had been suggested in Braarvig and Pagel 2006: 14.⁵ While the new fragment does not prove that the sūtra was originally composed in Gāndhārī, as opposed to some other Middle Indo-Aryan dialect, we can now be quite certain that the Gāndhārī text preceded the Sanskrit versions both textually and chronologically, and it is quite possible that the Bspt was translated into Sanskrit

¹ Derge dkon brtsegs kha 255b1–ga 205b1.

² T. vol. 11, no. 310, pp. 274c14–275b16, and no. 316, pp. 853a26–c28.

³ There are several other fragments in the Schøyen and Hirayama collections, as well as some other fragments of Bamiyan manuscripts whose current location is unknown, which are written in a similar hand and which may also be parts of the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*, although none of them has been positively identified so far.

⁴ On the *Mahāsannipāta*, see Braarvig 1993 vol. II: xxvff. On the discussion of the temporal priority of the *Akṣayama-tinirdeśa* over Bspt, see *ibid.*: xlvif. Braarvig now, *contra* Takasaki 1974, tends to agree with Pagel that the Bspt precedes the Akṣ, and that the *Mahāsannipāta* collection is a later development of the Bspt. But much intertextual analysis remains to prove or disprove this. See also Braarvig and Pagel 2006: 11–15.

⁵ Compare Allon and Salomon 2010.

from an archetype in Gāndhārī.⁶ Secondly, this is one of eight instances, all of them recent discoveries, of Mahāyāna or Mahāyāna-related manuscripts in Gāndhārī, three of them among the Bamiyan materials⁷ and five others in various other collections of Gāndhārī texts (Allon and Salomon 2010).⁸ While the Bamiyan manuscripts represent a later phase of Gāndhārī literature, probably not before the late second century A.D., the other manuscripts are evidently older, including one which has been dated by radiocarbon tests to the first or early second century A.D. (Allon and Salomon 2010). Thus these Gāndhārī manuscripts provide by far the earliest surviving direct documentary testimony of any Mahāyāna sūtras. They also show that the traditional association of Mahāyāna texts with the Sanskrit language is historically unjustified, since Mahāyāna literature now appears to have been well-developed in Gāndhārī from an early period, before Sanskrit came into wide use for Buddhist texts.

Description of the fragment

The Gāndhārī Bspt fragment, measuring 10 cm wide and 4.3 cm high, is apparently the left-hand portion of a palm-leaf folio, since what seems to be a narrow blank margin is discernible on the third and fourth lines of the recto, corresponding to the second and third lines of the verso. Each side contains five lines of text which, to judge from other Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments, is likely to represent the full height of the folio. Both the top and bottom lines are partially broken off. The text on the verso is for the most part clear and easy to read, but the recto is worn and faded, especially in the middle lines, and often very difficult to read without the assistance of the Sanskrit and other parallel texts; such instances are discussed in the notes below.

The surviving sections of the lines contain for the most part between seventeen and twenty akṣaras. A comparison with the Sanskrit text, especially the verse portion, shows that each line of the entire folio would have contained about sixty-four to seventy-two akṣaras. Thus the surviving portion represents slightly over one quarter of the original folio, which therefore would have been roughly 40 cm long.

The ends of the *gāthās* on the recto and first two lines of the verso were numbered, but only the numerals 2 and 4 survive. These verse numbers, and by extension the ones which must have been applied to the other verses on the complete folio, correspond exactly to those of the Sanskrit parallel, indicating that the number and ordering of the verses in both versions were the same. However, in terms of their specific wording, there are considerable differences. In several cases (see the notes below on lines r2, r3, r4, and v1) the Gāndhārī text has readings which differ, sometimes substantially, from most or all of the other versions of the text (in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese), and thus it appears, as far as can be determined from the small remnant, to stand out as a representative of an independent recension, as is typically the case with the newly discovered

⁶ There is at least one possible hint of a Gāndhārī substratum to the Sanskrit text of the portion of the Bspt corresponding to the fragment under discussion here; see the text note on line r2.

⁷ These include the fragments of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* and a fragment of the *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*, both edited in this volume.

⁸ See Harrison and Hartmann 2014: xvi, n. 19.

The language and script of the fragment are more or less typical of the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhi/Gāndhārī fragments, which exhibit a relatively late stage of development of the Buddhist literary tradition in Gāndhārī. The orthography shows a few instances of the tendency toward Sanskritization that is found in many of the Bamiyan Gāndhārī documents. For example, in *atmano* (r3) the Old Indo-Aryan consonant cluster *tm* is retained (or rather, restored) instead of being written as *tv* or *p(p)* as is more common in earlier Gāndhārī; similarly, in *tas[y]evam* (v5) = Sanskrit *tasyaivam*, the cluster *sy* is written as in Sanskrit, rather than as *s(s)* or *ś(ś)*.¹⁰ Also characteristic of later, Sanskrit-influenced Gāndhārī is the spelling *gatha* (r1) for Sanskrit *gāthāḥ*, instead of earlier Gāndhārī *gaṣa* or *gasa*. But the overall degree of Sanskritization is not as pronounced as in some of the other Gāndhārī texts from Bamiyan (Salomon 2001: 246). Rather, it resembles the moderately Sanskritized style of the Bamiyan fragments of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (ibid., pp. 243–6; Allon and Salomon 2000: 266–7).

*Transliteration*¹¹

1 ++++++ [tae] ca vela ima gatha
 2 ++++++ [ka]n[atha] n[a] paśati ° 2 bhayo jane[ti] satvana +
 deya[d].
 3 ++++ ○ ++++++ [labho] ° 4 [ma]dapida[ra] bharya ca ° dharmaśra[vana]do +
 4 ++++++ [dha]rma ° bh[u]do paśati atmano [°] krodho doṣo
 [u]padi[tva] + [na]
 5 ++++++ [d].[i]t̥hva ca na prasi[da]di + [i]stripamda[ga] + [ca].[dh]. +

¹¹ The reading of the text has at various stages benefitted from the efforts of several scholars, and is in effect a cooperative effort by all of them. A preliminary reading was originally prepared by Andrew Glass and subsequently revised by Richard Salomon and Stefan Baums. Further improvements and comments were provided by Jan Nattier, Peter Skilling, Giuliana Martini (Ven. Dhammadinnā), and Ingo Strauch, while the final text presented here was established at a meeting of the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project research team (Stefan Baums, Collett Cox, Andrew Glass, Timothy Lenz, Richard Salomon, and Tien-chang Shih) on October 9, 2009.

¹² This tentative reconstruction is based on the Sanskrit parallel given below. It is presented in italics within parentheses in the reconstruction, but simply within parentheses in the translation.

[illegible]

¹³ The incomplete *pādas* or sentences are supplemented from the Sanskrit text.

- 3 (five) (characteristics?) ... (and [fifthly]), he arouses stinginess (by his actions toward another community. Endowed) with these five (characteristics), Śāriputra,
 4 (a renunciant bodhisattva fails to encounter the arising of a Buddha. ... Śāriputra, it is as if a hungry dog were to take a bit of bone) with some flesh smeared with blood. Standing in the middle of the road, (he would eat the bone, smeared with his) own sal(iva).
 5 (Seeing a man coming from a distance,) that (hungry dog) might think, ‘(He is going to take) this (delicious morsel from me!)’ ...”¹⁴

Sanskrit parallel from the Lhasa manuscript of Bsp¹⁵

atha khalu bhagavāṃs **tasyāṃ velāyām imā gāthā** abhāṣata ||

imāni pañca dharmāṇi yehi prajñā na vardhate |
 buddhiś ca naśyate kṣipraṃ virāgeti narottamaṃ || 1

visamvādeti so satvāṃ bhaṭo rājakule yathā |
 tenākuśalamūlena lokanāthā **na paśyati** || 2

bhayaṃ janeti satvānāṃ gr̥hṇathā harathā svayaṃ |
 duṣkṛtaṃ (a7) karma kṛtvāna virāgeti narottamaṃ || 3

bhikṣubhikṣuṇiśīlāto cyāvitvā bhoti duḥkhito |
 bahū buddha virāgeti kṣaṇāsya bhoti durlabho <||> 4

mātāpitṛbhāryāṃ ca dharmacaryātu vārayet* |
 dharmāṃ na śruṇate kṣipraṃ bhoti mohena āvṛtaḥ || 5

pravrajyāṃ gacchamānasya antarāyaṃ karitvanā |
 bahubuddhāṃ virāgeti kṣaṇo sya na ca bhoti ca || 6

śrutvāna īdrśaṃ **dharmam*** (a8) **yatra śūnyata varṇitāḥ** |
krodhadoṣa upādeti neti dharmmo ti bhāṣate || 7

sarve ime antarāyāḥ kalāṃ nopaiti ṣoḍaśīm* |
 pratikṣipitvā saddharmaṃ jātyandho bhoti duḥkhito || 8

¹⁴ A possible alternative text and translation for lines v4 and v5, as explained in the text notes, would be:

4 (... lo)///[hi]damakṣida maṃsa<china> ° so rachamukhe ṭhahitva ° sval[p]a

5 /// tasyeva masa[hina]

4 (“Śāriputra, it is as if a hungry dog were to take a bit of bone) smeared with blood, without flesh. Standing in the middle of the road, (he would eat) the tiny amount (of flesh).

5 (Seeing a man coming from a distance ...) of that same (bone) without any flesh ...”

¹⁵ See Braarvig *et al.* forthcoming. The paragraph in question is on folio 95a6–b8 of the Lhasa MS. Parts of the text corresponding to surviving portions of the Gāndhārī version are indicated in bold face, as also in the Tibetan and Chinese translations—however, the Chinese translations do not always fit the Skt as well as the Tibetan does.

na sa paśyati saṃbuddhaṃ **dr̥ṣṭvā no ca prasīdati** |
istrīpaṇḍakajātyandho śunaho bhoti gardabho |< 9

(img. 40.5; fol. 95b1) yasya buddhaś ca bodhiś ca bodhisatvāḥ priyāpriye |
 antarāyaṃ vivarjītvā mārgaṃ bhāveya bhadrakaṃ || 10

mātā pitā ca dharmesmiṃ niyojeti **punaḥ punaḥ** |
pravrajyāṃ sarvasatvāna kṣipraṃ eva samādade || 11

mātān dharmme niyojītvā kṣipraṃ gacchati sadgatim* |
 pravrajyāṃ varṇayītvāna kṣipraṃ bodhiṃ vibudhyate || 12

pañcabhiḥ śāriputra dharmmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ pravra(b2)**jito bodhisatvo buddhotpādaṃ virāgayati** kalyāṇamitrāṇi ca na sevate kṣaṇasaṃpadaṃ ca na pratilabhate yathā samudānītāni ca kuśalamūlāni viprañśayati saṃvarasthitasya ca bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya nānuśikṣito bhavati na ca kṣipraṃ anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisambudhyate || **katamaiḥ** (MS: -meḥ) pañcabhiḥ ' dauḥśītyavyavacāreṇa saddharma(b3)pratikṣepeṇa | lābhasatkāraślokādhyavasitatvena | ātmaḍṣṭīgahanena ' parakule cersyāmātsaryotpādanena | **ebhiḥ śāriputra pañcabhir** dharmaiḥ samanvāgataḥ pravrajito bodhisatvo buddhotpādaṃ virāgayati kalyāṇamitrāṇi ca na sevate || peyālam* || yāvan na kṣipraṃ anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisambudhyate || tad yathā śāriputra bubhuksi(b4)taḥ kurkkuro 'sthiśaṅkalāṃ nirmāṃsāṃ gr̥hītvā **lohitamrakṣitāṃ sa rathyā-mukhe sthitvā** lālāpralīptāṃ paribhumjītātha gacchet* kṣatriyamahāsālo vā brāhmaṇamahāsālo vā gr̥hapatimahāsālo vā tam enaṃ sa bubhuksiṭaḥ kurkkuro dūrata evāgacchantāṃ paśyet **tasyaivaṃ bhaved idam** evaṃ me rasabhojanaṃ hariṣyatīti sa gambhīraṃ ca garjet* ghorāṃ ca prekṣeta daṃṣṭrā vi(b5)darśikayā ca paribheṣeta ' tat kiṃ manyase śāriputrārthī sa puruṣas tayāsthiśaṅkalayā nirmāṃsaṇitamrakṣitayā āha no hīdaṃ bhagavan no hīdaṃ sugata ' bhagavān āha ' tat kimarthaṃ śvā gambhīraṃ garjati ghorāṃ ca prekṣate daṃṣṭrā vidarśikayā ca paribheṣate āha idam manyamānaḥ idam me eṣa rasāyanaṃ hariṣyatīti gambhīraṃ ca garjati ghorāṃ ca prekṣa(b6)te daṃṣṭrā vidarśakayā ca paribheṣate ' āhaivaṃ eva śāriputra ye te bhikṣavo bhaviṣyanti kulamātsaryābhiyuktāḥ uccāraprasrāvaparyavanāhagrddhā ye imāṃ evaṃrūpāṃ kṣaṇasaṃpadaṃ ārāgya virāgayanti tān ahaṃ śvāsamān iti vadāmi kevalaṃ tathāgatas teṣāṃ arthāya imāny evaṃrūpāny upanyāsthanāni karoti ' ye punaḥ śāriputra bodhisatvāḥ (b7) mahāsatvā bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya buddhajñānaṃ prārthayante ta ātmamānsāny api parityajanti kaḥ punar vādaḥ parakuleṣu ' tarkaṇopāsanārthikā īrṣyāmātsaryāṃ kariṣyanti te punaḥ śāriputra mohapuruṣā jīvitārthina āmiṣadāsā lokāmiṣagurukā bhaktajīvaparamāḥ tarkaṇopāsanārthāya parakuleṣv īrṣyāmātsaryam utpā(b8)dayiṣyanti |

Notes on the text

r1, (ta)///[e] ca vela: In the first surviving letter only the bottom is preserved, but it agrees with the normal shape of *e*, and this reading and the reconstruction (ta)e is supported by the Sanskrit parallel, *tasyāṃ velāyām*. However, the expected reading of the last word would be *velae* (locative feminine) rather than *vela*; the latter is presumably an abbreviation or clipped form for this set

phrase, though it is also conceivable that the normal ending was omitted by scribal error.

r2, *jane[ti]*: The *i* vowel diacritic on the last syllable is incompletely written and/or damaged so that the syllable looks superficially like *ca*, but the intended reading is certainly *ti*, as confirmed by the Sanskrit parallel, *janeti*.

r2, *deya[d]*: Here the Gāndhārī text seems not to correspond directly with the other versions; Sanskrit has *gr̥hṇathā harathā svayaṃ*, and the others are similar. A form of *ā* + *√dā*, “take,” rather than of *√dā* alone, would give a better correspondence to Sanskrit *gr̥hṇathā harathā* “seize, steal!” (apparently second person plural imperative¹⁶), but the Gāndhārī reading is clear. The Gāndhārī version may have had an entirely different pāda here, and the obscurity of the Sanskrit text at this point may be related to this problem.

Svayaṃ “himself” in the Sanskrit text corresponds to *bdag gis* of the Tibetan translation, but the Chinese translation has 損害 *sūnhai* “suffer damage, lose property,” which may reflect an underlying Indic *svakam* “property.” The neutralization of the distinction between *svayaṃ* and *svakam* is characteristic of Gāndhārī (Salomon 2008: 220), so that the variation at this point in the later versions seems to imply an underlying Gāndhārī archetype.

r3, *(dro)///[labho]* °: Although the remaining akṣaras are very faint, the reading and reconstruction are confirmed by *durlabho* of the Sanskrit text.

r3, *dharmasra[vana]do* . . . : The first four akṣaras are fairly clear, but the rest are faint and uncertain. It would appear that the Gāndhārī text had *dharmasravanado* “from hearing the dharma” instead of *dharmacaryātu* “from practicing the dharma” of Sanskrit and the other versions. The last three letters are almost completely effaced; we might expect *varaye* or the like, on the basis of *vārayet* in the Sanskrit, but the faintly visible upper right portion of the first of these three letters seems to have a rounded corner rather than the sharp angle that is characteristic of Kharoṣṭhī *va*.

r4, *bh[u]do paśati atmano* [°]: Here the Gāndhārī text diverges entirely from the Sanskrit (*yatra śūnyatā varṇitāḥ*) and other versions, and its sense is not entirely clear. Since the accusative singular masculine/neuter seems to end regularly in *-o* in this text (*bhayo*, r2; *krodho doṣo*, r4;

¹⁶ If the Sanskrit text is correct here, *gr̥hṇathā* and *harathā* must be second plural imperatives of an “extremely common” (BHS §26.12) Buddhist Sanskrit type in *-tha/thā* rather than standard Sanskrit *-ta*. In this case, the phrase may reflect an idiomatic construction in which a series of imperative forms is used to describe a repeated or intensive action, like those prescribed in Pāṇini 3.4.2 and 3.4.5, for which the standard example sentences are *lunīhi lunīhīty evāyaṃ lunāti* “‘Cut! cut!’ he cuts” and *odanaṃ bhuñkṣva saktūn piba dhānāḥ khādety evāyaṃ abhyavaharati* “‘Eat the rice!’ ‘Drink the barley-water!’ — ‘Devour the fried grain!’ — so he has his meal.” As noted by R. G. Bhandarkar (1929: 576–7), such sub-literary idioms attested in the ancient grammarians sometimes have reflections in the modern Indian vernaculars, and a similar archaic idiom recorded by Pāṇini (3.2.112) whereby the future tense “may be used as a sort of imperfect to express what used to take place” (Burrow 1937: 60) has been observed in Central Asian Gāndhārī. Thus the peculiar line *bhayaṃ janeti satvānāṃ gr̥hṇathā harathā svayaṃ* in the Sanskrit text may connote something like “Constantly taking and stealing their property [*svayaṃ* for original *svakam*? — see the text note above], he causes fear to [all] beings”; literally, “‘Take! Steal property!’ he causes fear.”

It is true that by comparison with the Sanskrit idioms we would expect the imperative forms here to be singular (**gr̥hṇa hara*) rather than plural, since Pāṇini prescribes that in this construction the second person singular imperative may be used even with a dual or plural agent (e.g. *lunīhi lunīhīty evame lunanti* “‘Cut! Cut! [sg.]’ they cut”). But perhaps we have here the converse phenomenon, reflecting a dialect where the imperative second plural rather than singular was used for the corresponding idiom. This explanation is admittedly speculative, but seems to be the only way to make sense of the text as it stands — unless, of course, the readings are corrupt.

budhupado, v2; (*ma*)[*tsa*]*riyo*, v3), *bhudo* and *atmano* are most likely accusative, whence the proposed translation “He perceives the self as real.”

r4, [*u*]*padi*[*tva*]: The grammatical form (gerund), but not the sense, differs from the Sanskrit text’s *upādeti*.

r4, [*n*]. : The Sanskrit here has *neti*, so the Gāndhārī likely had the same or a similar reading.

r5, /// [*d*](*r*)[*i*]*thva ca na prasi*[*da*]*dī* (°) [*i*]*stripaṇḍa*[*ga*](*ja*)[*ca*](*m*)[*dh*](*o*) .. +: The entire line agrees closely with the Sanskrit (*dṛṣtvā no ca prasīdati / istrīpaṇḍakajātyandho*). At the end of the line, there is a space where the top of an akṣara should have appeared, but it is almost entirely rubbed off; this is followed by the broken corner of the fragment, which would probably have contained one more akṣara. Thus it is fairly likely that at the end of this line the Gāndhārī text originally had part of a word corresponding to BHS *śunaho* “a dog” in the Lhasa MS.

v1, *punapunaṃ* ° *p*[*a*]*rva*[*ja*] *sa*[*r*](*va*)*satva yo* ° *kṣi*(*p*)*ra*(*m e*)[*va*] *sa*: Here again the text closely resembles the Sanskrit (*punaḥ punaḥ | pravrajyāṃ sarvasatvāna kṣipram eva*), so that the *sa* at the end of the line should be the beginning of the Gāndhārī word corresponding to *samādade* which follows in Sanskrit. However, the function of *yo* after *sa*[*r*](**va*)*satva* remains unclear; it is presumably the relative pronoun “(he) who,” though the Sanskrit parallel does not have such a relative construction. Alternatively, this akṣara could be read as *śo*, since *yo* and *śo* are virtually indistinguishable in later Kharoṣṭhī script, in which case we might have an adverbial expression *sa*[*r*](*va*)*satvaśo*, “towards/with regard to all beings,” but this hardly seems idiomatic.

v2, (*parva*)///[*y*](*i*)*do bodhisatvo* ° *budhupado virageti* ° *kadame*: Except for the last word, this line agrees closely with the Sanskrit text (*pravrajito bodhisatvo buddhotpādaṃ virāgayati*). However, the phrase in the Sanskrit version, *katameḥ* (sic; read *katamaiḥ*) *paṃcabhiḥ*, which corresponds to the next word in the Gāndhārī text, *kadame*, is preceded by a passage several lines long for which there is no equivalent in the Gāndhārī. (This extra passage in the Sanskrit text lists four additional negative consequences, besides “failing to encounter the arising of Buddhas,” of the five characteristics in question, such as not frequenting benevolent companions (*kalyāṇamitrāṇi ca na sevate*), and so on). The Tibetan and Chinese versions do have an equivalent to this passage, which is thus lacking only in G.

For the grammatical form of *kadame* (nom. pl.), see the following note.

v3, (*ma*)///[*tsa*]*riyo upadeti* ° : Here the Sanskrit text has a nominal phrasing in the instrumental case, *mātsaryotpādena*, rather than the verbal expression as in the Gāndhārī text, and this presumably would also have applied to the four preceding characteristics (*dharma*) which are similarly expressed by nominal expressions in Sanskrit (*dauḥśīlyavyavacāreṇa*, etc.) but which must have been phrased verbally in the lost part of the Gāndhārī text.

v4, (*lo*)///[*hi*]*damakṣidamaṃsa*: The precise correspondence here with the Sanskrit parallel, *’sthiśaṅkalāṃ nirmāṃsāṃ grhītvā lohitaṃrakṣitāṃ*, is uncertain. The apparent sense of Gāndhārī (*lo*)///[*hi*]*damakṣidamaṃsa*, as presented in the translation above, is “(a bit of bone) with some flesh smeared with blood,” taking (*lo*)///[*hi*]*damakṣidamaṃsa* as a bahuvrīhi compound modifying the lost word which corresponded to Sanskrit (*a*)*sthiśaṅkalāṃ*.

But one is tempted to suspect that the scribe of this text or its archetype omitted the word *hina* at the end of this sentence, and that the correct reading was (*lo*)///[*hi*]*damakṣida maṃ-*

sa<hina> (“smeared with blood, without flesh”), with *māṃsa<hina>* as the approximate equivalent of Sanskrit’s *nirmāṃsām* (with corresponding expressions in Tibetan and Chinese). Moreover, one of the two possible readings (*tasyeva masahina*) and interpretations of the small remnant of the following line of the Gāndhārī text strengthens this alternate explanation; see the note there.

v4, *rachamukh[e]*: The *mu* here has the form of a vertical line with a small circle at the bottom. The syllable *mu* is always treated as a special ligature in Kharoṣṭhī script, which takes many different forms (Glass 2000: 92; Salomon 1999: 209). This particular form, however, has not previously been noted.

The syllable *kh[e]* is also of paleographic interest. It has an ornamental angle at the lower left, apparently corresponding to a “type 7 foot mark” (Glass 2000: 55). The lower part of the letter seems to have been written as a separate stroke rather than in one continuous stroke as in the usual forms of *kh*, and the diacritic sign for the *e* vowel is tucked inside the curved upper part of the consonant.

v4, *sva[l]ā*: The last letter, whose left side is incompletely preserved, is clearly an *l* with an additional stroke at the right side of the stem. This extra stroke could be a subscript *p*, in which case this might be the beginning of an adjectival compound describing the piece of bone, such as *svalpa(māṃsa)*, “with very little meat.” But the additional mark is somewhat lower down than would be usual for a subscript *p*, and moreover the Sanskrit parallel here has *lālāpralīptām* (with similar expressions in Tibetan and Chinese), which suggests that the word in question was *svala(la-)* “(smeared with) his own saliva.” In this case, the extra stroke at the bottom right of the *l* might be the mark which is sporadically used in later Kharoṣṭhī to indicate a long vowel (Salomon 2001: 246). Alternatively, the syllable in question is quite similar to the modified form of *l* which is sometimes found in Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī (Glass 2000: 127), with an additional stroke at the bottom which is apparently a reduced form of subscript *y*, for which Burrow proposed the transliterations *ly* or *lỵ*. According to Burrow (1937: 11), this form of *l* occurs only before the vowel *i* (e.g., *pal̥yi* = *bali*), which is not the case here. But another Kharoṣṭhī manuscript from the Schøyen Collection (MS 2179.8A, line v4; Salomon, in this volume) has *dharmapalyaka* as the equivalent for Sanskrit *dharmapālaka*. Although in this word the syllable *lya* is written with a different form of subscript *y*, it confirms that this variant pronunciation, evidently some sort of palatalized *l*, could also occur without a following *i*. In light of this data, together with the indications of the parallel texts, the reading *svalā(la-)* is more likely, although *svalpa* is not to be ruled out.

v5, /// *tasyevam asa ida*: Two entirely different interpretations for this phrase are possible. In the reading presented here, it is understood as corresponding to *tasyaivaṃ bhaved idam*, “It may seem to him that this...,” of the Sanskrit parallel, in which case Gāndhārī *asa* would be the optative of *√as*, parallel to *bhaved* and corresponding to Pali *assa*; this form is attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī (Salomon 2000: 101, 187–8). The liaison of word final *-m* with the initial *a* of the following word is common in Gāndhārī (Salomon 2008: 96).

However, because the bottoms of the last two letters are broken off, it is also possible to read *tasyeva masahina* (= Sanskrit *tasyaiva māṃsahīna-*), “of that same (*bone) without any flesh ...,” as part of the renewed description of the dog’s bone corresponding to *tayāsthīśaṃkalayā nir-*

māṇsaśoṇitamrakṣitayā a little farther along in the Sanskrit. It is true that in the previous line of the fragment the word for “flesh” was spelled *maṃsa*, with anusvāra, but this is not decisive since the notation of nasals is often sporadic and inconsistent in Gāndhārī.

A point in favor of this alternative interpretation is that the proposed Sanskrit parallel comes in a position which seems more likely to correspond to this part of the Gāndhārī text, whereas the parallel proposed in the preceding paragraph would come a little sooner than expected, to judge by the typical amount of text missing in the lost portions of the lines in the Gāndhārī text. If this alternative interpretation is correct, it would mean that the emendation tentatively proposed in the first note on v4 of (lo)///[hi]damakṣidamaṃsa to °maṃsa<hina> would probably be correct. Nonetheless, on balance the interpretations of the two passages in question which have been presented in the main text are somewhat more likely than the alternatives proposed in these notes and in footnote 12.

Appendix:

Tibetan and Chinese parallels¹⁷

de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis **de'i tshe tshigs su bcad pa 'di dag** gsuṅs so ||

las ni rna pa 'di lña ste || des ni śes rab mi 'phel 'gyur ||
blo yañ myur du ma ruñ 'gyur || mi mchog rnam ni mñes mi byed ||

de ni sems can slu ba ste || pho brañ 'khor gyi bkrabs pa ltar ||
mi dge rtsa ba de dag gis || **'jig rten mgon po mi mthoñ ño** ||

bdag gis **phrogs śig** loṅs śig ces || **sems can rnam la 'jigs bskyed dañ** |
ñes pa'i las rnam byas gyur nas || mi mchog rnam ni mñes mi byed ||

dge sloñ dañ ni dge sloñ ma || tshul khriṃs ñams byas sdug bśñal gyur ||
saṅs rgyas mañ po mñes mi byed || de la dal ba **rñed par** dka' ||

pha dañ ma dañ chuñ ma rnam || **chos spyod pa yi bgegs byed de** ||
myur du chos kyañ mi thos śiñ || gti mug gis ni bsgribs par 'gyur ||

rab tu 'byuñ bar 'gro ba la || bar du gcod pa byas gyur nas ||
saṅs rgyas mañ po mñes mi byed || de la dal ba mi 'byuñ ño ||

¹⁷ For the Tibetan parallel the following xylographs and manuscripts have been employed: A2 (Tabo II ga) 162a1–b10 (folio with initial part missing); Ba1 (Basgo I) ga 223b7–8 (folia with last part missing); Ba2 (Basgo II) ga 245a5–247a2; Ba3 (Basgo III) ga 222b1–224a7; D (Sde dge) ga 120b6–122a3; F1 (Phug brag, mdo sde) la 209a6–210b8; F2 (Phug brag) ga 241a5–243a1; Go (Gondhla) ga 147b5–148b9; H (Lha sa) ga 248b1–250a6; He (Hemis) kha 400b5–402b4; J (Lithang) ga 151b6–153b1; L (London) ga 182a1–183b7; N (Snar thañ) ga 270a1–272a1; Q (Peking) wi 136a2–137a8; S (Stog) ga 241a2–243a1; U (Urga) ga 145b6–147a3; Z (Žal) ga 214a4–215b6. All versions are classified under the dKon brtsegs section except F1, the first version of Phug brag.

The Tibetan text with all the variant readings is published on the Bibliotheca Polyglotta at <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=523>.

gañ du stoñ pa ñid bsñags pa || 'di lta bu yi chos thos nas ||
khro ba dag ni ñer len ciñ || 'di ni chos min zes kyañ smra ||

bar chad 'di dag thams cad kyis || bcu drug char yañ ñer mi 'gro ||
 dam pa'i chos la smad byas nas || dmus loñ rab tu sdug bsñal 'gyur ||

rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas des mi mthoñ || **mthoñ du zin kyañ dad mi 'gyur** ||
bud med ma niñ dmus loñ dañ || khyi dañ boñ bu rnams su 'gyur ||

gañ žig sañs rgyas byañ chub dañ || byañ chub sems dpa' dga' ba dag ||
 bar du gcod pa rnam spañs nas || bzañ po dag gi lam rnams sgom ||

pha dañ ma ni chos 'di la || **yañ dañ yañ du** sbyor ba dañ ||
sems can thams cad rab 'byuñ bar || **myur ba ñid du** len du 'jug |

ma ni chos la sbyar byas na || myur du bzañ po'i 'gro bar 'gro ||
 rab tu 'byuñ ba bsñags pas na || myur du byañ chub rnam 'tshañ rgya ||

śā ri'i bu **rab tu byuñ ba'i byañ chub sems dpa'** chos lña dañ ldan na **sañs rgyas byuñ ba mñes par mi byed** | dge ba'i bśes gñen la yañ mi sten | dal ba phun sum tshogs pa yañ mi 'thob | ji ltar bsgrubs pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba rnams kyañ chud za bar byed || sdom pa la gnas pa'i byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i yañ rjes su slob par mi 'gyur te | bla na med pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub kyañ myur du mñon par rdzogs par 'tshañ mi rgya'o || lña **gañ ze na** | 'chal ba'i tshul khirms la spyod pa dañ | dam pa'i chos la smod pa dañ | rñed pa dañ | bkur sti dañ | tshigs su bcad pa la chags pa dañ | bdag tu lta ba'i thibs po dañ | gžan gyi khyim la phrag dog dañ **ser sna skyed pa ste** | **śā ri'i bu** rab tu byuñ ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' chos **lña po de dag** dañ ldan na sañs rgyas byuñ ba la mñes par mi byed pa dañ | dge ba'i bśes gñen la mi sten pa dañ | goñ ma bžin du bla na med pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub kyī bar du yañ myur du mñon par rdzogs par 'tshañ mi rgya'o || śā ri'i bu 'di lta ste khyi ltogs pa keñ rus śa med pa | **khrag gis 'bags pa** blañs nas **de srañ gi sgo na gnas te** | kha chus gos pa de 'cha' ba las de nas rgyal rigs śiñ sā la chen po lta bu dañ | bram ze śiñ sā la chen po lta bu dañ | khyim bdag śiñ sā la chen po lta bu khyi ltogs pa de logs su 'oñ ba khyi des rgyaṅ ma nas 'oñ ba mthoñ nas **de 'di sñams su sems te** | **'di ni** bdag gi kha zas ro žim po 'di 'phrog pa žig go sñam nas de bžin tu zugs śiñ mig tshugs su lta la | drañ bsñer te | skad cher zugs na | śā ri'i bu de ji sñam du sems | skyes bu de keñ rus śa med pa khrag gis 'bags pa de 'dod pa yin nam | gsol pa | bcom ldan 'das de ma lags so || bde bar gśegs pa de ma lags so || bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | khyi de ci'i phyir śin tu zugs śiñ mig tshugs su lta la drañ bsñer te | skad cher zugs | gsol pa | de 'di sñam du sems te | bdag gi zas ro žim po 'di 'phrog pa žig go sñam ste | śin tu zugs śiñ mig tshugs su lta la drañ bsñer te | skad cher zugs so || bka' stsal pa | śā ri'i bu de bžin du gañ khyim gyi ser sna la brtson pa | bśaṅ ba dañ | gci bas kun tu bskor ba la chags pa'i dge sloñ dag 'byuñ bar 'gyur te | 'di lta bu'i dal ba phun sum tshogs pa rñed nas des chud zos par byed pa de dag ni ñas khyi dañ 'dra'o zes brjod de | de dag 'ba' žig gi phyir de bžin gśegs pa 'di lta bu'i brjod pa'i gnas byed pa ma yin gyi | yañ śā ri'i bu byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po gañ dag skye bo mañ po la phan pa dañ | skye bo mañ po la bde ba'i phyir

sañs rgyas kyi ye śes tshol ba de dag ni bdag gi śa yañ yoñs su gtoñ na gžan gyi khyim la rtog ciñ
 bsñen pa'i phyir phrag dog dañ ser sna byed par mi 'gyur ba lta ci smos | yañ śā ri'i bu skyes bu
 gti mug de dag 'tsho ba'i phyir zañ ziñ dañ | bran dañ 'jig rten gyi zañ ziñ lhur byed ciñ zas dañ |
 srog la lhur byed pa | rtog ciñ bsñen pa'i phyir gžan gyi khyim la phrag dog dañ | ser sna skyed par
 'gyur te |

Since for the Tibetan parallel we have been able to consult over twice as many versions of the translation than in the previous article on the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* which dealt with the Schøyen Collection's Brāhmī fragments (Braarvig and Pagel, 2006), there is reason to attempt a revision and development of the stemma that was outlined there. Still, the parallel section presented here is significantly shorter than the sum of the previously consulted material, and we will therefore be careful not to treat seemingly divergent tendencies as more significant than necessary. The additional versions that have been employed in this article are Ba1, Ba2, Ba3, Go, H, He, U, and Z.

As expected, the new material does not contradict the major tendencies of the stemma that was outlined in the previous treatment. To reiterate, the extant editions represent two main versions, labeled Version 1 and Version 2, the latter of which is the one we attempt to reconstruct here. Version 1 is most likely a revision of an early translation that was produced in the 8th century, the existence of which is only hinted at due to its inclusion in the *lDan dkar ma*, and due to the fact that the Bspṭ seems to have a textual history similar to the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra*, of which an early textual witness from Dunhuang has survived. Version 2 is a revision of Version 1 employing a new set of agreed upon equivalents for Sanskrit terms corresponding to those in the revised *Mahāvīyutpatti*, a work that probably took place during Bu-ston's revision in the 13th century. F1 and Q are descendants of Version 1, while the rest are descendants of Version 2. The following are some of the terminological differences found within this section that illustrate these two main strands:

bkrab(s) pa DSGoHJNUZB2B3HeL: dpa' po F1Q
 dal ba phun sum tshogs pa A2B2B3DGoSHHeJLNUZ: dam 'byor phun sum tshogs pa F2: dal ba 'byor ba F1Q
 chud (mi) za/ze bar byed: A2B2B3DSGoHHeJLNUZF2: chud gson/stson pa dañ F1Q
 'chal(d) ba'i tshul khirms A2DGoHJNUB2B3HeLSF2Z: tshul khirms ñan pa F1Q
 rñed pa A2B2B3DSF2GoHHeJLNQUZ: thob pa F1
 lta ba'i thib/ms po A2B2B3DF2GoSHHeJLNUZ: lta ba (la) sd/tug pa F1Q
 goñ ma bžin d/tu A2B2B3DSF2GoHHeJLNUZ: de bžin du sbyar te F1Q
 ltogs (pa) A2B2B3DHJSF2GoHeLNUZ: bkres pa F1Q
 gos pa A2B2B3DSF2GoHHeJLNUZ: zag F1Q
 śiñ sa/ā la chen po lta bu dañ B2B3DSHHeJLNUA2F2GoZ: (gi rigs che) žiñ mtho b/pa dag/'am F1Q
 mig tshugs su lta A2B2B3DHJSF2GoHeLNUZ: drag tu blta F1Q
 drañ bsñer te | skad cher zugs na A2B2B3DHJSF2GoHeLNUZ: mche ba ston ciñ za bar byed na F1Q
 chud zos pa A2B2B3DHJSF2GoHeLNUZ: stor/ñ ba F1Q
 brjod A2B2B3DHJSF2GoHeLNUZ: bśad F1Q
 lhur A2B2B3DSF2GoHHeJLNUZ: mchog tu F1Q

There are cases where Q reads in accordance with the majority of the other text witnesses, while F1 has single readings, and this lends some support to the previous suggestion that they have not copied each other, but descend from a common ancestor x, and that Q to some extent has been conflated with Version 2.

The somewhat chaotic conflation of the different editions representing Version 2 make it difficult to create a more detailed consistent stemma for this group. The amount of material treated is also quite small, and the following statements are therefore only tentative. However, as we have doubled the number of editions consulted, a few major tendencies should be outlined, and might provide a hint at how the different versions relate.

First of all, the present material does not seem to support the assertion that was made in the previous article that D and S represent a main subgroup. The two major subgroups to Version 2 seem rather to be A2B2B3GoHeLNSZ against DF2HJU. The material for B1 is too small to place it with certainty, but it seems to have the same readings as the other B editions. A2 and Go are the only two versions that have retained the old style of spelling, and as their readings also mostly coincide, while also differing from the others, they represent a further subgroup. B2, B3 and He also share similar readings, but for the rest of the witnesses within this group, LNSZ, we are not able to identity a consistent pattern. Particularly L, but also N and Z, have many particularities in reading and orthography, and at times share these readings with witnesses that we have placed within other groups. This is for instance the case with N, which sometimes shares readings only with H. Within the other main group D and U have similar readings, while the rest, F2HJ, do not show any consistent patterns, other than H's similarities with N.

We do, however, have to stress that there are many exceptions to these general tendencies, and that to create a more definite stemma one would need a considerably larger text selection.

Translation by 玄奘 Xuánzàng, T. no. 310, 274c14–275b16.

爾時世尊。欲重宣此義。而說頌曰

菩薩成就五種法如是智慧無增長既不速疾見如來亦不逢事人中上
或爲王者大師傳欺詐誑惑諸衆生由具如斯不善業**不遇世間依怙者**
令多有情生怖畏若納贓財⁽¹⁾若損害興造如斯惡業已終不奉值人中尊
或令諸尼淨戒聚破壞摧滅生悲苦當離無量億如來**叵得**成就諸無難
於其父母妻子等障礙不令修行又障聽聞於正法速感愚癡覆蔽果
若人厭世樂出家便致拘執緣留礙當離無量最勝尊**叵得**成就諸無難
若有聽聞如是**法所謂讚說住空閑便生不忍忿恚心**謗毀謂爲非法說
謗毀如是正法已常住生盲大劇苦一切重障罪業中方斯十六不及一
彼難奉見諸如來**設見不能懷信敬受女黃門生盲身**又受駝驢猪狗等
若有於佛及菩薩深生殷重愛敬心遠離一切障礙已相續修行賢聖道
父母妻子眷屬等恒樂安勤正法中**衆生厭世求出家讚美勸助令其果**
若處眷屬正法中當速往登賢善趣有能讚勸出家者速悟無上佛菩提

(1) 財 GKS: 賕 YM.

復次舍利子。**出家菩薩**。復有五法。若成就者。**不值佛世**。不親善友。不具無²難。失壞善根。不隨安住律儀菩薩修學正法。亦不速悟無上菩提。舍利子。**何等名爲**出家菩薩成就五法。一者毀犯尸羅。二者誹謗正法。三者貪著名利。四者堅執我見。五者能於他家**多生慳**

嫉。舍利子。如是名為出家菩薩成就五法不值佛世乃至不獲無上正等菩提。舍利子。譬如餓狗憊⁽³⁾惶緣路。遇值瑣⁽⁴⁾骨久無肉膩。但見赤塗言是厚味便就銜⁽⁵⁾之。至多人處。四衢道中以貪味故。涎流骨上妄謂甜美。或齧⁽⁶⁾或舐或齧或吮。歡愛纏附初無捨離。時有刹帝利婆羅門及諸長者。皆大富貴來遊此路。時此餓狗遙見彼來。心生熱惱作如是念。彼來人者將無奪我所重美味。便於是人發大瞋恚。出深毒聲惡眼邪視。露現齒牙便行齧害。舍利子。於意云何。彼來人者應為餘事。豈復求此無肉赤塗之骨瑣⁽⁴⁾耶。舍利子白佛言。世尊。不也世尊。不也善逝。佛告舍利子。若如是者。彼慳餓狗以何等故。出深毒聲現牙而吠。舍利子言。如我意解恐彼來人貪著美膳。必能奪我甘露良味。由如是意現牙吠耳。佛告舍利子。如是如是。如汝所言。當來末世有諸苾芻。於他施主勤習家慳。耽著屎尿妄加纏裹。雖值如是具足無難。而便委棄不修。正檢此之苾芻。我說其行如前癡狗。舍利子。我今出世憐愍衆生。欲止息故專思此事。為如是等諸惡苾芻。說此譬喻復次舍利子。是諸菩薩摩訶薩。為欲利益安樂無量衆生故。求於佛智。行毘利耶波羅蜜多。彼諸菩薩摩訶薩。於己身肉尚行惠施。況復規求妄想惡肉。而於他家起諸慳嫉。舍利子。彼諸苾芻慳他家故。我說是人為癡丈夫。為活命者。為守財穀奴僕隸者。為重世財寶玩縛者。唯於衣食所欽尚者。為求妄想貪嗜惡肉起慳嫉者。

(2) 無 YM: 友 GKS. (3) 憊 GSYM: 章 K. (4) 瑣 GSYM: 鎖 SG. (5) 銜 GKS: 啣 YM. (6) 齧 KYM: 齧 GS.

Translation by Dharmarakṣa II, 法護 Fāhù, T. no. 316: 853a26–c28.

爾時世尊。欲重明斯義。說伽陀曰

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| 若人行是五種法 | 於此勝慧不增長 | 而復遠離調御尊 | 不能速疾成正覺 |
| 虛誑一切有情故 | 如王家臣諸僕使 | 悉斷一切善根力 | 不能值遇佛出世 |
| 又或驚怖諸有情 | 語令捉縛加 ⁽¹⁾ 捶打 | 如是作諸惡業已 | 於無上尊常遠離 |
| 復於苾芻苾芻尼 | 破他淨戒生病苦 | 刹那不得值好時 | 於諸佛所常遠離 |
| 父母妻孥諸眷屬 | 於非法行常 ⁽²⁾ 無間 | 而於正法不樂聞 | 墮癡迷中難出離 |
| 設逢佛世求親近 | 於剎那間不能得 | 或復愛樂出家時 | 彼等競來為障難 |
| 或時聽是正法已 | 隨處演說真實空 | 彼等競生瞋恚心 | 乃說此為非正法 |
| 如是種種諸障難 | 十六分中未及一 | 由是毀謗正法因 | 世世生盲無所見 |
| 彼不能見正覺尊 | 縱見不生清淨信 | 當獲人身不具足 | 後墮一切傍生中 |
| 若人歸向佛菩提 | 及於菩薩生愛樂 | 一切障難悉蠲除 | 善能修習真正行 |
| 所有父母并眷屬 | 及餘一切有情類 | 數數引導令出家 | 速能攝受歸正道 |
| 唯 ⁽³⁾ 母最初引導已 | 復能讚歎令出家 | 即當往詣善逝尊 | 發心開悟大菩提 |

(1) 加 GKS: 并 M. (2) 常無 GKS: 無常 M. (3) 唯 GKS: 惟 M.

復次舍利子。出家菩薩復有如是五種之法。於諸善友亦復遠離。諸佛出世於剎那時不能值遇如是積集諸善根力亦皆破壞。而於持戒菩薩摩訶薩。不能隨學。乃至不能疾得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。云何五法。一者以邪思故破諸淨戒。二者以不信故毀謗正法。三者耽⁽⁴⁾著利養及樂名聞。四者執著我見入諸險難。五者於他善行而生嫉妬。舍利子。而出家菩薩。具足如是五種之法。於諸善友亦復遠離。不能值遇諸佛出世。以要言之。乃至不能速疾得成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。舍利子。以是義故。譬如餓犬羸瘦憔悴皮骨連立。忽⁽⁵⁾見枯骨而生食

想。復於靜處以力舐嚙。自傷其口血塗骨上。不自覺知妄生貪愛。於其飽滿終無所得。時有刹帝利婆羅門長者居士。自遠而來。見是餓犬嚙彼枯骨。極生嗟念。是時餓犬復自思惟。彼所來者奪我美味。時犬乃作惡聲惡眼齷齪⁽⁶⁾號⁽⁷⁾吠。舍利子。於意云何彼諸人衆見是枯骨悉無血肉爲侵奪不。舍利子言。不也世尊。不也善逝。佛告舍利子。云何彼犬作如是相。舍利子白佛言。世尊。由犬餓故。嚙彼枯骨如甘露味。妄生貪愛故。現如是惡聲惡眼齷齪⁽⁶⁾號⁽⁷⁾吠。恐彼人衆之所侵奪。佛告舍利子。如我滅後有諸苾芻。於種族中乃至便利不淨。深生愛著之所纏縛。如是行相。於剎那時成就佛事亦不能得。彼諸苾芻我今所說。於佛法中如彼餓犬。匪惟如來作是訶毀。若諸有情見彼苾芻如是行相。亦復誹謗如彼餓犬。舍利子。復有菩薩摩訶薩。廣爲利樂一切有情。求佛智慧。於自身命亦復棄捨。何況於他善業而生憎嫉復次舍利子。復有世間愚癡之人。以自活命愛樂世間財寶飲食。身爲奴僕。爲彼繫縛責役驅使。於他族中親近誑妄。以貪求故。復於他人而生嫉妬。

(4) 耽 GKSJ: 耽 M. (5) 忽 GKSJ: 忽 M. (6) 齷齪 GKSJ: 睚眦 M. (7) 號 GKSJ: 嗥 M.

The Final Folio of a Version of the Larger Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra and Fragments of a Text Possibly Related to the Tathāgatabimbaparivarta

Paul Harrison, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Kazunobu Matsuda

Introduction

In May 2009 our friend Klaus Wille gained access to several manuscript fragments in a collection in private ownership (hereafter referred to as CPO) resembling items in the Schøyen Collection, and was allowed to transliterate them. He recognized that one of these fragments belonged to the manuscript containing that copy of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra* of which three fragmentary folios had been published in BMSC II 179ff. When he made his transliteration available to us, it was immediately clear that the new fragment most probably belonged to the folio following the last one published in BMSC II.

This was an exciting observation, because the new fragment contained the end of a sūtra, most likely the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and the beginning of another sūtra that dealt with the meritorious results of producing an image of the Buddha. The two preserved folio numbers for the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, 213 and 216, had already indicated that the text was part of a composite manuscript, most probably a sūtra collection, as suggested by other fragments of the same manuscript containing the phrases one typically finds at the end of one sūtra and the beginning of another. It is rather astonishing that so far it has been impossible to identify any of these other sūtras, even though several fragments preserve a sizeable amount of text.¹ The Schøyen version of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* had also puzzled us by a major deviation from all the other known versions: at the end, the Buddha utters a number of verses in the typical mixture of the metres of Upajāti and Triṣṭubh-Jagatī. As we pointed out in BMSC II 181–182 and 186–187, none of those verses is found in any other version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*. For the first 14 a Chinese translation is available in the *Fó míng jīng* 佛名經 (T. 440 and T. 441), but for the following four verses no parallel has yet been found.

It was immediately evident that the new fragment started with a number of verses in the same metre, and this suggested the possibility of a connection. However, in the absence of a folio number, a textual parallel or a title colophon, we needed other evidence that the two folios directly follow each other. While, apart from the word *kṣetra* (for *buddhakṣetra*), there is nothing that suggests a direct line of thought or a progress in the development of an idea that would irrefutably connect the verses in the two folios, there is nothing in the contents of the verses that speaks against such a relation. More strongly suggestive of the connection, perhaps, is a second, more formal factor: if we assume roughly the same number of akṣaras in each line, the beginning of the

¹ The fragments containing beginnings and/or ends of sūtras include MS 2381/47, 2381/48/1, 2382/127 and 2382/281. Those containing sizable amounts of text include MS 2381/46, 2381/52, 2382/35, 2382/36, 2382/134 and 2382/141.

last verse no. 18 on folio 216 connects exactly with the text on the new folio.

At first a possibility, this assumption was considerably strengthened when Hartmann, while reading the CPO fragment with graduate students in Berkeley in the fall term in 2010,² found another fragment of the same folio in the Hayashidera Collection.³ It is a small piece with writing on one side only, preserving text from three lines. While it does not connect immediately with the CPO fragment, line 3 starts at the left margin, and this is very important. It permits us to fill the gaps between the two fragments in lines 1 and 2 with certainty, and this allows us to calculate the number of akṣaras per line. That number corresponds exactly with what we find on folio 216 of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and at the same time it supports our initial speculation about the verses.

The new fragment preserves the remains of another four verses. After that, the sūtra closes with the final sentence that also occurs in the standard Sanskrit version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*. A title colophon, if it ever existed, falls in the next gap, but part of what appears to be a redactional remark is preserved: *///śeṣāṇi m-anyatra gaveṣitavyāni*, “... the remaining (?) have to be sought elsewhere.” After that, the next sūtra starts.

For this second sūtra no direct parallel can be found. There are various canonical sources that deal with the merit of producing a Buddha image, most notably the *Tathāgata-bimba-kārāṇa-sūtra*, extant in Sanskrit,⁴ the *Tathāgata-pratibimba-pratiṣṭhānuśaṃsā*, preserved only in its Tibetan translation,⁵ and several other texts surviving in Chinese (T. 692–694). T. 692 and 693 are two versions of the same small sūtra, in which the Buddha expounds to a 14-year-old King Udena or Udayana of Kauśāmbī the manifold benefits which accrue to a maker of Buddha images. T. 692 appears to be an archaic translation, from the Later Han or soon after, T. 693 being a revised version of this, with updated terminology and the addition of a series of verses towards the end. More relevant for our purposes, however, is T. 694, the 大乘造像功德經 *Dàshèng zào xiàng gōngdé jīng* (**Mahāyāna-bimba-kārāṇa/pratiṣṭhā-anuśaṃsā-sūtra*?), a considerably longer text in two *juan*. The first *juan* contains much interesting narrative material, including the complete Udayana story with the descent from Trayastriṃśa and all the goings on at Sāṃkāśya.⁶ The second *juan* consists mostly of a long exchange between Maitreya and the Buddha on the manifold benefits of making Buddha images, punctuated by a shorter exchange (794c28–795b18) between Prasenajit and the Buddha on the Buddha’s “bad karma” in relation to this theme (i.e., if Śākyamuni earned so much merit making Buddha images in the past, how is it that all these bad things happened to him?). This excursus aside, the answers given to Maitreya are many, varied and detailed, and display a number of thematic similarities with our fragment, as well as a similar level of detail. Yet it is certainly not the same text, even though it is also, as the Chinese title suggests, a product of the Mahāyāna, and, unlike any other extant text in this category, it too features Maitreya as the Buddha’s interlocutor, at least in the second *juan*. What is more, when one takes other stray fragments of our manuscript into account, coming obviously from other folios (i.e. MS 2381/242/1

² We wish to thank the participants of this class (Stefan Baums, Julie Bongers, Rae Dachille, Ryan Damron, Shiyang Pang, Charles DiSimone and Sungha Yun) for a number of fruitful suggestions.

³ HG 26, first transliterated by Klaus Wille and assigned to the ms. containing the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* by Kazunobu Matsuda, who also first drew attention to some similarities with T. 694.

⁴ Published in Mette 1981: 133–138.

⁵ TP vol. 39: 84/4/8–85/3/3; Tōhoku 320.

⁶ This version, incidentally, has a particularly severe take on Utpalavarṇā.

& 2, 2382/162, and 2382/uf14/1b), the shared elements are plain to see: not simply the common concern with the making of Buddha images and the role of Maitreya, but also a detailed list of tortures and the notion that the suffering occasioned by bad karma can somehow be mitigated—all these things are found in both T. 694 and our manuscript, and yet they are still manifestly not the same text.

The plot thickens when we consider a brief quotation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* from a text which Śāntideva refers to as the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta* (ed. Bendall, p. 173: 8–12): *tathāgatabimbaparivarte 'pi pratipakṣasamudācāra uktaḥ | tadyathā puruṣo mīdhāvaliptaḥ sudhautasnānam kṛtvā gandhair vilipyate | tasya tad daurgandhyaṃ vāntaṃ vigataṃ syād evaṃ pañcānantaryakāriṇas tat pāpaṃ vigacchati | yo 'pi daśākuśalakarmapathasamanvāgatas tathāgate śrad-dhāṃ pratilabhya tathāgatabimbaṃ kārayet tasyāpi tat pāpaṃ na prajñāyate viśeṣato bodhi-cittasamanvāgatasya | viśeṣato 'bhiniṣkrāntagrāhāvāsasya śīlavata iti ||*. As with our manuscript, the content is thematically similar to T. 694 (cf. T. 694, 16: 793c25–29), but the wording does not tally exactly with the Chinese. This impression is strengthened when one looks at the longer citation from the same text (*De bzin gśegs pa'i gzugs kyi le'u*) in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (SS), the latter half of which Śāntideva has clearly “borrowed” from this earlier anthology:⁷

de bzin gśegs pa'i gzugs kyi le'u las kyañ | sa 'am | rdo thal lam | śiñ nam | rdo 'am | ru gar ram | lcags sam | gser ram | dñul lam | bai dñu rya 'am | śel lam | mu tig dmar po 'am | rdo'i sñiñ po 'am | spug gam | dñul nam | man śel lam | spos sam | ras sam | śiñ leb bam | rtsig nos la de bzin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs bri bar bya | ral ba gso bar bya | 'drum pa bcos par bya ste | de bzin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs byas na | rigs dma' ba rnams dañ | sdig pa byed pa'i rigs rnams dañ | log par lta ba'i rigs rnams su mi skye ste | yan lag gañ yañ ruñ ba ma tshañ ba med par 'gyur ro || gal te mtshams med pa lña byas su zin kyañ | de bzin gśegs pa la dad pa rñed de | de bzin gśegs pa'i sku'i gzugs byas nas | las des sems can dmyal ba myoñ na yañ chuñ ñu myoñ ste | theg pa gsum las theg pa gañ yañ ruñ bas ñes par 'byuñ bar 'gyur ro ||

dper na mi žig mi gtsañ bas reg pa las las rab rab tu dag par bkrus te | spos kyis byugs na de'i dri mi žim pa med par 'gyur ro || de bzin du mtshams med pa byas pa de'i sdig kyañ med par 'gyur ro || gañ mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam dañ ldan yañ | de bzin gśegs pa la dad pa rñed de de bzin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs byas na | de'i sdig pa ji ltar me'i phuñ pos mar tshig ste | du ba yañ mi mñon pa bzin du | de'i sdig pa de yañ mi snañ bar 'gyur ro žes gsuñs na | byañ chub kyi sems dañ ldan pa khyim gyi nañ nas byuñ na | tshul khriims dañ ldan pa khyad par du 'phags pa lta ci smos te ||⁸

Here again, we find the same pattern in relation to T. 694: thematic similarity but not verbatim correspondence (cf. T. 694, 16: 793b24–c7, c15–20; 794b7–20, c19–24; 793c25–29).⁹ Since this is precisely the relationship in which our manuscript stands to T. 694, the possibility arises that the text it carries is indeed the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta* known to the author of the SS and to Śāntideva. What increases this possibility is that in the SS citation the list of materials Buddha images can be made out of is surprisingly consistent with our fragment's inventory (see below). However, we do not have enough evidence to be absolutely sure that the two works are the same, hence our decision to refer to the sūtra in our manuscript as “a text possibly related to the

⁷ What is more, Śāntideva has not only shortened the borrowed passage by omitting the simile of the extinguished fire, but reproduced an additional commentarial remark by the author of the SS (*viśeṣato bodhicittasamanvāgatasya | viśeṣato 'bhiniṣkrāntagrāhāvāsasya śīlavataḥ*) so that it looks like part of the citation. Once again, Śāntideva's debt to the SS for some (but certainly not all) of his citations is clear: see Asano 1995 and Harrison forthcoming.

⁸ Text after Pasadika 1989: 108–109.

⁹ Indeed, here so many topics are dealt with in such rapid succession that the passage looks more like a summary of points raised in the text than a citation of it.

*Tathāgatabimbaparivarta.*¹⁰

CPO 2: The size of the largest fragment is 9 x 16 cm; the material is birch bark, and, as with other fragments of the same manuscript, the recto and the verso differ in colour: the recto is lighter, the verso darker.

HG 26: one side only.

Transliteration

CPO 2, HG 26 (here in italics); folio (217) recto

- 1 + [gh]. puna ekakalpikā te sarvi paśyaṃti
jinānubhāvā • ekaikarajaḥ patha[smi] + +
- 2 + te buddhavikurvitenā • acintiyā sarvajinad-
vikurvītā acintiyā kṣetrasa[m]. + +
- 3 + dh. rmadhātūsamatānuprāptā jñānaśārīrā
asa[m]maṃtacakṣu<ḥ> te īdrśā dharmatamo tara[m]t.
- 4 + + + + + + + + + + + [plus ca. 12 more missing akṣaras] bodhisatvo mahāsatva āyusmāṃś
cānandaḥ sā ca sarvāvatī parśat sadevamānuṣāsu
- 5 /// śeṣāṇi manyatra gaveṣitavyāni | ☉ | evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavāṃ s.
- 6 /// .. mahatā bhikṣusaṃghena mahatā ca bodhisatvasaṃghena sārddhaṃ tatra khalu bhaga
- 7 /// + ya bodhisatvena mahāsatvenādhyāśayenānuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisamboddu
- 8 /// + vyam yaduta mṛnmayam vā tathāgatavigrahaṃ kārāpayitavyam sudhāmayam vā dāru
- 9 /// + pyamayaṃ vaidūryamayaṃ sphatikamayaṃ lohitaṃ muktāmayam āsmagarbhama
- 10 /// + tke vā kuḍye vā kheṇḍakarmani vā navakaṃ vā kārāpayitavyam* pralugnaṃ vā pu
- 11 /// + tvo bhagavaṃtam etad avocat* tathāgatasya bhagavan bimbam kārāpayitvā kiya
- 12 /// iti evaṃ ukte bhagavāṃ maitreyaṃ bodhisatvaṃ mahāsatvaṃ etad avocat* sādhu

verso

- 1 + .. maitreya bahujaṇahitāya tvaṃ mai[tre] + + + + + + + + + + khāya lokānukampāyair
mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya de
- 2 + + .[u]śyāṇāṃ evaṃ ukte maitreya bodhisatvo [m]. + + + + + + + + + d avocat* kīdrśo
bhagavān ātmabhāvo bhinirvartate kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā ta
- 3 thāgata[b]iṃ ..m + + + + + + + + + .. /// + vān āha yāni maitreya caṇḍālakulāni vā
pukkasakulāni vā veṇukārakulā
- 4 /// + nnapānabhojanāni hīnavṛttīni yeṣu kṛcchreṇa vighātena āhārapānācchādanāni
- 5 /// + rvartate na ca s[ā]v andho bhavati na kāṇa • na kubja • na kalla • na laṃga na badhira na
pakṣahataḥ
- 6 /// + gatasya mai[tr]eya bimbam kārāpayitvā • kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā pāpakāri
- 7 /// [k]ā vā bhavaṃti goghātakā vā bhavaṃti aurabhṛkā vā saukarikā vā kaurkuṭikā vā mātsi
- 8 /// nagarabandhanapālā vā nagaradāhakā vā viṣavikkrayiṇo vā śastravaṇiḥ vā māṃ
- 9 /// vaṇiḥ vā sarpivaṇiḥ vā viṣamakarmāṃtājīvā iti yadi punar bodhisatvaḥ kena

¹⁰ We would be on firmer ground if the SS and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* passages mentioned Maitreya, but they do not.

- 10 /// karmaṇā tena ājīvena jīvikāṃ kalpayati yac cānena paurvakaṃ karmāvaraṇaṃ abhi
 11 /// + [pr]am eva vāṃtīkaroti || punar aparaṃ maitreya tathāgatabimbaṃ kārāpayitv[ā] + +
 12 /// + .āṃ kṣipram eva vāṃtīkaroti sacet punas tena karmāvaraṇena narakatīrya[g].[o] + +

Reconstruction

folio 216v12–(217)r4¹¹

(v12) pramu (r1) ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
 ≍ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
 ≍ – ∪ – [gh]. puna ekakalpikā
 te sarvi paśyaṃti jinānubhāvā •

... again, who use the same method, all those see by the power of the victor.

ekaikarajaḥ patha[smi] ∪ – (r2) ×
 ≍ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
 ≍ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
 ≍ – ∪ te buddhavikurvitenā •

Every single particle of dust on the road ... by the miracle of the Buddha.

acintiyā sarvajina<d>vikurvītā
 acintiyā kṣetrasa[m]. ∪ – (r3) ×
 ≍ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×
 ≍ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×

Inconceivable ... miraculously produced by all the victors, inconceivable (Buddha) fields ...

(ye) dh(a)rmadhātūsamatānuprāptā
 jñānaśarīrā asaṃtacakṣuḥ
 te īdṛśā dharmatam otar(aṃ)t(i)
 (r4) ≍ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×

Those who have attained to the sameness of the dharma realm, whose bodies are knowledge,¹²
 whose eyes ...,¹³ such as they enter the dharmatā ...

¹¹ For the sake of consistency and clarity all missing verse lines have been reconstructed as regular Upajāti lines, since this appears to be the preferred metre of these verses.

¹² Cf. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, Vaidya: 1963: 8.26 *ato jñānātmakās tathāgatā jñānaśarīrāḥ*.

¹³ Whereas *samantacakṣuḥ* would make perfect sense (“whose eyes are everywhere”), the reading *asaṃtacakṣuḥ* is clear. The word *asamanta* is according to BHSD, s.v., a very high number. Understand as “having an impossibly high number of eyes”?

folio (217)r4–5

(A) 66.23–67.1; (讖) 317c20–22; (謙) 299c23–25; (僧) 279a26–28; (菩) 101c19–20; (法) 326b29–c2.¹⁴

(...)¹⁵ bodhisatvo mahāsattva āyusmāṃś cānandaḥ sã ca sarvāvatī parṣat sadevamānuṣāsu(r5ra ...) śeṣāṇi m-anyatra gaveṣitavyāni

(...) the bodhisattva and mahāsattva (Ajita), the venerable Ānanda, the entire assembly, and (the whole world) with its gods, humans, asuras (and gandharvas rejoiced at what the Blessed One had said. ...) the remaining¹⁶ (...) are to be sought elsewhere.

(Af) idam avocad bhagavān āttamanā ajito bodhisattvo mahāsattva āyusmāṃś cānandaḥ sã ca sarvāvatī parṣat sadevamānuṣāsuragandharvaś ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanandann iti ||
Cf. Gómez 1996: 111.

(讖)¹⁷ 佛說經已。諸菩薩阿羅漢。諸天帝王人民。皆大歡喜。起為佛作禮遶三匝。前以頭面著佛足而去。

(謙) 佛說經已。諸菩薩阿羅漢。諸天帝王人民。皆大歡喜。前趣為佛作禮遶佛三匝。以頭面著佛足而去。

(僧) 佛說經已。彌勒菩薩及十方來諸菩薩眾。長老阿難諸大聲聞。一切大眾聞佛所說。靡不歡喜。 (a) 聞佛所說 KNV: omit MSY

(菩) 佛說經已。彌勒菩薩等及尊者阿難。一切大眾聞佛所說。皆大歡喜。

(法) 爾時尊者阿難及慈氏菩薩等。并天龍八部一切大眾。聞佛所說皆大歡喜信受奉行。

Sūtra possibly related to the Tathāgatabimbaparivarta

[§1] folio (217)r5–6

evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavāṃ s(.¹⁸ r6 ...) mahatā bhikṣusamṅghena mahatā ca bodhisatvasamṅghena sārđhaṃ

This is what I heard once when the Blessed One (was staying in ...) together with a large community of monks and a large community of bodhisattvas.

[§2] folio (217)r6–10

tatra khalu bhaga(r7vān ...)ya¹⁹ bodhisatvena mahāsatvenādhyāśayenānuttarāṃ samyaksam-

¹⁴ Sigla for various versions of the LSukh as in BMSC II: 179f.

¹⁵ From the number of akṣaras available after the 4th pāda of the last verse, something approximating the closing sentences of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* as known to us is just possible.

¹⁶ There are other possibilities here, e.g. (vi)śeṣāṇi.

¹⁷ All Chinese text reproduced with grateful thanks from CBETA files.

¹⁸ Here we would expect the first syllable of a place name, in this case beginning with *s* or *t*. Given that the setting of the second half of T. 694 is Sāṃkāśya, S(āṅkāśya)—a well-attested alternative spelling—is a possibility. Damage to the folio beneath the *s* does not allow us to rule out a ligature like *sta*.

¹⁹ Most likely to be restored to (*iha maitre*)ya since parallels always put a vocative here, if there is one, and Maitreya appears as the interlocutor of the Buddha in No. 7; before that to something like *bhaga(vān maitreyaṃ bodhisatvaṃ mahāsatvaṃ āmantrayate)*; this would perfectly fill the gap on this line (which has the stringhole, and therefore fewer akṣaras than lines 1–2r).

bodhim abhisamboddhu(**r8**kāmena²⁰ ... kārāpayita)vyam yaduta mṛṇmayam vā tathāgatavigrahaṃ kārāpayitavyam sudhāmayaṃ vā dāru(**r9**mayam ... rū)pyamayaṃ vaidūryamayaṃ sphaṭikamayaṃ lohitaṃ muktāmayaṃ aśmagarbhaṃ (**r10**yaṃ²¹ ...)ṭāke²² vā kuḍye vā kheṇḍakarmaṇi vā navakaṃ vā kārāpayitavyam* pralugnaṃ²³ vā pu(**r11** ...)

On that occasion the Lord (spoke as follows?) ... by a bodhisattva and mahāsattva aspiring resolutely to awaken fully to supreme and perfect awakening ... should be produced,²⁴ that is to say, either an icon²⁵ of the Tathāgata made of clay should be produced, or one made of plaster, (made of) wood ... made of silver, made of beryl, made of crystal, made of ruby, made of emerald, ... on (a banner?) or on a wall or on ?,²⁶ either a new one should be produced, or a broken one ...

[§3] folio (217)r11–12

(... maitreya bodhisattvo mahasa)tvo bhagavaṃ tam etad avocat* tathāgatasya bhagavan bimbam kārāpayitvā kiya (**r12** ...) iti

... the bodhisattva and mahāsattva Maitreya spoke as follows to the Blessed One: “Blessed One, when one has produced an image of the Realized One, how much (merit ...)?”

[§4] folio (217)r12–v2

evam ukte bhagavāṃ maitreyaṃ bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ etad avocat* sādhu²⁷ (**v1** sādhu) maitre-

²⁰ Cf. *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*, Conze 1962: I 15, 16 *bodhisattvena mahāsattvena-adhyāśayena-anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃboddhim abhisamboddhukāmena*; identical phrase in *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, Vaidya 1960a: 196, but in other passages without *adhyāśayena* (pp. 156 (2x), 160, 187, 213, 229, 233) and twice with *adhyāśayaṃprasthitena* (p. 197); similarly in *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* 5, Kimura 1992, twice with *adhyāśayena* (p. 10), and four times without (11, 62, 82, 104).

²¹ Cf. the list of materials in the *Tathāgata-bimba-kārāpaṇa-sūtra* (Mette 1981: 136.19–22): *mṛṇ-mayī vā • śaila-mayī vā • danta-mayī vā • dāru-mayī vā • suvarṇa-mayī vā • kaṃsa-mayī vā • ttra ... -mayī vā • rupya-mayī vā sphaṭika-mayī vā • maṇi-ratnaka-mayī vā • rīta-mayī vā • buddhapratimā karaṇīyakā vā*. A more closely parallel list appears in the citation of the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta* in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* reproduced above (Pāsādika 1989: 108): *sa 'am | rdo thal lam | śiñ ṇam | rdo 'am | ru gar ram | lcags sam | gser ram | dñul lam | bai dū rya 'am | śel lam | mu tig dmar po 'am | rdo'i sñiñ po 'am | spug gam | duñ ṇam | man śel lam | spos sam | ras sam | śiñ leb bam | rtsig ños la de bzin gsegs pa'i sku gzugs bri bar bya | ral ba gso bar bya | 'drum pa bcos par bya ...* (Tib. words possibly corresponding to terms in our fragment in bold). Cf. the rather different list in T. 694 (793b24–c1): 彌勒！若有人以眾雜綵而為續飾，或復鑄鑄金、銀、銅、鐵、鉛、錫等物，或有雕刻栴檀香等，或復雜以真珠、螺貝、錦繡織成，丹土、白灰、若泥、若木如是等物，隨其力分而作佛像，乃至極小如一指大，能令見者知是尊容。其人福報，我今當說。

²² Possibly *paṭāke*, “on a banner,” perhaps corresponding to Tib. *ras* in the SS parallel. Cf. the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Vaidya 1964: 442.31–32 *phalake vā paṭṭake vā kuḍyāyāṃ vā aśleṣakair varṇakair navabhājanakūrcakair | ādau tāvat parvatarājā sumerur likhāpayitavyah*. Here *phalake* (plank) corresponds to Tib. *śiñ leb* in the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta* list. Of note here is the fact that, despite being fragmentary, our text clearly refers to both three-dimensional (sculpted or carved) and two-dimensional (painted or drawn) images of the Buddha.

²³ Cf. *Gaṇḍavyūha*, Vaidya 1960b: 215.11–12 and 26–27 *pralugnas tathāgatavigrahaḥ ... pratisaṃskāritah*.

²⁴ Or, perhaps better, “commissioned,” giving *kārāpayati* its full causative force.

²⁵ Cf. Seyfort Rugg 2004: 19 regarding *jinavighraha*.

²⁶ We have no idea what *kheṇḍakarma* means, but it seems to refer to some kind of surface on which a picture might be painted or drawn.

²⁷ Most likely the following sentence contains the Buddha’s approval of Maitreya’s question. There are many variants of this phrase, the basic version being represented by, e.g., *Samghāṭasūtra*, Canevascini 1993: §§11, 24, 184, 192 *sādhu sādhu sarvaśūra/bhaiṣajyasena yas tvaṃ tathāgatam etam arthaṃ paripraṣṭavyaṃ manyase*. Closest, however, are *Suvikrāntavikrāmaparipṛcchā*, Vaidya 1961b: 1.24–2.2 *sādhu sādhu suvikrāntavikrāmin, yas tvaṃ tathāgatam*

ya bahujanahitāya tvaṃ maitre(ya pratipanno bahujanasu)khāya lokānukampāyai {r} mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya de(v2vaman)uṣyāṇām²⁸

This said, the Blessed One spoke as follows to the bodhisattva and mahāsattva Maitreya: “Excellent, (excellent, Maitreya, ... you, Maitreya, work for the well-being of the many, for the happiness (of the many), out of pity for the world, for the benefit, the well-being, the happiness of a great mass of people and of gods and men alike.”

[§5] folio (217)v2–3

evam ukte maitreyo bodhisatvo ma(hāsatto bhagavantam eta)d avocat* kīdrśo bhagav(a)n ātmabhāvo ’bhinirvartate²⁹ kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā ta(v3)thāgatabiṃ(ba)m (...)

This said, the bodhisattva and mahāsattva Maitreya spoke as follows to (the Blessed One): “Blessed One, what kind of body results (when?) a son or daughter of a good family (produces) an image of the Realized One?”

[§6] folio (217)v3–7

(bhaga)vān āha yāni maitreya caṇḍālakulāni³⁰ vā pūkkasakulāni vā veṇukārakulā(v4ni vā ... a)n-napānabhojanāni hīnavṛtt[ā/ī]ni yeṣu kṛcchreṇa vighātena āhārapānācchādanāni (v5 ... abhinir)vartate na c(a)sāv andho bhavati na kāṇa • na kubja • na kalla • na laṃga na badhira na pakṣahataḥ (v6 ... tathā)gatasya maitreya bimbam kārapayitvā • kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā pāpakāri(v7 ...)

arhantaṃ samyaksambuddhaṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ paripṛcchasi bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānāṃ arthāya, yathāpi nāma tvaṃ bahujanahitāya pratipanno bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca; Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, Vaidya 1961b: 125.1–3 sādhu sādhu rāṣṭrapāla | sādhu sādhu khalu punas tvaṃ rāṣṭrapāla yas tvaṃ tathāgatam etam artham paripraṣṭavyaṃ manyase | bahujanahitāya tvaṃ rāṣṭrapāla pratipanno bahujanasukhāya arthāya hitāya devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca; Jñānālokālamkārasūtra, Kimura et al.: 2004: 25 sādhu sādhu mañjuśrīḥ, sādhu khalu punas tvaṃ mañjuśrīḥ tathāgatam etam artham paripraṣṭavyaṃ manyase | bahujanahitāya tvaṃ mañjuśrīḥ pratipanno bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāya-syārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca; and Laṅkāvatārasūtra, Vaidya 1963: 37.28–30 and 61.13–15 sādhu sādhu mahāmate, sādhu khalu punas tvaṃ mahāmate, yat tvaṃ etam artham adhyeṣitavyaṃ manyase | bahujanahitāya tvaṃ mahāmate pratipanno bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca. The many small variants in this formula, however, do not allow us to reconstruct the whole passage here with complete certainty.

²⁸ Cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, Vaidya 1960a: 108.32–109.2, 125.19–20, 126.3–5: *bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca*; there is no final *ca* in our fragment, and this points to a compound *devamanuṣya*.

²⁹ Cf. EĀ(Trip) 18.51–52 *ayam evaṃrūpo manomayaḥ kāyo ’bhinirvartate*; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, Vaidya 1960a: 29.7 *sarvajñatātmabhāvo ’bhinirvartitaḥ*; YBh, ed. Bhattacharya, p. 25.3 *yaś ca kaścid ātmabhāvo ’bhinirvartate*.

³⁰ For the list of unsuitable social backgrounds and bodily defects cf. the following passages: *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*, Conze 1962: I 41 *na pūkkasacaṇḍālakuleṣu-upapadyate. na kāṇo bhavati. na kubjo bhavati. na laṃgo bhavati. nonāṅgo bhavati. na badhiro bhavati. na paṅkapatito bhavati. na vikaleṇriyo bhavati ...*; *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* 5, Kimura 1962: 30 *na caṇḍālakuleṣu-upapadyate, nānyeṣu nīceṣu nīcavṛttiṣu kutsiṣu kuleṣu-upapadyate, na kāṇo bhavati, na kuṇḍo bhavati, na laṅgo bhavati, na lallo bhavati, na vadhiro bhavati, na pakṣahato bhavati, na vikaleṇriyo bhavati ...*; YBh, Bhattacharya 1957: 195.13–15 *caṇḍālakuleṣu vā pūkkasakuleṣu vā rathakārakuleṣu vā veṇukārakuleṣu iti yāni vā punar anyāni nīcāni adhamāni kṛcchrāni kṛcchravṛttīni parīttāni parīttānnapānabhojanāni ity evaṃrūpeṣu kuleṣu abhijāto bhavati*; *Vinayasūtra* 1.149 *na rathakāracaṇḍālapūkkasatadvidhān pravrajayet*, 1.145 *khañjaḥ kāṇ-ḍarikaḥ kāṇaḥ kuñiḥ kubjo tha vāmanaḥ | galagaṇḍamūkabadhiraḥ ...*

The Blessed One said: “Maitreya, those families of outcastes, or families of half-breeds, or families of reed-workers ... (those without?) food, drink and possessions, those of base conduct, among whom food, drink and clothing come only with difficulty and trouble ... results,³¹ and he will not be blind, one-eyed, hump-backed, stammering, lame, deaf, paralysed on one side ... Maitreya, when he has produced an image of the Realized One, a son or daughter of a noble family, an evil-doer ...”

[§7] folio (217)v7–9

(...)kā³² vā bhavaṃti goghātakā vā bhavaṃti aurabhṛkā vā saukarikā va kaurkuṭikā vā mātsi(v8kā vā ...)nagarabandhanapālā vā nagaradāhakā vā viṣavikkrayiṇo³³ vā śastravaṇijo vā mām(v9savaṇijo ...)vaṇijo vā sarpivaṇijo vā viṣamakarmāmtājīvā iti

“They become people of unsuitable occupations and livelihoods: ... or slaughterers of cattle, or sheep-dealers, or pig-dealers, or poultry-dealers, or fishermen, ... or guards of the city prison, or city cremation ground-workers,³⁴ or sellers of poison or dealers in weapons or dealers in meat ... or dealers in ..., or dealers in snakes.”³⁵

[§8] folio (217)v9–12

yadi punar bodhisatvaḥ kena (v10 ... tena) karmaṇā tena ājīvena jīvikāṃ kalpayati yac cānena paurvakaṃ karmāvaraṇaṃ abhi(v11 ... kṣi)pram eva vāṃtīkaroti || punar aparaṃ maitreya tathāgatabimbaṃ kārāpayitvā (... v12 ...)āṃ kṣipram eva vāṃtīkaroti sacet punas tena karmāvaraṇena narakatiryag(yo(ni ...))

³¹ Perhaps the missing text contained a statement to the effect that a body in such circumstances will not result.

³² For the list of harmful professions cf. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Vaidya, p. 166 *na caṇḍālān na mauṣṭikān na saukarikān na kaukkuṭikān na mṛgalubdhakān na māṃsikān na naṭanṛttakān na jhallān na mallān* (with the Central Asian variant *na caṇḍālān sevati • na mauṣṭikān na saukarikān sevati • na kaukkuṭikān na saunikān norabhrikān na mṛgalubdhakān na māṃsikān na śākunikān na jālagrāhakān satvān sevati*, SI P/10, fol. 321 v1-2) and p. 267 *na nṛttakā na mallā na nartakā na sauṇḍikaurabhrikakaukkuṭikasaukarikastrīpoṣakāḥ*; *Pudgalasūtra* in the *Dirghāgama*, ed. Melzer, 38.20–22 *tadyathā aurabhrikāḥ kaukkuṭikāḥ saukariko māṃsiko mṛgalubdhakāḥ śākuntikāḥ śāśavāguḍīkaḥ cauro vadhyaghātako goghātako nāgamaṇḍaliko bandhanapālakaḥ sūnakaḥ kāraṇakārakaḥ*; *Lokaprajñapti* 3 1a1 *(sau)karikā • śākuntikā śāśa-vāgurikā mātsikā mṛgalubdhikā • caurā badhyaghātakā • goghātakā • nāgamaṇḍalikā • baṇḍhanapālakā • sūcakā raṇakārakā ity evamādi*; *Dharmaskandha*, ed. Dietz, 20r5–6 *aurabhrikāḥ kaukkuṭika-saukarikamātsikamṛgalubdhakāś caurāḥ vadhyaghātakā goghātakā nāgamaṇḍalikāḥ śāśavāgurikā bandhanapālakāḥ sūcakāḥ kāraṇakārakā ima ucyante rudhirapāṇayaḥ*; YBh, ed. Bhattacharya, p. 191.8–11 *dvādaśāsaṃvarikanikāyāḥ | tadyathā | aurabhrikāḥ kaukkuṭikāḥ saukarikāḥ śvāsākuntikāḥ śāśavāgurikāś caurā vadhyaghātā bandhanapālakāḥ sūcakāḥ kāraṇakārāpakā nāgabandhakā nāgamaṇḍalikāś ca*; cf. also the lists of *asāṃvarika* given in SHT VII 1716 B a–c (with the additions *coraghātaka* and *śvapaca*); in *Abhidh-k-bh(P)* 221.13–15 (a list very similar to, but not identical with, that of the *Yogācārabhūmi*); and in *Abhidharmadīpa*, ed. Jaini: 130.21–131.3 *ke punar asāṃvarikāḥ? aurabhrikāḥ kaukkuṭikāḥ saukarikāḥ śākuntikā mātsikā mṛgalubdhakāś caurāḥ vadhyaghātakā bandhanapālakā nāgabandhā śvapākā vāgurikāś ca | rājāno daṇḍanetāro vyāvahārikāś ca nīticalitā asāṃvarikāḥ | asāṃvare bhā(bha)vāḥ asāṃvaro vā eṣāṃ vidyata ity asāṃvarikāḥ ||*. It is impossible to reconcile the list of the fragment with any of these other lists, and therefore we refrain from attempting a reconstruction.

