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Buddhism Across Boundaries: The Interplay of Indian, Chinese, and Central Asian Source Materials

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BUDDHISM ACROSS BOUNDARIES

The Interplay of Indian, Chinese, and Central Asian Source Materials

Edited by

John R. McRae

and

Jan Nattier

Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist and Culture Education
Taipei, Taiwan

and

Sino-Platonic Papers

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Foreword

As the world moves into the information age, modernization of Buddhism seems more and more important. With the focus on the wonders of computers and the Internet, people may lose sight of innate goodness and humanity. The new era holds some very sticky moral and ethical issues, which people will puzzle over the rest of the 90's. You'll also find that problems which deal with divorce, AIDS, abuse of alcohol and drugs, step-parenting, and job loss are dragging on everywhere. The 90's have been the most volatile of decades.

To keep up with society's demand for stabilization, purifying the human mind is a basic way to reduce crime. People may learn discipline through religious practice. Far from being out of touch with the world, Buddhism, above all other religions, is in close contact with the mundane realities of our lives.

Buddhism sprang from India and flourished in China. From roughly the fourth century onwards Buddhism began to spread over all sections of China. It highlights the intimate connection with Chinese culture. It has had an impact on our country for several decades. Buddhism has withstood the test of time after twenty centuries. Not only is it overwhelming in China, but also in other countries such as Japan, Korea, Europe, the United States, and so on.

Since its establishment more than thirty years ago Fo Guang Shan, founded in 1967, has been devoted to the propagation of Buddhist teachings through monastic and secular education, cultural activities, Buddhist practice, and charity on every continent. The book *Buddhism Across Boundaries* was the outcome of the presentation of the conference held in January 1993 at Hsi Lai Temple. All invited speakers were known for their specialities. The main focus was on the relation between Chinese Buddhism and the western regions, placing special emphasis on the culture and language of Buddhism indicated in the early texts and translations. Among the topics discussed in detail were the various attempts to explore another new field in Buddhist research.

A series of conferences, creating an atmosphere where Buddhism thrives, was our goal. We hoped to break down barriers and get an opportunity to set a new wave of discussion over related aspects in Buddhism. We also hailed the conference as a major breakthrough for research. Buddhist thought could reach a new peak, and all efforts we have made would enhance academic developments.

Xing Yun
Fo Guang Shan
April 19, 1999

Preface

This volume is the product of a conference held in January 1993 at Hsi Lai Temple in Hacienda Heights, California, under the sponsorship of the Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist Culture Education and Hsi Lai University. The original goal of the conference, as designed by the editors (primarily by Nattier, with assistance from McRae), was to bring together scholars from around the world who were most knowledgeable in the languages relevant to the study of early Chinese Buddhism, i.e., the languages of India and Central Asia, as well as Chinese.

As an intellectual and scholarly event the conference far exceeded our greatest expectations. First, we believe that we did manage to assemble some of the very best scholars in the world in their respective fields. To be sure, there were many others who we could not invite, or who could not attend, but we are very honored to have been able to assemble such a gathering of brilliant and eminent scholars. Second, although many of the participants knew of each other through publications prior to the conference, and more than a few were already close collaborators and friends, all who attended pointed out that the conference strategy of bringing together representatives of these various fields was unprecedented. Given the specialization that is endemic to the scholarly community—and, indeed, the linguistic fields represented include some of the most technically difficult and arcane in all of Buddhist studies—no one had ever had the resources or taken the initiative to assemble such a cast of researchers. Third, although it may seem mundane to point this out, everyone got along tremendously well at the conference, both during the formal sessions and the unstructured conversations afterwards. There were disagreements and debates, to be sure, but the participants always managed to undertake these in a spirit of friendly intellectual discussion and collaboration, and there was a genuinely shared atmosphere of gratitude and mutual appreciation.

In addition to the contributors to this volume, the following invited participants (some of whose papers had already been, or have since been, published elsewhere) also took part in the conference: Robert E. Buswell, Jr. of UCLA; CHOU Po-kan 周伯戡 of the Department of History at National Taiwan University in Taipei; Richard N. Frye, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University; Lin Meicun 林梅存 of the China Institute of Cultural Relics in Beijing; Gregory Schopen, then of the Center for Asian Studies at The University of Texas; Werner Sundermann, of the Turfanforschung at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin; and XU Wenkan 徐文堪 of the Editorial Committee of the *Hanyu Da Cidian* 漢語大辭典 in Shanghai; and YUYAMA Akira 湯山明, then of the International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo. The following individuals attended and made useful contributions to our discussions:

Peter Lee, of the Department of East Asian Languages, University of California, Los Angeles; Janice Leoshko, then of the Department of Indian and Southeast Asian Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and Richard K. Payne of the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley.

In addition to working to achieve the greatest possible intellectual quality for both the conference and volume, the editors' task lay primarily in ensuring consistency of style and expression throughout the volume. Following the conference most of the contributors submitted emended versions of their papers, which we then turned over to Daniel Boucher, who was also an active participant in conference discussions. The task assigned to Boucher, then a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Pennsylvania and now Associate Professor at Cornell University, was to query both the substantive and methodological concerns of the papers, in response to which the editors suggested additional modifications from the authors. The authors then submitted their final versions, which then went through the usual (and labor-intensive) sequence of computer input, proofreading, and correction. All files were submitted on disk and converted to WordPerfect 3.5 for the Macintosh, using Urs App's Appeal as the basic font for English and diacritically marked Sanskrit, plus IPA KielSeven and IPAExtras from Linguist's Software for the many special characters required. The Symbol, Apple LiSung Light, and HonMincho fonts were used for Greek, Chinese, and Japanese, respectively; additional accents and characters which did not appear in the Chinese Big5 code (and thus in Apple LiSung Light) were created using Fontographer. Certain special symbols (as in Lore Sander's article) were submitted by the authors in the form of drawings and scanned in as graphical images. All this computer-related work was done by McRae, with proofreading and correction assistance from Nattier. We are grateful to Lisa Berkson of Bloomington, Indiana, for supervising the very difficult job of typesetting the original 1999 edition, which appeared under rather anonymous title, *Collection of Essays 1993*. The editors names were omitted, apparently due to the constraints of the Fo Guang Publishers series in question, and the subtitle that appeared on the volume's cover—*Buddhism Across Boundaries, Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions*—was only rarely sighted in bibliographic records.

Happily, the Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist and Culture Education has agreed to the republication of this collection of articles in a more accessible form, as part of the Sino-Platonic Papers. For this reissued version several of the contributors submitted updated versions of their papers; the camera-ready copy was prepared using Adobe InDesign by McRae (who would like to thank IYANAGA Nobumi 弥永信美 for a technical observation that made possible the use of the Appeal font within Macintosh OS X). We would like to thank editor Victor Mair (also a conference participant and paper contributor) for accepting this book into the Sino-Platonic Papers series.

On behalf of all of the participants, the editors would like to thank Master Xing Yun

星雲大師, founder and spiritual guide of Fo Guang Shan, for providing the religious leadership that made this conference possible. Special thanks are due to Ven. Ci Hui 慈惠法師, Director of the Fo Guang Shan Foundation for Buddhist and Culture Education that was the primary sponsor of the conference, and which has made possible the publication of this volume. Many of the conference participants have also asked us to make special mention of the monastic community of Hsi Lai Temple, a group of very warm and dedicated nuns from Taiwan and elsewhere around Asia and the world, who provided the day-to-day logistical support for the conference.

August 21, 2011

John R. McRae
Jan Nattier
Hua Hin, Thailand

Contributors

Nancy J. Barnes received her Ph.D. from the University of Toronto. Her publications deal with the sūtra texts and history of early Mahāyāna Buddhism in India and China, as well as with women in Buddhist literature and in Buddhist communities. She is presently studying the history of the nuns' order in ancient and modern Asia, and she is also engaged in an examination of the early Buddhist community at Sanchi in India.

W. South Coblin is Professor of Chinese at the University of Iowa, where he teaches courses in Chinese language and linguistics. He has a special interest in Chinese Buddhist transcriptions of the Han and medieval periods and has published several articles in these areas.

Paul Harrison is Professor in the Department of Religion, Stanford University. His research interests include the history of Buddhism, the study of Mahāyāna sūtra-literature (especially in Chinese and Tibetan translation), and the history of the Tibetan canon. He has published several critical editions and translations of Buddhist texts, as well as a number of articles on doctrinal themes.

Jens-Uwe Hartmann received his Ph.D. from the University of Munich. From 1981 to 1984 he was employed by the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, working on a Sanskrit dictionary of Buddhist texts from Turfan; from 1984 to 1995 he held various positions at the Institute for Indian and Buddhist Studies at the University of Göttingen. From April 1995 he was Professor of Tibetology at Humboldt University in Berlin, and more recently he has moved to the Institut für Indologie und Iranistik at the University of Munich, where he specializes in Buddhist canonical literature in Sanskrit and in Tibetan and Chinese translations.

Hiroshi Kumamoto studied linguistics and Sanskrit at the University of Tokyo (MA in Linguistics 1976) and Iranian Studies at the University of Pennsylvania (Ph.D. 1982). His main interest is in Khotanese, a Middle Iranian language from the Khotan area and Dunhuang. He has been working especially on secular documents in Khotanese, including the recently published and still unpublished material in St. Petersburg. He is also preparing an edition of 15 Khotanese documents in the Pelliot and Stein collections as Saka Documents Text Volume Two, where a new edition of his dissertation will be included. He has been teaching linguistics at the University of Tokyo since 1989.

Lewis Lancaster is now Professor Emeritus of East Asian Languages and Buddhist Studies, University of California, Berkeley. His work on the study of the Buddhist canon has included the volume *The Korean Buddhist Canon*, plus a number of articles such as "The Editing of

Buddhist Texts” (1977), “Buddhist Literature: Canonization” (1987), “The Koryo Edition of the Buddhist Canon: New Sources for Research” (1998), and “the Dunhuang Manuscripts: The Current State of Research” (2002). In addition, he has been active in organizing the Electronic Buddhist Text Initiative and assisting in the process of creating digital databases for the canonic materials in Pali, Sanskrit, and Chinese.

Victor H. Mair, for the first two decades of his academic career, focused on *bianwen* (*pienwen* in Wade-Giles transcription) 變文 (“transformation texts”), the earliest extended semi-vernacular writings in Sinitic. Since these manuscripts had been discovered at Dunhuang in Central Asia, Mair became a frequent visitor to this region and began to study its languages, literatures, and cultures. These activities led to his organization of a multinational, multidisciplinary project on the Bronze Age Caucasoid mummies of the Tarim Basin, his current preoccupation.

John R. McRae, who is primarily interested in Buddhist ideologies of self-cultivation, earned his Ph.D. at Yale University under the direction of Professor Stanley Weinstein, with a dissertation that was later published as *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 3 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). In addition to working on a companion volume focusing on Shenhui (684–758) of the Southern school, he recently published *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism* (California, 2003). After teaching at Cornell and Indiana Universities, plus courses on Chinese Chan at Komazawa University in Tōkyō, Japan, McRae has now retired from active teaching and has taken up residence in Hua Hin, Thailand.