³³ Cf. *Arthaviṇīśayāsūtra*, Vaidya 1961b: 316.10–12 *iha khalu bhikṣavaḥ upāsakasya mithyājīvaḥ katamaḥ? viṣavikrayaḥ | śastravikrayaḥ sattvavikrayaḥ madyavikrayaḥ māṃsavikrayaḥ apravekṣitatilasarsapapīḍanam*.

³⁴ This is our best guess for *nagaradāhaka* (“town-burner”), a term which is to our knowledge unattested elsewhere.

³⁵ For §§6–8 cf. T. 694, 793c1–794a9; although thematically similar, the correspondence is far from close.

“If, however, a bodhisattva ... makes his living by this activity, by this livelihood, so that also by it a previous karmic obstruction ... he very quickly gets rid of Furthermore, Maitreya, when he has produced an image of the Realized One, ... he very quickly gets rid of If again by this karmic obstruction a (rebirth in) hell or the animal realm ...”

*Other Fragments Apparently Belonging to the Same Text*³⁶

1) MS 2381/242/2; recto³⁷

- a /// + + + + + .. [ta]thāgate śraddh[ā] + + + ///
- b /// + + .. śapudgalaṃ³⁸ kutra nigamaya[si] .. + + ///
- c /// apāyadu[h]khavedanīyaṃ sa cāpare[ṇa] + + + ///
- d /// + + + na ca tasya maitreya tat svātmabhāvaparoḥ[ya]. ///
- e /// + .. [m a]vataret tasya pūrvasyāṃ dīśa iṣupra + + +³⁹
- f /// + + + [s].ḥ taṃ saṃgrāmaṃ vijitya vigatasamgr. + ///
- g /// + + + + + prahā[r]ā āgaccheyu .. + + + ///

2) MS 2381/242/1 + 2382/uf14/1b; verso⁴⁰

- 1 /// + + + + +[m]grāmaṃ abhibhūya .[i] + + + .[r]. + [g]r. [ma]śīrṣamadyāva[sam]⁴¹
+ + + + + + + + + ///
- 2 /// + + + + [ya]ṃ karma kṛtaṃ bhavaty upacitaṃ apāyaduḥkhavedanīyaṃ sa ca puruṣapudgalaḥ
ta[thāg]. + + + + .. [p]r. [t]. + + ///
- 3 /// + + .. thāgataṃ anusmaret tathāgatabiṃbaṃ cākārayet* evaṃ tasyāsau pūrvvakarmavipākāḥ
parittavedanīya[o]⁴² bhavati • tathāgatabiṃbaṃ .. ///

³⁶ Our treatment of these fragments is minimal, with reconstructions and discussion of the contents in the notes.

³⁷ The matching pattern of striations in the birch bark proves without a doubt that this fragment comes from the obverse of No. 2. The straight line on the right edge, which we initially thought might indicate the end of the folio, turns out to be a break along the same crease which can be observed on the back of 2381/242/1 (but not on the front).

³⁸ Restore (*puru*)śapudgalaṃ.

³⁹ There is not much to go on here, but the reference to an arrow (*iṣu*) is intriguing, given the simile of the archer which appears in T. 694, 794b13–20.

⁴⁰ These two fragments, which abut each other on line 4, come from a folio which has suffered fragmentation and delamination. The larger of the two pieces comes from the top edge of the folio, with part of the blank space above the string-hole visible at the bottom. Five lines of text sit above this space, which is entirely consistent with the layout of the relatively well-preserved folio 216 of the LSukh (see BMSC II). There we find 18–19 akṣaras to the left of the string-hole; since here we have about 14, we infer that the left edge has fallen away. This similarity in terms of layout and dimensions makes us even more confident that this fragment is also part of the same manuscript. With about 31 akṣaras to the right of the string-hole on line 3, the two pieces take us almost to the right edge of the folio.

⁴¹ Possibly *saṃgrāmaṃ* at the beginning and end of the line? For (*sa*)ṃgrāmaṃ abhibhūya cf. *saṃgrāmaṃ vijitya* in the next fragment, line f.

⁴² We assume that *parittavedanīya* means something like “to be experienced as trifling,” “to be experienced to a limited extent,” although to our knowledge the term is otherwise unattested. Cf. T. 694, 794b1–6: 佛言：「彌勒！如汝所言，當知此人亦復如是。由造像故，彼諸惡業永盡無餘，所應受報皆不復受。彌勒！業有三種：一者、現受；二者、生受；三者、後受。此三種業中，一一皆有定與不定。若人信心，造佛形像，唯現定業少分容受，餘皆不受。Here it is possible that 少分容受 corresponds to *parittavedanīya*. Cf. also the citation in the SS, which reads in part: *gal te mtshams med pa lña byas su zin kyañ | de bzin gśegs pa la dad pa rñed de | de bzin gśegs*

⁵³ Consistent with the bottom of a v; reconstruct again (*apāvaduhkhavedave*)*danīyam*?

Fragments of the Ratnaketuparivarta*

Chanwit Tudkeao

Introduction

The *Ratnaketuparivarta* (Rkp) is a Mahāyāna text that once must have been of considerable importance, at least in Central Asia,¹ because of its dhāraṇīs—principally the *Ratnaketudhāraṇī*—which have the function of protection (*raṅṣā*).² The Rkp belongs to a voluminous collection of Mahāyāna sūtras, named *Mahāsannipāta* (Msp). Only a few sūtras from this collection are available in Sanskrit—mostly in fragments—and some exist independently apart from the collection. Most are preserved only in Chinese and Tibetan.³

The appropriate understanding of the title *Mahāsannipāta* was discussed by various scholars. B. Matsumoto suggested three possible ways in which the meaning of this title could be interpreted. Primarily, *Mahāsannipāta* can be understood as “great collection,” therefore *Mahāsannipāta* Sūtra should be a great collection of Sūtras. Secondly, it could be called Msp for the reason that Sūtras were preached to a great congregation of hearers, who had come from all directions. As the last suggestion, Matsumoto considered that *Mahāsannipāta* should be accepted as the great assembly of Buddhist technical terms. Having suggested three possibilities, B. Matsumoto concluded that the last suggestion was the most appropriate one.⁴

According to P. Demiéville, the term *Mahāsannipāta* is used in the first Sūtra of this text collection, sometimes in the sense of “the Assembly” of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, sometimes in the sense of “the collection” of the (three) jewels (Triratna) or “the collection” of the categories of the Dharma.⁵

* I wish to thank Jens Braarvig for the invitation to publish these fragments as part of my dissertation. Thanks are also due to my advisors Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Adelheid Mette, for very useful advice and the generous support they offered me during my study. Moreover, I am indebted to Franz-Karl Ehrhard, Klaus Wille and all the members of the seminar “Manuskriptlektüre”—Liu Zhen, Elsa Legittimo, Habata Hiromi, Jowita Kramer, and Oliver von Criegern—who kindly gave me suggestions in reading manuscripts and saved me from some errors.

¹ Having investigated the fragments of the Rkp found in Central Asia according to palaeography, I conclude that they could be assigned to at least 13 different manuscripts.

² In the Rkp as in many other Mahāyāna texts there are descriptions of how the whole text or each dhāraṇī is to be worshiped and of the merits gained from worshipping this text. As an example in practice, we have a tiny fragment from South Central Asia, kept in the Stein Collection in the British Library (IOL San 1478, identified by K. Wille and edited by me in my unpublished dissertation). There, only the *Ratnaketudhāraṇī* is written. The gap between recto and verso of this fragment is too small, and it appears that this fragment is not part of a complete manuscript, but was possibly used as an amulet or something with a similar function.

³ For more information on the chapters in Msp and their translations, see Braarvig 1993: xxv ff.

⁴ See Matsumoto 1927: 113–122.

⁵ See Demiéville 1953: 437.

J. Braarvig suggests three possible ways to comprehend the meaning of *Mahāsannipāta*, i.e. (a) the Great Collection of sūtras, (b) the Great Collection of Mahāyāna teachings or (c) a Great Congregation of monks and bodhisattvas, coming from the ten directions of the universe. According to Braarvig, the meaning (c) is generally most frequent. Moreover, the term *sannipāta* (assembly), which refers to the hearers of the preaching of the Buddha, is commonly found in the introductions of Mahāyāna sūtras.

There are two Chinese translations of the Rkp. The first one, called 寶幢分 *Bǎochuáng fēn* (= *Ratnaketuparivarta*), is a translation of Dharmakṣema (曇無讖 var. 達摩讖), translated during 422–431 AD.⁶ It is the 9th chapter of 大方等大集經 *Dàfāngdǎng Dàjījīng* (= **Mahāvaipulya-Mahāsannipātasūtra*; T. 13, no. 397). The second translation, called 寶星陀羅尼經 *Bǎoxīng Tuólúóníjīng* (= **Ratnaketudhāraṇīsūtra*; T. 13, no. 402), is a work of Prabhāmītra or Prabhākāramītra (波羅頗蜜多羅 or 波羅頗迦羅蜜多羅) during 629–630.⁷

In Tibet two versions of the Rkp translation are preserved. They differ in title, in some cases in chapter names, or in wording, but they contain the same contents. The translation of the first group, called *Dkon mchog dbal zes bya ba'i gzuñs*, is found in some manuscripts from Dunhuang. The translation of the second group, including the text preserved in the Kanjur, has the title *Rin po che tog gi gzuñs*. Both of them, however, are equivalent to **Ratnaketudhāraṇī* or more precisely **Ratnaketudhāraṇīsūtra*.⁸ The translations are attributed to Śilendrabodhi and Ye śes sde, but according to other sources two more translators were included, namely Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi.⁹ In the Tibetan chronicle *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me lon* the translation is, however, attributed to Thonmi Sambhoṭa.¹⁰

Rkp is composed in prose mixed with verse. Moreover, throughout the sutra, numbers of dhāraṇīs, mantradhāraṇīs or mantrapadas, containing unintelligible strings of syllables which produce the magical power for protection, are uttered, taught and memorized by Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and deities. These dhāraṇīs correspond to the third type of dhāraṇī classified by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as mantradhāraṇī, which could be translated as “magical formula.” However, some of them are aids to concentration and profound comprehension of Buddhist teachings.¹¹

No complete Sanskrit text of the Rkp is available. One almost complete Sanskrit version is based on a single manuscript, i.e. the Gilgit manuscript.¹² Besides, there are a number of fragments preserved in different collections, which have either been edited or at least identified, for example

⁶ I follow the recent dating by Chen Jinhua, see Chen 2004: 215–263. According to other sources, the dating is about 414–422 or 426, cf. Demiéville *et al.* 1978: 243; Saerji 2008: 95.

⁷ Although these two translations consist of the same contents and the same division of chapters, there are some remarkable differences, especially in the case of verses, which suggest that they were translated from two rather different Sanskrit manuscripts, which cannot be traced back to the same original in a *stemma codicum*. According to my study of the literary tradition of the Rkp, the early Chinese translation is possibly based on a manuscript circulated in Central Asia, whereas the later translation shows a rather close relationship to the textual tradition in the region of Gilgit/Bāmiyān.

⁸ For a critical edition of the Tibetan translation see Kurumiya 1979.

⁹ See Tauscher 2008: 59.

¹⁰ See Kuznetsov 1966: 58; for its translation see Sørensen 1994: 173.

¹¹ For more details about dhāraṇīs, see Braarvig 1985.

¹² This manuscript was edited for the first time in 1959 by N. Dutt and reedited by Y. Kurumiya in 1978 with the addition of folios lacking in Dutt's edition and with comparison with the Tibetan translation and with one of the two Chinese translations.

some Rkp fragments from Central Asia in the Hoernle Collection, in the Stein Collection,¹³ a fragment from the Xinjiang Autonomous Region in Western China,¹⁴ five folios of an Rkp manuscript kept in the Durbar Library in Kathmandu, Nepal,¹⁵ and a fragment in the Ōtani Collection in Ryūkoku University Library.¹⁶ Some of the remaining fragments were identified by K. Wille and J.-U. Hartmann, and edited and published in my dissertation in 2009.¹⁷ Among them, there are 30 fragments in the Schøyen Collection that have been identified as Rkp.¹⁸ In one of them, published by A. Skilton already in BMSC II (MS 2381/147), the Rkp is written together with the *Samādhirā-jasūtra* (SRS).¹⁹ As indicated by him, this fragment belongs to a composite manuscript. Its first two lines (r1–2) contain part of a colophon of the SRS. The next two lines (r3–4) preserve some parts of the dhāraṇī, called *Māramaṇḍalāparājita*, which is inserted here before the *nidāna* of the Rkp itself.

All the 30 fragments are written in Gilgit/Bāmiyān type I on palm leaves.²⁰ Two fragments preserve folio numbers, viz. MS 2381/115 with the folio no. 48 (corresponding to Gilgit manuscript, folio no. 58) and MS 2381/147 with the folio no. 198. In the case of MS 2381/115 it is unclear whether the Rkp is a single sūtra in this manuscript or part of a composite manuscript. If the latter, it is the first text.

¹³ See Thomas 1916: 100–3, plate XX no. 6; Karashima 2006a: 34, 39, 46, 53, 177–89, plates 102–3; Fukita 2009: 300–1, plate 185; Karashima 2009: 379–82, plate 233; 432–34, plate 264; 443–46, plate 272; 476–77, plate 303; 510–11, plate 335; 538–9, plate 368; Hartmann & Tudkeao 2009: 589–92, plate 249, 594–96, plate 273. Lately, with generous suggestions of K. Wille, I identified three more fragments of Rkp and edited them in BLSF III.2; see Tudkeao 2015: 587–591.

¹⁴ See Saerji 2008: 95–103, facsimile published in the same issue without plate number; Saerji 2010: 111–120; Saerji 2011: 35–57.

¹⁵ See de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 45–53; Nakamura 1975: 13–33. First only 4 folios were published by L. de La Vallée Poussin in 1908 without any identification. 67 years later, Z. Nakamura could identify these folios as Rkp. He published the 4 folios again together with the 5th folio that had been unknown to L. de La Vallée Poussin, but without referring to the former publication. He described this manuscript wrongly as a Gilgit manuscript because of the similarity of the script, i.e. Gilgit/Bāmiyān type I, despite the fact that the Gilgit manuscripts were not discovered before 1931 (cf. Matsumura 1993: 127–9 and Matsuda 1996: xiv).

¹⁶ The fragment number 625 was identified by S. Hori as Rkp. See Hori 2002: 103.

¹⁷ My dissertation “*Versionen des Ratnaketuparivarta: Studien über die Überlieferung des Ratnaketuparivarta und eine kritische Ausgabe der Sanskrit-Fragmente*” submitted to the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, was published in 2009. There, Sanskrit fragments in various manuscript collections, namely the Stein Collection (British Library, London), the Pelliot Collection (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), the Ōtani Collection (Kyoto), the Huntington Collection (New Haven), 3 folios in the Oriental and India Office Library (British Library, London), which were found in Central Asia, and also fragments in the Schøyen Collection (Oslo) have been edited.

¹⁸ K. Matsuda briefly mentioned Sanskrit fragments of the Rkp in his article, “New Sanskrit fragments of *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* in the Schøyen Collection” (2000: 103).

¹⁹ See Skilton 2002: 97–8.

²⁰ Material and script of these fragments are, evidently, identical with those of the five folios kept in Kathmandu. After comparison of these five folios with the Gilgit manuscript and the Tibetan translation, H. Matsumura found one variation of using three verbs and supposed that the literary tradition of the folios in Kathmandu should be different from that of the Gilgit manuscript and that the Gilgit manuscript shows a very close relationship with the Tibetan translation; see Matsumura 1993: 129. This is possible, but still hazardous, since we have very few clues. Fortunately, there is a fragment in the Schøyen Collection that overlaps with those two manuscripts. The text of this tiny fragment also uses the expression with three verbs that varies from the Gilgit manuscript. On the basis of palaeography, material and the similarity of the text, one can presume that the five folios in Kathmandu belong to the textual tradition of Greater Gandhara and once were brought from there to Nepal.

Judging from the string-holes of some folios, they can probably be divided into two groups. To the first group belongs a folio consisting of MS 2382/7a + MS 2381/13 + MS 2381/127 that has a string-hole almost in the middle of the folio (ca. lines 3–4) with only free spaces around it. To the second group belong some folios that have a string-hole in the middle with free spaces on all lines. These folios are (1) MS 2382/32; (2) MS 2382/33; and (3) a folio consisting of MS 2381/123ab + MS 2381/115 + MS 2381/12 + MS 2381/116. In the 3rd folio of this group, only line 4 of the recto side has been continuously written without any free space left, whereas in the other lines on recto and verso a free space is left around the string-hole. It is difficult to distinguish these fragments clearly from each other on palaeographical grounds or to ascertain the number of manuscripts. As said above, we know that MS 2381/147 and MS 2381/123ab + MS 2381/115 + MS 2381/12 + MS 2381/116 represent two different manuscripts, but also in this case their scripts look very similar and would not permit of differentiation.

List of fragments

| Schøyen Nos. | Identification | Rkp(K) | Rkp(Tib) | Chapter | No. in the edition |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|--------------------|
| 2379/23a | K. Wille | r: 145.2–14
v: 145.15–146.1 | 186.18–187.10
187.11–188.7 | VI | 10 |
| 2380/31 | A. Skilton,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: 87.7–17
v: 88.12–89.4 | 97.11–98.3
98.17–99.13 | IV | 7 |
| 2381/12 | K. Wille | r: 116.2–15
v: 116.17–117.12 | 155.12–156.7
156.10–157.5 | V | 8 |
| 2381/13 | K. Wille | r: 41.9–43.2
v: 43.4–44.9 | 54.3–55.7
55.8–56.7 | II | 3 |
| 2381/95 | K. Wille | r: 37.13–38.10
v: 39.1–16 | 47.12–48.16
48.17–49.16 | II | 2 |
| 2381/101b | K. Wille | r: 37.13–38.10
v: 39.1–16 | 47.12–48.16
48.17–49.16 | II | 2 |
| 2381/101c | K. Wille | r: 37.13–38.10
v: 39.1–16 | 47.12–48.16
48.17–49.16 | II | 2 |
| 2381/115 | K. Wille | r: 116.2–15
v: 116.17–117.12 | 155.12–156.7
156.10–157.5 | V | 8 |
| 2381/116 | K. Wille | r: 116.2–15
v: 116.17–117.12 | 155.12–156.7
156.10–157.5 | V | 8 |
| 2381/123a | K. Wille | r: 116.2–15
v: 116.17–117.12 | 155.12–156.7
156.10–157.5 | V | 8 |
| 2381/123b | K. Wille | r: 116.2–15
v: 116.17–117.12 | 155.12–156.7
156.12–157.5 | V | 8 |
| 2381/127 | K. Wille | r: 41.9–43.2
v: 43.4–9 | 54.3–55.7
55.8–56.7 | II | 3 |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|----|
| 2381/129 | K. Wille,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: –
v: – | 243.14–244.1
244.6–18 | XI | 12 |
| 2381/147 | A. Skilton,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: –
v: – | 3.13–5.3
5.10–7.9 | I | 1 |
| 2381/191b | C. Tudkeao | r: –
v: – | 243.14–244.1
244.6–18 | XI | 12 |
| 2381/191c | C. Tudkeao | r: –
v: – | 243.14–244.1
244.6–18 | XI | 12 |
| 2381/191d | K. Wille,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: –
v: – | 243.14–244.1
244.6–18 | XI | 12 |
| 2381/232a | A. Skilton,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: 60.1–13
v: 61.6–62.8 | 71.20–72.16
73.12–74.15 | III | 4 |
| 2381/uf15/2d | J.-U. Hartmann | r: 37.13–38.10
v: 39.1–16 | 47.12–48.16
48.17–49.16 | II | 2 |
| 2381/uf15/7a | J.-U. Hartmann | r: 145.2–14
v: 145.15–146.1 | 186.18–187.10
187.11–188.7 | VI | 10 |
| 2381/uf15/7c | J.-U. Hartmann | r: 60.1–13
v: 61.6–62.8 | 71.20–72.16
73.12–74.15 | III | 4 |
| 2381/uf15/7d | J.-U. Hartmann | r: 60.1–13
v: 61.6–62.8 | 71.20–72.16
73.12–74.15 | III | 4 |
| 2381/uf18/3c | A. Skilton,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: 62.8–63.2
v: 64.10–16 | 74.14–75.9
76.21–77.5 | III | 5 |
| 2381/uf18/4b | A. Skilton,
J.-U. Hartmann | r: 62.15–63.3
v: 63.17–64.5 | 75.6–11
76.4–10 | III | 6 |
| 2382/7a | K. Wille | r: 41.9–43.2
v: 43.4–44.9 | 54.3–55.7
55.8–56.7 | II | 3 |
| 2382/32 | K. Wille | r: 116.3–16
v: 116.19–117.4 | 155.9–156.9
156.15–157.6 | V | 9 |
| 2382/33 | K. Wille | r: –
v: – | 191.22–192.20
192.23–193.19 | VI | 11 |
| 2382/uf31/2b | K. Wille | r: 62.8–63.2
v: 64.10–16 | 74.14–75.9
76.21–77.5 | III | 5 |
| 2382/uf31/3d | K. Wille | r: 145.2–14
v: 145.15–146.1 | 186.18–187.10
187.11–188.7 | VI | 10 |
| 2382/uf31/7b | K. Wille | r: 62.8–63.2
v: 64.10–16 | 74.14–75.9
76.21–77.5 | III | 5 |

*Transliteration*²¹**1) MS 2381/147²²** (folio no. [19]8); recto

- 2 ś cānandaḥ tā[ś c]. + ///
 3 dhir mahāyā[n]. + + ///
 4 vi ma me • [a] + + ///
 5 pe mahatā bhikṣu .. ///

verso

- 1 tinā²³ ca kumārabhūte ///
 2 tvena²⁴ • || evaṃ [pr]. ... ///
 3 hākaruṇāsa .. + + ///
 4 dvitīyaḥ kau[l]i .. ///

2) MS 2381/101c + MS 2381/uf15/2d + MS 2381/95 + MS 2381/101b; recto

- 1 /// + + .. ghv aś[eṣ].. + + + + + + + + + + .ur nāma dhā .. [ṇ]. + + + + + ///
 2 /// + + .. grāmasy. + + + + + + + + + + ṣaṃ gacchati • strīndri[y].. + + .. + + ///
 3 /// + + [śatru]nirje + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +āyavānmano[du] ///
 4 /// + + .. .ā .e + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .. [ś]. ṣaḥ strībhā[va]ḥ k[āyavānma]nodaṣṭhu .. ///
 5 /// + tur dhāraṇī [sarv]air atī[t]ai[s tathāg]. tair ar.. + ///

verso

- 1 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + ..[y]. tpannās tathāgatā a[r]hantaḥ sa[m]yaksa. [bu] .[dh].
 + ///
 2 /// + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .. ye pi te bhaviṣyaṃty anāgate dhvani daśas. ///
 3 /// + + kuśalamū + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + rhi rat.. .e ..m dhāraṇī bhāṣiṣyā[m]y]. ///
 4 /// + .. śikto ja .. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + .u .. raṇ[ī]ṃ pu[sta]ke likhit.ā dhā[ra] + + ///
 5 /// + .. vanāga[y].²⁵ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [ha]srāṇi [ta]s[ya] .. + + + + + + ///

3) MS 2382/7a + MS 2381/13 + MS 2381/127; recto

- 1 /// + + + .. kṛpa • hile • hihi ○ [l]e • aru[n]. .[r]. [t]. • samayaṇiṣke • damadā[na]dhyā .. + + + +
 + + ///
 2 /// + + + .. [k]yamuninā tathāgate ○ nāsyāṃ ratnaketudhā[ra]nyāṃ punar api mahāpṛthivī
 cakampe .. + + ///
 3 /// + + ..[e] .. nām devanāga[ya] ○ .. + + [rv]āsuragaruḍakinnaramahoragapretapiśā + + ///
 4 /// + .. .y[ā]ṃ samyakṣambodhau • sa ○ [r].ā + + + [ga]tastrībhā + + [t]i l. bhasaṃvarta[n]īyaṃ

²¹ Rkp(K) = Y. Kurumiya's edition of the Sanskrit text of the Gilgit manuscript; Rkp(Tib) = Y. Kurumiya's edition of the Tibetan translation; Rkp(Ch1) = 寶幢分 *Bāochuáng fēn*; Rkp(Ch2) = 大方等大集經 *Dàfāngdǎng Dàjījīng*.

²² Lines r4–5 are identified as Rkp. In two places the transliteration in BMSC II has to be corrected. I give the readings of BMSC II in the footnotes.

²³ BMSC II: *tidā*.

²⁴ BMSC II: *ndena*.

²⁵ Above this *praṣṭh(a)taḥ* is written with an insertion mark; this is probably a scribal mistake for *prṣṭhataḥ*, cf. Rkp(K) 39.14 *anekāni ca devanāgayakṣagandharvakoṇinayutasahasrāṇi tasya rājñah kṣatriyasya prṣṭhataḥ samanubaddhā* ...

5 /// kārakāya śākyamu[na]ye ta ○+++++. [ā]ya • brūhi [ma]hākārunika vi ///

1 /// saṃvegena vayam anuttara[sy]. ○ + + + + + + + + + .[ā]mo vadasva bhagavann ima²⁶
pūrvay[o] ///

2 /// [m]. sya jyotiḥsomyagandhābhā ○ + + + +y. + + + [d rā]jña utpalavaktra[s]yā-
gramahiṣyā s[u] .. + ///

3 /// + + + [sa]hasrāṇām strīvyam[ja] ○ nā[ny]. + + [ya]puruṣavyamjanāni prādurbhūtāni • evaṃ
tas.i .. + ///

4 /// + + .ā prādur abhavan* sarvā ○ [sā]²⁷ .. .āsām strīṇām anāgatas[tr]ī bhāvapratilambha-
saṃva[rt]. + + ///

5 /// + + + .. [śvaraś] cakkravartī jye ○ ṣṭham [k]umāram rājābhiṣekenābhiṣ[i]ṃcyā²⁸ sārddham
eko[n]le + + + + ///

1 /// + ṣa y.. st. .. ++++++ [g]au[ta]mas ta[t]kṣ. +++
+++++ .. .[y]. + .[v]. ///

2 /// .āni varmāṇi .r. +++++ s [ta]syā eva .. +++++
nuprāptā a .. ///

3 /// + ndharvāsura[ru] ++++++
+++++ .. sa n.. i + ///

4 /// + varma prāv. tā ++++++
+++++ ///

5 /// + [ś]. rar[ū] ++++++
+++++ ///

1 /// + + + .. +
+ + + + + + + + ///

2 /// .. prabhānvit. .. +
+ + + + + + + + ///

3 /// [d]ruta nṛtagīt. +
+ + + + + + + + .. gaj[oṣṭ]r. ///

4 /// ..ḥ tiṣṭhemo va + .. [nā]diś. + + + + +
+ + + + + + + + .. vīthī[ca]tvara ///

5 /// .. [ḍg]ās[r[i]taiḥ .. + [s]yati tato bh. + + + + +
+ + + + + + + + + + .[au] ///

²⁸ There are only faint traces of the *-i-* over *s-*.

- verso

- 9) MS 2382/32; recto

- verso

- 10) MS 2382/uf31/3d + MS 2381/uf15/7a + MS 2379/23a; recto**

- ³⁰ At first *ni* was written, but over it the vowel sign *-ī-* is visible, possibly written by another scribe.

³¹ A letter is faintly visible under the line beneath the *kākapada* symbol, possibly *sa*.

Reconstructed texts

1) r4 vi ma me³³ | a(m va re ...

evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān rājagṛhe mahānagare viharati veṇuvane kalandakanivār⁵pe mahatā bhikṣu(saṅghena sārdham³⁴...)

Cf. Rkp(K) —; Rkp(Tib) 3.13–5.3; Rkp(Ch1) 129a8–9; Rkp(Ch2) 537a8–9.

v1 tinā³⁵ ca kumārabhūte(na ... maitreyena ca bodhisatvena mahāsa)**v2**tvena³⁶ | || evaṃ pr(amu-khaiḥ ... mahāmaitrīma)**v3**hākaruṇāsa(manvāgatair³⁷) ... **v4** dvitīyaḥ kauli(taḥ ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) —; Rkp(Tib) 5.10–7.9; Rkp(Ch1) 129a9–10; Rkp(Ch2) 537a13–23.

2) r1 ... pūrvākṣiptaṃ ca mātṛgrāmabhāvaṃ la)ghv aśeṣ(aṃ kṣapayati | iha bhaginīyaṃ ratnaketu(n) nāma dhā(ra)ṇ(ī mahārthikā ... **r2** ... sahaśravaṇena mātṛgrāmasy(a mātṛgrāmabhāvo nir-avaśe)ṣaṃ³⁸ gacchati | strīndriya(am antardhāya ... **r3** ... sarva)śatrunirje(tā bhavati ... k)āyavān-manodu(hkhapratisaṃvedanīyo ... **r4** ... tenaivātmabhā(v)e(na parikṣayaṃ gacchati | pari)ś(e)saḥ strībhāvaḥ kā(yavānma)nodausthu(lyavipākaḥ ... **r5** ... ratnake)tur³⁹ dhāraṇī sarvair atītais tathāg(a)tair ar(hadbhiḥ samyaksaṃbuddhair bhāṣitā ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 37.13–38.10; Rkp(Tib) 47.12–48.16; Rkp(Ch1) 133a5–13; Rkp(Ch2) 543b28–c4.

v1 (... prat)y(u)tpannās tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksa(m)bu(d)dh(ās tiṣṭhanti ... **v2** ...) ye 'pi te bhaviṣyamty anāgate daśas(u dikṣv anyonyeṣu ... ratnaketudhāraṇīm bhāṣiṣyanti) **v3** ... kuśalamū(lavivṛddhaye | aham apy eta)rhi rat(nak)e(tu)m dhāraṇī(m) bhāṣiṣyāmy (anumoditya ca ... **v4** ... yaḥ kaścid bhagini rājā kṣatriyo mūrdhābhi)ṣikto ja(napadasthāmaprāpta imāṃ ratnaketu)u(dhā)raṇīm pustake likhit(v)ā dhāra(yiṣyati ... **v5** ... anekāni ca de)vanāgay(akṣagan-dharvakoṭinayutaśatasa)hasrāṇi tasya (rājñah kṣatriyasya) prṣṭh(a)taḥ⁴⁰ (...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 39.1–16; Rkp(Tib) 48.17–49.16; Rkp(Ch1) 133a14–23; Rkp(Ch2) 543c17–29.

3) r1 (... mahā)krpa | hile | hihile | aruṇ(av)r(a)t(e)⁴¹ | samayaniṣke | damadānadhya(na aparā-mṛśe⁴² ... **r2** ... samanantarabhāṣitāyāṃ śā)kyamuninā tathāgatenāsyāṃ ratnaketudhāraṇyāṃ punar api mahāprthivī cakampe (... **r3** ... aprameyāsaṃkhyeyā)nāṃ devanāgaya(kṣagandha)rvāsura-

³³ The reading is confirmed by Rkp(Ch1) 147b8. This dhāraṇī, however, is found only in chapter 6 in both Chinese translations, but is not inserted before the text as in the Tibetan translation.

³⁴ Cf. Braarvig 1993: xxviii; IOL San 1228 r1 ... (vi)harati veṇuvane kalandhakanivāpe (dh- for d-) mahatā bhikṣu-saṅghena (g- for gh-) sārdham ... (this fragment was edited by me in my unpublished dissertation).

³⁵ The list of twelve bodhisattvas is given here. There are some names which end with -mati, for example Jayamati Kumārabhūta and Varuṇamati Kumārabhūta. Therefore it is difficult to reconstruct the names with certainty.

³⁶ Cf. IOL San 1228 r3 ... (ku)mārabhūtena vimalena ca kumārabhūtena maitreyena (for maitreya) ca bodhisatvena mahāsatvena 12 ...

³⁷ See Rkp(Tib) footnote 5, p. 7; cf. Mvy 836.

³⁸ Rkp(K) 37.17 niravaśeṣo.

³⁹ Rkp(K) ratnaketudhāraṇī. In this fragment, ratnaketu (m.) and dhāraṇī (f.) are not compounded, cf. v3 rat(na-k)e(tu)m dhāraṇī(m).

⁴⁰ Ms: praṣṭhataḥ; cf. above, note 25.

⁴¹ Rkp(K) 41.9 aruṇavarte; Rkp(Tib) 54.3 a ru ṇa pra te. This reading is confirmed by Rkp(Ch1), (Ch2).

⁴² Cf. IOL San 1229 r4 /// + k(r)pa mahāk.pa | hili hile aruṇavrate | (sa)mayaniṣkhe | damadānadhya(na aparā)mṛśye | IOL 934 vz /// + mahākṛpa : hile : hile : (a)r(u)navrate : sam ///. (These fragments are still unpublished.)

garuḍakinnaramahoragapretapiśā(cakumbhāṇḍakanyānām ... **r4** ... anuttaras)yām samyaksam-
bodhau⁴³ | sar(v)ā(sām cānā)gatastrībhā(vapra)til(ā)bhasamvartanīyaṃ karmā(varaṇam aśeṣaṃ ni-
rodham ca ... **r5** ... namo nama āścarya)kāraḥkāya śākyamunaye ta(thāgatāyārhaṭe samyaksambud-
dhāya | brūhi mahākāruṇika vi(stareṇenaṃ pūrvayogaṃ ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 41.9–43.2; Rkp(Tib) 54.3–55.7; Rkp(Ch1) 133c4–12; Rkp(Ch2) 544c14–545a5

v1 ... samvegena vayam anuttarasy(āṃ⁴⁴ samyaksambodhau cittam utpāday)āmo⁴⁵ vadasva⁴⁶
bhagavann ima(m) pūrvayo(gaṃ) ... **v2** ... (i)m(a)sya⁴⁷ jyotiḥsomyagandhāvabhā(saśriyas
tathāgatas)y(āntikā)d rājña utpalavaktrasyāgramahiṣyā su(rasundaryā devyā sārddham ... catu-
rāv³śītinām strī)sahasrāṇām strīvyamjanāny (antardhā)ya puruṣavyamjanāni prādurbhūtāni | evaṃ
tas(m)i(n samaye)⁴⁸ ... **v4** ... a⁴⁹ prādurabhavan* sarvāsā(ṃt)āsām strīṇām anāgatastrībhāvaprati-
lambhasamvart(anīyaṃ karmāvaraṇam aśeṣaṃ sannirodham | ... **v5** ... sa rājā utpalavaktraś
caturdvīpe)śvaraś cakkravartī jyeṣṭhaṃ kumāraṃ⁵⁰ rājābhisekenābhisimcyā sārddham ekone(na
putrasahasreṇa ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 43.4–44.9; Rkp(Tib) 55.8–56.7; Rkp(Ch1) 133c12–15; Rkp(Ch2) 545a3–19.

4) r1 (... yāsmākam ṛddhibalavi)ṣay(ā)s t(ān sarvān⁵¹ ādarśayiṣyāmaḥ | ... sa śramaṇo) gautamas
tatḥ(āṇe pradarśayiṣyati ... atha tā māraḥkoṭi)y(aḥ s)v(abhavanāni gatvā ... **r2** ... ekaiko mārāḥ
koṭisahasraparivāro vividh)āni varmāni (p)r(āvr̥tya te nānāpraharaṇayuktā vividhasannāhasannad-
dhā)s tasyā eva (rātryā atyayenemam⁵² jambudvīpam a)nuprāptā a(ṅgamagadhasandhau gagane ta-
sthuḥ ... **r3** ... devanāgayakṣaga)ndharvāsuraḥgar(uḍakinnaramahoragapretapiśācakumbhāṇḍā
bhagavato 'ntike aprasannacittā ... dharme samghe cāpra)san(nac)i(ttās te sarve māreṇa pāpimatā
... vadhāyodyojitāḥ ... **r4** ... te 'pi nānāpraharaṇa)varmaprāv(r)tā(h tatraiva tasthuḥ ... **r5** ... tasya
mahe)ś(va)rarū(peṇa⁵³ purataḥ sthitvaivam āha ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 60.1–13; Rkp(Tib) 71.20–72.16; Rkp(Ch1) 134c28–29; Rkp(Ch2) 547c21–548a4.

⁴³ Cf. v1; Rkp(K) 42.9 (*tāś ca sarvā avaivartyā abhūvann anuttarāyām samyaksambodhau* |).

⁴⁴ Rkp(K) 43.4 *anuttarāyām*.

⁴⁵ Y. Kurumiya followed the reconstruction of N. Dutt: *janayama*. However, the expression °cittam utpāday “produce the mental attitude towards the (supreme perfect) enlightenment” is commonly used in Mahāyāna texts.

⁴⁶ Rkp(K) 43.5 *brūhi* is reconstructed.

⁴⁷ The reading is confirmed by Rkp(Tib). Cf. Rkp(K) 43.8 (*bhadramukhāḥ jyo*)[*ti*]hsomyagandhāvabhāsaśriyas; Rkp(Tib) 55.13 *bzin bzañs dag gañ gi tshes de bzin gsegs pa 'od zi spos snañ dpal de'i thad nas*.

⁴⁸ The reading is confirmed by Rkp(Tib). Rkp(K) *tadaivam*; cf. Rkp(Tib) 55.18 *de'i tshes de bzin du lha'i bu mo nas mi'i bar du grañs med | dpag tu med pa dag*.

⁴⁹ Rkp(K) 44.4 *puru**(*śendriyaṃ prādurbhūtam* |). The lacuna here could be reconstructed as follows: (*puruśendriya*)āni. In a Tibetan ms from Dunhuang (Ic), there is a variation: *dños po* (= *vastu, bhāva, dravya*) instead of *dbañ po* (= *indriya*). The missing text, according to this variation, could possibly be reconstructed as (*puruṣabhāva*)āni prādurabhuvan*.

⁵⁰ Rkp(K) 44.8 *jyeṣṭhakumāraṃ*.

⁵¹ Rkp(K) 60.1 *yad asmākam ṛddhibalaviṣayaṃ tat sarvaṃ* ..., whereas Rkp(Tib) 71.20 *bdag cag gi rdzu 'phrul dan | stobs kyi yun de dag thams cad* ... I reconstruct according to Rkp(Tib).

⁵² This expression could be in gen., cf. Rkp(K) 60.5 *tasyām eva rātryāṃ atyayenemam* with a loc.; Rkp(Tib) 72.3 *de'i nub mo 'das nas*.

⁵³ Rkp(Tib) omits this phrase, but it is found in two Dunhuang mss, Ia: *ga la gnas pa der soñ nas | dbaṇ po chen po'i gzugs su*; Ic: *ga la gnas pa der soñ | dbaṇ phyug chen po'i gzugs*.

⁵⁷ In Rkp(Ch1) and in the Dunhuang mss (Iac), Śāriputra enters Rājagrha through the eastern city gate.

7) **r1** ... sarvaviṣay)āṇāṃ ca buddhaviṣaya eva vi(śiṣṭatarah) ... **r2** ... (satvakoṭīnayutāni jñānas)ā-gare⁵⁸ 'vatārayitum* nādyā bhaga(vato gamanakālo yuktaḥ) ... **r3** ... (te sarve mama vadhāya parākrameyur ekaro)makū(pasy)ā(p)i (me na śaktā vighātayitum) ... **r4** ... (rājagṛhaṃ mahāna-garaṃ māraba)l(a)r<d>dhi(vikurvaṇādhīṣṭhānavyūhair alaṃkṛtaṃ ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 87.7–17; Rkp(Tib) 97.11–98.3; Rkp(Ch1) 137b24–25; Rkp(Ch2) 552c10–22.

(... **vw** ... yadā ca bhagav)ān āsa(nad abhyutthitas tadā dyutimatir nāma vihāradevatā ... āha **vx** ...) tadā (s)iddh(imatir nāmauśadhidevatā ... āha **vy** ...

jagad idam ati)pūrṇaṃ kleśadhū<r>taih pracaṇḍaiḥ <l>

na(nu mama bhuvi śaktiḥ kācid asti pralopaṃ ... **vz** ...)

kuru (suga)ta mamājñāṃ lo(kasaṃrakṣaṇārthaṃ ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 88.12–89.4; Rkp(Tib) 98.17–99.13; Rkp(Ch1) 134c4–7; Rkp(Ch2) 553a5–19.

8) **48r1** (... vajradharmasamatāpratītyadharmahṛdayasamucchrayaavidhvaṃsanīm dhāraṇī-mu)drā(pa)d(aprabhedavyākaraṇīm bhāṣiṣyante ... **r2** ... jñāna)pāripū(r)y(ai⁵⁹ te sarve buddhā) bh(a)g(a)v(a)t(o) 'dy(a) t(a)syā(m) sahāyāṃ lokadhāt(au⁶⁰ sannipatya ... **r3** ... vajradharmasama-tāpratītyadharmahṛdayasamucchrayaavidhvaṃsa)nīn dhāraṇīmu(d)rāpadaprabhedapraveśavyā-ka(raṇ)īm (bhā)ṣiṣyamte | tad yo yuṣmākam i(cchati ... **r4** ... śrotuṃ tāmś cāprame)yāsaṃkhyeyāṇ gaṅgānadīvālukāsamān⁶¹ ekakāle⁶² ekabuddhakṣetre⁶³ buddhān bhagavatas tiṣṭhamān(ān⁶⁴ pūja-yitum ... **r5** ...ta) etarhy asmābhi(h sā)r(dha)m āgacchatu tām sahāṃ lokadhātum yatra sa śākya-munis tathāgato (v)i(haraty arhān samyaksambuddhaḥ ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 116.2–15; Rkp(Tib) 155.12–156.7; Rkp(Ch1) 143a28–b10; Rkp(Ch2) 562a6–17.⁶⁵

48v1 (... evaṃ bhadanta bhagavān ga)cchāmo vayaṃ tath(āgate)n(a) sārddhaṃ tām sahāṃ lokadhātum yatra sa śākyamunis tathāgato vihara(ty arhān samyaksambuddhas ... vajradharma-samatāpratītyadharmahṛdayasamucchrayaavidhvaṃsaṇīm dhāraṇīmudrāpadaprabhedapraveśa-vyākaraṇv**2**)nīm śravaṇāya • tatra vayaṃ ekakāle ekasamaye ekabuddhakṣe(t)re (a)pramey(āsaṃ-khyeyān⁶⁶ buddhān ... pūjayiṣyāmaḥ ... tām sav**3**)hām lokadhātum samalaṃkṛtām drakṣyāmas tāmś ca mahā(sann)i(pā)t(a)vyūhān drakṣyām(a)ḥ sa(c)e(d vayaṃ tatra buddhakṣetre ... sthānaṃ lapsyāmahe tāmś ca buddhān bhagavato vanditum ... **v4** ...)o ... yathāsa(nn)ipa(t)i(tān b)o(dhi-sa)tvān mahāsatvān iti || atha te buddhā bh(a)g(avantaḥ ... mahāśrāvākān evaṃ āhuḥ ... **v5** ... anant)o b(u)d(dh)ā(nām bhagavatām buddhaviṣayāvatārasamatājñānakauśalyasatvapariṇipākaḥ ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 116.17–117.12; Rkp(Tib) 156.10–157.5; Rkp(Ch1) 143b10–17; Rkp(Ch2) 562a20–b2.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ Y. Kurumiya read *śāgareṇa*, and suggests that the instr. should be understood as loc., cf Rkp(Tib) which also has a loc.

⁵⁹ Rkp(K) 116.4 *paripūraṇāya*.

⁶⁰ Rkp(K) 166.5 *tām sahāṃ lokadhātum*.

⁶¹ Rkp(K) 116.10 *vālukopamān*.

⁶² Rkp(K): *ekakālepaika*-. Cf. also v2 *ekakāle ekasamaye ekabuddhakṣetre*.

⁶³ Hiatus for *ekakāle ekabuddhakṣetre*, also in v2.

⁶⁴ Y. Kurumiya reconstructs as *buddhān bhagavataḥ tiṣṭhataḥ*.

⁶⁵ Cf. also Rkp(Nepal), de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 45–48; Nakamura 1975: 18–24.

⁶⁶ Rkp(K) 117.2 *tre-n-aprameyā*^o, where the *-n-* is apparently understood as a hiatus-bridger.

⁶⁷ Cf. also de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 48–49; Nakamura 1975: 24–26.

9) r1 (... anyonyam cānu)modiṣyaṃti | sarvasatvahitāya⁶⁸ duścārīta(karmanivāraṇāya ... **r2** ... śrāvakaśaṅghapu)raskṛtā imāṃ vajradharmasamatāpratī(tyadharmahṛdayasamucchrāyavidhvam)sanīm dhāraṇīmudrāpadaprabhedapraveśavyākaraṇīm bhāṣiṣyanti ... **r3** ... tāṃ vajradharmasamatāpratītyadharmahṛdayasamucchrāyavidh)v(am)sanīm dhāraṇīmudrāpadapr(abhedapraveśavyākaraṇīm śrotuṃ ... **r4** ... sarvamāraṇiṣa)yabuddhakṣetrālāṅkāravayūhān draṣṭuṃ ⁶⁹adrṣṭapū(rvān draṣṭuṃ ... **r5** ... atha te bodhisatvā mahāsatvās t)ā(n)* b(u)ddhān* bhagavata evam āhu(h ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 116.3–16; Rkp(Tib) 155.9–156.9; Rkp(Ch1) 143b5–10; Rkp(Ch2) 562a7–18⁷⁰.

1v (... vajradharmasamatāpratī)tyadharmahṛdayasamucchrāyavidhvam)sanīm dhāra(ṇ)ī(mudrāpadaprabhedapraveśavyākaraṇīm śravanāya ... **v2** ... pūjayiṣyā)mas teṣāṃ cāntikā⁷¹ dharmam śroṣyāmas tatra ca vay(am ... tāṃ sahālokadhātum samalāṃkṛtāṃ drakṣyāmaḥ ... **v3** sa ced vāyam tatra ... sthānam lapsyāmahe) tāṃs ca buddhān bhagavato vanditum śakṣy(āmaḥ paryupāsītum ... **v4** ... tān svān svān bodhisatvān mahāsa)tvāms tāṃs ca mahāśrāvākān evam āhuḥ mā (yūyam kulaputrā evam kāṅkṣata ... **v5** ... tatasya hetoḥ ... buddhaviṣayāvatārasamatājñānakuśa)la⁷²satvaparipākaḥ vistīrṇāvakāśaḥ s(a kulaputrā śākyamunis tathāgato ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 116.19–117.14; Rkp(Tib) 156.15–157.6; Rkp(Ch1) 143b10–20; Rkp(Ch2) 562a22–b4⁷³.

10) rw (... vihimsey)ur v(ipralopayeyur ... teṣāṃ mārāṇāṃ yāvan manu)ṣyāmanuṣyāṇāṃ (saptadhā mūrdham sphaled ... **rx** ... hṛdayā)ny ucchuṣyeran* chv(itrā bhavye)uḥ ... pāṃsubh)ir avakīrṇā(s tatraiva vikṣiptacittāḥ paryate)yuḥ ... **ry** ... ye bhūmicarās te pṛthivī)varam anupraviṣe(yuḥ ... rājñ)āṃ k(ṣatriyānāṃ buddhaśāsanābhip)r(a)s(an)nā(nāṃ ... **rz** ... vihetṭhām kūryus teṣā)m api tathaiva (saptadhā mūrdham sphalet ... api ca yasmin viṣaye) 'yam mārāmaṇḍalāparājī(o dhāraṇīmudrādharmaparyāyāḥ pracariṣyati ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 145.2–14; Rkp(Tib) 186.18–187.10; Rkp(Ch1) 147a23–28; Rkp(Ch2) 567b24–c5.

v1 (... tatra vāyam rakṣāvaraṇagup)t(a)ya autsu(k)y(a(m āpatsyāmaḥ ... anta)rdhāpayiṣyāmaḥ⁷⁴ sarvāṃs ca tatra (... **v2** ...) rogān pratini(v)ā(rayiṣyāmaḥ ... ā)rogyayaśo'gralābh(a ... **v3** ... ghoṣava)tir⁷⁵ nāma mahābrahmā (...) virūḍha(ka ... **v4** ...) .. ta (... u)bhābhyāṃ pāṇibhyāṃ (...)

Cf. Rkp(K) 145.15–146.1; Rkp(Tib) 187.11–188.7; Rkp(Ch1) 147a29–b1; Rkp(Ch2) 567c6–569a6.

⁶⁸ Rkp(K) 116.3 *sarvasatvā(nāṃ) hitāya*.

⁶⁹ Rkp(K) 116.13 ... *buddhakṣetrālāṅkāravayūhā[n draṣṭuṃ tāṃs ca bahu]buddhā(n) sannipa(titān adrṣṭapūrvān draṣṭuṃ ...)*.

⁷⁰ Cf. also de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 47–48; Nakamura 1975: 22–24.

⁷¹ Cf. de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 48: *teṣāṃ cāntikādharmam[ṃ] śroṣyāma*. Y. Kurumiya reconstructed this to *tebhyo dharman api śroṣyāmaḥ*.

⁷² Rkp(K) 117.13 *kauśalya*^o.

⁷³ Cf. also de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 49–50; Nakamura 1975: 24–26.

⁷⁴ Cf. Rkp(Tib) 187.13 *sdañ ba'i gnod sbyin nas sdañ ba'i lus srul po'i bar thams cad de nas bskrad par bgyi'o* (= Skt *sarvāṃs ca duṣṭayakṣān yāvad duṣṭakāṭapūṭanān antardhāpayiṣyāmaḥ?*). There is, however, no Sanskrit equivalent anywhere else in the Rkp. Moreover, in the Tibetan translation, *bskrad pa* appears only twice, where the Sanskrit text is not preserved. According to Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* and J. S. Negi's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, *bskrad pa* is a translation for Skt *ut-√cāṭ* caus.; *pra-√vas* caus.; *niṣ-√kās*; *ut-√sṛj*, but there is no entry for *antar-√dhā* that is normally translated in Tibetan as *nub par 'gyur ba, mi snañ bar ... 'gyur ba, med par byed pa* etc.

⁷⁵ The reconstruction is based on Rkp(Tib) 187.20 *dbyaṅs dañ ldan pa*, cf. Rkp(K) 83.16, where, however, it appears as the name of a Māra, not of a Mahābrahmā.

11) r1 (... tatrāhaṃ pracā)rayiṣyāmi⁷⁶ | yatra ca prac(ariṣyati ...⁷⁷ **r2** ...) | arthe kuśale ca sannī⁷⁸-
(yokṣyāmi⁷⁹ ... **r3** ... i)māni maṃtrapadāni pūrva(ṃ ... **r4** ...) | avame avame | a(mavare⁸⁰ ... **r5**
... dhāra)yeyur ahaṃ ca (...)

Cf. Rkp(K) —; Rkp(Tib) 191.22–192.20; Rkp(Ch1) 147b5–12; Rkp(Ch2) 569c4–19.

v1 (... bhagavan)n (a)ham upasaṃkkramya (... **v2** ... vi)cikitsā(ṃ) apanay(i)ṣy(āmi ... **v3** ...
k)ukāryāni praśamay(i)ṣyāmi ... **v4** ... śa)ṭhām apanay(i)ṣyāmi | sarvā(... **v5** ... cī)varaśayanāsanāni
saṃ⁸¹ (...)

Cf. Rkp(K) —; Rkp(Tib) 192.23–193.19; Rkp(Ch1) 147b17–19; Rkp(Ch2) 569c23–570a5.

12) (... **r1** ...) parindāmi • ye ca tathā(gatādhiga)tāyāḥ saddharmanetryāḥ samujvālanāya (... **r2** ...
a)pi kṛtvā dhārayiṣyānti .e (...)n⁸² dharmaparyāyaḥ sarvakarmakṣayāyābh(... **r3** ...) gandhapra-
dhūpite nā(nārasaparivṛte siṃhā)sane⁸³ s(ama)bhiru(hya) jihvāgre(ṇa ... **r4** ...) .. .i (...)
śubhaka(rma ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) —; Rkp(Tib) 243.14–244.1; Rkp(Ch1) 150c11–13; Rkp(Ch2) 577a19–28.

(... **vw** ... grā)me vā na(gare vā ... **vx** ... bhikṣuṇī) vā upāsako vā u(pāsikā vā śrā)ddhaḥ kulaputro
v(ā) k(u)laduhi(tā vā ... **vy** ... siṃhāsa)ne samabhiruhya jihvāgre(ṇa dhāra)ṇī⁸⁴mudrā parebhyo
vi(s)t(a)r(e)ṇ(a ... **vz** ... ś)rāvaṇikānām svaparo(bhyaḥ kleśa)karmapari(kṣa)yārthaṃ kuśala-
dh(a)r(ma ...)

Cf. Rkp(K) —; Rkp(Tib) 244.6–18; Rkp(Ch1) 150c17–20; Rkp(Ch2) 577b2–11.

⁷⁶ The missing Sanskrit text could be reconstructed in this manner: (*yasmin viṣaye 'yaṃ mārmaṇḍalāparājito dhāraṇīmudrādharmaparyāyaḥ na pracariṣyati tatrāhaṃ pracā)rayiṣyāmi ...*; cf. also Rkp(K) 145.14–146.1 *api ca yasmiṃ viṣaye 'yaṃ mārmaṇḍalāparājito dhāraṇīmudrādharmaparyāyaḥ pracariṣyati tatra vaya(ṃ) rakṣāvaraṇa-guptaye autsukyaṃ āpatsyāmaḥ* <|>. The construction is the same.

⁷⁷ The text here should mean: “Where this dhāraṇī text (called) Mārmaṇḍalāparājita (“Unsurpassed by the circle of Māras”) will not yet be circulated, there I will circulate (it). Where (it) will have been circulated, there I will let it be much more widespread.”

⁷⁸ Ms: -nnī-.

⁷⁹ Cf. also Rkp(K) 156.6 ... *avatrāpyeṣu sanniyokṣyāmaḥ*; Rkp(Tib) 192.5 *gzud par bgyi'o*.

⁸⁰ Two Tibetan Dunhuang mss. (Icd), the Gondhla ms. and both Chinese translations have *am va re*.

⁸¹ Read and reconstruct as <upa>saṃ(hariṣyāmi)? Cf. Rkp(Tib) 193.19 *ñe bar bsgrub par bgyi'o*.

⁸² The structure of the expression in Sanskrit and Tibetan seems to be different, cf. Rkp(Tib) 243.17 ... *'chaṇ ba'i bar du byed pa de dag kyaṇ chos kyi tshul 'di yaṇ dag par 'bar bar byed par ...*

⁸³ Cf. Rkp(K) 40.15–16; 41.4; 137.9.

⁸⁴ Ms: *dhāraṇi*-.

A Gāndhārī Fragment of the Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra

Paul Harrison, Timothy Lenz, Lin Qian and Richard Salomon

Description of the Fragment

Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī Fragment MS 2179/89 is a single palm-leaf fragment measuring approximately 7 cm long by 3 cm high, coming from the right end of a folio. It was initially transliterated by Richard Salomon, Collett Cox, Andrew Glass, and Stefan Baums in Oslo in August–September 2001, with the transliteration being revised by Andrew Glass in Seattle January–March 2002. In April 2008 the fragment was identified by LIN Qian as part of the *Sarpapūṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (SPSS). Armed with this identification, we four continued to refine the reading of the fragment and work on the Chinese and Tibetan parallels, with additional input and advice from Collett Cox, Andrew Glass, Stefan Baums, and Seishi Karashima.

Lin Qian's identification of the text was a breakthrough which enabled us, among other things, to establish the recto and verso of the fragment on the basis of its content. From the size of the gaps between the matching words in the Chinese and Tibetan parallels, we were also able to infer with a fair degree of certainty that the fragment preserves the right end and the upper edge of a folio with four or at most five lines of text written on it. The fragment apparently bears the folio number 20 [20 1], i.e., 41 in the margin of the verso, although there is some uncertainty as to the reading of the second number, only part of which is legible. Leaving aside for the time being the question of what this number is, the positioning is potentially significant for determining how many lines of text were written on each side. In the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments as a whole, the range of lines per side is from three (MS 2719/44 [MPNS]) to seven (MS2719/7). The SPSS fragment has traces of at least four lines, so that, even if there were no more than four lines, the number was set quite low, below the vertical middle, in contrast to other Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments, such as MS 2719/49, where it is set in the middle. If we assume, however, that our folio had five or more lines of text per side, then this would make the number even further off-centre.

Another method of determining the number of lines per side is to estimate the amount of text missing from each line and then, working from the resulting figure, calculate the amount missing between the last surviving line on the recto and the first surviving line on the verso in comparison with the parallel texts in Tibetan and Chinese as a multiple of that figure. Unfortunately the parallels do not all tell the same story, making this operation more than usually difficult. In fact, working out the correspondences with the surviving text on the verso of the fragment was hard enough to start with, because of the lack of an exact match. The earliest Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa (Dh) seems to be the closest, but even there the fit is far from perfect, and its description of the Buddha Vimalakīrtirāja's body, not found in any other version, falls precisely in the gap we wish to calculate, making our calculations even less certain. However, if we assume

that the Gāndhārī version which our fragment attests also had this description, then the missing portion of the text between the two sides of the fragment might have occupied four lines (recto 4 and 5, verso 1 and 2), which would mean our folio had five lines per side. If, on the other hand, our fragment read at this point like Kumārajīva's version (Ku) and the Tibetan (Tib), without any description at all of the Buddha's body, then the missing text could have occupied two lines (recto 4, verso 1), yielding four lines per side.

A rough calculation in respect of the folio's position in the text as a whole is similarly inconclusive. Going by the amount of text in Dh equivalent to that on the fragment (979b12–c2, approximately 19 lines), the preceding text (546 lines in Dh) would have occupied about 27 or 28 folios. The same calculation for Ku (996a15–29, approximately 14 lines) yields a figure of about 44 folios, and for Tib (94a6–b7, 8 lines), 41.5 folios, both of which are rather close to the number on our fragment. However, we cannot conclude with absolute certainty that the Gāndhārī version of the SPSS was roughly comparable with Ku and Tib in extent, nor can we be sure that the SPSS began on folio 1 of a manuscript written with four lines per side, even though it is tempting to draw this conclusion.¹

Despite all these imponderables, the significance of our folio as one of the small number of Kharoṣṭhī fragments of Mahāyāna sūtras so far discovered remains beyond doubt.² That is, we now know that at least some Mahāyāna sūtras in Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language circulated in or around the first to third centuries, so that it is conceivable that at least some of the later manuscripts of Mahāyāna sūtras we have in Sanskrit or in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit represent their descendants, in which the language has been more thoroughly Sanskritized and their contents modified in various respects.³ What little text survives on our fragment suggests a recension of the text different from those represented by all other surviving versions, and not only in language, although in several respects it is closest to the Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa, which dates from the late third century.⁴ This is perhaps not surprising, since the paleography of our fragment also indicates a date in or around the second or third century. Such a relatively late date is supported by the partial Sanskritization which is characteristic of Kharoṣṭhī texts of the late and post-Kuṣāṇa period, exhibited in the genitive ending *-sya* (*utarasya*) instead of earlier *-sa*, the semi-Sanskritized *riṣi[sy](a)* instead of **iṣisa* (= Skt *ṛṣeḥ*), and the restoration of the original consonant cluster *bhy* in *[a]rabhya*. Especially interesting is the attestation of a text generally unknown to modern scholarship, for which very little of the Sanskrit survives. The *Sarvapūṇya-*

¹ The SPSS could have been one of a number of texts in a *Sammelhandschrift*, in which case it may have been preceded by one or more short texts.

² At the time of writing there are at least eight, if we accept the attribution of the *Bhadrakalpika* to the Mahāyāna sūtra class: *Bhadrakalpika*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Bodhisattvapīṭaka*, *Sucitti*, *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhi*, *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi*, an as yet unidentified text discovered by Kazunobu Matsuda, and the “Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra”; see Allon and Salomon 2010, and, more recently, Harrison and Hartmann 2014: xvi, n. 19.

³ Cf. Allon and Salomon 2010: 18. This is not to say that all Mahāyāna sūtras were initially drafted in Gāndhārī, or even went through a Gāndhārī stage. The virtual absence of evidence from other parts of the subcontinent is a historical accident, due to climate and other factors, and we cannot therefore conclude that such sūtras in other Prakrits never existed. In fact, there are good reasons for believing that Andhra also had its Mahāyāna or “proto-Mahāyāna” literature in Prakrit form; see, e.g., Harrison 1982.

⁴ Ku, dating from the early 5th century, is generally very close to Tib, produced in the early 9th. For example, Dh matches the fragment in the title it gives Uttara (仙 *xiān* = *ṛṣi*), whereas Ku and Tib generally have 大仙 *dàxiān/draṣṇōn chen po* = *maharṣi*. See below for further details.

samuccayasamādhisūtra, quoted three times in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and twice in Prajñā-karamati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* under the title *Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchā*,⁵ deserves to be better known for the interesting light it casts on—*inter alia*—issues of authority and textual transmission in the Mahāyāna.⁶

Transliteration

MS 2179/89; folio 41(?) recto⁷

- 1 a[ṁta]rahido utarasya riṣi[sy]. ///
- 2 obhasena phudo abhuṣi • .. ///
- 3 [s].i⁸ [s]a⁹ ca kulaputra utarasya ///
- 4 [bh]. + + + + + .. ///

verso

- w + + + + + + + .. + .. ///
- x khu kulaputra so vimalaki .. ///
- y [a]rabhya tatha tatha dharmo [d]e .[e] ///
- z ima sarvapuṇasamuca[y]. ///

Proposed Sanskrit Transposition

recto

- 1 antarhita uttarasya rṣeḥ¹⁰ ///
- 2 avabhāsenā sphuṭo 'bhūt¹¹ ////
- 3 ? sa ca kulaputra uttarasya¹² ///

⁵ The two citations in the *Pañjikā* are both drawn from one of the sections of the text quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, so they scarcely enlarge our knowledge. At the time of writing we are unaware of any other quotations from the SPSS in works extant in Sanskrit, although it is cited or referred to in several Tibetan sources. We thank Jens-Uwe Hartmann for information in this regard.

⁶ See, e.g., Harrison 2003, esp. pp. 125–129, and Pagel, 2007: index s.v. *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi*.

⁷ A small chip with parts of some akṣaras visible on both sides lies beside our fragment on the original scan, but it cannot be joined to it in any way, and may be from a different manuscript.

⁸ The complex akṣara at the beginning of the line defies attempts to read it. It may have a subscript *v* or possibly an *r*.

⁹ This akṣara might also be read as *taṁ*, but the reading *sa* was chosen since it appears to fit the context better.

¹⁰ "... disappeared ... of the seer Uttara ..." For the stock passage indicated here, cf., e.g., *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell & Neil, p. 162.2–5): *tadyathā balavān puruṣaḥ saṃkuñcitam vā bāhuṃ prasārayet, prasāritam vā saṃkuñcayet, evam eva śakrabrahmādayo devā anekāni ca devatāśatasahasrāṇi ca devaloke 'ntarhitāni, bhagavataḥ puratas tastuḥ*.

¹¹ "... was filled with a radiance." Cf. Skt *udāreṇāvabhāsenā sphuṭo 'bhūt*; in *Mahāvastu* (III.334), *obhāsenā sphuṭā abhūṣi*.

¹² "... and that ..., son of good family, of Uttara ..." One expects *uttarasya(rṣeḥ)* to be followed by a masculine word for body (*kāya*, *ātmabhāva*), to which *sa* refers, i.e. "and that (body), son of good family, of (the sage) Uttara (became) ..." Cf., e.g., *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (ed. Vaidya, p. 247.11–15): *yenāhaṃ satyena avinivartaniyo 'nuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodher vyākṛtas tathāgatair arhadbhiḥ samyaksambuddhaiḥ, jñātaś cāsmi aśāthyenādhyāśayena, tena devendra satyena satyavacanena mama yathāpaurāṇo 'yam ātmabhāvo bhavatu | atha khalu tatksaṇam tallavam tanmuhūrtam sadāpraruditasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya buddhānubhāvena āśayapariśuddhyā ca yathāpaurāṇo 'śya kāyaḥ saṃsthitō 'bhūt, arogo nirupadravaś ca |*. The *ca* after *sa* in our fragment suggests two sentences conjoined, which would match the testimony of Dh, which first describes the effect on Uttara's mind, and then the effect on his body.

4 bh. + + + + + .. ///

verso

w + + + + + + + + .. + .. ///

x khalu kulaputra sa vimalakī(rtirājaḥ)¹³ ///

y ārabhya¹⁴ tathā tathā dharmam deśaya(ti)¹⁵ ///

z imaṃ sarvapūṇyasamuccaya(samādhim)¹⁶ ///

Parallel Texts with English Translation¹⁷

應時下方過三十二諸佛國土。有世界名普等離垢。彼佛號曰無垢稱王如來至真等正覺。今現在說法。於時其佛即見上仙心之所念。又欲教化閻浮提人。譬如勇士屈申臂頃。彼佛如是斯須之頃。從己佛土忽然**不現**。即住止于**上仙**之前。及與菩薩五百俱。其如來這現世間。自然大**光普有所照**。而取天花。億百千伎樂不鼓自鳴。諸菩薩會于彼林藪。於時巖樹一切根株莖節枝葉華實皆出法音。

上勝仙士。適聞彼佛見其形像心無所畏。即時**其**體平復如故無有瘡疣(1)。於是族姓子。上仙見無垢稱王如來至真等正覺。相好巍巍猶須彌山。威神光明踰於日月。神妙聖達為天人尊。諸根寂定猶若(2)虛空不增不減。歡喜踊躍善心顯發。即從坐起更整衣服。偏袒右肩右膝著地。叉手白佛。

是我世尊。安住大聖。我歸命佛及法聖眾。唯(3)佛世尊。為我說法。若聞經者建立奉行。蠲除眾生所貪受行。興于正見而說經典。

時族姓子。彼無垢稱王如來至真等正覺。緣仙士故為諸天子及諸菩薩。**分別說**此等集眾德三昧之定。於眾會中八千天子往古造行修治誼理。即逮法忍。上勝仙士聞**是**三昧。踊躍歡喜入(4)於微妙。尋時逮得無盡辯才。

(1) 瘡疣 KSYM: 瘡痛 G; (2) 猶若 GSYM: 若 K (text emended); (3) 唯 K: 惟 GSYM; (4) 於 K: 于 GSYM.

The word *kulaputra* in this line must be vocative, although the Chinese and Tibetan parallels do not attest it here.

¹³ “Then, son of good family, that Vimalakīrtirāja ...” The word *khalu* was presumably preceded by *atha*. The following vocative *kulaputra* appears in all other versions.

¹⁴ “... teaches/taught the dharma relating to ... in such a way ...” All parallels suggest that *ārabhya* was preceded here by *imaṃ sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhim*.

¹⁵ For the construction used here cf. Harrison and Hartmann 2006: 175, 210–211: (*ākhyātāvi*)*naṃ bodhisatvam ārabhya tathā tathā dharmam de(śa)yati yathāṣṭānām bodhisatvasahasrāṇām anulomikadharmakṣāntipratilābho bhavet*. For a translation see *ibid.*, p. 211. Note that in this case the Tibetan translation (*byañ chub sems dpa’ sems dpa’ chen po mi g-yo ba la sogs pa la*) appears to have construed *ārabhya* as “beginning with” rather than “concerning” or “with reference to,” so that Maitreya ends up teaching the dharma **to** Ākhyātāvin and the others rather than **about** Ākhyātāvin. Cf. BHSD, s.v. *ārabhya*.

¹⁶ “... this (Samādhī) of the Collection of All Merits ...” The appearance of the full title of the *samādhī* at this point has no parallel in any other version, but is probably to be explained with reference to the wording of Dh, i.e., as indicating a recension in which the description of the teaching’s effect on Uttara is preceded by the words *imaṃ sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhim śrutvā*.

¹⁷ T. 381, 12: 979b7–c2 (Dh). In both texts and translations words possibly corresponding to those in our fragment are in **bold**. Sigla in the apparatus to the Chinese text follow the conventions of the BMSC series. The Chinese text is courtesy of CBETA, slightly repunctuated. The translation is as literal as possible, in order to indicate the actual Chinese terms used, and to point to the underlying Indic terms (thus, e.g., *tathāgata* > 如來 *rúlái* > “So-comer”).

Immediately, past thirty-two Buddha-realms in the nadir, there was a world-system called Universally Immaculate (*Samantavimala), where the Buddha, the So-comer, Perfected and Rightly Awakened One by the name of King of Immaculate Repute (Vimalakīrtirāja) currently resided and taught the Dharma. At that time that Buddha saw what the transcendent master Superior (Uttara) was thinking in his heart, and he also wanted to educate the people of Jambudvīpa. In the time it takes, for example, a strong man to bend and extend his arm, in such a short space of time, that Buddha suddenly **vanished** from his own Buddha-land and stood in front of the **sage Superior** together with five hundred bodhisattvas. When that So-comer appeared here in this world, everything was spontaneously **illuminated by a great light**, heavenly blossoms rained down,¹⁸ and hundreds and thousands of millions of musical instruments sounded without being played. All the bodhisattvas assembled at that gathering-place in the forest.¹⁹ At that time all the roots, trunks, branches, leaves, buds, flowers and fruits of the overhanging trees emitted the sounds of the Dharma.

As soon as the transcendent master Superior heard that Buddha and saw his appearance his heart was without fear, and immediately his body was just as it had been before, without wound or disfigurement. Thereupon, son of (good) family, the transcendent master Superior, seeing the So-comer, Perfected and Rightly Awakened One King of Immaculate Repute, awesome in his marks and features like Mt. Sumeru, his majesty and radiance exceeding the sun and moon, sublimely eminent in divinity and sagehood, honoured by gods and human beings, all his senses at peace, like space neither increasing nor decreasing, was overjoyed and jubilant, and full of positive thoughts.²⁰ Then, rising from his seat, he straightened his clothing, bared his right shoulder, knelt down on his right knee, put his hands together and addressed the Buddha:

“It is I, World-honoured One.²¹ I am at peace, Great Sage. I entrust my life to the Buddha, to the Dharma and to the Community of sages. May the Buddha, the World-honoured One, expound the Dharma to me. If (I) hear the scriptures (I) will set myself to follow them, eliminate the practices to which beings are attached, activate correct view and expound the scriptures.”

Then, son of (good) family, that So-comer, the Perfected and Rightly Awakened One King of Immaculate Repute, on account of the transcendent master, **expounded this** Concentration of the Samādhi of the Collection of All Merits to the sons of the gods and the bodhisattvas. In the assembly eight thousand sons of gods who had in the past practised and cultivated the right principles immediately attained patient acceptance of the dharma. The transcendent master Superior, hearing **this** Samādhi,²² was overjoyed and jubilant to a sublime degree, and immediately attained inexhaustible eloquence.

¹⁸ Emending 取 *qǔ* to 雨 *yǔ*.

¹⁹ See n. 28 below.

²⁰ This entire sentence has no counterpart in any other version. In some respects it resembles the stock passage found, e.g., in the *Avadānaśataka* (Speyer's edition, vol. II: 162): *athāsau dadarśa buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ dvātriṃśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ samalaṃkṛtaṃ aśītyā cānuvyañjanair virājitaḡātraṃ vyāmaprabhālaṃkṛtaṃ sūryasahasrātirekaprabhaṃ jaṅgamam iva ratnaparvataṃ samantato bhadraḡaṃ sahadarśanāc cānena bhagavato 'ntike cittam prasāditam | prasādayāto bhagavataḡ pādābhivandanaṃ kṛtvā purastān niṣaṇṇo dharmaśravaṇāya |*.

²¹ Or: (You) are my World-honoured One.

²² We assume that this corresponds to verso line z, with the Gāndhārī giving the title of the *samādhi* again in full.

²³善男子。最勝大仙作是語時。一念之頃。東方去此佛土三十二佛刹。彼有國土名普無垢。是中有佛號淨名王如來應供正遍覺。今者現在。知最勝仙心念所作亦欲教化是閻浮提諸眾生故。譬如壯士屈伸臂頃。**乘空而來到是最勝仙人**前住。及五百菩薩。是淨名(1)王如來放大**光明遍照**彼林。天雨眾花。時彼樹林枝葉花果皆出法音。爾時無量百千萬億諸天來集。

是時彼仙得淨名王佛光觸身已。苦痛悉除還復如故。無有瘡癥。爾時彼仙頭面敬禮佛世尊足。右遶三匝合掌頂上。白淨名王佛而作是言。

世尊是我師。善逝是我師。世尊。我今歸依佛歸依法歸依僧。惟願世尊為我說法。我聞法已。不信眾生行邪見者。壞正見者。行黑闇者。導示正故而為說法。

善男子。爾時淨名王佛。因最勝仙。及諸天子諸菩薩等。為其**演說**此集一切福德三昧法。彼天眾中八千天子。本種善根皆發無上正真道心。最勝大仙得大喜悅。生於大信得無礙辯。

(1) 名 GKSJ: 明 M.

Good man, when the great transcendent master Superior said these words, in the space of a single thought, thirty-two *buddhakṣetras* to the east of this Buddha-domain, there was a land named Universally Immaculate (*Samantavimala), in which a Buddha, a So-comer, a Worthy-of-worship and Rightly and Completely Awakened One called King of Pure Name (Vimalakīrtirāja) currently resided. Because he knew what the transcendent master Superior (Uttara) was thinking in his heart, and wanted to educate all the beings in this Jambudvīpa, in the time, for example, it takes a strong man to bend and extend his arm, **he rose into the air**²⁴ and came to stand before this transcendent master **Superior**, together with five hundred bodhisattvas. This So-comer King of Pure Name sent forth a **great radiance which illuminated** that forest, the gods rained down flowers, and then the branches, leaves, flowers and fruits of that forest all emitted the sounds of the Dharma. At that time countless hundred thousand myriad millions of divinities gathered there.

At this time, when the light of the Buddha King of Pure Name touched the body of that transcendent master, **his** pain was entirely eliminated and he returned to his original state, without any wounds or scars. Then that transcendent master prostrated himself at the feet of the Buddha, the World-honoured One, circumambulated him clockwise three times, put his palms together above his head, and addressed the Buddha King of Pure Name with these words:

“The World-honoured One is my teacher. The Well-farer is my teacher. World-honoured One, I now entrust myself to the Buddha, I entrust myself to the Dharma, I entrust myself to the Saṅgha. I ask that the World-honoured One expound the Dharma to me. When I have heard the Dharma, I will expound the Dharma for the sake of beings without faith who follow perverse views, who destroy right views, and who walk in darkness, so as to guide them to what is right.”

Good man, then the Buddha King of Pure Name, for the sake of the transcendent master Superior and the sons of gods and bodhisattvas, **expounded** to them this dharma of the Samādhi of the Collection of all Merits. Among that host of gods eight thousand sons of gods who had formerly planted good roots gave rise to the thought of the supreme and perfect Way. The great transcendent master Superior felt great joy, experienced great faith, and attained unimpeded eloquence.

²³ T. 382, 12: 996a10–29 (Ku).

²⁴ A rather free and poetic way of translating *antarhita*.

*Tibetan Text*²⁵

rigs kyi bu de ltar drañ sroñ chen po mchog gis tshig de skad ces smras ma thag tu skad cig de dañ | thañ cig de dañ | yud tsam de ñid la 'og gi phyogs su sañs rgyas kyi žiñ 'di nas⁽¹⁾ sañs rgyas kyi žiñ sum cu rtsa gñis 'das pa na⁽²⁾ 'jig rten gyi khams kun nas dri ma med pa žes bya ba žig yod de | de na de bžin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas dri ma med par grags pa'i rgyal po žes bya ba bžugs te⁽³⁾ 'tsho žiñ gžes la chos kyañ ston to || des drañ sroñ chen po mchog de'i lhag pa'i bsam pa thugs su chud de | 'dzam bu'i gliñ 'di'i sems can yoñs su smin pa yañ gzigs nas⁽⁴⁾ dper na | skyes bu stobs dañ ldan pa'i lag pa bskums pa⁽⁵⁾ las rkyoñ⁽⁶⁾ ba 'am | brkyañ ba las skum⁽⁷⁾ pa bžin du⁽⁸⁾ skad cig thañ cig yud tsam de la⁽⁹⁾ de bžin gśegs pa dri ma med par grags pa'i rgyal po de byañ chub sems dpa' lña brgya dañ thabs gcig tu⁽¹⁰⁾ de nas **mi snañ bar gyur nas**⁽¹¹⁾ | **drañ sroñ** chen po **mchog gi** mdun du bžugs te | bcom ldan 'das de bžin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas dri ma med par grags pa'i rgyal po de byuñ ma thag tu⁽¹²⁾ de'i mod la nags khuñ de **snañ ba** chen pos **khyab par gyur to** || me tog gi char chen po yañ bab bo || de'i tshe nags khuñ de na⁽¹³⁾ śiñ gi yal ga dañ | lo ma dañ | mgo lcogs dañ | me tog dañ | 'bras bu thams cad las chos ston pa'i sgra dag byuñ ño || de'i tshe lha bye ba khrag khrig 'bum phrag du ma 'dus par gyur to ||

de nas drañ sroñ chen po mchog la⁽¹⁴⁾ bcom ldan 'das de bžin gśegs pa dri ma med par grags pa'i rgyal po de'i 'od kyis phog ma thag tu | de nas de'i mod la kha dog dañ⁽¹⁵⁾ gzugs sña ma⁽¹⁶⁾ bžin du gyur te | rma dañ snad pa med par gyur to || de nas drañ sroñ chen po mchog gis bcom ldan 'das de bžin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas de'i žabs la mgo bos phyag 'tshal nas⁽¹⁷⁾ | bcom ldan 'das la lan gsum bskor ba byas te⁽¹⁸⁾ sor mo bcu'i thal mo sbyar ba spyi bor bžag nas⁽¹⁹⁾ de bžin gśegs pa dri ma med par grags pa'i rgyal po la 'di skad ces gsol to ||

bcom ldan 'das ni bdag gi ston pa lags so || bde bar gśegs pa ni bdag gi ston pa lags so || bdag ni bcom ldan 'das dañ | chos dañ | dge sloñ gi dge 'dun la skyabs su mchi'o || ci nas bdag gis chos thos nas log par žugs pa'i sems can lta bar gyur pa'i glag glag pa⁽²⁰⁾ spyod yul pa rnams kyi log par lta ba'i mun pa bsal nas | yañ dag pa'i lta ba'i chos ston par 'gyur bar bcom ldan 'das kyis bdag la⁽²¹⁾ chos bstan du gsol | bde bar gśegs pas bdag la chos bstan du gsol |

rigs kyi bu de nas de bžin gśegs pa **dri ma med par grags pa**'i rgyal po **des**⁽²²⁾ drañ sroñ chen po mchog gtso bor mdzad nas lha'i bu de dag dañ | byañ chub sems dpa' de dag la bsod nams thams cad bsod pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzin 'di ñid las **brtsams te** | **ci nas** lha'i bu'i⁽²³⁾ 'khor de'i nañ nas sñon dge ba'i rtsa ba yoñs su sbyaṅs pa'i lha'i bu brgyad stoñ bla na med pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub tu sems skyed par 'gyur ba dañ | drañ sroñ chen po mchog de yañ dga' ba dañ | dañ ba dañ | mchog tu dga' ba rgya chen po dañ | spobs pa mi chod pa thob par 'gyur ba **de lta bu'i chos bstan to** ||²⁶

²⁵ Derge mDo Na 94a3–94b7 (Taipei Derge Vol. 12: 27) (= D); Stog mDo Na 118a5–119b2 (= S).

²⁶ The following text appears to bear no relation to anything on the folio. Here the Derge text only is given (94b7–95a4):

|| || *bam po gsum pa | bcom ldan 'das des rdo rje'i tshig brgyad po 'di dag kyañ bstan te | brgyad gañ že na 'di lta ste chos thams cad ni ñon moñs pa dañ bral ba'i phyir rañ bžin gyis yoñs su dag pa'o || chos thams cad ni zag pa thams cad yoñs su chad pa'i phyir zag pa med pa'o || chos thams cad ni gnas thams cad las yañ dag par 'das pa'i phyir gnas med pa'o || chos thams cad ni gñis su med pa'i phyir sgo med pa'o || chos thams cad ni rnam par thar pa'i sgo*

(1) nas D: nas | S; (2) na D: na | S; (3) te D: te | S; (4) nas D: nas | S; (5) bskums S: bskum D; (6) rkyon D: brkyañ; (7) skum D: bskums S; (8) du D: du | S; (9) de la D: om. S; (10) tu D: tu | S; (11) nas D: na corrected to nas S; (12) tu D: tu | S; (13) na D: ni S; (14) la D: la | S; (15) dañ D: dañ | S; (16) sña ma S: sña mkho D; (17) nas D: na S; (18) te D: te | S; (19) nas D: nas | S; (20) glag glag pa D: brlag brlag pa S; (21) bdag la D: om. S; (22) des D: des | S; (23) bu'i D: bu S.

So it was, sir, that as soon as the great seer Uttara uttered those words, at that moment, in that second, in that very instant, thirty-two Buddha-domains away from this Buddha-domain in the nadir,²⁷ in a world-system called *Samantavimala, a Realized, Worthy and Perfectly Awakened One by the name of Vimalakīrtirāja was living, dwelling, residing and teaching the Dharma, and that Realized, Worthy and Perfectly Awakened One Vimalakīrtirāja, knowing the superior resolve of that great seer Uttara, and discerning the ripeness of living beings here in Jambudvīpa, **vanished** from there and stood before the great **seer Uttara** together with five hundred bodhi-sattvas in that moment, that second, that instant, as quickly, for example, as an able-bodied man might straighten his bent arm or bend his straightened arm. And as soon as that Realized, Worthy and Perfectly Awakened One Vimalakīrtirāja appeared, in that moment the forest clearing [?]²⁸ **was filled with a great light**. A great shower of blossoms also fell. At that time in that forest clearing, from all the branches, leaves, buds, flowers and fruits of the trees there came forth sounds teaching the Dharma. At that time many hundreds of thousands of millions of deities assembled.²⁹

Then as soon as the light of that Realized One Vimalakīrtirāja fell upon the great seer Uttara, then in that moment his appearance and form became as it had been before, without any wound or injury.³⁰ Then the great seer Uttara prostrated himself at the feet of the Lord, the Realized, Worthy and Perfectly Awakened One Vimalakīrtirāja, circumambulated the Lord three times, put his hands palms together above his head, and addressed these words to the Realized One Vimalakīrtirāja:

“The Lord is my teacher. The Blessed One is my teacher. I go for refuge to the Lord, to the Dharma and to the Community of monks. I request the Lord to teach me the Dharma, I request the Blessed One to teach me the Dharma, in order that, after hearing the Dharma, I may dispel the darkness of wrong views for living beings who have gone astray, whose range is limited by the ravages of false views (?),³¹ and then teach them the Dharma which consists in correct views.”

kun nas ston pa'i phyir kun nas sgo'o || chos thams cad ni 'gro ba med pa'i tshul gyis 'pho ba med pa'o || chos thams cad ni 'gro ba thams cad yañ dag par chad pa'i phyir 'gro ba med pa'o || chos thams cad ni 'das pa dañ | ma 'oñs pa dañ | da ltar byuñ ba gñis su dbyer med pa'i phyir dus gsum mñam pa ste | rdo rje'i tshig brgyad po de dag ni bcom ldan 'das de bñin gñegs pa dri ma med par grags pa'i rgyal po des | chos thams cad nes par 'byed pa'i phyir bstan to ||

For an English translation and discussion of this passage see Pagel 2007: 70–71.

²⁷ So too Dh, but Ku has “in the east.”

²⁸ Tib *nags khun*, literally “forest cavity,” which might also denote a cave in the forest. We have not found this compound attested elsewhere. Cf. Dh’s 林藪 *linsōu*, which could denote deep forest, or a gathering place in the forest, and his following term 巖樹 *yánshù*, which denotes the trees on a cliff or overhanging a large open cavern. Ku has simply 林 *lín* or 樹林 *shùlín*, forest.

²⁹ This last sentence looks intrusive, and does not appear in Dh, although Ku has it. But it is presumably required to explain the presence of eight thousand deities in the subsequent *śravaṇaphala* paragraph.

³⁰ Cf. Dh’s markedly longer description of Uttara’s first sight of Vimalakīrtirāja and its effects. Tib is consistent with Ku.

³¹ Neither the *brlag brlag pa* of Stog nor the *glag glag pa* of Derge appears in any dictionary we have consulted. We are assuming that the word is a noun connected with the verb *rlog pa* (pf. & fut. *brlag*), to overthrow, destroy, smash; to ruin, spoil, ravage, disgrace.

Then, sir, the Realized One **Vimalakīrtirāja** taught the Dharma **concerning**³² **this** Meditative Concentration of the Collection of All Merits to those deities and bodhisattvas led by the great seer Uttara **in such a way** that eight thousand deities out of that assembly who had purified their former roots of goodness conceived the aspiration to supreme and perfect awakening, while that great seer Uttara also experienced great happiness, faith, and joy, as well as inexhaustible inspiration.

³² Tib *las brtsams te* = Skt *ārabhya*. See above, n. 15.

A Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī Fragment of a Commentary on *aśubhabhāvanā* and the Formation of the Foetus

Jens W. Borgland and Jens Braarvig

Folder 2373 of the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī fragments in the Schøyen Collection contains a sizable part of a palm leaf inscribed with a commentary on *aśubhabhāvanā*, and on the impurity of the body as being formed as a foetus and then being born with subsequent rituals. The fragment measures 3.7 x 15.0 cm, and is written in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī. As such it should be among the earliest holdings of the collection. The manuscript has four lines to the side, and from the contents it is clear which are the *recto* and *verso* sides. The language is regular Sanskrit, demonstrating that Sanskrit without Prakrit forms was employed in scholastic literature also in this early period, when much Buddhist literature was composed in dialects. The only deviation is *māssa* for *māṃsa*, see below. Being a commentary, and since the script is very similar to that of MS 2371/1, which was published in BMSC II as “Fragments of an Early Commentary” (Schmithausen *et al.*: 2002), one might consider that the present fragment is from the same work. However, the scribe seems to be a different one—so if the ms was not shared between more than one scribe, we have to conclude that the fragment here is from another work.

Transliteration

MS 2373/6; recto

- 1 /// .u[c]y[at]. [y]. [th]. [ha] | y. na h. r. t. puruṣ. ṇa sakt. vibhajyamān. p. [v]. ṇ. na ///
- 2 /// .udāgamato rūpaṃ jñāti • ucyate śukraṃ rudhiraṃ ca saṃmūrcchitaṃ kalalam ity ucyate
• ///
- 3 /// .cyate asya trigatasyāstisañcayasnāyuvinnaddhasya māssaṣaṇṭalepasya ///
- 4 /// + ..ṃ vilepanaśirovasekādhībhīr nīyate yatnataḥ ◊ vibhūṣaṇavidhiḥ s[u] ///

verso

- 1 /// .r.ḥ evaṃ parādhīnatā rūpaṃ jñāti © katham āhāropastambhato rūpaṃ jñāti .. ///
- 2 /// thā tailakumbhaṃ budhnataḥ parisravamāṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā jñāyate tailapūrṇo yami..i ///
- 3 /// [m] iti bhavati cātra • samucchrayaṃ mūtrapuriṣabhājanam bahiḥ sugandhaṃ viparīta ///
- 4 /// + t. va s. kāry.. m. ṇ[k]āy.ṃn.ṃ [ā]ha ca • ut[th]āpa[n]asaṃveśa[k]abhojāpak. s. ///

Notes on the text

r1, a reconstruction of the first line may be *ucyat(e) y(a)th(ā)ha | y(e)na h(a)r(a)t(ā) puruṣ(e)ṇa sakt(a)vibhajyamān(a)p(a)rv(a)ṇ(e)n(a)*; the commentary style is clear by the expression before the *daṇḍa*. The rest may possibly be translated as: “By the person ... who is attached to his various limbs ...” What *haratā* means here—if the reconstruction is correct—is difficult to say without more context.

r2, *rūpaṃ jānāti* (cf. also v1, *bis*) “knowing form” is often connected with expressions relating to meditations and reflections on the *skandhas*. For *śukraṃ rudhiraṇ ca saṃmūrechitaṃ kalalam* “the foetus is the mixture of semen and blood,” cf. similar expressions in Mv 153,14 *tāye mṛtīye taṃ śukraṃ rudhiraṃ ca saṃmūrechitvā kuṣiṃ pratilabdham* | Śikṣ 229,10–11: *asārako 'yaṃ kāyo mātāpitṛṣoṇitaśukrasambhūto* ... See also Bcap ch. VIII, commentary to verse 59: *amedhya-kṣetraṃ mātur jaṭharam, anekāśucisthānatvāt, tatra saṃbhūtaṃ samutpannaṃ tadbījam, tad eva amedhyaṃ mātāpitṛśukraṣoṇitasvabhāvaṃ bījaṃ yasya tat tathoktam, tena vardhitam iti tena amedhyena mātṛpītāśitasya vāntakalpasya rasena vardhitam garbhasthitam upabṛṃhitam. bahir nirgataṃ api svayam āsitapītaparipākāśucirasena. kasmād āliṅgase param iti sambandhaḥ. param strīkalevaram ity upālabho 'sty eva bhavataḥ*; and *Garbhāvakraṅtisūtra* §§7–16, Kritzer 2014 on *kalala*.

r3, *(u)cyate asya trigatasyāsthisaṅcayasnāyuvīnaddhasya māṣaṣoṇitalepasya*: the expression *trigatasya* is uncertain, but probably means “threefold,” referring to the three types of substances the body is made of, then: “if [the body composed] of the threefold [substances] of collection of bones, and then bound together by sinews, and smeared with flesh and blood ...” -*asti*- is emended to -*asthi*-, cf. the quotations from Śikṣ 211.8–10: *punar aparaṃ yadā paśyati mṛtaśarīrāṇi śivapathikāyām asthisamkalikām māṣaṣoṇitamrakṣitām snāyuvīnaddhām* | and Pañcaviṃśati 206,11–207.1: *evaṃ hi subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bahirdhā kāye kāyānupaśyī viharati ātāpī saṃprajānan smṛtimān vinīyaloke 'bhidyādaurmanasye punar aparaṃ subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yadā paśyati śivapathikāyām asthisamkulām māṣaṣoṇitamrakṣitām snāyuvīnaddhāntām* *drṣtvā sa imam eva kāyaṃ tatropasaṃharati ayam api kāya evaṃ dharmā evaṃ svabhāva etām dharmatām avyativṛttaḥ evaṃ hi subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bahirdhā kāye kāyānupaśyī viharati ātāpī saṃprajānan smṛtimān vinīyaloke 'bhidyādaurmanasye punar aparaṃ subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvo yāni tāni paśyati mṛtaśarīrāṇi śivapathikāyām asthisamkalām apagatamāṣaṣoṇitasnāyuvandhanāntām* *drṣtvā*, etc.; further in Mppś 217b19, and 217c2ff., Lamotte III: 1317 and 1318–19, chapters on *Vilohitakasaṃjñā* and *Asthisamjñā*. These sources are rather concerned with the processes of the decomposition of a corpse rather than the formation of the foetus and birth, but the terminology is similar, and ms is concerned with *aśubhabhāvanā* as the other sources are as well. Cf. also a related expression in *Mahāvibhāṣā*, T. 1545, 208a26–29: 復有苾芻如實 觀察自身。從足至頂種種不淨充滿。謂髮 毛等如前廣說。復觀除去皮肉血等。唯觀 骸骨識於中行。是名第二現見等至。 The hybrid form **māssa* for Skt *māṃsa* is listed by Turner 1966, s.v. *māṃsa*, but as an undocumented form—now documented.

r4, *vilepanaśirovasekādibhir nīyate yatnataḥ | vibhūṣaṇavidhiḥ*, “with the anointment of the head, and so on, he is carefully initiated. [After that,] the ritual of ornamentation ...”.

v1, *evaṃ parādhīnatā rūpaṃ jānāti || katham āhāropastambhato rūpaṃ jānāti*, “... he understands form in the way of being dependent. How does he understand form as dependent on food?” The ms clearly reads *parādhīnatā* but *-to* would be desirable and in accordance with the *āhāropastambhato*, and should be thus emended.

v2, *(ya)thā tailakumbhaṃ budhnataḥ parisravamāṇaṃ drṣtvā jñāyate tailapūrṇo ...*, “Having seen that [the body] is just like pot of sesame oil leaking out of the bottom, it is known that ... is filled with oil.” Comparison of the recently dead body with a broken pot of sesame oil (*tailakumbha*) is found in SN: XLII. 6.8: 313.27ff.; and AN XI.4: 377.7–10: *Seyyathā pi bhante puriso medakathālikam parihareyya chiddaṃ vichiddaṃ uggharantaṃ paggharantaṃ: evaṃ eva kho ahaṃ bhante imaṃ kāyaṃ pariharāmi chiddaṃ vichiddaṃ uggharantaṃ paggharantaṃ*. “Just as a person might carry around a cracked and perforated bowl of liquid fat that oozes and drips; so too, Bhante, I carry around this cracked and perforated body that oozes and drips.” Further references in Wilson 1996: 176 and n. 106.

v3, *iti bhavati cātra | samucchrayaṃ mūtrapurīṣabhajanaṃ bahiḥ sugandhaṃ viparīta*, “... it is said. Here the following should be noted: The body is a vessel of faeces and urine—it may smell good on the outside, but this is a wrong (perception?) ...” Cf. Mppś 217b14–19, Lamotte III: 1316–17, *Vidhūtakasaṃjñā*.

v4, *āha ca | utthāpanasaṃveśakabhojāpakas ...*, “... and as it is said: “Cooking food which is for the sake of arousing and bringing together [in sexual union?] ...” The attempt at a translation rests on the argument that aphrodisiac food is not beneficial, but the translation is very uncertain.

Unfortunately our search for an exact counterpart of this text has been unsuccessful, but in the notes above we have given some parallels for the concepts it employs. In the following we give a summary of the contents as an attempt to understand the continuity of the text in its context. The fragment is evidently concerned with the meditation upon form, or *rūpa*, and on the body as part of the *rūpaskandha*. On the *recto* side the body is seen as developing in various stages, of which the first is the formation of the foetus (*śukraṃ rudhirañ ca saṃmūrccitaṃ kalalam*); the second is the development of the body with bones and sinews giving it a frame and binding it together, and its being sullied by flesh and blood (*asthisāñcayasnāyuvīnaddhasya māṃsaṣaṇitalepasya*). A further stage is evidently birth—this part is lost—and the next stage may refer to a consecration ritual “with the anointment of the head, and so on” (*vilepanaśirovasekādi*), and a ritual of ornamentation (*vibhūṣaṇavidhi*). On the *verso* side, the work goes on to describe how one should know the bodily form in the perspective of dependency (*parādhīnatas*), and as supported by food and nourishments (*katham āhāropastambhato rūpaṃ jānāti*), but in addition the motif of *aśubhabhāvanā* is developed by describing the body as a oil pot leaking in the bottom (*tailakumbhaṃ budhnataḥ*

parisravamāṇaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā jñāyate tailapūrṇo ...). And further, even though the body on the outside may appear to smell good, this is a gross misunderstanding, as it is just an accumulation of faeces and urine (*samucchrayaṃ mūtrapurīṣabhajanaṃ bahiḥ sugandhaṃ viparīta ...*). The whole depiction of the above processes of conception, birth, and then childhood initiation serves the purpose of meditation on the impurities and suffering of existence, *aśubhabhāvanā*.

For a fuller treatment of conception and birth as seen by Buddhist scholasticism and medicine, see Kritzer 2009. In the *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra* (Kritzer 2014) itself there are not many motifs in common with our fragment, probably because the focus is different: with the BMSC fragment the focus is primarily on the *aśubhabhāvanā*, while in the *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra* it is rather on *antarābhāva* and *karmavipāka*, although of course the basic tone there is also that life is suffering in all its aspects.

Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and Another Story Collection

Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Kazunobu Matsuda

Introduction

The Schøyen Collection preserves a very unusual folio (MS 2381/57) which is supplemented by a related folio in the Hayashidera Collection in Japan (HG 24).¹ The two folios contain two different texts, one on each side, and as far as one of the two texts is concerned, the folios are clearly consecutive. This text is the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra, and the folio from the Schøyen Collection belongs to the *Śarabhajātaka*, the 25th chapter of this *Jātakamālā*, where it corresponds to pp. 163.24–164.24 in Hendrik Kern's edition of the work. The folio from the Hayashidera Collection continues without a gap: it corresponds to pp. 165.1–166.4 in Kern's edition. Yet it is difficult to speak of parts of one manuscript, since the two folios present evidence not easy to interpret, and it may well be possible that originally they formed just a single leaf. But first the evidence: the *Jātakamālā* is written in Proto-Śāradā or Gilgit/Bamiyan type II, while the second text, an unknown story collection, is written in Gilgit/Bamiyan type I. The *Jātakamālā* is written in a variety of a rather ornamental script and contains a well-known work of the highest poetical quality. The other side is written in a somewhat sloppy hand, and it contains a number of short stories with no embellishments and partly in a “bad” Sanskrit. Judging from the scripts one would automatically be inclined to consider the *Jātakamālā* text younger and therefore secondary. However, this would lead to the conclusion that, first, the scribe of the story collection had filled only the recto sides of the two folios and left the verso sides empty, a possibility not easy to conceive. Second, it would necessitate the assumption that a later scribe made use of the empty verso sides by using them for a well-written copy of the *Jātakamālā*. Again, this appears unlikely. The clue to the most probable solution is held by the material: it is birch bark, and a folio of this material usually consists of two or more layers of bark. These layers may come apart or be intentionally separated, and thus one folio can be split into two folios, each of them with a new blank side, and then the blank side can again be written on. This is probably what has happened here.²

¹ The Hayashidera Collection is now held by the Ryukoku Museum, Kyoto.

² Nicholas Sims-Williams published a very similar case, a Bactrian Buddhist text on a birch-bark manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika(-Lokottaravādin)s, where fol. 75 “separated into two layers, producing two new blank pages which were subsequently used for writing the Bactrian text,” cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 203 with figures 1 and 2 on p. 210; for a color reproduction of the corresponding halves with the *Prātimokṣasūtra* cf. Karashima 2008: 71–90 and plate 4. Another manuscript in the Schøyen Collection appears to present one more case: it contains the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* and the *Viśeṣavatīdhāraṇī*. The folio on which the first ends and the second begins seems to be split and the resulting blank sides used for writing another text *secunda manu* and in a very cursive script. Once it is possible to read and understand the secondary text, this may throw light on the question whether those splits are

At present, the most likely explanation is that originally this was one folio of a manuscript of the *Jātakamālā* which was split and used secondarily for noting down short stories from another collection. Although the script of this secondary text would appear slightly older, it is quite possible that the two scripts existed side by side for some time and that the older one continued to be used for less representative purposes since it allows a more cursive and therefore faster way of writing.³ Regrettably, the left margins of both folios are lost, and therefore no folio numbers are preserved; if the above explanation is correct, there should have been only one folio number on the then recto side of the *Jātakamālā* text.

The *Jātakamālā* text preserved on the folio of the Schøyen Collection was already published in BMSC II (Hartmann 2002: 318f.); the corresponding folio of the Hayashidera Collection which came to our knowledge only afterwards will be published below. While the sequence of the two parts of the *Jātakamālā* is indisputable, the order of the stories on the back sides is much less so. Both leaves are damaged, and their left parts are missing at least up to the string-hole; this resulted in so much loss of text that it is presently impossible to decide which folio comes first. There is one indication, however, which suggests that the Schøyen folio precedes that of the Hayashidera Collection: In the last line (11) of the Hayashidera fragment apparently a story ends, indicated by the traces of double *daṇḍas* enclosing a double circle, and at the end of the first line of the Schøyen fragment a new story begins, again indicated by the double *daṇḍas* and the double circle. This would hardly leave room enough for a full story, which usually consists of some prose and at least one verse. Therefore we consider the Schøyen folio as the preceding one and treat it first.

Remains of five stories are preserved. Only one of them is Buddhist in the narrower sense of the word; its protagonists are Vāsuki, a ruler of the Nāgas (*nāgādhipati*), well known in Hindu mythology, but less so in Buddhist sources, and Jīvaka, the famous physician of the time of the Buddha. Vāsuki appears to challenge Jīvaka, and the Buddha himself is also involved in the story. The other stories are non-Buddhist, as far as their contents allow such a classification. As already mentioned, the Schøyen folio (MS 2381/57) preserves the concluding verse of an unknown story in its first line. Then the story about Vāsuki follows; it begins with a title (*vāsukīti*), consists mostly of a dialogue and ends with a verse in line 8. The following story starts again with a title (*pupriyeti*, very likely for *supriyeti*), and it consists of a narrative about a man and his two wives, or ladies, and not of a dialogue. Its ending is not preserved, since the last line is practically lost. The first line of the Hayashidera folio contains fragments of a fourth story which involves a king and his ministers. It is impossible to understand the story since only its explanation in Buddhist terms is preserved. It concludes with two verses in line 6, but its final words and the beginning of the next story are lost. The change in contents leaves no doubt, however, that we have to do with a

accidental or intentional and on a possible relation between primary and secondary text. We look forward, therefore, to the forthcoming study by Gudrun Melzer.

³ On the simultaneous use of both scripts in manuscripts of the *Samghāṭasūtra* cf. von Hinüber 2014: 88: “It is evident and well known, of course, that the manuscripts written in proto-Śāradā are younger. This can also be deduced from corrections: in manuscripts BCG the text in “Gandhāran Brāhmī” is occasionally corrected in proto-Śāradā. There is no example of a correction in the opposite direction. These corrections show that manuscripts in the older variant of the script continued to be read, because these mistakes were obviously detected only by later readers, not by the scribe himself, and, consequently, they also show that the readers were still familiar with both scripts.” Cf. also Melzer 2014: 230, note 10.

new story: it is a tale about a cat and a clever mouse, mostly in dialogue form, and it ends in line 11, apparently with a verse.

There are several elements which link the stories structurally with each other and with other collections. Two stories, nos. 3 and 5, conclude with *idaṃ dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ*, obviously for *ayaṃ dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ*, “this is the example.” In two cases, nos. 4 and 5, a Buddhist interpretation, or exegesis, is added. First a word or an event from the story is quoted with *yathā*, “as, like,” and then an equation with a Buddhist phenomenon or issue follows, introduced with *evam*, “so,” and several times concluded with *draṣṭavya*, “is to be regarded as.” Despite the poor condition of the manuscript, the recurring structure of these sentences becomes quite evident. Nothing similar is found at the end of the Buddhist story about Vāsuki and Jīvaka. It rather appears to be a regular addition to non-Buddhist tales in the collection, something that could help a reader or preacher in employing such an enjoyable and diverting story not only for the purpose of his own entertainment. Several of the stories included in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* reveal a very similar, if not identical, structure consisting of a parable, a Buddhist interpretation and a concluding verse.⁴ This similarity becomes even more obvious once the Sanskrit fragments of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* are taken into account. The remains of folio *297 apparently preserve sentences with the *yathā ... evam* structure (cf. lines v1 and 2), and folio 298 preserves the end of the story proper concluding with *eṣa dr̥ṣṭānto* and then continuing with *‘yaṃ punar artho dra[ṣ]ṭavyaḥ yathā ...*, “this again has to be regarded as (its) meaning: Like ...” (lines r3–v1), and Heinrich Lüders reconstructs the same phrase from the remains in folio *302: *(e)ṣa dr̥ṣṭāntaḥ ayaṃ pu(nar artho draṣṭavyaḥ)*.⁵

The Buddhist purpose of including a non-Buddhist story is demonstrated by the specific conclusion. There was no need to change the story itself, and it is easily conceivable that an experienced preacher would have been able to extract a Buddhist message even without the “guideline” at the end. This may help to explain a fragment of a work containing fables found among the Gilgit Manuscripts. In his report of 1939 Kaul Shastri transliterated the text, and he also recognized the similarities to story 20 in the chapter on Mitrabheda of the *Pañcatantra*.⁶ Once it must have been part of a rather large manuscript, as the folio number 236 indicates, and Kaul Shastri describes it as “a collection of fables on the model of the *Pançatantra* with the Buddhist colouring.”⁷ This colouring is much less pronounced than the words of Kaul Shastri suggest. In fact the fragment preserves the remains of two stories, the end of the parallel to the fable in the chapter on Mitrabheda and the beginning of another story not attested in the *Pañcatantra*. It is found, however in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, and there the two stories follow each other in the same order as in the Gilgit fragment.⁸ Their wording is mostly identical, and the differences are those which usually exist between very close versions of the same text, but not at all in a manner which would indicate a Buddhist revision or adaptation of the work.

The present collection adopts structural elements observed also in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, but “correctness” of language and stylistic embellishment do not figure prominently among the aims

⁴ Cf. Huber 1908: 452, 454, etc.

⁵ Lüders 1926: 189f.

⁶ Kaul Shastri 1939: 10–11.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 7; cf. also the remarks on this fragment in von Hinüber 2014: 84.

⁸ Cf. Hertel 1915: 48.

of its author(s). Basically, the language is Sanskrit, but it does not always comply with the classical standard. Remarkable are formations with *iti* like *śrāvakatveti* (HG 24 v4), *(k)imprayojaneti* (v6) *kimartheti* (v8), and in the Vasantatilakā line *yāvat sa bīja bhavate dṛḍhamūlayuktaḥ* (MS 2381/57 v7) noun and verb seem to be adjusted to the needs of the metre. The stories are rather short, and they consist of a mixture of prose and verse. Usually a story ends with one or two verses which apparently present a general conclusion. They are difficult to understand, since either the story or the verses themselves are badly preserved, and scribal mistakes also contribute to the problems. In the narrative parts the sentences are short, simple and terse. There is no embellishment whatsoever, and they seem to be falling “somewhere between written and oral tradition”, to use Richard Salomon’s very fitting expression for describing the style of Gāndhārī Avadānas.⁹ In two cases, the tale about a man torn between two ladies and the tale about a cat and a clever mouse, enough text is available for us at least to see that they illustrate foolish behavior and cleverness in a way which is clearly meant to entertain the reader or the audience. It is a great loss, however, that neither the stories themselves nor their Buddhist applications are preserved well enough to fully understand them.

To date, only one of the five stories could be identified. Story no. 2 has a parallel in Aesop and in various other contexts; for the way to its identification and its variants see Hartmann 2015. The oldest manuscripts for Aesop go back to the 3rd century B.C.E, while the Indian manuscript dates to roughly the 6th century C.E. This seems to answer the question which version is the older one, but in view of the usually rather complex transmission of such stories it is surely premature to draw this conclusion. The present manuscript preserves the only old Indian version known so far, but the story is also contained in a Chinese Buddhist collection which doubtlessly derived from another Indian original. Therefore the Indian version is, if not the origin of the story, at least a kind of missing link between ancient Greece and East Asia.

Transliteration

1) MS 2381/57 recto (?): *Śarabhajātaka* (*Jātakamālā* no. 25, Kern 1891: 163.24–164.24)

Published in BMSC II (Hartmann 2002: 318f.)

2) MS 2381/57:¹⁰ verso (?)

- 1 /// + .. [p]uṇyāni atulāni su[kh]. + .. ḥ sthāna[m] kāmḥṣayatā kāmṭam anādhṛṣyaṃ surair apīti :
 || ◎ ||] vāsukīti • vā ///
- 2 /// + + .. .iṣa iti • bhagavān āha • vāsukī nāgādhipatir iti • vāsukī ca nyagrodhamūle pratīkṣati •
 yā ///
- 3 /// + + + + .. pāṇḍukṛtāni ceti • jīvakaṃ uvāca • yadi tvaṃ vaidyaś cikitsyatam iti : jīvake-
 nāpi t. .. ///
- 4 /// + + + + [p]ariśoṣitaṃ • jīvakaḥ pratihata prāha • yatra bījadharmas ta[tr]. .. + + .. + + + +
 + ///

⁹ Salomon 1999: 165.

¹⁰ A first transliteration was prepared by Klaus Wille (Göttingen).

- 5 /// + + + trāṇāmm evaṃ mṛdukair akuśalamūlair adhīmātrāṇāṃ kuśalamūlānāṃ + + +
+ ///
- 6 /// + + + yat[r]a bījadharmas tatra {{statra}} vaidyā prayataṃte¹¹ • evaṃ bhagavāṃ prāha •
yatra kuśalamūla[b]īja tatra t. ///
- 7 /// + + + + [k]ṣ[o] yāva[t] sa bīja bhavate dṛḍhamūlayuktaḥ tāvad bhiṣatkakubhe khalu tatra
yatnaṃ • śuṣke tu bījaraḥ ///
- 8 /// + + .. ś.āsayate lpaśvatvam iti : || ☉ || pupṛyete : śrūyate kaścit puruṣaḥ patniṃ mṛgayate
yāvad āsāditā sa prāha : + + ///
- 9 /// [v]. stara tato nety āheti • idaṃ dṛṣṭāntaḥ puṇyaṃ hi na pṛyaṃ yasya so pi puṇyasya na
pṛyaḥ virodhā{{t pu}}t sumahān bhraṃśo dve yathāśīlino janau • tasm. tpu ///
- 10 /// tatra yā sā taruṇī sā snehāt tasya puruṣasyo śvetāni vālāny uddharati • vṛddhā īrṣyā kṛṣṇānīti
• yāvat kālāmtareṇa sa puruṣa vya ///
- 11 /// [kh]ai tathārdhāṃ vidveṣo harati kuśalārthāpṛyaṃ mukhaiḥ hitārthaḥ śuklārthaḥ
kṣapayati tato duḥkhaka[li]lam ///
- 12 /// + + + .. i .. m [p]. ny. ā ś.aḥ ///

3) HG 24: recto (?)

- 1 /// + + + + + + + + + + [śa]ta kakubha śatay. pratigahya bhayād ak.
kṣa[nā] [g]. t. + + + .. + + .. + + + + + + + + +
- 2 /// + + + + + + + + .[t]. .y. • [ya]thāmātyā evaṃ dharmāśravaṇakā draṣṭavyāḥ • yathā tilam
evaṃ kuśaladharmacchandaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ : yathā rājā anuprayacchaty evaṃ bhagavā kuśala-
dha[rma]cchanda
- 3 /// + + + + + + + + + śadānaṃ prati draṣṭavyaḥ yathāvajñā [t]. + .. .o na paṃcadaśa tair
nirasta{{ra}}m evaṃ ye buddhavacanaṃ na prajānaṃti • te buddhavacanaṃ deśyato vajñāyā
na pratigṛhṇaṃti
- 4 /// + + + + + + + + .otpāditam ca samvardhitam ca tasyānuttarām api sa[myaksamb]odhiṃ kim
amga puna śrāvakatveti draṣṭavyaṃ • tasmāt sarvaguṇamūlam kuśalacittotpādam āśamsadbhiḥ
satkrītyaṃ
- 5 /// + + + .[r]. .. ddhā ca ś[a]tasahasraṃ tato prameyaṃ paripālyamānaṃ • tyā ekaṃ kuśalam
pi cittaṃ pravistaraṃ yāti vivardhamāna • yasmiṃ vivṛddhe sakalo rthavṛddhis tasmān niṣe-
vyam śubha
- 6 /// [☉] d viniḥsrta[h] vidālaś cāgratam āpatitaḥ mūśako vicārya praṇipatitaḥ vidālaḥ .[i]m-
prayojaneti mūśako jñātivirodham nivedayaty ekabile paṃca mūśakaśatāni tad arhasi
sāmagraṃ
- 7 /// .i[k]. [t]i[r bhavān āha] praviśya bhavataḥ purutaḥ sarve ānayaṣyāmīti • yāva[t]. [p]r[av].
[ṣ]ta • [na] bhūyo darśanaṃ dadātīti • vidāla prāha niṣkramyatām iti • mūśaka bhavato nubhā-
vāt kṛ
- 8 /// + + + + mi • mūśaka na śakyeta • vidāla kimartheti • mūśaka aruṣaṃ me bhakṣitaṃ • tato
vidālo vipratilabdho vipra<<ti>>sārī prakkrāṃta idaṃ dṛṣṭāntaḥ tatra yathā mūśakaḥ svavilā

¹¹ Reading suggested by Stefan Baums (Munich).

- 9 /// + + + + + + + + + + thā mūṣakavicāraṇam evaṃ saṃsāra[d]oṣavicāraṇam • yathāśayāyā
pratipa<ta>ty evaṃ yoni[ś]. .. [s]i[k]ā .aṃ • [yathā svav]i[l]ā[d].. .. [ś].
- 10 /// + + + + + + + + + + .. .o k.a <ka>māsyā saṃvṛtaḥ sa[rva]kleśāvipratīṣāraṇo [bha-
va]m[tī]ti draṣṭavyaṃ tasmād āśu kleśaprati[p]. { {k.} } ..m .. ///
- 11 /// + + + + + + + + + + [bu]ddheś cāpy āśu [k]ā .itā icchatā saprayatnena dha .. śrāvyam
atīk[ṣṇ]. ś. • [|| ◎ ||] ///

Attempt at a reconstruction¹²

1. End of an unknown story

MS 2381/57 v1

× × × × ∪ puṇyāni atulāni sukh. ∪ × ḥ

sthānam kāmṣayātā kāmṭam anādhṛṣyaṃ surair apīti : || ◎ ||

... unequalled meritorious deeds (providing?) happiness, by him who strives for a place pleasing
[and] unchecked even by the gods.

2. Story about Vāsuki and Jīvaka

vāsukīti • vā /// (v2) /// .. .iṣa iti •

The story of Vāsuki. ...

bhagavān āha • vāsukī nāgādhipatir iti • vāsukī ca nyagrodhamūle pratīkṣati • yā /// (v3) /// ..
pāṇḍukṛtāni ceti •

The Lord said: “Vāsuki is a ruler of the Nāgas.” And Vāsuki waited at the root of a Banyan tree.
... “... and are made pale.”

jīvakaṃ uvāca • yadi tvam vaidyaś cikitsyat<ā>m¹³ iti : jīvakenāpi t. /// (v4) /// pariśoṣitaṃ •

He said to Jīvaka: “If you are a physician, cure should be made!” Jīvaka, however, ... it was dried
up.

jīvakaḥ pratihata<ḥ> prāha • yatra bījadharmas tatr. ///

Jīvaka, warded off, said: “Where there is the essential quality of a seed, there ...”

(v5) /// trāṇāṃm evaṃ mṛdukair akuśalamūlair adh<i>mātrāṇāṃ kuśalamūlānāṃ /// (v6) /// yat[r]a
bījadharmas tatra vaidyā<ḥ> prayataṃte •

..., so by tender roots of the unwholesome for extremely strong roots of the wholesome ... where
there is the essential quality of a seed, there the physicians are effective.

evaṃ bhagavāṃ prāha • yatra kuśalamūlabīja<ṃ> tatra t. /// (v7) ///

So the Lord spoke: “Where there is the seed of wholesome roots, there ...

¹² In 2010 the text was read by J.-U. Hartmann in Berkeley with Stefan Baums, Julie Bongers, Rae Dachille, Ryan Damron, Charles DiSimone, David Mellins, Shiyong Pang and Sungha Yun. The extended discussions led not only to the find of the parallel in Aesop, but also to numerous other improvements which we gratefully acknowledge.

¹³ This correction follows a suggestion of Stefan Baums (Munich); alternatively, one could correct to *cikits{y}a tam*.

— — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ×
 — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — kṣo
 yāvat sa bīja bhavate¹⁴ dṛḍhamūlayuktaḥ
 tāvad bhiṣaṭ kakubhe khalu tatra yatnam¹⁵ •

As long as the seed is connected with a firm root, so long, verily, there a physician (may apply?) effort on a Kakudha.”¹⁶

śuṣke tu bījaraḥ(hite) ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ×
 — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — × • (v8)
 — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ×
 — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ś.āsayate ’lpasatvam iti :¹⁷ || ☉ ||

In a dry (place) without seeds ... someone with little courage.

3. Story about a man and his two ladies¹⁸

supriyeti¹⁹

The Story of Supriyā.²⁰

śrūyate²¹

It is heard.

kaścit puruṣaḥ patnīm²² mṛgayate yāvad āsādītā sa prāha

A certain man looked for a wife, and when one was found, he said.

/// (v9) /// [v]. stara tato nety āheti •

[The akṣaras suggest something like *v(i)staraḥ* | *tato nety āheti*, and in the Korean version the man denies the existence of his mistress in front of his wife, but the surviving akṣaras do not permit a safe connection with the Korean, and the sense remains obscure.]

idaṁ dṛṣṭāntaḥ

This is the example.

puṇyaṁ hi na priyaṁ²³ yasya so ’pi puṇyasya na priyaḥ²⁴
 virodhāt sumahān bhraṁśo dve yathāśīlino janau

To whom virtue is not dear, he also will not be dear to virtue; from oppugnancy (comes) a very great decline, as (in the case of) the two unmoral people. [The meaning of this verse and its

¹⁴ Apparently the language is adjusted to the necessities of the metre: *bīja* is treated as a masculine noun, and *bhavate* stands for *bhavati*.

¹⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā, but in the last line a short syllable is missing (in or before *kakudhe*).

¹⁶ The translation is highly tentative.

¹⁷ If the reconstruction of this verse as a Vasantatilakā is correct, it would indicate the number of missing akṣaras.

¹⁸ This story was separately published in Hartmann 2015; see there for a survey of all the parallel versions.

¹⁹ Ms. *pupriyeti*.

²⁰ Paul Harrison raises the question whether this could also be understood as *supriye ti* “the two beloveds.” Both seem possible, especially since the language of the manuscript does not always comply with the rules of classical Sanskrit.

²¹ Interestingly the form *śrūyate* is preferred here, and not *anuśrūyate*; for the latter cf. von Hinüber 2010: 48f.

²² Ms. *patniṁ*.

²³ Ms. *pryaṁ*.

²⁴ Ms. *pryaḥ*.

relation to the story are not fully clear; the double *priya* probably connects with the title of the story. The last pāda poses a number of problems which partly derive from the fact that this passage and especially its vowel signs are difficult to read in the manuscript: it could probably also be read as *dvau yathāśīlinau janau*. Then it should be taken as referring to the man and the mistress—who, however, is not expressly named as such in the preserved parts of the story. Reading *yathāśīlino* would refer to the man in the genitive and leave us with a strange *dvau janau* or *dve jane* for the two women. The verse is not contained in any of the parallel versions, and therefore it is difficult to decide what its author had in mind.]

tasm(ā)t pu /// (v10) /// tatra yā sā taruṇī sā snehāt tasya puruṣasya²⁵ śvetāni vālāny uddharati •
vṛddhā īrṣyāyāḥ²⁶ kṛṣṇānīti •

There the young one out of love plucked out the white hairs of that man. Out of jealousy the old one [plucked out] the black ones.

yāvat kālāmtareṇa sa puruṣa vya²⁷ ///

Until in the course of time this man (became hairless).

(v11) /// [kh]ai tathārdham vidveṣo harati kuśalārthāpriyapriyamukhaiḥ²⁸ hitārthaḥ śuklārthaḥ
kṣapayati tato duḥkhaka[li]lam ///

[This line defies understanding. Judging from the structure of the other non-Buddhist stories in the collection, in lines 11 ff. the Buddhist explanation of the story should follow. Taking one of the two *priya* in *priyapriyamukhaiḥ* as a dittography would lead to two lines in perfect Śikharinī metre:

tathārdham vidveṣo harati kuśalārthāpriyamukhaiḥ
hitārthaḥ śuklārthaḥ kṣapayati tato duḥkhakalilam

If indeed a Śikharinī verse, this could be its second half, and the word *ardham* could refer to the two halves of hair, “Thus, hatred seizes one half (of the hair)”, but *kuśalārthāpriyamukhaiḥ* remains difficult. Adelheid Mette (München) proposes to read *vidveṣe* and to separate *kuśalārthā* as referring to one of the two ladies, “the one who aims at (her own) welfare seizes one half in hatred.” The following compound *priyamukhaiḥ*, however, remains a problem (“with smiling faces”?). A compound *kuśalārthāpriyamukhaiḥ* might mean something like “In that way hatred/rivalry destroys one half with faces which are inimical to welfare and benefit,” but this does not sound very convincing. At present, we are unable to suggest a plausible solution. The next line is no less problematical; does it mean “Therefore one who aims at (his) good, who aims at merit brings to an end the mass of suffering”? If it is a verse—and this appears very likely—the sense remains obscure.]

²⁵ Ms. *puruṣasyo*.

²⁶ Ms. *īrṣyā*; read *vṛddherṣyāyāḥ*.

²⁷ Possibly something like *vyapakṛṣṭakeśa* should be restored.

²⁸ Ms. *kuśalārthāpriyapriyamukhaiḥ*.

4. Story about a king and his ministers

HG 24 r1

/// śata kakubha śatay. pratigahya bhayād ak. kṣaṇāt. (r2) ///
(draṣṭ)ṭ(av)y. •

[The textual remains do not permit an understanding. Most likely, the final word is to be reconstructed to (draṣṭ)ṭ(av)y. If so, the passage already belongs to the Buddhist interpretation of the story which in this case is rather long and continues even into the fourth line.]

yathāmātyā evaṃ dharmaśravaṇakā draṣṭavyāḥ •

Like the ministers (of the story), so the (contemptible?) ascetics²⁹ in the Buddhist teaching have to be regarded.

yathā tilam evaṃ kuśaladharmacchandaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ :

Like the sesamum seed, so the desire for the wholesome dharma has to be regarded.

yathā rājā anuprayacchaty evaṃ bhagavā kuśaladharmacchanda (r3) ///

Like the king (who) offers, so the Lord who ... the desire for the wholesome dharma ...

/// śadānaṃ prati draṣṭavyaḥ

... towards the gift of ... has to be regarded.

yathāvajñāt. + .. .o na pañcadaśaśaṭair³⁰ nirastam evaṃ ye buddhavacanaṃ na prajānaṃti • te
buddhavacanaṃ deśyato³¹ 'vajñāyā na pratigrhṇānti³²

Like despised ... (and) rejected by five thousand, so (those) who do not know the word of the Buddha; they are taught (?) the word of the Buddha and out of contempt do not accept it ...

(r4) /// .otpāditaṃ ca samvardhitaṃ ca tasyānuttarām api samyaksambodhiṃ kim aṃga puna
śrāvakatveti³³ draṣṭavyaṃ •

... generated and brought to a complete growth; for him even the highest and supreme awakening, how much more the state of a listener!³⁴ Thus it is to be regarded.

tasmāt sarvaguṇamūlaṃ kuśalacittotpādam āśaṃsadbhiḥ satkṛtyaṃ (r5) ///

Therefore those who wish for the generation of a wholesome mentality, the root of all qualities, have to treat with respect ...

≡ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ×

≡ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ×

≡ - ∪ - ddhā ca śataṃ sahasraṃ

tato 'prameyaṃ paripālyamānaṃ •³⁵

... hundred thousand; then the immeasurable is to be guarded.

²⁹ The connotation of *śravaṇaka*, apparently for *śramaṇaka*, remains unclear, since the relevant passage of the story is lost. For the derogatory meaning of *śramaṇaka* cf. BHSD and SWTF s.v.

³⁰ To insert another *śa* seems to be the only possible solution; is *ūna* to be reconstructed before the figure?

³¹ One would expect a verb or a participle in the sense of “be taught, being taught.”

³² Ms *vajñāyā na pratigrhṇānti*.

³³ Correct: *śrāvakatvam iti*.

³⁴ The construction of the sentence remains incomprehensible, since the accusative *°sambodhiṃ* seems to be unrelated.

³⁵ Meter: Upajāti.

tyā – √ ekam kuśalam pi cittam
 pravistaram yāti vivardhamānaṁ •
 yasmim vivṛddhe sakalo 'rthavṛddhis
 tasmān niṣevyam śubha (r6) – √ – ×³⁶

... even a single wholesome thought goes into expansion (and) growth. Once it has grown, the whole increase of benefits (comes about); therefore the righteous ... is to be pursued.

5. Story about a cat and a mouse³⁷

/// d viniḥsṛtaḥ viḍālaś cāgrata-m³⁸ āpatitaḥ
 ... it (the mouse?) came out of ...³⁹ and the cat rushed in front (of the mouse).

mūṣako vicārya praṇipatitaḥ
 After deliberating, the mouse threw itself down (before the cat).

viḍālaḥ (k)imprayojaneti⁴⁰
 The cat (said): “What is the purpose (of your behavior)?”

mūṣako jñātivirodham nivedayat ekabile pañca mūṣakaśatāni tad arhasi sāmagraṁ⁴¹ (r7) /// .īk.
 tir bhavān

The mouse related a quarrel⁴² with (its) relatives: “In a single hole there are five hundred mice. You could (get?) the complete stock ...”

āha praviśya bhavataḥ purataḥ⁴³ sarve ānayaṣyāmīti •
 (The mouse) said: “Having entered (my hole), I will bring all of them to you.”

yāvat(ā) prav(i)ṣṭa • na bhūyo darśanam dadātīti •
 As soon as (the mouse) had entered, it did not show up again.

viḍāla prāha niṣkramyatām iti •
 The cat said: “Come out!”

mūṣaka bhavato 'nubhāvāt kṛ (r8) ///
 The mouse (said): “On your authority ...”

/// mi •
 (The cat said:) “I ...”

mūṣaka na śakyeta •

³⁶ Meter: Upajāti.

³⁷ This story was separately published in Hartmann 2013.

³⁸ The *m* apparently serves as a hiatus-bridger.

³⁹ Possibly (*svabilā*)*d* or (*svavilā*)*d*, “out of its hole,” cf. below.

⁴⁰ For the form *kimprayojaneti* cf. above, *śrāvakatveti*, and below, *kimartheti*.

⁴¹ Correct: *samagraṁ* or *sāmagryaṁ*, depending on the context.

⁴² Or does *virodha*, “quarrel, disagreement,” here mistakenly stand for *nirodha*, “destruction”? Boethlingk in his Petersburger Wörterbuch knows of this possibility. Then it would mean “the mouse offered the destruction of the relatives.”

⁴³ Ms. *purutaḥ*.

⁵³ The verses are too badly preserved to make sense of them. The recto side with the text of the *Jātakamālā* allows an akṣara count and suggests that the missing left part amounts to approximately one third of the folio. Transferred to the story collection with its different script and its highly irregular handwriting this would mean that about thirty akṣaras are missing on the left side. Line 10 is damaged also on the right side, and the gap corresponds to about 18 akṣaras. Together this gap and the missing left third of line 11 would leave room for about 45 to 50 akṣaras. From the preserved

A New Fragment of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*

Stefan Baums

Introduction

The second volume of this series contained the publication of ten fragments of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* from a sixth- or seventh-century birch-bark manuscript in the Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I script (Baums 2002). One additional fragment belonging to the same manuscript and text was added to the Schøyen Collection in the summer of 2002. This fragment (scan, New2) represents the lower left corner of a folio, is roughly rectangular in shape and measures 4.4 by 4.9 cm. It contains the remnants of five lines of text on both recto and verso (r2–6, v1–5). In addition, the left edge of the recto contains the folio number, and the left edge of the verso preserves an accidental impression of the number of the following folio.

Based on its shape and content, the new fragment can confidently be assigned to the first of the three folios published in BMSC II. The five previously known fragments of this folio have the accession numbers MS 2382/254, 125, 118, uf8/4c and uf19/5b. The proper position of the new fragment is immediately to the left of fragment MS 2382/uf8/4c: in line 1r6, the akṣara *tsu* of (śī)tavanonmuko(*tsuk*)āḥ straddles the two fragments, and in line 1v2 so does the akṣara *ri* of *sākṣātkariṣyati*. The new fragment thus makes it possible to accurately determine the distance from the left edge of the manuscript to the left edge of the string-hole as 13.2 cm. The distance from the left edge of the string-hole to the right edge of the manuscript was already known to be 28.6 cm from fragment MS 2382/56 of folio no. 2, and the total horizontal width of the manuscript, previously estimated as 41 cm on the basis of the textual parallels, is thus confirmed to be 41.8 cm.

Folio numbers

The folio number on the recto of the new fragment can be confidently read as 120 (correcting the original estimate of 222).¹ The verso of the fragment contains a mirror-image impression of the number of the following folio, indicating that the folio numbers of this part of the manuscript were added at a later point than the text itself, and that the birch-bark sheets were stacked on top of each other before the ink of the newly-added folio numbers had time to dry. In light of the folio number on the recto of the new fragment, the impression on the verso can be read as [121], and the folio number on the recto of the following folio correspondingly needs to be read as (12)[1],

¹ For the difference between the signs for 100 and 200 in Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I script, compare the plates for the *Samādhirājasūtra* (nos. 7, 14 and 16; sign 100), *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (no. 3; sign 200) and *Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga* (nos. 1 and 2; sign 100) manuscripts in BMSC II.

correcting the original reading (22)[3]. Reexamining the versos of the second and third preserved folios, it now becomes apparent that they, too, contain faint mirror-image impressions of the numbers of the following folios. On the verso of the second preserved folio the impression is illegible, but the impression on the verso of the third preserved folio is consistent with the expected reading [131]. (See the lower part of plate XXXVII of this volume, and cf. Sander 1968: table 26, alphabet m.)

The number of folios missing between the second and third preserved folios is thus eight (122 to 129) rather than the originally estimated six. The amount of text contained in 120 (rather than 222) folios of our manuscript would fill about 172 (rather than 320) pages in Cowell and Neil's edition of the *Divyāvadāna* (D), which would put us near the beginning of the *Svāgatāvadāna* (no. 13) instead of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* (no. 19). Similarly, 120 folios of our manuscript would fill about 93 (rather than 173) folios of Tibetan text in the Peking Kanjur, while the manuscript's folio 120 actually corresponds to the Tibetan *Vinayaṣudrakavastu*'s (V) first volume, folios 14 and 15. It thus remains the case that our fragments of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* cannot have belonged to a manuscript containing just the *Divyāvadāna* or just the *Vinayaṣudrakavastu* as we know them.

Orthography and scribal errors

The new fragment has the spelling *aṃvaram* (1r3) for regular *ambaram*. The use of *v* in place of *b* is a common manuscript habit, but was not previously attested among the fragments of our manuscript. The spelling (*antaḥpurakumārāmā*)*tyapaurajanapa(daparivṛto)* (1v3–4) instead of the *Divyāvadāna*'s *-jānapada-* is best regarded as a case of scribal omission of the *ā* mātrā. Throughout the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* fragments (2r2, 2r4, 2v4), the word *kṣatriya* is spelled with *-ṛ-* rather than *-ri-*, but the Gilgit-Bamiyan II *Dīrghāgama* manuscript (Melzer 2010: 29–31; eight times *kṣatriya* and nine times *kṣatṛya* in the course of the two folios) shows that we cannot expect consistency in this regard for our manuscript as a whole.

Differences from the Divyāvadāna text

In two places the new fragment preserves different readings from the *Divyāvadāna* text: the dual form *gacchāvaḥ* (1r4) occupies the place of plural *gacchāmaḥ* in the *Divyāvadāna*; curiously, within the same line of our manuscript this dual form is followed by plural *gacchāmo*. Similarly, line 1r5 has the dual *gāthe* in place of the *Divyāvadāna*'s apparent singular (or possibly plural) *gāthāṃ* (the Tibetan has simple *tshigs su bcad pa*). Both cases may represent an incomplete attempt at greater grammatical precision on the part of our manuscript's scribe.

Transliteration

1) MS scan New2, 2382/254, 125, 118, uf8/4c, uf19/5b; folio 120 recto

- 1 + + + .. [sya] bhagavatā subhadrasya gr̥hapateḥ patnī vyākṛtā putraṃ janayiṣyati kulam udyo-
ta[y]i + + + + + [ṣ]īm śriya[m] pratyanubhaviṣyati [mama śā] [pra]vrajya .. + + + + +
2 .. + .. + .. + + .. tīti • sā ca mṛtā kālagaṭā śītavanam śmaśānam abhinirhṛtā mā haiva bhagava +
+ + + + + [th]aṃ syād iti kṣatryadārako gāthāṃ bhāṣate || [sa] .. + + + + + + +
3 hāmvaraṃ mahī .. + [l]ā sanagā nabho vrajet* mahoda ○ dhīnām udakaṃ kṣayaṃ vrajet* ma-
harṣa[y]. + + + .ābhidhāyin. [i]ti sa brā .. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
4 gacchāvaḥ śī + .. [naṃ śma]śānaṃ gacchāmo vayasya [○] .. .ā .ḥ tau samprasthitau bhaga-
vām .. + .. .ṛ[hān ni]rgataḥ adrākṣīt kṣatr[y]. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
5 gāthe bhāṣa anuddhato vi[ga]kutūhalo munir ya .. + + + + .. noghasamvṛtaḥ asaṃśayaṃ
paragaṇa .. .imardano nadiṣyate tin[ā]dam u .. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
6 tavanonmu[kh]o .. .āḥ pravāṃti vā[t]ā himapaṃkaśītālāḥ .. + + + ..[m] bahavo divaukasā [n]i ..
+ ..[m] śākyamuner vikur[vitam i]ti • rāj[ñ]ā bimb[is]. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +

verso

- 1 tā | subhadra[sya] .. + .. teḥ patn[ī] vyā[k]ṛtāḥ putraṃ janayiṣyati .. + + + + [yi]ṣyati diyva •
mānuṣāṃ + + pratyanubhaviṣya[t]i [mama śāsan]. p[r]avraj[y]a [s]. + + + + + + + + + + +
2 rhatvaṃ sākṣāt[k]a[riṣya]tīti sā ca mṛ[t]ā kālagaṭā śītavanam .. + + + + .. rhṛtā bhagavāmś ca
saśrāvakaṃghaḥ śītavanam śmaśānam sampra[sthita] iti śrut[v]ā ca pu + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
3 vām nirarthakaṃ ś[ī] + + ..m [ś]m[aśā]naṃ gacchati nūnaṃ bhaga .. [○] .u ..[ras]ya gr̥ha-
pateḥ pa[tnīm ā]gamyā mahān vaineyakāryaṃ kartukām[o bha] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+
4 tyapaurajanapa .. + + [g]r[hām] n[ir]gantum ārabdh[o] drākṣī ○ t* kṣatryadārako rājānaṃ
māgadhaṃ śreṇyaṃ [b]im[b]i[s]ā[r]aṃ [dū]rād eva drṣtvā ca puna[r gā] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
+ + + + +
5 hy a[ya]m .i .i .. + + .. [g]r[hāt sabāndhavaḥ pravarttate me hr̥di niścītā matir mahājanasyā-
bhyudayo bha[v]i[ṣyat]ī[t]i janakāyena bhaga[v]aṃ[t]aṃ [d]r[ṣ]t[ā v]. [v]. [r]. [m]. [nup]ra-
datta. [bh]. + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
6 + + + + .[r]. .th. bhagavaṃtaṃ smit[o]nmukhaṃ d[r]ṣ[t].ā samlakṣayaṃti yathā śramaṇo gau-
tamaḥ smitonmukho mahājanama[dhy].. .[r]. + + .[ūn]am ayaṃ satvo na kālagaṭaḥ tais
[s].bhadro gr̥ha[pa] + + + + +

Reconstruction

(sa brāhmaṇadārakaḥ kṣatriyadārakasya katha(120r1)yati) <|> (vaya)sya bhagavatā subhadrasya gr̥hapateḥ patnī vyākṛtā <|> putraṃ janayiṣyati <|> kulam udyotayi(ṣyati divyamānu)ṣīm śriyaṃ pratyanubhaviṣyati mama śā(sane) pravrajya (sarvakleśaprahāṇā(120r2)d arhatvaṃ sākṣāt-kariṣya)tīti • sā ca mṛtā kālagaṭā śītavanam śmaśānam abhinirhṛtā¹ <|> mā haiva bhagava(tā bhāṣitaṃ vita)thaṃ syād iti kṣatryadārako² gāthāṃ bhāṣate ||

(1) abhinirhṛtā: nirhṛtā D; (2) kṣatryadārako: sa kṣatriyadārako D, rgyal rigs kyi khye'u des V.

sa(candratāraṃ prapated i)(120r3)hām̐varam
mahī (saśai)lā sanagā¹ nabho vrajet
mahodadhīnām̐ udakam̐ kṣayam̐ vrajet
maharṣay(aḥ syur na mṛṣ)ābhīdhāyin(a) iti <•>

(1) *sanagā*: *savanā* D, *nags bcas* V.

sa¹ brā(hmanadāraḥ kathayati) <|> (vayasya yady evaṃ) (120r4) gacchāvaḥ² <|> śī(tava)nam̐ śma-
śānam̐³ gacchāmo⁴ vayasya (paśy)ā(ma)ḥ⁵ <|> tau samprasthitau bhagavām̐(ś ca rājag)ṛhān nirgataḥ
<|> adrākṣīt⁶ kṣatṛy(adārako⁷ bhagavantam̐ dūrād eva dṛṣṭvā ca punar) (120r5) gāthe⁸ bhāṣa(te ||)

(1) *sa*: *sa ca* D; (2) *gacchāvaḥ*: *gacchāmaḥ* D; (3) *śmaśānam̐*: *mahāśmaśānam̐* D, *dur khrod* V; (4) *gacchāmo*: *paśyāmaḥ* D; (5) *(paśy)ā(ma)ḥ*: *gacchāmaḥ* D; (6) V mistakenly starts new sentence after *adrākṣīt*; (7) *kṣatṛy(adārako)*: *sa kṣatriyadārako* D, *rgyal rigs kyi khye 'us* V; (8) *gāthe*: *gāthām̐* D, *tshigs su bcad pa* V.

anuddhato vigakutūhalo munir
ya(thā vrajaty eṣa ja)noghasam̐vṛtaḥ¹
asam̐śayam̐² paragaṇa(vād)imardano
nadiṣyate³ (mṛgapa)tinādam̐ u(ttamam̐ •

yathā hy amī śī)(120r6)tavanonmukho(tsuk)āḥ
pravāṃti vātā himapam̐kaśītālāḥ
(prayāṃti nūna)m̐ bahavo divaukasā⁴
ni(rīkṣitu)m̐ śākyamuner vikurvitam̐ iti •

(1) *(ja)noghasam̐vṛtaḥ*: *janaughasam̐vṛtaḥ* D; (2) *asam̐śayam̐*: *niḥsam̐śayam̐* D, *the tshom med par* V; (3) *nadiṣyate*: *nadasyate* D, *sgrogs* V; (4) *divaukasā*: *divaukaso* D.

rājñā bimbis(āreṇa śrutam̐) <|> (bhagava)(120v1)tā {} subhadrasya (grhapa)teḥ patnī vyākṛtāḥ¹ <|>
putram̐ janayiṣyati <|> (kulam udyota)yiṣyati diyva{•}mānuṣām̐² (śriyam̐) pratyānubhaviṣyati
mama śāsan(e) pravrajya s(arvakleśaprahāṇād a)(120v2)rhatvam̐ sāksātkaṛiṣyatīti sā ca mṛtā kāla-
gatā śītavanam̐ (śmaśānam̐³ abhini)rhītā bhagavām̐ś ca saśrāvakaṣam̐ghaḥ śītavanam̐ śmaśānam̐⁴
samprasthita iti śrutvā ca pu(nar asyaitad abhavat) <|> (na bhaga)(120v3)vām̐ nirarthakam̐ śī(ta-
vana)m̐ śmaśānam̐ gacchati <|> nūnam̐ bhaga(vām̐ s)u(bhad)rasya grhapateḥ patnīm̐ āgamya
mahad⁵ vaineyakāryam̐⁶ kartukāmo bha(viṣyati) <|> (paśyāmīti so 'py antaḥpuraku-mārāmā)
(120v4)tyapaurajānapa(daparivṛto rāja)grhām̐ nirgantum̐ ārabdho⁷ <|> 'drākṣīt kṣatṛyadārako⁸ rājā-
nam̐ māgadham̐ śreṇyam̐⁹ bimbisāram̐ dūrād eva dṛṣṭvā ca punar gā(thām̐ bhāṣate ||

(1) *(vyā)kṛtāḥ*: *vyākṛtā* D; (2) *divya{•}mānuṣām̐*: *divyamānuṣīm̐* D; (3) *śmaśānam̐*: om. D, *dur khrod du* V; (4) *śmaśānam̐*: om. D, *dur khrod du* V; (5) *mahad*: *mahān* ms. (which could alternatively be corrected to *mahā-*), *chen po* (referring to object) V; (6) *vaineyakāryam̐*: *vineyakāryam̐* D; (7) *ārabdho 'drākṣīt*: *ārabdhaḥ | adrākṣīt* D, *soñ ba dan | ... mthoñ nas* V; (8) *kṣatṛyadārako*: *sa kṣatriyakumārako* D, *rgyal rigs kyi khye 'u des* V; (9) *māgadham̐ śreṇyam̐*: *māgadhaśreṇyam̐* D, *bzo sbyaṅs* V.

yathā hi śreṇyo magadhādhipo) (120v5) hy ayam̐
(v)i(n)i(ryayau rāja)grhāt sabāndhavaḥ
pravarttate me hr̥di niścītā matir
mahājanasyābhyudayo bhaviṣyatīti

janakāyena bhagavaṃtaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā v(i)v(a)r(a)m (a)nupradatta(m) <|> bh(agavāṃ smitonmukho janamadhyam (120v6) praviṣṭaḥ) <|> (nirg)r(an)th(ā) bhagavaṃtaṃ smitonmukhaṃ dr̥ṣṭ(v)ā saṃlakṣayaṃti <|> yathā śramaṇo gautamaḥ smitonmukho mahājanamadhy(aṃ p)r(aviṣṭo n)ūnam ayaṃ satvo¹ na kālagataḥ <|> tais s(u)bhadro gṛhapa(tir uktaḥ) <|> (gṛha(121r1)pate nanv ayaṃ satvo mandabhāgyo na kālagata iti |)

(1) *satvo*: *bodhisattvo* D, *sems can* V.

Translation

The brahman boy said to the kṣatriya boy: “Friend, the Lord has made a prophecy about the wife of the householder Subhadra: ‘She will give birth to a son, he will make the family shine, enjoy semi-divine fortune, enter into my discipline and through the abandoning of all impurities realize arhatship.’ But she has died, passed away, and been carried down to the Śītavana funeral ground. Certainly what the Lord has said could not be false!” The kṣatriya boy spoke a verse:

“The sky with moon and stars may come falling down,
the earth with rock and mountains may rise to the sky,
the water of the great oceans may dry up,
but the great sages would not tell lies.”

The brahman boy said: “Friend, if that is so, let’s go. Let’s go to the Śītavana funeral ground, friend, let’s see.” They set out together. And the Lord left Rājagṛha. The kṣatriya boy saw the Lord from far away, and seeing him spoke another two verses:

“Since this calm saint free from desire
walks surrounded by a crowd of people,
doubtless, crushing the teachers of rival groups,
he will raise the highest roar of the king of beasts.

Since these restless winds facing the Śītavana
blow forth cool like an ointment made from snow,
many heaven-dwellers must be coming forth
to watch the miracle of the Śākya sage.”

King Bimbisāra heard: “The Lord has made a prophecy about the wife of the householder Subhadra: ‘She will give birth to a son, he will make the family shine, enjoy semi-divine fortune, enter my discipline and through the abandoning of all impurities realize arhatship.’ And she has died, passed away, and been carried down to the Śītavana funeral ground. And the Lord with the community of disciples has set out for the Śītavana funeral ground.” And on hearing this the following occurred to him: “The Lord does not go to the Śītavana funeral ground without reason. Surely the Lord will wish to perform a great act of conversion with regard to the wife of the householder Subhadra. Let me see.” And surrounded by his household of women, the princes and ministers, city and countryside dwellers, he began leaving Rājagṛha. The kṣatriya boy saw the King of Magadha, Śreṇya Bimbisāra, from far away, and seeing him spoke another verse:

“Since this Śreṇya, ruler of Magadha,
has come forth from Rājagṛha together with his friends,
the certain thought arises in my heart:
the uplift of many people is about to happen.”

When the assemblage of people saw the Lord, they made an opening. The Lord entered the middle of the great crowd with a smile on his face. When the Nirgranthas saw the Lord with a smile on his face, they reflected: “Judging from how the mendicant Gautama entered the middle of the great crowd with a smile on his face, surely this being has not passed away.” They said to the householder Subhadra: “Householder, surely this ill-fated being has not passed away.”

Corrigenda

The following errors in the original publication of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* fragments have come to my notice:

- p. 291, l. 27: 95 folios → 173 folios
- p. 291, l. 27: folio 122 → folio 222
- p. 292, n.6: page 82 → page 288
- p. 295, l. 7: śmaśāna(ṃ) → śmaśānaṃ

Bibliographic addenda

Since their original publication, the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna* fragments have been discussed in two translations of the *Dīvyāvadāna* (Hiraoka 2007 and Rotman 2008; the forthcoming second volume of Rotman’s book will contain a complete English translation of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*).

Two Mahādeva Fragments

Jonathan A. Silk

Introduction

The **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā*, an important scholastic work extant only in the Chinese translation of Xuanzang, contains a short though striking story, the tale of Mahādeva. Representing a Sarvāstivādin point of view, it narrates how Mahādeva had a sexual relationship with his mother, killed his father, then an arhat, and then his mother herself, subsequently becoming a Buddhist monk. As a monk, he set forth five heretical theses—the so-called Five Points of Mahādeva (*pañcavastūni*)—thereby resulting in the fundamental schism of the Buddhist monastic community into the Sthavira and Mahāsāṃghika orders. I have argued that the story of the oedipal schismatic Mahādeva known from the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and other sources represents a recasting of an earlier story which, or a relative of which, is preserved in the *Dharmaruci-avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*.¹ I suggested that some version or versions of the story of Mahādeva must have circulated in India, in Sanskrit, in a form representing something like an intermediate state between the *Divyāvadāna*'s *Dharmaruci-avadāna* and the Mahādeva story of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the form in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* being a sort of summary of a fuller version. That is to say, I was sure that there was some missing link between the detailed Dharmaruci story and the brief tale of Mahādeva, a state of the story which both preserved the sort of details visible in the *Divyāvadāna* and yet told not the story of Dharmaruci but that of the heretic Mahādeva. The fragments studied here provide our first concrete evidence, I believe, of the existence of precisely such a source.

The Schøyen collection contains two small fragments, catalogued as MS 2380/8 and 2380/20.² The leaves are written in what has been called “Gilgit/Bamiyan, Type I,” the local ornate script, in use from approximately the sixth to the seventh centuries. This date of the manuscript itself, of course, is nothing more than a *terminus ante quem* for its contents. I first offer here a transliteration with translation, followed by a discussion contextualizing the materials and a line-by-line treatment of the fragments.

¹ See Silk 2008a for the wider context of what follows.

² The fragments were first read by Klaus Wille, the readings subsequently emended by Lore Sander and Jens-Uwe Hartmann. My gratitude goes to these colleagues, as well as to Kazunobu Matsuda who, knowing my interest in Mahādeva, did me the great kindness of asking me to prepare them for publication after he noticed the name in Wille's initial transcript. Harunaga Isaacson made some kind suggestions for improvement. Finally, in preparing this article for publication in the summer and Fall of 2015 (more than five years after it was first submitted), I have profited greatly from a number of suggestions of Paul Harrison.

*Transliteration***MS 2380/20, 2380/8; recto**

- 1 /// + + + + nta[na]ṃ [s]ukhaṃ śa[rīra] .a [v]a [k]ṛ[t]y. [y]. + + /// /// + + + + + + + .. + + +
+ + + ///
- 2 /// m ākhyāyē tayābhihitam anena svasukhana + + + /// /// .ṛ[d]dh(a)str[i]yābhihitam putr.
[k]. [n]. [ś]. [bh]. + ///
- 3 /// atra vṛddhastriyāyāḥ mahādevo bhihitah pu + + + /// /// .ā jānīṣe sa uvāca param sā te
prārtha[y]. ///
- 4 /// [v]āk [s]ambhāṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ mā veditāv ubhāv api .. /// /// vāca | yathājñāpayati³ tato sya
mātre .. ///
- 5 /// + + ..[e] .. hā [saṃ] .. ṛṇa .[y]aṃ [na] kathā ..ṃ + + + + + /// /// + .. + + + + + ..ṃ
+ .. ///

verso

- v /// + + + + [n]. [jana]sya [s].agrham ā[g]. + + + + + ///
- w /// + [k]ṣy. mahādevo mātaram āha | aṃba [k]ut. [y]. .. + .. /// /// .. ty. [k]t. p. r. l[o]kā
akarmadr̥ṣā putr(a)m. ///
- x /// [hā] nirviśaṃko bhūtvā rati[m] idānīm anubhava | [s]. + + + /// /// .. .la r.o tau bhūmau
nipapāta | tatas ta [y]. ///
- y /// .. tatonidānaṃ pāpakam nāsti tatonidānaṃ pā[p]. + + + /// /// [kh]. lopamo mātṛgrāmaḥ
tadyathā dud. .. ///
- z /// + .o .e .. .[ā]rthaṃ pakvānnopamo mātṛgrāmaḥ + + + /// /// + + + + r[th]. [y]. ..ṃ + +
+ + + ///

*Translation***recto**

- 1 ... pleasant ... body ...
- 2 ... told, she said: “by this, self-pleasure ...” ... addressed by the old woman ... son ...
- 3 ... in this regard the old woman spoke to Mahādeva: “s[on] ... you know.” He said: “Yes, she⁴
... request ...
- 4 ... you should make conversation ... do not ... even though both are known ... [S/he] said: As
s/he commands. Then to his mother ...
- 5

verso

- v ... c[ome] [to] his/her/one’s own house ...
- w ... Mahādeva spoke to his mother, saying: “Mother! Why ... [other] world ... son ...
- x ... now having removed suspicion, let us enjoy sexual pleasure! ... [he] fell on the ground.
Then ...

³ The akṣara looks like *vi*, but it makes more sense to read it as *tī*.

⁴ I do not understand the text here. It is possible that Mahādeva is saying something about the request made by one woman (his mother, unbeknownst to him) to the other (the old procuress). Could *te* be a pronoun: ‘to you’?

y ... for that reason there will be no sin; for that reason ... sin ... like a mortar, the female sex.

Just as ...

z ... the female sex is like cooked food ...

The Story

Although the fragmentary nature of the sparse text contained on these two small pieces makes them difficult to construe in some respects, the existence of a close parallel aids our interpretation, that parallel being nothing other than the *Divyāvadāna*'s *Dharmarucy-avadāna*. The chief clue to the identity of the fragments is the presence of the name Mahādeva alongside some key vocabulary and expressions.

Let us begin with the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā* in order to orient ourselves in the story:⁵

Long ago there was a merchant in the kingdom of Mathurā. He married while still a youth and soon his wife gave birth to a baby boy. The child, who had a pleasing appearance, was given the name Mahādeva.

Before long, the merchant went on a long journey to another country taking with him rich treasure. Engaging in commercial ventures as he wended his way, a long time passed without his return. The son, meanwhile, had grown up and defiled his mother. Later on, he heard that his father was returning and he became fearful at heart. Together with his mother, he contrived a plan whereby he murdered his father.

Thus did he commit his first sin of immediate retribution.

This deed of his gradually came to light, whereupon, taking his mother, he fled to the city of Pāṭaliputra, where they secluded themselves. Later, he encountered a monk-arhat from his native land who had received the support of his family. Again, fearing that his crime would be exposed, he devised a plan whereby he murdered the monk. Thus did he commit his second sin of immediate retribution.

[Mahādeva] became despondent. Later when he saw that his mother was having sexual relations with another, he said to her in raging anger: "Because of this affair, I have committed two serious crimes. Drifting about in an alien land, I am forlorn and ill-at-ease. Now you have abandoned me and fallen in love with another man. How could anyone endure such harlotry as this?" With this excuse he also murdered his mother. He had committed his third sin of immediate retribution.

Inasmuch as he had not entirely cut off the strength of his roots of goodness, [Mahādeva] grew deeply and morosely regretful. Whenever he tried to sleep, he became ill-at-ease. He considered by what means his serious crimes might be eradicated. Later, he heard that the Śākyaputra śramaṇas [Buddhist monks] were in possession of a method for eradicating crimes. So he went to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery. Outside its gate he saw a monk engaged in slow walking practice. The monk was reciting a hymn:

If someone has committed a serious crime,
He can eradicate it by cultivating goodness;
He could then illuminate the world,
Like the moon coming out from behind a screen of clouds.

When [Mahādeva] heard this, he jumped for joy. He knew that by taking refuge in the Buddha's teachings his crimes could certainly be eradicated. Therefore he went to visit the monk. Earnestly and persistently, [Mahādeva] entreated the monk to ordain him. When the monk saw how persistent [Mahādeva's] entreaties were, he ordained him without making an investigation or asking any questions. He allowed him to retain the name Mahādeva and offered him admonitions and instructions.

The corresponding story in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna* is quite long, and as I have published a revised edition of the text with translation (Silk 2008b; see also 2008a: chapter 7), here I only quote

⁵ The translation is that of Mair (1986: 20–21 = 1994: 109–111), which I have modified. The full account is in Xuanzang's T. 1545 (XXVII) 510c24–512a19 (*juan* 99), with the portion quoted found at 510c24–511a16. See Silk 2008a: 17ff.

the portions most relevant to our present fragments, paraphrasing the rest.

The story is told of a boy, born in a merchant family, who, while his father is away for an extended period, is seduced by his lustful mother, although the manner in which she seduces him prevents him from knowing that his lover is indeed his mother. The mother, frustrated by her inability to find a lover whose existence will not be publicly known, engages a procuress (the word in the text is *vṛddhayuvati*, which will be of some importance). After the procuress fails to find a suitable man, the mother suggests her own son. The procuress tries to suggest this is a bad idea, but gives in. She arranges for them, mother and son, to meet at her, the procuress's, own house.

tataḥ sā vṛddhayuvatī tasya baṇijāḥ putrasyaivāgamya prcchati | vatsa taruṇo 'si rūpavāṃś ca | kim pratiṣṭhito 'sy atha na | tena tasyā abhihitam | kim etat | tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati | bhavān evam abhirūpaś ca yuvā cāsmīn vayasi taruṇayuvatyā sārddham śobhethāḥ kṛṇḍan raman paricārayan | kim evaṃ⁶ kāmabhogaparihīnas tiṣṭhasi | vaṇigdārakas taṃ śrutvā lajjāvyapatrāpyasaṃlīnacetās tasyā vṛddhāyās tad vacanam nādhivāsayati |

tataḥ sā vṛddhaivam dvir api trir api **tasya dārakasya kathayati** | taruṇayuvatis tavārthe kleśair bādhyate | sa vaṇigdārako dvir api trir apy ucyamānas tasyā vṛddhāyāḥ kathayati | amba kim tasyās taruṇayuvatyāḥ maṇnimitte kiṃcid abhihitam | **tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati** | uktaṃ tasyā mayā tvannimit-tam | tayā mama nimittena pratiṣṭhātā | sā ca dārikā hrīvyapatrāpyagrhitā na kiṃcid vakṣyati | na ca śarīram āvṛtaṃ kariṣyati | **na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣaṇe yatnaḥ karaṇīyaḥ** | tatas tena vaṇigdārakeṇa tasyā vṛddhāyā abhihitam | kutrāsmākaṃ saṃgataṃ bhaviṣyati | tayābhihitam | **madiye grhe** |

Then the old procuress approached that very same merchant's son and asked: "My dear, you're young and handsome. Are you already pretty well set, or no?" He responded to her: "What do you mean?" So the old woman said: "Sir, handsome and young as you are, now in the prime of your life, you should be happy, playing, making love, and sporting amorously with a young woman. Why should you be deprived of the enjoyment of desires like this?" Hearing that, the merchant's son, shrinking in modesty and bashfulness, did not accept the old woman's suggestion.

Then **the old woman spoke to the boy** repeatedly, saying "A young woman is afflicted by passions on your account." Being repeatedly importuned, the merchant's son spoke to the old woman, saying: "Mother, did you say something to that young woman about me?" **Then the old woman said**, "I spoke to her about you, and she agreed, thanks to my suggestion. Gripped by timidity and bashfulness, that girl won't say anything. She won't reveal her body, **neither should you make an effort to ask her who she is.**" So the merchant's son said to the old woman: "Where will our liaison be?" She said: "In **my own house.**"

They meet there and have sex together repeatedly, although the son does not know that his partner is his mother. Eventually the mother tires of this, and wants them to instead be able to continue their activities under their own roof. She resolves to reveal her identity to her son.

iti saṃcintya tatraiva vṛddhāgrhe gatvā ratikṛdāṃ putreṇa sārddham anubhūya tathaiva rajanyāḥ kṣaye sata-mondhakārakāle tasya dārakasyoparimaṃ prāvaraṇaṃ nivasyātmanīyāṃ ca śirottarapaṭṭikāṃ tyaktvā svagrhaṃ gatā | sa ca dārakaḥ prabhātakāle tāṃ paṭṭikāṃ śirasi mañcasyāvatīṣṭhantīm saṃpaśyaty ātmīyāṃ evopariprāvaraṇaṇonfīm alabhamānas tatraiva tāṃ paṭikāṃ saṃlakṣya tyaktvā bhāṇḍāvārīm gatvā yugalam anyam prāvṛtya svagrhaṃ gataḥ | tatra ca gataḥ saṃpaśyati tam evātmīyam prāvaraṇaṃ tasyā mātuḥ śirasi prāvṛtam | drṣtvā ca **tāṃ mātaram prcchati** | **amba kuto 'yam** tava śirasi prāvaraṇo 'bhyāgataḥ |

yatas tayābhihitam | adyāpy ahaṃ tavāmbā | evaṃ cirakālam tava mayā sārddham kāmān paribhuñjato 'dyāpy ahaṃ tava saivāmbā | **yataḥ sa vaṇigdārakas tathāvidham mātṛvacanam upaśrutyā** saṃmūḍho viḥvalacetā **bhūmau nipatitaḥ** | **tatas** tayā sa mātṛā ghaṭajalapariṣekenāvasiktaḥ | sa jalapariṣekāvasikto dārakaś cireṇa kālena pratyāgataprāṇas tayā mātṛā samāśvāsyate | kim evaṃ khedaṃ upāgatas tvam asma-dīyam vacanam upaśrutyā | dhīramanā bhavasva na te viśādaḥ karaṇīyaḥ | sa dārakas tasyāḥ kathayati | katham nu ahaṃ khedaṃ na smariṣyāmi saṃmohaṃ vā yena mayā evaṃvidham pāpakaṃ karma kṛtam | tataḥ sa tayābhihitaḥ | na te manaḥśokam asminn arthe utpādayitavyam | **panthāsamo mātṛgrāmo yenai-**

⁶Emended after the suggestion of Harunaga Isaacson.

vaṃ hi yathā pitā gacchati putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati | na cāsau panthā putrasyānugacchato
doṣakārako bhavaty eva eva mātṛgrāmaḥ | tīrthasamo 'pi ca mātṛgrāmo yatraiva hi tīrthe pitā
snāti putro 'pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrthaṃ putrasya snāyato doṣakārakaṃ bhavaty eva eva mātṛ-
grāmaḥ | api ca pratyanteṣu janapadeṣu dharmataiva iṣā yasyām eva pitā asaddharṇeṇābhigacchati tām eva
putro 'py adhigacchati | evaṃ asau vaṇigdārako mātṛā bahuvidhair anunayavacanair vinītaśokaḥ tayā mātṛā
tasmin pātake 'saddharṇe punaḥ punar atīvasaṃjātārāgaḥ pravṛttaḥ |

So thinking she went right to the house of the old woman, and after having enjoyed sex play with her son, just as she had planned, at the end of the night she went home having put on the boy's upper garment and having left her own head covering. In the early morning time, the boy spied that cloth lying on the top part of the bedstead, and not finding his own upper garment, he recognized that cloth. Getting rid of it, he went to their shop, and dressing in another pair, he went home. When he got there he saw his very own garment being worn on his mother's head. Seeing that **he asked his mother: "Mother, how did this cloth come to be on your head?"**

She responded, "I'm still your mother. It's true that for a long time you've been enjoying sex with me, but I'm still your self-same mother." **At that the merchant's son, hearing such words from his mother, dropped to the ground** stunned and shaken. **Then** his mother sprinkled him with water from a jar, and after a long while the boy, having been sprinkled with water, recovered his breath. He was consoled by his mother: "Why are you so depressed like this, hearing my words? Be strong, don't be despondent!" The boy said to her: "How shall I not be mindful of my depression, or my bewilderment, by which I have done such an evil act?" Then she said to him: "Don't distress yourself over this. **The female sex is like a road: for that upon which the father goes, the son too goes upon just the same. And this road does no harm to the son who follows it—it is precisely the same with the female sex [who does no harm]. And the female sex is also like a bathing spot, for at just that bathing spot in which the father bathes, the son too bathes, and the bathing spot does no harm to the son who is bathing—it is precisely the same with the female sex.** Moreover, in a border country, just this is the normal way things are done: the son also approaches that same woman whom the father approaches for illicit purposes." The merchant's son, with his distress thus removed by his mother through many conciliatory words, was aroused by intense lust and engaged again and again in that illicit sin with his mother.