Jan Nattier received her Ph.D. from the Committee on Inner Asian and Altaic Studies at Harvard University; her dissertation was published as *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (1991), which won the Gustave O. Arlt Award in the Humanities for 1993. More recently she has turned her attention to the origins and development of the Mahāyāna, publishing articles on the rise of Pure Land Buddhism in India and a book-length study of an early Mahāyāna sūtra, the Ugraparipṛcchā, entitled *A Few Good Men: The Bodhisattva Path According to the Inquiry of Ugra* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). She has taught at Macalester College, the University of Hawai'i, and Stanford University, and Indiana University. After several years as Research Professor at the International Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, Hachiōji, Japan, Nattier has now retired from active teaching and has taken up residence in Hua Hin, Thailand.

Richard Salomon is Professor of Asian Languages (Sanskrit) in the Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington (in Seattle, Washington). His publications include *The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities* (1984), *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in the Indo-Aryan Languages* (1998), *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra* (1999), and *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra* (2000), as well as numerous articles on Indian epigraphy and ancient history, Gandhāran and Buddhist Studies, and Sanskrit and Prakrit language and literature.

Lore Sander was Curator of the Turfan collection at the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, from 1987 until her recent retirement; from 1994 she was also lecturer for Indian paleography and epigraphy in the Free University of Berlin. Her postgraduate studies, at both Berlin and Göttingen, included a Ph.D. dissertation on the paleography of Sanskrit manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan collection, on which she worked from 1961 to 1981 with Professor Dr. Ernst Waldschmidt as cataloguer and editor. From 1982 to 1986 she also worked with Professor Dr. R. E. Emmerick, University Hamburg, on a paleography of Khotanese manuscripts in formal script.

Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Aga Khan Professor of Iranian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, received his Ph.D. from the University of Oslo, Norway, 1981, in Iranian linguistics, with a thesis on the reconstruction of the 3rd-cent. Middle Persian Paikuli inscription (publ. 1980–1983), and a Dr. habil. from the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, Germany, 1984, in Comparative linguistics, with a thesis on the Khotanese translation of the Buddhist *Sūtra of Golden Light*. He was an assistant professor at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1980–84, Senior Assistant Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Center for Iranian studies, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., 1985–1991, and has been at Harvard since 1991. His interests range over the entire field of pre-Islamic Iranian civilization, about which he has published over 100 articles and book reviews. Together with Prof. R. E. Emmerick he has published three volumes of *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese* (1982–1997), and in 2004 he published *This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras: The Khotanese Suvarṇabbāsottamasūtra* (Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University).

David A. Utz has been affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania since 1980. During 1981–1991 he worked in the publication program of the Department of South Asia Regional Studies. Since 1991 he has been a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (formerly the Department of Oriental Studies). His primary research interests are (1) Middle Iranian philology and (2) the religious history of Iran and Central Asia

in the Late Antique period (3rd–10th centuries C.E.). His research activities have focused on trying to clarify the exact historical influence of India on Iranian communities in Iran and Central Asia, especially Buddhists and Manichaeans. In this effort he was written primarily about Buddhist among the Sogdians (*A Survey of Buddhist Sogdian Studies* [Tokyo, 1978]). Currently, his research is focused on the Sogdian thaumaturgical text P3 (Pelliot Collection), which describes how to manipulate the weather. This program includes the preparation of a new edition and translation of this text.

Peter Zieme recently retired from his longtime post as researcher on the project “Turfanforschung” at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, works on Old Turkish texts from Central Asia. In the field of Buddhist studies his interests focus on the elaboration of characteristic traits of Buddhism as it was adopted by the Turkish peoples of Central Asia. For this purpose he has been undertaking a thorough investigation of translated texts, as well as of all other related materials. He is currently preparing for publication editions of previously unknown Old Turkish translations of Buddhist sūtras, and in 2005 he published *Magische Texte des uigurischen Buddhismus* (Turnhout, Brepols).

Erik Zürcher (1928–2008) was Professor of East Asian History at Leiden University from 1962 until his retirement in 1993. There he focused on the history of intercultural relations, including those between China and the Western world. In 1969 he founded the Documentation Centre for Contemporary China as an extension of the Sinological Institute of Leiden University. He was director of the Institute from 1975 to 1990, and co-editor of *T'oung Pao* from 1975 to 1992. His doctoral dissertation was published in 1959 (with an updated and re-typeset edition in 2007) as the widely acclaimed *The Buddhist Conquest of China—The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Before his untimely death Zürcher published extensively on messianism, Buddhist-Daoist relations, and aspects of the Chinese language during the Han dynasty and subsequent periods of early Chinese Buddhism.

BUDDHISM ACROSS BOUNDARIES: THE FOREIGN INPUT

E. Zürcher (1928–2008)

Leiden University

Abbreviations

- CSZJJ *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 Sengyou’s 僧祐 “Collection of Notes Concerning the Translation of the Tripiṭaka,” T 2145
- GSZ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, Sengyou’s “Lives of Eminent Monks,” T 2059
- KYSJL *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 “Records of Buddhism Up to the Kaiyuan [Era],” T 2154
- XGSZ *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, Daoxuan’s 道宣 “Continued Lives of Eminent Monks,” T 2060

I. Introductory remarks

The theme “Buddhism Across Boundaries” can be interpreted in different ways. In the case of China, it could be understood as referring to “what happened to Buddhism after its introduction into China.” If taken in that sense it would encompass the whole immensely complicated process of adaptation, incorporation and digestion to which the foreign creed was subjected, in particular during the formative phase, from the middle of the first to the late sixth century CE. On the other hand, it can also be taken in a more literal sense, concentrating upon the “border-crossing” process itself, which is the approach chosen for this paper. Its focus is not upon indigenous transformation but upon those who provided the raw materials: the foreign masters who in early medieval times were active at several Buddhist centres in China. It is based upon an analysis of the available data concerning about one hundred individuals of foreign origin who during that period were engaged in the spread of Buddhism. The group is fairly well-defined by two shared characteristics: the individuals are foreigners (either coming in from abroad or resident in China) and in more than 90% of the cases they have clerical status. Within those parameters there is a great diversity as to geographical origin, specialization, social status, and degree of adaptation to the Chinese environment. To few of them—the most illustrious ones, about whom much information is available—specialized studies have been devoted, but to my knowledge the phenomenon of the “foreign master” as an essential element in early Chinese Buddhism has never been made the object of prosopographical research. The present paper cannot be more than a first step towards a more adequate treatment

of the subject. Some conclusions can be drawn from the available data, but taken as a whole the information is one-sided and fragmentary, and some of the most basic questions remain unanswered. This will become clear by having a critical look at our source materials.

II. The sources: limitations and distortions

Perhaps the most serious limitation inherent in our source materials lies in the fact that they almost exclusively deal with one group: the foreign masters who were engaged in the translation of Buddhist texts, an activity which—understandably—was regarded as their major contribution. Since the sequence of the sections in the collected monks’ biographies (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 and *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳) clearly reflect a hierarchical order, it is significant that the very first section is devoted to the “translators,” and it is in these chapters that almost all available biographical information concerning foreign missionaries is concentrated. A fortiori this is true for the bibliographical sources (*Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 and later catalogues) which naturally are only concerned with foreigners who were involved in the production of texts. This of course results in a seriously distorted and one-sided picture. In contemporary texts, both Buddhist and secular, we find many tantalizingly vague references to nameless, nondescript *buseng* 胡僧, “foreign monks” who appear upon the scene in different roles: as priests patronized by an imperial prince, as clerics living in a metropolitan monastery, as experts authenticating *soi-disant* “relics of Aśoka” excavated in China, and as magicians and healers. A few “not translation-related” foreign monks had achieved such fame that they have their (largely hagiographical) biographies in our sources, but such cases are extremely rare—only five of them figure in the *Gaoseng zhuan*.

However, the situation is even worse: the bulk of the information is primarily concerned with a select group of “high-class translators,” those who were patronized by the secular elite and who were active at a few—often metropolitan and court-sponsored—monasteries. This selection is in keeping with the general orientation of Buddhist biographical sources that show a strong propagandistic tendency: they were written to demonstrate the “respectability” of the *saṅgha*, and therefore tended to focus upon the foreign masters’ relations with the court and the aristocratic elite. As we shall see, there is every reason to assume that even within the field of translation work many more foreigners must have been active—obscure monks or *upāsakas* producing primitive texts with limited circulation.

In other words, the picture conforms to that of early Chinese Buddhism as a whole: we are fairly well-informed about some corners of the tiny tip of an iceberg; about the submerged body we can only speculate on the basis of stray bits of information, circumstantial evidence, and the archaeological record.

III. The diffusion of Buddhism: some general features

In this section, which only serves to place the subject in its larger context, four aspects may be very briefly mentioned: the missionary ideal; the basic patterns of diffusion; the consequences of royal/imperial patronage; and the spread of Buddhism at various social levels, as a stratified process.

There can be no doubt that from the earliest times Buddhism has been a missionary religion par excellence. The missionary ideal has its scriptural foundation in the *Vinaya* account reporting the words spoken by the Buddha himself when he sent out his first sixty disciples, shortly after the first sermon at Benares, to “go forth, for the benefit of many..., let not two of you follow the same road, and preach the *dharmā* which is beneficial from beginning to end,”¹ and it is reflected by later pious stories about the exploits of arhats converting many regions in India and beyond.² Nor can it be doubted that since early times—in any case since the formation of “canonical Buddhism”—this missionary activity was accompanied by the propagation of texts, both orally and, later, in writing.

For our purpose it is important to note that this diffusion of Buddhist texts was not coupled with the preference—let alone prescription—of any “sacred language.” On the contrary, possibly as a reaction to the exclusive use of Sanskrit in the Brahminical tradition, in a much-debated *Vinaya* passage the Buddha is said to have explicitly permitted to preach the Law “in one’s own tongue” (*sakāya niruttiyā*, variously rendered in Chinese by *guoyin* 國音 “the [speech-]sounds of the country” and *guo su yanyin* 國俗言音, “the common speech-sounds of a country”).³ In its original context this obviously referred to closely interrelated regional languages or dialects, and eventually also to Sanskrit. However, it is an important fact that the translation of texts as a corollary to the propagation of Buddhism was fully accepted and practised long before Buddhism spread beyond the Indian subcontinent. Of course the permission to use “one’s own tongue” did not preclude the use of a *lingua franca*. There is not yet any evidence of Buddhist texts translated into any of the many languages of the northern parts of

¹ Hermann Oldenberg, ed. *Vinaya Piṭakam: One of the Principle Buddhist Holy Scriptures in the Pāli Language, vol. I: The Mahāvagga* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1881), 21; T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, trans., *Vinaya Texts I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), 112; I. B. Horner, trans. *The Book of Discipline, vol. IV, Mahāvagga* (London: Pali Text Society, 1951), 28; T 1421 (*Mahīśāsaka-vinaya*) ch. 16, 108a; T 1428 (*Dharmaguptaka-vinaya*) ch. 32, 792a; André Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapitaka et Vinayapitaka anciens* (Paris: Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, 1963), vol. I, 243.

² Cf. the exploits of Ānanda’s disciple Madhyāntika in the northwest, of Mahendra in Sri Lanka, of Mahākātyāyana in Mathurā, of Gavāmpati in Burma, of the “500 arhats” in Kashmir, etc.

³ Cf. Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien des origines à l’ère Śaka*, Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 14 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1958), 610–614.

the Kushan empire (Parthian, Bactrian, Sogdian) during the Kushan period, and it seems that in that phase of the Buddhist expansion into western Central Asia the northwestern Prakrit (“Gāndhārī”) was used as a standard language. It was a medium still closely related to (hybrid) Sanskrit, which around the same time started being used as a vehicle of expression. Thus, the production of the earliest Buddhist texts in Chinese, around the middle of the second century CE, marks a “linguistic break-through” in the spread of the *dharmā*: for the first time scriptures had to be translated into a language totally unrelated to any Indian tongue, instead of being “transposed” from one Prakrit to another, or from Prakrit to Sanskrit, a process that allowed for an almost word-by-word transposition without any appreciable loss as regards content and way of expression. As we shall see, this change from transposition to “restatement through translation” was to have far-reaching consequences for the propagation of Buddhism in China.

But however important the role of the production of texts may have been in the diffusion of Buddhism, it does not constitute the heart of the matter. The spread of Buddhism is indissolubly connected with the spread of the *saṅgha* as a well-defined monastic institution. Without that clerical nucleus Buddhism would be reduced to lay devotionism and lose its institutional base.

In the gradual spread of the *saṅgha* several processes and mechanisms were at work. Apart from the missionary motivation mentioned above, and the remarkable mobility of Buddhist monks as “wandering ascetics,” the most basic and continuous process was a mechanism of “contact expansion” that formed part of the monastic life itself. Since the local monastic community was—economically speaking—parasitic, the maximum number of monks in a given parish (*śīmā*, “begging circuit”) was defined by the surplus production of the local lay believers who supported the *saṅgha* by their gifts. If the local monastic community grows—as every successful institution tends to do—surplus monks will wander away, in search of new suitable localities; they will move along the main routes to places where new *dānapati* are to be found: a prosperous agrarian region, or a big city. In this way a continuous process of outward movement and gradual expansion is set into motion—a process that must have started very early, and that forms the most basic, grass-roots level force behind the spread of Buddhism as a monastic system.

At times, however, that continuous, unguided process of contact expansion is accelerated and modified by a second major factor: “high-level patronage,” sponsorship by the elite and in particular by the royal or imperial court. Large-scale patronage of this type has very important consequences, both qualitative and quantitative. In the case of royal protection and sponsorship, Buddhist monachism gets the opportunity to spread all over the ruler’s territory (all of India; Sri Lanka and the northwestern periphery in Maurya times; from Afghanistan to

the Oxus basin under Kaniṣka), making use of the facilities provided by political unification (a network of highways; a *lingua franca*, a religious policy pursued by the court). But apart from that quantitative aspect, elite and court sponsorship also had a qualitative effect: it created a stratification inside Buddhist monastic life.

Wherever this happens, we note the emergence of a top level of large and richly endowed monasteries, supported by donations in land, serfs and goods: sedentary communities peopled by large numbers of monks (and, to a lesser degree, nuns). In contrast to the huge mass of small monastic communities subsisting on the modest contributions of local donors, these large monasteries become centres of Buddhist learning and culture and monastic estates with important economic functions; they produce a clerical elite, the leaders of which entertain close relations with the court and the top of the royal administration. This social and cultural stratification within the *saṅgha* also has its effects upon geographical distribution. Apart from centres of pilgrimage (which form a very special category), a pre-modern countryside lives just above subsistence level, and can only support small parasitic communities. Wealth and large surpluses are concentrated in the cities, and there the elite monasteries are found. Elite Buddhism with all its activities (most emphatically including high-level literacy and the production of texts) is an urban phenomenon, concentrated in or near the royal capital and other big cities, closely related to trade, artisanate, administration and other sources of wealth. The association of large monasteries with city-life is abundantly attested both by the scriptural tradition and by the archaeological record.

This situation had become fully developed by the time Buddhism started to penetrate into China, with western central Asia as its most recent region of expansion. By the beginning of the second century CE, Buddhist monasteries could be found all over the Kushan empire: in Afghanistan and Kashmir, in the most prosperous parts of present-day Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, in the Ferghana valley and the upper and middle reaches of the Amu-darya. This was the situation in the western parts of Central Asia by the time the first missionaries crossed the dry heart of the continent on their way to China: monks from northwestern India and Kashmir (Tianzhu 天竺, Jibin 罽賓), Parthia (Anxi 安息), Sogdiana (Kangju 康居), and, less precisely localized, the country of the Indoscythians (Yuezhi 月支).⁴

It is interesting to note that present-day Xinjiang 新疆 itself appears to have remained a mere transit zone, without monastic settlement, for a very long time. Along the northern and southern branches of the Silk Road the earliest archaeological evidence of the existence of Buddhism dates from ca. 250 CE, about a century later than the establishment of the first

⁴ Since in the earliest sources persons having the ethnic designation Zhi 支 are clearly distinguished from "Indians" (Zhu 竺) and from "Sogdians" (Kang 康), they may have mainly come from the far northwest of the Indian subcontinent, including Gandhāra.

Buddhist community in Luoyang, and nearly two centuries later than the first reference to Buddhist monks in a Chinese source. This late date of the rise of monastic Buddhism at centres like Kucha and Khotan—true strongholds of the saṅgha in later times—is confirmed by Chinese Buddhist biographical sources, as will be set forth in more detail below.

In view of what has been said above about the close relation between, on the one hand, sedentary monastic life, and, on the other hand, the availability of surplus wealth concentrated in cities, the conclusion seems warranted that in the first two centuries of our era the oasis states along the Silk Road still were at a low level of economic development. This is confirmed by the archaeological findings that suggest a mixed, hardly urbanized economy and a material culture of semi-nomadic type. A comparison of the demographic data concerning those states in the *Han shu* (漢書 History of the Han [Dynasty], reflecting the situation of the late first century BC) and the *Hou Han shu* (後漢書 History of the Later Han [Dynasty], reflecting the situation of the mid-second century CE) points to an almost explosive increase of the population in the oasis states, Khotan rising from 3,300 to 32,000 households, and Kashgar from 1,510 to 21,000. Such an unprecedented demographic growth can only be explained as the result of a dramatic increase in agricultural production and other sources of income (notably commerce), which in turn created the conditions that made monastic Buddhism possible.⁵ Around the middle of the third century CE that process had run its course, as is testified by the earliest Buddhist architectural remains at Loulan and Mirān. Before that time we have the curious situation that the earliest Buddhist missionaries going to China did not come from the oasis states of “Serindia” but all the way from western Central Asia, crossing the immense vacuum of Xinjiang, and settling in China at the other end of it. In other words: in this case the familiar pattern of contact expansion was broken and was replaced by its opposite: long-distance transmission. That fact may account for certain distinctive features in the first phase of Buddhism in China, for premodern long-distance transmission was characterized by incidental and intermittent contact, long and difficult routes of communication, lack of feed-back, and the unsystematic borrowing of elements detached from their original context. All this is typical of what we know of Chinese Buddhism in its embryonic and archaic phases: stray foreign monks, haphazard borrowing, no integral transmission of coherent doctrinal complexes, no regular ordination. It was only in the late third century CE that the situation changed, and that a “second start” was made, and that appears to have been the result of the Buddhist conquest of Serindia that had taken place not long before.

⁵ For the demographic development of the oasis states in Han times and its consequences for urbanization and monastic Buddhism cf. my article “Han Buddhism and the Western Region,” in W. L. Idema and E. Zürcher, eds., *Thought and Law in Han and Ch'in China: Studies Presented to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 158–182.

IV. Early medieval China as a mission field

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the spread of Buddhism to East Asia is the fact that China, being situated at the terminus of both the transcontinental caravan roads and the maritime route from south and southeast Asia, did not receive the foreign creed from one particular region but from many centres simultaneously. In the early medieval period it received impulses (in terms of missionaries, texts, rituals and artistic traditions) from virtually the whole Buddhist world, altogether some fifteen different regions, ranging from Kashmir to Sri Lanka, and from Samarkand to the Mekong basin. As a result, Chinese Buddhism became a melting pot of different types of Buddhism, a mass of scriptural, disciplinary and scholastic traditions of various provenance that not seldom contradicted each other. That diversity goes back to the very beginning of the “church of Luoyang” in the second century CE, when Hīnayāna scriptures were introduced by the Parthian missionary An Shigao 安世高 and Mahāyāna texts by his younger contemporary, the Indoscythian Lokakṣema; shortly afterwards Amitābha devotionism came to complicate the picture. The Vinaya in early Chinese Buddhism was a matter of bewildering variety: between ca. 250 and 480 CE eleven masters were active in producing disciplinary texts of no less than six different schools.⁶ In the second-to-last decade of the fourth century, Gautama Saṅghadeva and others made the Chinese acquainted with the scholastic system of the Sarvāstivādins; twenty years later, Kumārajīva arrived and introduced its Mahāyāna counterpart, the scholastic treatises of the Śūnyavādins, that contradicted it on every point. The earliest Chinese versions of the “Buddha-biography” (ca. 200 CE; a text said to have come from Kapilavastu) describes Śākyamuni’s life in concrete and down-to-earth terms,⁷ whereas another text, translated around the same time, presents the whole story in purely Lokottaravādin terms, as a phantasmagoria.⁸

Thus the geographical situation naturally led to a bewildering diversity, which in turn forced the Chinese to develop a spirit of eclecticism and syncretism, to accept doctrinal diversity and (seeming) inconsistency as part of the Buddhist message itself, and to transcend those differences by regarding them as “levels of truth” or “successive stages of revelation”—the basic principle of the indigenous Chinese scholasticism that started to take shape by the end

⁶ Apart from the five complete Vinaya that have been preserved in Chinese (T 1421, 1425, 1428, 1435 and 1442–1453) at least the title has been preserved of a partial translation of a Theravāda Discipline (*Tuopili lü* 他毘利律, a title translated as “Discipline of Virtuous Elders,” *Sude lü* 俗德律) made by Mahāyāna at Canton around 485 CE (CSZJJ ch. 2, 13b).

⁷ T 184, *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (trans. Zhu Dali 竺大力 and Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳) and T 196, *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經 (trans. Tanguo 曇果 and Kang Mengxiang), ca. 200 CE.

⁸ T 807, *Neizang bai bao jing* 內藏百寶經, translated by Lokakṣema (active ca. 170–190 CE).

of our period.

However, all that clearly belongs to the tiny tip of the iceberg, the elite of scholar-monks. We should not forget what has been said above about the stratified nature of Buddhism and about the deeper layers about which we have very little information. It cannot be doubted that the propagation of Buddhism also went on at those lower strata, carried on by those nondescript *buseng*, “foreign monks” outside the limelight of the elite-sponsored translation teams in the large monasteries.

About the lowest stratum of diffusion—the level at which Buddhist elements were incorporated into Chinese popular religion—very little information can be found in written sources, apart from some stray references to a hybrid Buddho-Daoist cult in Later Han court circles. However, in the course of the last thirty years archaeology has yielded a number of material relics showing how Buddhist themes had become part of the repertoire of Chinese religious lore in the second and third centuries CE. The artifacts testify of a diffuse and unsystematic adoption of Buddhist elements (the seated Buddha, with and without attendants; the six-tusked elephant; the *śarīra*-relic as an auspicious object) in indigenous beliefs and cults, notably those related to the afterlife, the quest for immortality, and the cult of the Daoist deities Xi wangmu 西王母 and her male counterpart Dong wanggong 東王公.⁹ We know nothing about the way in which such Buddhist ideas and visual representations were spread; it may well be that foreign monks were somehow involved in it, but nothing definite can be said about that aspect. We must, however, keep in mind that this kind of diffuse borrowing, often in interaction with religious Daoism, has been going on throughout our period. If foreign monks were involved in spreading such ideas in the deeper layers, they probably did so as an outlandish kind of magicians and faith-healers—the roles in which we encounter them in the “miracle stories” (*zhi guai* 誌怪) of the same period.