Later the mother's wife, the boy's father, comes home, and spurred on by his mother the boy kills him. The two, mother and son, escape. In their new land, they meet an arhat who knows them, and kill him too to conceal their secret. Finally the boy kills his mother, and becomes a monk.

It is not possible to speculate on the text to which these fragments belonged. It is not impossible that they formed part of some *Vibhāṣā*, similar to but different from the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā* known to us from its Chinese translation by Xuanzang (the Mahādeva story being missing from the earlier translation of Buddhavarman), but there is no evidence suggesting that this might be the case. While we do know of the existence of such parallel *Vibhāṣās*, thanks to the work of Enomoto Fumio (1993, 1996), the fact that such works existed is almost all we know. Only further evidence would help to address the question of the original context of these small fragments. Despite the fact that they contain a story used by the Sarvāstivādins in their polemics, there is no particular reason to think that the text to which these fragments belonged was also associated with that school.

As catalogued and read by Wille, the two fragments were arbitrarily assigned A and B sides. Based on my hypothesis regarding their original relation,⁷ I suggest the following (tentative) assignment of recto and verso: 2380/8A = 2380/8v, 2380/8B = 2380/8r, 2380/20A = 2380/20v, 2380/20B = 2380/20r. Moreover, I believe these two fragments belong to the same leaf. Unfortunately, the recto is harder than the verso to understand. The extent of the original leaf of which the

⁷ In this regard I am grateful for the suggestions of Jens-Uwe Hartmann.

Schøyen fragments formed a part is also not known. However, if we are to judge from the *Divyāvadāna* parallel, some considerable amount of material has been lost on both the right and left sides of the leaf. Since, however, we cannot know the original shape of the story contained in the Schøyen leaf, it is quite possible that the story was not developed in a manner strictly parallel to that in the *Divyāvadāna*. For this reason, we cannot be sure how much text may have been lost.

That said, we can certainly make some sense out of what does remain:

r1 /// nta[na]ṃ [s]ukhaṃ śa[rīra] .a [v]a [k]ṛ[t]y. .[y]. + + ///: At the very least, two of the words here are relatively understandable, but their relation to one another, the syntax, remains obscure.

r2 /// m ākhyāyye tayābhihitam anena svasukhana + + + /// .r[d]dh(a)str[i]yābhihitam putr. k. n. [ś]. [bh]. + ///: Again, the beginning of this line resists sure interpretation. The form *ākhyāyye* must be passive, I suppose. In the second part, we find the expression (v)r[d]dh(a)str[i]yābhihitam putr. k., “addressed by the old woman ... son.” Here we find a key term which occurs again in the following line:

r3 /// atra vṛddhastriyāyāḥ mahādevo bhihitah pu + + + /// .ā jānīṣe sa uvāca paraṃ sā te prārtha[y]. ///: We begin with *atra vṛddhastriyāyāḥ mahādevo [']bhihitah*, “in this regard the old woman said to Mahādeva.” The word *vṛddhastriya* is clearly parallel to the *vṛddhayuvatī* found in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*,⁸ but the name Mahādeva makes it clear that our fragment cannot contain the identical story. If the previous line is parallel to the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*’s *tataḥ sā vṛddhaivam dvir api trir api tasya dārakasya kathayati*, “Then the old woman spoke to the boy repeatedly, saying,” and this line’s expression is parallel to *tataḥ sā vṛddhā kathayati*, “then the old woman said,” this would suggest that the text missing between the two preserved expressions may run to some 60 akṣaras or so. However, the divergence in the expressions between the two texts, our fragments and the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*, suggests that such a calculation is not likely to be helpful. Therefore, even if the two texts generally run as parallel, as I tentatively suggest they do, they are far from being strictly parallel. It is possible that in the expression *paraṃ sā te prārtha[y]*, we should see the pronoun *te*, ‘to you,’ and understand that the speaker addresses someone who was requested by another, for instance “she requested you.”

r4 /// [v]āk [s]aṃbhāṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ mā veditāṃ ubhāv api .. /// vāca | yathājñāpayati tato sya mātṛe .. ///: I cannot intelligently construe the entirety of this line, the reading of which presents some problems. The first portion is tentatively read: *[v]āk [s]aṃbhāṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ mā veditāṃ ubhāv api*. It is possible that we should understand something like “you should [not] make conversation [with her]; you two [should] both not be known”, but it must be admitted that this requires the invention of considerable context. Moreover, it leaves the (very unsure) *[v]āk* unaccounted for. In the second portion we find *vāca | yathājñāpayati tato [']sya mātṛe*, which I tentatively translate “[S/he] said: As s/he commands. Then his mother.” Is it possible that this has something to do with the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*’s *na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣaṇe yatnaḥ karaṇīyaḥ*,

⁸ See Silk 2008b: 177–178.

“neither should you make an effort to ask her who she is”?

r5 /// ++ ..[e] .. hā [saṃ] .. rṇa .[y]aṃ [na] kathā ..ṃ + + + + + /// /// + .. + + + + + ..ṃ .. + .. ///: Here I can make out nothing intelligible. When we come to the verso, however, fortunately things suddenly become much clearer.

vv /// + + + + [n]. j[ana]sya [s](v)agrham ā[g].. + + + + + ///: We begin with j[ana]sya [s](v)agrham ā[g].., “c[ome] [to] his/her/one’s own house,” and while the first word remains to me unclear, the rest I would like to compare to the *Dharmaruci-avadāna*’s *madīye grhe*, “in my own house.” The point here is that the go-between, the old woman, is suggesting that mother and son might meet at her own house.

vw /// + [k]ṣyā mahādevo mātaram āha | aṃba [k]ut. [y]. .. + .. /// .. ty. .t. p. r. l[o]kā akarmadrśā putr(a)m. ///: The expression *mahādevo mātaram āha | aṃba [k]ut. [y].* is very clear, “Mahādeva spoke to his mother, saying: ‘Mother! Why’,” which we have in the *Dharmaruci-avadāna* as *tāṃ mātaram prcchati | aṃba kuto ’yaṃ*, “he asked his mother: ‘Mother, how did this?’” However, the remaining *p. r. l[o]kā akarmadrśā putr(a)m* is puzzling, and I have no good idea what could be meant here. In particular, the word *akarmadrśā* is a mystery to me. If *p. r. l[o]kā* should be understood as *p(a)r(a)l[o]kā*, it is conceivable that something here refers to the (unseen?) karmic fate which awaits one in the other world as a result of performing improper actions in this world—but this is little more than speculation.

vx /// [hā] nirviśaṃko bhūtvā rati[m] idānīm anubhava | [s]. + + /// .. .la r.o tau bhūmau nipapāta | tatas ta .. ///: The line begins *nirviśaṃko bhūtvā rati[m] idānīm anubhava*, “now having removed suspicion, let us enjoy sexual pleasure!” and continues *tau bhūmau nipapāta | tatas*, “[he] fell on the ground. Then.” To the first part of this expression may be compared a sentence which occurs earlier in the *Dharmaruci-avadāna*’s recounting, when Dharmaruci’s mother is trying to figure out how to cope with her unfulfilled sexual passion. She says: *tayā saṃcintyaivam adhyavasitam | evam eva putraḥ | kāmahetos tathā paricarāmi yathānenaiva me sārddhaṃ rāga-vinodanaṃ bhavati | naiva svajanasya śaṅkā bhaviṣyati*, “Thinking about it, she resolved the following: ‘That’s it, my son! In order to fulfill my desire, I’ll have sex, and so dispel my lust with him alone. And certainly none of my relatives will have any suspicion.’” All suspicion of improper activity must be avoided. I believe that in our fragment reference is made to the same idea. Here, however, the setting is not the mother’s planning, but her resolution to give up clandestine trysts with her son, revealing her identity to him and inviting him to continue their relations at their own home, secretly. The son’s reaction to this suggestion is depicted in the *Dharmaruci-avadāna* as follows: *yataḥ sa vaṇigdārakas tathāvidhaṃ mātṛvacanam upaśrutya saṃmūḍho vihvalacetā bhūmau nipatitaḥ | tatas tayā sa mātṛā ghaṭajalapariṣeṇāvasiktaḥ*, “At that the merchant’s son, hearing such words from his mother, dropped to the ground stunned and shaken. Then his mother sprinkled him with water from a jar ...”

vy /// .. tatonidānaṃ pāpakam nāsti tatonidānaṃ pā[p]. + + + /// [kh]. lopamo mātṛgrāmaḥ tadyathā dud. .. ///: The mother continues her arguments in the next lines: *tatonidānaṃ pāpakam*

nāsti tatonidānam pā[p]., the first portion of which at any rate means “for that reason there is no sin,” perhaps repeated. There does not appear to be any strict parallel to this in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*, but its continuity with the tenor of the story is clear. What continues from the same line into the last line again has a close parallel in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*. Here we find the expression [kh]. *lopamo mātṛgrāmaḥ tadyathā ...*, “the female sex. Just as.” To this we should compare the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*’s *panthāsamo mātṛgrāmo yenaivaṃ hi yathā pitā gacchati putro ’pi tenaiva gacchati | na cāsau panthā putrasyānugacchato doṣakārako bhavaty evam eva mātṛgrāmaḥ*, or the immediately following *tīrthasamo ’pi ca mātṛgrāmo yatraiva hi tīrthe pitā snāti putro ’pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrthaṃ putrasya snāyato doṣakārakaṃ bhavaty evam eva mātṛgrāmaḥ*, “The female sex is like a road: for that upon which the father goes, the son too goes upon just the same. And this road does no harm to the son who follows it—it is precisely the same with the female sex [who does no harm]. And the female sex is also like a bathing spot, for at just that bathing spot in which the father bathes, the son too bathes, and the bathing spot does no harm to the son who is bathing—it is precisely the same with the female sex.” While this does not give us our key word, in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* ad IV.68d (Pradhan 1975: 241.11–12), we find an expression which may moreover connect with the following line as well, namely: *ye cāhur udūkhalapuṣpaphalapakvānnatīrtha-mārgaprakhyo mātṛgrāma iti* |, “The female sex resembles a **wooden mortar** used to pound rice, a flower, fruit, **cooked food**, a bathing spot, and a road.”⁹

vz /// + .o .e .. [ā]rthaṃ pakvānnopamo mātṛgrāmaḥ + + + /// + + + r[th]. [y]. ..m + + + + + ///: This last line contains the expression *pakvānnopamo mātṛgrāmaḥ*, “the female sex is like cooked food.” See above.

The evidence presented above demonstrates with a great degree of likelihood that these two small fragments from the Schøyen Collection preserve crucial traces of an otherwise lost Sanskrit intermediary between the story of Dharmaruci, known to us now best in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*, and the story of Mahādeva, best known to us in drastically shortened form in the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā*. This is in its turn strong support for the hypothesis of just this connection.

⁹ See Silk 2008c: 438–442 for this and other examples. The same is found in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 1545 [XXVII] 606a16–21 [juan 116]): “There is absolutely no sin in behaving lustfully with one’s mother, daughter, elder or younger sister, daughter-in-law or the like. Why? All women-kind are like ripe fruit, **like prepared food and drink** (已辦飲食), a road, a bridge, a boat, a bathing spot, **a mortar** and so on. It is the custom that beings use these in common, and therefore there is no sin in behaving lustfully toward them.”

Another Fragment of Mātr̥ceṭa's Prasādapratibhodbhava

Jens-Uwe Hartmann

Introduction

In volume II of this series, several fragments from Mātr̥ceṭa's two famous hymns on the Buddha, the *Varṇārḥavarṇa* (VAV) and the *Prasādapratibhodbhava* (PPU), have been published.¹ These fragments belonged to altogether six different manuscripts, two of the PPU and four of the VAV. Meanwhile, Gudrun Melzer (Munich) succeeded in identifying one more fragment of the *Prasādapratibhodbhava*. Judging from its palaeographic features it must belong to yet another manuscript of this text. The material is birch bark, and the script is Gilgit/Bamiyan type II; the fragment belongs to lower right corner of the folio and it contains words of the last three lines of the recto side and of the first two lines of the verso. Only a few *akṣaras* are preserved, but enough is left to show that the script on the other birch-bark fragment (MS 2383/76) published in vol. II is not identical. This becomes particularly evident when examining the vowel sign for *-i*; in MS 2378/76 it is decidedly shorter. The wording corresponds to that of the edition by Shackleton Bailey with the exception of ry *hitāvahitā* against the necessary *hitāvahitaḥ* (so Shackleton Bailey 1951: 125 with the variant reading *hitāvahite* in one of the manuscripts from Central Asia).

MS 2383/32; *Prasādapratibhodbhava* 118c–122a; recto

x /// ++ ..[t]a svām prati
y /// tva[m̐] hitāvahitā su
z /// kroṣṭāro jītā kṣām

verso

1 /// || yat sauratyaṃ gatā
2 /// ++ .. vas t. [ṇa]

rx: cf. PPU 118cd coditaḥ svām pratipadaṃ kalyāṇīm nātivartase ||

ry: cf. PPU 120ab ahitāvahite śatrau tvaṃ hitāvahitaḥ suhṛt |

rz: cf. PPU 122ab ākroṣṭāro jītāḥ kṣāntiā drugdhāḥ svastyayanena ca |

v1: cf. PPU 124ab yat sauratyaṃ gatās tīkṣṇāḥ kadaryāś ca vadānyatām |

v2: cf. PPU 126ab bahavas tṛṇaśayyāsu hitvā śayyāṃ hiraṇmayīm |

¹ Hartmann 2002.

Stories about Saṅgha and His Pupil

Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann

Introduction

Our attention was drawn to the folio presented in this paper when we read the word *aparaśaila* in two places on it (lines r8 and v5). When taken together with the words *saṃgha* (r8) and *saṃgha-śiṣya* (v5) in the same lines this seemed to point to a vinaya manuscript, possibly from a Mahāsāṃghika background.¹ Closer inspection, however, belied that first impression, and it turned out that the folio apparently contains another unknown story collection in the Campū style. Remains of at least fourteen verses are preserved, most of them in the Anuṣṭubh metre, but there is also an Upajāti attested in line v3 and a Vasantatilakā in v4. Surprisingly, the verses are numbered in every story, a rather unusual feature in manuscripts of this period from Afghanistan. This may even provide a hint as to the original length of the folio, although the evidence is not unambiguous. Line r7 preserves the verse number 2, and in line r8 number 4 follows. The verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, and if we assume the missing verse 3 to be in the same metre, line r7 would contain altogether 68 akṣaras (66 syllables and two verse numbers). The situation is different in lines r2 and 3: in r2 the verse number 2 appears to be attested, and in r3 the number 5. The verses ending in lines 2 and 3 are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, and if we assume the missing verses 3 and 4 to be in the same metre, line 2 would contain altogether 106 akṣaras (103 syllables and three verse numbers); however, such a length is rather unlikely.

The available text makes it difficult to obtain a clear idea of the contents. Twice we encounter what appear to be titles, *saṃghaś ceti* in r8 and *saṃghaśiṣyaś ceti* in v5, and in both cases they are preceded by two double daṇḍas which frame a small double circle, one of the usual signs indicating the end of a section. Saṃgha here is the name of a person, and therefore it appears likely that we have to do with a collection of stories told in a somewhat ornate style. No parallel version is known to us, and the few hints given in the prose and in the verses do not enable us to reconstruct even one of the at least four stories the folio must originally have contained. Nor do they permit us to decide if the word *aparaśaila* here is just a place name or bears additional meaning as a location important for the history of a specific school. Together with the reconstruction we try to translate those parts where enough is left to identify at least single words. This will make it immediately manifest that our understanding is nothing but a tentative effort, plausible at best, but more often than not inviting alternative interpretations and possibly also corrections of our readings.

The fragment represents part of a birch-bark folio from the margin to the left of the string-hole, which is marked by a black circle. Two small inscribed fragments appear to the right in the

¹ For *Aparaśaila* as the name of a subschool of the Mahāsāṃghika cf. Lamotte 1958: 580 and Falk 1999/2000, the latter with the oldest inscription of this school, in which the name appears as *Avaddāraseliya* (cf. also von Hinüber 2009: 164).

Reconstruction

(r1)nnetare – –⁸ jane •

mama tv etat kṛtaṃ pāpaṃ mam(a) × × ∪ – ∪ × ///

“For me (or: by me?) this evil was done, for me (?) ...”

× × × × ∪ – – × × × × ∪ – ∪ ×

× × × (r2)dāya bhinnātmā nirdhāvantaṃ purād vanaṃ 2

... the body shattered, him who was escaping from the town into the forest.

ta × × × ∪ – – × × × × ∪ – ∪ × ///

× × × × ∪ – – × × (r3) pūrṇau mayā kṛtau • 5 ||

... the two made full by me.

ekaṃ s.ṛ + + + bhūtena rahoga<ta>bhav. n. ḥ .ṛ t. dv. tā + .y.y. + ///

one ... in secret ...

... (r4)tā • 7 ||

ity uktvā sa mahāprājño muktavā vāyūm aśeṣataḥ

tatra sthaivaśamam prāpto śikhī × × ∪ – ∪ × (8)

Saying this, that man of great insight, after letting the air out completely

And reaching calmness⁹ and tranquility there ...

(r5)ṇa dr̥ṣṭo vyā(gh)r(aḥ) śayamānaḥ khadiraśakalikāyā<m̐> haste lagnāyāṃ sthavireṇa unna¹⁰ ///

(r6) sthavirasya pādāṃ vanditvāha •

... the recumbent tiger was seen by ... after the splinter of acacia wood was stuck in its paw, by the Elder ... /// ... having venerated the feet of the Elder, he said:

yasya hastārpito śalyas tvayārvvedhau¹¹ hitaiṣiṇā

sarppā × × ∪ – – × × × × ∪ – ∪ × ///

He who had a thorn which pierced his paw ... by you who aim at the benefit

... snakes ...

× × × × ∪ – – × × × × ∪ – ∪ ×

× × × × ∪ – (r7) detvā prayātaḥ sukr̥tālayaṃ 2 :

... having ... gone forth to the place of righteous deeds.

tiryagyonigatasyāpi cittapraś. ∪ – ∪ ×

⁸ If the two strokes are fillers, this could be another Anuṣṭubh line ending in *jane*.

⁹ Misreading for *sthairyaśamam*? Or should one accept a non-Sanskritic *tatrasthaiva*?

¹⁰ Although speculative, in view of the splinter in the hand or paw a reconstruction to *unnayana*, “drawing out”, does not seem impossible. The line presents various difficulties: the missing sandhi between *sthavireṇa unna*/// could point to the end of a half verse; if so, it would have to be a mora-counting metre which we, however, fail to identify.

¹¹ We do not understand this word; one would expect *uddhr̥to*, “extracted,” or something similar.

× × × × ∪ – – × × × × ∪ – ∪ × (3)

Even for him who has gone to the animal realm, tranquility of the mind ...

× × × × ∪ – – × × × × ∪ – ∪ ×

× × × × ∪ – – × (r8) śraddhā buddhasya śāsane • 4

... faith in the teaching of the Buddha.

|| ◎ || saṃghaś ceti || aparāśailasyāvidū(re) ///

And (the story of) Saṃgha. Not far from Aparāśaila ...

(v1)ṇa vastraṃ • saṅghaḥ • pitaraṃ dr̥ṣṭvā • aye kiṃ nu khalu tātaḥ • santāpapāriplava¹² ///

... by ... the cloth. Saṅgha saw the father (and said:) “O, what now, father! Agitated by penance¹³ ...”

(v2)mi pravrajitum* pitā • yathā tena paśyāmi tathā kuru • saṅghaḥ arddhakṛtaṃ kā ///

“... I (desire) to go forth.” The father (said:) “Make it so that I see with it!” (?) Saṅgha ... the halfmade ...

≡ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×

≡ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – (v3) ∪ lākṣī •

kṛtvā kare vaktraṃ ihopaviṣṭā

datvā pratistambham ivottamāṅge • (Upajāti)

... the eyes,

She sat down here, resting her face in her hand,

Making, as it were, a buttress for her head.

amba abhivādaya pra ///

“Mother, salute respectfully ...”

– – ∪ – ∪ (v4) ∪ sakālaguṇopapannaṃ

siddhaṃ mamābhilaṣitaṃ hṛdayasya nityaṃ •

gacchāmy asaktahṛd. – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ×

– – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – × || (Vasantatilakā)

Fulfilled is my heart’s constant wish,

Endowed with the good qualities of the ... and time.

I go (with a) heart detached ...

(v5)ttavināyakapravar(aḥ) 5¹⁴

“ ... the most excellent ... guide.

|| ◎ || saṃghaśiṣyaś ceti || aparāsaile saṃghasya sthavira(sya) /// (v6)hāṇe sthaviro codayati + +

¹² This could be the beginning of an Indravamṣā/Indravajrā line.

¹³ Other interpretations are possible; the form *pāriplava*- seems unattested.

¹⁴ Possibly an even Puṣpitāgrā or Aupacchandasika *pāda*.

yogāraṇijātena¹⁵ dagdhaḥ saṃkalpā + .ā yā t. .ī k. ṇ. ///

And (the story of) Saṃgha's pupil. In Aparasāila ... of the Elder Saṃgha ... /// ... at the loss;¹⁶ the Elder urges ... burnt by ... born from the firewood of yoga ... conception ...

× × × × ∪ – – × × × × × ∪ – ∪ ×
 × × × × ∪ – – × × × × × (v7) kṛto 'śramaḥ 2
 ... was made indefatigable.

tena saṃc. + .. .ārhat(tva)m (p)r(āpta)m ++ .i
 by him ... arhatship was attained

× × × × ∪ – – × × × × × ∪ (v8) ghāṭanaṃ •
 dvau guṇau prāpitau – × × × × × ∪ – ∪ × ///
 ... killing; two qualities were obtained ...

¹⁵ This could be an uneven Anuṣṭubh quarter, but then the following *saṃkalpā* would have to be *saṃkalpa*.

¹⁶ Reconstruct to *(pari)hāṇe*.

Thirty-two Fragments Written by Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī Scribe 7*

Richard Salomon

1. General description of the fragments: Contents, genre, and parallels

This article presents an edition of thirty-two of the Kharoṣṭhī palm-leaf fragments from the Bamiyan region, which are presently divided among the Schøyen (MS), Hirayama (HI) and Hayashidera (HG) collections. These fragments were written by the scribe denoted as number 7 in a preliminary handlist of Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribes compiled by Andrew Glass. The thirty-two fragments are: MS 2179/8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 9c, 10a, 10b, 10c, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 12c, 13a, 13b, 14, 104, 118, 123a, 123b, uf 1/3b, uf 2/4a, uf 2/6c, uf 3/5a, uf 3/5d, uf 3/6f, uf 4/1c, uf 5/3b; HI 24, 25; and HG 50, 51.¹

The fragments written by scribe 7 are easily recognized by his distinctively bold hand, which stands out clearly from the work of the other forty-six Bamiyan scribes enumerated in Glass's list. However, since these fragments, most of them quite small, evidently come from many different palm-leaf folios, there is no guarantee that they all actually belong to the same manuscript, especially since their contents are quite diverse. The only certainty is that they were written by the same scribe.

An unusual feature of some of these fragments is that they are palimpsests. In a few of them, most notably Schøyen fragments 8a, 8b, 9a and 10b, traces of an underlying text which had been erased are still visible, especially in parts of the folio which were left blank when the new text was written out.² In most of the other fragments, however, no trace of an underlying text is discernible, either because it was more completely erased, or, perhaps more likely, because it was never present. However, this does not solve the question of whether all of the fragments belonged to the same manuscript, since it is entirely conceivable that in writing out a long text the scribe might have used both recycled and new folios, depending on what material was available to him.

* I would like to express my gratitude to the several persons who have helped me in my desultory study over seven years of the material presented in this article. Kazunobu Matsuda, Lin Qian, and Tien-chang Shih provided invaluable assistance in locating and interpreting related materials in Chinese; Paul Harrison helped by sharing his vast knowledge of Mahāyāna literature; and, in particular, Andrew Glass offered a great many important palaeographic and codicological suggestions, as well as indispensable technical assistance. Finally, important suggestions regarding the collocation of the fragments were provided by Gudrun Melzer.

¹ As a matter of convenience, the Schøyen fragments presented below are cited only by their sub-numbering within the Kharoṣṭhī section of the Schøyen Buddhist manuscripts collection as a whole, wherein the Kharoṣṭhī fragments are all grouped under the number 2179. Thus, for example, what is cited here as "MS 8a" is actually numbered MS 2179/8a in the Schøyen collection. The notation "uf" ("unlocalized fragments") among the Schøyen numbers refers to very small fragments which, in the initial rough sorting of the fragments, were not placed together with other similar, larger fragments.

² For details, see appendix 1 (Traces of the original text preserved in the palimpsest manuscript).

In two of the larger surviving fragments where the complete height of an original folio is preserved, namely MS 8a and HI 25, the text is written in five lines. But in the only other sizeable fragment, MS 9a, the text has only four lines and measures 3.4 cm in height, in contrast to 3.9 cm for MS 8a. This discrepancy might be taken to imply that it was not part of the same manuscript, but this too is by no means necessarily true. Although our knowledge of the physical characteristics of the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts is extremely limited due to their fragmentary state of preservation, so that we do not know how regular or standardized the format of the individual folios within a given manuscript was, there are definite examples among the Bamiyan Sanskrit fragments where the width of the folios and number of lines do fluctuate within the same manuscript. For example, the very early *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript—which, though written in Brāhmī script, is more or less contemporary with the Kharoṣṭhī fragments—normally has five lines per folio, but in two fragments there are only four lines (BMSC I: 2 and n. 9). Similarly, among the “fragments from the Aśoka legend,” some have five lines with a height of 3.4–3.6 cm whereas others are 2.5–2.6 cm high with four lines; despite these differences, the editor (Klaus Wille) concludes that “[s]ince the leaves of older palm-leaf manuscripts are not always cut to a uniform size, we may assume that all the fragments belong to the same manuscript” (BMSC I: 220). Therefore it is quite possible that the four- and five-line folios among the Kharoṣṭhī scribe 7 fragments did belong to a single text and manuscript which contained folios with differing formats.

Thus when we compare the physical characteristics of the two largest fragments, MS 8a and MS 9a, it cannot be conclusively determined whether they belong to the same text. On the one hand, they are certainly the work of the same scribe, they share a similar general appearance, and, most importantly, they are both palimpsests of an apparently similar type. But on the other hand, their dimensions and number of lines differ. Unfortunately, it is equally difficult to determine on textual grounds whether the thirty other fragments concerned belong to the same text. Beginning again with the two largest fragments, MS 8a and 9a, their contents (as described below) are seemingly very different. But this too by no means proves that they are not part of the same manuscript and/or the same text. Since the surviving fragments are probably a small fraction of the entire text or texts to which they belonged, and because no direct parallel for any of them has been identified, it would be imprudent to rule out the possibility that they belong to a single text, perhaps a long one, with diverse contents; Buddhist literature, especially in its later phases, is full of such material.

Although no direct parallel has been identified for any of the fragments, this is not to say that the textual material as a whole is entirely unfamiliar. On the contrary, we find in various fragments themes, phrases, and occasionally even entire verses for which parallels can be identified in one, or often in several other Buddhist texts preserved in various languages. For example, the largest fragment, MS 8a+8b+9b+10b, consists of a series of short phrases spoken by the Buddha in which he enumerates his accomplishments: “I have demonstrated miracle(s) in three ways. I am the enlightened [and] the enlightener. I am the victorious conqueror. I am an arhat whose mind is freed of passions,” and so on. For most of these expressions, we can locate direct parallels or at least similar expressions in similar contexts in various texts, primarily Mahāyāna sūtras, in Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese and/or Tibetan; but in no case does the overall scope and sequence of the phrases

correspond.³

A similar situation prevails with regard to the several fragments which contain verses of a type which broadly resemble the “gnomic” texts of the *Dhammapada*/*Dharmapada*/*Udānavarga* genre. The largest fragment in this class is MS 9A, in which as much as half or more of several verses in Śloka, Triṣṭubh and Śārdūlavikrīḍita metres are preserved (see 5, “Metre”). Other relatively large fragments belonging to this class are MS 14, MS 118, and MS uf2/6c. Smaller fragments which may also belong in this genre are MS 12a, MS 104, MS 123a, and MS 123b. In the relatively large fragment MS 9a, it is clear that the verses are grouped thematically around topics such as *doṣa* and *roṣa*,⁴ as in the *Dhammapada* and related texts, and two verses with direct parallels in the Pali *Dhammapada*, Khotan Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*, and/or Sanskrit *Udānavarga* are partially preserved in this fragment (line B1) and in MS 14 (Bc). But here again, as in the case of the Buddha’s self-eulogy discussed above, it is only individual text units for which parallels can be identified; the sequence of the verses and the overall contents of these fragments do not correspond at all to any other known text, as far as I have been able to determine.

The case is much the same with regard to a third stylistic genre found among the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribe 7 fragments, namely prose narratives of the avadāna or similar genre, represented primarily in HI 25 and apparently also in HI 24 and HG 50. The story represented on the relatively extensive fragment HI 25 concerns a person, apparently a “blind king” (*atarayo* = *andharāja*-?), named Kardhama[ka]. Although this king is not known in any of the canonical Buddhist literatures, he is evidently mentioned, under the name Kardamaga (*kardamaga-raya*-), in two of the fragmentary Gāndhārī avadāna compilations preserved among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. Since the stories in the Bamiyan and the British Library fragments both refer to some connection between this king and a pig (*sugara* = *sūkara*), it is reasonably certain that they concern the same king and the same story about him. Furthermore, a similar name also occurs in two important inscriptions from the first and second centuries A.D. in which the royal lineages of the Oḍi kings of Swat and the Western Kṣatrapas of western and central India respectively claim dynastic lineages from a king Kardama(ka).⁵ Thus this king Kardama(ka)/Kardamaga/Kardhamaka seems to have been an important historical figure and/or legendary ancestor of the Indo-Scythian kingdoms of the early centuries of the Christian era, and to judge from the appearance of his name in three separate manuscripts, he also seems to have been well known in Gāndhārī literature, even though his memory has apparently not been preserved in other Buddhist traditions.⁶

Thus we find among many of the Bamiyan scribe 7 fragments tantalizing hints of textual parallels and affiliations with other texts and traditions both within and far beyond Gandhāran literature, yet nothing that can be called a true parallel. We are therefore reduced—at least for the

³ For details, see the general comments at the beginning of the notes on this fragment.

⁴ For full discussion, see the general comments at the beginning of the notes on this fragment.

⁵ For details, see the text note on HI 25, A1.

⁶ However, in this as in other such cases, references to King Kardamaka may still lie unnoticed in Tibetan, Chinese, or other non-Indic Buddhist texts. Compare, for example, a unique reference to the Kuṣāṇa emperor Huviṣka in the Chinese translation of the *Sūtrālamkāra*, recently confirmed by a Sanskrit fragment in the Schøyen Collection (Salomon 2002a: 260), and the little-noticed reference to the Western Kṣatrapa king Caṣṭana in a story preserved in the Uighur *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (*daśakrmapada* ‘wtanamal/daśa-krma-pta’awadanamal; Müller 1908: 38–45; Müller and von Gabain 1931: 677–99) and in T. 720 無明羅刹集 (851a15; Yang 2005).

time being, pending future discoveries regarding these and/or other Gāndhārī texts—to making educated guesses as to the genre or genres which these fragments represent. We have seen that they include what seem, on grounds of style and contents, to be representatives of the sūtra, *Dharmapada/Udānavarga*, and avadāna genres. Returning now to the question of whether all of the fragments belong to a single text, we must consider whether there is any single type of Buddhist text which could include representations of or extracts from all three of these genres.

The answer is, at least potentially, “yes,” insofar as some Mahāyāna sūtras quote freely from other established genres such as *Dharmapada*-type verse collections and avadānas. In several places among the scribe 7 fragments, we find explicit citation phrases; for example, *ukta ca bha[ga]vad.* = Skt *uktam ca bhagavatā* “And it was said by the Lord” in HG 50, ab, and *tadhra śr[u]* /// in HI 25, B2, which is probably to be reconstructed as *tadhra śru(yadi)* = Skt *tatra śrūyate*, “With regard to that, it is said.” In both cases, unfortunately, the following text is lost, so that it cannot be determined what sort of quotation was being introduced by these phrases, but it is at least conceivable that these could represent citations embedded within a Mahāyāna sūtra.

Twice in fragment HI 25 (A5, B5), and apparently also in MS 13A (Aa), we find what appears to be another sort of citation phrase or narrative framing device in the phrase *eva hāha* which, as explained in the relevant notes, must correspond to Skt *evam āha* “Thus he says/said.” But once again, frustratingly enough, in these cases the text following the citation is completely or largely lost, so that the textual and genre-wise significance of the phrase in question cannot be determined.

In MS 118 (Aa), we find the interrogative phrase *kadare • u[c.]*, which is presumably to be reconstructed as *kadare • uc(yadi)* = Skt *katare ucyate*, “Which are they? It is said ...” Here yet again, the following text is lost, but the question-and-answer phrasing and enumerative structure would not be out of order in a sūtra text, Mahāyāna or otherwise.

Particularly interesting in this connection is the conclusion of the passage which is partly preserved in MS 8a+8b+9b+10b, in which the (or a) Buddha enumerates his accomplishments. In the last line (v5) of this fragmentary passage, the narrative suddenly shifts from first to third person, marked by the quotative particle *idi*: *t[i]rna hu paragada stalapradistida idi bhavadi cadra* ⇐ *tradara lokaṣa*, “... I have crossed over, reached to the other shore, firm on dry land.” Thus he is, O Candra [?], the savior of the world.” This conclusion—if it is interpreted correctly here—seems to indicate that the words spoken by the Buddha are not being directly recited by himself, but rather quoted in a wider narrative frame by another speaker who is reporting them to, apparently, someone named Candra. This narrative structure in particular suggests Mahāyāna sūtra style, in which a narrator, presumably himself a Buddha, may expound the achievements of another, previous (or future) Buddha.

Thus certain structural features discernible among the fragmentary remains of this text (or these texts) do suggest the possibility that it/they represent some unidentified Mahāyāna sūtra. But this is by no means the only possibility, as all or some of these fragments could, for example, belong to some sort of commentary or scholastic compilation. But the overall situation does seem to rather suggest a Mahāyāna sūtra, and the recent discovery among the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī

fragments of several other Mahāyāna sūtras⁷ lends some circumstantial support to this hypothesis.

But if this is correct, it needs to be explained why this sūtra has not been identified. This is presumably either because its equivalent has not survived in the other Buddhist literatures, or because such parallel texts do exist, but in variant forms which make it difficult to locate and identify them. It can only be hoped that some future reader of this article may be able to solve these problems.

In conclusion, we find among the fragments of this text, or these texts, material which is reminiscent of Mahāyāna sūtras, of verse collections of the *Dharmapada/Udānavarga* class, and apparently also of avadāna literature. As to the relationship between these fragments, three possibilities present themselves:

1) They belong to a single text, most likely a Mahāyāna sūtra but possibly also a commentary, scholastic treatise or anthology, for which no parallel has been located in other Buddhist literatures.

2) They are all part of a *Sammelhandschrift*; that is to say, they are part of the same manuscript but comprise portions of two or more different texts which were combined therein.

3) They comprise remnants of two or more separate texts which were written by the same scribe as separate manuscripts, but which are not otherwise textually or codicologically related.

As for the dating of the scribe 7 fragments, their paleographic, phonological and morphological characteristics, as described in the following sections, are typical of the Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī documents from Bamiyan in general. Although it has not yet been possible to perform radiocarbon tests on any of the scribe 7 fragments, three other fragments from the Bamiyan materials have been tested and yielded probable date ranges from the first to the early fifth centuries A.D. Although the ranges for the three samples vary quite widely,⁸ they all overlap in the early third century A.D. If it can be assumed that these three samples, and the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī documents in general, are roughly contemporaneous, they should then date from approximately this period. Since the fragments by scribe 7 presented here are generally similar to the ones that have been dated by radiocarbon tests, it is reasonably likely that they were written in or around the first half of the third century A.D., that is, during the late Kuṣāṇa period.

2. Orthography, paleography and punctuation

Unlike many Kharoṣṭhī scribes who completely ignore the sign for *anusvāra*, Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī scribe 7 often writes *anusvāra* in places where it is etymologically justified, such as *kriṣabhaṃdu* (MS 8a, v2), *dukhasaṃvaso* (MS 9a, A1), and *saṃgrāma* (MS 9a, A3; HI 25, B3). However, he also sometimes omits it in words where it would be expected (*śilalakara* MS 8a, v3, *bhayakare* MS 9a, A2, *viḥisa^mbhahulo* [second syllable], MS 9a, A3), and frequently writes it where it is not etymologically justified, as in *sa^mkhkṣigrīdo* (MS 8a, r1), *siṃgha^m* (MS 8a, r5), *viḥisa^mbhahulo* (third syllable; MS 9a, A3), *pa^mṣyade* (MS 9a, B2), *puruṣā^mṣa* (MS 9a, B3), and *puruṣo^m* (MS 12a, Bb), and possibly also in *ga^mya ga^mhaṃ* (MS 10a, Aa), although here the context is not clear

⁷ Several of which are published in this volume.

⁸ MS 2179/42: A.D. 72–245; MS 2179/65: A.D. 53–234; MS 2179/116: A.D. 210–417 (2σ ranges). For details see Allon *et al.* 2006, esp. p. 284.

enough to be certain. In these cases, the *anusvāra*-like sign is evidently to be understood as “pseudo-*anusvāra*,” that is, as a phonetically insignificant foot mark (Glass 2000: 27 [§4.7]), and it is here transliterated as a superscript *anusvāra* (^m), following the practice of Fussman (1985: 37). Our scribe seems to have been inclined to apply this pseudo-*anusvāra* to the consonants *p*, *s*, *ṣ*, and possibly also *g*. In general, this inconsistent application of *anusvāra* is typical of many Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī documents.

Scribe 7 frequently uses a diacritic mark consisting of two dots above the letter, which is transliterated here with diaeresis (e.g. *ä*). As with *anusvāra*, his use of this mark seems to be inconsistent and arbitrary. Frequently, it is added to the final consonant of a word in the nominative singular, in which case it seems to be meant to render the equivalent of Sanskrit visarga, as in *tranä* (MS 8a, r4). But this usage is inconsistent; the sign in question is applied in *doṣä* (MS 9a, A1 [twice], A2, A3 [twice]), but not in *doṣa* (MS 9a, A4); and, similarly, in *roṣä* (MS 9a, B3), but not in *roṣa* (MS 9a, B2). In other cases, this sign seems to be intended to represent a visarga in places where it is not etymologically justified, evidently by way of hypersanskritization: *puruṣō^m* (nom. sg.?; MS 12a, Bb), *puruṣā^msa-* (MS 9a, B3), *-staneṣü* (MS 118, Ab). Elsewhere, however, the double-dot diacritic is evidently used to indicate a long vowel: *atäga* (if this is an error for *aräga* as proposed in the notes; MS 8a, r3), *saṃgräma* (MS 9a, A3; HI 25, B3), and *puruṣäryada* (if = *puruṣäryatä*; HI 25, B2). Though bewildering, this distribution for the double-dot diacritic is consistent with its usage in other Kharoṣṭhī documents (Salomon 1998: 131, 142-4; see also Hitch 1984: 188-90).

An interesting feature of the orthography of this text is the consistent use of a hitherto unobserved variant (𑀭) of the conjunct character *khkṣ* which is used in some Kharoṣṭhī documents to represent the sound corresponding to Sanskrit *kṣ*.⁹ This character occurs in *sa^mkhkṣigrīdo* (MS 8a, A1), *pramokḥṣa* (MS 11b, Aa), and *bhakhkṣa* (HI 25, A2). A similar conjunct is used sporadically in similar contexts in the Khotan *Dharmapada* and in a few inscriptions.¹⁰ In these cases, the component elements of the character, namely the consonantal units *kh* and *kṣ*, are clearly visible, with the former placed on top of the latter. The character in the new fragments seems to be a modified ligature of this conjunct in which the *kṣ* has been reduced to a small subscript element below the full-sized *kṣ*. The resulting character is similar to but clearly distinguishable from the character for *kh* (𑀭), occurring in words such as *dukha* (MS 8a, r1; 9a, A1) and *mukha* (HI 25, A3).

Subscript, that is, post-consonantal *y* is written in two different ways by our scribe, apparently alternating randomly. In the majority of cases, for instance *amithya* (MS 118, Aa), *amedhye* (HI 25, A2), and *pa^mṣyade* (MS 9a, B2), he writes subscript *y* with the “double hook drawn to the left at the base of the radical” (Glass 2000: 120), as in *thya* (𑀭). However, in a few instances, namely *uhyamanēṇa* (MS 8a, r4), *dharmapalyaka* (MS 8a, v4), *pra[v]yetrido* (MS 8a, v1), and *prathyartika* (HI 25, B1 and B4), the alternate type of subscript *y* where “the end of the *y*-stroke turns to the right in a short horizontal” (ibid.) is used, as in *hya* (𑀭). In one of these cases, *dharmapalyaka*, the

⁹ On the phonetic value of Kharoṣṭhī *kṣ*, see Brough 1962: 72-3.

¹⁰ See Brough, ibid. (also Hitch 1984: 199-200). This conjunct also seems to occur in a seal inscription reading, in part, *gramarakḥkṣaasa*, “of the village-protector” (Skt *grāma-rakṣakasya*), although the published edition reads this as *grama rakkhaasa* (Callieri 1997: 198 and pl. 61 [Cat. U. 7.24]).

subscript *y* is etymologically unjustified. This could be another instance of hypersanskritization,¹¹ but the subscript element might rather have been meant to represent a variant pronunciation of *l*, as is suggested by numerous cases in the Central Asian documents where *l* is marked with a subscript element whose phonetic value is not certain (Glass 2000: 126–7).

Scribe 7 utilized four separate punctuation marks, whose functions seem have been fairly consistently distinguished. A symbol resembling the euro sign with two dots above and below the crossbar (€), which seems to mark a major division in a prose portion of the text, appears seven times (MS 8a, v5;¹² MS 13a, Aa; MS 104, Ab; MS uf3/6f, Ab; HI 24, Ac; HI 25, A5, B5). In one of these cases (MS 104, Ab), it is immediately followed by another kind of punctuation sign, discussed below, which resembles a Brāhmī “2.”

The second type of punctuation mark, seen in only one fragment (HG 50, Ab), consists of a circle enclosing a cross. It immediately precedes a formula introducing a quotation of the words of the Buddha (*ukta ca bha[ga]vad.*); unfortunately, the text preceding the punctuation sign is not preserved.

Smaller textual divisions are marked with a small dot at the level of the top of the line, as in many Kharoṣṭhī texts. This dot is used to separate sentences or phrase units in prose, as throughout fragments 8a+8a+9b+10b and HI 25 and apparently in MS 9a, A4, and in verse texts to mark pāda divisions and in some cases possibly also verse endings, as in MS 9a, A1–3 and B1–3 and MS 118, Bb. Due to the fragmentary character of the texts it is difficult in most cases to evaluate the precise function of this type of punctuation in verses, but sometimes the identification of parallel texts can clarify the question. For example, the punctuation dot in MS 118, Bb divides the second and third pāda of the verse, to judge by the several parallel verses in Sanskrit, Pali, and Gāndhārī (see the text note for details). But by the same principle, the first of two punctuation marks in MS 9a, B1 would mark the end of the preceding verse, and the second one the division between the second and third pādas of the following verse.

There are several other cases (MS 9a, B2; MS 13a, Ab; MS 104, Ab; HG 51, A2; probably also MS 13b, Ab) where a passage is followed by a larger and more conspicuous sign consisting of two curved parallel horizontal lines (∞).¹³ In at least some of these cases, for example in MS 9a and MS 104, it may be assumed that this sign marks the end of a complete verse, or perhaps rather of a longer text section such as a group of verses. However, this sign could also be understood as a numerical figure, since it is virtually identical in form to the character for the numeral 2 in Brāhmī script, which has been used in at least one other Kharoṣṭhī text to number verses (Niya tablet 511, rev., l. 1; Boyer, Rapson and Senart 1927: 186 and pl. VIII).¹⁴ However, apart from this mark, which occurs four or five times, there is only one other rather doubtful instance of a numerical sign which might mark a text unit; this is the graph read, very tentatively, as 4 in MS 123a, Aa, in an indeterminate context. This pattern casts considerable doubt on the reading of this punctuation

¹¹ A similar hypersanskritic spelling occurs in another Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragment (MS 4b, 3), written by a different scribe: *vyayovridha cā* (= Skt *vayovṛddhaś ca*).

¹² However, its function here is problematic, since it seems to occur in the middle of a sentence; see the text note for discussion.

¹³ As mentioned above, in MS 104, ab this sign is immediately followed by the “euro sign” punctuation mark.

¹⁴ The Brāhmī numeral 3, composed of three parallel horizontal lines, is also used to indicate a verse number in MS Kharoṣṭhī fragment 29, v3.

mark as representing the numeral 2, and in this scribe's usage it may function as a non-numerical punctuation indicating a verse break or larger textual unit; a very similar sign was used to mark punctuation (not numbering) in Sanskrit manuscripts from Bamiyan, as noted in the "Conventions" page in each volume of BMSC (e.g., BMSC I: xvii).

3. Phonology

The language of the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī scribe 7 fragments is a partially Sanskritized Gāndhārī of the type that is characteristic of many of the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments (see Allon and Salomon 2000: 266–71) as well as of other Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī manuscripts and inscriptions of the later period, that is, about the second and third centuries A.D. (Salomon 2001, 2002b). Typical features of this late variety of Gāndhārī are spellings like *anuyukta* (MS 9a, B2), *amithya* (MS 118, Aa), *(a)viṣkrida* (MS 9a, B3), *ukta* (HG 50, Ab), *-prapta* (MS 8a, r3), *bhaviṣyami* (HI 24, Ab), *bhrahmaṇa* (MS 8a, r3), *veśaradhyani* (MS 8a, r2), and *smi* (MS 8a, r2 etc.), where consonant clusters which would normally be reduced or assimilated in standard Gāndhārī (*anuyuta*, *amicha*, *avikrido*, *uta*, *-prata*, *bhaviṣami*, *bramaṇa*, *veśaraṇi*, *mi*) are represented according to their Sanskrit spelling. In some cases such spellings are actually hypersanskritisms, for instance, *paṣyadi* (9a, B1) instead of *paśyadi* (Skt *paśyati*), which was evidently wrongly Sanskritized from colloquial Gāndhārī *paśadi* on the basis of the rule that Sanskrit *ṣy* goes to *ś(ś)* in Gāndhārī. This development was probably influenced by analogy with the forms of the future tense which in standard Gāndhārī has the affix *-iśa-*, but which in the Sanskritized variety is restored to *-iṣya-*, as in *bhaviṣyami* (cited above).

This Sanskritic style results in entire phrases which, except for orthographic differences such as the absence of long vowels and the substitution of *ri* for *r*, read almost exactly like Sanskrit; for instance, MS 9a, B2, *karyavid=anuyukta* and b3, *puruṣaṃṣaviṣkrida vikriya* (= *puruṣasyāviṣkṛtā vikriyā*). In the latter example, we also find a Sanskritic sandhi (*puruṣaṃṣa + aviṣkrida > puruṣaṃṣaviṣkrida*) which would not be expected in standard Gāndhārī.

Uktama (MS 8a, v1) for Sanskrit *uttama*- seems to be another example of hypersanskritization, but in this case the spelling has a parallel in Niya Kharoṣṭhī document 511, obverse, line 2, *uktama* (Boyer, Rapson and Senart 1927: 185). This document is also composed in a Sanskritized variety of literary Gāndhārī, and Burrow (1937: 12) dismissed *uktama* as "a mistaken attempt at restoration"; but its occurrence here shows that it was not a mere idiosyncrasy or error on the part of the Niya scribe. Rather, it seems to have been an accepted form, even though it is hard to explain etymologically. Here we can compare the well-attested Gāndhārī *utvara*, regularly used as the equivalent of Sanskrit *uttara*. In this case, according to Brough (1962: 83), the non-etymological *v* may be phonologically justified on the basis of a "reflection of vocalic quality." This may be correct, but it does not account for the form *uktama*. Conceivably, this may have arisen by a false analogy with the phonetically similar and very common but etymologically unrelated Sanskrit *ukta*-, which is also rendered in our text, with correct Sanskritization, as *ukta* (cited above).

Original intervocalic consonants are treated somewhat inconsistently. In some cases, for example among the palatals, they are represented as in their Sanskrit archetypes, rather than by

their pronunciation in colloquial Gāndhārī: thus, *-dhvaja* (MS 8a+9b, v2), *-bhija* (= *bīja-*)¹⁵ (MS 9b, v1), and *-vaca* (MS 8a, v1) instead of *dhvaya*, **biya*, and *vaya*. But intervocalic dental *t* is generally represented as voiced, according to actual Gāndhārī pronunciation, as in *jahido* (MS 8a, r1), *pariṇodo* (MS 8a, r1), *pivasidaṇa* (MS 8a, r4), and *vahida-* (MS 8a, r3), although in some cases it is difficult to be sure whether *t* or *d* was intended, since the characters for these consonants are not clearly distinguished in syllabic combinations such as *di* and *do*. Original *k* is apparently voiced in *śrava[g.]* (MS 8a, v4), but retained in *dharmaloka* (MS 8a, v1), *-palyaka* (MS 8a, v4), and *lokaṣa* (MS 8a, v5).¹⁶ The representation of original intervocalic *p* is similarly inconsistent; it becomes *v* in *pivasidaṇa* (MS 8a, r4) but remains in *-papadharma* (MS 8a, r3 [twice]) and *papi[m]e* (MS 8a, v2).

There are also sporadic cases in which unvoiced and voiced consonants alternate contrary to normal patterns. In *vicidasamgrāma* = *vijitasamgrāmaḥ* (HI 25, B3), an originally voiced intervocalic consonant, *j*, is graphically devoiced, that is, represented by *c*. The representation of original *-j-* by *-c-* is now well attested in other Gāndhārī manuscripts, especially among the Senior collection, showing that “*c* and *j* had merged in the dialect of this scribe” (Glass 2007: 115). Conversely, in *sa^mkhkṣigrīdo* = *sākṣīkṛtaḥ* (MS 8a, r1) original *k* is represented as voiced, even though it is not in intervocalic position.

A striking peculiarity of this text is the frequent alternation of aspirated and unaspirated consonants. Originally unaspirated voiced consonants, especially *d* and *b*, are often represented by the corresponding aspirate: *-idhriyaṣa* = *indriyasya* (MS 9A, b3), *upadhrudaṇa* = *upadrutānām* (MS 8a, r4), *kardhama[ko]* = **kardamaka-* (HI 25, A1), *jidadhara* = *jetayitā* or **jitadhara* (?; see the text note; MS 8a, r2), *tarpayadhara* = *tarpayitā*¹⁷ (MS 8a, r4), *dharuna* = *dāruṇaḥ* (MS 9a, A1), *dhruvalabha* = *durālāpaḥ* (?)¹⁸ (MS 9a, A4), *dhvara* = *dvāram* (MS 8a, v3, 4 [twice]; MS 123a, Bb; HG 50, B1); *-bhahulo* = *bahulaḥ* (MS 9a, A3, A4), *-bhija* = *bījam*¹⁹ (MS 8a, v1), and *veśaradhyāni* = *vaiśāradyāni* (MS 8a, r2). Examples of non-etymological aspiration of original unvoiced consonants are also found, though less frequently: *gamthum* = *gantum* (HI 25, A1), *thuṣo* = *tuṣaḥ*²⁰ (MS 9a, B4), and also *-alabha* in *dhruvalabha* if this is = *durālāpaḥ* as proposed in the text notes (MS 9a, B4).

Conversely, original aspirated consonants, especially dentals, are often written as unaspirated: *ana[r]ta* = *anartha-* (MS 118, Ab)/*arta* = *artham* (MS 9a, B1), *amede* = *amedhya*-²¹ (HI 25, A2), *asarada-* = *P asāraddha-* (MS 9b, r2), *krudo/kruda* = *kruddhaḥ* (MS 9a, B1), *nado* =

¹⁵ On this form, which may constitute a special case, see also Burrow 1937: 7.

¹⁶ The Gāndhārī equivalents of Skt *loka* and *āloka* sometimes retain the original intervocalic *k* even in non-Sanskritized texts, most notably the Khotan *Dharmapada* (Allon 2001: 213); see the entries in GD.

¹⁷ Similar forms involving the non-etymological aspiration of original intervocalic *t*, such as *śamadhara* = Skt *śamitr-*, are also observed in the Khotan *Dharmapada*, although that text does not generally exhibit the widespread alternation between unaspirated and aspirated consonants that characterizes our text. See Brough 1962: 95–6 for a discussion and proposed explanation of these forms.

¹⁸ But the prefix *dur-* is retained as in Sanskrit in *durgadiya* (MS 8a, v4). In Gāndhārī generally, original initial *d*, especially in a rhotic environment, has a strong tendency to be represented by the corresponding aspirate, for example in *dhrohikṣe* = *durbhikṣe* (Salomon 2008: 107; compare also Allon 2001: 83).

¹⁹ This form also occurs in Central Asian Gāndhārī; compare n. 16 above.

²⁰ This is also the regular form in Pali for the equivalent of Skt *tuṣa* “chaff,” so this case may not be a specifically Gāndhārī development. See also Turner 1966: 336 (§5892).

²¹ But note also *amedhye* on the same line.

nāthaḥ (MS 8a, r4), *śītila* = *śīthila-* (MS 12a, Aa), *simga^m* = *sim(g)haḥ* (MS 8a, r5), and also *dukaṃtam* if this corresponds to *duḥkhāntam* (MS 104, Ab).

In several cases, the same word contains two shifts in aspiration. Thus in *kriṣabhaṃdu* = *kṛṣṇabandhuḥ* (MS 8a, v2), *prathyartika* = *pratyardhika-* (HI 25, B1, B4), and *bhodayadara* = *bodhayitā* (MS 8a, r2), an unaspirated consonant is aspirated while a following aspirate is deaspirated, so that in effect the aspiration is anticipated in or thrown back to the preceding syllable. *Bhramaṇa* = *brāhmaṇaḥ* (MS 8a, r3) can be understood as a similar phenomenon.

Finally, in at least two cases, we find etymologically unmotivated shifts in both aspiration and voicing simultaneously affecting the same phoneme: *ata* = *andham* (MS 9a, B1; HI 25, A4) and *tadhra* = *tatra* (HI 25, B2). This is probably also the case in *dhruvalabha* = *durālāpāḥ* (?) (MS 9a, B4).

Variation between aspirated and nonaspirated consonants, especially the change of *d* to *dh*, is widely attested in other Kharoṣṭhī documents, both inscriptions and manuscripts (Salomon 1999: 127–8). But in most of the documents the phenomenon is sporadic and less frequent than in the fragments presented here, although there is at least one inscription (Salomon 1999: 128) in which nearly all of the consonants are represented as aspirated. In general, it is difficult to be sure whether such features should be understood to represent a weakening of the aspirate/nonaspirate distinction within the Gāndhārī language itself, or whether they indicate that the scribes concerned were native speakers of languages other than Gāndhārī, presumably Iranian or other non-Indic languages, which made it difficult for them to correctly perceive Indo-Aryan phonological distinctions. In the case of the fragments under discussion here at least, the particular frequency of the alternations in aspiration, along with peculiarities in the treatment of voiced/unvoiced distinctions, make one suspect that the scribe was a non-Indian for whom Gāndhārī was a second language rather than a native tongue.

The overall contrast between the later semi-Sanskritized Gāndhārī and the more vernacular Gāndhārī of the earlier period can be illustrated by the following comparison of a passage from our text (MS 9a, B1) with its parallels in the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* from Khotan (282ab; Brough 1962: 164) and in the Pali canon (*Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV 96, 22):

| | |
|----------|---|
| Schøyen: | <i>krudo arta na janadi kruda dharma na paṣyadi</i> |
| Khotan | <i>Dharmapada: kudhu atha na jaṇadi kudhu dhamu na paśadi</i> ²² |
| Pali: | <i>kuddho atthaṃ na jānāti kuddho dhammaṃ na passati.</i> |

This passage illustrates several of the peculiarities of the phonology of our text vis-à-vis earlier Gāndhārī. The change in aspiration is illustrated by *kruda/krudo* vs. *kudhu*²³ and *arta* vs. *atha*. The retention of preconsonantal *r* in *arta* and *dharma* in contrast to *atha* and *dhamu* in the *Dharmapada* is in part reflective of the typically Sanskritic spellings of our text, although this

²² Another Gāndhārī version of this verse is partially quoted in the unpublished commentary text in British Library scroll 13, lines 42–3 (Baums 2009: 267, 509). For further discussion of this verse, see the notes in the text edition of MS 9a, B1.

²³ The *Dharmapada* spelling *kudhu* reflects the tendency to drop *r* after velars which seems to be a peculiarity of that text (Brough 1962: 102); this *r* is retained in *krodho* in British Library scroll 13, cited in the preceding note, as also in our text.

pattern can also be found in many other less Sanskritized Gāndhārī texts.²⁴ As noted above, *paṣyadi*, corresponding to normal Gāndhārī *paśadi* in the *Dharmapada*, is probably a hypersanskritic form.

4. Morphology

The morphology of the scribe 7 fragments is fairly typical of Gāndhārī texts in general, with the usual inconsistency in endings, especially the nominative singular of masculine and neuter stems in *a*. In this category, the most common inflexions are *a* and *o*. Sometimes the final syllables of such words have an *anusvāra*-like flourish at the bottom (*puruṣōṃ*, MS 12a, Bb; *siṃgaṃ*, MS 8a, r5), but this is probably to be dismissed as “pseudo-*anusvāra*,” that is, a graphic flourish or footmark rather than a phonetically meaningful sign (see section 2). In a few cases the nominative ending is *ā*, that is, *a* with two dots above, which apparently can correspond to Sanskrit visarga (section 2): *tranā* (MS 8a, r4), *doṣā*, (MS 9a, A1 [twice], A2, A3), *roṣā* (MS 9a, B3). The nominative singular in *-e* is definitely attested only in *bhayakare* (MS 9a, A2) and possibly also in *ede ... amedhye ... amede* (HI 25, A2), though the case and number here are not certain. There is also one doubtful case of the nominative singular in *u* in *[p.]ṣadu* (MS 9b, v4; see the text note for discussion).

As in many Gāndhārī texts, there is no consistent pattern of distribution among these alternative endings. However, at least in the large fragment MS 8a+8b+9b+10b there is a tendency for the ending *o* to be used with past participles whereas substantives typically end in *a*, as in sequences such as *krido me dharmaloka <•> garji[d]o me dharmagarja • vriṭho me dharmavriṭha •* (v1). This is reminiscent of the fairly consistent differentiation between the nominative endings of participles and substantives in the Gāndhārī Rhinoceros Sūtra (Salomon 2000: 94), but in the present case the distribution is not regular enough to permit any meaningful conclusion. Even in fragment 8a+8b+9b+10b there are several exceptions to the overall pattern (e.g., *asaṃtrasta*, r5; *kolo*, r4), and in the second largest fragment, MS 9a, the pattern does not hold at all (e.g., *carida*, A1, A2, A3, A4).

Here, as usual in Gāndhārī, the only logical, if unsatisfying conclusion is that the various nominative endings are little more than random spellings for an inflection which has been effectively reduced in the spoken language to an unstressed neutral vowel (Fussman 1989: 460–1). This neutralization of nominative inflections seems to extend in our text even to feminine forms with original long vowel endings, as indicated by *prahino* (MS 8a, r1) modifying the feminine *triṣa* = Skt *trīṣṇā*. Sporadic examples of feminines in *-o* have also been found in other Gāndhārī texts (Salomon 2000: 80, 98; Glass 2007: 127). These forms suggest that long as well as short final vowels were subject to phonetic weakening and consequent neutralization.

²⁴ British Library scroll 13 has *artho* with preconsontal *r* retained, but *dhamo* without it. Compare also the different reflexes of original *rt(h)* in two different Gāndhārī texts described in Salomon 2000: 90 and Salomon 2008: 122.

5. Metre

In a few cases, the surviving parts of verses—sometimes as much as more than half of a complete verse—are sufficient to permit identification of their metres. This is the case especially in the relatively well-preserved fragment MS 9a, which consists mostly²⁵ of verses in more or less standard metres. Lines A1, A2, and B1 of this fragment contain parts of eight-syllable Śloka verses. The verse which is partially preserved in B1 (*krudo arta na janadi kruda dharma na paṣyadi*, etc.), which has close parallels elsewhere in Gāndhārī and in Pali (cited above in section 3), scans as a normal Śloka line, with the odd and even *pāda* cadences ∪ - - ∪ and ∪ ∪ - ∪ respectively. The verses on lines A1 and A2 are clearly grouped into eight-syllable units, but do not seem to scan as regular Śloka *pādas*,²⁶ for instance, A1 *dukhasaṃvaso ca doṣā* with the cadence - ∪ - - and A2, *carida mahasaṃvasya* with - - - ∪ (*ma-vipulā* ?). In some of the smaller pieces the metre of fragmentary verses can be identified by reference to parallel texts, as in MS 14, B3, which preserves part of an (irregular²⁷) Śloka verse, *apramata na mriya(*t)[i/e]*, with direct parallels in Gāndhārī, Pali and Sanskrit.

Similarly, in MS 118, Bb a fragment of an eleven-syllable triṣṭubh line, (**para*)*dara sevati*, can be identified from the Gāndhārī, Pali and Sanskrit parallels (see the text notes there). Other triṣṭubh verses appear in MS 9a, B2, *na pa^mṣyade karyavid=anuyukta*, where the scheme is close to the standard Pali Triṣṭubh (∪-∪-∪-∪-∪-∪-∪-), and in MS 9a, A3, *[d](*o)ṣā carido saṃgrām=a-bhiprayo • vihisam^mbahulo ca doṣā cari(*do)*, with a less typical scheme.

Finally, the verse which is partially preserved in MS 9a, B3, */// [tr]idhiyaṣa puruṣā^msaviṣkri-da vikriya • roṣā [re]na ta[m. m.l.] ///*, scans, with the necessary allowances for Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī orthography and phonology,²⁸ as a regular Śārdūlavikrīḍita, following the scheme ... *[sa] ja sa ta ta ga / ma sa [ja]* ... The verse whose first seven syllables (*roṣa nama vi[g]a[d.]*) are preserved at the end of MS 9a, B2, may also have been in Śārdūlavikrīḍita.²⁹

6. Text edition

The following editorial conventions are used in this text edition:

Square brackets indicate a syllable or portion thereof which is incomplete, unclear, or whose reading is otherwise uncertain.

Possible alternative readings for uncertain items within square brackets are indicated by virgule (“forward slash”). Often, this involves *ś* and *y* (e.g., *[y./ś.]*), which are virtually identical in our scribe’s hand and can only be distinguished by the context.

? indicates a syllable which is to some degree visible but which is not entirely legible.

²⁵ The last lines (A4 and B4) on each side of this fragment appear to be in prose; see the notes in the text edition below.

²⁶ On the special problems of scanning and interpreting Gāndhārī metre, see Salomon 2008: 164–72 and 349–51.

²⁷ Here, as is so often the case, the irregular cadence - ∪ - - (Gāndhārī *apramata na mriya(t)[i/e]* / Sanskrit *apramattā na mriyante*; see the text notes on MS 14) results from phonetic changes due to translation from an underlying midland MIA dialect; here, as usual in such cases, the metre of the Pali version (*appamattā na mīyanti*) is normal (∪ - - ∪). For the application of this phenomenon to Gāndhārī metre, see Salomon 2008: 171–2.

²⁸ See Salomon 2008: 164–6.

²⁹ As noted above (section 2), no metrical scheme has been identified for lines A4 and B4 of MS 9a, and they therefore seem to be in prose, unlike the rest of the fragment.

Parentheses indicate a syllable or portion thereof which is entirely lost but which can be securely reconstructed.

+ indicates a lost syllable for which no likely reconstruction can be provided.

/// marks the beginning or end of an incomplete line.

Translations are presented, as far as possible, for those fragments or portions thereof which preserve relatively large amounts of text, typically more than one complete word per line. Fragments smaller than this are generally left untranslated.

In most cases, the assignment of sides of the fragments as “A” and “B” is arbitrary, since due to their very fragmentary condition it cannot be determined which side was the recto and which the verso. In the case of the relatively well-preserved Schøyen fragment 8a+8b+9b+10b, however, the recto and verso are assigned with reasonable confidence on textual grounds (see the note on MS 8a+8b+9b+10b, v5).

Lines are designated by numbers from one to four or five (see section 1) only when the original top and bottom edge of the fragment is preserved so that the complete number of lines on the original folio is known or at least probable. Otherwise, the lines are denoted by letters (A–D) to indicate that their actual position on the complete folio cannot be determined.

1–4) MS 2179/8a+8b+9b+10b

- r1 /// ^{8a} • jahido me vipulasamoastigaraji • pariñodo me dukha • prahino me tri a • sa^mkhkṣigrīdo me nir[o](^{*}dha •) |^{9b} [bha]vido [me] marga • |^{10b} adiga[do] ///
- r2 ... (^{*}catva) /// ^{8a}ra veśaradhyaṇi • upadarśido me trirdhi pra[da]harya • budha smi bho-dayadara • jida smi jidadhara • a[ra]|^{9b}[ha] smi asaradacita • aca///(^{*}rya) ...
- r3 /// ^{8a}kileśa • śramana smi śamidapapadharma • bhrahmaṇa smi vahidapapadharma • muni smi munayaprapta • atāga|^{9b}smi nirmala • |^{9b+8b}śudha [smi] + + [.i/e] ///
- r4 /// ^{8a}[u/vu/rv.]vadena • kolo smi uhyamaṇa • tarpayadhara smi pivasidaṇa • nado smi upa-dhrudaṇa • tranā smi bhaya + [dhi]|^{9b}[dana] <^{*}•> [śa]rana smi|^{8b}aśaranana /// (^{*}•)
- r5 /// ^{8a}laīda • siṃga^m smi asaṃtrasta •
- v1 ///^{8a}pra[v]yetrīdo me uktama giravaca • krido me dharmaloka <^{*}•> garji[d]o me dharmagarja • vriṭho me dharmavriṭha • ? /// + + (^{*}me dha)/// ^{9b}[rma]bhija • |^{8b}jado smi [dha]///(^{*}rma) ...
- v2 (^{*}taḍid) /// ^{8a}o me dharmabhera • utrasido me kriṣabhaṃdu • jido me papi[m]e • abhibhudo me maraseṇa • uśrevido me dharmadhva[j]|^{9b}a • parigra|^{8b}hido me ? ///
- v3 /// ^{8a}ṇa • alakrido me śilalakara • vivrido me dharmadhvara • praviṭha smi dharmanagara • nirdhavidho me grāmaka[t.]|^{9b}[ka] • stavido me [smri]di[k./dh. r.] ///
- v4 /// ^{8a}? smi dharmapalyaka • pihido me dhvara durgadiya • aparudo me amridadhvara • utarido me śrava[g.]|^{9b}[p.]śadu • udhrida [t.]|^{10b}lapradi ? ///
- v5 /// ^{8a}t[i]rna hu paragada stalapradistida iti bhavadi cadra ⇐ tradara lokaṣa
- r1 “... I have left behind the kingdom of the desirous, with their vast delusions [?]. I have fully comprehended suffering. I have abandoned desire. I have directly witnessed cessation. I have developed the path. I have passed beyond . . .

- 2 ... the (fo)ur confidences. I have demonstrated miracle(s) in three ways. I am the enlightened [and] the enlightener. I am the victorious conqueror. I am an arhat whose mind is freed of passions ... teacher ...
- 3 ... defilements. I am a monk who has suppressed all evil qualities. I am a brahman who has removed all evil qualities. I am a sage who has achieved perfection. I am passionless [?] and spotless. I am pure ...
- 4 ... ?? I am the raft for those who are being swept away. I am the satisfier the thirsty. I am the savior of the afflicted. I am the protection of the terrified. I am the refuge for those who have no refuge ...
- 5 ... ?? I am the fearless lion.
- v1 ... I have pronounced [?] the supreme words. I have created the light of the Dharma. I have roared the roar of the Dharma. I have rained the rain of the Dharma. I have (planted) the seed of the Dharma. I am born as ... of the Dharma ...
- 2 ... I have (beaten) the drum of the Dharma. I have frightened the Friend of Darkness. I have conquered the Evil One. I have overcome Māra's army. I have raised the flag of the Dharma. I have accepted ...
- 3 ... I have ornamented the ornament of virtue. I have opened the door of the Dharma. I have entered the city of the Dharma. I have driven out the village bandit. I have established ... of mindfulness ...
- 4 ... I am ... the guardian of the Dharma. I have closed the door to bad birth. I have opened the door to immortality. I have rescued the (community of my) disciples. I have raised up ... the surface ...
- 5 ... I have crossed over, reached the other shore, firm on dry land." Thus he is, O Candra, the savior of the world.

Notes

General comments: The four fragments MS 2179/8a+8b+9b+10b belong to the same original folio and can be reassembled as shown in Plate XL. The text on this composite fragment consists of a long series of statements of the achievements of, presumably, a Buddha, spoken by him in the first person. Similar passages, including in many cases direct parallels for several of the individual phrases though not for the text as a whole, can be found in various Mahāyāna sūtras preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation, for example in T. 390, 1112c10–22, *Fó lín nièpán jì fǎ zhù jīng* 佛臨涅槃記法住經, "Prophecy [*vyākaraṇa*] of the duration of the Dharma by the Buddha as he was about to enter Nirvāṇa."³⁰ Another fairly close parallel is found in T. 466, 487a11–16, *Fó shuō xiàng tóu jīngshè jīng* 佛說象頭精舍經 "Elephant-head Vihāra Sūtra" = '*Phags pa Gayā mgo'i ri zes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* / *Ārya-Gayāśirṣa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*, Derge Mdo sde Ca, 285a4–7 (see appendix 2-b), and a slightly less close one in T. 380, 945b10–23, *Dà bēi jīng* 大悲經 "Great Compassion Sūtra" = '*Phags pa sñin rje chen po'i pad ma dkar po zes bya ba theg pa chen*

³⁰ The full text of the relevant portion of this text is provided in appendix 2a. For comments on T. 390, see Nattier 1991: 43 n. 40 ("the smaller *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*") and Lamotte 1988: 194–5 ("a short Mahāyānist *Mahāparinirvāṇa*").

po'i mdo / *Ārya-Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*, Derge Mdo sde Cha 56a2–b3 (appendix 2–c).

In T. 380 (945b10, 吾今後夜當般涅槃 “Tonight in the latter watch, I will attain parinirvāṇa” ≈ Tib. 56a2–3 *kun dga' bo de bzin gsegs pa do mod kyi nam gyi thun tha ma la yoṅs su mya ṅan las 'da' bas*) and T. 390 (p. 1112c3 時薄伽梵臨般涅槃, “At that time the Bhagavan was about to attain parinirvāṇa”), these words are spoken by the Buddha to Ānanda just before his death, but in T. 466, the Buddha thinks them to himself just after his enlightenment (487a7 如來成佛未久 “The Tathāgata had recently become a Buddha”/489c28 爾時世尊得成正覺其日未久 “At that time, not long after the Bhagavan had attained perfect enlightenment” = Tib. 285a2 *bcom ldan 'das mñon par rdzogs par saṅs rgyas nas yun rin po ma len par*).

The many other passages in various texts which resemble the ones quoted above typically appear in connection with the same two critical junctures in the Buddha’s career, namely the enlightenment or the parinirvāṇa. Several of the individual phrases contained in them, such as “I have blown the conch of the Dharma” and “I have beaten the drum of the Dharma,” have become virtually proverbial and appear in a vast number of texts. In this capacity these and other similar passages or phrase units are applied in later texts not only to the Buddha but also to bodhisattvas and other persons, as for instance in T. 720 *Wú míng luóchà jí* 無明羅刹集 “Book of the Rākṣasa of Ignorance,” 850a27–b7 (appendix 2d), T. 310 *Dà bǎo jī jīng* 大寶積經, “Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra,” 92a6–8, or T. 360 *Fó shuō wúliàng shòu jīng* 佛說無量壽經 “Infinite Life Sūtra,” 266a13–19.³¹

Although this trope is abundantly attested in Mahāyāna texts, it is not limited to them. For example, the *Milinda-pañha* (p. 21.28–22.3) has a similar description of the monk Nāgasena, *upadisanto dhammamaggaṃ, dhārento dhammappajjotaṃ, ussāpento dhammayūpaṃ, yajanto dhammayāgaṃ, paggaṇhāpento dhammaddhajaṃ, ussāpento dhammaketuṃ, uppalāsento dhammasaṅkhaṃ, āhananto dhammabheriṃ, nadanto sīhanādaṃ, gajjanto indagajjitaṃ, madhuragira-gajjitena ṇāṇavaravijjūjālāpariveḥhitena karuṇājalabharitena mahatā dhammāmatameghena sakalalokam abhitappayanto*, which parallels the themes (see the notes below on line v1) and to some extent the specific wording of our text. In light of this, it might be safer to conclude that this trope is characteristic of what might be broadly characterized as “later” Buddhist literature (as opposed to “earlier,” that is, Mainstream canonical literature), rather than of Mahāyāna literature.³² Thus, with regard to the problem of the identification of the text represented in this and the other scribe 7 fragments, a Mahāyāna sūtra is a likely candidate, but by no means the only possibility.

It would be impractical and unproductive to cite every parallel for the individual phrases discussed in the notes below, especially for ubiquitous phrases such as “I have beaten the drum of the Dharma.” Therefore only representative examples are presented, chosen especially from the texts cited above and presented in appendix 2 which have extensive parallels, or from other sources when the phrases in question are not represented in those texts, or when the other sources provide particularly close parallels.

r1. *vipulasamoastigaraji*: This seems to correspond to Skt *vipula-saṃmoha+arthika-rājyam*, which I have provisionally translated as “the kingdom of the desirous, with their vast delusions.”

³¹ Compare also the note on *jido me papi[m]e* in line v2.

³² Note also the parallels with the *Apadāna*, which is from the latest stratum of Pali canonical literature, pointed out in the note on *[śa]rana smi*^{8B} *aśaranana* (•) in line r4.

For *samoā* as equivalent to Skt *saṃmoha*, see the discussion of the elision of intervocalic *h* in Salomon 2008: 117. *Astika* as a possible Gāndhārī equivalent for Sanskrit *arthika* is proposed by analogy with the forms *prastae* and *pra[st](e)[ṣi]* in the British Library *Anavatapta-gāthā* manuscript corresponding to BSkt *prārthayi/P patthesiṃ* (Salomon 2008: 122). These seem to establish an alternation in Gāndhārī between *st* and *rth*, which is also attested by similar variations in some Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts (Salomon 2008: 190–1). If this is correct, *astika* here would correspond to Pali *atthika*¹ defined in CPD (s.v.) as “wanting, being in want; desirous, liking to have,” etc.

Raji is most likely equivalent to Skt *rājyam*, with palatalization of a following vowel under the influence of a preceding palatal consonant: *rājya* > *raj(j)i*. Alternatively, *raji* could be a contracted form developing out of a hypothetical intermediate stem with epenthesis: *rājyam* > **rājiyam* > *raji*, with contraction of word final *-iya* to *-i*, well attested for Gāndhārī, for instance in *darśani* = Skt *darśanīyaḥ* (Salomon 2008: 128–9). But G *raji* might also be taken to correspond to Skt *rāji* “series, group” (perhaps merely as a pluralizing suffix), since in the Sanskrit orthography of this text original intervocalic palatals are generally preserved rather than represented as *y* as usual in Gāndhārī (see section 3). However, this word seems stylistically inappropriate, and for this reason I have preferred to take *raji* as the equivalent of *rājya-*, which fits the context better, although this too is by no means certain since the phonetic developments are still somewhat unusual.

All in all, this phrase, which happens to be both the first surviving one and the most difficult one in this fragment, remains uncertain, and I have not been able to identify any parallels for it.

r1. *pariṇodo me dukha • prahino me triṣa • sa^mkhkṣigrīdo me nir[o](dha •) |^{9b} [bha]vido [me] marga •*: This sequence refers to the Buddha’s realization of the four noble truths.

Pariṇodo for expected *pariṇado* = Skt *parijñātam* is an instance of *o* for *ā*, by now a fairly well-attested variation in Gāndhārī; see Salomon 2000: 80 (§6.1.3) and Allon 2001: 75 (§5.1.5).

prahino me triṣa: Compare T. 467, 490a3, 已盡渴愛 “I have exhausted craving” and T. 466, 487a14, 盡諸渴愛 “I have exhausted all cravings” = Tib. 285a6 *bdag gi sred pa ni zad*.

sa^mkhkṣigrīdo is equivalent to Skt *sāḥṣīkṛtam*, with the special conjunct character *khkṣ* for Skt *kṣ* as elsewhere in this text (see section 2). Compare T. 720, 850b2, 證寂滅者 “one who has realized cessation.”

[bha]vido [me] marga: Cf. DN 3.284, 8–9, *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo bhāvito hoti subhāvito*; also AN 4.225, 8–9, etc.

r2. *(catva)///^{8a}ra veśaradhyani* = Skt *catvāri vaiśāradhyāni*. A possible further reconstruction might be *(praptani me catva)ra veśaradhyani*; compare Pali *vesārajappatta-* (e.g., MN 1.72, 14). Before this may have come something like *prapta me daśa bala*; compare T. 720, 850b1, 成就十力四無所畏 “achieved the ten powers and the four confidences.”

r2. *upadarśido me trirdhi pra[da]harya*: The *da* in the last word is blurred and appears to have been corrected or altered; perhaps this is somehow related to the absence of the expected *i* diacritic in the equivalent of Skt *prātihārya-*. *Upadarśido* and *pra[da]harya* are evidently to be construed as singular, in contrast to the plural *veśaradhyani* in the preceding phrase. The sense seems to be, literally, “miraculous (action) has been demonstrated by me in three ways.”

The second *-r-* in *trirdhi* = Skt *tridhā* “in three ways” is etymologically unmotivated, and is probably an instance of the characteristic Gāndhārī phenomenon of “intrusive *r*,” manifested in “a tendency for postconsonantal *r* to develop with the voiced dental stops” (Allon 2001: 98; see also Salomon 2008: 129). Alternatively, or perhaps rather additionally, the spelling *trirdhi* might have been influenced by *rdhi*, the Gāndhārī equivalent of Skt *ṛddhi* (Salomon, *ibid.*), which often occurs with the word *prātihārya*, *ṛddhi-prātihārya* being the first of the three kinds of *prātihārya*.

r2. *budha smi bhodayadara*: *bhodayadara* is presumably equivalent to Skt *bodhayitā* (agent noun of the causative of √*budh*), with anticipation or metathesis of aspiration (see section 3). For the etymological figure, compare the following note, and also the three further examples in line r3.

r2. *jida smi jidadhara*: Superficially this phrase seems to be a pseudo-etymological statement with a structure parallel to the preceding *budha smi bhodayadara*. In that case, *jidadhara* would have to be an agent noun parallel to *bhodayadara*, as well as to *tarpayadhara* in r4. If so, we would have to postulate the phrase as the equivalent of *jetāsmi jetayitā* or the like, but this hardly seems idiomatic, and the absence of a causative stem formant in *jidadhara* parallel to that in *bhodayadara* and *tarpayadhara* casts further doubt on this interpretation. Alternatively, then, we could understand *jidadhara* as equivalent to **jita-dhara*, literally “victory-bearer” (i.e., “victorious”), with *jida-/jita-* functioning as a nominalized past participle equivalent to *jaya* “victory.”