At a higher level the textual expression of the doctrine comes into sight. As has been mentioned above, more foreign monks or upāsakas must have been engaged in producing Chinese scriptures than the masters mentioned by name in our sources. It is surely not without reason that in his eyewitness account of Buddhist life at early sixth-century Luoyang Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 describes how “foreign monks congregated there like spokes coming to a hub; they had come to this happy land with staves in their hands and carrying scriptures on their backs,” especially at the huge Yongming 永明 monastery west of the city wall that

⁹ Cf. Yu Weichao 俞偉超, “Dong Han fojiao tuxiang kao” 東漢佛教圖像考 [A Consideration of Buddhist Images from the Eastern Han], *Wenwu* 文物 288, no. 5 (May 1980): 68–67, and Wu Hung, “Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (second and third centuries B.C.),” *Artibus Asiae* 47, nos. 3–4 (1986): 263–316.

housed “well over three thousand monks from many countries.”¹⁰

However obscure these foreign monks may have been, an unknown number of them have left their traces in the Chinese scriptural records, in the form of a considerable number of texts that in early catalogues are referred to as *shiyi* 失譯 “Anonymous translations” or *yijing* 異經 “Different [versions of] scriptures.” The number of those texts once was quite impressive. When the famous Dao’an 道安 (314–385 CE) compiled his *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 總理眾經目錄 (the earliest preserved bibliography of Buddhist scriptures, completed in 374 CE) he listed no fewer than 317 texts of that kind, arranged under four headings; “Ancient different [versions of] scriptures” (91 texts); “Anonymous translations” (142); “Different [versions of] scriptures from the Liang territory” (59; *Liang tu* 涼土 referring to the autonomous state of the Former Liang in present-day Gansu, 320–376 CE), and “Different [versions of] scriptures from the [Region within] the Passes” (24; *Guanzhong* 關中, referring to the ancient metropolitan area in the Wei River 渭河 basin).¹¹ The total number of anonymous texts mentioned by Dao’an (317) is about twice the number of scriptures ascribed by him to specific translators; with a few exceptions they were short texts of only one *juan*, and in many cases the titles are so obscure that they cannot be identified with any known text. From Dao’an’s classification we can conclude that at least two categories, the versions from Liangzhou in the far northwest and from the metropolitan area, apparently had a limited circulation within a certain region.

More than 90% of those anonymous translations have been lost; the *Taishō* canon only contains about thirty scriptures that can confidently be identified as works mentioned by Dao’an.¹² However, those thirty texts constitute a most interesting body of materials, since they allow us a glimpse of Chinese Buddhism at what may be called “sub-elite translation” level at a very early stage of development.

Even a casual reading reveals a number of characteristic features. The texts are generally short or very short, some of them not exceeding 500 characters. The style is mostly

¹⁰ T 2092, *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, trans. W. J. F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493–534)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 249; trans. Yi-t’ung Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Loyang* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 204.

¹¹ These four sections of Dao’an’s catalogue have been incorporated by Sengyou in his CSZJJ (515–518 CE), ch. 3, 15b–19c; for a detailed discussion of the bibliographical dates, see TOKIWA Daijō 常盤大定, *Go-Kan yori Sō-Sei ni itaru yakkyō sōroku* 後漢より宋齊に至る譯經總錄 譯經總錄 [Comprehensive catalogue of translated scriptures from the Latter Han to the Song and Qi] (orig. pub. 1938; revised ed. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1973), 87–169.

¹² Category “Ancient different versions”: T 529, 805; “Anonymous translations”: T 29, 78, 96, 147, 161, 265, 344, 392, 521, 522, 629, 687, 740, 795, 819, 1212, 2029; “Liang texts”: T 27, 262, 273, 461, 507, 572, 579, 597, 768, 1478; “Guanzhong texts”: T 596, 750. Cf. my article “Obscure Texts on Favourite Topics: Dao’an’s Anonymous Scriptures,” in Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, ed., *Das andere China: Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 161–181.

popular and narrative; the language varies from simple but pure *wenyan* to a rambling idiom teeming with vernacular elements. The public for which these obscure texts were produced apparently was not interested in scholastic speculations or elaborate schemes of classified phenomena as are found in, for instance, *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. The vast majority consists of free (and sometimes drastically shortened) versions of sūtras taken from the *Āgamas*, or narratives of the *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* type, which suggests a public of lay readers satisfied with simple, edifying stories. The only major Mahāyāna sūtra represented is the *Lotus Sūtra*, but here it is reduced to a shortened version of only one section (section 11, the dramatic appearance of Prabhūtaratna in his jewelled stūpa) which has been made into a complete scripture by adding the conventional opening and closing formulas;¹³ another text simply consists of a great number of unrelated statements and moral precepts uttered by the Buddha, a kind of layman’s compendium strongly reminiscent of the so-called *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections* (*Sishi’er zhang jing* 四十二章經).¹⁴

When looking at the subjects treated in those texts we can recognize a number of themes that must have stirred the imagination of Chinese lay believers, such as the moral degeneration of the world and future disasters; relics and miracles; filial piety (as shown by converting one’s father); demonology and prophetic dreams. One of the most remarkable features is the absolute preponderance of Hīnayāna texts; only four out of the seventeen preserved texts of Dao’an’s category “Anonymous translations” are distinctively Mahāyāna.

All this seems to confirm the assumption made here, viz., that the “Anonymous translations,” about one hundred of which have been preserved in the Canon,¹⁵ form the scriptural expression of a special “layer” in early Chinese Buddhism, a type of Buddhism that is less sophisticated, less scholastic and more laity-oriented than the level represented by the works produced by foreign masters who are known by name. Further research is needed to substantiate that working hypothesis. But in any case there can be no doubt that they are “authentic,” i.e., based upon non-Chinese originals, and that they consequently must have been the product of the elusive, nondescript *buseng* who spread the Buddhist message at sub-elite level.

Finally, something should be said about the two most fundamental features of the production of Buddhist scriptures in China: the use of written Chinese as a medium of expression, and of paper as a writing material.

¹³ T 265, *Satan fentuoli jing* 薩曇芬陀利經.

¹⁴ T 768, *San hui jing* 三慧經 (one of Dao’an’s “texts from Liang”).

¹⁵ Actually the number of anonymous translations in the Taishō canon should be much larger, since the Taishō compilers have based their attributions upon the late standard catalogues, which for the earlier periods are notoriously unreliable. Many dozens of texts attributed to early translators actually are listed as anonymous versions in the earliest and most reliable sources.

Within the scope of this paper no justice can be done to the vast and complicated subject of the gradual formation and characteristics of the peculiar type of written language that could be called "Buddhist scriptural Chinese."¹⁶ Its origin goes back to the heroic era of the second and early third century CE, a period in which the first translators and translation teams struggled with the problem how to render the Sanskrit and Prakrit originals in a totally unrelated language. It was a time of widely different experiments, ranging from crude attempts at "literal" translation to free paraphrase, and from almost pure wenyan to a hybrid idiom half-way between literary Chinese and pure vernacular. In the course of the third century, a more homogeneous scriptural language was taking shape, especially in the many texts produced by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 法護, a sinicized Yuezhi from Dunhuang) and his school. Finally, it was Kumārajīva who, aided by a large and very proficient team of scholar-monks, in the first decade of the fifth century created a highly standardized homogeneous scriptural language that was to remain in general use ever afterwards (in spite of the attempts, made during the early Tang, to replace it by a far more literal and technical kind of "translationese"). These few remarks must suffice as far as the linguistic and stylistic aspects are concerned. Since we are dealing with the spread of Buddhism by means of the written word, another aspect deserves to be mentioned: the way in which the use of written Chinese facilitated the propagation of Buddhism to the most remote corners of the Chinese territory.

By the time when the first Buddhist missionaries settled in Luoyang (An Shigao, ca. 150 CE), central China (Vighna, 224 CE) and the lower Yangzi region (Zhi Qian 支謙 shortly after 220; Kang Senghui 康僧會 in Nanjing, ca. 250), China had already gone through more than four centuries of political unification and (at the elite level) cultural integration, in which the use of a standardized written language had always played a central role. Its use was universal at all levels where literacy was known, from central government offices and court poets to the military administration on the northwestern frontier. In geographical terms it reached from Han outposts in Korea to Confucian studies pursued in present-day northern Vietnam. The unifying and integrating force of the written lingua franca was reinforced by the use of a script that transcended dialectical differences, and that made any written statement readily understandable in any part of the empire. It was so deeply rooted and indispensable that political disintegration and the rule of non-Chinese dynasties of conquest in northern China had no consequences for its position.

¹⁶ For more information about the various types of "scriptural Chinese" that developed side by side in the earliest phase I may refer to my two articles dealing with the linguistic and stylistic features of late Han translations: "Late Han Vernacular Elements in the Earliest Buddhist Translations," in *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 12, (1977), 177–203, and "A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts," in Kōichi Shinohara and Gregory Schopen, eds., *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honour of Prof. Jan Yün-hua* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1991), 277–304.

All this meant that Buddhist texts, once translated into some kind of written Chinese, at once had a potential area of circulation that was unprecedented in the history of Buddhism. In spite of some stylistic diversity Buddhist texts were understandable all over China, whether they had been translated in Luoyang, Nanjing or Canton; a large text could be partially translated at Chang'an and completed in Nanjing without any discontinuity; as early as the first half of the third century the Chinese Buddhist scholar Mouzi 牟子, writing at present-day Hanoi, freely draws upon a Buddha biography translated shortly before at Luoyang.¹⁷ It is clear that the use of a variety of *wenyan* and of the Chinese script furthered the spread and integration of Buddhism in China, especially among the literate minority. However, it also had some serious drawbacks. Any foreign missionary could reach a fair level in spoken Chinese after two or three years' stay in China, but they could not be expected to become proficient in the scriptural written language, to master the script, and to become familiar with the innumerable standard terms and technical expressions that had been coined by earlier translation teams and had become part of the Chinese Buddhist vocabulary. As a result, the bulk of the translation work was done by the Chinese participants—the bilingual interpreter who “transmitted the language,” *chuan'yu* 傳語 (i.e., made an oral translation), someone who “received (the oral translation) by the brush,” *bishou* 筆受 (i.e., wrote down a draft Chinese text), and others who “polished” and edited the text. As we shall see, this considerably reduced the part played by the foreign monks in the translation process, and placed the full burden of interpretation upon the shoulders of their collaborators; in many cases the foreigner would not even be able to check the correctness of the translation.

Finally, it may not be superfluous to note the probability that right from the start Buddhist texts were written on paper, which just around that time was taking the place of the more bulky and expensive writing-strips made of wood or bamboo. We cannot be quite sure about this, since it is not corroborated by any positive written or archaeological evidence. On the other hand, the early catalogues and colophons do not contain any indication that such texts were ever written on slips, and the size of some of the first translated works (e.g. Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing* 道行經, produced in 179 CE in ten *juan*, totalling some 24,000 characters)¹⁸ makes it probable that already during the Later Han use was made of that cheap and mass-produced writing material—a factor that, in its own modest way, may have contributed to the production, reproduction and circulation of Buddhist texts.

¹⁷ In his *Li buo lun* 理惑論 (in T 2102, *Hongming ji* 弘明集 ch. 1, 1b–7a) the author extensively quotes from T 185, *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 that dates from about 225 CE.

¹⁸ T 224; for the date see the contemporary colophon preserved in CSZJJ ch. 7, 47c.

V. The missionaries: provenance and antecedents

In our sources the provenance of about eighty missionaries coming from outside China is mentioned. Apart from the very vague “a man from the Western Region” (*xiyu ren* 西域人), the data concerning geographical origins can be classified as follows:

I. The Indian subcontinent (44 individuals)

- a. Unspecified “India” (18)
- b. “Central India,” i.e., Madhyadeśa, in and around the Ganges basin (9)
- c. Kashmir (9)
- d. The northwestern regions: Udyāna and Gandhāra (6)
- e. “Southern India” (2)

II. Western Central Asia (20 individuals)

- a. Indoscythians (Yuezhi) (10)
- b. Parthia (Anxi) (5)
- c. Sogdiana (Kangju) (5)

III. “Serindia” (7 individuals)

- a. Kucha (6)
- b. Khotan (1)

IV. Southeast Asia (5 individuals)

- a. Funan 扶南 (3)
- b. “Geying” 歌應 (1); “Youpo” 優婆 (1)¹⁹

This purely quantitative break-down is of course of limited value, since it covers a period of more than four centuries, but it may give a general idea of the diversity of geographical regions from which Buddhism reached China, of the dominant role of India, and of the surprisingly small part played by the oasis kingdoms in present-day Xinjiang.

However, if we consider the time factor, it becomes clear that the part played by certain regions differed widely in successive periods. Very roughly we can distinguish four main phases of propagation, each of which appears to reflect phases of political and cultural development in the centres of diffusion.

Apart from a modest influx from India (only five individuals mentioned), the earliest

¹⁹ The state of Geying has not been identified, but it certainly was situated somewhere in continental South-east Asia (cf. Wang Yi-t'ung, op. cit., 205, n. 268); Youpo could be a variant form of Shepo 閩婆 “Java” (either the island now called Java or a kingdom on the coast of Sumatra).

phase, from the second to the late third century, is characterized by the activity of Indoscythian, Parthian and Sogdian missionaries, to such an extent that the period from ca. 150 to ca. 270 CE may be called the era of western Central Asian dominance. It clearly coincides with the existence of the Kushan empire.

The next period, from ca. 270 to ca. 380 CE, shows surprisingly little activity as far as foreign missionaries are concerned, apart from the fact that the Serindian centres of Kucha and Khotan come into the picture. It reflects the beginning of a flourishing monastic Buddhism in the oasis states from the early third century.

Around 380 CE there is a sudden influx of prominent missionaries from northern India and especially from Kashmir; it marks the beginning of a period of large-scale input that lasts till the middle of the fifth century. After ca. 450 CE the influx from India continues at a lower rate. The period of maximum activity (ca. 380 to ca. 450 CE) clearly reflects the heyday of Gupta rule in India.

Finally, along with the continuing but less frequent arrivals from India, we note a modest input from various centres in continental Southeast Asia (notably Funan, with its capital on the lower Mekong) from the middle of the fifth century—a by-product of the indianization of the coastal regions of Southeast Asia that was taking place in the same period.

The propagation of Buddhism was, however, by no means exclusively due to the activities of foreign missionaries coming from afar. A very important role was played by partly or wholly sinicized individuals who came from the border regions of China: Liangzhou (present-day Gansu) with Dunhuang a far western outpost, and, in the south, the region of Jiaozhou 交州 comprising what is now the northern part of Vietnam. Some of the most important early translators and propagators of Buddhism came from those peripheral regions, such as Kang Senghui from Jiaozhou and Dharmarakṣa from Dunhuang in the third century, and in the fourth century the indefatigable Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 from Liangzhou. There also are cases in which Buddhism was spread by individuals of foreign origin whose families had settled—sometimes even for several generations—in the central parts of China. The pious layman Zhi Qian, a very prolific translator of the third century, came from an Indoscythian family living in Luoyang; his grandfather may already have been largely sinicized, since he was a colonel in the Chinese army.²⁰ Another *upāsaka* who took part in the translation of Mahāyāna texts was Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭, the son of an Indian refugee who around the middle of the third century had settled in present-day Henan together with his wife and two brothers-in-law who both were monks. Zhu Shulan, who was born in China, studied Buddhism with his two uncles.²¹

²⁰ CSZJJ ch. 13, 97b; GSZ ch. 1, 325a.

²¹ CSZJJ ch. 13, 98b.

All such people were bilingual; they were able to translate texts independently, or played an indispensable role in the process of translation as bilingual intermediaries. In addition, they also were well-equipped to interpret and explain the doctrine to a Chinese audience: Kang Senghui was one of the few non-Chinese masters who wrote original exegetical works in Chinese, as did Zhi Qian. That this could lead to sectarianism is attested by the very curious case of a “Sino-Indian” zealot whose original name was something like “Kiñka” (Jinjia 金加); he was born around 400 CE at Nankang (Jiangxi) as the son of an Indian merchant; afterwards he became a Buddhist monk under the name of Fadu 法度 and a devoted disciple of Dharmayaśas at Chang’an. Dharmayaśas was a prominent *Abhidharma* master from Kashmir, of the Sarvāstivādin school, and this may explain why Fadu afterwards developed into a fanatic Hīnayāna activist, who prohibited the reading of Mahāyāna scriptures and the cult of any other Buddha than Śākyamuni, established his own ritual rules, and acquired a large following, especially among Chinese nuns. It spread to the lower Yangzi region, where it was still very much alive in the early sixth century, to the dismay of the ecclesiastical leaders in the southern capital.²² The existence of such a militant Hīnayāna sectarianism in early medieval China is interesting, as is the intriguing fact that it attracted a largely female following, but it also may serve to demonstrate the important role played by such bilingual intermediaries, both as assistants of the foreign masters and in their own right—in commercial terms we might call them the compradores of Buddhism in China.

When we turn to what should be a very important subject—the social background of the missionaries and their activities before they had come to China—the results generally are disappointing. With only two exceptions (Kumārajīva and Guṇavarman), little of historical value is said about the masters’ antecedents. The accounts must have been based upon bits of information supplied by the missionary himself, passing through several stages of transmission, in the course of which many plainly legendary elements crept in. Some of those stories may have been told by the master himself, as edifying or self-advertising accounts about miracles performed or witnessed, contacts with superhuman beings and acts of clairvoyance. Some miracle stories unmistakably bear the stamp of traditional Buddhist lore, and they no doubt contributed to the image of the foreign monk as a great magician in popular imagination.

The same holds good for the suspiciously large number of cases of high social status and pedigree: no fewer than six foreign monks are said to have been princes or members of a royal house (three of whom follow the familiar pattern of giving up their accession to the

²² GSZ ch. 1, 329c (appended to the biography of Dharmayaśas); CSZJJ ch. 5, 40c: “Note about the heterodox ceremonial rules fabricated by the Hīnayānist apostate Zhu Fadu, by Sengyou 僧祐; early sixth century CE, which clearly is the source of the GSZ account. It is followed by an essay entitled “An Elucidation of (Points of) Doubt (*Yu i* 喻疑),” in which Kumārajīva’s disciple Sengrui 僧叡 (or Huirui 慧叡) defends the Mahāyāna teachings against the attacks of some Chinese opponents.

throne in order to join the *saṅgha*), and three masters claim descent from the Śākya clan of the Buddha himself.

We do have some concrete information about religious education and study. Several masters are said to have been well-versed in the arts and sciences belonging to the Vedic tradition, and as far as Buddhism is concerned we may assume that apart from their specific field of specialization they were broadly familiar with the *sūtras* and religious lore of pious stories and legends. In fact, it is reported that Guṇavarḍdhi (active in Nanjing from 479 to 502 CE) was able to recite the *Avadāna-śataka* (T 209, a collection of one hundred pious tales) from memory, since his teacher Saṅghasena had compiled it as a kind of elementary course to be memorized by his junior students.²³

At a more advanced level the most common fields of specialization mentioned in our sources are the *Āgamas* (collections of scriptures belonging to the Hīnayāna tradition); *Abhidharma* scholastics (mostly of the Sarvāstivādin school of Kashmir), and the Disciplinary Rules (*Vinaya*) of various schools. On the Indian subcontinent Kashmir figures most frequently as a stronghold of Hīnayāna religious study with famous masters teaching the *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya*; in Central Asia Kucha, Khotan and Kashgar are mentioned as places of specialized study. A good example of the way in which a high-level and many-sided Buddhist education was acquired is found in the biography of Kumārajīva (ca. 300–409 var. 413 CE), by far the most illustrious and influential foreign master in early Chinese Buddhism: as a son of an Indian nobleman settled in Kucha and of the ruler’s sister he followed his mother as a young boy to Kashmir, where he studied the *Abhidharma* of the Sarvāstivādins and “the sciences”; at the age of twenty he continued his scholastic studies at Kashgar; after his conversion to the Great Vehicle he studied the Mahāyāna scriptures in his native Kucha, along with the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* under the guidance of a master from Kashmir.²⁴ For each subject there were specialized teachers; in centres of Mahāyāna Buddhism some large texts like the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* were fields of specialization. The effects of this highly developed system of religious study are clearly visible in the Chinese record, for once they had arrived in China, foreign masters naturally tended to concentrate upon texts belonging to the field of their specialization.

Much of the curriculum appears to have consisted of learning by heart: some masters came to China, their memories crammed with stupendous amounts of texts, ready to perform feats of “reciting” (*song* 誦) that baffled even a Chinese audience. After Buddhayaśas from Kashmir (one of Kumārajīva’s old teachers) had arrived in Chang’an in 408 CE, he spent three years “reciting” the *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya* (T 1428) and the *Dīrghāgama* (T 1), a total

²³ GSZ ch. 3, 345b.

²⁴ CSZJJ ch. 14, 100b-c; GSZ ch. 2, 330b–331a.

of eighty-two *juan*; the Chinese translation of the “orally transmitted” version amounts to about 140,000 characters.²⁵ Recitation from memory had of course the serious drawback that it required the physical presence of such a living repository: when in 404 CE the Vinaya master Puṇyatara died half-way through his recitation of the voluminous *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, the work of translation had to be interrupted, and it was only thanks to the arrival of Dharmaruci, who also knew the text by heart, that the work could be resumed.²⁶

VI. Coming to China and settling down

In general the sources do not tell us much about the reasons why foreign missionaries went to China. In the earliest period they may just have drifted in, travelling with caravans along the Silk Road, perhaps motivated only by tales about far-away Mahā-Cīna. Once arrived, they settled down in or near a large city, usually the capital, where in most cases there was already a Buddhist community. As long as Buddhism operated below the level of the highest elite (i.e., before the fourth century CE), there is no evidence of foreign monks being “invited” (apart from the case of the so-called embassy of the Han emperor Ming of ca. 65 CE, which since long has been proved to be legendary).