I have provisionally adopted the latter interpretation in the translation above (“victorious conqueror”). In reality, however, we should perhaps not assume a precise etymological structure of the sort which would be expected in formal Sanskrit *kāvya*. Here and in similar poetic texts in later Gāndhārī literature, the composers seem to have been satisfied with appealing sound effects and structural parallels whose precise etymological and grammatical sense may be vague and imprecise—perhaps even intentionally so. In light of this, would it be too much to suggest that the ambiguity presented by *jidadhara*, which could be either an agent noun or a tatpuruṣa compound, intentionally plays on the looseness of Gāndhārī orthography, particularly in this text where the agent noun suffix (= Skt *-tr*) may be spelled with *-dara* or *-dhara* (in *bhodayadara* and *tarpayadhara* respectively)?³³

r2. *asaradacita*: *asarada-* would seem to correspond to P *asāraddha-*, “not (nervously) excited” (CPD, s.v.), with deaspiration of original *dh*, as often in this text (section 3). This word appears in P most commonly in the cliché phrase *passaddho kāyo asāraddho, samāhitam cittam ekaggam* (e.g., SN 4.125, 18–9), but it also occurs directly with *citta-*, as in our text, in Dhammapāla’s commentary on the *Udāna* (p. 321, 5–6), *kāyam cittam ca asāraddham katvā*.

r3. *aca///(rya)*: Perhaps to be further reconstructed as *aca(rya smi anacarya)* or the like; see SWTF s.v. *ācārya*, citing, e.g., *Lalitavistara* I 405, *ācāryo na hi me kaścīt* and *Mahāvastu* III.326, 11, *na me ācāryo asti kaścīt*.

r3. *///^{8b}kileśa*: Perhaps to be reconstructed as *(vigata)kileśa* or *(prahina)kileśa*.

r3. *śramana smi śamidapapadharma*: Compare DhP-P 265cd, *samitattā hi pāpānaṃ samaṇo ti pavuccati*, “He is called ‘ascetic’ (*samaṇo*) because he has calmed (*samita-*) evils.” But here in Gāndhārī, as also in the corresponding Sanskrit version of this verse in Uv (XI.14), the supposed

³³ On such scribal games in Gāndhārī, compare Brough’s comments (1962: 65) on DhP-G^k: “there are numerous examples to show that the scribe of our manuscripts took especial pleasure in using alternative possible spellings.”

etymological connection between the equivalents of Pali *samaṇa* and *samita-* is disturbed by the dialectal preservation, or rather restoration in the Gāndhārī (and Sanskrit) translation of the post-consonantal *r* of the root *śram* (rather than $\sqrt{\text{śam}}$) which, historically speaking, actually underlies *śramaṇa* (see Norman 1997: 125). The fancied etymology only works in, and thus must stem from, midland MIA dialects like Pali, but it is freely carried over by force of tradition into translations in other languages, despite the inconsistency. As was discussed above in the note on *jida smi jida-dhara*, the composers and/or translators of this class of Buddhist literature were not overly concerned with the technical niceties of morphology and etymology.

r3. *bhrahmaṇa smi vahidapapadharma*: Here too the etymological point, namely the fancied derivation of *brāhmaṇa* from the participle *bāhita-*, is obscured by dialect features acquired in translation from a hypothetical underlying MIA dialect. But in this case, as noted by Norman (1997: 155) in his comment on DhP-P 388a, *bāhitapāpo ti brāhmaṇo*, this applies even in Pali, as well to the Sanskrit and Gāndhārī texts. See also Brough's notes (1962: 178, 183) on related verses in the DhP-G^K.

r3. *munayaprapta*: *Munaya-* here is presumably the equivalent of Pali *moneyya* "state of a muni, muni-hood; good character, moral perfection" (PTSD, s.v.). This word brings to mind *Munayastava*, the title of a Sanskrit stotra preserved in Central Asian manuscripts. Its editor (Schlingloff 1955: 5) proposed that "[d]er Name bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf das erste Wort des Werkes: *munaye* 'Dem Muni.'" But the attestation now of the identical form *munaya* in Sanskritized Gāndhārī suggests that the (Buddhist) Sanskrit term should perhaps also be taken in the sense of "muni-hood."³⁴

Note the (re-)sanskritized spelling of *-prapta*, typical of this text as of later Gāndhārī generally; earlier Gāndhārī would have *prata* (see section 3).

r3. *atāga*: Here the two dots above the second syllable presumably indicate the long vowel, as occasionally elsewhere in this manuscript (see section 2). But I am unable to explain the meaning of a word *atāga*, and can only propose that the *t* was written in error for the similarly shaped consonant *r*, so that the intended reading was *arāga* = Skt *arāgaḥ*, which is reasonably appropriate to the context (*atāga smi nirmala*). Though *arāga-* is rare in Pali, it does occur several times in MN (I.25, 33ff.; see CPD, s.v.), and I have translated accordingly, though without too much confidence.

r4. /// ^{8a}[u/vu/rv.]*vadena*: To judge by the two following phrases, this is probably a past participle in the genitive plural, with the anomalous ending *-ena* = Skt *-ānām* as also in *uhyamane-ṇa* in the following phrase, instead of normal *-aṇa* as in *pivasidaṇa* in the one after that. It is difficult to explain the phonetic factors underlying the genitive plural in *-ena*, but in light of the context there can be little doubt as to its interpretation.

The syllable *de* is represented here with the special ligature for this syllable (ॡ) which is

³⁴ It is true that the last verse (23) of this stotra (Schlingloff 1955: 88) refers to the "fourth case" (i.e., dative) forms employed in the poem (*caturthyā yad vibhaktiā me stutvā stutiśataiḥ tu*), with the hope that the merit accrued thereby would lead beings to an understanding of the four noble truths (*puṇyaṃ tad astu sattvānāṃ catuḥsatyārthabuddhaye*), so that it could be argued that the title *Munayastava* should, as proposed by Schlingloff, allude to the first word of the poem, *munaye*, in the dative. But if this were so, the author presumably would have used the actual dative form for his title, that is, **Munayestava*, and for this reason I prefer to understand *munaya-* as a normal stem form (in compound) of the hitherto unattested Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent of Gāndhārī *munaya*/Pali *moneyya*.

found in the Niya documents (Glass 2000: 79) and other Kharoṣṭhī texts.

r4. *kolo smi uhyamanēṇa*: = Skt *kolo 'smy uhyamānānām*. Compare T. 390, 1112c13–14, 為大法船。濟渡一切暴流所溺, “I served as a great Dharma-boat and brought across all [beings] who were being drowned in the flood.”

r4. *tarpayadhara smi pivasidaṇa*: = Skt *tarpayitāsmi pipāsītānām*. Compare T. 390, 1112c15, 一切枯槁皆令潤洽, “All the withered [beings], I have moistened them.” For *tarpayadhara* = Skt *tarpayitā*, see the note above on *jida smi jidadhara* (r2).

r4. *nado smi upadhrudaṇa*: = Skt *nātho 'smy upadrutānām*. Note the non-etymological deaspiration in *nado* and aspiration in *upadhrudaṇa* (see section 3).

r4. *tranā smi bhaya + [dhi]^{9b}[dana]*: A reasonably likely reconstruction for the last word is *bhaya(ba)dhidana*, in which case the whole phrase would correspond to Skt *trāṇo 'smy bhaya-bādhītānām*. Only the top of the consonant in the fourth syllable of the last word is preserved, but it is consistent with the shape of the proposed *dh*.

r4. *[śa]rana smi^{8b} aśaranaṇa* = Skt *śaraṇam asmy aśaraṇānām*. The sequence of four phrases ending here is strikingly similar in general sense and to some extent also in wording to the following verse from the *Apadāna* (p. 323, 22–3, v. 11): *patiṭṭhā vuyhataṃ oghe tvaṃ hi nātho abandhanam / bhayāṭṭitānaṃ saraṇo muttitthīnaṃ parāyano*.

r5. *///^{8a}laīda*: Probably to be reconstructed as *(apa)laīda* = Skt *apalāyitaḥ*, and further, perhaps, as *(bhaḍa smi apa)laīda* “I am the soldier who does not flee.”

r5. *siṃga^m smi asaṃtrasta* = Skt *siṃho 'smy asaṃtrastaḥ*.

v1. This entire line seems to involve an extended metaphor of a cloud; compare the description of Nāgasena in *Milinda-pañha* p. 22, 1–3: *madhuragiragajjītena ṇāṇavaravijjūjālapari-veṭhitena karuṇājalabharitena mahatā dhammāmatameghena sakalalokam abhitappayanto*.

v1. *///^{8a}pra[v]yetrīdo me uktama giravaca*: The second syllable of the first word has the subscript *y* of the second type described above in section 2. The consonant to which this subscript is attached is apparently *v*; it seems to have a bend in the vertical stem which is not normal for this letter, but this is evidently the upper part of the subscript *y* rather than part of the base consonant. The upper consonant might also be read as *dh*, but this is probably not correct, as it does not have the same shape as *dh* elsewhere in the fragments concerned. (A similar akṣara also occurs in MS 9c, Aa, but the context is indistinct in that small fragment.) From the context here, one would expect the verb to be the equivalent of Skt *pravyāhṛta*- “uttered, pronounced”; cf. BHSD s.v. *pravyāhāra*, citing *pravyāhāraṃ vācā* in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 160.21 (PW 7.1531a also cites *vācaṃ pravyāharantī* from *Mahābhārata*), but this is difficult to reconcile with the actual reading *pra[v]yetrīdo*. It is tempting to suggest that the scribe mistook a *hi* in his archetype for the somewhat similar letter *tri*, but even so, the unexpected *e* vowel in the second syllable of this word remains unexplained, unless it too is to be dismissed as an error. Still, despite these uncertainties, I think that we probably are dealing with some form or variant of the verb *pra-vy-ā + √hr̥* “utter, speak.”

On *uktama*, see section 3.

An alternative translation for the entire phrase would be “I have spoken words with [my] supreme voice,” dividing the words as *uktama-gira* [instr.] *vaca* instead of *uktama giravaca*. But a

direct equivalent of the Skt instrumental *girā* would not be expected in Gāndhārī, even this Sanskritized variety.

v1. *krido me dharmaloka* <•> *garji[d]o me dharmagarja* • *vriṭho me dharmavriṭha* •: Compare, respectively, T. 390, 1112c12 然大法炬, “I have lighted the great Dharma-torch,” 1112c19, 正師子吼, “I roared the true lion’s roar,” and 1112c14, 降大法雨 “I have poured the great Dharma-rain.”

v1. ? /// + + (*me dha*)///^{9b}[*rma*]bhija: Perhaps to be further reconstructed as (*orovido* [= Skt *avaropitaṃ* “planted”] *me dha*)*rmabhija*.

v1. *jado smi [dha]///(rma)* ... : Perhaps to be further reconstructed as *jado smi [dha](rma-vrikṣa)*, “I was born as the Dharma-tree,” or the like.

v2. (*taḍid*)///^{8b}*o me dharmabhera*: Compare, e.g., *Lalitavistara* 406.13, *śabdahīnasya lokasya tāḍayiṣye* ‘*mṛtadundubhiṃ*, and T. 390, 1112c10–11, 擊大法鼓, “I have beaten the great Dharma-drum.”

This phrase was probably preceded by something like **prādhmado me dharmasamkha*; compare, e.g., T. 390, 1112c10, 我已為諸天人吹大法蠡 “For gods and humans I have blown the great Dharma-conch,” and T. 310, 92a6, 吹法螺 “They [the bodhisattvas 菩薩, 92a4] (will) blow the Dharma-conch.”

v2. *utrasido me kriṣabhaṃdu* = *utrāsito me kṛṣṇabandhuḥ*. *Kṛṣṇabandhu-* is a well-attested epithet of Māra (see BHSD s.v. *kṛṣṇa* [2]), but the spelling here as *kriṣabhaṃdu* is peculiar. Elsewhere *ṣ*, that is, dental *sa* with a horizontal line above, is the equivalent of Sanskrit *śn* (Salomon 2000: 78; Allon and Salomon 2001: 260, 267), whereas *ṣ̄* (*ṣ* with line above) corresponds to *ṣṇ* (Salomon 2000: 78), as in *triṣa* = *trṣṇā* in line r1 of this fragment. Normally the distinction between *s* and *ṣ* is retained in Gāndhārī as it was in Sanskrit, but this seems to be one of several sporadic exceptions to this general rule, perhaps attributable in this case to an incorrect Sanskritization.

Bhaṃdu for *bandhu* is yet another instance of confusion of aspirates in our text, which in this case could be understood as either anticipation or metathesis of aspiration; compare the note on *bhodayadara* = *bodhayitā* in r2, and the discussion in section 3.

Compare T. 310, 92a9–10, 驚怖波旬, “They [the bodhisattvas 菩薩, 92a4] (will) frighten the Evil One.”

v2. *jido me papi[m]e*: Compare T. 268, 283c1, 已能降伏惡魔波旬 “He [the person who would receive, read, write, worship, or explain this sūtra; 283b28–29] would be able to conquer wicked Māra, the Evil One.”

v2. *abhibhudo me maraseṇa*: Compare T. 390, 1112c19, 我已破壞一切魔軍, “I have destroyed all of Māra’s army.”

v2. *uśrevido me dharmadhva[ji]^{9b}a*: Compare *Lalitavistara* 351.7, *ucchrepito dharmadhva-ja[h]*, *Milinda-pañha* p. 328, 14, *ussāpito dhammaddhajo*, and T. 390, 1112c11–12, 我已為諸天人建大法幢, “For gods and humans I have raised the great-Dharma banner.”

The correspondence of the past participle *uśrevido* with BHS *ucchrepita*-/Pali *ussāpita*- in the parallel texts cited above indicates that in Gāndhārī, as in Pali (but not in BHS), the prefix *ut*- was assimilated to the initial sibilant of the following verb (von Hinüber 2001: 185, §237). But

with regard to the unusual treatment of the root vowel, the Gāndhārī agrees with the BHS form rather than the Pali. The vowel *e* is explained by Edgerton (BHSg: 195, §38.65) as a blend with an alternative stem **ucchreti*, corresponding to Skt *ucchrayati*.

v2. *parigra*^{8b}*hido me ?* ///: *Lalitavistara* 351.10 has *parigrhīto* 'niyatarāśir, but this doesn't seem to fit the context here. T. 310, 92a7 has 攝受正法, "They [*scil.*, the bodhisattvas 菩薩, 92a4] (will) comprehend the true Dharma," suggesting a possible restoration *parigrahido me (sa-dharma)*.

v3. *alakrido me śilalakara = alaṃkrto me śīlālaṃkāraḥ*. I have not been able to locate any parallel for this expression, but *śītālaṃkārasaṃpanna* occurs twice in the *Śrāvakaḥūmi* with reference to a virtuous monk or nun.

v3. *vivrido me dharmadhvara = Skt vivṛtaṃ me dharmadvāraṃ*. Compare T. 360, 266a19, 開闡法門, "They [the bodhisattvas 眾菩薩, 265c17–18] (will) open the gate of the Dharma."

Here, as also in *dhvara durgatiya* and *amridadhvara* in v4 as well as in other fragments (see section 3), the equivalent of Skt *dvāra* is written with a non-etymological aspiration. Even in Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī documents where fluctuation in aspiration is not as frequent as in this one, *dh* often appears for *d*, especially in word-initial position, as here (Allon 2001: 68 [§4.8.1]; Salomon 2008: 107).

v3. *pravīṭha smi dharmanagara*: I have found no direct parallels for this phrase, but compare *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. P.L.Vaidya) 109.5–6, *mahāpunyakuśalādhyākṣāṇāṃ dharmanagara-vivaraṇatayā*.

v3. *nirdhavidō me grāmaka*[t.]^{9b}*[ka] = nirdhāvito me grāmakaṇṭakaḥ*. For *grāmakaṇṭaka*, cf. Uv XXXII.48b–53b *marditā grāmakaṇṭakāḥ* and XXXII.54a, *yena jītā grāmakaṇṭakā[h]*, and also possibly T. 466, 487a13 拔三毒刺 "I have pulled out the thorn of the three poisons" (= Tib. 285a5 *bdag gis zug rñu phyuñ*). Compare also P *gāmakūṭa* "the village-fraud, a sycophant" (PTSD, s.v.).

v3. *stavido me* [*smri*]*di*[k./dh. r.] ///: Perhaps to be reconstructed *smrididh(a)r(aka)* or the like.

v4. *dharmapalyaka*: As noted above (section 2), the subscript *y* under *l* is etymologically unmotivated and may be intended to indirectly indicate some variant pronunciation of the *l*.

v4. *pihido me dhvara durgadiya*: Compare T. 466, 487a15–16, 閉諸惡趣 開善道門 "I have closed off bad births; I have opened the gate to good births," and T. 467, 490a4, 已閉惡道 "I have closed off bad births" = Tib. 285a7 *bdag gis lam ñan pa ni bcad | bad gis lam ni yañ dag par bstan*.

v4. *aparudo me amridadhvara*: The expected reading for the verb would be *apavrudo* or *apabrudo* = Skt *apāvṛta-*, as in *Mahāvastu* III.317, 17, *apāvṛtaṃ te amṛtasya dvāraṃ*; compare also MN 1.227,11, *vivaṭaṃ amatadvāraṃ*, T. 268, 283c3, 開甘露門 "I have opened the gate of immortality," and also the related verses cited in Lamotte 1949: 58 n.1. However, the spelling *aparudo* is strange. Although in some Kharoṣṭhī hands the consonants *t*, *r*, and *b* can be confused (see, e.g., Lenz 2003: 120, §8.4.2.22), Schøyen scribe 7 writes *b* with a very distinctive long vertical extension of the top (as in, e.g., *bu*, l. r2), which is typical of later Kharoṣṭhī documents.

But it is still possible that in the hand of his archetype manuscript *b* had the older, more ambiguous type of *b*, which he misread and miscopied in the third syllable of this word as *r*.

In the second syllable of the same word, there seems to be a subscript *r* under the *pa*, but in fact this is probably an extension of the upper line of the “euro-sign” punctuation mark in the line below. Note that the lower line of that punctuation sign also has a similar extension consisting of a separate, slightly curved horizontal stroke.

v4. *utarido me śrava[g.]^{9b}[p.]śadu*: The penultimate akṣara of this sequence is indistinguishable from *ka*, as written, for example, in *kolo* (r4). In most cases, scribe 7 writes *śa* in a form that is similar to but distinct from *ka*, as for example in *thuṣo* in MS 9a, B4. But in some places he writes a letter which according to the context (as here) must be *ś*, but which is visually indistinguishable from *k*; compare, for example, *pareṣam*=*amithya* in MS 118, Aa. This is in keeping with a general pattern in later forms of Kharoṣṭhī in which *k* and *ś* tended to become similar or even completely identical (Glass 2000: 102).

[p.]śadu, presumably to be reconstructed as *p(a)śadu*, corresponds phonetically to Skt *parśad*/BHS *parśadā* (*Mahāvastu* I.29, 13), referring to the four Buddhist communities (*bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*), rather than to Pali *parisā* (e.g., *sāvaka-parisā*, AN IV.83, 20, 24). The ending in *u* is untypical of this text (see section 4), so that its interpretation is uncertain. The general context and the form of the accompanying participle, *utarido*, suggests that it is to be taken as nominative singular masculine or neuter, although the corresponding word in other languages is always feminine. But BHSG (p. 40, §6.15) cites *parśāś ca catvāra(h)* in *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* as an example of “Masc. modifier with fem. noun,” which suggests that the gender of this word was unstable. But in any case, these forms show how Sanskrit-based distinctions of grammatical gender become largely meaningless in Gāndhārī, and to some extent even in BHS.

v4. *udhrida [tam.] ? ?*: Expected after the participle *udhrida* would be either *me* or *spi*, but the following syllable cannot be either of these. I therefore cannot propose a reconstruction for this phrase, although we might expect it to refer to another of the Buddhist “communities,” following the śrāvakas referred to in the previous passage.

v5. *///^{8a} t[i]rna hu paragada stalapradistida idi bhavadi cadra € tradara lokaṣa*: It is on the basis of this phrase, which seems to constitute the closing narrative frame of the preceding first person narration on both sides of the fragment (see section 1), that this side of the fragment is presented here as the verso. Mainly on the basis of the context, *hu* is interpreted here as a contracted form, perhaps by way of sandhi with the preceding word, of *ahu* (Burrow 1937: 32) = Skt *aham* “I.” But it could also be one of the several Gāndhārī correspondents of Skt *khalu*/P *kho* (Glass 2007: 184; Salomon 2008: 109–10).

cadra €: This is tentatively taken as equivalent to Skt *candra* and interpreted as a proper name in the vocative. The position directly after it of the “euro-sign” punctuation sign, which typically marks a major section break in a text, is problematic, as we would have expected this to come at the very end of the line or after the quotative *iti*, whereas it is in fact followed by the phrase *tradara lokaṣa*. However, the flow of the text seems to require that we read the whole line as a single sentence, even though the peculiar position of the punctuation mark remains unex-

plained.

5) MS 2179/9a; A

- 1 /// [c](a) [•] doṣā carida dharuna • dukhasaṃvaso ca doṣā carida du[kha] ///
- 2 /// ? [da] bhayakare • bhayusahasa ca doṣā carida mahasaṃvasya • [kh.] ///
- 3 /// [c](a) [d](o)ṣā carida saṃgrāmaḥhiprayo • viḥisa^mbhahulo ca doṣā cari//(do)
- 4 /// bhahulo ca doṣa carida dhruvalabha •

B

- 1 /// [ca] • krudo arta na janadi kruda dharma na paṣyati • ata tada [t]//(amu)
- 2 /// ? [h.] ruvo • na pa^mṣyade karyavid=anuyukta 𑖦 roṣa nama vi[g]a[d.] ///
- 3 /// [tr]idhryaṣa puruṣā^mṣaviṣkrida vikriya • roṣā [re]na ta[m. m.l.] ///
- 4 /// ? [na]ṣa dasi yada a[sta]matra kariṣo tadamatra thuṣo bhavadi sa [t]e[n.] ///

- A1 ... terrible fault was practised. The fault of dwelling together in suffering, which ... suffering, was practised ...
- 2 ... terrible. The fault of dwelling with the great, which has a thousand dangers, was practised ...
- 3 ... The fault of intention to do battle ... was practised. The fault of ... which is full of malice, was practised ...
- 4 ... The fault of evil speech, which is full of ... was practised ...
- B1 ... An angry man does not know what is beneficial; an angry man does not see the Dharma. Into blind d(arkness), therefore ...
- 2 ... physical form ... one who knows what is to be done [and] applies himself [to it] does not see ... Anger, indeed ... departed ...
- 3 ... The corruption of a man whose senses are [not restrained?] is exposed. Therefore [?] anger, darkness [?], pollution [?] ...
- 4 ... when I gave [?] to ... I will do only enough to suit the purpose; more than that is mere chaff. Therefore he ...

Notes

General comments: As discussed in sections 1 and 5, this fragment consists primarily of a series of gnomic verses in various metres, reminiscent of the type found in collections such as the Pali *Dhammapada*, the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* from Khotan, and the Sanskrit *Udānavarga*. In a few cases, discussed in the notes below, the verses have direct or approximate parallels with one or more of those texts. But the majority of verses in MS 9a lack parallels in those collections, although in terms of style and contents they do generally resemble them. It also stands apart from those collections in that it contains at least one verse (B3) and possibly another (B2, end) in the ornate Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, which is not used in them. Thus the fragment could be some sort of expanded collection of verses of the same genre, or it might consist of a series of quotations from various sources embedded in a sūtra or text of some other genre (see section 1).

The verses on side a describe a series of *doṣas* (on the interpretation of this term, see the first text note below), six of which are mentioned in the surviving fragment. Each *doṣa* is labeled (*dukhasaṃvaso*, etc.) and accompanied by an adjectival characterization (*du[kha]* ///, *bhayakare*, etc.). In the first three cases, the name of the *doṣa* is at the beginning of the pāda and the characterization at the end, whereas in the latter three, this pattern is reversed. But in all cases, these expressions frame the phrase *ca doṣa carida* (with minor variations) in the middle of each pāda.

The verses on side b seem to be mainly concerned with familiar Buddhist moral principles such as the dangers of anger (*kruda*, *roṣa*), lack of control of the senses (... *idhriyasa puruṣa^msa*), and (apparently) greed or gluttony (*tadamatra thuṣo bhavadi*).

A1. /// [c](a) [•] *doṣā carida dharuna* •: The sense of the recurrent word *doṣa* is somewhat uncertain because it could correspond either to the standard Sanskrit *doṣa* “defect, fault” = Pali *dosa*¹ “corruption, blemish, fault, bad condition, defect; depravity, corrupted state” (PTSD, s.v.), or to Buddhist Sanskrit *doṣa* = Pali *dosa*² “anger, ill-will, evil intention, wickedness, corruption, malice, hatred,” corresponding to standard Sanskrit *dveṣa*. The theme of the verses about anger (*krudha*, *roṣa*) on the other side of the fragment might seem to suggest the latter sense, but there are also reasons to doubt this. For one thing, this sense of *doṣa* in Buddhist usage is, as noted by Edgerton (BHSD, s.v.), “usually distinguishable from the homonym *doṣa* ... , esp. by association with *rāga* and synonyms (also *moha*), or contrast with *love* (*kāma*, *preman*, *sneha*),” none of which are present in our passage. Moreover, the overall context and content of the verses seems to refer to various kinds of “corruption, blemish, fault,” etc., rather than to anger. For these reasons, I have chosen to translate *doṣa* in this text as “fault.”

A1. *dukhasaṃvaso ca doṣā carida du[kha]* ///: For the theme of the dangers of “dwelling together” (*saṃvāsa*) with undesirable persons, with similar phrasing, compare Uv XXV.24, *bālaṃ na paśyec chr̥ṇuyān na ca no tena saṃvaset* | *duḥkho bālair hi saṃvāso hy amitreṇaiva sarvaśaḥ* | *dhīrais tu sukhasaṃvāso jñātīnām iva saṃgamaḥ*, and XXX.26 *bālasaṃsargacārī hi dīrghādhvānaṃ praśocati* | *duḥkho bālair hi saṃvāso hy amitrair iva sarvaśaḥ* | *dhīrais tu sukhasaṃvāso jñātīnām iva saṃgamaḥ*. Although *saṃvāsa-* governs the instrumental in these parallel verses, and although *mahasamvasya* in the next line of our text is no doubt to be understood as an instrumental tatpuruṣa compound (= *mahadbhiḥ saha saṃvāsaḥ*), the compound *dukhasaṃvaso* here is apparently best understood as a locative, that is “dwelling together in suffering,” rather than an instrumental tatpuruṣa. But this remains uncertain since the adjectival attribute of this *dukhasaṃvaso* is incompletely preserved; it might have been something like *dukha(karana)*, “a cause of suffering.”

A2. *bhayusahasa ca doṣā carida mahasaṃvasya* •: Here again there is an approximate parallel in Uv XI.8, *duṣpravrajyaṃ durabhiramaṃ duradhyāvasitā grhāḥ* | *duḥkhāsaṃānasamvāsā duḥkhāś copacitā bhavāḥ* ≈ Dhp-P 302, *duppabbajjaṃ durabhiramaṃ durāvāsā gharā dukhā* | *dukkho 'saṃānasamvāso dukkhānupatit' addhagū* | *tasmā na c' addhagū siyā na ca dukkhānupatito siyā* ≈ Dhp-G^K 262, *drupravai druabhiramu druaḥjavasaṇa ghara* | *dukhu samaṇa-savaso dukhaṇuvadida bhava*. But the interpretation of these verses is problematic and controversial both within the tradition and in modern scholarship (see Brough 1962: 256–7); among other issues, there are different opinions as to whether the third pāda refers to “dwelling with those who are not

equal,” as in Uv *duḥkhāsamānasamvāsā* and Dhp-P *(a)samānasamvāso*, or to “dwelling with one’s equals” as in Dhp-G^K *samaṇa-savaso*. *Mahasamvasya* in our text seems to be an interpretation or expansion of the prior interpretation, with specific reference to the misery of living with one’s superiors. The *-sya* of the final syllable seems to be a case of hypersanskritism, common in this and other late Gāndhārī texts (see section 3).

The context seems to require taking *bhayusahasa* as a compound, even though *bhayu-* looks like an inflected form rather than a compound-forming stem. However, similar compounds with pseudo-inflections on the prior members are attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī; see, for example, Salomon 2000: 100 (§7.1.5), 173–4 and Allon 2001: 114 (§6.1.5).

A3. *viḥisa^mbhahulo ca*: The syllables *-hulo ca* seem to have been corrected, as there is a dark blurry area around them indicating that ink has been rubbed out.

A4. */// bhahulo ca doṣa carida dhruvalabha •*: This line differs from most of the others on this fragment in lacking any internal punctuation marks to indicate pāda or verse breaks. Moreover, it does not seem to follow any of the usual metrical patterns. Therefore this line, like the last line on side b of this fragment, may be in prose rather than verse; see the further comments below in the note on B4.

dhruvalabha: This word is presumably equivalent to Skt *durālāpaḥ*. In the first syllable, the consonant *d* is subjected to non-etymological aspiration (see section 3), and the original sequence *ur* is metathesized, as frequently in Gāndhārī; compare *druabhiramu* and *druaḥjavasaṇa* in Dhp-G^K 262, quoted above. The *p* of the last syllable is represented as *bh*, with non-etymological voicing and aspiration of the final consonant (see section 3).

It is not completely clear why the remainder of the line is left blank after this phrase, but the scribe left similar blank spaces at the end of the last line on both sides of fragment 8a. Apparently he did not like to break up verse or sentence units across folio boundaries.

B1. *krudo arta na janadi kruda dharma na paṣyadi • ata tada [t]///(amu)*: This verse corresponds to Dhp-G^K 282, *kudhu atha na jaṇadi kudhu dhamu na paśadi | anu tada tamu bhodi ya kodhu sahadi naru* = AN IV.96, 22–23, *kuddho atthaṃ na jānāti kuddho dhammaṃ na passati | andhatamaṃ* [v.l. *andhaṃ tamaṃ*] *tadā hoti yaṃ kodho sahate naraṃ*. It is also cited by the pratika (*krodho*) *a(r)th(o) ṇa jaṇadi* in the commentary on Kṣudraka verses in British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 13; there the entire verse can be reconstructed on the basis of lemmata cited in the following commentary as *krodho artho ṇa jaṇadi krodho dhamo ṇa paśadi / adho ta(da) tamo bhodi yo kro(so) sa(ha)di (ṇaro)* (Baums 2009: 507–8; cf. n. 23 above).

These parallels show that *ata* is the equivalent of Pali/Skt *andha* with non-etymological deaspiration and devoicing (compare *-alabha* for *-ālāpa*, with the converse development, discussed in the previous note). Note also the different phonetic/orthographic treatments of this word in the three Gāndhārī versions: *ata* with devoicing and deaspiration in our new text, *adho* in the British Library manuscript with normal retention of the sequence *-(ṃ)dh-* (with the nasal left unwritten, as frequently in Kharoṣṭhī), and *anu* in the Dhp-G^K with the development of *-ndh-* to *-n(n)-* which is peculiar to that text (Brough 1962: 98–9 [§46]).

At the broken end of line 1 there remains the right edge of a letter whose shape is consistent with the bend of a *t*. In light of the parallel texts cited above, there can be little doubt that this was

the beginning of the word *[t]///(amu)* or the like, and we can further be reasonably confident that the lost remainder of the verse was similar to theirs (*bhodi ya kodhu sahadi naru | hoti yaṃ kodho sahate naraṃ | bhodi yo kro(so) sa(ha)di (ṇaro)*).

B2. */// ? [h.] ruvo • na pa^mśyade karyavid=anuyukta* ☞ : Only the bottom tip of the first letter survives at the right edge of the fragment, and it cannot be identified.³⁵ The top and bottom of the next syllable are mostly preserved, and it is almost certainly *h.*, although there appears to be a small extraneous blob of ink at the lower right tip that is difficult to explain; but this could be part of the previous syllable. From the context, we would expect here a word like *bahi(ra)*, “external (forms),” but it does not seem possible that the second syllable was *hi*, since the left end of the horizontal *i* diacritic should have been visible. Another possible reconstruction is *(ba)h(a)* = Skt/P *bahu-*, which occurs in the British Library *Anavatapta-gāthā* manuscript (Salomon 2008: 224). If this is correct, the gist of this line would be something like “A person who knows what is to be done [and] applies himself [to it] does see many physical forms,” that is, he is not distracted by outward appearances or attractive sights.

B2. *roṣa nama vi[g]a[d.] ///*: The second syllable in the last word consists of a normal *ga* with a horizontal stroke to the right, meeting the vertical stem at an acute angle. This resembles, but differs from the usual shape of a subscript post-consonantal *r* in the hand of scribe 7, which usually joins the stem of the main consonant with a curve, as in *saṃgrāma-* in line A3. An alternative interpretation therefore might be to take the subscript line not as a post-consonantal *r* but as the diacritic stroke which in many Kharoṣṭhī documents indicates the modified pronunciation of a consonant (e.g., *g*, *d*) in intervocalic position (e.g., Glass 2007: 107 [§4.9.1–2]). This reading would have the advantages, first, of giving a word, the equivalent of Skt *vigata-*, which is suited to the context, and second, of yielding a metrical pattern consistent with the opening of a Śārdūlavikrīḍita line (*ma sa ...*), thus matching the metre of the following line (see section 5). However, since there are no other clear instances of such modified consonants in the texts written by our scribe, this reading remains doubtful.

Probably the best interpretation, therefore, is simply to understand the stroke at the bottom of the *ga* as an incidental and phonetically insignificant type 4 foot mark (Glass 2000: 26), which is frequently found with the consonant *g*. Although no other definite instances of this foot mark occur in the surviving fragments of the work of scribe 7, this could be merely an accident of survival.

B3. */// [tr]idhriyaśa puruṣā^mśaviṣkrida vikriya •*: The incomplete letter at the right edge looks like *tri*, but it is hard to come up with a reconstruction that would account for this reading; expected would be something like the equivalent of Skt *avijitendriyasya*.

On the Sanskrit sandhi in *puruṣā^mśaviṣkrida* (< *puruṣa^mśa* + (*ā*)*viṣkrida*), see section 3.

B3. *roṣā [re]na ta[m. m.l.] ///*: The first syllable of the second word is pretty clearly *r*, but this makes no sense in the context, so that it is tempting to suspect that it was miscopied for the similar letter *t*, which would yield the contextually appropriate *tena* “therefore”; compare the converse case of *atāga* apparently mistakenly written for *arāga* in MS 8a+8b+9b+10b, r3.

The vowel sign of this syllable extends downward through and slightly past the head of the

³⁵ The long diagonal to the left of this remnant makes it look like the bottom of a *bh*, but that diagonal stroke is actually part of the *i*-vowel diacritic on *dhri* in the line below.

consonant, somewhat like a shortened *i*, but it is certainly only a slightly misaligned *e*.

ta[m. m.l.] is likely to represent the equivalent of Skt *tamo malaṃ* “darkness [and] pollution” (or perhaps rather the compound *tamo-malaṃ*, “the pollution of darkness”), so that *tam(a)m(a)l(a)* would be a fairly safe reconstruction.

B4. /// ? *[na]ṣa dasi yada a[sta]matra kariṣo tadamatra thuṣo bhavadi sa [t]e[n.] ///*: Like line A4 of the same fragment, this line lacks punctuation marks indicating verse units and does not fit into any common metrical scheme. Thus it appears that the last lines of both sides of this fragment were in prose rather than verse. Interestingly enough, a related pattern may be noted on the verso of MS 8a+8b+9b+10b and on both sides of HI 24, where in each case the last line seems to be of a different character from the preceding text, apparently by way of a narrative frame for or comment or conclusion on what preceded it. Perhaps this is merely coincidental, but the occurrence of this pattern on all three fragments in which portions of all the original lines are preserved is striking, even though such an arrangement would be untypical of Buddhist and Indic manuscripts generally. Here, as in all too many other points regarding these enigmatic fragments, we can only hope that future discoveries or insights may some day explain this unexpected pattern.

? *[na]ṣa dasi yada*: Since the variant form of *s* which is conventionally transcribed as *ṣ* (𑖦) is elsewhere used by scribe 7 only in the genitive singular ending corresponding to Sanskrit *-ṣya* (MS 8a, v5, *lokaṣa*, MS 9a, B3, *-idhriyaṣa puruṣaṃsa*), it may be assumed that ? *[na]ṣa* is the remainder of a masculine or neuter noun in the genitive case. This could be the indirect object of the following *dasi*, which may be the first person singular preterite/aorist (unaugmented) of the root *dā* “give.” A similar preterite form, *aḍa[ṣ]i*, but with the preterite augment, is attested in the Senior manuscript of the *Anavatapta-gāthā* (Salomon 2008: 347), while numerous examples of similarly formed first person aorists, with or without augment, are found in the British Library manuscripts of the same text (*aghami*, *aghari*, *adaṣi/dasi*, *odari*, *sasari*, etc.; *ibid.*, p. 154).

The *da* at the end of this sequence appears to have a different ink quality from that of the surrounding characters, and it is squeezed between the preceding *ya* and the following *a*. Thus it seems to have been written in secondarily as a correction.

a[sta]matra: The second syllable could conceivably be read as *i*, since *sta* and *i* are very similar in this as in many Kharoṣṭhī documents. But the head of *i* is more curved and that of *sta*, straighter (the contrast can be seen in MS 8a+8b+9b+10b, v5, *stalapratistida idi*), and the letter in question here is fairly clearly *sta* rather than *i*. This *sta* would seem to be another example of the appearance of original (Sanskrit) *rth* as *st* in Gāndhārī, as discussed above in the note on *vipulasamoastigaraji* (MS 8a+8b+9b+10b, r1). In this case, *astamatra* could be understood as equivalent to Skt *arthamātra*—“only enough to suit the purpose.”

kariṣo must be some form based on the future stem of the root *kr*, regularly formed as *kariś-* in Gāndhārī; but the ending *-o* is difficult to explain. It is perhaps a variant, following the general pattern of instability of word-final vowels in Gāndhārī, of the first person singular future which normally ends in *-e* (Allon 2001: 117 [§6.3.4]; Salomon 2008: 152); alternations between *e* and *o* are fairly common among the Gāndhārī manuscripts of the Senior Collection (Glass 2007: 112 [5.1.2.8]). The first person form here would be consistent with the apparent first person verb *dasi* in the previous sentence.

Tadamatra is translated above as “more than that,” by way of contrast with *arthamātra*–“only enough to suit the purpose.” I understand it as the equivalent of a Sanskrit **tatomātra*–“more than that,” though this is admittedly hypothetical.

On *thuṣo*, see section 3 and note 20.

Although many doubts and uncertainties remain about the interpretation of this difficult line, the overall sense is reasonably clear. It seems to concern the notion of a *mātrajña* (Pali *mattaññu*/Gāndhārī *matrañu*), that is, a person, typically a monk, who “knows the proper measure” (of food) and does not desire any more than that (Dhp-P 7–8/Dhp-G^k 217–8/Uv XXIX.15–16). In our text, the speaker declares that he will use only as much as he needs to suit his purpose, and that any more than that is “chaff,” that is, useless.

However, this theme is apparently quite different from that of the preceding verses in lines B1–3, namely anger (*krudha*, *roṣa*). This difference is consistent with the apparent contrast, noted above, between the format of these text units, namely prose versus verse, and therefore seems to confirm that they are somehow distinct. But once again, in view of the meagre remnants and the absence of a parallel text, the precise significance of this contrast cannot yet be determined.

6) MS 2179/9c

Aa /// hi iva [v]yeda ? ///

Ba /// [h.ṣy.] u. ? ///

Ab /// [ka]riṣ[y]ama [n.] ///

Bb /// va so navaka [r.] ///

Note

Aa. The fourth syllable is same as the problematic second syllable of MS 8a, B1, which was tentatively read as [v]ye; see the notes there.

7) MS 2179/10a

Aa /// ? ya ga^mya ga^mham na[tham] ///

B [blank]

Ab /// ? vipula • tasto ? ///

Ac /// [m. s. pe j. l.] ? ///

8) MS 2179/10c

Aa /// [dī] + ? ///

Ba /// ? • [s.] ///

Ab /// mano • [d.] ///

Bb /// ? ? ? ? ///

9) MS 2179/11a

Aa /// ? ? [dh](*)a[r]ma [b.] ///

Ba /// .e .e bha la sam [ṣ/k.] ///

Ab /// sampipasadi ? ///

Bb /// ? [kh. a/ha] di ? ///

10–11) MS 2179/11b+12b

Aa ///^{12b} [tr.] pra^{11b}mokhkṣa • haḍanig. ///

Ba ///^{12b} ? [ṣ/k. mi] ? ///

Ab ///^{12b} [d.] duri^{11b}mu [s.] ? [th./p.] ///

Bb ///^{12b} amanasi^{11b}kri[tva va b]u ///

Note

Aa. *haḍanig*:. This almost certainly corresponds to BHS *haḍi-nigaḍa* “wooden and iron shackles” (BHSD, s.v. *haḍi*), which is presumably contextually connected to the preceding *pramokkhṣa* (= Skt *pramokṣa*; see section 2) “liberation.” Compare *ha[ḍa]na* in MS 118, bc, which may be another form of the word *haḍa*-. This common feature, as well as the similar appearance of the two fragments, suggest that they may have belonged to the same original folio.

12) MS 2179/12a

Aa /// śma śidila [p.] ///

Ab /// ? la mrinali ///

Ba /// ? d[i] di • [ñ.] ///

Bb /// [y/ś.] puruṣōṃ ? ///

Bc /// v[i]śadi • ///

Note

Aa. *śidila*: Probably equivalent to Sanskrit *śithila*-, with non-etymological devoicing.

13) MS 2179/12c

Aa /// ? [d̥i]ga ///

Ab /// ? [p.] ///

Ba /// [ciṃn]i ///

Bb /// [ru]pa ///

14–15) MS 2179/13a + HG 51

A1 /// ^{13a}ha € osridhi me |^{HG51}na trini paṃ ///

A2 /// ^{13a}[ś.]ma|^{HG51}se na raṃtā: 𑀓 ///

A3 /// ^{HG51}? diva mama na [do?] ///

A4 /// ^{HG51}? ? ? [le] ? ///

B1 /// ^{13a}bha etadi ///

B2 /// ^{13a}khe nahaṃ bhala ? ///

B3 /// ^{13a}? [k]r[i]da eka ^{HG51}suda svakaṃ v. ///

Notes

The straight edge at the top of side a/bottom of b, and the blank space below the text on side b indicate that this fragment came from the upper or lower edge of a folio, probably with four lines.

A1. /// *ha* €: The “euro-sign” punctuation preceded by *ha* suggests a parallelism with the quotative phrase *eva hāha* €, apparently equivalent to Skt *evam āha* “thus he said,” in HI 25, A5 and B5; see the note there.

A1. *osridhi me na trini paṃ* ///: *osridhi* seems to be related to the verb base *osir*- “reject,” attested in the forms *osiradi*, *osirida*, and *[o]siridava* in British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 9, lines 75, 78, and 80 respectively (Baums 2009: 248, 374–6); compare BHSD s.v., “*avaśirati*, *ośirati*, °*reti* (also spelled with ś, s for ś, and mss. sometimes show a for i after the sibilant ... etym. obscure. ...).” Although the form of this word is not clear, the line seems to suggest something like “I have not rejected the three ...” This is in keeping with the negative statements and first person forms in the following lines A2 (see the next note), A3, and B2. The speaker (see the preceding note) seems to be confessing his failures, so that the fragment reads like a negative counterpart to the Buddha’s declaration of his attainments in the large fragment (MS 2179/8a+8b+9b+10b) presented at the beginning of this article, and is perhaps connected with the confession

of negative actions in the second fragment (MS 2179/9a). The speaker's statements seem to be in verse, perhaps in *triṣṭubh* meter.

A2. [ś.] *mase na raṃtā*: : If the reading of the uncertain first syllable is correct, this may be equivalent to Skt *śamathe na rataḥ*, “not delighting in calming.”

16–17) MS 2179/13b+uf2/4a

Aa /// ^{uf2/4a}[t.d=eva] s.rv. //

Ba /// [.e do] s[ya] r[y/śa] ta [itham]

Ab ///^{13b} ? [.o]khyā saratī ti [𑖦] ///

Bb /// ? ? ? ? [a./h.] ? ///

Note

Ba. [itham]: If the reading is correct, this would probably be the equivalent of Skt *ittham* “thus.” The first syllable could also be *hi*, since the bottom portion that distinguishes *i* from *hi* is lost. The second syllable looks like a *th* except for the anomalous diagonal stroke at the upper right which I tentatively interpret as an unintended pen-drag line running from the top of the vertical stem to the horizontal cross-stroke of an otherwise normal *th* (𑖦).

18) MS 2179/14

Aa ? ///

Ba ? ? [e] ///

Ab ham na midīṇa [a] ///

Bb ? + ? ruhanadae ? ///

Ac [a/ha tu]d[u] • samparaya ///

Bc apramata na mriya[.i/e] ///

Ad [s.p.r.y. y/ś.] ///

Bd [tena] + ? [e] ? ///

Notes

This is a fragment from the right side of a folio, as is apparent from the blank margin at the right edge of both sides.

Ab. *ham*: This may be part of the first person pronoun “I” (Skt *aham*).

Ab. *na midīṇa*: This might correspond to a Skt **mitijñā*- “knowing the proper amount.” If so, the theme could be similar to that of knowing proper amounts (of food) which seems to have been addressed in MS 9a, B4.

Ac. *samparaya*, ad. [s.p.r.y.]: This corresponds to Skt/P *samparāya*, no doubt in its Buddhist sense of “future state, a life after death” (BHSD, s.v.).

Bc. *apramata na mriya[.i/e]* ///: “Those who are not careless do not perish”; this corresponds to DhP-G^K 115c *apramata na miyadi* / Uv IV.1c *apramattā na mriyante* / DhP-P 21c *appamattā na mīyanti*.

19) MS 2179/104

Aa /// ? + ? ? ? ? ///

Ba /// .u ? ? ? ? ? ///

Ab /// ? sa dukam̐tam idi 𑖦[𑖦] ///

Bb /// [sita] • puna puruṣā [vi] ///

Ac /// [ma ṣ. v. ḍi ḍe me v. ? ///

Bc /// ? ? • [yo] ? ? ? ? ? ///

Note

Ab. *dukaṃtam*: *Dukaṃtam* is probably equivalent to Skt *duḥkhāntam* (compare Uv XXVI.25d = XXXII.39d, *duḥkhāntaḥ sa nirucyate*), with non-etymological deaspiration of *kh*.

20) MS 2179/118

Aa /// [a]pareṣam=amithya kadara • u[c.] /// Ba /// ? ? ? [u l. do n.] ? ///
 Ab /// ? raḍisthaneṣū ana[r]ta se p. /// Bb /// dara sevaḍi • sa tena [v.] ? ///
 Ac /// ? ? [c.] nida avidv. /// Bc /// ha[ḍa]ṇa kaya parihuda va[ḍu] ///

Aa ... not false to others. Which [are they]?; it is s(aid) ...

Ab ... among the loci of pleasures [?]; not beneficial ...

Ab ... ignorant ...

Ba ... ?? ...

Bb ... frequents the wives (of others). Thereby he ...

Bc ... the body of bones (?) is overcome; ?? ...

Notes

Aa. *kadara • u[c.]* ///: This can probably be reconstructed as *kadara • uc(yadi)*, introducing a question and answer regarding the previous topic, apparently (those who are?) “not false to others.”

Bb. /// *dara sevadi •*: This can be tentatively reconstructed as *(para)dara sevati* by comparison with DhP-G^K 270ab *catvari ḥhaṇaṇi nara pramatu avajadi paradarovasevi* / Uv IV.14ab *sthānāni catvāri naraḥ pramatta āpadyate yaḥ parādārasevī* / DhP-P 309ab *cattāri ṭhānāni nara pamatto āpajjati parādārūpasevī*. The text in our fragment may belong to a variant form of the same or a similar verse. The coincidence of *catvari ḥhaṇaṇi* etc. in the DhP-G^K verse with ? *rati-sthaneṣū* in line ab of our fragment may indicate that the folio contained a series of verses on this or similar topics, perhaps introduced by the question *kadara • u[c.]* in line Aa.

Bc. /// *ha[ḍa]ṇa kaya parihuda va[ḍu]* ///: The reading of the second character is uncertain, but it seems to be *ḍa*, in which case this may involve the word *haḍa* = BHS *haḍi*, “wooden shackle,” as in MS 11B, aa (see the note there). If so, the line might mean something like “the body overpowered by wooden shackles.”

21) MS 2179/123b

Aa /// ? [h. a] ? /// Ba /// ? .r. [h.] ? ///
 Ab /// ? ? [na] va naḍini puḍi /// Bb /// [a.] sopaśamadi gamatva [śi] ///
 Ac /// ? ṣa [s.m. k.m.ś.l. ś.] /// Bc /// [g.]tva jala ji sthala ///

Aa ... ?? ...

Ab ... a pond, a poo(l) ...

Ac ... equal (to) the thorn of desire ...

Ba ...

Bb ... becomes calm, having gone (?) ...

Bc ... having gone to water and land ...

Notes

Ab. *naḍini puḍi* ///: The first word corresponds to Skt/P *nalini/naḷini*, with the alternation among *ḍ*, *l*, and *ḷ* that is frequent throughout MIA. In light of this, the second word can be safely restored to *puḍi(ni)* = BHS *puḍinī* “pool” (BSHD, s.v.).

Ac. [*s.m. k.m.ś.l.*] ///: This is perhaps to be reconstructed as something like *s(a)m(o)k(a)m(a)ś(a)l(o)* (= Skt *kāmaśalya-*). This may have been part of a statement along the lines of “there is no thorn like the thorn of desire,” etc.; compare, for example, DhP-P 251, *n’atthi rāgasamo aggi n’atthi dosasamo gaho / n’atthi mohasamaṃ jālaṃ n’atthi taṇhāsamā nadī*.

Bc. *ji*: Perhaps equivalent to Skt *ca*; *ji* = *ca* is well attested in some Gāndhārī texts, for example in DhP-G^k where it is very common (Brough 1962: 110 [§70]). If so, there may have originally been another *ji* after *sthala*.

22–23) MS 2179/123a+uf4/1c

Aa /// ^{123a}? [4 h.?] ///

Ab /// *vivarjeti* ? ///

Ac /// *senu ca de* ? ///

Ad /// ^{uf4/1c}[*ni*]rniya[*ti*] ///

Ba /// ^{uf4/1c}? *de jala* [.i/e] ? ///

Bb /// [*ha/e*] *dhvara* [*la*] ///

Bc /// *yam=upabhog.* [ṭhi/] ///

Bd /// ^{123a}[*y./ś.*] *ti* ·? ///

Aa ... ? 4 ? ...

Ab ... avoids ...

Ac ... ?? ...

Ad ... determines ...

Ba ... water ...

Bb ... door ...

Bc ... enjoyment ...

Bd ... ?? ...

24) MS 2179/uf1/3b

Aa /// [*bh.*]yo ? ///

Ab /// ?[ṣ]yaḍi ? ///

Ac /// ? [*g. y./ś.*] ///

Ba /// [*y./ś.*] ++ ? ///

Bb /// [*m=a*]ñāman. [.i/e] ///

Bc /// ? s[*o*]ga ? ///

Note

Bb. [*a*]ñāman. : Perhaps equivalent to Skt *anyamanas-* “whose mind is on other things.”

25) MS 2179/uf2/6c

Aa /// ? [*s*]omya • papakarma[*n.*] ///

Ab /// [*s.*]rvaloka hi [ṣuk/ṣ.] ///

Ac /// ? ? ///

Ba /// ? [*o*] ? ? + [*y.*] ///

Bb /// [*hi*] *hatva tada paṃka* [*k.*] ///

Bc /// ? + + + ? ///

Aa ... gentle. Evil deed ...

Ab ... the whole world (dries up?) ...

Ac ... ?? ...

Ba ... ?? ...

Bb ... having slain, then mud (?) ...

Bc ... ?? ...

Note

Bb. *paṃka*: The subscript mark at the bottom right of the *k* looks like a postconsonantal *r* sign, but

is probably a mere flourish or footmark with no phonetic significance; compare the note on *roṣa nama vi[g]a[d.]* /// in MS 9a, B2.

26) MS 2179/uf3/5a

Aa /// [t. h. t./ḍi] ///

Ba /// ? + ? + ///

Ab /// niya iḍi ///

Bb /// ? [r.] ? ///

27) 2179/uf3/5d

Aa /// [p]r.hara ? ///

Ba /// ? ? + ? ///

Ab /// ? + + ? ///

Bb /// ? [y./ś.] ///

28) MS 2179/uf3/6f

Aa /// [e] • m=anuloma ? ///

Ba /// vad=anulomo ///

Ab /// [d. n. a./h. € dh. h.] ///

Bb /// [t./r.] mama prathya ? ///

Notes

The occurrence of *anuloma*- “favourable, harmonious” on both sides (aa, ba) of the small fragment suggests that this is part of a longer passage in which this was a key word or topic.

Ab. Between the third and fourth syllable there is a long diagonal line rising up toward the right. This seems to be the upper portion of the euro-sign” punctuation mark (€) which had been squeezed in between these syllables.

29) MS 2179/uf3/3b

Aa /// [j.?]n[m]aśa[to] ? ///

Ba /// [bh.?] ? ? ///

Note

Aa. /// [j.?]n[m]aśa[to]: This is presumably equivalent to Skt *janmaśata*- “hundred(s of) births” or “hundred(s of) lifetimes.”

30) HI 24

Aa /// ? [r.] ? [•] bha[va] ///

Ba /// kha[rta]ma[rta?]no • bha[vo] ///

Ab /// bhaviṣyami • [e] ///

Bb /// .ovido naṇapraga[ro] ? ///

Ac /// [ma]da [i]ḍi ko[tu] € ///

Bc /// ? [puja] ? ? [y./ś.] ///

Aa ... ?? becoming ...

Ba ... ?? Becoming ...

Ab ... I will be. ...

Bb ... ?? various types ...

Ac ... ? thus ? ...

Bc ... honour ...

Note

Ba. *kha[rta]ma[rta?]no*: Both the reading and interpretation are uncertain, especially with regard to the fourth syllable, which is partly worn off and seems to have a peculiar shape. Possible readings, besides *rta*, are *tma* and perhaps *rtu*, but none of them seems to make sense in the context. It is remotely possible that this is a variant form of the proper name *kardhamako* in HI 25, A1, in

which case this fragment would have probably belonged to the same or an adjacent folio.

31) HI 25; A

- 1 gam̐thum=idi • tado kardhama[ko r.] ///
- 2 ede sugara amedhye bhakhkṣa amede ? ///
- 3 mukha gatva praviṭha a[ca] ? ? ? ///
- 4 kevalo atarayo a[tma] ? ///
- 5 eva ḥaha € na priya m[e je m.] ///

B

- 1 taṣa prathyartika teneva asi ? ///
- 2 puruṣāryada • tadhra śr[u] ///
- 3 di • so vicidasamgrāma bho ? ///
- 4 [ś/y)a prathyartika nir[m]adayati • a[t]m. ///
- 5 samvibhajaḍi eva [ḥaha] € at[m]. ? ///

A

- 1 ... to go.” Then (King?) Kardamaka...
- 2 these pigs are polluted, (their?) food is polluted ...
- 3 went to (his) mouth and entered (it). Now (?) ...
- 4 only a blind (?) king. Himself ...
- 5 Thus he said (?): “Not pleasant to me ...

B

- 1 ... his rival. Merely by that, (he) was ...
- 2 nobility of a man. With regard to that, it is said ...
- 3 He (becomes?) victorious in battle, ...
- 4 crushes his rival. Himself ...
- 5 distributes. Thus he said: “(Him?)self ...

Notes

General comments: Enough of this fragment remains to give at least a rough sense of its contents. The text on side a seems to concern a king (see notes below on A1) named Kardhamaka who ate a pig (or the food of a pig), perhaps because he was blind (*atarayo*). Side b tells of someone, perhaps the same king, who defeats his rival (*prathyartika*) in battle and then distributes or shares (*samvibhajaḍi*) something, perhaps the spoils of that battle. Although it is not possible to determine whether the texts on the two sides concern the same individual, there is one point that seems to link them, namely the key word *atma*, “himself/one’s self/the self,” occurring once on side a and twice on side b. Particularly interesting is the occurrence of this word at the surviving end of b5, after the quotative phrase *eva [ḥaha]* and the “euro-sign” punctuation sign. This could be the beginning of a verse which summarizes or explains the point of the stories, and if this is correct, the overall theme of the text(s) might be the difference between external and internal enemies, a

common motif in Buddhist literature. Needless to say, though, for lack of parallel texts this remains merely a guess.

A1. *gaṃthum*: This is presumably the infinitive form equivalent to Skt *gantum*, with the non-etymological aspiration which is characteristic of this scribe.

A1. *kardhama*[*ko r.*]: This is in all probability a variant spelling of the name of a king which appears as *kardamagasa rayasa* in two of the several sets of Gāndhārī avadānas among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī scrolls. A fairly complete version of a story concerning this king occurs in British Library fragments 12 + 14, lines 86–89, and another very fragmentary remnant of what may be the same story or another story about the same king in a loose piece associated with fragment 4.³⁶ In light of these parallels, we can tentatively reconstruct the text here as *kardhamako r(aya)*, “King Kardamaka.” In the story recorded in the British Library texts, the father of King Kardamaga, whose name also began with *k* and ended with *ga* (*kardamagarayasa k...go namo pido*), was born in the womb of a pig (*so suarayonige [u](vavarno)* = Skt **sa sūkarayonika upa-pannah*). Not only the similarity of the names of the persons concerned but also their connections with pigs (*suara/sugara* = Skt *sūkara*) indicates that both texts must refer to the same or a related legend, which was evidently well known in ancient Gandhāra, although it is apparently not preserved anywhere else in Buddhist tradition.

Like other rulers of the Śaka or Indo-Scythian dynasties of Gandhāra mentioned in Gāndhārī manuscripts (see Salomon 1999: 141–51), this King Kardamaga seems to have been a historical figure, since similar names occur in two inscriptions of approximately the same historical period.³⁷ The first of these is the relic dedication inscription on a gold plate of King Senavarma, the king of Oḍi in the Swat Valley, dating from the early first century. In this inscription Senavarma describes himself as a member of the royal clan of *iṣmaho*, that is, Ikṣvāku (see Salomon and Baums 2007), in a presumably fictitious attempt to establish a mythic lineage as a Buddhist king. But he also refers to himself as a *kadama* (*me kadamasa*), and this in all probability refers to his actual family or clan name and thus suggests a relationship with the King Kardamaga of legend.

The second inscription in question is Kaṇherī inscription no. 11 (see Bühler 1883: 272), dating from about the middle of the second century A.D., in which the queen of the Sātavāhana king Śrī-Sātakarṇi is referred to as *kārdamakavaṃśapra[bha]vāy[ā]*..., “descended from the Kārdamaka lineage.” This queen is further identified, apparently, as the daughter of a great satrap (*mahākṣatrapa*) whose name began with *ru* ... (*mahākṣatrapa-ru...putryā[h]*). This was in all probability the famous Western Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman I who vastly expanded the Śaka kingdom of Western India, and it is on the testimony of this inscription alone that the later dynasty of Western Kṣatrapas is sometimes referred to as the “Kārdamaka” line (Rapson 1908: ciii).

From these sources, it can now be deduced that a king named Kardamaka played some important role in the history and/or legendary traditions of the several Indo-Scythian dynasties of the first two centuries of the Christian era. He was evidently claimed as an ancestor by both the early dynasty of the kings of Oḍi in the far north and by the last surviving Śaka line in western India, the Western Kṣatrapas. Moreover, it now becomes clear from newly discovered Buddhist

³⁶ The texts in question are being prepared for publication by Timothy Lenz and Jason Neelis.

³⁷ See also the earlier discussion of this material in Salomon 2003b: 58, n. 9.

literary traditions of Gandhāra that he was the subject of a well-known though apparently unflattering legend in which he was in some way associated with a pig, and in which he was also apparently portrayed as blind (see the note on *atarayo* in a4). Though this may seem surprising on the surface, it is not untypical of the frequently ambivalent portrayals of kings in Buddhist literature. To judge by similar legendary cycles about historical kings such Aśoka, these stories may have referred to Kardamaka's misdeeds before he saw the light of Buddhism. We may only hope that further materials may come to light in the future to illuminate the shadowy picture of this long forgotten but evidently important historical figure.

A2. *ede sugara amedhye bhakhkṣa amede* ? /// This has been translated above as "... these pigs are polluted, (their?) food is polluted ...," but the phrase *amedhye-bhakhkṣa* might also be interpreted as a bahuvrīhi compound with a pseudo-inflection on the first member (compare the note on *bhayusahasa ca doṣā carida mahasaṃvasya* • in MS 9a, A2). In this case, *amede* would presumably be the prior member of a second, similarly constructed bahuvrīhi: "These pigs have polluted food (and) polluted ..." In any case, it is reasonably certain that *amedhye* and *amede* are alternate spellings for the same word (Skt *amedhya-*), once again illustrating the free alternation between aspirate and non-aspirate consonants in our scribe's orthography.

A3. *a[ca]*: This may be the equivalent of Skt *adya*, "today, now," with non-etymological devoicing of the normal form *aja* (Lenz 2003: 148–9); compare the note below on *vicidasam-grāma* (B3).

A4. *atarayo*: Since we already have seen one clear case (MS 9a, B1) among the works of our scribe in which the equivalent of Skt *andham* is written as *ata*, it is likely that *atarayo* here corresponds to Skt *andharāja*- "blind king." But *atarayo* could also represent Skt *antarāyah*, in which case *kevalo atarayo* would mean "the sole obstacle" or the like. In the very fragmentary context, it cannot be decided which interpretation is correct.

A5, B5. *eva ḥaha* €: This seems to be a quotative phrase, perhaps introducing a following verse which summarizes or illustrates the point of the preceding stories, although this cannot be determined because nothing survives of the following texts except for *at[m]*. ? in B5. A similar sequence, /// *ha* € *osridhi [me]* ///, occurs in MS 13a, Aa, and that is perhaps to be reconstructed as *(eva ḥa)ha* on the basis of the passages under consideration here. This phrase is presumably equivalent to Sanskrit *evam āha* "thus he says/said," but instead of the expected *a* for the first syllable of the verb we have in both cases a peculiar character which is evidently a normal *ha* with a dot below. This letter, which occurs nowhere else in the text of scribe 7,³⁸ is provisionally transcribed here as *ḥ*.

It may be relevant in this connection that initial *h* is unstable in several other Gāndhārī texts, for example among the manuscripts in the Robert Senior Collection. Thus in Robert Senior scroll 5, *h* is sometimes written where it is etymologically uncalled for, as in *himaspi* and *hidriana* for the equivalents of Skt *imasmin* and *indriyāṇām* respectively, and sometimes omitted when etymo-

³⁸ In some Kharoṣṭhī documents, *ha* is sometimes written with a dot or extra stroke below. This is characteristic of early coin legends from the Indo-Greek period (Glass 2000: 25, 113), where the mark under *h* seems to function as a non-phonetic foot mark, which was also applied to other letters without a vertical stem such as *m*. However, since in the work of scribe 7 the dotted *h* occurs only twice, in apparently identical contexts, whereas everywhere else (including in the immediately following syllables) he writes the normal *h*, it is likely to be phonetically significant here.

logically expected, as in *edu* for *hetu-* (Glass 2007: 110, 118). A related phenomenon is presumably involved in the so-called “emphatic” preposed *h* (von Hinüber 2001: 148 [§166]) or “cockneyism” (Hultsch 1925: lxxii, lxxxvi) which is widespread in Aśokan Prakrit (*hida*, *hevaṃ*, *heḍisa* etc.); for example, in the Aśokan rock edicts in Gāndhārī at Shāhbāzgarhī the equivalent of Sanskrit *āha* is spelled both as *ahati* (three times) and *hahati* (twice). Parpola (1978: 256; compare Burrow 1937: 10) also notes a possible reflection of this pattern in Niya Gāndhārī in *heḍi* ‘sheep’ = Skt *eḍa* etc./Brahui *hēṭ* “she-goat.”

However, this phenomenon is by no means limited to Gāndhārī, as it also appears in the other Aśokan dialects. Moreover Parpola (1978: 257; 1981: 208) has noted several instances of non-etymological initial *h* in Indo-Aryan loan words from Dravidian, which he interprets as the representation of a “sub-phonemic” word-initial glottal stop in north Dravidian languages. Although Dravidian is hardly relevant to the corresponding pattern in Gāndhārī, it is quite possible that an independent but parallel phonetic development underlies the instability of initial *h* there. In any case, there is good reason to suspect that the diacritically modified *ḥ* in our text was somehow meant to represent this or some similar *h*-like sound in initial position in Gāndhārī, or at least in some varieties thereof.

B1, B4. *prathyartika*: This is presumably equivalent to Skt *pratyarthika*; see the comments in section 3 on anticipation or metathesis of aspiration.

B3. *vicidasamgrāma*: = *vijitasamgrāmaḥ*. Here is a clear case of the graphic devoicing of *j* to *c*; compare the note on *a[ca]* in A3.

B4. *nir[m]adayadi*: There are three vertical scratches across the head of the second syllable, presumably indicating a correction. Apparently the scribe originally wrote an incorrect *rg* and then changed it to *rm*; perhaps his archetype manuscript contained a cursively written *rma* which at first glance looked to him like *rga*. In any case, the context shows that the word is the equivalent of Pali *nimaddeti* “subdues, crushes.”

32) HG 50

Aa ? ? ? ? ///

Ba so tena vayasena nagara[dh]v.[r.] ///

Ab * ukta ca bha[ga]vad. [s.] ? ///

Bb [i/e] + + + + + ? ? ? ? ///

Aa And it was said by the Lord: ...

Ba He, with that friend, (to?) the city gate ...

Notes

General comments: Fragments HG 50 and HG 51 have a similar color and ink quality, and may be part of the same original folio. HG 50 appears to have come from the upper or lower corner (depending on which side was the recto) of the right side of the folio.

Ab. *bha[ga]vad*.: The second syllable is partially covered by a blotch of light or diluted ink, and there seem to be at least two superfluous strokes below and to its right. These may be remnants of an originally underlying text which were insufficiently erased in preparation for the palimpsest, although otherwise there are no clearly discernible traces of a previous text on this fragment.

Appendix 1:

Traces of the original text preserved in the palimpsest manuscript

Remnants of an underlying text which was erased before the extant palimpsest text was written are definitely visible in MS 8a+8b+9b+10b and MS 9a. In a few other cases there seem to be fainter traces of the underlying text, for example in the right margin of HI 25, side A. In several other smaller fragments, such as MS 12c, MS 13a, and HG 50, there is some discoloration of the surface which could have resulted from the erasure of an earlier text, but which may also be incidental dirt or bruising.

In a few places, especially where the surface was left blank when the scribe wrote the second text so that the underlying, partially erased text is not obscured by subsequent writing, it is still possible to read some syllables or even a few complete words of the original text with some certainty.³⁹ Thus, in the last line of the recto of MS 8a, the underlying text, beginning with the syllables which are partially covered by the last two letters of the later text and continuing in the blank space following it, can be provisionally read as: *[ni]sargae so bhikhkṣ. bhi[kṣu] [ca] yava [s]va[di] ? ? [priya] ? ? ? maṇa ta[sma] stu pradi[stavi] ? ?* The difficulty of reading the erased syllables is increased by the natural diagonal striations in the surface of the leaf, which can be difficult to distinguish from partially erased ink lines. For example, the syllable read above as *[s]va* superficially appears to have an *i* vowel diacritic, but closer examination shows this line is probably a striation.

In a few cases, such as the syllables *so* and *khkṣ.*, the bottoms of the letters are cut off at the lower edge of the folio. This must indicate either that the original bottom edge has broken off or worn away, or perhaps rather that the scribe trimmed it when he was preparing the surface for writing the palimpsest text.

Also in MS 8b, several syllables of the original text are discernible below and partially covered by the word *aśaraṇa* of the later text (l. r4). These seem to be ? ? *[ni] so ? ?*.

At the upper right corner of side b of MS 9a, the underlying text has been incompletely erased so that even though it is mostly covered by the later text, some of the letters can be tentatively read. For example, the syllables beneath *krudo arta na ja-* of the later text could be *[a. bha ha ? ? rṣ. ka ra ? ? pe]*. Also in the blank area at the lower left corner of side a of the same fragment, there is a trace of at least one letter (or perhaps rather a punctuation mark) from the original text, but nothing can be read there.

Although there is little hope of identifying the original text from the meagre remnants which are visible to the naked eye, the form of some of the letters on MS 8a, particularly *e*, *khkṣ.*, and *bhi* are sufficiently clear to show that they are very similar, perhaps even identical to the corresponding characters in the later palimpsest text. Thus it seems that both the original and the later text were written by the same scribe. This implies that such manuscripts could function as the private property of individual monks, and this possibility has a bearing on the significance of the discovery in funereal vessels from Gandhāran monastery sites of manuscript fragments together with

³⁹ In theory, it might be possible to read much more, perhaps even most, of the erased text with the aid of photographic techniques such as ultraviolet and X-ray imaging which were successfully employed in the decipherment of the Archimedes Codex, but to date this has not been attempted.

human remains. It has previously been hypothesized (Salomon 1999: 83–4; Salomon 2009: 30) that such burials contained the personal books of the deceased monks, and the evidence of this palimpsest manuscript supports this hypothesis.

Appendix 2:

Chinese and Tibetan parallels to MS 8a+8b+9b+10b

a. *Fó lín nièpán jì fǎzhù jīng* 佛臨涅槃記法住經, “Prophecy [vyākaraṇa] of the duration of the Dharma by the Buddha as he was about to enter Nirvāṇa” (T. 390, 1112c10–22):⁴⁰

我已為諸天人吹大法蠡。擊大法鼓。覺悟長夜無明睡眠。我已為諸天人建大法幢。然大法炬。普照一切除滅暗冥。我已為諸有情作大法橋。為大法船。濟渡一切暴流所溺。我已為諸有情注大法流。降大法雨。一切枯槁皆令潤洽。我已開顯解脫正路。引諸世間迷失道者。若諸有情我應度者皆已度訖。諸未度者皆亦為作得度因緣。我已降伏一切外道。我已摧滅一切邪論。我已傾覆諸魔宮殿。我已破壞一切魔軍。正師子吼作大佛事。圓滿丈夫本所誓願。護持法眼令無毀缺。化諸聲聞。授菩薩記。為未來世無上佛眼。開照世間常無斷絕。

b. *Fó shuō xiàng tóu jīngshè jīng* 佛說象頭精舍經, “Elephant head Vihāra Sūtra” (T. 466, 487a11–16) = ‘*Phags pa Gayā mgo’i ri zes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo / Ārya-Gayāśirṣa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (Derge Mdo sde Ca, 285a4–7):

爾時世尊獨坐思惟。入諸三昧。遍觀法界。自覺成道。具一切智。所作已訖。棄諸重擔。度生死流。捨離慳貪。拔三毒刺。盡諸渴愛。集大法船。擊大法鼓。吹大法蠡。建大法幢。已斷生死。演說正法。閉諸惡趣。開善道門。永離惡土。遊諸淨國。⁴¹

de nas bcom ldan ’das gcig pu dben par gsegs te | nañ du yañ dag bžag nas chos kyi dbyiñs ñid la brtags te | bdag gis byañ chub ni thob | bdag gis ye šes ni khoñ du chud | bdag gis bya ba ni byas | bdag gis khur ni bor | bdag gis ’khor ba’i ’brog dgon pa las ni rgal | bdag gis ma rig pa ni bsal | bdag gis rig pa ni sgrub | bdag gis zug rñu ni phyuñ | bdag gi sred pa ni zad | bdag gis chos kyi gru ni sbyar | bdag gis chos kyi rñā ni brduñs | bdag gis chos kyi dung ni bus | bdag gis chos kyi rgyal mtshan ni bsgreñ | bdag gis ’khor ba’i lugs ni bzlog | bdag gis chos kyi lugs ni bsñad | bdag gis lam ñan pa ni bcad | bdag gis lam ni yañ dag par bstan | bdag gis žiñ ñan pa dag ni rnam par bzlog | bdag gis bsod nams kyi žiñ dag ni yañ dag par bstan na |

⁴⁰ Somewhat surprisingly, this portion of the text is entirely absent from the corresponding Tibetan version of this sūtra (*’Phags pa yoñs su mya ñan las ’das pa chen po’i mdo / Ārya-Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Derge Mdo sde Tha 151a4–152b7).

⁴¹ Compare also T. 467, 489c29–490a05, *Dàshèng jiāyē shāndǐng jīng* 大乘伽耶山頂經, “Mahāyāna Gayā Mountain-top Sūtra,” which is another version of the same text translated by Pútíliúzhì 菩提流志 (Bodhiruci): 我已證菩提。已得聖智慧。已辦所應作。已捨諸重擔。已出生死曠野。已捨離無明獲於智明。已拔毒箭。已盡渴愛。已證法界。已擊法鼓。已吹法螺。已建法幢。已捨離生死眼說於法眼。已閉惡道。開眾善道。已捨非田示諸福田。

c. *Dà bēi jīng* 大悲經, “The Great Compassion Sūtra” (T. 380, 945b10–23) = *’Phags pa sñin rje chen po’i pad ma dkar po zes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo* / *Ārya-Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (Derge Mdo sde Cha 56a2–b3):

吾今後夜當般涅槃。阿難。我已究竟涅槃。斷除一切有為言說。我已作佛事。已說甘露。無有窟宅。寂滅定甚深微妙。難見難覺難可測量。明智所知。諸賢聖法。我已三轉無上法輪。若有沙門婆羅門。若天若魔若梵若人。以世共法無能轉者。我已擊法鼓吹法蠡建法幢。置法船作法橋降法雨。我已光照三千大千世界。滅除大闇。開示眾生解脫正道。充益天人。所應度者皆悉已度。我已降伏一切外道及諸異論。動魔宮殿。摧魔勢力。大師子吼。作諸佛事。建丈夫業。滿本誓願。護持法眼。教大聲聞。授菩薩記。為於未來佛眼不斷故。阿難。我今於後更無所作。唯般涅槃。

kun dga’ bo de bzin gsegs pa do mod kyi nam gyi thun tha ma la yoñs su mya ñan las ’da’ bas || khyod kyis śin sā la zuñ gi bar du de bzin gsegs pa señ ge ltar glo g-yas pas mnal ba’i gzims ma la chos śig | kun dga’ bo ’dus byas su brtags pa thams cad legs par bcom pa’i śin tu yoñs su mya ñan las ’da’ bsañ yoñs su mya ñan las ’da’o || kun dga’ bo ñas sañs rgyas kyi bya ba ni byas || ñas gnas med pa’i chos zi ba rab tu zi ba mchog gya nom bzab pa | mthoñ bar dka’ ba || khoñ du chud par dka’ ba | brtag mi nus pa ma brtags pa | rtog ge’i spyod yul ma yin pa | mkhas pa dañ mdzañs pas rig pa | phul du phyin par ’phags pa’i bdud rtsi ni bstan | kun dga’ bo ñas chos kyi ’khor lo bla na med pa dge sbyoñ ñam bram ze ’am || bdud dam || lha’am || tshañs pa ’am | gžan gañ gis kyañ chos dañ ’thun par ’jig rten du ma bskor ba lan gsum du bzlas te rnam pa bcu gñis su bskor ba ni bskor | ñas chos kyi rña bo che ni brduñs | ñas chos kyi duñ chen po ni bus | ñas chos kyi rgyal mtshan chen po ni bsgreñs | ñas chos kyi mar me chen po ni bus | ñas mun pa chen po ni bsal | ñas stoñ gsum ni snañ bar byas | ñas gru chen po ni bcas | ñas stegs chen po ni btsugs | ñas zam pa chen po ni btags | ñas pha rol tu ’dod pa mañ po ni bton | ñas thar pa’i lam ni yañ dag par bstan | ñas chos kyi char chen po ni phab | ñas lha dañ mi rnams ni tshim par byas | ñas gdul ba rnams ni btul | ñas phas kyi rgol ba thams cad ni skrag par byas | ñas mu stegs kyi gnas thams cad ni tshar bcad | ñas bdud kyi stobs ni bcom | ñas bdud kyi gnas ni g-yo bar byas | ñas señ ge’i sgra ni bsgrags | ñas sañs rgyas kyi bya ba ni byas | ñas skyes bu dam pa’i las ni mthar phyuñ | ñas sñon gyi yi dam ni yoñs su rdzogs par byas | ñas chos kyi tshul ni byin gyis brlabs | ñas ñan thos chen po rnams las byed tu ni btsud | ma ’oñs pa’i sañs rgyas kyi tshul rgyun mi ’chad par bya ba’i phyir ñas byañ chub sems dpa’ sems dpa’ chen po rnams luñ ni bstan zin te | kun dga’ bo mya ñan las ’da’ ba ma gtogs par physis bya ba ña la med do ||

d. *Wú míng luóchà jí* 無明羅刹集, “Book of the Rākṣasa of Ignorance” (T. 720, 850a27–b7):

諸佛世尊於無量劫。修六波羅蜜。集諸善行。斷眾結使。與陰魔死魔煩惱魔。作堅誓竟。永斷生死。超出三界。成就十力四無所畏。於一切法得無礙智。為一切眾生作大明證。證寂滅者。為三界眾生真善親友。能轉法輪。吹大法蠡。擊大法鼓。然大法燈。施大法橋。汎大法船。舉大法帆。高聲唱言。令度彼岸者。究盡弘誓。摧伏一切諸外道眾。度脫一切諸有緣者。使諸人天皆生信解。

Protective Verses for Travellers: a Fragment of the *Diśāsauvastikagāthās* Related to the Scriptures of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*

Vincent Tournier

Introduction

The fragment of a leather folio to be studied here¹ contains parts of eleven verses of a larger ensemble, belonging to the genre of propitiatory metrical texts (*svastyayana-gāthā*).² More specifically, this group of verses calls upon various categories of *numina* ascribed to the four directions of the compass to protect anyone setting out on a trip, especially merchants. The beginning of the first of these verses, reading, for example, *diśāṃ sauvatthikam* in the *Mahāvastu* version,³ or *diśāṃ svastikaram* in the *Lalitavistara* version, has therefore been taken as characteristic enough of the contents of the entire group of verses to serve as a referent of the text as a whole, or as its proper title, in the literature. The *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins refer to these verses with the expression *diśā sauvastikā dakṣiṇā*,⁴ while a Sanskrit fragment from the Khotan region of a text incorporating these verses records the title *Diśāsauvastikasūtra*.⁵ It is by taking this practice into consideration that I tentatively name the text on the Schøyen fragment.

The *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* are transmitted as a micro-textual unit in three other versions, two in an Indic language and one in Chinese translation. The first two are the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, which incorporate them within the wider narrative involving Trapusa and Bhallika.

* I am grateful to Kazunobu Matsuda for having drawn my attention to this fragment, and to Jens Braarvig and Jens-Uwe Hartmann for having encouraged me to study it. I also wish to thank Arlo Griffiths, Seishi Karashima, Jonathan Silk, Peter Skilling, Dhammadinnā and Thomas Crujisen for reading a draft of this article and for granting me their insights and corrections.

¹ This fragment was first transliterated by Somadeva Vasudeva and tentatively identified by him with the *Lalitavistara* (unpublished report for Sam Fogg). Gudrun Melzer prepared another transliteration, and suggested instead that it should be identified as part of the *Mahāvastu*. I thank the latter for sharing with me her preliminary transliteration and reconstruction of the fragment.

² On this category of protective verses, see the general remarks in Skilling 1992a: 129–137.

³ The hybrid form *sauvatthika* is preserved in the oldest manuscript Sa (fol. 377a), which has been dated to the 12th century, as well as in an isolated folio (called Sx 374 in Yuyama 2001), copied by the same scribe but discarded by him (see below, p. 426). The vocalic marker *-au* has been misread as an *-o* by the scribe of Ms. Ta, copying directly from Sa (cf. Tournier 2012b), and the seemingly more prakritic form *sovathika* has thus spread in this manuscript's descendants. It was edited as such by Senart and included in Edgerton's dictionary (BHSD, s.v. *sovathika*), but this should now be discarded as a later alteration and not as a genuine older form transmitted by Lokottaravādin circles. The *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* records the correct Sanskrit form *sauvastika* (see next note), which is also known to the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* (§2749).

⁴ Cf. *Abhis* I 40, §4.19.

⁵ Cf. SHT XI 4391, r., l. 3: *diśā[s]au[v]āsti[k]asūtram*. On the related practice, attested in the Gāndhārī manuscript of the *Khaḍgaviṣṇāgāthā*, of marking out the first verse of a set as a “title line,” see Salomon 2000: 10, 116–117.