It is only by the end of the fourth century that mention is made of a more specific motivation to go to China, and it may not be fortuitous that it is placed in the context of the presence of Chinese pilgrims in India, the practice of pilgrimage to the holy sites in India having started not long before. Thus we hear how the famous master Buddhābhadda at Nāgarahāra met the Chinese pilgrim Zhiyan 智嚴 who was looking for highly qualified Buddhist masters for the China mission. Buddhābhadda was recommended by his *dhyāna* teacher Buddhasena and other authorities, after which he started his journey to China, where he arrived around 409 CE.²⁷ A similar case of religious head-hunting and recommendation happened much later to an even more illustrious master: in 546 CE. Paramārtha was sent to China by the ruler of Magadha, together with many Buddhist texts, at the request of the Chinese envoys that the emperor Wu of Liang had sent to India in quest of Buddhist masters and Mahāyāna scrip-

²⁵ CSZJJ ch. 14, 102c; GSZ ch. 3, 334b. Both accounts contain the interesting story about the Later Qin ruler Yao Xing 姚興 submitting Buddhayaśas to a formidable test in order to verify the latter’s mnemonic power: he let him memorize a census register and medical recipes totalling some 50,000 words. Yao Xing was satisfied when Buddhayaśas after two days was able to reproduce the texts from memory without a single mistake. Unfortunately, the story cannot be accepted as historical: Yao Xing’s texts were written in Chinese, and since Buddhayaśas had only recently arrived in Chang’an it is very improbable that his knowledge of Chinese was more than rudimentary.

²⁶ GSZ ch. 2, 333b (biography of Puṇyatara); *ibid.* (biography of Dharmaruci); 333c (biography of Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉).

²⁷ CSZJJ ch. 14, 103c; GSZ ch. 2, 334c.

tures.²⁸

On the Chinese side, such positive efforts to “get hold of” a prominent master must be viewed in the context of the development of court sponsorship of Buddhism, and in particular the sponsorship (sometimes coupled with censorship) of translation work—a merit-producing activity par excellence. In the last decades of the fourth century we see the beginning of a shift from private, small-scale sponsorship to state-supported translation projects, housed in a few top-class monasteries—a shift that was completed in Sui and Tang times, when virtually all translators worked directly under court sponsorship. In that context, it was only natural that important foreign masters occasionally were invited to come to China, or, if they had already entered the country, to come to the capital.

It should be added that imperial sponsorship of prominent foreign missionaries was not only inspired by the wish to earn karmic merit by promoting the production of sacred texts, but also by less pious considerations. Such masters often were believed to possess supernatural powers and secret knowledge, and there is ample evidence that rulers were eager to make use of their skills. Dao'an's master Fotudeng 佛圖澄, a Kuchean who arrived in China in 310 CE, spent his remaining years as a thaumaturge and soothsayer at the court of the Xiongnu rulers of the Later Zhao.²⁹ Kumārajīva had to serve Lü Guang, the satrap of Liangzhou, for several years in a similar capacity. After Kumārajīva had been carried away to Lü's court at Guzang as a booty of war, he spent eight years there, predicting the outcome of battles and interpreting signs of nature.³⁰ The Indian Dharmakṣema was patronized by the ruler of the Northern Liang not only as a great translator but also as an exorcist and a master of magic spells (*dhāraṇī*). Emperor Taiwu of the expanding state of the Toba-Wei exerted pressure upon the Liang ruler to send Dharmakṣema to him because of the “miraculous power of his spells”—to which the *Weishu* (魏書 *History of the Wei*) version adds that he did so because of Dharmakṣema's knowledge of sexual techniques (*nannü jiaojie zhi shu* 男女交接之術). But the Liang ruler was firmly resolved to keep such a powerful magician to himself, and as he suspected Dharmakṣema of planning an escape to the enemy, he had him murdered.³¹

The combination of pious sponsorship and keeping the foreign master as a magical

²⁸ XGSZ ch. 1, 429c.

²⁹ GSZ ch. 9, 381a–387c; cf. Arthur F. Wright, “Fo-t'u-teng, a Biography,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 11 (1948): 321–371.

³⁰ CSZJJ ch. 14, 101a–b; GSZ ch. 2, 331c–332a.

³¹ CSZJJ ch. 14, 103b; GSZ ch. 2, 336b–c; *Weishu* ch. 99 (biography of Juqu Mengsun 沮渠孟遜), Zhonghua shuju ed., 2208–2209. The *Weishu* text adds that during his stay at Liangzhou the ruler had Dharmakṣema teach his “method” to his daughters and daughters-in-law in order to ensure numerous male offspring.

protection for the dynasty and the state became a general feature of court Buddhism, first in the north (at Chang’an under the Former Qin, in the last decades of the fourth century), and somewhat later also in the south. The most interesting case of official invitation (or imperial summons) extended by the court at Nanjing to a foreign master concerned Guṇavarman, who at that time (in the second decade of the fifth century) was active as a kind of court chaplain and adviser to a local ruler on Java, and whose fame had spread beyond the borders to China. At the request of two Chinese monks, the Song emperor Wen ordered the governor of Jiaozhou to send a ship to Java; three monks made the voyage to Java carrying imperial letters to Guṇavarman and to the Javanese king. After a stay at Canton the master made the journey to the capital at state expense; at his arrival in Nanjing (431 CE) he was lavishly entertained by Emperor Wen. Apart from his ability to produce sacred texts, Guṇavarman’s fame as a man endowed with supernatural powers (he himself claimed to have reached the second stage of holiness, that of *sakṛdāgāmin*) no doubt also contributed to his status.³²

It is quite probable that at lower levels of sponsorship (foreign monks being patronized by high officials and members of the aristocracy) the same mixture of devotion, good works and belief in magic efficacy could be found. The sources contain many references to such private sponsoring, but generally very little is said about the benefactors’ reasons for doing so.

VII. Learning Chinese and “producing” texts

As has been mentioned above, learning Chinese, and especially the written scriptural idiom with its huge and ever-growing lexicon of technical expressions, was a difficult and time-consuming task. Foreign monks freshly arrived from abroad could be expected soon to acquire a basic working knowledge of Chinese for practical purposes, but it would take them several years to be able to explain the texts that they were reciting (and that were translated by other members of the team), let alone to make a written translation themselves. The problems related to learning Chinese occasionally transpire in contemporary colophons and prefaces. Thus, when Dharmapriya in the late fourth century attempted to make a translation of an extremely technical scholastic text he had soon to stop because of his poor knowledge of Chinese, and

³² Before Guṇabhadra died in Nanjing (431 CE) he had written a “testament” in Sanskrit verse, which he entrusted to a disciple with the request to send it to India for the edification of Indian monks. It is not known whether this was ever done, but in any case the Song emperor Wen ordered the text to be translated in Chinese, and this version, consisting of 144 Chinese *gāthās*, has been preserved in GSZ ch. 3, 341c–342b. In this remarkable document, in which he describes his gradual self-perfection in Hinayāna terms, Guṇavarman explicitly states when and where he attained the two first “fruits of saintliness”: the state of *srota-āpanna* “in the country of Malava,” and that of *sakṛdāgāmin* “in Sri Lanka, in a village called Jieboli 劫波利.”

the same happened—with the same text!—to Kumārabodhi.³³ There were bilingual intermediaries available, but they apparently simply could not make clear what the text with its terse *kārikā* formulas meant. In another case a solution was found in “long-range planning”: when in 407 CE the ruler of the Later Qin found out that Dharmayaśas and Dharmagupta only were able “blindly to recite” (*ansong* 闍誦) a thirty-*juan* *Abhidharma* text, he ordered them to write out the whole (Indian) text. Only seven years later, “when the *sūtra* masters gradually had become familiar with the language of Qin,” he ordered them to translate the text.³⁴ Occasionally even Kumārajīva had serious problems with Chinese, in spite of his many years in China before he started translating and his well-attested knowledge of the language.³⁵

After going through all the available evidence our conclusions must be somewhat disappointing as regards the actual participation of most foreign missionaries in the translation process. In most cases they just “produced” (*chu* 出) the Indian text by oral recitation. After a prolonged stay in China some of them were able to take part in the actual translation of texts into Chinese, and in two cases we read that one foreign monk assisted another by orally translating (*chuan’yu* 傳語) the text recited by his colleague.³⁶

The real problem, however, was not the work of translation, for which the team provided a solution, but that of interpretation and explanation (*jiang* 講), either within the restricted circle of the team, or for a large monastic audience, or in a public sermon. In one case we hear of a famous Indian missionary delivering sermons by using an interpreter, but in only a very limited number of cases the texts expressly state that a foreign master actually “explained” a text in Chinese for any kind of audience. The problem is strikingly illustrated by a story about Guṇabhadra that in spite of its obviously legendary nature aptly symbolized the situation. Guṇabhadra has been engaged in translation work during the ten years he has already spent in China, but he still does not dare to preach (*jiang*) because of his faulty knowledge of Chinese. One night a divine being appears in his dream, holding a sword; after some

³³ For Dharmapriya’s attempt to produce the *Abhidharma-hṛdaya-śāstra* (ca. 382 CE) see KYSJL, ch. 4., 511a; for Kumārabodhi’s attempt, made around the same time, see the anonymous colophon preserved in CSZJJ ch. 10, 72b. The text finally was translated by Saṅghadeva in 392 CE (T 1550 *Apitan xin lun* 阿毘曇心論).

³⁴ CSZJJ ch. 10, 61a (preface to the *Śāriputrābhidharma*).

³⁵ Cf. Sengzhao’s 僧肇 “Introduction to the *Bailun*” (百論序, preserved in CSZJJ ch. 11, 77b-c), in which he says that Kumārajīva, who liked this text very much, has made a translation of it, by/for himself (*qinyi* 親譯), but he was unable to explain it clearly because “he had not yet become fluent in the local language” (方言未融; *fāngyan* referring to Chinese).

³⁶ Cf. CSZJJ ch. 10, 73c (Dao’an’s preface to the *Vibhāṣā-śāstra* 鞞婆沙論): in 383 CE Buddharakṣa orally translated the Indian text recited by Saṅghabhadra and written down (in Sanskrit) by Zhu Fonian (cf. also GSZ ch. 1, 328b); the second case is Kumārajīva translating the text of the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* recited by Puṇyatara and Dharmaruci, cf. above, note 28.

reassuring words the god cuts off his head and replaces it with a replica, and the next morning the master finds that he is now speaking Chinese fluently.³⁷

We also must note that only very rarely could foreign monks write Chinese. In only one case it is explicitly said that a (rather obscure) monk from India had himself written down the Chinese version and also was able to explain it in Chinese (*shou neng lishu, kou jie Qi yan* 手能隸書，口解齊言).³⁸ The fact that the text highlights his ability to write Chinese is significant, as it suggests that, normally speaking, foreign monks were not able to do so.

The rather passive role of the foreign “missionaries” (if we still may go on calling them so) as repositories of non-Chinese texts and “blind reciters” had of course grave consequences for the further transmission of the ideas contained in the texts: their interpretation appears largely to have been a Chinese affair, and this in turn explains much of what is characteristic in early Chinese Buddhism.

There were, however, exceptions. After a lengthy stay in China some foreign monks (or, in a few cases, *upāsakas*) did indeed hold sermons or explain texts. The most notable example is, of course, Kumārajīva, who is known to have amply discussed the meaning of scriptures and treatises with his many Chinese disciples, among whom we find some of the most creative minds of early Chinese Buddhist philosophy. What is even more notable is the quite exceptional fact that Kumārajīva also wrote (or let others write down) a considerable number of works in Chinese: a *Vimalakīrti* commentary; a treatise on “The True Characteristic [of Emptiness]” (*Shixiang lun* 實相論) which he composed for his imperial patron, and a voluminous correspondence dealing with scholastic topics.³⁹ Apart from Kumārajīva we only know of one foreign master publishing an original exegetical work in Chinese: a “General Introduction to the Scriptures” (*Zhongjing tongxu* 眾經統序) composed by Paramārtha.⁴⁰

Kumārajīva’s truly exceptional role deserves to be highlighted: together with the high

³⁷ CSZJJ ch. 14, 105c; GSZ ch. 3, 344b.

³⁸ KYSJL ch. 7, 535b: Dharmakṛtayaśas translating the *Wuliang yi jing* 無量義經 in Canton in 481 CE (T 276).

³⁹ Cf. the many titles of exegetical texts written by Kumārajīva (mostly letters on scholastic topics) that are listed in Lu Cheng’s 陸澄 *Falun mulu* 法論目錄 (compiled shortly after 465; table of contents included in CSZJJ ch. 12, 82c). Of these only a collection of sixteen letters to Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416/417 CE), entitled *Dacheng da yi (zhang)* 大乘大義〔章〕, has been preserved (T 1856); cf. also Kumārajīva’s complementary letter to Huiyuan in the latter’s biography (GSZ ch. 6, 359c), and the still extant early fifth-century commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (*Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經), part of which consists of glosses by Kumārajīva.

⁴⁰ Paramārtha’s *Zhongjing tongxu* 眾經通序 in two *juan*, listed in T 2149 *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 ch. 10, 332a. It also mentions a seven-*juan* *Fan Fanyan* 翻梵言 by Paramārtha, which seems to have been a rather comprehensive list of Sanskrit words with Chinese translation. I have not mentioned the commentaries written in the third century by Kang Senghui and Zhi Qian, since both had been born in China and were completely sinicized.

quality of his translations and (in collaboration with his team) the creation of a new and exemplary scriptural style, it serves to explain why his activities deployed at Chang’an in the first decade of the fifth century really constitute a turning point in the history of early Chinese Buddhism.

So far we have only been speaking about recitation of texts from memory, which is somewhat misleading. From the available evidence it is quite clear that in most cases use was made of written texts. Sometimes such texts—even very voluminous ones—were brought in by the foreign monks, or sent to China by intermediaries; they evoke the image of the wandering monk carrying his texts and other religious objects in a rack on his back, a familiar theme in Chinese Buddhist iconography. But we also regularly hear of large numbers of Indian or Central Asian texts circulating or being stored in China, waiting to be translated. Already in the third century Zhi Qian appears to have made many of his translations from foreign texts which he collected in China, and later we hear of considerable collections of such *huben* 胡本.

Thus, when in 556 CE Narendrayaśas arrived at the capital of the Northern Qi, the emperor had his collection of more than a thousand foreign texts, which he had kept in the palace, moved to the Taiping 太平 monastery, asking Narendrayaśas to “produce” them with the help of a translation team of twenty monks.⁴¹ Moreover, in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries many foreign texts had been brought to China by Chinese pilgrims who stored them in their monasteries after their return. We regularly hear of the translation of such texts, imported from many different centres; as late as ca. 490 Dharmamati translated in Nanjing two texts that had been found in Khotan by the famous pilgrim Faxian almost a century before.⁴²

In this way the work of translation did not have to rely upon the unstable basis of memorization. In numerous colophons and prefaces the standard formula is repeated: The master, X, holding the “foreign original” (*huben* 胡本), recited the text, and Y “transmitted the language” (*chuan’yu* 傳語).

VIII. Other roles: magician, dhyāna expert, and ordination master

Once more we must realize that the picture is distorted by a one-sided emphasis upon translation. Foreign monks must also have been active in many other roles which are far less well documented, or which we can only perceive indirectly, by their reflection in popular stories.

About the foreign master’s role as a thaumaturge, performing miracles by the force of his saintliness or by the power of his dhāraṇī spells, something has already been said in relation with court sponsorship. However, the same image no doubt prevailed at lower levels

⁴¹ KYSJL ch. 7, 544b.

⁴² KYSJL ch. 6, 536a; cf. note by Sengyou in CSZJJ ch. 2, 13b.

of society, and in popular imagination this even appears to have been the most outstanding quality ascribed to the “barbarian priest.” Occasionally the biographical sources also contain stories about famous wonder-working foreigners like the mysterious Indian Qiyu 耆域 (Jīvaka?) who arrived in Luoyang around 300 CE; he roamed around without any fixed abode, performing many feats of miraculous healing, clairvoyance and multiplication of his body.⁴³ Other masters are reported to have performed miracles that clearly belong to Chinese—notably Daoist—religious lore, such as control exerted over wild animals; high-speed displacement over a vast distance, and the disappearance of the body shortly after physical death.⁴⁴

In the biographical sources such thaumaturgical powers are often associated with the practice of *dhyāna*, which at its higher stages was believed to lead to the acquisition of psychic powers. Some of those masters had a large following of Chinese disciples and admirers. Here, in the field of *dhyāna* practice, far removed from the more intellectual sphere of translation, exegesis and scripture-based preaching, the foreign monk acted as a guru initiating his disciples into the secrets of breath-control, mental concentration and the visualization of images, and in that context he could easily be believed to possess the gift of clairvoyance and other supernatural skills. It was no doubt for that reason that in the late fifth century the Nanjing court and many members of the elite admired the *dhyāna* master Ratnamati, who combined solitary meditation with the use of powerful spells, palm-reading, and divination by manipulating hundreds of cowrie shells.⁴⁵

Finally, a very important role played by the foreign masters was the regular ordination of Chinese Buddhist monks and nuns at a time when the male and female *saṅgha* still were in their embryonic phase. As far as the male order is concerned, this took place around the middle of the third century when there was not yet any question of a regular Chinese monastic life; we are told that at that time Chinese monks only distinguished themselves from the profane by their tonsure, and that in ritual matters they simply conformed to indigenous Chinese cults. Around 250 CE two missionaries arrived at Luoyang, one from India and one from Parthia, and it was the Indian Dharmakāla who introduced the regular *Prātimokṣa* (*jieben* 戒本) formulary into China. He also “established (for the monks) the practice of the *Karmavācanā* (*jiemo* 羯磨, the standard procedures for the monastic life), and ordained them.”⁴⁶

⁴³ GSZ ch. 10, 388a.

⁴⁴ GSZ ch. 9, 387c (biography of Zhu Fotiao 竺佛調 = Buddhadeva?); *ibid.*, ch. 10, 388c (Jiantuole 健陀勒); *ibid.*, 389a (Heluojie 訶羅羯). Cf. also the feats of magic performed in Luoyang by the thaumaturge Tanmoluo 曇摩羅 from Udyāna, as reported in the *Luoyang qielan ji* (Jenner, *op. cit.*, 235; Wang, *op. cit.*, 178).

⁴⁵ GSZ ch. 3, 345a (appended to Guṇabhadra’s biography).

⁴⁶ GSZ ch. 1, 324b–325a.

Needless to say that this was a most essential contribution made by the foreign monks. By regularizing the monastic discipline and the procedure of ordination they made the incipient Chinese order of monks into a legitimate body, forming part of the universal “*saṅgha* of the ten directions (of space).” Their presence was necessary, not only because of their disciplinary know-how, but also because regular ordination could only be conferred in the presence of a chapter of ten fully ordained monks.

The activities of Dharmakāla are poorly documented, as is the early monastic history of the male Chinese *saṅgha* as a whole. About the role played by foreign masters in the creation of a regular female order (*bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* 比丘尼僧, *bhikṣuṇī-saṅgha*) we know more; it is a story that forms one of the most curious episodes in the history of early Chinese Buddhism.

The first Chinese nuns had entered the order in the first half of the fourth century, both in the north and in the south, and already around 350 CE a convent had been founded at Nanjing. However, the procedure of ordination was far from orthodox, nor could it be, for in the *Vinaya* it is stipulated that for that ritual the presence of two chapters is required, one consisting of monks, and one of at least ten fully ordained sisters. A compromise was found by invoking the example of Mahāprajāpatī, the Buddha’s aunt, and her retinue of Śākya women who had been admitted into the order by the Buddha himself; since they were the first nuns, they too had been ordained without any chapter of sisters. It was an argument of questionable validity; strictly speaking, the Chinese female order was still illegitimate.

It was only in the early fifth century, when the southern metropolitan area counted already several convents with hundreds of nuns, that the problem could be solved, thanks to the arrival, in 429 CE, of a small group of Singhalese nuns who had been brought to Canton by an Indian ship. Their number was not sufficient to form the required chapter of ten, so they were lodged in a convent in Nanjing, and Guṇavarman ordered them to learn Chinese. As a second step, Guṇavarman asked his friend Nandi, who was the captain of the ship, to provide him with a second group of nuns from Sri Lanka. So he did, and a few years later captain Nandi delivered at Canton eleven Singhalese nuns led by a certain sister Tiesaluo 鐵薩羅 (*Tissarā?*), who then managed to make their way to Nanjing. Guṇavarman had died in the meantime, but the project was successfully completed by his successor Saṅghavarman. In 434 CE he led the ceremony by which the first group of Chinese nuns was fully and regularly ordained.⁴⁷ It was a ritual act of supreme importance, because by this orthodox transmission of the doctrine the female order was directly connected, by an uninterrupted monastic lineage, with Mahāprajāpatī, and through her with the Buddha himself, and only such a continuous filiation could guarantee the authenticity of the female *saṅgha* in China. In this case the foreign input played

⁴⁷ T 2067 *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 ch. 2, 939c, 941a; ch. 3, 942b; GSZ ch. 3, 341b; 342b; CSZJJ ch. 14, 104c.

a decisive role.

IX. Concluding remarks

The *faits et gestes* of foreign monks in early medieval China have been presented in this paper as a subject in its own right; the full emphasis has been on their background, their religious education, their problems of acculturation and language training, and the various activities they engaged in. Occasionally some remarks have been made about the significance of their activities in the context of Chinese Buddhism as a whole, but in a provisional way, for much more research must be done. If any general conclusion can be drawn from this panoramic view, it could be that in most cases the role these foreign masters played in the actual formation of Chinese Buddhism appears to be less decisive and less substantial than we would assume it to be at first sight. With the exception of Kumārajīva and of a few thoroughly sinicized masters, the term "missionary" can hardly be applied to them: they have very little in common with their Christian counterparts of more than a millennium later, the Jesuit missionaries working in China in late Ming and early Qing times. Unlike the foreign Buddhist masters, these foreign Christians controlled the whole process, from the translation of texts to their orthodox interpretation and Confucian adaptation, whereas with a few exceptions the foreign Buddhist monks were involved only in the first stage, the furnishing of raw materials. All the rest was done by Chinese, and digested by Chinese minds. The difference is significant, for it may go part of the way toward explaining why the Jesuit mission failed, and Buddhism was to stay in China.