According to these accounts, it is the Buddha in person who, after having received from the two merchants his first meal since his Awakening, recites these verses for them. This recitation is interpreted by the *Mahāvastu* as a means to “assign the reward” (*dakṣiṇā* + *ā\diś*), being a strictly required duty after a meal is offered to a monk or to the community.⁶ Similar verses occur in parallel versions of the narratives, found in the *Vinayas* of the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, and Mūlasarvāstivādins, as well as in a (possibly Dharmaguptaka) Gāndhārī version of the story found in the Senior collection, in the *Catuspariṣatsūtra*, and in a fragmentary *Tripusabhallikasūtra* from the Pelliot collection closely related to it. In these texts, the verses are either identified as an “assignment” of the reward, or as the similar practice of “rejoicing over” (*abhy anumodanā*) the meritorious gift.⁷ The number of these verses is very limited in these texts, ranging from one to four, and they are of generic content, mostly extolling the merits arising from the gift. One of the two stanzas quoted in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, however, contains a call for rest (Ch. 安隱, Skt *kṣema*) of those who travel, which reflects a distinct concern for protection related to the livelihood of Trapusa and Bhallika. This stanza is also found immediately after the first of the introductory verses in the *Mahāvastu*, and forms part of the small group of verses which, in this text as in the *Lalitavistara*, share the same generic call for protection and well-being of the two donors.⁸ This concern is further developed in what follows in these two texts, namely a group of over forty verses⁹ that involve a complex pantheon of deities and potent entities ascribed to the four directions: these form the body of the *Diśāsaṁvāstika-gāthās*, to whose contents I shall return below. A third version of this textual unit is preserved in Chinese, mostly in prose,¹⁰ within the 威儀法 *Weīyífǎ*, the section of the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya* (T. 1425) that closely parallels the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins.¹¹ Dealing with what should be recited—as *dakṣiṇādeśana*—to a donor who offers a meal to the community before setting out on a journey, the *Weīyífǎ* cites *in extenso* the propitiatory text, while its Lokottaravādin counterpart prescribes that the verses should be supplied in full from the *Pātrapraṭisamyukta* of the *Bhikṣu-*

⁶ On this practice, see for instance Schopen 1997: 78–79; 2004: 168, 173–174; 2010: 119f.; Shinohara 2010: 31–32 and the references quoted in PV 295, n. 2. Jayarakṣita’s *Śrīghanācārasaṅgrahaṭīkā*, closely related to the known *Vinayas* of the Mahāsāṃghikas, glosses the expression: *dakṣiṇādeśanaṁ ca dānagāthāpāṭhaḥ*. Cf. Śrīgh 80.10–11.

⁷ See respectively T. 1421, vol. 22, 103a29–b5; T. 1428, 782a6–9; T. 1450, 124b28–c8 ≈ SBV I 124.11–20; Allon 2009: 12–13; CPS 88–90, §3.10–13; Pauly 1959: 213–214. For preliminary studies of these versions see, besides Allon and Pauly, Bareau 1963: 106f. On the little studied practice of *anumodana*, see CPD, s.v.; de Casparis 1958: 15–18; Skilling 2003. The Lv (387.11) parallel uses its synonym *saṃharṣaṇā* to refer to the Buddha’s rejoicing.

⁸ On this popular verse drawing from a Vedic antecedent, see below, p. 427.

⁹ The divisions of the *gāthās* of the Mv version in Senart’s edition yields 53 of them, but I understand the structure of these stanzas rather differently, and so my edition counts 49 in total. Similarly, Lefmann’s edition of the Lv version divides the section into 47 verses, but a reassessment of the structure would lead to another result. Incidentally, the author of the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue, referring to an autonomous version of the verses extracted from the Lv (on which see below), counted 50 *śloka*s in total. Cf. Hermann-Pfandt 2008: 273, §477.

¹⁰ Only the section that parallels the introductory blessings in the Mv (vv. 4–7) is rendered in verse in Chinese, while the invocation of the deities of the four directions is translated as prose.

¹¹ These two related texts are now better accessible thanks to the publication of Seishi Karashima’s *opus magnum* (cf. Abhis), which has been an essential tool to prepare the present article.

Prakīrṇaka.¹² The verses were also among the building blocks of the already mentioned *Diśā-sauvastika-sūtra*, preserved only in a few Sanskrit fragments from Chinese Turkestan,¹³ and itself closely related to the Uighur *Diśastvustik*. This text has justly been qualified as a *versio ornatior* of the above-mentioned *Tripusabhallikasūtra*, since it expands considerably the answer of the Buddha upon accepting the gift of food.¹⁴ It incorporates many additional materials, such as lists of *numina* unknown to the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās*, as well as *dhāraṇīs*,¹⁵ thereby clearly enhancing the protective aspect of the text.

For our present purposes, two implications may be noted from this brief survey of the literature. First, though it is impossible to assess which was the original milieu within which the propitiatory verses connected to the four directions were authored, as a self-standing block the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* appear to have been transmitted primarily within the textual tradition of the Mahāsāṃghikas.¹⁶ Second, though these verses fit quite well within the narrative of the two merchants Trapusa and Bhallika, and *might* have been attached early on to this textual unit, they were also transmitted autonomously, for protective purposes, to be recited to travellers upon their departure. Indeed, that versions of these verses circulated outside the prose narrative involving the first two *upāsakas* is also confirmed by several instances of transmission within the Tibetan canon of verses called **Āśīrvādagāthās* (Tib. *Śis par brjod pa 'i tshigs su bcad pa*), within a compendium of protective texts, whose title has been variously reconstructed as **Svastiparyāya* and **Maṅgala-gāthā* (Tib. *bKra śis kyi rnam sgraṅs*).¹⁷ As remarked by Skilling, these verses are identical to those of the *Lalitavistara*, and they are explicitly identified by the colophons as being extracted

¹² This section is unfortunately not extant, but known only from the *vargoddāna* of the *Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka* preserved at the end of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* manuscript, cf. BhīVin(Mā-L) 329, §294. See also Chung 2006. Karashima (Abhis III 565–566) uses the cross-reference recorded in the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* as evidence that the verses “ursprünglich kein selbständiger Text sondern ein fester Teil des *Vinaya* der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins waren.”

¹³ This *sūtra* is found in the following fragments: SHT I 660, XI 4376 & 4391, Pelliot Skt Rouge 4.1–2 (= Pelliot II in Pauly 1959), as well as fragment Or. 15009/347 of the Hoernle collection (cf. BLSF II.1: 326f.). Whether all these fragments preserve one and the same version of the *sūtra* remains to be determined.

¹⁴ Cf. Pauly 1959: 207. Note that this *Tripusabhallikasūtra* should not be confused with the *Sūtra of Trapusa (and Bhallika)* (*Tiwei [boli] jing* 提謂波利經), composed in China by Tanyao around 440–464 and known from quotations and from two Dunhuang manuscripts preserving distinct versions. This text is studied in Tokuno 1994. The *Tiwei jing* is heavily influenced by Chinese ethical and cosmological conceptions, and completely unrelated to the textual family considered here. One can, however, see a distant echo of the concern met with in the *Diśāsauvastikasūtra* in the statement that *upāsakas* who keep the precepts will be protected by an array of benevolent spirits, cf. Tokuno 1994: 156–159, 173.

¹⁵ These additional materials themselves have much in common with portions of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī* (in its longer version), as demonstrated by von Staël-Holstein. On the relation between the Uighur *Diśastvustik* and the literature in Indic and Chinese, see Radloff & von Staël-Holstein 1910: 81–122; Yakup 2006: 10–28. A fuller examination of this complex *sūtra* tradition remains a *desideratum*.

¹⁶ Bareau (1959: 308) goes further in stating that the verses were probably *composed* within the Mahāsāṃghika environment. The presence of these verses in the Buddhist Sanskrit version of the Lv does not contradict this view. The long-lasting scholarly opinion according to which this text would be related to the Sarvāstivādins seems indeed to be founded on very thin and inconclusive evidence, and some scholars have argued it might in fact have sprung from a Mahāsāṃghika milieu, or at least have used sources from that school. Cf. de Jong 1997–98: 250–253. Note that the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* appear not to be reflected in the *Puyao jing* (T. 186), an early biography of the Buddha, which has close textual affinities with the Lv, and may have been one of the inspirations or sources of this text. Chapter 24 of the Chinese text, corresponding to the *Trapusabhallikaparivarta* of the Lv, however shares a similar concern with guaranteeing the protection of various *numina*. Cf. T. 186, vol. 3, 526c28–527a15. See also T. 187, 602c16–23.

¹⁷ The *Śis par brjod pa 'i tshigs su bcad pa* are already listed under the heading *bKra śis kyi rnam sgraṅs*, together with six other texts, in the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue, cf. Lalou 1953: 330 and Hermann-Pfandt 2008: 273.

from the *Trapuṣabhallikaparivarta* of that text.¹⁸ The Schøyen fragment might similarly represent an autonomous transmission of the verses, an examination of its codicological properties providing some support to this hypothesis.

The writing surface consists of a leather membrane, heavily damaged on one of its corners, whose measurements are 50 mm in length and 145 mm in width. The folio once belonged to a book of the *poṭhī*-type, as suggested by the diamond-shaped string-hole clearly visible on the left hand side of the membrane, and by the folio number 59, written in the left margin of the *recto*. The text, written in Brāhmī script, agrees overall with the variety called Gilgit-Bāmiyān Type I, and it can therefore be tentatively dated to the 6th or 7th century. The hand, however, is very loose and irregular, and several *akṣaras* are subject to an unusually high degree of variation;¹⁹ moreover, several obvious copying mistakes can be identified. The fragment therefore gives the impression of having been written by someone inexperienced with the writing of Brāhmī. The fact that the very use of leather is much more common for Bactrian documents than for texts written in Indian languages and scripts may also be suggestive. Both sides of the preserved folio contain six lines of text, with an average number of thirty-three characters per line. Since the verses preserved in the Schøyen fragment (hereafter: F), as we shall see, closely agree with the version of the *Diśā-sauvastika-gāthās* transmitted by the *Mahāvastu* (hereafter: DS-Mv), we can estimate that three and a half or four folios²⁰ were probably required before the one preserved, and slightly more than half a folio after it. We cannot determine with certainty whether the leather book preserved only the verses as an independent unit, or whether it contained also a version of the prose narrative centred on Trapusa and Bhallika's gift of food to the Buddha. Since, out of the 31 other leather fragments in the Schøyen collection, none could be identified so far with certainty as belonging to the same bundle,²¹ the larger textual unit to which these verses belonged cannot be known at present. But the reference to these verses in the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* and their quotation in the *Weīyīfā* prove the circulation of the verses outside a prose narrative, and their common use among Mahāsāṃghika circles. We can moreover rule out the possibility that the leather manuscript was a copy of the *Mahāvastu*. Indeed, the folio number preserved by our fragment is incompatible with the length of such a collection, at least as it has reached us. To be sure, one might argue against this that the manuscript might have retained a much shorter recension of the *Mahāvastu* than the one preserved in its Nepalese recension. Such a scenario is, however, unlikely, since the *Mahāvastu* known to the Gandhāran monk *Jñānagupta, who authored the 佛本行集經 *Fó běnxíng jí jīng* (T. 190) at the end of the 6th century, must already have been a well-developed

¹⁸ Cf. Skilling 1992a: 130–134.

¹⁹ See in particular the variations affecting the *akṣaras* *bha* and *ga*. The writing style bears close similarities with that of fragment 2376/174, though it was not copied by the same hand.

²⁰ This depends on whether the introductory verse narrative (DS-Mv, vv. 1–3) was transmitted along with the *Diśā-sauvastika-gāthās* proper. This section is represented only in the Mv, while it is absent from the Lv and the MaVin.

²¹ Identification of the fragments belonging to the same manuscript, especially when it contains several distinct texts, is complicated by the fact that various hands might be involved. The so-called “Bower Manuscript,” a miscellaneous bundle in the copying of which at least four hands were involved, provides a good example of such a phenomenon. Cf. Hoernle 1893–1912: xxvi–xlvi. An analysis of the format and measurement of the leather fragments should thus be carried out along with that of palaeography. For the suggestion that the fragment under study might have been part of a *Sammelhandschrift* comparable to the Bower Manuscript, see below, n. 23.

biography of the Buddha, starting with his long quest as a *bodhisattva*.²² One could also argue for the possible transmission of the *Mahāvastu* in several bundles, but such a practice is not attested in the Schøyen collection. For a copy of such a massive work as the *Mahāvastu*, a constitutive part of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin *Vinaya*, one would rather expect a larger format, the use of palm leaves or birch bark, and a more skilful hand. But the small format of the Schøyen manuscript, the choice of leather as writing material, and the loose copying style support the hypothesis of its being part of a smaller collection. Given the connection of the *Diśāsaustika-gāthās* with the ritual assignment of the reward after a gift, and with protection, one could therefore speculate that these were copied on the leather bundle along with other texts sharing similar purposes.²³ The book might therefore have served as a kind of “grimoire,” particularly handy for ritual specialists due to its strong writing material and small format. Some support for this speculation can be found in the fact that one manuscript of small format transmitting the related *Tripusabhallikasūtra* similarly contained other protective texts.²⁴ Before exploring to what extent the ritual use of the *Diśāsaustika-gāthās* is consistent with the kind of practices evidenced in the Bāmiyān region, we need to assess the content of these verses.

The great affinity I have so far assumed between the text contained in our fragment and its parallel transmitted within the *Mahāvastu* will first need to be substantiated. This will be done by comparing the structure of the available versions of the *Diśāsaustika-gāthās* and by considering the related groups of deities named in these texts. In the Indian and Chinese versions of the text available to us, it is opened by verses general in content, promising protection, at all times and everywhere, to whomever would listen to what follows. The main part of the text is then divided into four subsections, in which the four directions are successively surveyed, starting from the east and proceeding clockwise. For each direction, a group of eight constellations (*nakṣatra*) is invoked, followed by seven divine maidens (*devakanyā*), who themselves are presided over by one

²² For other arguments supporting the view according to which the composition of the Mv was most probably closed by the 6th century, at least in its Magadhan recension, see Tournier 2012a; 2012b: 93–94.

²³ At least some of the leather fragments relate to the ritual function of our text. Indeed, several of the Schøyen fragments preserve texts connected with the wider genre of *rakṣā* literature, while a version of the *Dānādhikārasūtra*, extolling the results of meritorious gifts, has been identified by Kazunobu Matsuda. An overview of the contents of these leather fragments was presented in Matsuda 2003. It is also noteworthy that within the bundle of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* recovered from the Bāmiyān area and written on birch bark, a supplementary folio containing a portion of the 66th and 67th *pācattikas* that was missed during the copying of the text was copied on leather. Cf. Karashima 2013:62 and pl. 29. Interestingly, a rare mention of leather as writing material in an Indian text is found in chapter 86 of the 6th-century *Brhatsaṃhitā*, within a passage dealing with the interpretation of omens (*lakṣaṇa*). Stanza 76 of this chapter prescribes that a different writing material be used according to the provenance of the omen: leather (*carman*) is thus assigned to the northern direction. Cf. BṛSaṃ LXXXVI 76; Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 5, n. 9. In sum, the use of leather as writing material might have been favoured for the copying of ritual texts destined to be frequently handled. Upon personal inspection of the fragments [in August 2014], I was also able to take the measurements of all leather fragments. The following three fragments have measurements that are strikingly similar to the one under consideration, and the string holes are also similarly situated on these membranes: MS 2376/101; 2379/73; 2376/102. Though none of them is written in the same hand as that of the *Diśāsaustika-gāthās*, they were probably copied during the same period and might have thus belonged to the same *Sammelhandschrift*. Though none of these fragments has been precisely identified so far, they contain *dhāraṇī*-type formulae (MS 2376/101), and parts of narratives (MS 2376/102 & 2379/73) that relate to the wider issue of protection or cure. The texts preserved in the four fragments might thus have been assembled in order for them to be used by a ritual specialist in a variety of circumstances. Further work on these fragments is needed, and might confirm the hypothesis suggested here.

²⁴ Cf. Pauly 1959: 222.

of the four great kings (*mahārāja*);²⁵ each of the great kings is also accompanied by other supernatural beings. Lastly, a *caitya* is invoked for the eastern and southern directions, while a mountain (*parvata*) is propitiated in connection with the other two directions. The text is then concluded by a few verses summing up the contents of the pantheon involved in the traveller's protection. The Schøyen fragment preserves the end of the subsection dedicated to the west, and most of the subsection that focuses on the north. For the portion it covers, the way the text is structured is identical to that of the *Mahāvastu*. In particular, both texts conclude each group of verses focusing on a certain class of deities with a six-*pāda* stanza, starting with *so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca* (Pl. *tā pi vo abhipāletu ...*),²⁶ which recurs like a refrain. I tentatively understand these two *pādas* as meaning “let this [or: these] watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity.”²⁷ A similar stanza only occurs once at the end of each of the four subsections in the *Lalitavistara*, after the mention of the *caitya/parvata*, and, significantly, the stanza does not include the *pāda* b *bhūrīye bhavanena ca*, but rather *ārogyena śivena ca*.²⁸ The Chinese rendering in prose of the four subsections concludes the paragraphs dedicated to the *nakṣatras* with two sentences recalling the contents of this stanza, but again the characteristic *pāda* *bhūrīye bhavanena ca* is not reflected.²⁹ Therefore, the refrain found in our fragment may be understood as an important marker of the close connection between the text it preserves and that included in the *Mahāvastu*.³⁰ The proximity in overall structure between these two texts is even more remarkable since it is also present at the level of individual stanzas. The two texts both share, for example, a most specific five-*pāda* stanza (F, v. 7; DS-Mv, v. 40). Verse no. 40 of the *Mahāvas-*

²⁵ By contrast, each of the great kings is said, in the Lv, to preside over the *nakṣatras* and not the *devakanyās*. In the *Diśasauvastikasūtra* (and *Diśastvustik*), the mention of each *mahārāja* also directly follows that of the *nakṣatras*. Cf. Pauly 1959: 221; Yakup 2006: 9.

²⁶ Cf. Schøyen fragment, vv. 2, 6, 8, 10 and DS-Mv, vv. 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45.

²⁷ The *pāda* shared by our fragment and the Mv is not easy to understand, as is evidenced by the fact that it was altered into *bhūmīye bhavanena ca* in the later manuscript tradition of the latter text. The 17th-century copyist of manuscript Ta, the pandit Jayamuni, is indeed responsible for correcting almost every instance of *bhūrīye* into *bhūmīye*, a reading that was passed on to the later Nepalese manuscripts. On Jayamuni, his revision of the text inherited by Ms. Sa, and his key role in the later diffusion of the Mv in the Kathmandu valley, see Tournier 2012b. The *pāda* was therefore edited as it stood in the late copies collated by Senart, and tentatively understood by Jones as “abroad and at home,” cf. Mv(J) III 294 and n. 1. But the readings shared by the earliest manuscript of the Mv and the Schøyen fragment allow a more satisfactory interpretation. The adjective *bhūri* is well attested with the meaning “abundant,” but by analogy with the construction of the parallel *pāda*, *ārogyena śivena ca*, occurring once in DS-Mv, v. 32b, I suggest here taking it as a substantive in the instr. sg. corresponding to Skt *bhūriṇā*. The word *bhavana* can in turn be understood as a substitute for *bhava*, one of whose meanings is also “prosperity.” Cf. MW, s.v.

²⁸ Cf. Lv 388.14–16, 389.12–14, 390.10–12, 391.8–10. The two first *pādas* of this stanza are also found repeated after the paragraphs dedicated to the *mahārāja*'s sons and to the *devakanyās* of each section. Cf. Lv 388.7, 11, 389.5, 9, 390.3, 7, 391.1, 5. Interestingly, one out of the sixteen instances in the Mv also has the *pāda* *ārogyena śivena ca*, cf. DS-MV, v. 32.

²⁹ Cf. T. 1425, vol. 22, 501a3; Abhis 40: 今當護汝, 令得安隱, 得利早還。一切星宿, 皆當護汝。See also 501a14–15, 24–25, 501b6. This is translated by Karashima (Abhis I 42–43) as follows: “Jetzt mögen sie euch so beschützen, daß ihr Frieden haben, Gewinn erwerben und schnell heimkommen könnt. Alle diese Gestirne mögen euch beschützen.” Shorter sentences that recall similar ideas also conclude paragraphs dedicated to other categories of deities, and especially after the *mahārāja* and the *caitya/parvata* subsections.

³⁰ Interestingly, the transmission of this refrain is subject to minor recensional variants in these two texts. Indeed, while the Schøyen fragment consistently opens the *pāda* f with *sarva-*, followed by the name of the entities involved in the protection in the instr. pl., the version preserved in the Mv generally uses other ways to fill the two syllables. Cf. F, v.6: *sarvanakṣatrehi rakṣitā*; v. 8: *[sa](rvakanyāhi rakṣitā)*; v. 10: *sarvayakṣehi rakṣitā*; DS-Mv, v. 39: *tehi nakṣatrehi rakṣitā*; v. 41: *devakanyābhirakṣitā*; v. 43: *yakṣarākṣasarakṣitā*. See however vv. 15, 34.

tu version was emended by Senart, forced by the badly corrupt reading of one of his manuscripts, to include a lacunary even *pāda*, but the fact that the Schøyen fragment, like the Nepalese manuscripts I collated, and like Senart's Ms. B, has the next stanza directly following the name of the eighth *devakanyā*, confirms that this odd number of *pādas* is as old as the 6th–7th century. This common feature confirms the impression that the text preserved in the Schøyen fragment is most closely related to the *Mahāvastu*.

The overall agreement of these two texts can be used in turn for text-critical purposes, as their comparison, for instance, shows that the version transmitted by the *Mahāvastu* must have lost two stanzas at some point in the process of its transmission. These were placed after the list of the seven *nakṣatras* in the western and northern directions (i.e. after DS-Mv, vv. 29 and 38), where they concluded the enumeration before the refrain starting *tā pi vo abhipārentu*. This stanza, starting with *ity ete sapta nakṣatrā*, is indeed present in the subsections dedicated to the eastern and southern directions in this text (DS-Mv, vv. 10, 20) and, given the symmetrical construction of these four subsections, their absence in the west and the north requires an explanation. Verse 5 in our fragment confirms that an earlier recension of the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās*, closely related to that of the *Mahāvastu*, preserved this verse of transition within the subsection dedicated to the north. Moreover, a sentence with similar contents is also reflected in the *Lalitavistara* and in the *Weīyifā*, in all four subsections.³¹ Finally, it is worth noting that the longer Sanskrit version of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī* also includes four stanzas listing the *nakṣatras*, each of them followed by a similar concluding sentence.³²

When we compare the lists of deities transmitted by the various versions of the *svastigāthās* for the portion covered by the fragment (see table), the similarity between the “Bāmiyān version” and that of the *Mahāvastu* is striking. To be sure, the degree of affinity with the other two texts, and especially with the *Lalitavistara*, is also high, but the *Mahāvastu* is the only text whose system agrees overall with that of the fragment. Hence, the *Mahāvastu*, the Schøyen fragment and the *Lalitavistara* agree in having Kubera presiding over the Northern direction, while the *Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya* has *Varuṇa. The latter text in turns agrees with the *Mahāvastu* and our fragment in identifying the northern sacred mountain as Kailāsa, while the *Lalitavistara* has instead Gandhamādana. A similar interchange between these two names to refer to Kubera's abode has been observed in the Epics and in the Purāṇas, even between the various recensions of the same passage, a good example being provided by the *āyatana* account of the *Skandapurāṇa*.³³ Also, while they often refer to two distinct mountains, it is quite clear that they are sometimes confused:³⁴ a small leather fragment of the Schøyen collection confirms such an identification in Bāmiyān, as it contains an homage to Kailāsa, referred to with the epithet Gandhamādana.³⁵

³¹ Cf. Lv 388.1–2, 21–22, 389.19–20, 390.17–18; T. 1425, 501a1–2, 13–14, 24, b5; Abhis I 40–41.

³² Cf. Mmī 50.14–52.2. In the text edited by Takubo, the first part of the concluding sentence can still be recognised as an *anuṣṭubh pādayuga*, but the second is not metrical anymore. The passage on the *nakṣatras* is absent from the two portions preserved as parts VI and VII of the Bower manuscript, and it forms part of a wider section, developing what Sylvain Lévi (1915: 21) called “une véritable mobilisation du panthéon bouddhique.” On the Mmī and its complex textual history, see also Watanabe 1907 and the remarks in Scherrer-Schaub 2000–01.

³³ Cf. Bisschop 2006: 93 (SPs, v. 24), 119 (SP_{RA} 1, v. 55), 177, 232.

³⁴ Cf. Grünendahl 1993: 125–128.

³⁵ Cf. Fragment 2382/22/4, recto, l. 1–4.

There is an interesting correspondence between the Chinese version and the text of our fragment, in that they both name the western mountain Artha (Ch. 饒益). The *Mahāvastu* records the form Asta, thus referring to the mountain associated with the setting sun in a way similar to the Epics.³⁶ The hypothesis that, behind these two forms, lies a Middle Indic antecedent *attha*,³⁷ is supported by the fact that the verse in which the mountain is named plays with the benefits (*artha*) that it should grant to the travellers.³⁸ In one instance, the form preserved by our fragment cannot be reduced to the same antecedent as that of the *Mahāvastu*. Referring to the third and fourth of the northern *nakṣatras*, the manuscript uses the plural form *cadrapadāni*, which is certainly a scribal mistake for *bhādrapadāni*.³⁹ The necessity of such a reading is further confirmed by the *Lalitavistara* parallel, whose *pāda* b was wrongly edited by Lefmann but whose manuscripts record the name Bhādrapada (or: Bhādrapada).⁴⁰ The *Mahāvastu* parallel, by contrast, calls the constellation Proṣṭhapadā, and the *Weīyīfā* might retain an altered form descending from the same word.⁴¹ The two words Bhādrapadā and Proṣṭhapadā alternate in the literature and, as was remarked for the case of Kailāsa/Gandhamādana, they can coexist even in one and the same text, such as in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*.⁴²

³⁶ See below, n. 97.

³⁷ Karashima comments on the Chinese form as follows: “Vermutlich stand in dem der chinesischen Übersetzung zugrunde liegenden Text die mittelindische Form *Aṭṭha* (< *Aṣṭa*), und der chinesische Übersetzer hat sie als Entsprechung von *artha* ... verstanden, dessen mittelindische Form auch *aṭṭha* ist.” Cf. Abhis I 47, n. 29. The Schøyen fragment shows that the Sanskritized form *artha* developed in the Indian manuscript tradition, and makes it likely that the translators into Chinese dealt with such a form in the exemplar brought from Pāṭaliputra by Faxian, rather than (mis)understanding a Middle Indic form. Moreover, Karashima’s supposition of a Middle Indic antecedent *aṭṭha* rather than *attha* seems to rely on his accepting the variant reading *aṣṭa* in a late manuscript of the Mv as more genuine than *asta*, recorded by manuscript Sa, and well-attested in non-Buddhist texts. But *aṣṭa* seems rather the fruit of confusion between the conjunct *-sta-* and *-ṣṭa-* in the Nepalese manuscript tradition. This interchange, common in Newārī, was already alluded to by John Brough (1954: 355–356) to explain the readings *aṣṭa* and *aṣṭamga* of the Lv, wrongly accepted by Edgerton in his BHSD, s.v.v. While *aṣṭa* derives from the substantive *asta* and does not represent, as thought by Edgerton, a past participle from *aśnoti*, *aṣṭamga* should derive from **astamga*, itself a synonym of *astam-gama*, cf. CPD, s.v. *atthamga*. See also Radloff & von Staël-Holstein 1910: 99. A genuine development from a Middle Indic form *aṭṭha* is found elsewhere in the scriptures, in regard to the section embedded in the *Suttanipāta* under the name *Aṭṭhakavagga* or “Section of the Eights,” but also known as *Arthavargīya-sūtra* or *Arthapada*. Cf. Lévi 1915: 412–14; Karashima 2002: 221 and n. 36; Baums 2009: 38–44.

³⁸ Cf. F, v. 1; DS-Mv, v. 35; Lv 390.8–9. Interestingly, *Attha* is known as one of the names of Mount Meru in Jaina texts in *Ardhamāgadhī*, and it is interpreted there as referring to the wealth possessed by the mountain, cf. AMgD, s.v. *attha*, 2.

³⁹ The emendation is justified by the proximity of the *akṣaras ca* and *bha* in our manuscript, as the comparison with the previous *akṣara bhau* makes obvious.

⁴⁰ Lefmann (Lv 390.15) edits *dve ca pūrvottarāpare*, but I suggest adopting instead a reading preserved in the apparatus (Lv II 194): *dvau ca bhādrapade tathā* (v.l.: *bhadre pade*). This is moreover supported by the parallel found in the Mmī (51.18), whose *pāda* b reads: *ubhe bhādrapade tathā* (v.l.: *bhādrapade*). The name Bhādrapada was moreover already accepted in Foucaux 1884: 324. The list of the *nakṣatras* given in the *Mahāvastu* (§§3210–11) also refers to the two constellations under the name *Pūrvabhādrapadā* and *Uttarabhādrapadā*. The forms *bhādrapadā* and *bhādrapadā* alternate in the literature cf. MW, s.v.v.

⁴¹ Karashima remarks (Abhis I 48, n. 32): “不魯具陀尼: MC: pju luo: gju dā ṇi ist wahrscheinlich eine Verschreibung für z.B. 不魯吒波陀 (MC: pju luo: ṭa puā dā).”

⁴² Cf. Śārd (M) 75.6, 129.10 ≈ (StP) fol. 22a1, 36b4. The two forms also appear in the *Amarakośa* as synonyms, cf. Amk I 3.21. The form Proṣṭhapadā appears to be attested earlier than Bhādrapadā, since it occurs in the late strata of the Vedic corpus. See, for instance AVPariś I 1.2. See also PW, s.v. *proṣṭhapadā*. On the *nakṣatras* in Vedic literature, see recently Sakamoto-Goto 2011.

| <i>Numina</i> | Schøyen Fragment | <i>Mahāvastu</i> | <i>Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya</i> | <i>Lalitavistara</i> |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|
| <i>West</i> | | | | |
| <i>parvata</i> | Artha | Asta | 饒益 = *Artha | Aṣṭam(ga) |
| <i>North</i> | | | | |
| <i>nakṣatras</i> | Dhani(ṣṭhā)
+ + +
Bhadrapadā
Bhadrapadā
Revatī
Aśvinī
Bharaṇī | Dhaniṣṭhā
Śatabhiṣā
Proṣṭhapadā
Proṣṭhapadā
Revatī
Aśvajā
Bharaṇī | 檀尼吒 = *Dhaniṣṭhā
世陀毘 = *Śatabhi
世陀毘 = *Śatabhi
不魯具陀尼 = *Pūrvagudaṇī
離婆帝 = *Revatī
阿濕尼 = *Aśvinī
婆羅尼 = *Bharaṇī | Dhaniṣṭhā
Śatabhiṣā
Bhadrapadā
Bhadrapadā
Revatī
Aśvinī
Bharaṇī |
| <i>devakumārīs</i> | + + +
+ + +
(Pr)thivī
Padumāvatī
Āśā
Śraddhā
Hirī
Śirī | Hirīdevī
Surādevī
Prṭhivī
Padumāvatī
Āśā
Śraddhā
Hirī
Śirī | 尼羅提毘 = *Nīlādevī
修羅提毘 = *Surādevī
俱(ṛ. 波?)吒毘 = *Paṭhavī
波頭摩 = *Padumā
呵尼(ṛ. 沙?) = *Āśā
彼利 = *Pirī
遮邏尼(ṛ. 陀?) = *Śraddhā
迦摩 = *Kāmā | Ilādevī
Surādevī
Prṭhvī
Padmāvatī
Āśā
Śraddhā
Hirī
Śirī |
| <i>adhipati</i> | Kubera
with + + + | Kubera
with <i>rākṣasī</i> | 婆留那 = *Varuṇa
alone | Kubera
with Māṇibhadra |
| <i>parvata</i> | Kelāsa | Kailāsa | 枳羅蘇 = *Kailāso | Gandhamādana |

Note: The entries under the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya are quoted from Karashima's critical edition of the *Weīyīśā* passage, in Abhis I 41f., and the Indic reconstructions are his.

This quick survey of the deities dealt with in the portion covered by our fragment confirms the great proximity between this text and that embedded in the *Mahāvastu*, even if the two systems are not completely identical. This is accounted for by the inherent fluidity of conceptions related to the numerous entities associated with the divisions of space. This fact should be kept in mind while attempting to reconstruct the lacunary verses of the fragment: though it shares enough with the *Mahāvastu* to justify the use of the latter as primary referent when suggesting a reconstruction, the text as it was transmitted in Bāmiyān may have known a slightly different pantheon than the one preserved in the former text. For example, we cannot be absolutely certain that the deity or deities said to preside over the protection of the northern direction in verse 9d were indeed *rākṣasīs*, as in the *Mahāvastu* parallel.⁴³ More importantly, we cannot be sure that the system of the four great

⁴³ Inspired by the fact that each of the four *mahārājas* is accompanied by a secondary deity in the Lv, and seeing in the mention, in v. 49, of *aṣṭa sa-indrakā devā*, a reference to this group of eight gods, Senart and Jones have made various suggestions to “restore” such a system, by correcting the mention of *devas* accompanying Dhṛtarāṣṭra in v. 14d and *rākṣasīs* accompanying Kubera in v. 42d. Cf. Mv III 504–505; Mv(J) III 297, n. 1. But the system depicted in the Lv is obviously more polished than that of the other versions of the text and it is methodologically problematic to emend them on its basis. Moreover, the *devas* accompanying Dhṛtarāṣṭra, lord of the *gandharvas*, are also mentioned in the MaVin (501a7–8), which confirms the earliness of the Mv's reading. Finally, the eight *devas* called *sa-indrakā*, who are listed along with three groups of eight *śramaṇas*, *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas*, form a total of thirty-two beings who are not at all mentioned in the body of the text. Despite von Staël-Holstein's assumption that the concluding verses represent a “prototype” on the basis of which the group of verses would have developed, there is no evidence that these four groups of individuals were ever part of the directional system pictured in the body of the text. Cf. Radloff &

kings known to those who transmitted the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* in Bāmiyān was identical to the one recorded in manuscript Sa of the *Mahāvastu*. This manuscript interestingly preserves a directional system in which Virūpākṣa presides over the south, while Virūḍhaka is connected to the west. This appears to be the opposite of the most usual distribution of these gods, reflected in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Weīyīfā*. This apparent mistake led Jayamuni, the influential copyist of *Mahāvastu*'s manuscript Ta,⁴⁴ to correct the names of the two *mahārājas*, and this emendation was passed over to the later copies, among them the two collated by Senart. The fact that this emendation by the learned 17th-century copyist is an undue harmonisation of a genuine tradition transmitted within the *Mahāvastu* is confirmed by the presence, among the concluding verses, of the following stanza:

purimakāṃ dhṛtarāṣṭro paścimakāṃ virūḍhako <|>
dakṣiṇāṃ ca virūpākṣo kubero uttarāṃ diśāṃ <||> (48)

The verse is again emended by the copyist of Ta and transmitted in its modified form by later manuscripts, but this correction obviously injures the metre. As we shall see, the *anuṣṭubh* verses of this text can be quite free,⁴⁵ but the pattern ~ – ~ in syllables 13–15 is consistently respected. Though Senart does not explain himself, it is probably because of the state of the verse as inherited by his manuscripts that he did not include it within his edition and relegated it to his critical apparatus. A similar concluding sentence occurs in the Chinese parallel, and, in harmony with the earlier description of this text, attributes the western direction to Virūpākṣa and the southern to Virūḍhaka.⁴⁶ However, metrical considerations prevent us from assuming on this basis that the *Weīyīfā* represents a more “valid” tradition and that we should, following on the steps of Jayamuni, invert the names of the two *mahārājas*. These considerations illustrate well the important fluidity of the pantheon embraced by Indian Buddhists, and a significant amount of variability is also found within the *lokapāla* system that developed in late Vedic and Epic literature.⁴⁷

Whatever was the detailed system of *numina* transmitted in the leather manuscript from the Schøyen collection, the mere fact that this text was, in all likelihood, recovered from the Bāmiyān

von Staël-Holstein 1910: 95–96. The *sa-indrakās* should not therefore be identified with the four great kings and their right arms, but they could rather be understood as the wider entourage of these kings. This is suggested, for instance, by the following passage of the *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* (cf. Skilling 1994–97, vol. I: 611, § C.2.5): *sendrakās ca devāḥ sabrahmakāḥ saprajāpatikās catvāraś ca lokapālāḥ praviśanti* ... The three first categories of *devas* also occur in the first *Avalokitasūtra* of the Mv (II 260.4–5/Sa 197a3).

⁴⁴ See above, n. 27.

⁴⁵ My tentative emendation in *pāda* a of the same stanza—by removing the word *diśāṃ*, which I take as an interpolation—does not solve the irregular scansion ~ ~ of syllables 2–3. This pattern is also found, however, in vv. 47e and 49c. The emendation moreover leads to a *sa-vipulā*, which is not uncommon in Middle Indic *anuṣṭubhs*. An instance of such a *vipulā* is found elsewhere in DS-MV, v. 7. See also Warder 1967: 175.

⁴⁶ Cf. T. 1425, 501b14–15; Abhis 41: 東方提頭羅吒王。西方毘留博叉王。南方毘留荼王。北方婆留那王。The absence of the verse in the body of Senart's edition led Karashima to assume that no parallel to this sentence was found in the Mv or the Lv. Cf. Abhis I 49, n. 42.

⁴⁷ For a synthesis of the literary sources pertaining to the *lokapālas*, see Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 4–16. On the progressive formation of the system within the corpus of the *pariśiṣṭas* see, in particular, Einoo 2005: 111–119; Bisschop & Griffiths 2007: 12, n. 31. On these gods within the Epics, see Hopkins 1915: 149–152. The ca. 7th-century *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, in the description of the funerary monument (*aiḍūka*) that was much influenced by Buddhist notions, also records a departure from the usual system, with Virūḍha(ka) connected to the east, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra to the south. Cf. Bakker 2007: 12, n. 4, and 13, n. 8.

region is highly significant. It indeed echoes what is otherwise reported of the religious beliefs and practices of merchants stopping by at a site that was a major node of communication for regional and long-distance trade from the late 6th century on.⁴⁸ Xuanzang includes in his description of Bāmiyān a brief but interesting allusion to the religious attitudes of the merchants passing through it:⁴⁹

淳信之心，特甚隣國。上自三寶，下至百神，莫不輸誠，竭心宗敬。商估往來者，天神現徵祥，示崇變，求福德。

The sincere faith in [their] heart far exceeds that of the neighbouring kingdoms. From the Three Jewels above to the hundreds of gods below, there is none to which they do not manifest devotion, and which they do not wholeheartedly revere. As to the merchants who come and go, the gods show them [there] auspicious as well as inauspicious signs, [so that they] strive for merit.

This passage suggests that, besides the majestic and “supramundane” (*lokottara*) Buddhas so lavishly represented in the Bāmiyān cliffs, “mundane” (*laukika*) deities were very much part of the Buddhism of the valley.⁵⁰ Such eclecticism is also clearly witnessed by the iconography of the site, the best example of this being the grandiose “solar god” represented on the ceiling over the niche hosting the 38m Buddha.⁵¹ Merchants were especially anxious to propitiate an array of numinous entities before setting out for a journey, for example through the dangerous mountain ridges separating the Bāmiyān valley and Tokharestan.⁵² Foucher and other scholars after him have suggested, on the basis of Xuanzang’s remark, that the eagerness of the travellers for comfort and protection might have constituted one of the factors for the growth of Bāmiyān.⁵³ This deep concern for the propitiation of secondary deities is confirmed by several documents from the area. One of the few Buddhist texts preserved in Bactrian is an amulet consisting essentially in a series of homages to *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas*, but also deities starting with Vaiśramaṇa (i.e. Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera).⁵⁴ The latter deity is also the object of homage in a *dhāraṇī* preserved in yet another

⁴⁸ On the well-known *vieille route* between Bactria and India, see for instance Foucher 1942; Neelis 2006; 2011: 246–251. For a synthesis of the other networks connected to Bāmiyān in the 7th to 10th centuries, see Klimburg-Salter 2010.

⁴⁹ Cf. T. 2087, vol. 51, 873b4–12. I retranslated here the passage, with the help of Ruixuan Chen, and inspired especially by Pelliot’s French translation of the passage and by Max Deeg’s draft translation, which he generously shared with me. Cf. Beal 1884, vol. 1: 50; Pelliot in Godard & Hackin 1928: 79; Kuwayama 2006: 144; Li 1996: 38. The translation of the last sentence is tentative, since, as stated by Pelliot, “[elle] est assez bizarrement rédigée.”

⁵⁰ The pair of concepts *laukika/lokottara* has been fruitfully employed by David Seyfort Ruegg (1964; 2008) as an emic device to approach the way Buddhists hierarchized the objects of their devotion, and I trust this is a meaningful way to approach the religious pluralism at work in the present context. A somewhat similar hierarchy is clearly expressed in Xuanzang’s opposition between 上 and 下 in the passage just quoted.

⁵¹ As Grenet (1994) has shown, the represented god draws its inspiration from the Iranian world and bears many common features with the god Miθra. See before him Rowland 1938.

⁵² Xuanzang, who followed such a route to reach Bāmiyān, describes the dangers of what he calls the “great snow mountains” (大雪山). Cf. T. 2087, 873a29–b2; Li 1996: 38.

⁵³ Cf. Foucher 1942: 132–133. Compare the remarks in Klimburg-Salter 1989: 122–123, 134–136. See also Neelis 2011: 249.

⁵⁴ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007: 174–175. The list of Buddhas bears some similarity with another Bactrian document preserved in the Schøyen collection, cf. Sims-Williams 2000.

leather fragment from the Schøyen collection.⁵⁵ The *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* fill a similar need for protection: this text offers comfort to those travellers who set out on a journey, assuring them that whatever direction they go in, the deities assigned to that portion of the world will watch over them. Like other protective texts, such as the (first) *Dhvajāgramahāsūtra*, it can be characterized as particularly “tailored” for merchants, to borrow Peter Skilling’s expression.⁵⁶ There is, first of all, evidence within the verses themselves for this connection with merchants.⁵⁷ Moreover, while the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* simply introduce these verses as fitting as *dakṣiṇādeśana* for someone “upon his departure” (*gamika*),⁵⁸ the Chinese parallel explicitly refers to the quality of the traveller as a merchant (Ch. 估客).⁵⁹ When the verses are transmitted within a narrative, the latter features the two paradigmatic traders Trapusa and Bhallika. Several versions of the story of these merchants connect them with the northwest of the Indian subcontinent, the *Mahāvastu* referring to Gandhāra⁶⁰ while a Bactrian account recorded by Xuanzang tells us that they originated from Bactria.⁶¹ We can therefore imagine that a similarly localized tradition was known in the Hindu Kush, and could have been appealing to donors following on the steps of these two eminent predecessors. What might also have appealed to the religious sensibility of travellers and traders risking their lives in the dangerous mountain passes connecting Northwest India and Central Asia is that the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* call upon not only an array of gods and *numina* to protect the traveller, but also two eminent mountains, Kailāsa associated with the northern direction, and Asta/Artha with the western.⁶² The eagerness to propitiate these eminent mountains is also witnessed by the already mentioned homage to Kailāsa recorded in a leather fragment (no. 2382/22/4), which, given its small format, might have been intended to be worn as an amulet.

⁵⁵ Cf. Fragment 2376/101, recto, l. 5. On paintings representing Vaiśravaṇa in the Bāmiyān region, thereby confirming the popularity of this god, see Klimburg-Salter 1981.

⁵⁶ Cf. Skilling 1994–97, vol. II: 426–427. See also Radloff & von Staël-Holstein 1910: 80.

⁵⁷ Indeed, one verse preserved in the Mv and Lv texts contains the vocative *vāṇijā*. Cf. DS-Mv, v. 7; Lv 387.16–17. The Chinese parallel, however, does not record this apostrophe.

⁵⁸ In the list of the various occasions for a gift of food to the community that require the formal assignment of the merit produced, the case of the arriving person (*āgantuka*) is listed directly after the *gamika*, but there is no corresponding subsection describing the procedure to be followed for such a case. Karashima suggests that the same verses would have been recited to the *āgantuka* as to the *gamika*, cf. Abhis I xiii, n. 21.

⁵⁹ Cf. T. 1425, 500c5; Abhis I 40.

⁶⁰ The account included in this text, like that of the *Mahāvagga*, opens by mentioning that the two merchants came from a place called Ukkala, and specifies that it is located in the “Northern Region” (*uttarāpatha*). This is also mentioned in the Lv as their region of origin. Cf. Mv 303.4/Sa 376a5; Vin I 4.1; Lv 381.4. The Uttarāpatha refers to a broad geographic area whose borders fluctuated over time in literature and epigraphy (cf. Neelis 2011: 186f.), but this picture is further clarified at the end of the Trapusa and Bhallika story of the Mv. This account relates that the two merchants established, in three different places, two *stūpas* over relics given by the Buddha as well as a stone magically thrown by him from distant Magadha. The last of these, named Śilukṣa, is located within the “Kingdom of Gandhāra” (*gandhārarājya*) later on in the narrative. Cf. Mv III 310.9–16/Sa 378a3–5, 313.1–4/Sa 379a3. On the second of these holy spots, named Vālukṣa, see Demiéville 1924: 36–43. For other traditions, in Sinhalese and Burmese, referring to Puṣkarāvātī, see Radloff & von Staël-Holstein 1910: 82–85. Interestingly, a Gāndhārī version of the Trapusa and Bhallika narrative is preserved within the Senior collection; cf. Allon 2009.

⁶¹ Cf. T. 2087, 873a2–13; Li 1996: 35–36. This tradition might have arisen from an association between Bhallika and Bāhlīka (i.e. Bactria), cf. Neelis 2011: 27–28, n. 80. See also Fussman 1994: 34.

⁶² Incidentally, the fact that the Cāpāla *caitya* of Vaiśālī is associated with the eastern direction, while not fitting with the alleged residence of the Buddha when he delivered the verses to the two merchants, implies a centre of the protective circle—and supposedly, of the place where the earliest formulation of this directional system would have been conceived—westwards from the Licchavi country. The donation of the Cāpāla is recorded in Mv I 299.22–300.3/Sa 88a1–2.

These introductory considerations show how well this text fits with the known religious context of Bāmiyān. First, the redactor of the textual collection once preserved in the leather manuscript that included the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* most probably drew these verses from the scriptural tradition of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, a tradition said by Xuanzang to be dominant in the region and which is well represented among the manuscripts of the Schøyen collection. Moreover, the two extant Mahāsāṃghika *Vinayas* single out these verses as the appropriate “assignment of merit” to be granted to donors preparing for a trip, a prescription which seems particularly fitting in the case of a crossroads such as Bāmiyān. Finally, the complex pantheon evoked in this text is in harmony with what we know of the devotion directed to *laukika* deities by people from the Hindu Kush.

Before turning to the edition of the fragment proper, I should add a few considerations on the language and metre of the text. The peculiar mixture of Middle Indic and quasi-Sanskrit forms in which our fragment is written is closely similar to the language used in the *Mahāvastu*, as well as to that of the *Vinaya* fragments attributed to the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins recovered from the Bāmiyān region. In the remarks that follow, I shall focus my attention on the agreements and divergences of these two versions, which are much closer to each other than they are to the *Lalitavistara*. The latter text indeed preserves a more Sanskritized language and a more polished metre. A good example of the hybrid state of the language of the Schøyen fragment, and of the free use of various accepted endings to fit the metre, is the parallel use of instr. pl. nt. forms of *-a* stems in *-ehi* and in *-ais* (cf. F, v. 10: *sarvayakṣehi*; v. 2: *sarvārthais*). The corresponding section in the *Mahāvastu* does not use the Sanskrit ending *-ais*, though it is commonly used elsewhere in this text. Similarly, v. 4 of our fragment records a nom. pl. fem. form in *-āni* (*bhadrāpadāni*), against a form in *-ā* in the *Mahāvastu* parallel. The usual ending of nt. pl. does, however, apply to fem. elsewhere in this text, as it does once in the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*.⁶³ Verse 5 of the Schøyen fragment records a nom. pl. masc. form in *-inā* (*yaśasvinā*),⁶⁴ here probably influenced by the neighbouring *lokapālā*, while the *Mahāvastu* uses the more common form *-inas* (DS-Mv, vv. 10, 20, 47). An interesting point of agreement between the two versions—provided my reconstruction of the end of v. 4d is accepted⁶⁵—is their use of the ordinal fem. *saptamā* (F, v. 4; DS-Mv, vv. 9, 38), an ending that is common in the texts of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, while it is rather rare elsewhere.⁶⁶ The instance of a loc. sg. of *-a* stems in *-asmi* (F, v. 11)—coexisting with the more common *-asmiṃ*—, in a metrically indifferent position, does not occur in the parallel section of the *Mahāvastu*, but it is rather common in this text, not only in verses but also in prose.⁶⁷ Our fragment also records two sure occurrences of the construction *mā* + 3rd sg. aor. *āgamī* (vv. 2, 8), a formula

⁶³ Cf. BHSG §9.98; Abhis III, §7.27.

⁶⁴ Cf. BHSG §10.156.

⁶⁵ See n. e to the reconstruction.

⁶⁶ Cf. Schneider 1960: 61–62. See also BhīVin(Mā-L) 114, §146. Outside the Lokottaravādin literature, the form *saptamā* occurs also once in Mmk 442.20. The verse parallel to F, v. 4 in the Lv has instead *saptamī*.

⁶⁷ This observation, which is based on my new edition of selected portions of the Mv (cf. Tournier 2012a), goes against Edgerton’s remark that “[n]o sure occurrence [of *-asmi*] has been noted in the prose of the Mv,” cf. BHSG, §9.64. Similar occurrences are also found in the Abhis (III §6.22).

that also dominates in the *Mahāvastu* parallel.⁶⁸ The vocabulary used by these two texts is highly prakritic, as evinced for example by their common use of the pronominal group *kenaci*, where the *Lalitavistara* parallel consistently uses *kenacit*. Both texts use the 3rd pl. impv. form *bhontu* (or: *bhomtu*), while consistently using the 3rd sg. pres. *bhavati* (F, v. 4; DS-Mv, vv. 9, 29, 38). The latter word should be scanned as two syllables (i.e. *bhoti*) in all instances, unless we consider that the resolution of two light syllables for one heavy was allowed in this position.⁶⁹ In the use made by these texts of imperatives based on $\sqrt{pāl}$, it is interesting to note that the Schøyen fragment always uses the prefix *abhi-*, while the *Mahāvastu* often uses the prefix *adhi-* instead.⁷⁰ A similar alternation between the two prefixes can be observed in the two versions of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins,⁷¹ the manuscript found in Bāmiyān consistently using *abhi-* where the so-called Patna manuscript of the same text uses *adhi-*.⁷² Though I do not believe that these linguistic features might be considered by themselves as decisive criteria for the affiliation of texts, the present considerations offer some corroborative evidence to the results gained by the study of the structure and contents of the Schøyen fragment, namely that we are dealing with a Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin transmission.

The *Diśāsaṃvastika-gāthās* consist of *anuṣṭubh* stanzas of four or six *pādas*, with the exception of the above-mentioned five-*pāda* verse. The *pathyā* dominates, but there is also a significant amount of *vipulā*, for which, as is often the case in the Epic and in Pāli texts, the opening syllables do not always obey the restrictions of classical metre.⁷³ There are also several hypermetric verses, a number of which can be explained by the pressure of formulas. The same construction is mechanically applied to several classes of beings, and while the result may be made to fit some of them within the bounds of metre, it leads to something unmetrical in other cases. For instance, *pāda* d in the verses invoking the protection of the *nakṣatras* for the traveller is consistently hypermetric,⁷⁴ while the parallel construction for other classes of *numina* scans perfectly well.⁷⁵ The case of the verse dedicated to each of the four *mahārājas* is also particularly significant. In *pāda* c, while Virūpākṣa's epithet as *kumbhāṇḍādhipatī rājā* fits the metre well, the similar constructions *sarvayakṣādhi(patī rā)[j](ā)* (F, v. 9)⁷⁶ and *sarvanāgādhipatī rājā* (DS-Mv, v. 33) do not. Similarly, in *pāda* d, while *yamena saha rakṣati* (DS-Mv, v. 24) is fitting, the parallel *varuṇena saha rakṣati* (id., v. 33) or *rākṣasīhi saha rakṣati* (hypothetically reconstructed for

⁶⁸ Cf. DS-Mv, vv. 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45. Only verse 6 appears to record *mā* + 3rd sg. opt. *āgame*. On the latter construction, see BHSG, §42.2. By contrast to the aor. in *-ī* privileged by these two texts, the Lv parallel consistently uses the form *āgamat*.

⁶⁹ See below, n. 77.

⁷⁰ Cf. DS-Mv, 11, 13, 25, 45. The Lv, at least according to Lefmann's edition, always uses *adhi* $\sqrt{pāl}$.

⁷¹ Further arguments for the identification of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of Bāmiyān with the Lokottaravādin branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas have been presented in Tournier 2012a.

⁷² Cf. Karashima 2008: 82, fol. 109a3; 84, fol. 112a4; 85, fol. 113a2 etc.

⁷³ Cf. Warder 1967: 175.

⁷⁴ Cf. F, v. 6: *sarvanakṣatrehi rakṣitā*; DS-Mv, vv. 11, 21, 30, 39: *tehi nakṣatrehi rakṣitā*.

⁷⁵ Cf. F, vv. 8, 10; DS-Mv, vv. 13, 15, 23, 25, 32, 34, 41, 43.

⁷⁶ Note also the attempt, in the DS-Mv parallel (v. 42), to remove *rājā*, thus having *sarvayakṣāṇām adhipatī*. The result, however, is also unmetrical.

F, v. 9, cf. DS-Mv, v. 42) are again hypermetric.⁷⁷ In the introductory verse to each of the four subsections, the composers seem to have had trouble with *pāda* c, invoking the protection of the *nakṣatras*. Hence, the reading *nakṣatrāṇi vo abhipāleṃtu* preserved by our fragment (F, v. 3) is hypermetric, a problem that has been solved in the *Mahāvastu* parallel either by the elision of the verbal prefix (DS-Mv, v. 8: *nakṣatrāṇi vo pāleṃtu*), which leads to a *ma-vipulā*, or by the use of the nom. pl. masc. ending *-ā* (DS-Mv, vv. 28, 37: *nakṣatrā vo <'>bhipāleṃtu*).⁷⁸ In *pāda* d of this verse, the acc. sg. fem. *diśaṃ* (formed from the stem *diś-*) is preferred over *diśāṃ* (from the thematized form *diśā-*), much more common in the language of the *Mahāvastu*. The choice, resulting in *ye tām diśaṃ adhiṣṭhitām*,⁷⁹ may be motivated to avoid the pattern - ~ - in syllables 10–12,⁸⁰ unless it is due to a slight tendency to have a short 12th syllable.⁸¹

Transliteration

MS 2379/72; fol. 59

recto

- 1 artho arthaṃ dadātu vo • [s].⁸² pi vo abhipāleṃtu bhūrīye bhavanena ca • kṣemā ca vo diśā
bhomaṃ[u] mā ca⁸³
- 2 vo pāpam āgamī labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarvārthair abhiraṣitā • yena ke[nac]i arthe[nag]. ++
- 3 uttarāṃ diśāṃ nakṣatrāṇi vo abhipāleṃtu ye tām diśaṃ adhiṣṭhitām dhani ..⁸⁴ + + + + + +
- 4 bhau cadrapadāni ca ○ revatī aśviniś caiva bharaṇī bha[va]ti [sa]pta[m]. + + + + + + +
- 5 loka[p]ālā yaśas[v]i[n]ā ādiṣṭe uttare pārśve e .e ..[m] + + + + + + + + + +
- 6 bhūrīye bhavanena ca •⁸⁵ kṣemā ca vo diśā bhomaṃ[t]. + + + + + + + + + + + +

⁷⁷ These lengthened *pādas* can reflect a tendency to the resolution of two light syllables for one heavy in the 4th syllable of the *pāda*, as in the already mentioned verses including the word *bhavati* in fourth to sixth position. A similar resolution could be at work in F, v. 4a and DS-Mv, vv. 2d, 17f. (assuming the initial *tra-* in the 4th syllable doesn't make position), 38a. On this phenomenon, see Warder 1967: 176–177.

⁷⁸ See, however, DS-Mv, v. 18c.

⁷⁹ The coexistence of this nom. pl. nt. in *-āṃ* (on which see BHSG, § 8.102) with *nakṣatrāṇi* in the preceding *pāda* is yet another example of morphological hybridism. Comp. DS-Mv, vv. 18, 28, 37: *nakṣatrā ... adhiṣṭhitā*.

⁸⁰ Note, however, that this pattern is found in DS-Mv, v. 18b, and, if we follow Senart's emendation, in v. 22d. Warder (1967: 75) remarks that it tends moreover to be accepted in the verses of the *Mahābhārata* as well as in Pāli. Again, in the case of v. 18, this seems to be the consequence of the generalisation of the formula working for the first direction (*gacchetha purimāṃ diśāṃ*), but leading to problematic sequences (- ~ - or ~ ~ -) for the three other directions, cf. vv. 28b, 37b. The parallels to these verses in the Lv solve this problem by using *-ethā*, on which see BHSG §26.13.

⁸¹ On this tendency, see for instance Renou & Filliozat 1953: 714.

⁸² The membrane is flipped over the *akṣara* and partially hides it. What is left looks like a *ca*, with a vowel mark that may be read as a *-e*. However, the *ca*-shaped *akṣara* is also very similar to the left element of a *sa* in this script, and another vowel mark might well have been written on the right side of the one that is visible here; therefore *so*, which we expect here, is a possibility.

⁸³ The leather membrane is at present flipped over the last three *akṣaras* of the line and can no longer be deciphered. The picture reproduced at the end of this volume reflects this present state. I therefore had to rely here on Gudrun Melzer's preliminary transliteration made at an earlier stage, when the three *akṣaras* were still visible.

⁸⁴ Some traces of ink, corresponding to the marker of the *-ā*, can be seen on the edge. A similar *ā*-marker can be found in the *pā* of verso, l. 3 (in *pāpam*).

⁸⁵ This punctuation mark is particularly small in comparison to the long horizontal stroke used elsewhere in the manuscript.

verso

- 1 tha sarvanakṣatrehi rakṣitā • uttarasmiṃ diśābh[āg].⁸⁶ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
- 2 thivī padumāvātī āśā śraddhā hirī śirī [tā pi] .. a[bh]. + + + + + + + + + + +
- 3 ca vo diśāṃ bhoṃtu mā ca vo pāpam⁸⁷ āgamī labdh[ārth]ā [ca] nivarte[tha] sa + + + + + + + + + +
- 4 dhipatī rājā kube○ro iti nāma so sarvayakṣādhi [j]. + + + + + + + + +
- 5 ti so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca kṣemā ca vo d[i] .. [o].tu [mā] + [v]. [p]. + + + +
- 6 labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarvayakṣehi rakṣitā • uttarasmi diśā[bhā]ge kelāso nāma parvato⁸⁸

Reconstruction

^a(paścimasmiṃ diśābhāge artho nāmena parvato^a
āvarto candrasūryāṇām) r1 artho arthaṃ dadātu vo | (1)

a–a) The reconstruction of the first hemistich, tentative as it is, is based on the parallel in DS-Mv, v. 35, and on a similar construction in v. 10. The name of the mountain is reconstructed on the basis of its occurrence in *pāda* d, in the nom. sg.

s(o)^b pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhoṃtu mā ca r2 vo pāpam āgamī
labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarvārthair abhirakṣitā | (2)

b) Reconstructed on the basis of the similar construction in v. 10, and on the parallel verse in DS-Mv, v. 36.

yena kenaci arthe(na) g(acchatha) r3 uttarāṃ diśāṃ
nakṣatrāṇi vo abhipāleṃtu ye tām diśam adhiṣṭhitām <|> (3)
dhani(ṣṭhā °satabhiṣā caiva° u)r4bhau bhadrapadāni^d ca
revatī aśvinīś caiva bharaṇī bhavati saptam(ā |)° (4)

c–c) The reconstruction, based on DS-Mv, v. 38 (see also Lv I 390.15), is motivated by the fact that there is enough space in the lacuna for eight *akṣaras*. This makes a 9-syllable *pāda*, with resolution at the 4th.

d) F reads *cadrapadāni*. For a justification of my emendation, see above, p. 414.

e) This reconstruction is suggested by the fact that there is clearly no trace of an -ī marker on the top of the (very damaged) *akṣara*, while the -ā marker for the *ma* would have been written on its right side. The document has the tendency to use punctuation at stanza ends, and hence I reconstruct it here too.

^f(ity ete sapta nakṣatrā) r5 lokapālā yaśasvinā
ādiṣṭe uttare pārśve e(t)e(ṣā)ṃ (uttarā diśā |)^f (5)

f–f) This verse is omitted in the DS-Mv version, but it is reconstructed here on the basis of parallel verses for the eastern and southern directions in this text (vv. 10 and 20).

⁸⁶ The first leg of what should be a *ga* turns rightwards instead of making a curl to the left, as in l. 6, but this *akṣara* appears to be written with quite a lot of variability in this manuscript.

⁸⁷ The right vertical of the second *akṣara* curves rightwards, a sign that, in other *akṣaras* (like the following *ma*), marks -ā. On *pa* though, the vocalic lengthening is always marked by a diagonal written on top of the left vertical. Moreover, a short vowel is what we expect here, and I therefore read *pa* accordingly.

⁸⁸ The last three *akṣaras* are covered by a flip in the leaf, cf. my remarks above, n. 83. Through the flipped membrane, the elements *[i]va* and *t.* are still visible, and the corresponding segment has been digitally reconstructed in the plate.

(te pi vo abhipāletu) r6 bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
 kṣemā ca vo diśā bhoṃt(u mā ca vo pāpam āgamī
 labdhārthā ca nivarte)v1tha sarvanakṣatrehi rakṣitā | (6)

uttarasmiṃ diśābhāg(e aṣṭa devakumāriyo
 hirīdevī⁸⁹ surādevī pṛ)v2thivī padumāvātī
 āśā śraddhā hirī śirī <|> (7)

g) The reconstruction of the name of this deity is rather unsure, since the transmission of the Mv might be unreliable in the parallel passage. Indeed, the name Hirī is already borne by the seventh *devakanyā* in the three Indian versions. Following the reading of the Lv (I 391.3), Senart therefore corrected the name of the first deity as Ilā devī (in two words). The MaVin (501b7) has 尼羅提毘, which corresponds to Skt *Nīlādevī, cf. Bareau 1959: 306. Karashima assumes (Abhis I 48, n. 33), that this is a scribal mistake for 伊羅提毘, which would correspond to the reading of the Lv. It should, however, be noted that the Uighur *Diśastvustik* and its gloss in Brāhmī script support the reading Nīlādevī. Cf. Yakup 2006: 78, §498 and 133–134.

tā pi (vo) abh(ipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca
 kṣemā) v3 ca vo diśām bhoṃtu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī
 labdhārthā ca nivartetha ^hsa(rvakanyāhi rakṣitā |)^h (8)

h–h) This reconstruction is based on the fact that the first *akṣara* can clearly be read as a *sa*, diverging here from DS-Mv which reads *devakanyāhi rakṣitā* (vv. 13, 23, 32) or *devakanyābhirakṣitā* (v. 41). The compound *sarvakanyāhi* is reconstructed by analogy with *sarvanakṣatrehi*, v. 6, and *sarvayakṣehi*, v. 10.

(tāsām a)v4dhipatī rājā kubero iti nāma so
ⁱsarvayakṣādhi(patī rā)j(āⁱ rākṣasīhīⁱ saha rakṣa)v5ti <|> (9)

i–i) This reconstruction takes into consideration the fact that there is room for three *akṣaras* between *dhi* and what we recognise as [*j*]. It is based on the analogy with the same formula occurring for the other categories of divinities that accompany the three other *mahārājas* in DS-Mv, vv. 14, 24, 33; DS-Mv, v. 42c defines Kubera as *sarvayakṣānām adhipatī*. The result of this reconstruction is, however, hypermetric and in order to fit the metre we could suggest a reconstruction *sarvayakṣādhipo rājā*, which corresponds to the reading of Ms. Ta in DS-Mv, v. 43c.

j) On the degree of uncertainty surrounding this reconstruction, see above, p. 415 and n. 43.

so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca
 kṣemā ca vo di(śā bh)o(ṃ)tu mā (ca) v(o) p(āpam āgamī)
 labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarvayakṣehi rakṣitā | (10)

uttarasmi diśābhāge kelāso nāma parvato
 (āvāso yakṣasaṃghānām rākṣasānām niveśanam |) (11)

A new edition of the Diśāsauvastika-gāthās of the Mahāvastu

I shall here briefly introduce the manuscripts on the basis of which this new edition has been prepared,⁸⁹ and then render explicit my editorial principles and conventions. The following four witnesses have been used to establish the edition:

1. Manuscript Sa, reproduced in Yuyama 2001, being the only surviving palm-leaf

⁸⁹ For a detailed description of the manuscripts listed here, and a survey of the whole manuscript tradition of the Mv, see Tournier 2012a.

manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*, copied in the 12th century in hook-topped script. As I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁹⁰ this manuscript is the common ancestor of the whole manuscript tradition recovered from the Kathmandu valley, and it should therefore be treated as the *copy-text* for a new edition of the *Mahāvastu*. The DS-Mv is found at fol. 377a2–378a3.

2. Four extra folios were found within the bundle of Sa, one of which records the first 31 verses of the DS-Mv. Yuyama suggested various interpretations for these folios, namely that they were leaves used for exercise by a novice or parts of another palm-leaf manuscript.⁹¹ Though he is inclined to discard the later interpretation, Yuyama still treats these folios as if they were the fruit of a copying endeavour distinct from that of Sa, and he labels these folios “manuscript Sx.” A close examination of these folios shows, however, that they were all copied by the copyist of Sa, from the same exemplar, and that he discarded them all due to some accident in the copy.⁹² For the portion covered by the discarded folio (hereafter: D), it has the interest of constituting a second witness of the exemplar of Sa, on the basis of which we can better establish what text this ancestor preserved. In several instances, we can opt for D’s reading, when the copyist made a mistake in preparing his second copy (i.e. Sa 377). Moreover, the confrontation of the two folios enables us to better understand the writing practices of the copyist, as for example the free interchange of *anusvāra* with homorganic nasals in rendering the same text.

3. Manuscript Ta, the second oldest complete copy of the *Mahāvastu*, copied in Patan in 1657 by the pandit Jayamuni, is a key link in the transmission of the text in Nepal. Indeed, Jayamuni copied his text from manuscript Sa, and in his attempt to improve it, he introduced modifications that were passed on to the later copies of the text.⁹³ It is therefore an interesting witness to collate, not only because its readings are important historically,⁹⁴ but also because some of the necessary emendations of the modern editor might find some antecedent in the “editorial” practice of the learned copyist. The DS-Mv is found at fol. 211b7–212b1.

4. The last witness used in this edition is Ms. Sb, also reproduced in Yuyama 2001. It appears to be an 18th- or 19th-century apograph of the third oldest dated copy of the *Mahāvastu*, reproducing its date (N.S. 815, i.e. 1694/1695 AD) in the colophon. This manuscript incorporates most of the corrections introduced by Ms. Ta, and it is stemmatically very close to Ms. B, which was used by Senart as his *copy-text*. It therefore allows us both to see the effect of Jayamuni’s editorial endeavour upon the later manuscript tradition, and to test the reading of Senart, who appears not always to have been thorough in establishing his critical apparatus. The DS-Mv is found at fol.

⁹⁰ Cf. Tournier 2012a & 2012b.

⁹¹ Cf. Yuyama 2001: ii–i.

⁹² In the case which concerns us here, the copyist missed one or two folios in the exemplar—probably because they were misplaced—while copying the text on the folios that now bear the numbers 376 and 378. Realizing this lacuna, he attempted to copy the missing text in one folio—called Sx 374 in Yuyama’s edition—but reaching the end of the verso, he figured out that he would not manage to fit in the remaining text. This led to his discarding of the folio, and to the copying of another folio (Sa 377), in which he uses from the start a very small hand in order to copy as much text per line as possible, and to fit seven lines per folio—against six in all other cases. The difference of numbering between the discarded folio (374) and the one included in the final manuscript (377) is due to a renumbering by the copyist, after he came across misplaced folios in the exemplar. This led to his discarding another folio (now Sx 299 in Yuyama 2001), since it retained this important lacuna, and to copy instead folios 299 to 302. The introduction of these three new folios led the copyist to renumber the manuscript accordingly. For more details, see Tournier 2012a.

⁹³ Cf. Tournier 2012b.

⁹⁴ On the usefulness of the so-called “historical apparatus”, see for instance von Hinüber 1980: 40.

390b3–392a5.

The establishment of the text of the DS-Mv can therefore rely on much richer evidence than for other parts of the *Mahāvastu*, since part of it is preserved in the discarded folio D, while for yet another section of the text we can refer to the Bāmiyān recension of a closely related text. It is one of the few places of the whole text where the editor can aspire to restore a state of the text earlier than the date at which Sa was copied. The edited text respects as faithfully as possible the reading of Sa—and, for the part it covers, D—and this includes the orthographic peculiarities of these two copies. I only normalized the tendency to geminate some consonants after the *repha*, since a comparison with the fragment F shows that this feature of transmission is absent from the earliest copy of the text. The edition reproduces faithfully the punctuation preserved in Sa and D, and supplements it with additional *daṇḍas* between < > when missing.

The critical apparatus is divided into three layers:

1. Since Sa and, in this specific case, the discarded folio D, are our main witnesses, attention should be paid to every detail of their textual transmission: a separate layer of the apparatus is therefore dedicated to the notation of palaeographic properties and the ambiguities of given *akṣaras*. I also included there the record of minor variants in these two witnesses concerning the consonant gemination after the *repha*, but also the interchange of *anusvāras* and homorganic nasals, both in medial and final position. The differences in their use of punctuation are also noted.

2. This second layer of notes is dedicated to the (positive) apparatus, where the variant readings of the four witnesses are duly noted. It has been felt unnecessary, though, to record the minor variants that are scrupulously noted for Sa and D in the first layer of notes, in the cases of the two later witnesses. Their frequent confusion between the dental and palatal sibilants, the use or not of geminates after a *repha*, and the use or absence of *avagrahas* in these manuscripts have also not been recorded. Senart's readings have moreover been included, within the same limits. Readings noted as Sen. are allegedly supported—though *e silentio*, since he adopted a negative apparatus—by one of the two Mss. he collated for that section, those noted as “corr. Sen.” indicate that the editor emended his text, and “suppr. Sen.” indicates that Senart deliberately omitted a passage recorded in his Mss. from his edition. Finally, I have also included in the apparatus reference to the reading of the Bāmiyān fragment (F), for the portion it covers, and to that of parallel verses in the DS-Mv or in the MaVin or Lv versions of the same verse.

3. The last layer of notes is dedicated to commentary on some of the problematic forms and readings, and to remarks regarding the metre of the verses not already discussed in the above section on the metre of the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās*.

A. *Verse narrative*

III 305.5/Sa 377a2/D 374a2/Ta 211b7/Sb 390b3

anekākārasaṃpannaṃ tarpaṇaṃ ti pravuccati <|>
varṇena caiva saṃpannaṃ gandhena ca rasena ca <||> (1)

pratyagraṇ ca praṇītaṇ ca eṣaṇīyaṇ ca kalpiyaṃ |
tarpaṇaṃ prathamam śāstu adensu trapusabhalliyā <|> (2)

D 374a3

madhusarpisaṃyuktaṃ taṃ pibe ca puruṣottamo |
 tena santarpito vīro pratisaṃlāṇa-utthito |
 tarpaye dharmavṛṣṭīye devagandharvamānuṣāṃ <|> (3)

Sa 377a3

1b tarpaṇaṃ ti | Sa; *tarpaṇaṃ ti* D **1c varṇena** | *varṇṇena* Sa D **2a pratyagraṇ ca praṇītaṇ** | Sa; *pratyagraṇ ca praṇītaṃ* D

2b eṣaṇīyaṇ ca | Sa Ta Sb; om. D **2d adensu** | *adensu* Sa D Ta Sb; *adensuḥ* corr. Sen. **trapusabhalliyā** | corr. Sen.; *tatrapusabhalliyā* Sa D; *tratrtrapusabhalliyā* Ta; *tatratrapusabhalliyā* Sb **3b ca** | corr. Sen.; om. Sa D Ta Sb **puruṣottamo** | Sa D Sb; *puru .. ttamo* Ta; *puruṣottamaḥ* Sen. **3c tena** | corr.; *te ca* Sa D Ta Sb; *tehi* corr. Sen.

3d pratisaṃlāṇa-utthito | Sa D Ta Sb; *pratisaṃlāṇa-utthito* Sen. **3e dharmavṛṣṭīye** | Ta Sb Sen.; *dharmavṛṣṭī* | ye Sa D

3 *ma-vipulā*. The emendation of the reading *te ca* to *tena* is justified by the frequent confusion between the *akṣaras na* and *ca* in Ms. Sa.

B. Introductory blessings

diśāṃ sauvatthikaṃ divyaṃ maṅgalyaṃ arthasādhakaṃ |
 yaṃ śrutvā sumanā sarve sarvārthāṃ sādhaiṣyatha <|> (4)

svasti vo dvipade bhotu svasti bhotu catuṣpade |
 svasti mārge vrajantānāṃ svasti pratyāgateṣu ca <|> (5)

D 374a4

svasti rātrau svasti divā svasti madhyandine sthite |
 sarvatra svasti vo bhotu mā ca vo pāpam āgame <||> (6)

śīrī vo dakṣiṇe skandhe śīrī vāme pratiṣṭhitā |
 śīrī vo aṃgamaṃgeṣu mālā va supraṭiṣṭhitā |
 bhadraṃ vo bhadraśīrī vo vāṇijā bhadram astu vo <||> (7)

Sa 377a4

4a divyaṃ | D; *divyam* Sa **4c–d** | In Sa, the copyist used a small hand from the last *akṣara* of *sumanā* till the end of *pāda* d. **6b madhyandine** | Sa; *madhyamāline* D **6d āgame** | In Sa, the last *akṣara* was corrected and is difficult to read. **7d || ||** Sa D **7c aṃgamaṃgeṣu** | D; *aṃgamaṃgeṣu* Sa **7d || ||** Sa D

4a diśāṃ | Sa D Ta Sb; *diśe* corr. Sen. **sauvatthikaṃ** | Sa D; *sovatthikaṃ* Ta Sb Sen. **4b arthasādhakaṃ** | Sa D; *arthasādhikaṃ* Ta Sb; *cārthasādhakaṃ* corr. Sen. **4d sādhaiṣyatha** | Sa D Ta Sb; *sādhaiṣyati* Sen. **5a bhotu** | Ta corr. Sen.; *bhava{ti}tu* D; *bhavantaṃ* Sa; *bhoṃtu* Sb **5b bhotu** | D; *bho | tu* Sa; *vo stu* Ta Sb Sen. **5c svasti mārge vrajantānāṃ** | Sa D; *svastyā«stu» vrajantāṃ mārge* Ta; *svasty astu vrajantāṃ mārge* Sb Sen. **6a svasti divā** | Sa D; *divā svasti* Ta Sb Sen. **6b bhotu** | Ta Sb Sen.; *bhavati* Sa D **6d vo pāpam āgame** | Sa D; *pāpam samāgamat** Ta Sb Sen. **7a śīrī vo** | corr. Sen.; *śīrīyo* Sa D Ta Sb **7b śīrī vāme** | D Sb Sen.; *śīrī vo me* Sa; *śīrī{ti}a vo me* Ta **pratiṣṭhitā** | Sa D Sen.; *pratiṣṭhitā* Ta Sb **7d mālā va** | Sa D; *māleva* Ta Sb Sen. **7e bhadraśīrī vo** | corr. Sen.; *bhadraśīrī* Sa D Ta Sb **7d bhadram** | Sa Ta Sb Sen.; *vadram* D

4: The syntax of the first hemistich is admittedly puzzling, as the acc. pl. *diśāṃ* coexists with four adjectives in the acc. sg., without being governed by a verb. This led Senart (Mv III 504), followed by Jones (Mv (J) III 293), to emend the first word into *diśe*, but this is contradicted by the version of the verse in the Lv (I 387.12–13) and in the MaVin (500c19–20). The occurrence of the four adjectives in the acc. sg. to qualify acc. pl. *diśāṃ*, both in the Mv and Lv, reflects a distributive construction, each qualifier applying to one of the four directions. It is significant, however, that when the Abhis (§4.19) refers to the verse with its two first words, they appear in the nom. pl.

5: This stanza clearly draws from a formula occurring frequently in the beginning of Vedic hymns, see for instance RV I 157.3, VI 74.1, VII 54.1, 165.1; AV(Ś) VI 27.1. Buddhist authors, when coining the new stanza and attributing it to the Buddha, slightly twisted the inherited formula *no ... dvipade catuṣpade* by changing the 1st pl. pronoun into the 2nd person. A version of this verse is also quoted in the story involving Trapusa and Bhallika in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*. Cf. T. 1421, vol. 22, 103b2–3, tr. Bareau 1963: 107. Together with the following one, we also find it repeated in three versions of the Vaiśālī plague story, in *sūtra* 38.10 of the Chinese **Ekottarikāgama* (T. 125), in the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, and the version of that *sūtra* included within the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*. It also occurs in the *Dhvajāgramahāsūtra* I, in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, in a late Nepalese collection of *Svastivākya*, and twice in the *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*. Cf. T. 125, vol. 2, 727b28–c2, tr. Matsuda 2000: 24–25; Skilling 1994–97, vol. I: 284, 614–615, 600–601, 620, 756; Mmī 14.15–18. The Mmī also transmits a stanza whose first hemistich parallels 6ab in several places, one of which appears just before the section of this text dedicated to the *nakṣatras*, cf. Mmī 50.12.

6: *bha-vipulā*.

7e: In *pāda* c, note that the oldest Ms. preserves the Middle Indic form *va* (for Skt *iva*), while later manuscripts have Sanskritized the reading. *Pāda* e is a *sa-vipulā*.

C. Blessings concerned with the four directions

1. Eastern direction

yena kenaci kāryeṇa gacchetha purimāṃ diśāṃ |
nakṣatrāṇi vo pārentu ye tām diśāṃ adhiṣṭhitā <|> (8)

kṛttikā rohiṇī caiva †samvārārdrā† punarvasu <|>
puṣyaṇ ca varanakṣatram aśleṣā bhavati saptamā | (9)

D 374a5

ity ete sapta nakṣatrā lokapālā yaśasvino |
ādiṣṭā purime bhāge eteṣāṃ purimā diśā <||> (10)

Sen. III 306

te pi vo adhipārentu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
labdhārthā ca nivartetha tehi nakṣatrehi rakṣitā <||> (11)

Sa 377a5

purastime diśābhāge aṣṭa devakumārikā |
madhurā ca nandisenā nandinī nandirakṣitā |
nandilā nandivardhitā siddhārthā aparājitā || (12)

D 374a6

Sb 391a

tā pi vo adhipārentu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī |
labdhārthā ca nivartetha devakanyāhi rakṣitā || (13)

Sa 374a6

teṣāṃ adhipatī rājā dhṛtarāṣṭreti nāmataḥ <|>
gandharvādhipatī rājā devehi saha rakṣati <|> (14)

so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī |
labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarvadevehi rakṣitā <|> (15)

D 374b

purimasmim diśābhāge cāpālaṃ nāma cetiyaṃ <|>
nityaṃ jvalati tejena nityaṃ satyopayācanaṃ <|> (16)

Ta 212a

so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī |
labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarve cetiyasurakṣitā <|> (17)

Sa 374a7

9c puṣyaṇ] Sa; *puṣyaṃ* D **10d** || || Sa D **11e nivartetha**] *nivarttetha* Sa D, and so throughout the text. **12d** || D; om. Sa **12e nandilā nandivardhitā**] *nandilā* | *nandivardhitā* ca Sa D **12d** || D; om. Sa **12f** ||| Sa; | D **13b** || Sa; || D **13d** || D; om. Sa **13f** ||| D; | Sa **14a rājā**] *rājā* | Sa D **15a so**] D; *so* Sa **15d** || D; om. Sa **16b cetiyaṃ**] *cetiyā* Sa D **17b** || || Sa D

8a kenaci] *keci* Sa D; *ke<(na)>ci* Ta; *kenaci* Sb; *kenacit* Sen. Cf. below, vv. 18, 28, 37. **kāryeṇa**] Sa D Ta Sen.; *kāryaṇa* Sb **8b gacchetha**] Sa D Ta; *gacchatha* Sb Sen. **diśāṃ**] Sa D Ta Sen.; *diśā* Sb **8c vo pārentu**] Sa D Ta Sen.; *vā pālastu* Sb **8d adhiṣṭhitā**] Ta Sb Sen.; *adhiṣṭhitā*{*m*} D; *adhiṣṭhitāṃ* Sa **9b samvārādrā**] conj.; *samvārādra* Sa; *saṃvārādra* D; *mṛgādrā* ca Ta Sb; *mṛgādrā* ca corr. Sen. **9c varanakṣatraṃ**] Sa Ta Sb Sen.; *varanakṣaṃ* D **9d aśleṣā**] Sa D Ta Sen.; *aśleṣo* Sb **bhavati**] Sa D; *bhonti* Ta Sb; *bhoti* corr. Sen. **10a ete**] Ta Sb Sen.; *etai* Sa D **10b yaśasvino**] Sa D; *yaśasvinaḥ* Ta Sb Sen. **10d purimā diśā**] corr. Sen.; *purimāṃ diśā* Sa D; *purimāṃ diśāṃ* Ta Sb **11a te pi vo**] corr.; *pi vo* Sa D; *<ete vo>* Ta; *ete vo* Sb Sen. Cf. vv. 21, 30. **11b bhūrīye**] Sa D; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **11c vo diśā**] corr. Sen.; *śe diśā* Sa D; *se diśā* Ta Sb **11d pāpam āgamī**] corr.; *pāpāsamāgamā* Sa D; *pāpam āgame* Ta Sb Sen. **12a diśābhāge**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **12c madhurā ca**] corr.; *mandurā* Sa D Ta Sb; *nandottarā* corr. Sen. **12d nandinī nandirakṣitā**] corr. Sen.; *nandi nandirakṣitā* Sa D Ta Sb **12e nandilā nandivardhitā**] corr.; *nandilā nandivardhitā* ca Sa D Ta Sb; *jayantī vijayantī* ca corr. Sen. **13 tā pi...rakṣitā** ||| Sa D Ta Sb; suppr. Sen. **13b bhūrīye**] Sa D; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb **13d vo**] Sa Ta Sen.; *vā* Sb; om. D **14b dhṛtarāṣṭreṭi**] Sa D Ta Sb; *dhṛtarāṣṭro ti* corr. Sen. **nāmataḥ**] Ta Sb Sen.; *nāmata* Sa D **14d saha rakṣati**] conj.; *sarakṣitā* Sa D; *sa ca rakṣitaḥ* Ta Sb corr. Sen. Cf. vv. 33, 42. **15b bhūrīye**] Sa D; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **15c diśā**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśo* Sen. **15f sarvadevehi**] Sa D Ta Sen.; *sarve devehi* Sb **16a diśābhāge**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **16b cāpālaṃ**] Sa D Ta Sb; *cāpalaṃ* corr. Sen. **nāma**] D; *vā nāma* Sa Ta Sb; *va nāma* Sen. **16d nityaṃ**] corr. Sen.; *nityo* Sa D Ta; *nityā* Sb **17a so pi**] Ta Sb Sen.; *so ti* Sa D **abhipāletu**] corr. Sen.; *abhipāleti* D; *adhipāleti* Sa Ta Sb **17b bhūrīye**] Sa D Ta Sb; *bhūmīye* Sen. **17c kṣemā ca**] Ta Sb Sen.; *kṣemā na ca* Sa D **diśā bhontu**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśo bhontu* Sen. **17f sarve cetiyasurakṣitā**] Sa D Ta; *serve cetiyasurakṣitā* Sb; *sarvacetiyasurakṣitā* Sen.

9: The reading *samvārā-* is unparalleled and highly problematic. The parallel verses in Lv and Mmī both read *mṛgāsira-*, a reading shared by many other texts. Cf. Lv I 387.20; Mmī 50.16; AVParīś 2 (§1.1.2); Śārd (M) 67.6 *et passim*. Given the proximity in the hook-topped script of Ms. Sa of the conjuncts *mṛ* and *mva*, on the one hand, and *ga* and *rā* on the other, one could imagine a corruption of *mṛgādrā* into *mvārādrā* during the copying of Sa's exemplar. This does not solve the insertion of the initial *sa-*, which is moreover attested in the reading 僧陀那 preserved by the MaVin parallel, a transcript tentatively restored by Karashima as *Saṃd(h)āna. Cf. T. 1425, 500c29; Abhis 44, n. 4. A possible solution can be suggested by comparison with a hymn of the Śaunaka recension of the *Atharvaveda*, also found within the *Nakṣatralpa* of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*. Evoking each *nakṣatra* with a propitiatory epithet, it contains the following hemistich: *suhāvam agne kṛttikā rōhiṇī cāstu bhadraṃ mṛgāsiraḥ śam ādrā*. Cf. AV(Ś) XIX 7.2; AVParīś I 11.2. The word *śam*, frequent in the Vedas, is as far as I know very rare in Buddhist texts. Admitting, however, the possibility that the versified list of *nakṣatras* might have drawn from a late Vedic or post-Vedic source—which, given the obvious source of v. 5ab, should be considered seriously—we could speculate that the problematic *pāda* read originally **śaṃ mṛgādrā punarvasu*.

12: My conjectural emendation *madhurā* is motivated by the great proximity between the *akṣaras nda* and *dha*, allowing for confusion. I do not know of any *deva* maiden so named, but the fact that *sumadhurā* is an epithet given to *surakanyās* in a verse from the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* supports the possibility that such a name could have existed. Cf. Dbh 96.1. The emendation *nandottarā* adopted by Senart is supported by the Lv parallel (388.10) and by the fact that the names or the following deities have all *nandi-* as first element, but it is difficult to reconcile with the reading of our manuscript. Whether my emendation or that of Senart is accepted, either way makes of *pāda* c a *ra-vipulā*, like *pāda* e.

2. Southern direction

| | |
|---|--------------|
| yena kenaci arthena gacchetha dakṣiṇām diśām
nakṣatrā-m-abhipālemtu ye tām diśam adhiṣṭhitā (18) | D 374b2 |
| maghā ubhau ca phālgun̄yau hastā citrā ca pañcamā
svātīś caiva viśākhā ca eteṣām dakṣiṇā diśā < > (19) | Sen. III 307 |
| ity ete sapta nakṣatrā lokapālā yaśasvinaḥ
ādiṣṭā dakṣiṇe bhāge eteṣām dakṣiṇā diśā < > (20) | Sa 377b |
| te pi vo abhipālemtu bhūrīye bhavanena ca
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī
labdhārthā ca nivartetha tehi nakṣatrehi rakṣitā (21) | D 374b3 |
| dakṣiṇesmi diśābhāge aṣṭa devakumāriyo < >
lakṣmīmatī śirīmatī yaśomatī yaśodharā < >
su-utthitā suprabhātā suviśuddhā suvyākṛtā < > (22) | Sa 377b2 |
| tā pi vo abhipālemtu bhūrīye bhavanena ca
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī
labdhārthā ca nivartetha devakanyāhi rakṣitā < > (23) | D 374b4 |
| tāsām adhipatī rājā virūpākṣo ti nāmataḥ
kumbhāṇḍādhipatī rājā yamena saha rakṣati < > (24) | |
| so pi vo adhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī < >
labdhārthā ca nivartetha kumbhāṇḍehi surakṣitā < > (25) | Sa 377b3 |
| dakṣiṇesmiṃ diśābhāge <'>tipaśyaṃ nāma cetiyaṃ < >
nityaṃ jvalati tejena nityaṃ satyopayācanam (26) | D 374b5 |
| so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī < >
labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarve cetiyasurakṣitā < > (27) | Sb 391b |

19b hastā] D; *hastā* ◇ Sa **20a ity ete]** In Sa, the copyist used a small hand to copy these three *akṣaras*. **nakṣatrā]** *nakṣatrā* | Sa D **21f ||]** D; | Sa **23a tā pi vo]** Sa has here four *akṣaras*, the second and third of which have been written over erased ones, thus making them difficult to read. **23b ||]** D; || Sa **25c vo]** vo◇◇◇◇ D **25e labdhārthā]** the second and third *akṣaras* in Sa have been corrected and the reading is therefore unsure. **25f ||]** D; om. Sa **27ab abhipāletu bhūrīye]** In D, a space for four *akṣaras* corresponding to *pāletu bhū* of Sa has been erased by the scribe and left blank. **27b ||]** D; om. Sa

18a kenaci] Sa D Ta Sb; *kenacid* Sen. **18b gacchetha]** Sa D Ta Sb; *gacchatha* Sen. **18c nakṣatrām]** Sa D; *nakṣatrāny* Ta Sb Sen. **18d tām diśam]** corr.; *tām diśam* D; *tām diśim* Sa; *tām diśām* Ta Sb Sen. Cf. *supra*, v. 9; F, v. 3. **19a ubhau ca phālgun̄yau]** corr.; *ubho ca phālgun̄yo* Sa D; *cobhe ca phālgun̄yau* Ta Sb Sen. **19b hastā]** Sa D Sen.; *hastā ca* Ta

Sb **19c svātiś**] *svātiś* Ta Sb; *svātiṃ* Sa D; *svātī* Sen. **19d dakṣiṇā diśā**] corr. Sen.; *dakṣiṇām diśā* Sa D Ta; *dakṣiṇām diśām* Sb **20b yaśasvinaḥ**] D Ta Sb Sen.; *yaśasvina* Sa **20c ādiṣṭā**] Ta Sen.; *ādīṣṭā* Sa; *ādrṣṭā* D **20d dakṣiṇā**] D Sen.; *dakṣiṇām* Sa Ta Sb **diśā**] Ta Sb Sen.; *diśāḥ* | *ity ete sapta nakṣatrā* (Sa: *nakṣaṇā*) *lokapālā yaśasvinaḥ* | *ādiṣṭā dakṣiṇe bhāge eteṣāṃ dakṣiṇā diśā* Sa D **21b bhūrīye**] Sa D; *bhūrīye* Ta Sb Sen. **21c ca vo**] D Ta Sb Sen.; *ca mo* Sa **22a dakṣiṇesmiḥ**] Sa D; *dakṣiṇesmiḥ* Ta Sb; *dakṣiṇasmim* corr. Sen. **22a diśābhāge**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **22c lakṣmīmātī śīrīmātī**] corr. Sen.; *lakṣmīmātī śīrīmātī* Sa D Ta Sb **22d yaśomatī**] corr. Sen.; *yaśāmatvā* Sa D Ta Sb **22e su-utthitā**] Sa D Ta Sb; *subheṣṭhitā* corr. Sen. Cf. Lv I 389.8: *su-utthitā*; MaVin 501a5: 好覺. **23a tā pi vo**] Ta Sb Sen.; *tā pi no* D; *tā* [tā pi] *no* Sa **abhipārentu**] Sa Ta Sb Sen.; *abhipārentu* D **23b bhūrīye**] D; *bhūrīye* Sa; *bhūrīye* Ta Sb Sen. **23c vo diśā bhontu**] Ta Sb Sen.; *bho diśā bhonti* Sa D **23d pāpam āgamī**] Ta Sb Sen.; *pāpagamī* Sa D **24a adhipatī**] Ta Sb Sen.; *adhipatīnām* Sa; *adhipatīna* D **24b virūpākṣo ti**] Sa D; *virūpākṣo* Sa; *virūdhako* Sa; *virūdhako* Sb; *virūdhako* ti Sen. **24d rakṣatī**] corr.; *rakṣatu* Sa D Ta Sb Sen. Cf. F, v. 9 and *infra*, vv. 33, 42. **25ab so ... ca**] Sa D Ta Sb; suppr. Sen. **25b bhūrīye**] Sa D; *bhūrīye* Ta Sb **ca**] Ta Sb; om. Sa D **25c diśā**] Sa D Sb Ta; *diśo* Sen. **26a dakṣiṇesmiḥ**] Sa D Ta Sb; *dakṣiṇasmim* corr. Sen. **diśābhāge**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **26b <’>tipaśyaṃ**] corr.; *atipaśyaṃ* Sa D Ta Sb; *abhipaśyaṃ* Sen. **26d satyopayācanam**] corr. Sen.; *satyopayācano* Sa D Ta; *satyopajācano* Sb **27a pi vo**] Ta Sb Sen.; *pi no* Sa D **abhipārentu**] corr. Sen.; *abhipārentu* Sa Ta Sb **27b bhūrīye**] *bhūrīye* Sa; *..rīye* D; *bhūrīye* Ta; *bhūrīye* Sb Sen. **27f sarve cetiyasurakṣitā**] corr.; *cetiyasurakṣitā* Sa D; *cetiyasurakṣitā* Ta Sb; *cetiyena surakṣitā* corr. Sen. Cf. v. 17.

22: I tentatively follow Senart’s emendation *yaśomatī*, but this leads to an irregular pattern - ~ - for syllables 10–12. Cf. Lv (I 389.7): *yaśapṛāptā*; MaVin (501a4): 名稱.

26: Our manuscripts are unanimous in reading *atipaśya*, but Senart’s reading *abhipaśya* is supported by the MaVin (501a19): 阿毘鉢施.

3. Western direction

yena kenaci arthena gacchatha paścimām diśām <|>
nakṣatrā vo <’>abhipārentu ye tām diśam adhiṣṭhitā <|> (28) Sen. III 308

anurādhā ca jyeṣṭhā ca mūlaś ca dṛḍhavīryavām <|>
ubhau āśādhā abhijī śramaṇo bhavati saptamo <|> (29) Sa 377b4,
D 374b6

te pi vo abhipārentu bhūrīye bhavanena ca <|>
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī |
labdhārthā ca nivartetha tehi nakṣatrehi rakṣitā <|> (30)

paścimasmim diśābhāge aṣṭa devakumāriyo |
alaṃbuṣā miśrakeśī ariṣṭā suprabhā <|>
†ekānamvā† navamikā kṛṣṇā śuklā ca dropadī <||> (31)

tā pi vo abhipārentu ārogyena śivena ca <|> end of D 374b
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
labdhārthā ca nivartetha devakanyāhi rakṣitā <||> (32) Sa 377b5

tāsām adhipatī rājā virūdhako ti nāmataḥ <|>
sarvanāgādhipatī rājā varuṇena saha rakṣati <||> (33)

so pi vo abhipārentu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarvanāgehi rakṣitā <||> (34)

paścimasmiṃ diśābhāge asto nāmena parvato <|>
 āvartto candrasūryāṇāṃ asto arthaṃ dadātu vo <|> (35)

beginning of F

so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
 kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
 labdhārthā ca nivartetha sarve astena rakṣitā <|> (36)

Sa 377b6

28d || Sa; om. D **29d–32b**] In D, from *bhavati* in the beginning of the sixth line, till the interruption of the copying in the third section of the line, the text is copied in a very small hand over previously erased *akṣaras*. For an explanation of the copyist's attempt to fit more text in a limited space, see above, n. 92. **30d** || Sa; || D **31b** || Sa; om. D **31d** †*ekānaṃvā*†] The second and third *akṣaras* of this problematic word have been written over erased *akṣaras* in Sa. **35d asto arthaṃ**] The second *akṣara* of Sa has been written over an erased one, so has the *rthaṃ* of *arthaṃ*. The ambiguous *akṣara* that resulted from this emendation led the copyist of Ta to read *anto*, a reading that passed on to the later manuscript tradition.

28a kenaci] Sa D Ta Sb; *kenacid* Sen. **28b diśāṃ**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśaṃ* Sen. **28c vo**] Ta Sb Sen.; *ca* Sa D. Cf. *infra*, v. 37. **28d tāṃ**] Ta Sb Sen.; *tāṃ* Sa D **29a anurādhā**] Sa D Sen.; *anurādhā* Ta Sb **29c ubhau**] Sa D; *ubhe* Ta Sb Sen. **29c āṣādhā**] Sa; *āṣādhā* D; *āṣādhe* Ta Sb Sen. **abhiḥi**] Sa D; *bhiḥi ca* Ta Sb Sen. **29d śramaṇo**] Sa; *ramaṇo* D; *śravaṇo* Ta Sb; *śravaṇā* corr. Sen. **saptamo**] Sa; *so saptamo* D; *saptamā* Ta Sb; *saptamī* Sen. **30b bhūrīye**] Sa D; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **30c bhontu**] D Ta Sb Sen.; *ca vontu* Sa **30e labdhārthā**] Sa Ta Sb Sen.; *arthārtha* D **30f nakṣatrehi**] Sa D Sb Sen.; *nakṣetrehi* Ta **31a diśābhāge**] Sa D Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **31b aṣṭa devakumāriyo**] Sa Ta; *aṣṭaveva kumāriyo* D; *aṣṭaṃ devakumāriyo* Sb; *aṣṭau devakumāriyo* corr. Sen. **31c alaṃbuṣā**] corr. Sen.; *alaṃvarṣā* Sa D Ta Sb. Cf. Lv (I 390.5): *alaṃbuṣā*. Cf. MaVin (Abhis I 40, cf. T. 1425, 501a26): 阿藍浮裘. **31d suprabhā**] Sa Ta Sb; *suprabho* D; *suprabhāyakā* Sen. Cf. MaVin (501a26): 好光. **31e †ekānaṃvā† navamikā**] D; *ekānaṃvā tavamikā* Sa; *ekānaṃvā tavamikā* Ta Sb; suppr. Sen. **31f śuklā ca**] *śuklā ma* Sa D; *śuklama* Ta Sb; *śukrā ca* corr. Sen. **dropadī**] conj.; *dropati* Sa D Ta; *aupati* Sb; *draupadī* corr. Sen. **32a pi vo**] D Ta Sb Sen.; *pi co* Sa **32b ārogyena**] Sa D Sb corr. Sen.; *ārogyena* {{*ca*}} Ta **32c kṣemā**] Ta Sb Sen.; *kṣyo'mā* Sa **33b virūḍhako ti**] corr.; *virūḍhako iti* Sa; *virūpākṣo ti* Ta Sb Sen. **33c sarvanāgādhipatī**] Sa; *sarvanāgādhipo* Ta Sb; *sa vo nāgādhipo* corr. Sen. **33d rakṣatī**] Sa; *rakṣitu* Ta; *rakṣ{{i}}atu* Sb; *rakṣatu* Sen. **34a abhipāletu**] corr. Sen.; *abhipāletu* Sa Ta Sb **34b bhūrīye**] Sa; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **34c vo**] Ta Sb Sen.; *mo* Sa **34d pāpam āgamī**] Ta Sb Sen.; *pāpagamī* Sa **35a diśābhāge**] Sa Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **35d asto**] Sa corr. Sen.; *anto* Ta Sb **36a pi vo**] Ta Sb Sen.; *pi co* Sa **abhipāletu**] Sa corr. Sen.; *abhipāletu* Ta Sb **36b bhūrīye**] Sa F; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **36e labdhārthā ca**] Sb Sen.; *labdhārthā* Sa; *labdhārthāś ca* Ta.

29: bha-vipulā. The reading *śravaṇo* of the later manuscripts is also attested in Lv I 389.18 and Mmī 51.12. See also AVParīś I 1.2; Śārd (M) 46.12. The reading of Sa is consistent with the greater frequency with which the ruler of the north is called Vaiśramaṇa rather than Vaiśravaṇa in this manuscript (Senart always editing Vaiśravaṇa). Cf. Mv I 245.9/Sa 70b6; II 159.14/165a3; III 68.2/290b5; III 69.18/291b2; III 77.20/294b5; III 105.2/302b4.

31: The *pāda* d is hypometric as it stands. There is moreover a problem in the list of deities, as one can count nine names instead of eight (the same remark applies to the Lv parallel). It is probably because he faced such a problem that Senart decided to suppress *pāda* f, but the two names he erased may be related to that of the parallels. I do not know what to make of the reading *ekānaṃvā*, which is most probably corrupt, but it might be related to the name *Ekādaśā* recorded by the Lv (I 390.6) and 伊迦提舍 of the MaVin (501a27), which Karashima restores as **Ekadeśā*, cf. Abhis I 47, n. 25. As for *navamikā*, the same reading is also found in the Lv (I 390.6), while the MaVin's reading (501a27) 那婆私迦 points to an underlying Indic form **Navasikā*. One should finally remark that fragment SHT XI 4376 (v., l. 2) has instead the reading *na[va]tikā*. This fifth *pāda* is a *na-vipulā*.

4. Northern direction

yena kenaci arthena gacchatha uttarāṃ diśāṃ <|>
 nakṣatrā vo <'>abhipāletu ye tāṃ diśāṃ adhiṣṭhitā <|> (37)

Sen. III 309

dhaniṣṭhā śatabhiṣā caiva ubhau proṣṭhapadā pi ca <|>
revatī atha aśvajā bharaṇī bhavati saptamā <|> (38)

tā pi vo anupāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca <|>
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī |
labdhārthā ca nivartetha tehi nakṣatrehi rakṣitā <|> (39)

uttarasmiṃ diśābhāge aṣṭa devakumāriyo <|>
hirīdevī surādevī pṛthivī padumāvātī <|>
āśā śraddhā hirī śirī <||> (40)

Sa 377b7

tā pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
labdhārthā ca nivartetha devakanyābhirakṣitā <||> (41)
tāsām adhipatī rājā kuberō iti nāmataḥ <|>
sarvayakṣāṇām adhipatī rākṣasīhi saha rakṣati <|> (42)

Sb 392a

so pi vo abhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca <|>
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
labdhārthā ca nivartetha yakṣarākṣasarakṣitā <|> (43)

Sa 378a

uttarasmiṃ diśābhāge kailāso nāma parvato <|>
āvāso yakṣasaṃghānām rākṣasānām niveśanam <|> (44)

end of F

so pi vo adhipāletu bhūrīye bhavanena ca |
kṣemā ca vo diśā bhontu mā ca vo pāpam āgamī <|>
labdhārthā ca nivartetha yakṣarākṣasarakṣitā <|> (45)

40e śraddhā] The reading of *akṣara ddhā* is unsure. **41b bhavanena ca]** The copyist used a small hand to copy the three last *akṣaras*. **43c bhontu]** *bho*◇◇◇◇◇*ntu* Sa. The sign ◇ is used here to fill in the blank of the last line, and to connect the text with the fol. 378, which was actually copied earlier.

37a yena] Sa corr. Sen.; *ye* Ta Sb **37c nakṣatrā vo]** Ta Sb Sen.; *nakṣatrā va* Sa; *nakṣatrāṇi vo* F **37d tāṃ]** Ta Sb Sen. F; *taṃ* Sa. **38b proṣṭhapadā pi]** Ta Sb Sen.; *proṣṭhapavāpi* Sa; *cadrapadāni* F **38c revatī atha aśvajā]** conj.; *atha aśvajā* Sa; *revaty athāśvajā caiva* Ta Sb; *revaty athāśvinī caiva* corr. Sen.; *revatī aśvinīś caiva* F **38d saptamā]** Sa Ta Sb; *saptamī* Sen. **39b bhūrīye]** Sa F; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **39c diśā bhontu]** corr.; *diśā bhonti* Sa Ta Sb; *diśo bhontu* corr. Sen. **39e labdhārthā]** Sa; *labdhārthās* Ta Sb Sen. **39f nakṣatrehi]** Sa Sb Sen.; *nakṣetrehi* Ta **40a diśābhāge]** Sa Ta Sb; *diśobhāge* Sen. **40b aṣṭa devakumāriyo]** Sa Ta Sb; *aṣṭau devakumāriyo* corr. Sen. **40c hirīdevī]** Sa Ta Sb; *ilā devī* corr. Sen. **40e śirī]** Sa Ta Sb F; *ca śrī* *samāgata* corr. Sen. **41b bhūrīye]** Sa; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **41e labdhārthā]** Sa; *labdhārthās* Ta Sb Sen. **devakanyābhirakṣitā]** Sa; *devakanyāhi rakṣitā* Ta Sb Sen.; *[sa]* (*rvakanyāhi rakṣitā*) F **42b kuberō]** Sa F; *kuvera* Ta Sb Sen. **42c sarvayakṣāṇām adhipatī]** Sa; *sarvayakṣādhipo rājā* Ta Sb Sen.; *sarvayakṣādhi(patī rā)[j](ā)* F **42d saha rakṣati]** corr.; *samasamarakṣati* Sa; *saha rakṣatu* Ta Sb Sen.; (*saha rakṣa*)*ti* F **43a abhipāletu]** F corr. Sen.; *abhipāletu* Sa Ta Sb **43b bhūrīye]** Sa F; *bhūmīye* Ta Sb Sen. **43e labdhārthā]** Sa F; *labdhārthās* Ta Sb Sen. **nivartetha]** Ta Sb Sen. F; *nivarttatha* Sa **43f yakṣarākṣasarakṣitā]** Sa Sen.; *yakṣarākṣasarakṣitāḥ* Ta Sb; *sarvayakṣehi rakṣitā* F **44a diśābhāge]** Sa Ta Sb F; *diśobhāge* Sen. **44b kailāso]** Sa Ta Sen.; *kailāso* Sb; *kelāso* F **parvato]** Sa F; *parvatī*{*o*}{*«ah»*} Ta; *parvata* Sb; *parvataḥ* Sen. **45a adhipāletu]** Ta; *adhipāletu* Sa; *abhipāletu* Sb; *abhipāletu* Sen. **45b bhūrīye]** Sa; *bhūrīye* Ta; *bhūmīye* Sb Sen. **45c kṣemā]** Ta Sb

Sen.; *raṁṣemā* Sa **45e labdhārthā**] Sa; *labdhārthās* Ta Sb Sen. **45f yakṣarākṣasarakṣitā**] Sa; *yakṣarākṣasarakṣitāḥ* Ta Sb Sen.

38: The *pāda* c is a *ja-vipulā*, while F's reading has instead a *pathyā*.

D. *Concluding verses:*

| | |
|---|--------------|
| aṣṭāvimśati nakṣatrā saptasapta caturdiśaṁ < > | Sa 378a2 |
| saha candramasūryehi triṁśa bhonti-m-anūnakam < > (46) | Sen. III 308 |
| dvātriṁśa devakanyā ca aṣṭa-aṣṭa caturdiśaṁ < > | |
| catvāro ca mahārājā lokapālā yaśasvinaḥ < > | |
| prajvalamānā varṇena rakṣanti te caturdiśaṁ < > (47) | |
| purimakāṁ dhṛtarāṣṭro paścimakāṁ virūḍhako < > | |
| dakṣiṇāṁ ca virūpākṣo kubero uttarāṁ diśāṁ < > (48) | |
| aṣṭa śramaṇā brāhmaṇā janapadeṣu kṣatriyā < > | Ta 212b |
| aṣṭa sa-indrakā devā sadā rakṣāṁ karontu vo < > (49) | Sa 378a3 |

47e varṇena] *varṇṇena* Sa **49d vo**] *vo* {f} Sa

46d triṁśa] Sa; *triṁśad* Ta Sb Sen. **bhonti-m-anūnakam**] Sa; *bhoti anūnakam* Ta Sb; *bhonti anūnakam* Sen. **47a dvātriṁśa**] Sa Ta Sb; *dvātriṁśad* Sen. **ca**] corr.; *vo* Sa Ta Sb Sen. Cf. Lv I 391.12. **47b caturdiśaṁ**] Sa Sb Sen.; *caturdiśāṁ* Sb **47c catvāro**] Sa; *catvāraś* Ta Sb Sen. **47e prajvalamānā varṇena**] Sa Ta Sb; *prajvalamānavarṇṇena* Sen. **47f rakṣanti te**] corr. Sen.; *rakṣanti* Sa Ta Sb **48 purimakāṁ ... diśāṁ**] Sa Ta Sb; suppr. Sen. **48a purimakāṁ**] conj.; *purimakā diśā* Sa; *purimakā diśāṁ* Ta Sb **48b paścimakāṁ virūḍhako**] corr.; *paścimakāṁ ca virūḍhako* Sa; *paścimāṁ virūpākṣo* Ta Sb **48c virūpākṣo**] Sa; *virūḍhako* Ta Sb **48d kubero uttarāṁ**] Ta Sb; *kuberottaram* Sa **49a brāhmaṇā**] corr. Sen.; *aṣṭa brāhmaṇā* Sa Ta Sb **49b janapadeṣu**] corr.; *aṣṭa janapadeṣu* Sa Ta Sb Sen. **kṣatriyā**] Sa Ta corr. Sen.; *kṣetriyo* Sb **49d vo**] Sa Ta Sb; *vaḥ* Sen.

47: The first *pāda* has an irregular sequence ~ ~ in the second and third syllables, while *pāda* e is a *ma-vipulā*.

48: On this verse discarded by Sen., see above, p. 416.

49: The Mss. witness an interpolation of *aṣṭa* before *brāhmaṇā* and *janapadeṣu kṣatriyā* that lead to a hypermetric hemistich. These interpolations, also witnessed in the Mss. of the Lv (391.13–14), can be removed and the first occurrence of the numeral can be taken distributively.

*Translation of the Diśāsauvastika-gāthās*⁹⁵

Verse narrative:

(1) Provided with multiple qualities, [the food] was said to be a treat. It was endowed with [excellent] colour, smell as well as taste.

(2) Fresh, exquisite, appetizing and suitable was the first treat Trapusa and Bhalliya offered the Teacher [after his Awakening].

⁹⁵ The following translates the text of the *Mahāvastu*. The section covered also by the text of the Schøyen fragment appears in bold, and when its readings differ from the DS-Mv, I signal the corresponding rendering with [F:]. Square brackets are also employed to indicate words supplied in the translation.

(3) And the best among men drank this blend of honey and clarified butter, and thus satiated, the Hero rose from seclusion and satisfied gods, *gandharvas* and men with the rain of the Dharma:

Introductory verses:

4) “The [four] directions are [respectively] propitious, heavenly, auspicious and profitable. Having heard that, o benevolent ones, you shall succeed in all matters.

(5) May welfare be granted to you bipeds, may welfare be granted to [your] quadrupeds, welfare to [you] who set out on the road and welfare to [you] who return.

(6) Welfare at night, welfare during the day and welfare at noon, may there always be welfare and may no evil occur to you.

(7) [May] good fortune rest on your right shoulder, [may] good fortune rest on your left shoulder, [may] good fortune be well installed on all your limbs, like a garland. Prosperity to you, prosperity and good fortune to you, o merchants, may prosperity be yours.

East:

8) On whatever business you shall go towards the eastern direction, may the constellations that stand in that direction protect you.

(9) Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, peaceful Mṛgā, Ārdrā, Punarvasu, and the excellent constellation of Puṣya; Aśleṣā is the seventh.

(10) These are the seven constellations, the famous protectors of the world. They are assigned to the eastern quarter; to them belongs the eastern direction.

(11) May these ones watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by these constellations.

(12) In the eastern quarter, there are eight celestial maidens: Madhurā[?], Nandisenā, Nandinī, Nandirakṣitā, Nandilā, Nandivardhitā, Siddhārthā and Aparājitā.

(13) May these ones watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by these celestial maidens.

(14) Their overlord is the king named Dhṛtarāṣṭra; [this] king, overlord of the *gandharvas*, guards [the direction] together with the gods.

(15) Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return

guarded by all the gods.

(16) In the eastern quarter, there is a shrine called Cāpāla, which constantly gleams with fiery energy and constantly [answers] what is asked for in truth[ful words].⁹⁶

(17) Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you all return, guarded by [that] shrine.

South:

(18) On whatever business you shall go towards the southern direction, may the constellations that stand in that direction protect [you].

(19) Maghā, the two Phālgunīs, Hastā and the fifth [named] Citrā, Svātī and Viśākhā, to those [is assigned] the southern direction.

(20) These are the seven constellations, the famous protectors of the world. They are assigned to the southern quarter; to them belongs the southern direction.

(21) May these ones watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by these constellations.

(22) In the southern quarter, there are eight celestial maidens: Lakṣmīmatī, Śīrīmatī, Yaśomatī, Yaśodharā, Su-utthitā, Suprabhā, Suviśuddhā, Suvyākṛtā.

(23) May these ones watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by these celestial maidens.

(24) Their overlord is the king named Virūpākṣa; [this] king, overlord of the *kumbhāṇḍas*, guards [the direction] together with Yama.

(25) Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by the *kumbhāṇḍas*.

(26) In the southern quarter, there is a shrine called Atipaśya, which constantly gleams with fiery energy and constantly [answers] what is asked for in truth[ful words].

(27) Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be

⁹⁶ On *satyopayācana/satyābhiyācana* as a synonym of *satyavācana*, see for instance BHSD, s.v. *abhiyācanā*; Mppś, Lamotte 1949–80 v: 2357–2358 and note 1. That the use of this *bāhuvrīhi* as an epithet of the *caitya* refers to the fulfilment (*saṃ√rdh*) of the requests that are addressed to it is confirmed by the narrative context of another occurrence of this word, depicting a sacred *nyagrodha*, see Mv III 402.1–5/Sa 407b1–2. See also PW, s.v. *upayācana*.

secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you all return, guarded by [that] shrine.

West:

(28) On whatever business you shall go towards the western direction, may the constellations that stand in that direction protect you.

(29) Anurādhā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Mūlā possessed with firm strength, the two Āṣāḍhas [and] Abhijī; Śramaṇa is the seventh.

(30) May these ones watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by these constellations.

(31) In the western quarter, there are eight celestial maidens: Alambuṣā, Miśrakeśī, Ariṣṭā, Suprabhā, Ekaṇaṃvā⁹⁷, Navamikā, Kṛṣṇā, Śukrā and Dropadī.

(32) May these ones watch over you with regard to health and peace; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by these celestial maidens.

(33) Their overlord is the king named Virūḍhaka; [this] king, overlord of all the *nāgas*, guards [the direction] together with Varuṇa.

(34) Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by all the *nāgas*.

(35) In the western quarter, there is a mount named Asta, the setting point⁹⁷ of the sun and the moon, **may Asta [F: Artha] grant you profit.**

(36) **Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return, all guarded by Asta [F: well guarded with all your profits].**

North:

(37) **On whatever business you shall go towards the northern direction, may the constellations that stand in that direction protect you.**

(38) **Dhaniṣṭhā and Śatabhiṣā, as well as the two Proṣṭhapadās [F: Bhadrapadās], Revatī and**

⁹⁷ *āvarta*, lit. “the turning point.” The MaVin has here 日月居中 (T. 1425, 501b2), which Karashima (Abhis I 43) translates “auf dem die Sonne und der Mond wohnen.” Mount Asta is known to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which often refer to it as the point where the sun sets, and sometimes as its residence (*nivāsa*). Cf. Mbh III 160.24–25, VI 51.43; Ram IV 36.21, 41.36–39, VII 26.1–2.

Aśvajā [F: Aśvinī]; Bharaṇī is the seventh.

[F: *These are the seven constellations, the famous protectors of the world. They are assigned to the northern quarter; to them belongs the northern direction.*]

(39) May these ones watch over you **with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you** and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return **guarded by these [F: by all] constellations**.

(40) **In the northern quarter**, there are eight celestial maidens: Hirīdevī, Surādevī, Pṛthivī, Padumāvatī, Āśā, Śraddhā, Hirī [and] Śirī.

(41) **May these ones** watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity, let **the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded** by these [F: by all] celestial maidens.

(42) Their **overlord is the king named Kubera**; [this] overlord [F: the king, overlord] of all the *yakṣas* guards [the direction] together with the *rākṣasīs*.

(43) **Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you** and may no evil occur to you. **And having attained your aim, may you return guarded** by the *yakṣas* and the *rākṣasas* [F: by all the *rākṣasas*].

(44) **In the northern quarter, there is a mount named Kailāsa**, abode of *yakṣa* groups, and dwelling place of the *rākṣasas*.

(45) Let this one watch over you with regard to abundance and prosperity; let the directions be secure for you and may no evil occur to you. And having attained your aim, may you return guarded by the *yakṣas* and the *rākṣasas*.

Concluding verses:

(46) Twenty-eight constellations, seven for each of the four quarters, together with the sun and the moon, they make thirty in total.

(47) Thirty-two celestial maidens, eight for each of the four quarters, and four great kings, illustrious protectors of the world, blazing with their lustre, guard the four directions.

(48) Dhṛtarāṣṭra [guards] the eastern [direction], Virūḍhaka, the western, Virūpākṣa the southern and Kubera [guards] the northern direction.

(49) Eight *śramaṇas* and [eight] *brāhmaṇas*, [eight] *kṣatriyas* in the provinces, eight gods together with Indra, may they constantly guard you.

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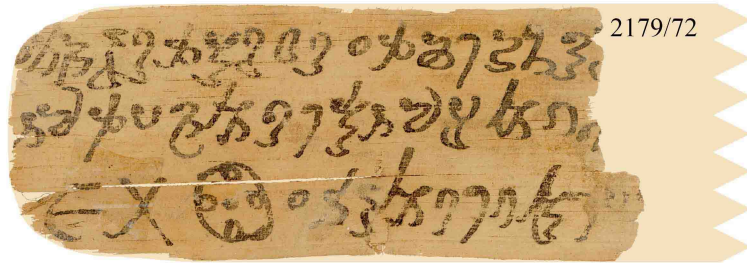
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1. Fragments of an *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in Gāndhārī

Plate I

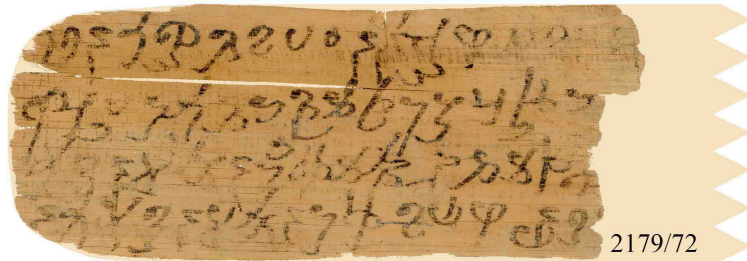
II.1a) **Udayi-sutra*: recto



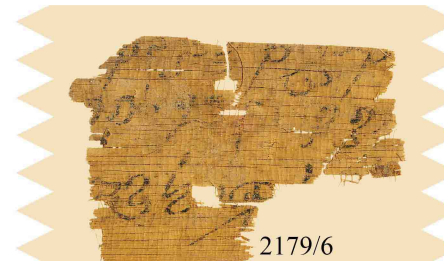
II.2) **Mogalyana-sutra* or **Tiṣya-sutra*: recto



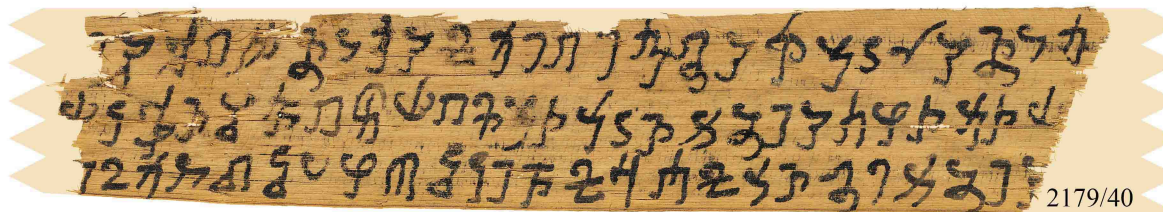
II.1b) **Citra-sutra*: verso



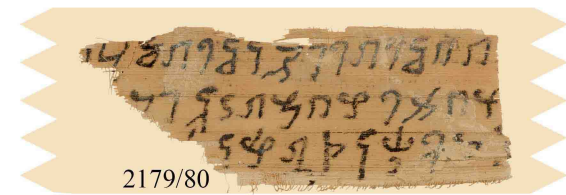
verso



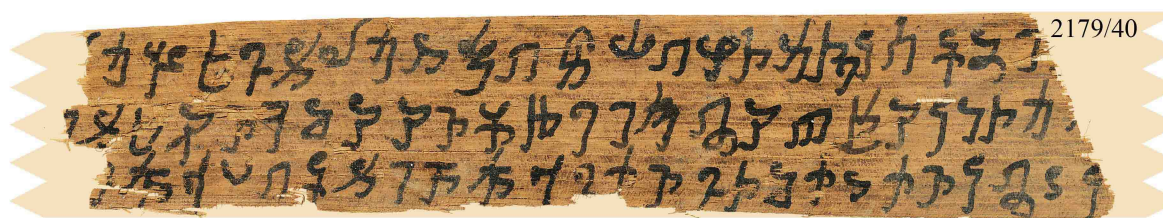
II.3) **Mekhiya-sutra*: recto



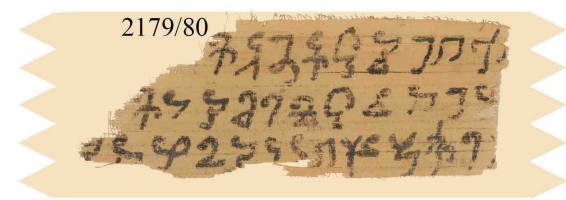
II.4) **Nirvanasukha-sutra*: recto



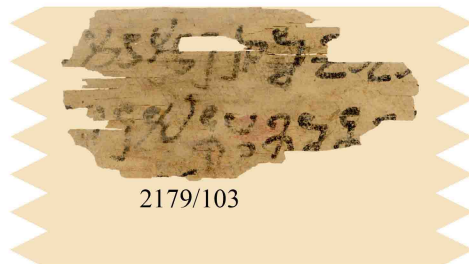
verso



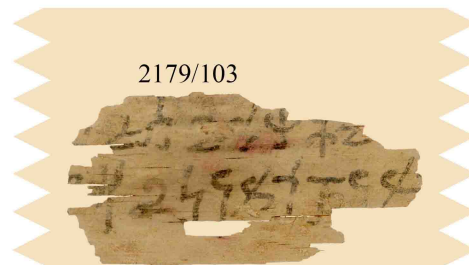
verso



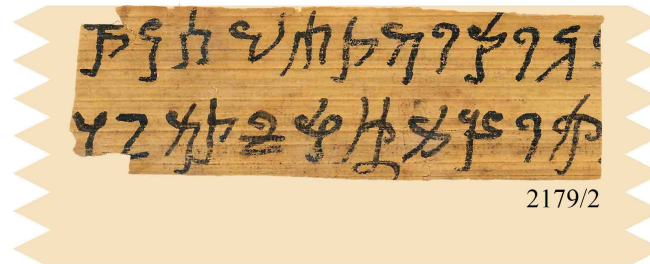
II.5) **Gavi-sutra* (?): recto



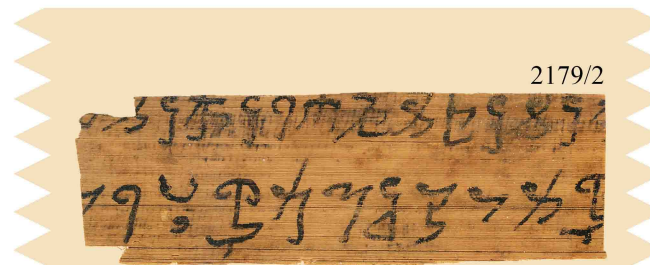
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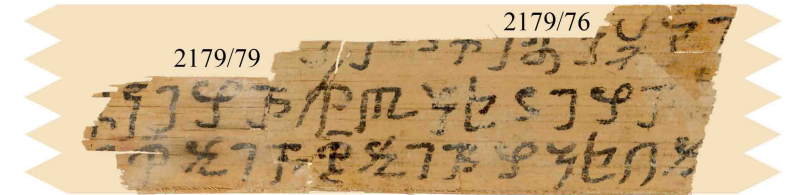
II.6) **Mahapraśa-sutra* (?): recto



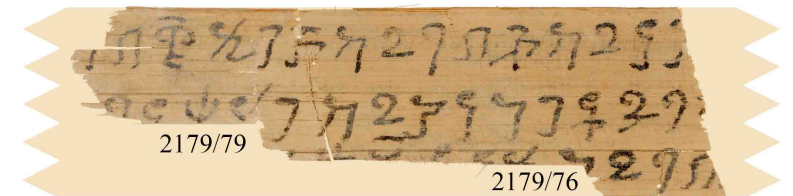
verso



II.7) **Mahali-sutra* and **Triṣṇa-sutra*: recto



verso



II.8a) **Mulaga-sutra*: recto



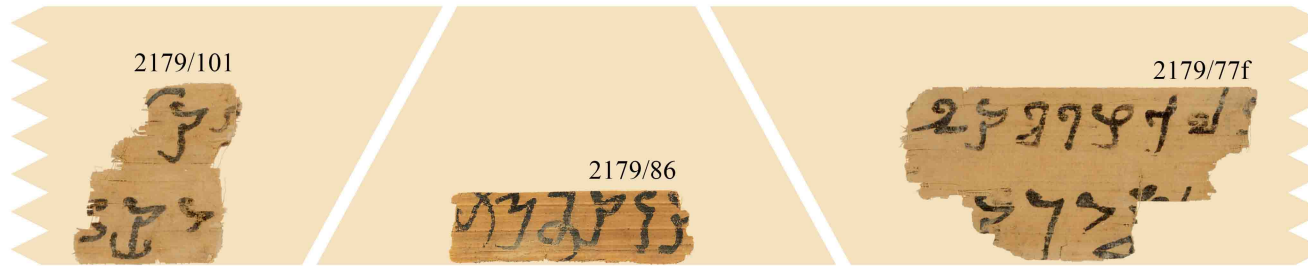
verso



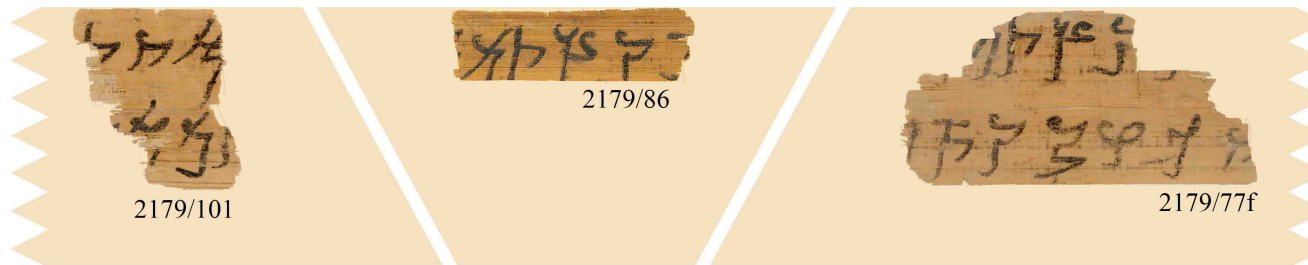
1. Fragments of an *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in Gāndhārī

Plate III

II.8a-b) **Mulaga-sutra* and **Pravaya-sutra*: recto



II.8b) **Pravaya-sutra*: verso



II.9) **Kidriṭhiga-sutra*: recto



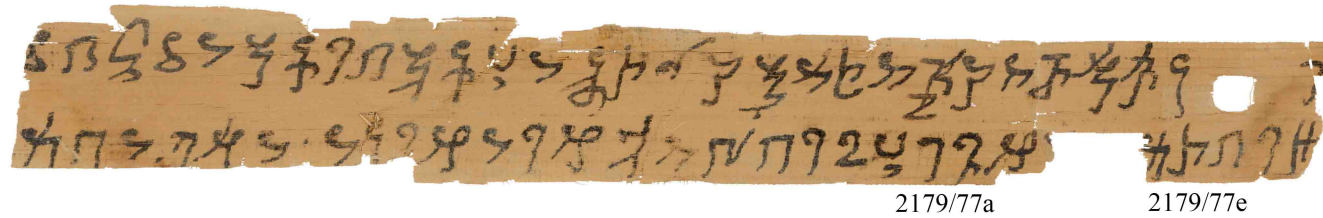
verso



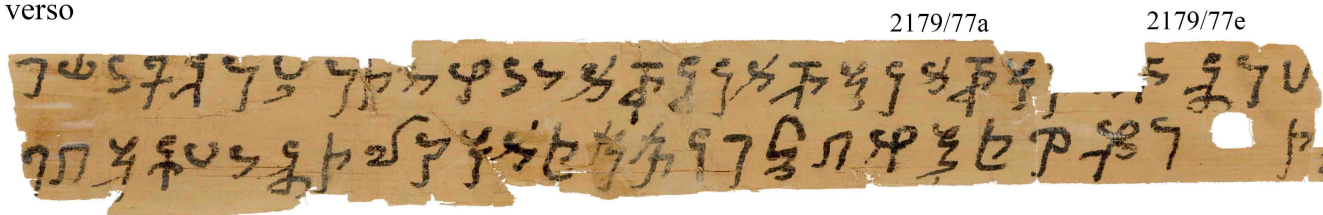
1. Fragments of an *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in Gāndhārī

Plate IV

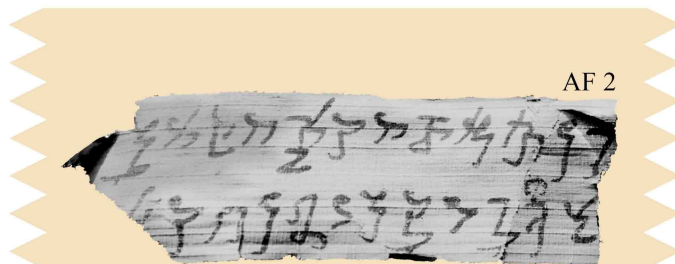
II.9) **Kidriṭhiga-sutra*: recto



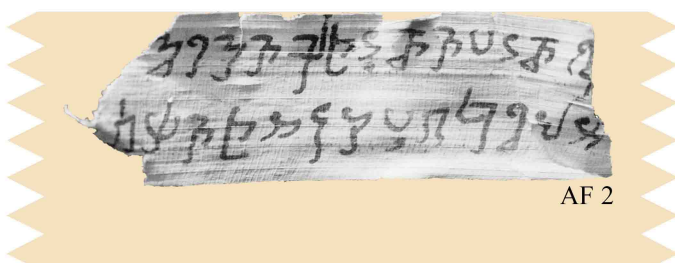
verso



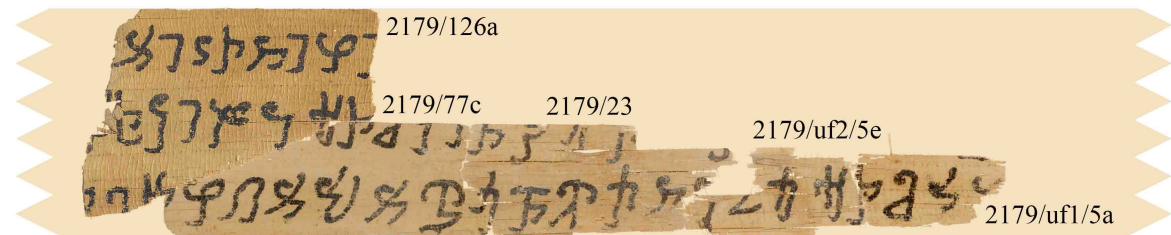
II.9) **Kidriṭhiga-sutra*: recto



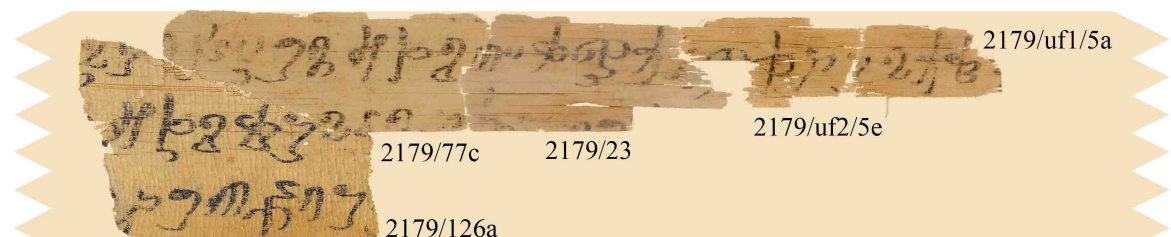
verso



II.10) **Upali-sutra*: recto



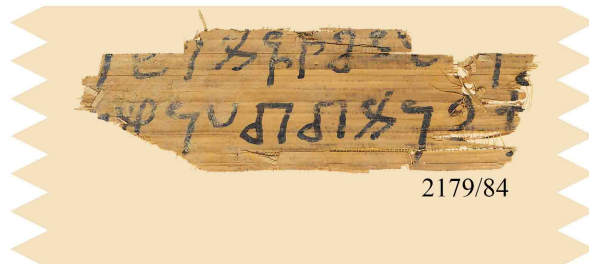
verso



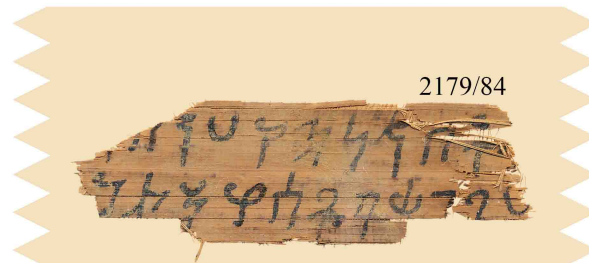
1. Fragments of an *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in Gāndhārī

Plate V

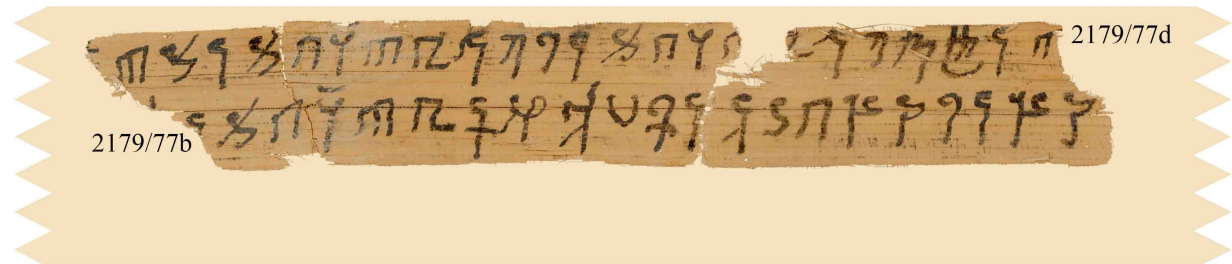
II.11a-b) **Nagulapita-sutra* (?) and
**Sadha-sutra*: recto



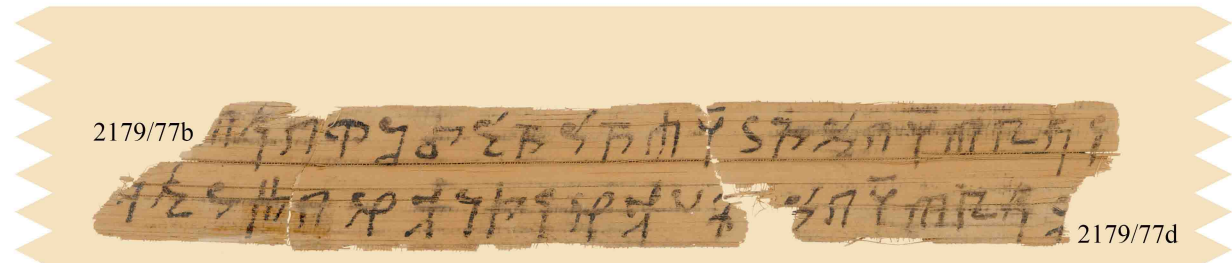
verso



II.11b) **Sadha-sutra*: recto



verso



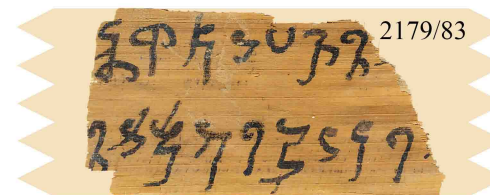
II.12) **Moranivapa-sutra* and **Metra-sutra*: recto



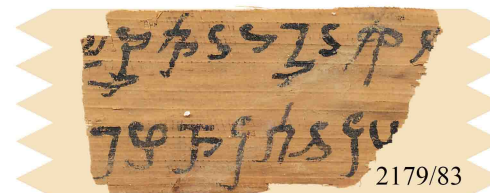
verso



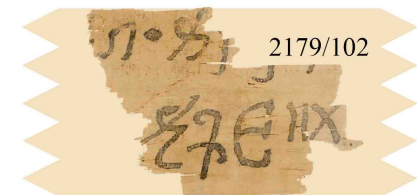
II.13) Unidentified sūtra: recto



verso



II.14) Unidentified sūtra: A



B



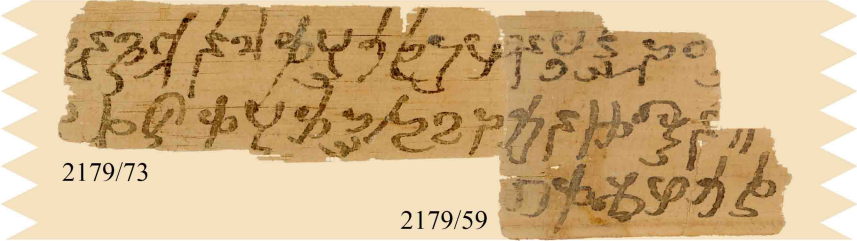
III.1) recto



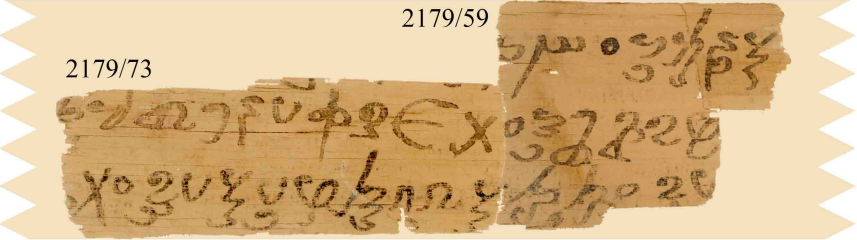
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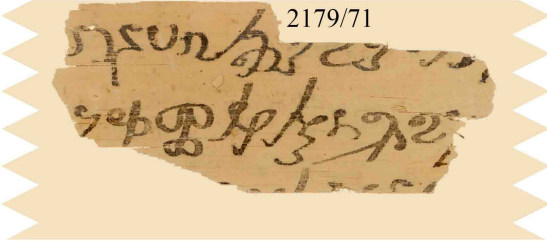
III.2) A



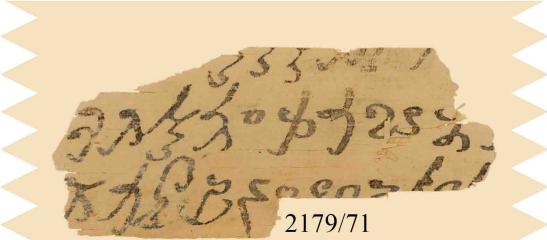
B



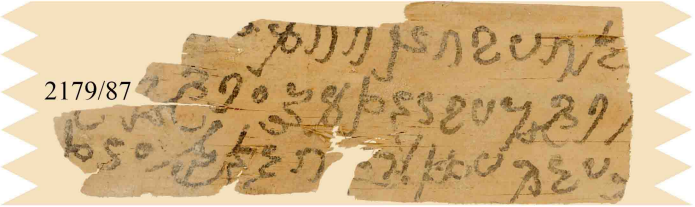
III.3) A



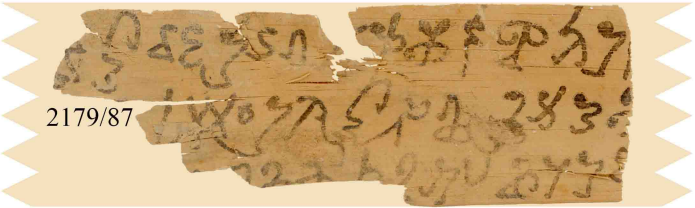
B



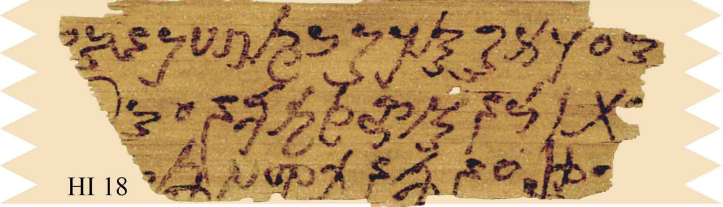
III.4) A



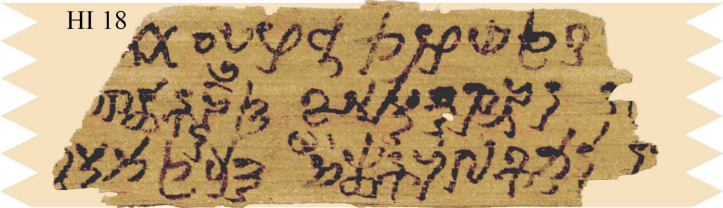
B



III.5) recto



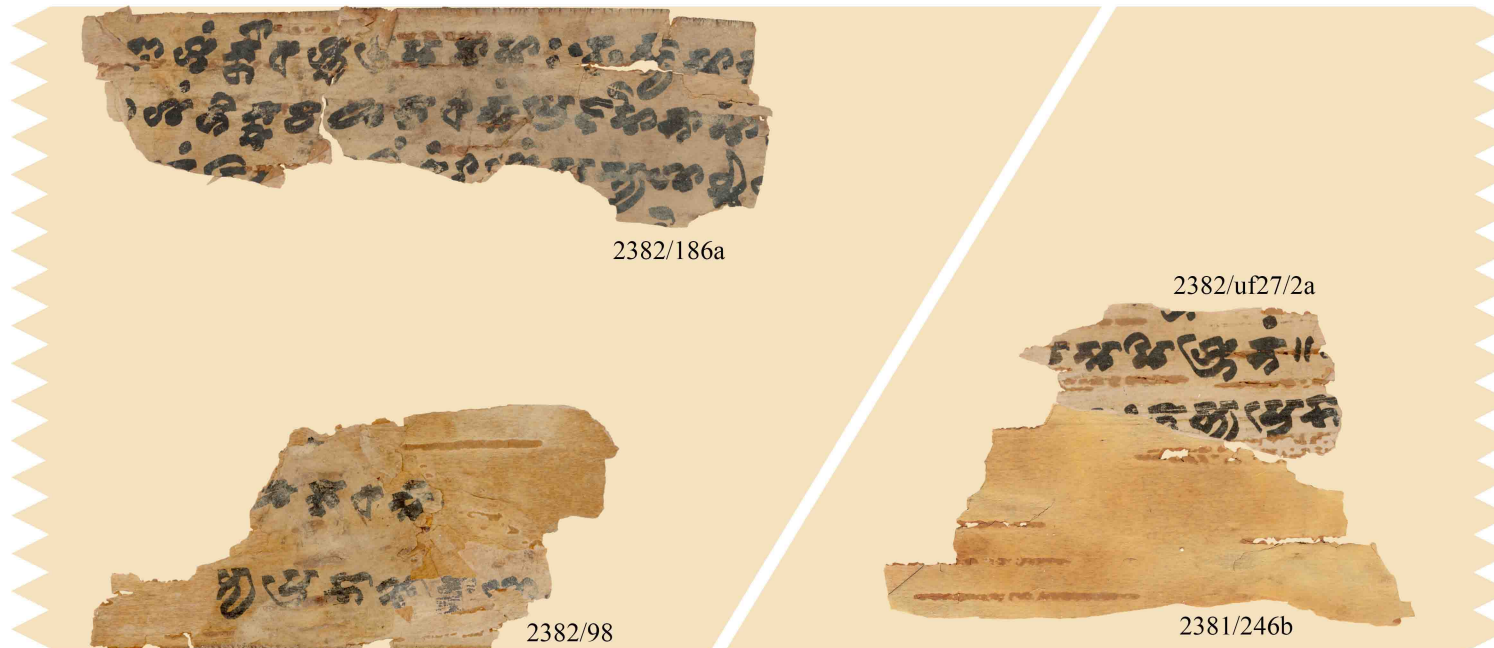
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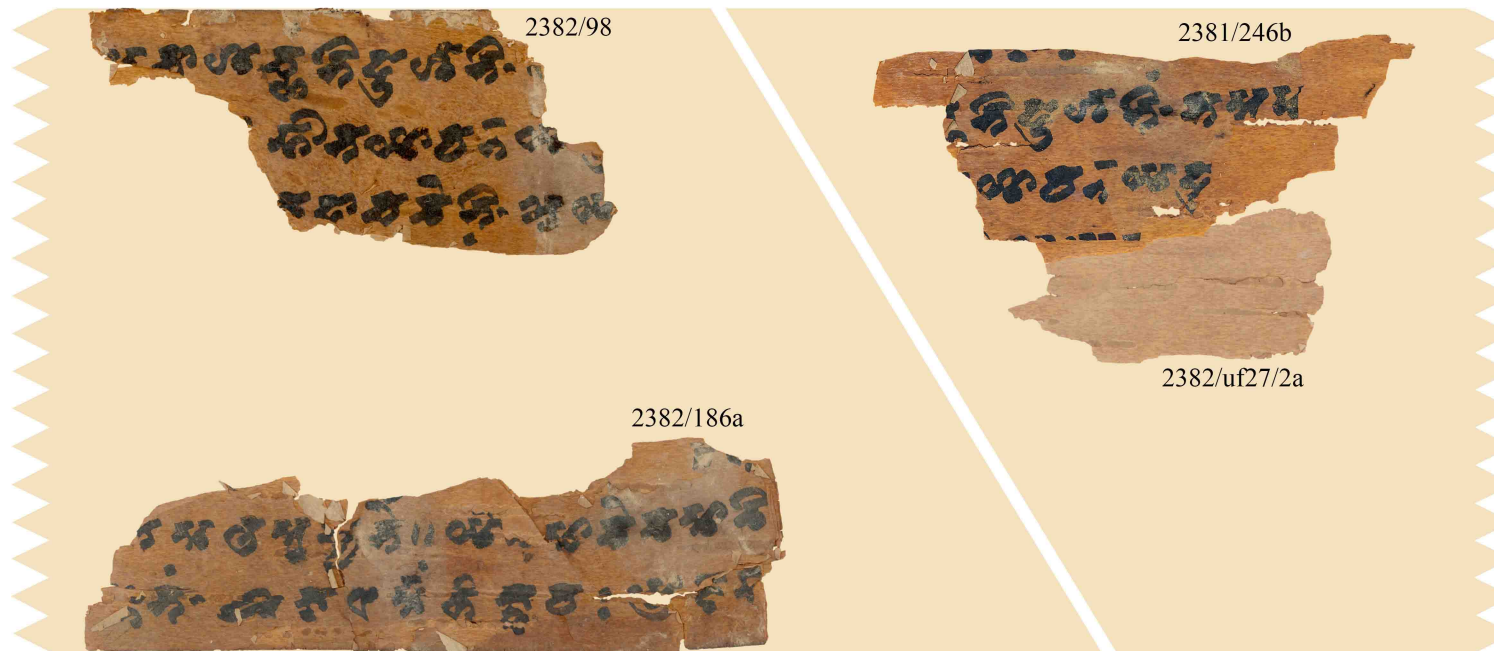
2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate VII

a) recto



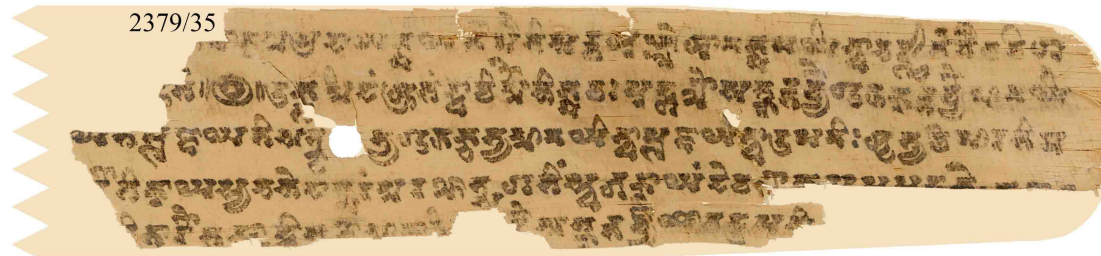
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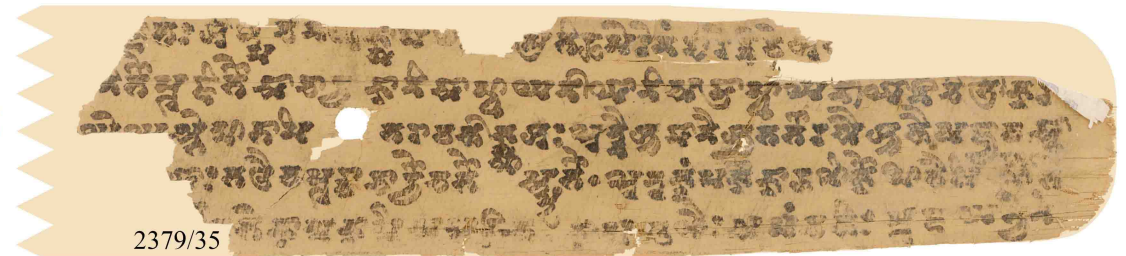
2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate VIII

b) recto



verso



c) recto



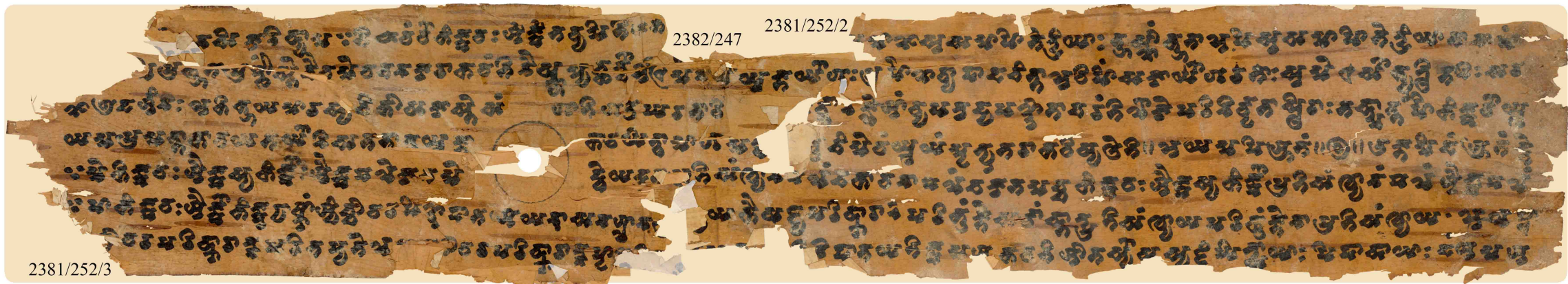
verso



d) recto (85%)



verso



2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate X

e) recto

2381/182

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

2381/206

verso

2381/uf9/1a

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

2381/182

f) recto

2382/24e

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

verso

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

2382/24e

2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate XI

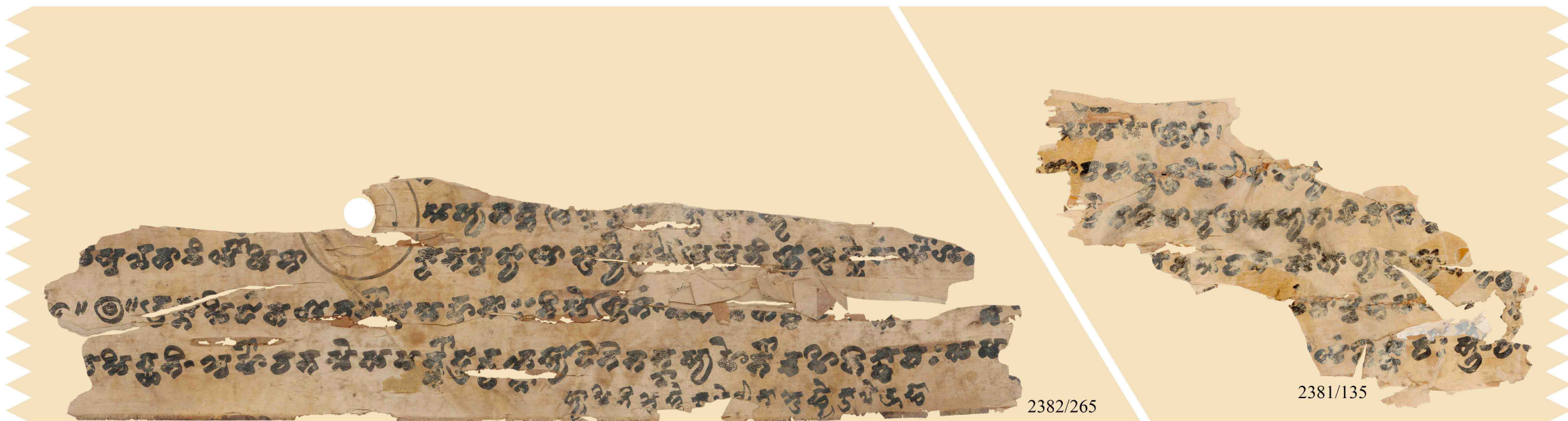
g) recto



verso



h) recto



verso



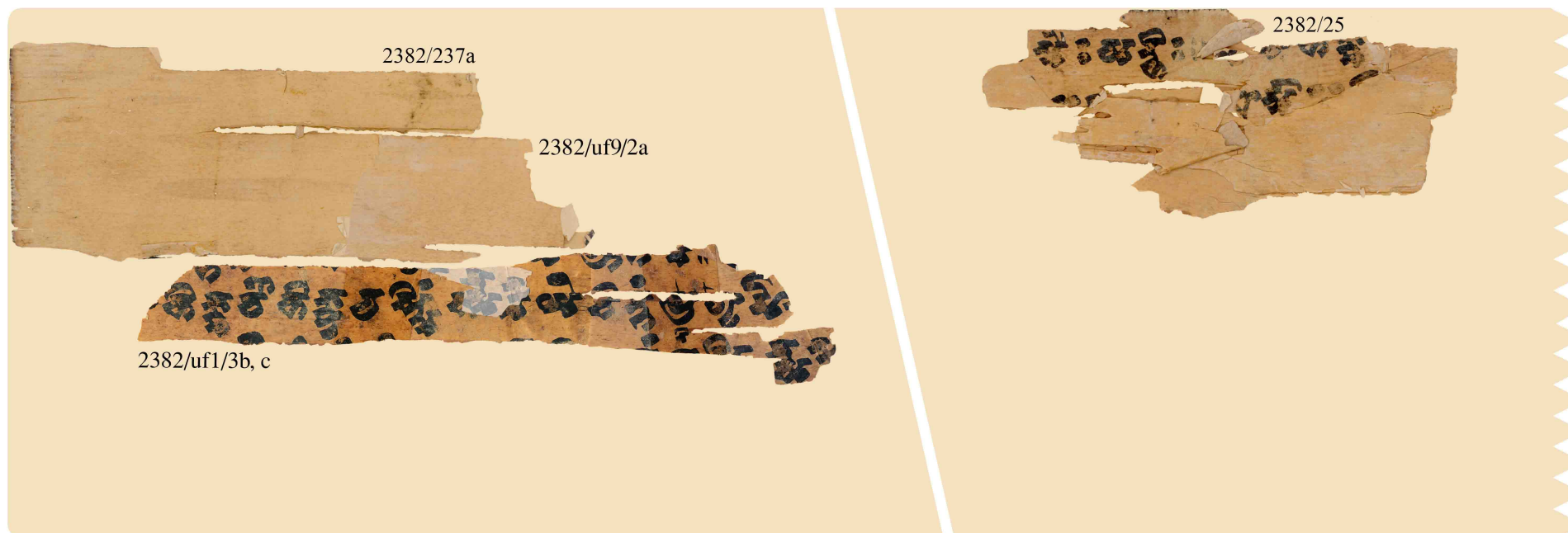
2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate XIII

i) folio [1]45 recto



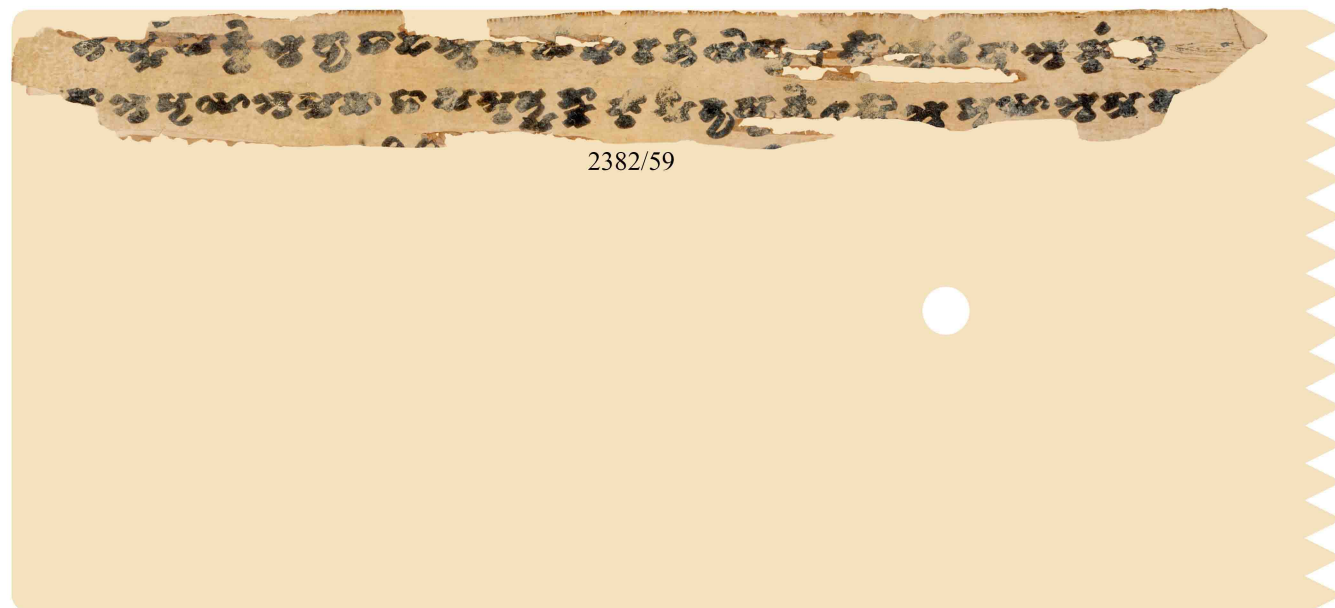
verso



2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate XIV

j) recto



verso



recto



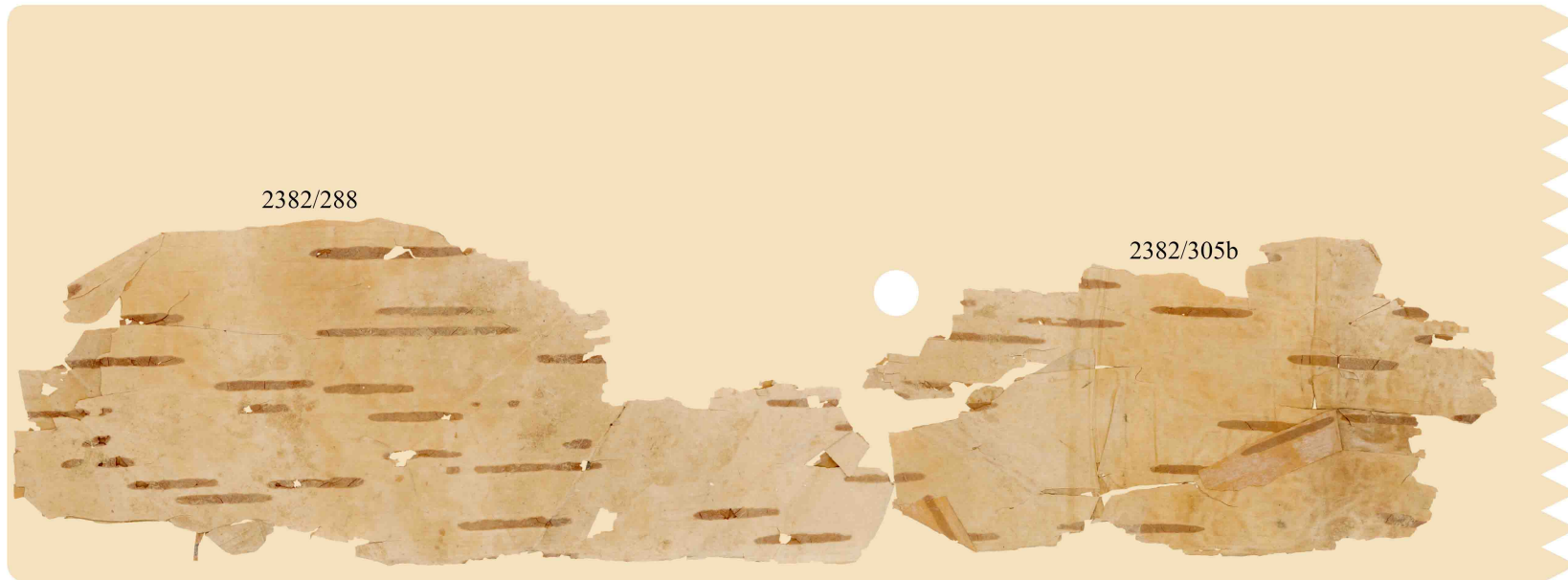
verso



2. Fragments of the *Itivṛttaka*

Plate XV

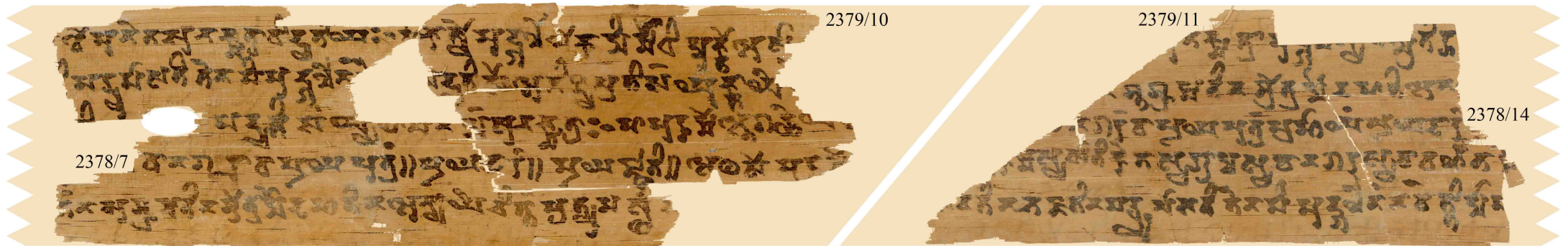
k) recto



verso



recto



verso



4. A Possible Sanskrit Parallel to the Pali *Uruvelasutta*

Plate XVII

folio .. 71 recto



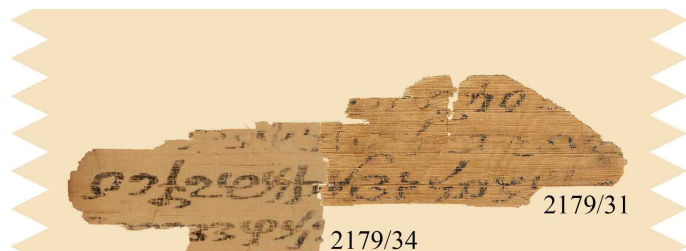
verso



5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XVIII

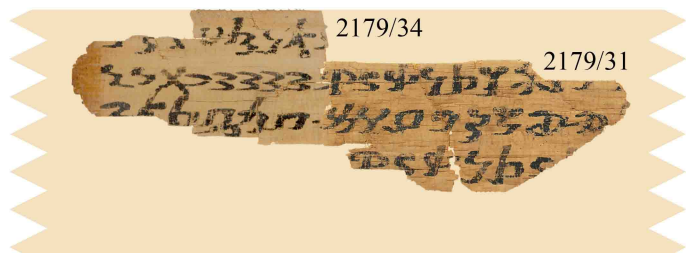
1) recto



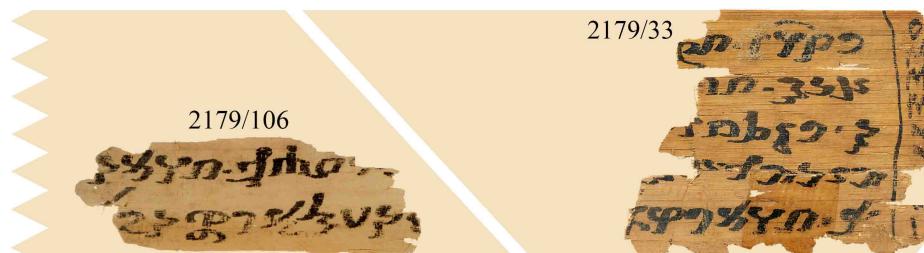
2) folio 62 (?) recto



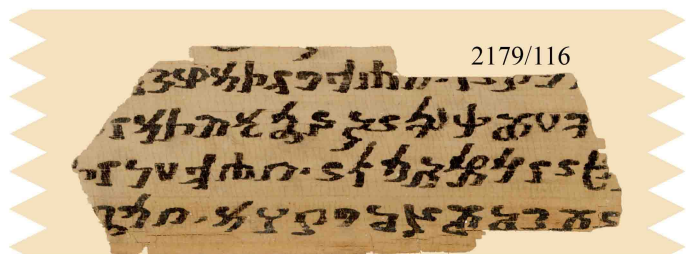
verso



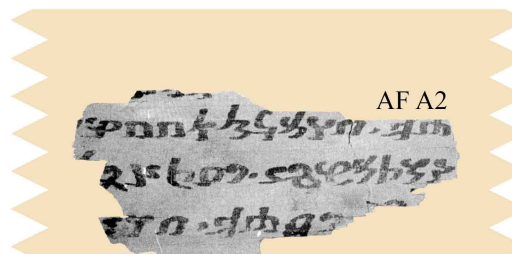
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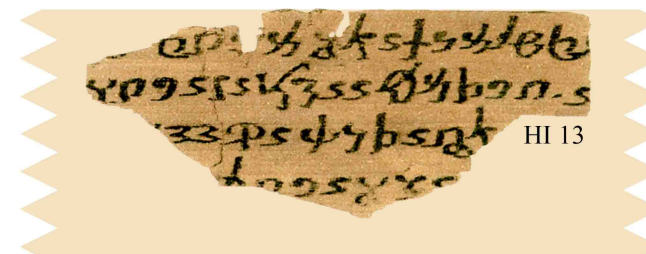
3) recto



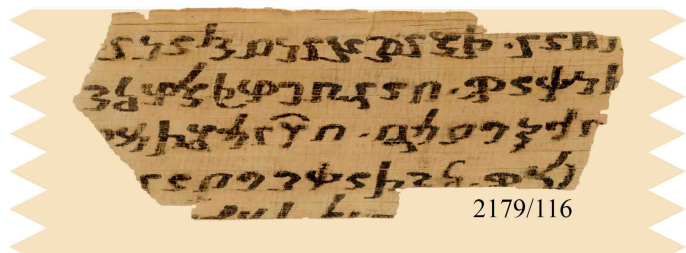
4) recto



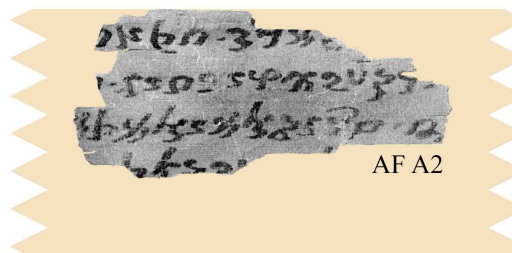
5) recto



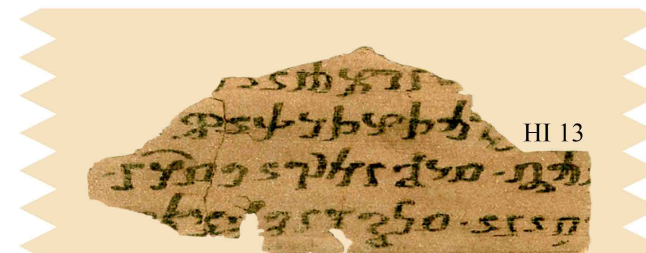
verso



verso



verso



5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XIX

6) A



2179/29b

B

assembled
from 3 pieces



2179/29b

7) A



2179/30c

B



2179/30c

8) A



2179/30e

B



2179/30e

9) A



2179/130j

B



2179/130j

10) A



2179/130k

B



2179/130k

11) A



2179/uf3/2e

B



2179/uf3/2e

12) A



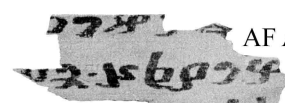
2179/uf3/2f

B



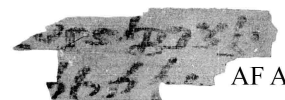
2179/uf3/2f

13) A



AF A1

B



AF A1

14) A



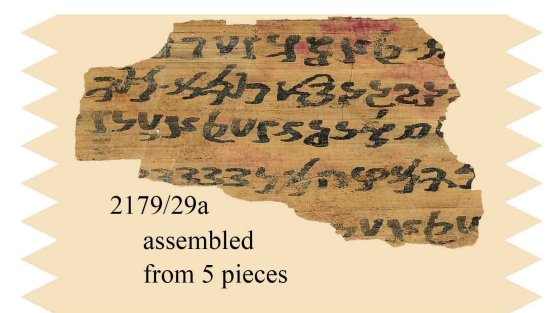
AF A4

B



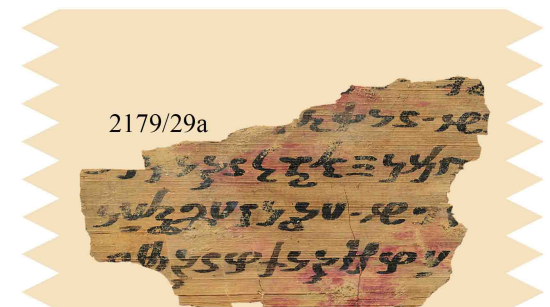
AF A4

15) recto



2179/29a
assembled
from 5 pieces

verso

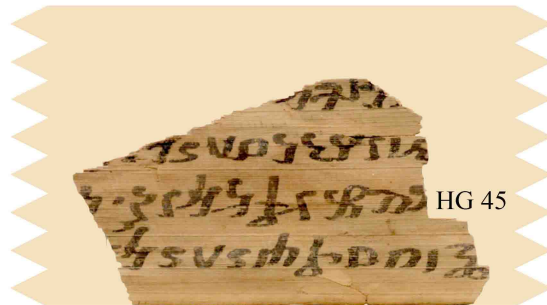


2179/29a

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XX

16) recto

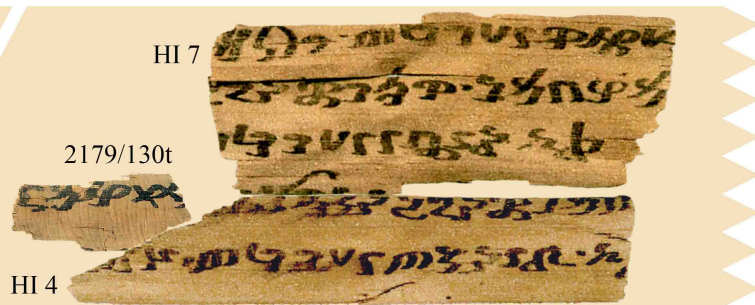


HG 45

17) recto



2179/36

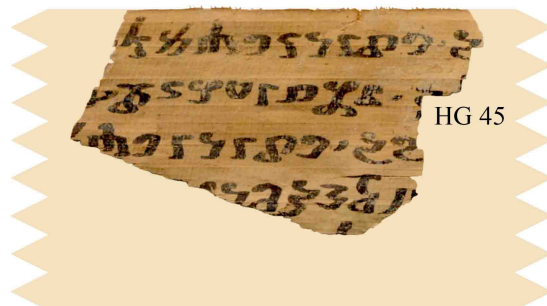


HI 7

2179/130t

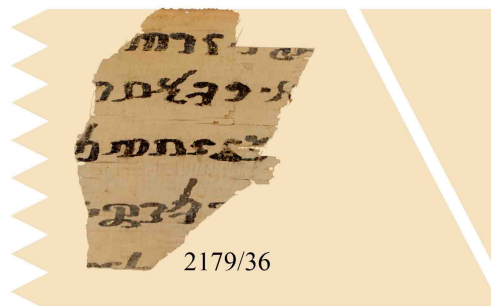
HI 4

verso

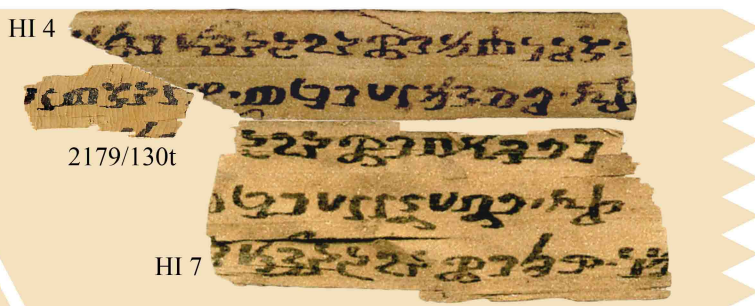


HG 45

verso



2179/36

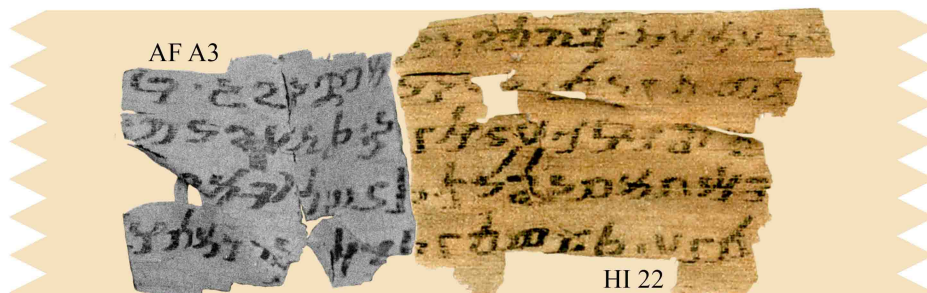


HI 4

2179/130t

HI 7

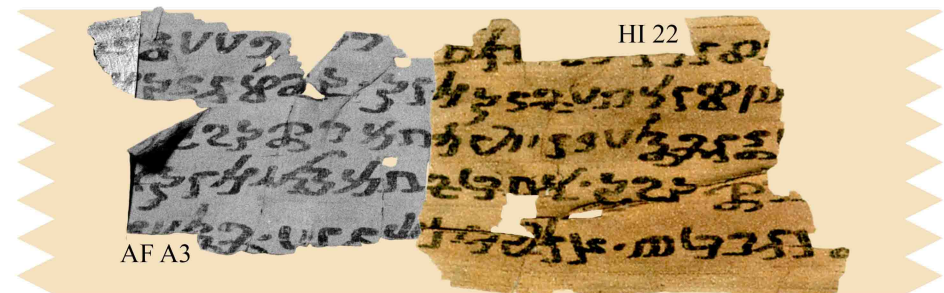
18) recto



AF A3

HI 22

verso



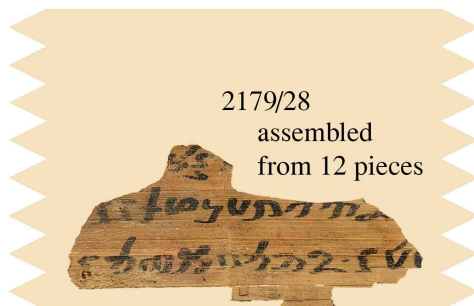
HI 22

AF A3

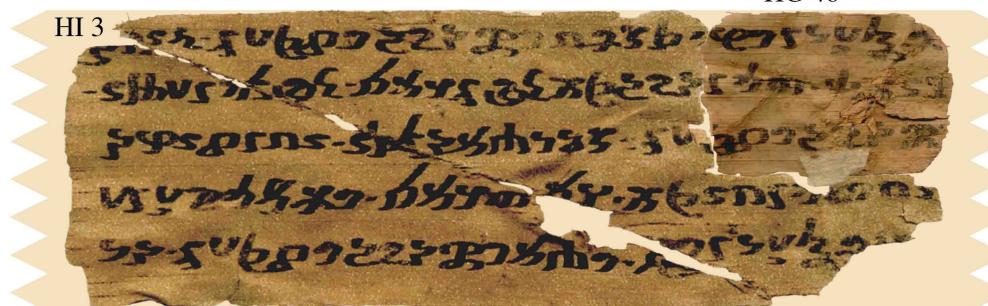
5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XXI

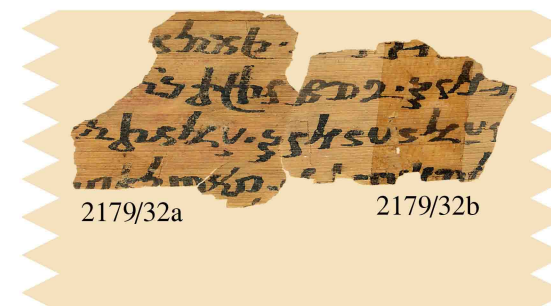
19) recto



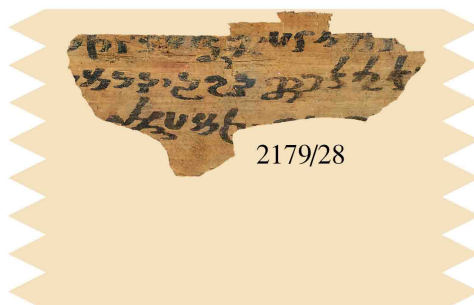
20) recto



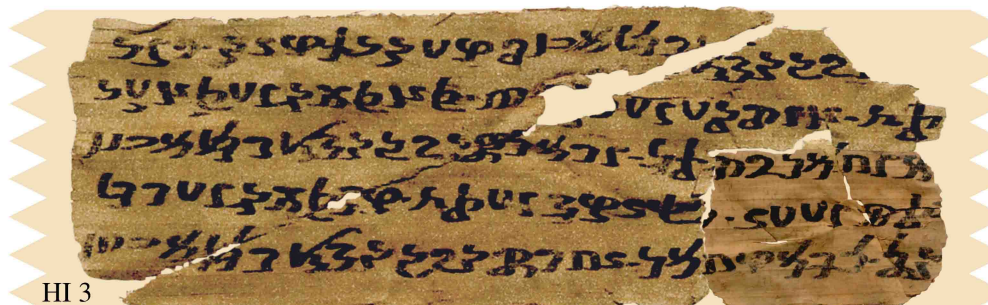
21) A



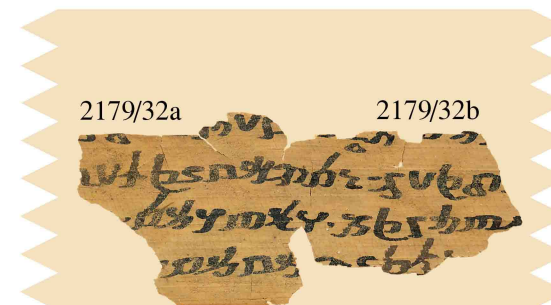
verso



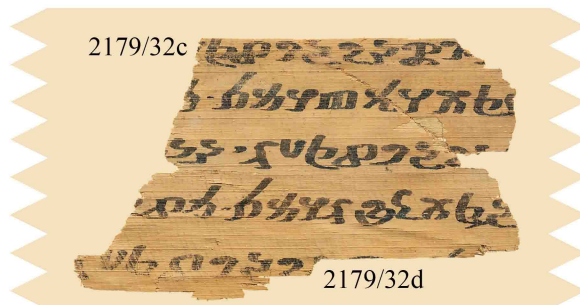
verso



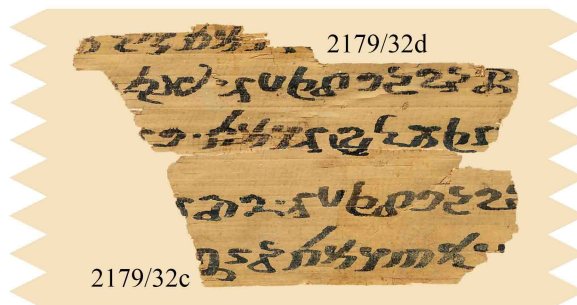
B



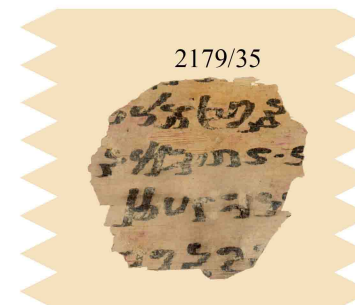
22) A



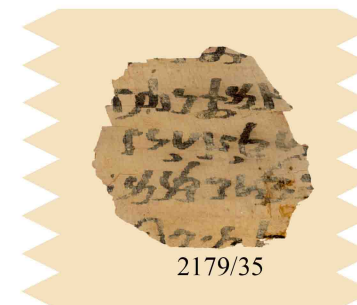
B



23) A



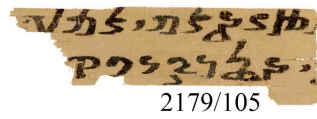
B



5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

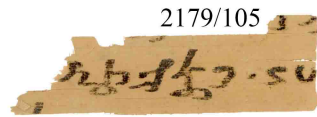
Plate XXII

24) A



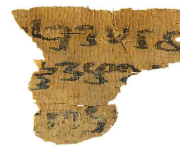
2179/105

B



2179/105

25) A



2179/130s

B



2179/130s

26) A



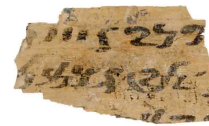
2179/uf2/6e

B



2179/uf2/6e

27) A



2179/uf3/1a

B



2179/uf3/1a

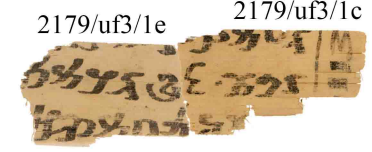
28) folio /// 20 [1 1] /// recto



2179/uf3/1e

2179/uf3/1c

verso



2179/uf3/1e

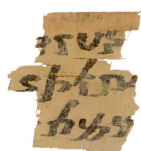
2179/uf3/1c

29) A



2179/uf3/1d

B



2179/uf3/1d

30) A



2179/uf3/2a

B



2179/uf3/2a

31) A



2179/uf3/2b

B



2179/uf3/2b

32) A



2179/uf3/3a

B



2179/uf3/3a

33) A



AF N1

34) A



AF N2

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XXIII

35) A



2179/107

B



2179/107

36) A



2179/130Q

B



2179/130Q

37) A



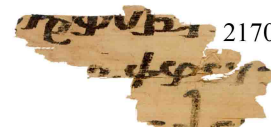
2179/uf2/3c

B



2179/uf2/3c

38) A



2170/uf3/1b

B



2170/uf3/1b

39) A



2179/uf3/3b

B



2179/uf3/3b

40) A



2179/uf4/2b

B



2179/uf4/2b

41) A



2179/uf4/2c

B



2179/uf4/2c

42) A



2179/uf4/2d

B



2179/uf4/2d

43) A



2179/uf4/4b

B



2179/uf4/4b

44) A



2179/uf4/4f

B



2179/uf4/4f

5. Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*

Plate XXIV

45) A



2179/uf5/2a

46) A



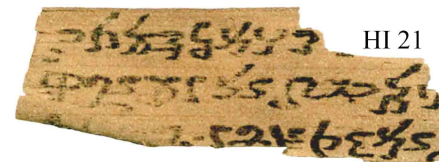
2179/uf5/2c

47) A



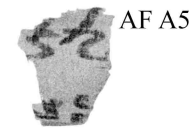
2179/uf5/4b

48) A



HI 21

49) A



AF A5

B



2179/uf5/2a

B



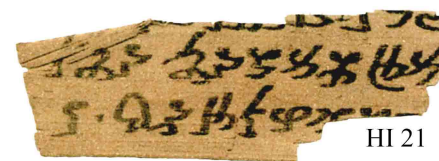
2179/uf5/2c

B



2179/uf5/4b

B



HI 21

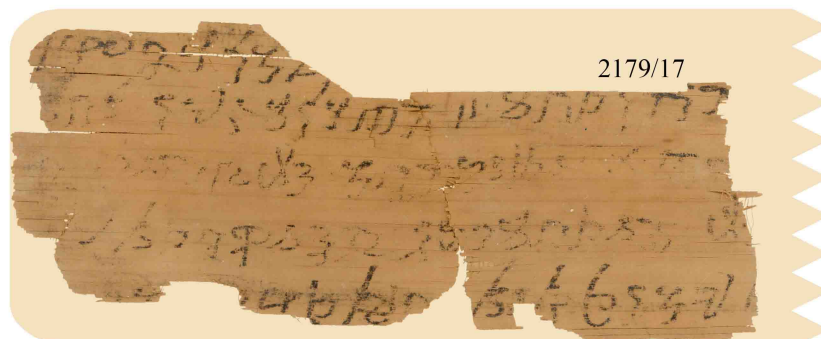
B



AF A5

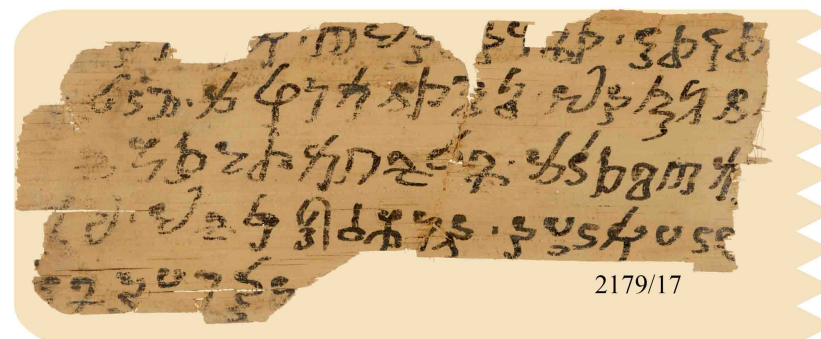
6. The *Bodhisattvapīṭakasūtra* in Gāndhārī

recto



2179/17

verso



2179/17

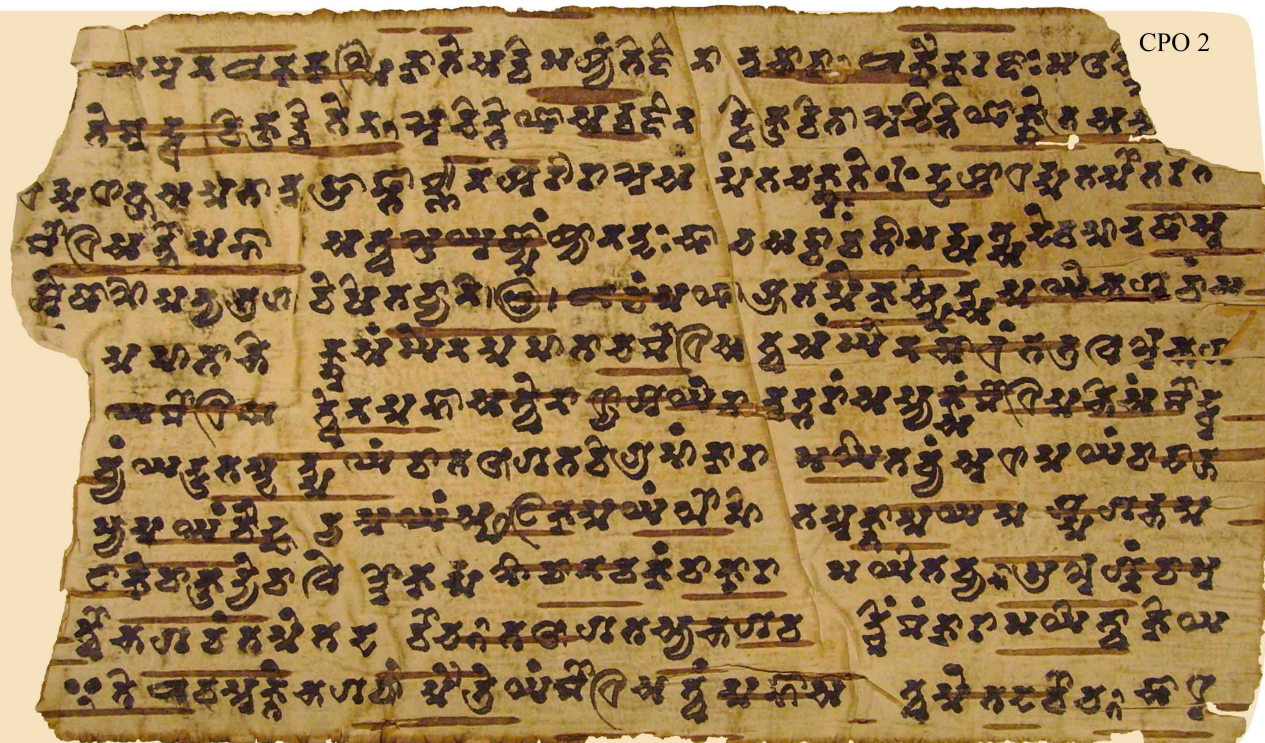
7. The Final Folio of a Version of the *Larger Sukhāvāṭīvyūhasūtra*
and Fragments of a Text Possibly Related to the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta*

Plate XXV

folio (217) recto

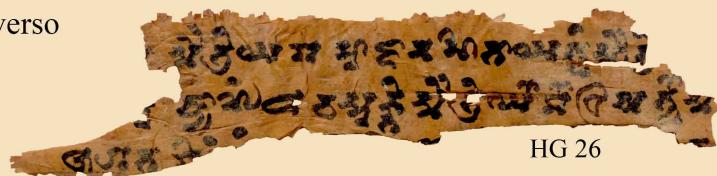


HG 26

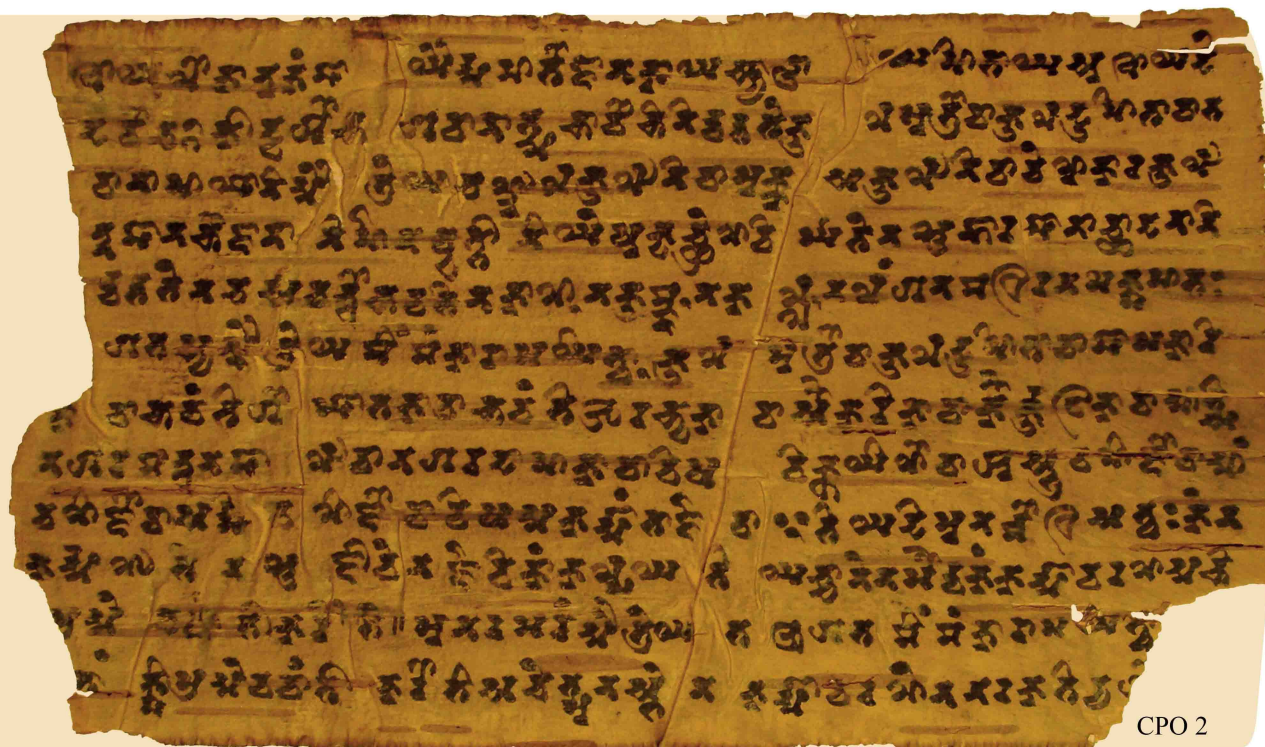


CPO 2

verso



HG 26

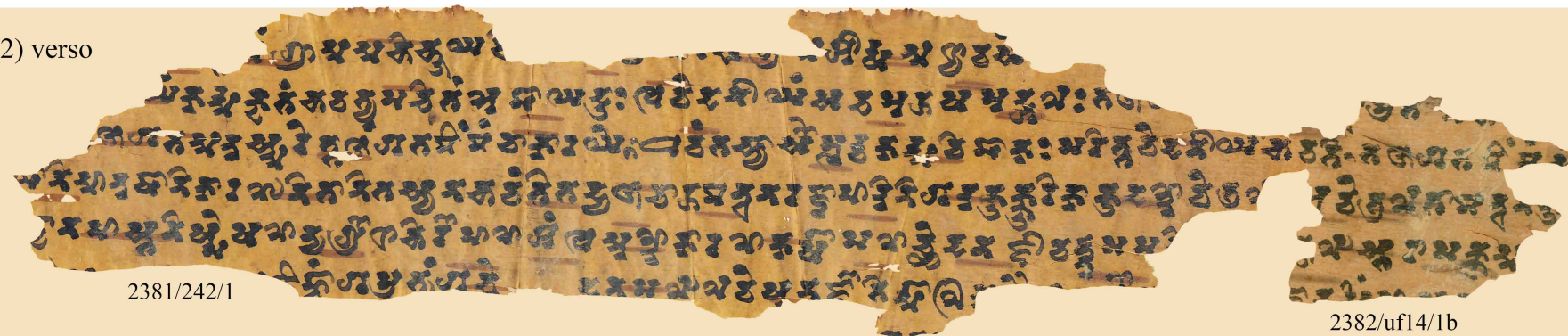


CPO 2

Other Fragments Apparently Belonging to the Same Text, (1) recto



(2) verso

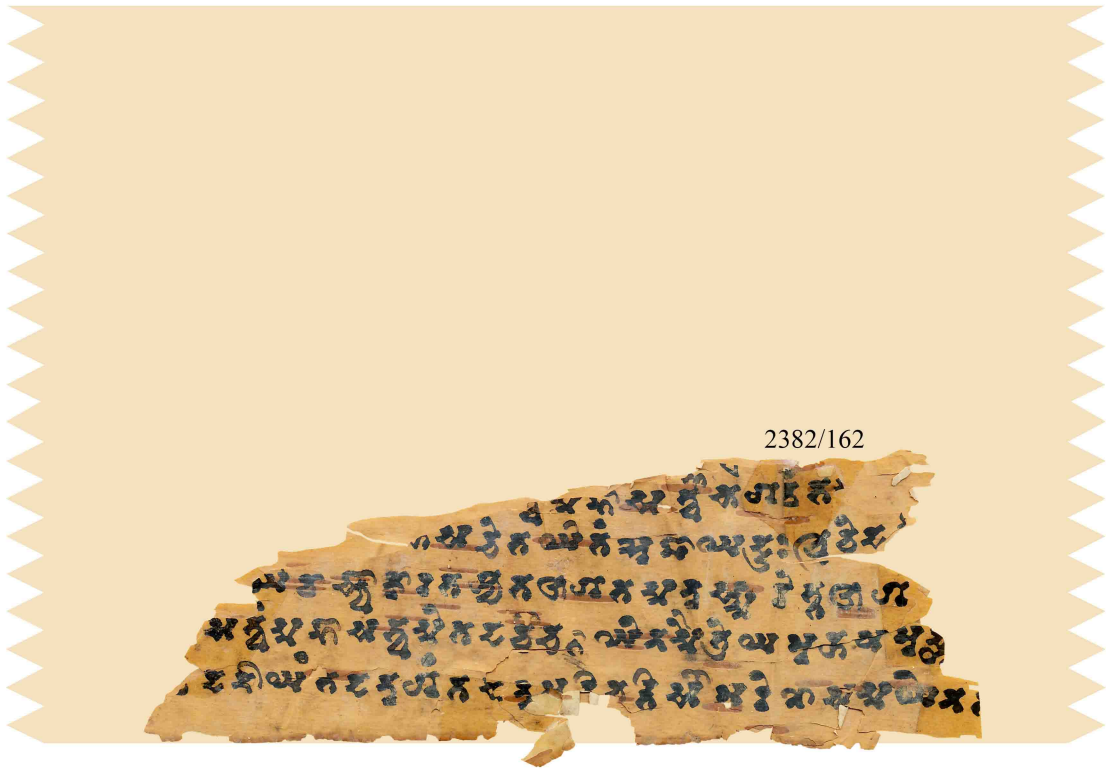


7. The Final Folio of a Version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*
and Fragments of a Text Possibly Related to the *Tathāgatabimbaparivarta*

Other Fragments Apparently Belonging to the Same Text, (3) recto



verso



8. Fragments of the *Ratnaketuparivarta*

Plate XXVIII

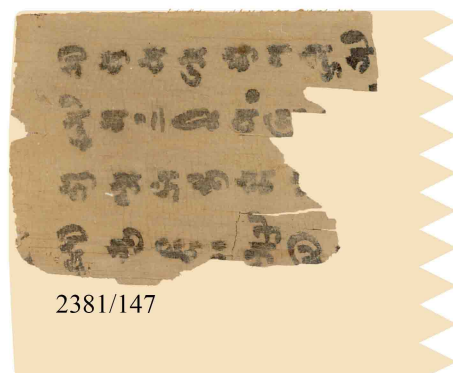
1) folio [19]8 recto



2) recto



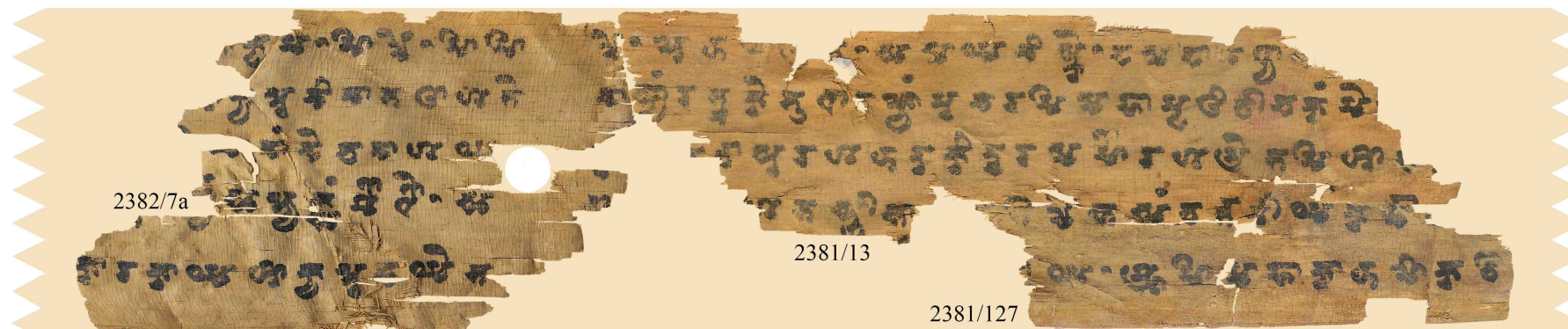
verso



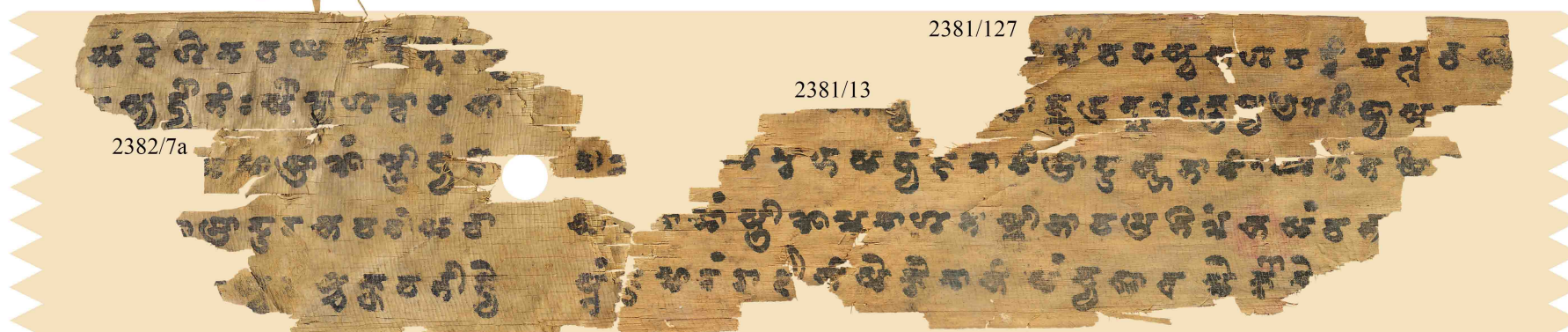
verso



3) recto



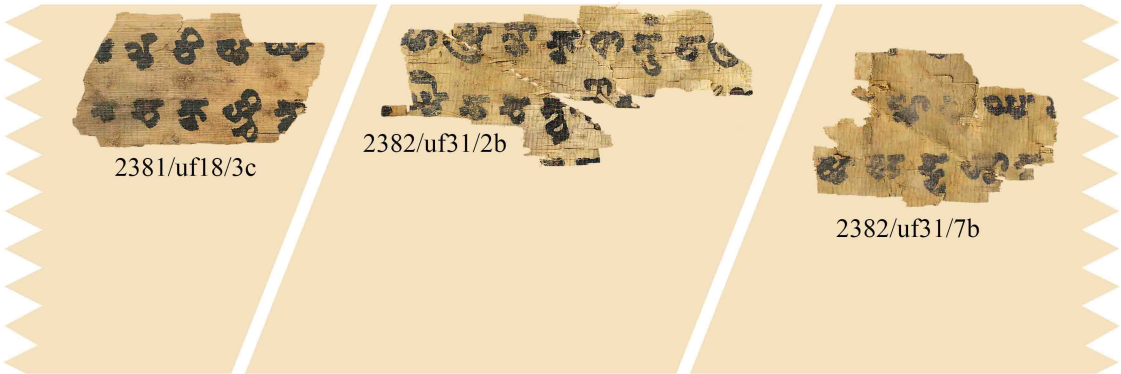
verso



4) recto



5) recto



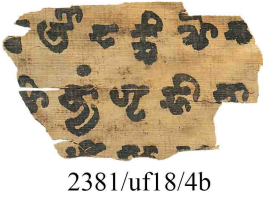
verso



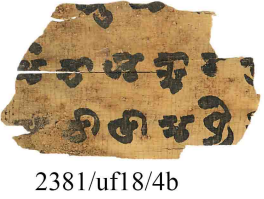
verso



6) recto



verso



7) recto



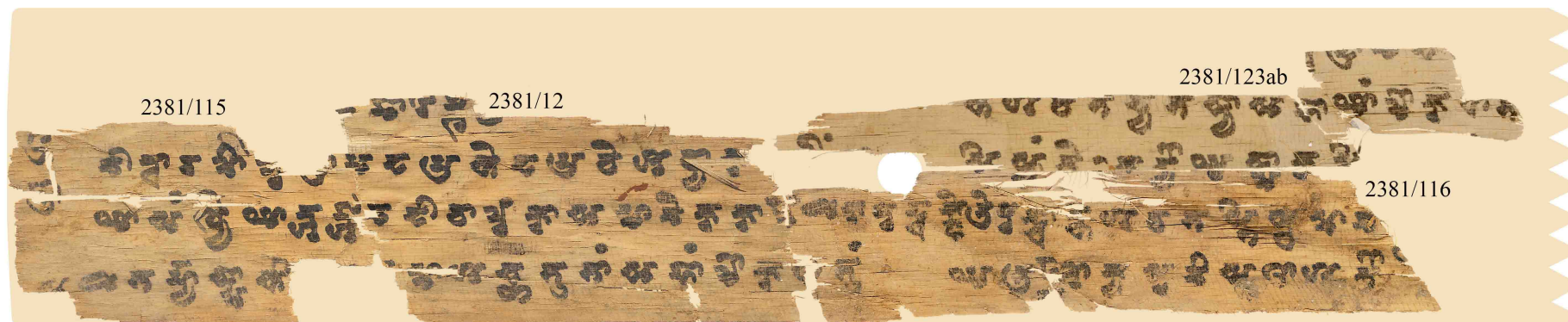
verso



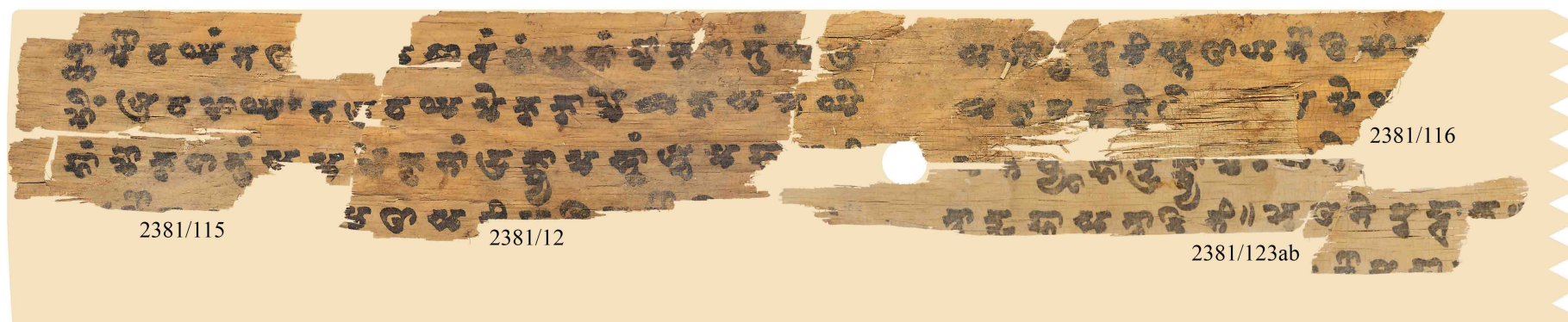
8. Fragments of the *Ratnaketuparivarta*

Plate XXXI

8) folio [48] recto



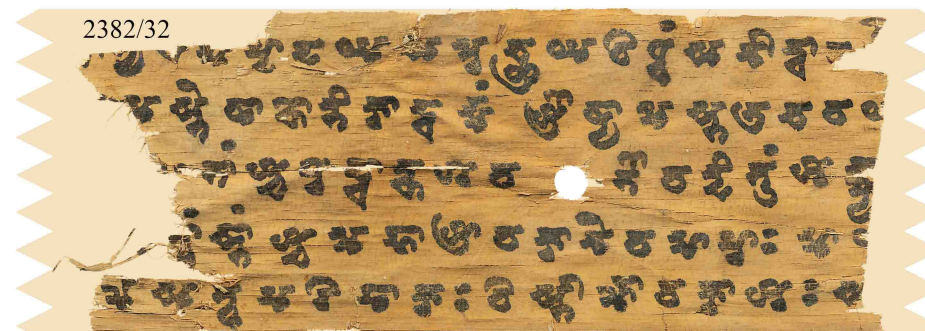
verso



9) recto



verso



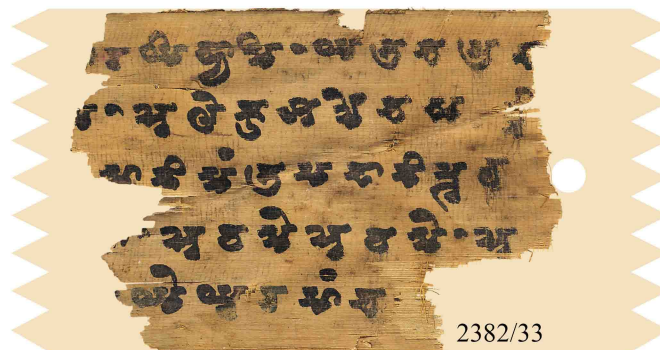
10) recto



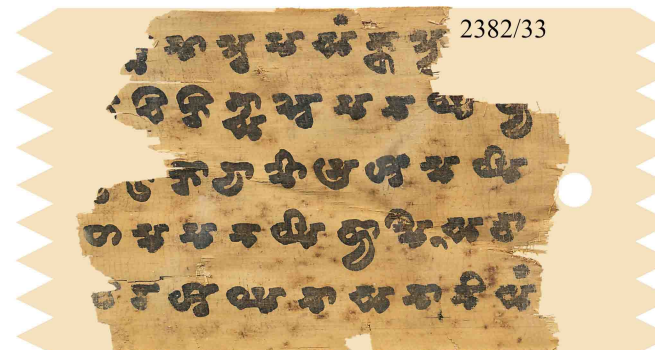
verso



11) recto



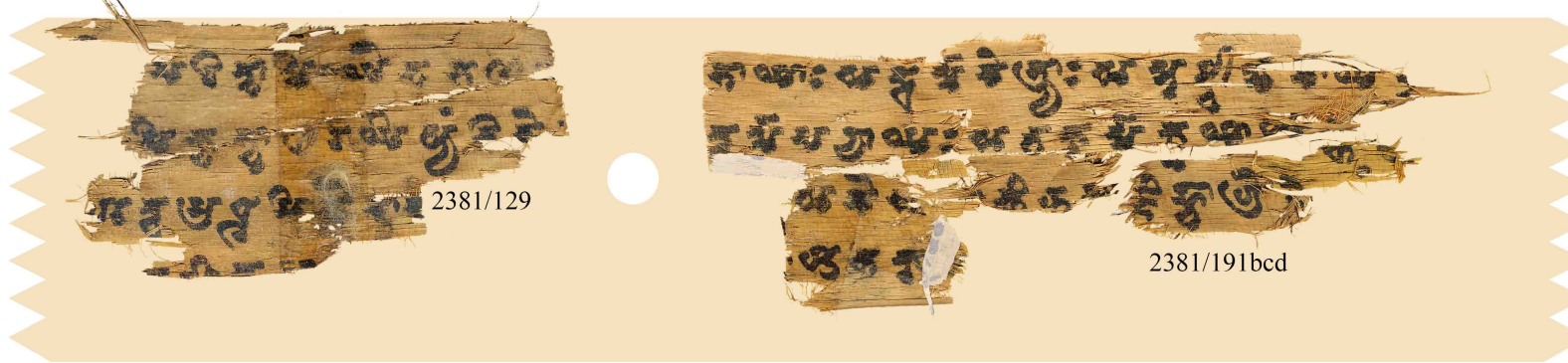
verso



8. Fragments of the *Ratnaketuparivarta*

Plate XXXIII

12) recto



verso



9. A Gāndhārī Fragment of the *Sarvapūṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*

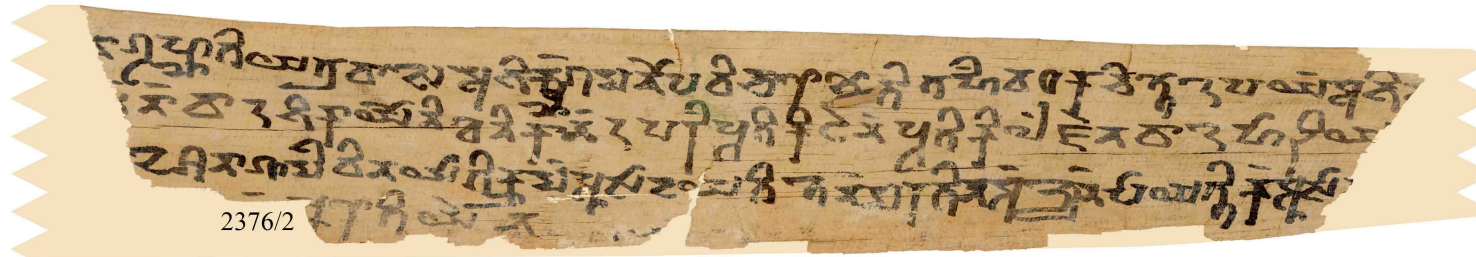
folio 41 (?) recto



verso



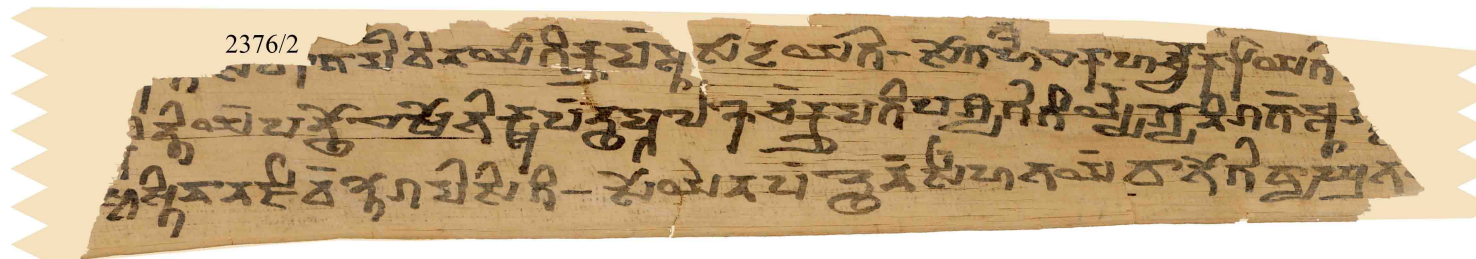
1) recto



A



verso



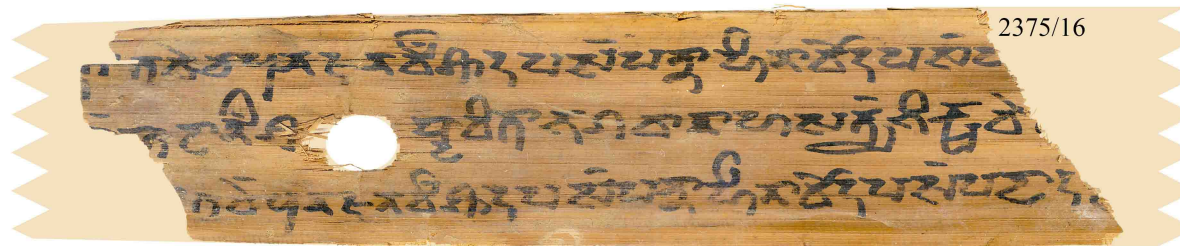
B



2) recto

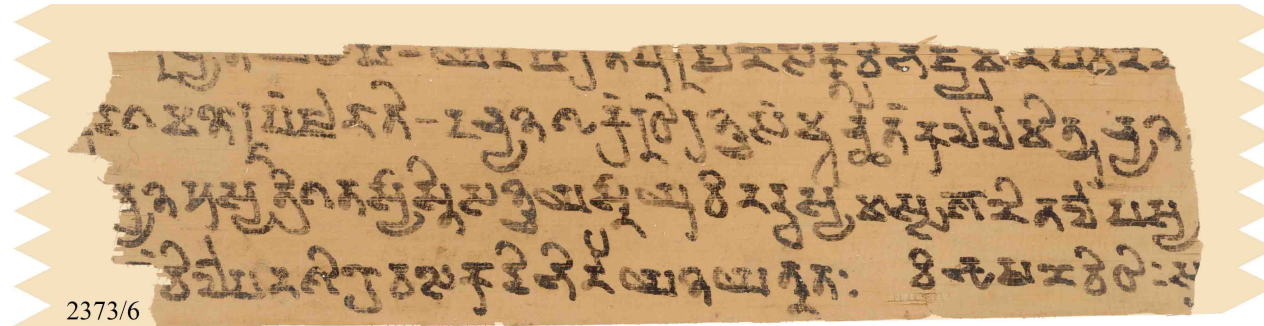


verso

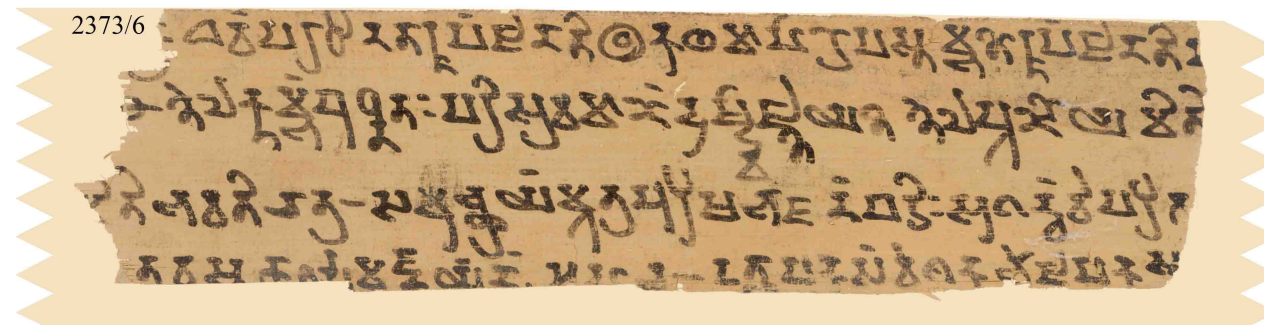


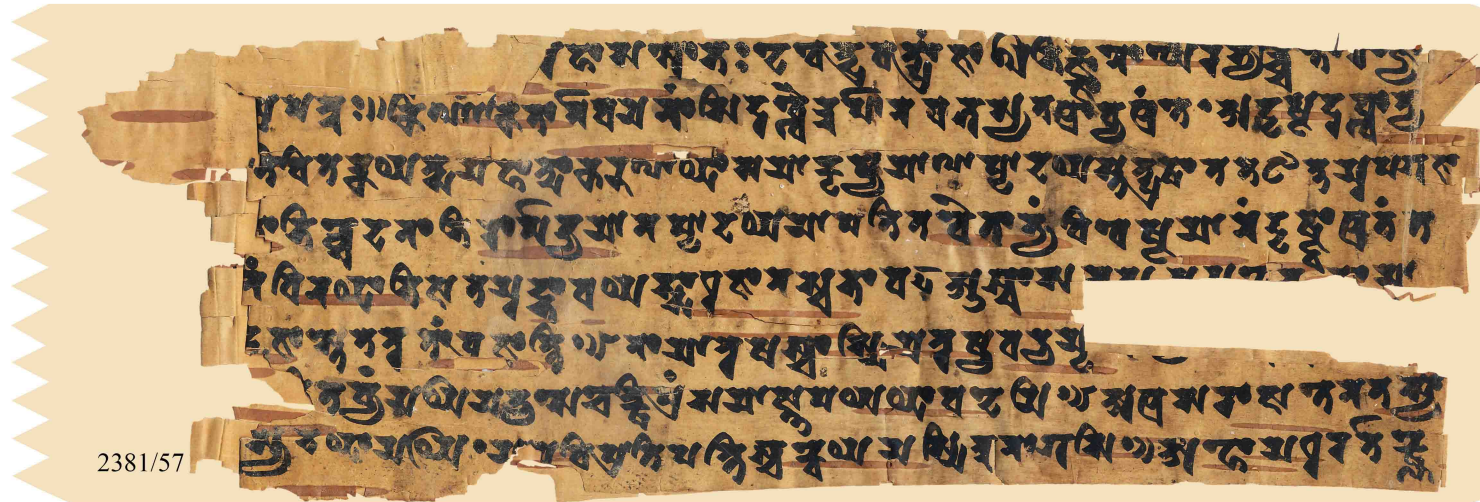
11. A Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī Fragment of a Commentary on *aśubhabhāvanā* Plate XXXV

recto



verso



1) recto (?): *Śarabhajātaka*

2) verso (?)



3) recto (?)

HG 24

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a fragment of a story or poem. The text is written on aged, yellowed paper with some visible wear and tear. The script is dense and fills most of the page.

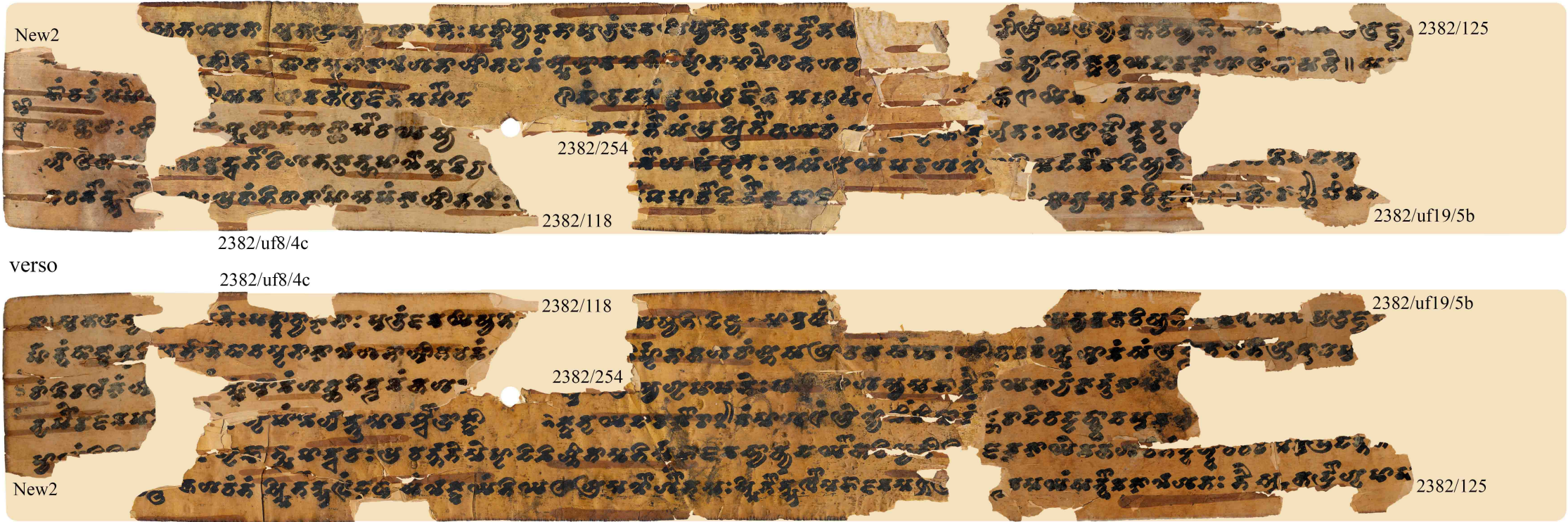
4) verso (?): *Śarabhajātaka*

HG 24

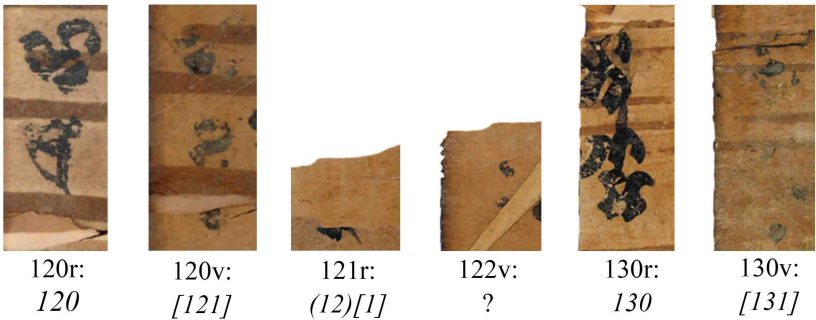
Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a fragment of a story or poem. The text is written on aged, yellowed paper with some visible wear and tear. The script is dense and fills most of the page.

13. A New Fragment of the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*

1) folio 120 recto (70%)



Folio numbers and impressions (200%)



14. Two Mahādeva Fragments

Plate XXXIX

recto

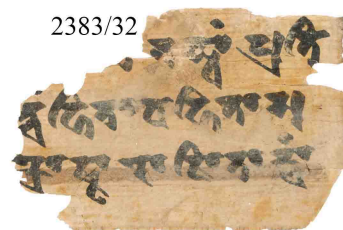


verso

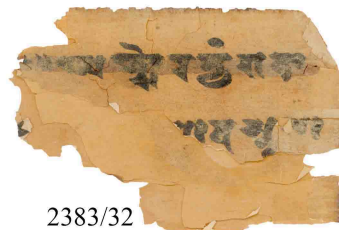


15. Another Fragment of Mātrceṭa's *Prasādapratibhodbhava*

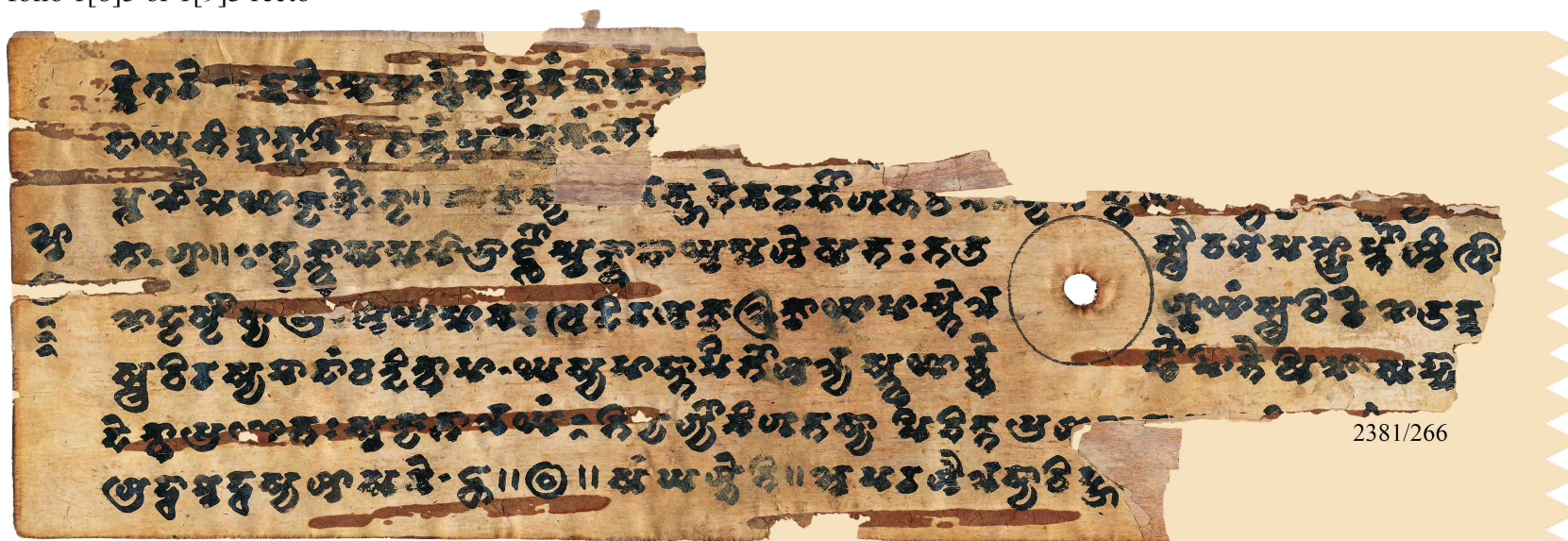
recto



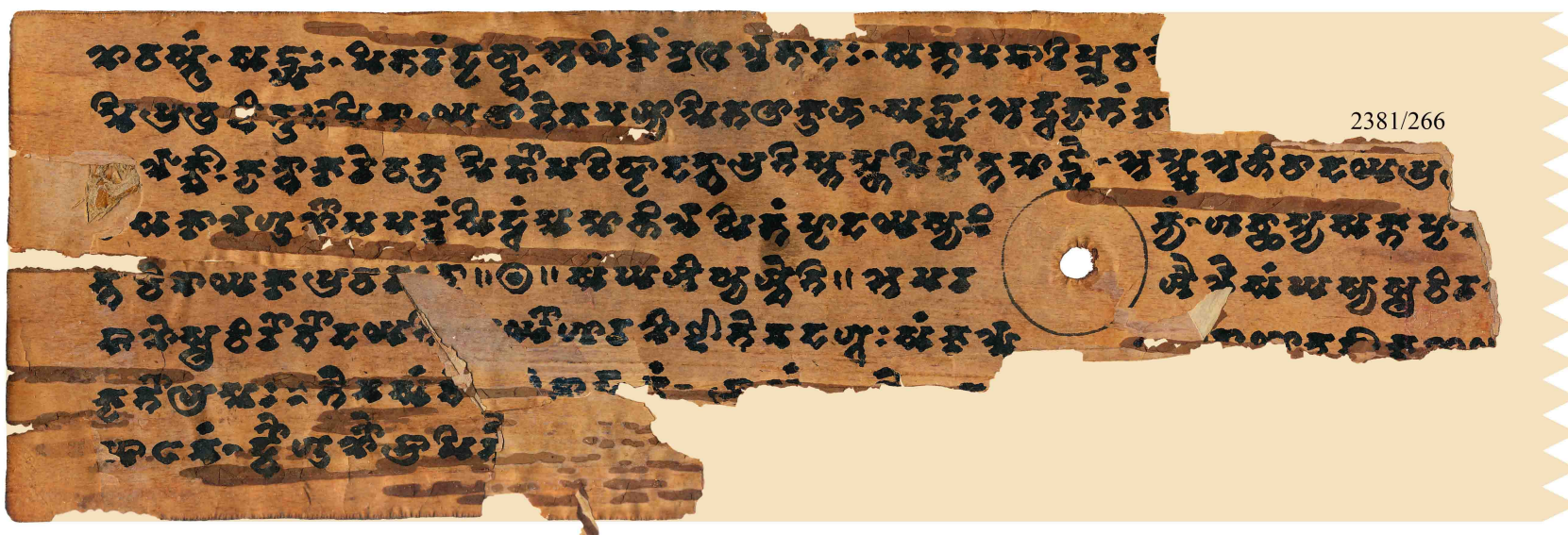
verso



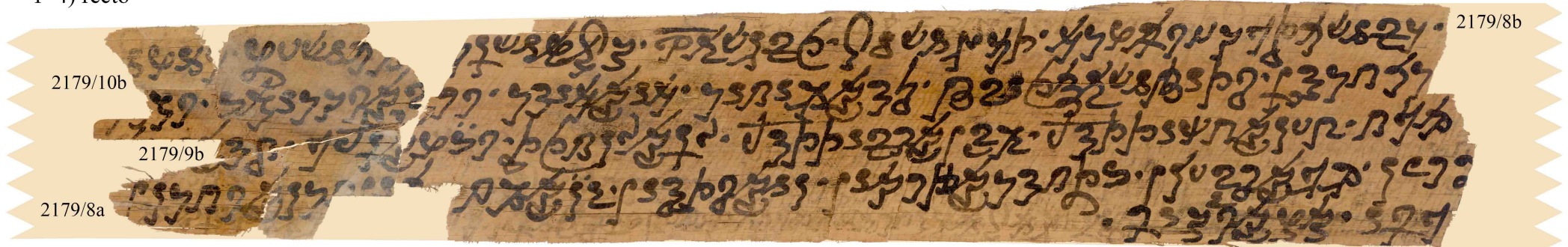
folio 1[8]3 or 1[9]3 recto



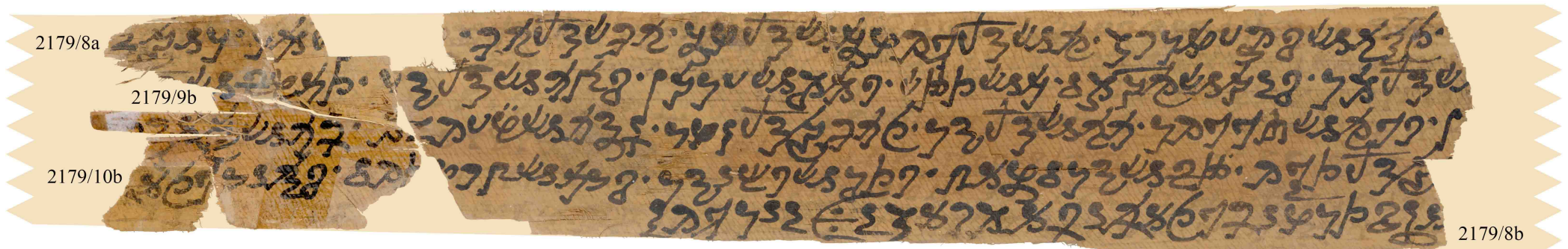
verso



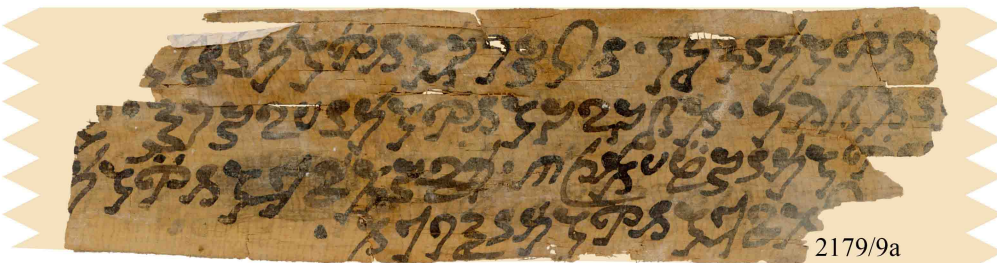
1–4) recto



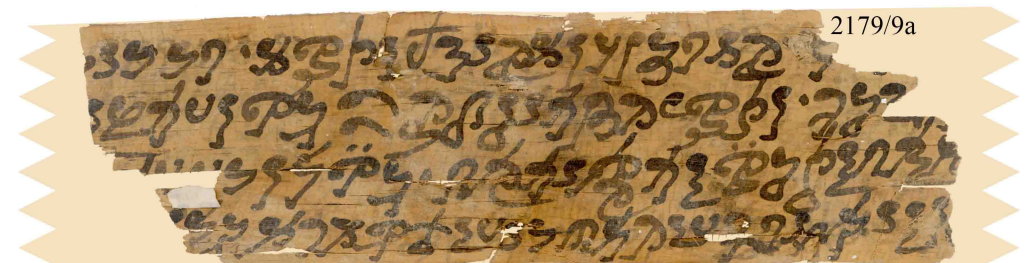
verso



5) A

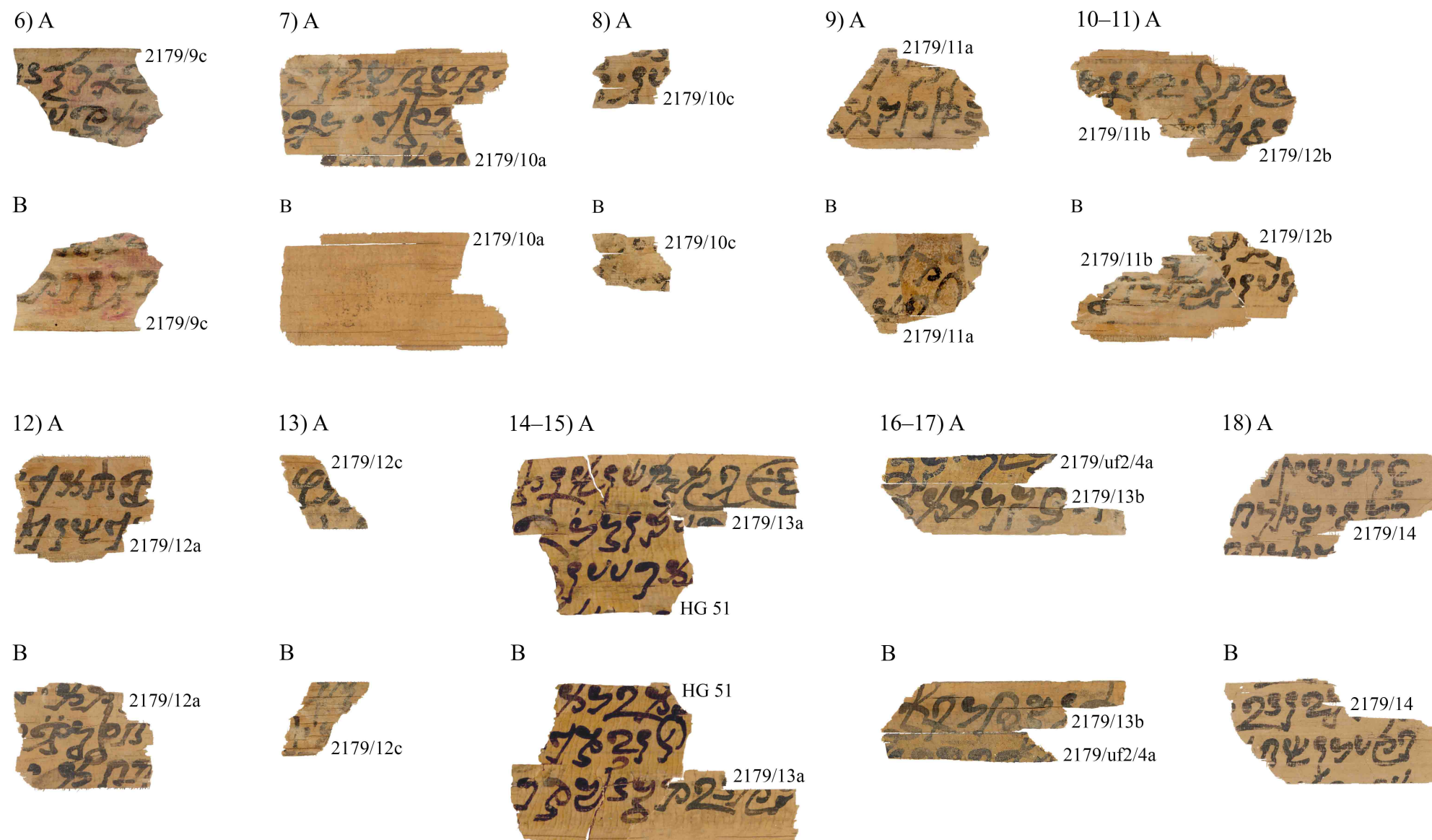


B

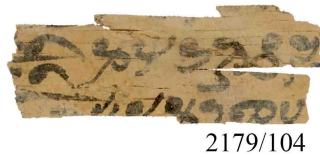


17. Thirty-two Fragments Written by Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī Scribe 7

Plate XLII



19) A



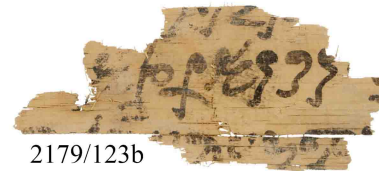
2179/104

20) A



2179/118

21) A



2179/123b

22–23) A



2179/123a

2179/uf4/1c

B



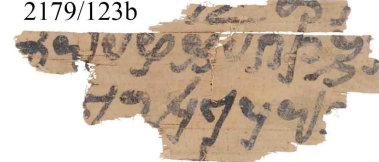
2179/104

B



2179/118

B



2179/123b

B



2179/uf4/1c

2179/123a

24) A



2179/uf1/3b

25) A



2179/uf2/6c

26) A



2179/uf3/5a

27) A



2179/uf3/5d

28) A



2179/uf3/6f

B



2179/uf1/3b

B



2179/uf2/6c

B



2179/uf3/5a

B



2179/uf3/5d

B



2179/uf3/6f

29) A



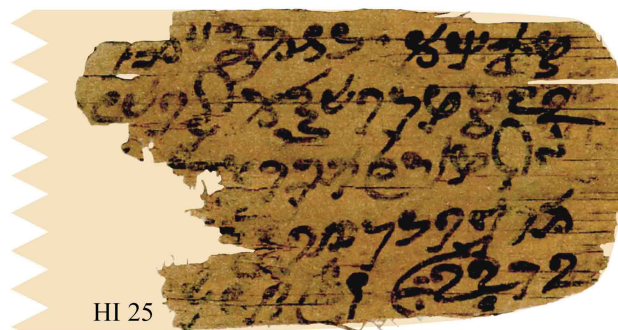
2179/uf5/3b

30) A



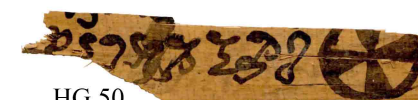
HI 24

31) A



HI 25

32) A



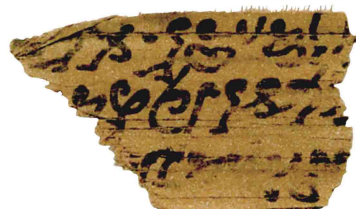
HG 50

B



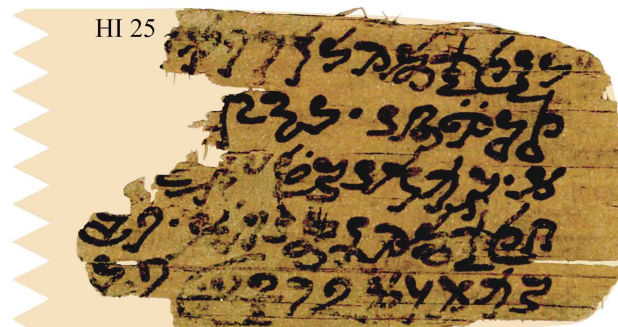
2179/uf5/3b

B



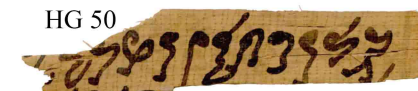
HI 24

B



HI 25

B

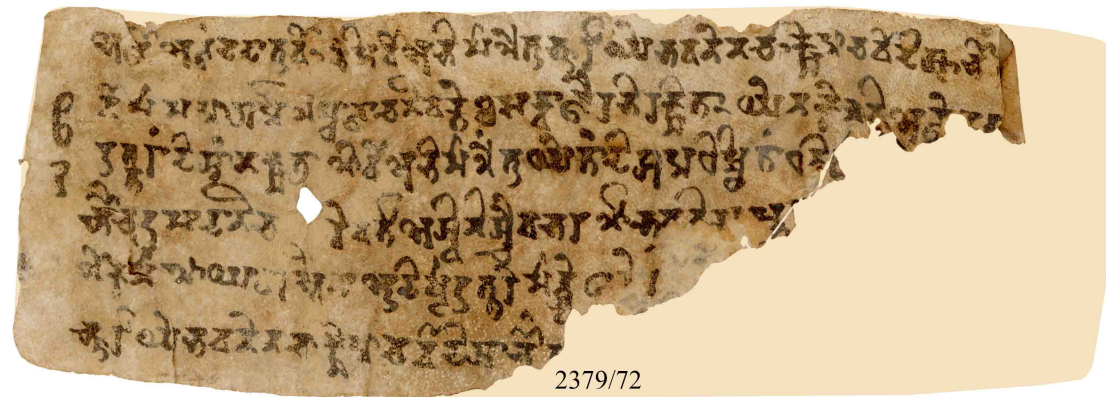


HG 50

18. A Fragment of the *Diśāsauvastika-gāthās* Related
to the Scriptures of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins

Plate XLV

folio 59 recto



verso