**EARLY PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS FROM
XINJIANG (SECOND TO FIFTH/SIXTH CENTURIES CE):**

PALEOGRAPHY, LITERARY EVIDENCE, AND THEIR RELATION TO BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

Lore Sander

Turfan Collection

Museum of Indian Art, Berlin

Most of the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscript remains unearthed in the oasis towns of Xinjiang are Buddhist.¹ They are generally studied from a philological perspective that attempts to identify the fragments and, if possible, to reconstruct a text and assign it to a certain Buddhist tradition. Of secondary interest are the exact age of the documents and what they are able to tell us about the chronological developments of the literary traditions involved. It is this historical approach—that is, arranging the Chinese Buddhist texts collected in the *Taishō* Tripiṭaka according to the date of their translations—through which Erik Zürcher² and others have gained important results for the history of Buddhism in China. To arrange the mostly fragmentary Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from the Silk Routes according to their approximate date, however, is less certain, and for the Prakritic remains it is not possible at all. Colophons, if preserved at all, are generally not dated.³ Therefore, the dating of the fragmentary manuscripts depends on paleographic analysis only. Equally essential for creating a survey of the literary production of the first six centuries of our era is the precise knowledge of the contents and the vernacular typical for each school. Since most of the remains are fragmentary, they require identification and, if possible, assignment to a certain Buddhist tradition. This work has only been done for a relatively small percentage of this vast, still-increasing material. Editions of more or less complete texts are rare. Reconstructing a text from the fragmentary material means not only identifying the fragments and comparing them with corresponding translations of the complete text into the Tibetan or Chinese, but also collating the fragments scattered in different collections. Mindful of the uncertainties of such a historical approach, I will try to show some literary tendencies revealed by the early

¹ Since the initial publication of this article in 1993, a sizeable number of manuscripts have been discovered and important research contributions have appeared. In making the necessary revisions I am grateful for the critical input of Professors Fumio Enomoto and Dieter Schlingloff.

² Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959).

³ Lore Sander, “Auftraggeber, Schreiber und Scheibeigenheiten im Spiegel khotansakischer Handschriften in formaler Brāhmī,” *Studia Indogermanica et Slavica*, Festgabe für Werner Thomas zum 65. Geburtstag, hrsg. von Peter Kosta unter Mitarbeit von Gabriele Lerch und Peter Olivier, *Specimina Philologiae Slavicae*, ed. Olexa Horbatsch, Gerd Freidhof and Peter Kosta, Supplementband 26 (München: Otto Sagner, 1988), 534.

Prakrit and Sanskrit manuscripts found in the Tarim Basin.

For Central Asian Buddhist communities the Indian languages served as *lingua sacra*, as Latin did in the European Middle Ages. Remains of Sanskrit manuscripts are present at all sites around the Tarim Basin. They are written in various types of the Indian Brāhmī script.⁴ The editions of Buddhist Sanskrit texts from Xinjiang clearly show that the texts underwent, seldom enough, only minor changes within a given school.⁵ They are canonical in the strongest sense of the word. Therefore fragmentary manuscripts of the same Buddhist text from different times and different regions belonging to the same tradition can be used to construct an integrated text. The practice of copying scriptures, which was regarded as a source of religious merit, greatly aided the preservation of certain texts. Despite the wide distribution of Sanskrit manuscripts, the materials that can be used for literary analysis are rare, especially for the first six centuries of our era; and, what is surprising and as yet unexplained, no early Sanskrit manuscript has been unearthed in the area of Turfan. Therefore this area is excluded from consideration in this paper.

Little systematic work has been done on the various collections of manuscript remains that have been dispersed throughout the world.⁶ To my knowledge, only the Berlin collection has been studied systematically for decades: the fragments have been identified, catalogued, and published, and the lexical items of these texts have been culled into a dictionary—still in progress—of Sarvāstivādin texts.⁷ These efforts were initiated by Ernst Waldschmidt and have been successfully continued by Heinz Bechert of the University of Göttingen. For this reason the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Berlin collection, all written in varieties of Indian and

⁴ See Lore Sander, *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, ed. W. Voigt, Supplementband 8 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968). Examples of the different Brāhmī types are published in Lore Sander, “Brāhmī Scripts on the Eastern Silk Roads,” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 11/12 (1986): 159–192; and Lore Sander, “Remarks on the Formal Brāhmī of Gilgit, Bāmiyān, and Khotan, with an Appendix of Selected Inscriptions from Thor North (Pakistan),” *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Reports and Studies*, ed. Karl Jettmar, vol. 1: *Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley: Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway*, Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences, Research Unit (Mainz: von Zabern, 1989), plates 196–215. For literary analysis I have used only publications with facsimile reproductions or references to the dates of the relevant manuscripts.

⁵ See notes 66 and 100.

⁶ A very helpful guide through the scattered publications on manuscripts from different collections was recently published by Akira Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections, Baudhasaṃskṛtabbāṣābastalikhitapustakālayāḥ, A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology*, Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica, Pamphlet No. 2 (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992).

⁷ *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, hrsg. von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen unter der Leitung von Heinz Bechert, 1.–9. Lieferung, (the vowels) a - auṣadhi (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972–1994). Fourteen fascicles of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* have now been published, with the fourteenth (*trayo-daṣika/dēṣāntaka*) appearing in 2001.

North Turkestan Brāhmī types, are the most reliable source for my observations. Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille have made available a survey of the contents of those manuscripts from the Hoernle collection of the British Library originating from the Northern Route,⁸ which reveals that the contents of the fragments do not differ from what was already known from the Berlin finds. Sometimes it is helpful for supplementing the fragmentary texts. The same applies to the manuscripts from the French collection published by Bernard Pauly between 1957 and 1965.⁹

In the period following the first published version of this article, our knowledge of Buddhist literature written in the Kharoṣṭhī script has increased considerably. Many, generally fragmentary, manuscripts have appeared and continue to appear from Afghanistan. Although they have flooded the art market, these manuscripts have made possible the intensive study of Buddhist texts. Manuscript remains from Central Asia are housed in different public institutions, mainly the British Library, and private collections, such as the Senior Collection, the Martin Schøyen Collection, and the Hirayama Collection. The edition of most of the newly discovered manuscripts lies in the expert hands of Richard Salomon and the scholars and students around him, either appearing or to appear in the series “Gandharan Buddhist Texts” (GBT). The earliest of these manuscripts are the British Library scrolls,¹⁰ some of which date back to the pre-Kuṣāṇa period (first century CE). They were placed into a pot with an inscription saying that they were donations of the Dharmaguptakas.¹¹ Most of the new manuscripts, however, date into the second to third centuries.¹² Thanks to the intensive paleographical studies of Andrew Glass,¹³ the dating of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts by paleographical means is now quite certain. The new material clarifies many questions

⁸ Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Klaus Wille, “Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, II),” *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen* 2. Folge, ed. Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Klaus Wille, Claus Vogel, and Günter Grönbold (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 10–63.

⁹ Bernard Pauly, “Fragments Sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot),” *Journal Asiatique* 245 (1957): 281–307; 247 (1959): 203–249; 248 (1960): 213–258 and 509–538; 249 (1961): 333–410; 250 (1962): 593–612; 252 (1964): 197–217; and 253 (1965): 83–121.

¹⁰ Richard Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts from Gandhara: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments* (London: The British Library and Seattle: Washington Press, 1999).

¹¹ Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts*, 175 and 214–217.

¹² Richard Salomon, “Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale de France” *Bulletin d’études Indiennes* 16 (1998): 150.

¹³ Andrew Glass, *A Preliminary Study of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Paleography*, unpubl. MA thesis. Seattle: University of Washington, Department of Asian Languages and Literature, 2000.

concerning the transmission of Buddhism into China, and it affirms the very important role played by the Dharmaguptakas before the advent of the Sarvāstivādins on the Northern Silk Route.¹⁴

Even though there are only a limited number of early Sanskrit manuscripts, there are even fewer Prakrit texts written in the Kharoṣṭhī script. These latter are predominantly preserved in documents from the Southern Route, mainly from Niya, Endere, and Loulan, and occasionally from Dunhuang,¹⁵ with most of them coming from locations within the old Shanshan kingdom. But the influence of the Prakrit-Kharoṣṭhī tradition extended all the way to the Chinese capital Chang’an. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents dating from the first four centuries of our era, the following Buddhist schools are mentioned: the Kāśyapīyas (either a sub-sect of the Sarvāstivādins or an independent Sthaviravādin group, depending on the source¹⁶), the Dharmaguptakas, and the Mahāsaṅghikas.¹⁷ Due to the differences of language and phraseology in the scarce remains of canonical texts, the Kharoṣṭhī tradition was generally ascribed to the Dharmaguptakas.¹⁸ H. W. Bailey,¹⁹ on the basis of earlier work by Burrow,²⁰ named the Prakrit of these documents “Gāndhārī” after its origin in ancient Gandhāra, centering on

¹⁴ Cf. Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts*, 167f.

¹⁵ A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Part I: *Text of Inscriptions Discovered at the Niya Site, 1901* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), and Part II: *Text of Inscriptions Discovered at Niya, Endere, and Lou-lan Sites, 1906–07* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927); T. Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1940).

¹⁶ In a private communication Fumio Enomoto has criticized my previous inclination to refer to the Kāśyapīyas as a sub-sect of the Sarvāstivādins, rightly pointing out that assertions of school affiliation differ according to sectarian sources. Hence, even though Lamotte (*Histoire*, 579 and 586f) groups the Kāśyapīyas under the Sarvāstivādins, in the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* they are listed as an independent Sthaviravādin group. This identification differs only in the Kashmirian list of the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā*, which is no doubt significant for the region in question. (Cf. also André Bareau, *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Publications de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient 38 [Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1955], 16 (Theravāda), 17 (Sammātiya and “La tradition cachemirien”), and 18 (Sarvāstivāda).

¹⁷ Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien, des origines à l’ère Śaka*, Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 14 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1958), 579. The Mahāsaṅghikas are mentioned on three potsherds from Termez published by V. V. Vertogradova, *Indiiskaja Epigrafika iz Kara-Tepe va starom Termeze, Programy deshifrovki i interpretatsii* (Moscow: Izdatelskaja firma “Vostoschnaja literatura” RAN, 1995): 51, no. 2; 89, no. 63; and 125, no. 14.

¹⁸ The recent finds of first-century birchbark scrolls from Afghanistan affirms the suggestion. Cf. Richard Salomon, “A Preliminary Survey of Some Early Buddhist Manuscripts Recently Acquired by the British Library,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 2 (1997): 353–358.

¹⁹ Harold W. Bailey, “Gāndhārī,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1946): 764–797.

²⁰ T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge 1937).

Taxila. This may be the region from which missionaries were initially dispatched to the oasis towns around the Tarim Basin. Its geographical coverage is shown by the finds of the Russian expeditions at Kara Tepe and other sites near the border of Afghanistan,²¹ the recent finds of rock graffiti from the Upper Indus Valley.²² Because little paleographic work has been done on the Kharoṣṭhī documents,²³ the dating of this material is even more tentative than that of the Brāhmī documents. The most prominent manuscript of this tradition is the Gāndhārī Dharmapada²⁴ which was tentatively dated by Brough to the time of Kaniṣka I. It is supposed to originate from Khotan, an assumption which gets linguistic support from later Khotanese manuscripts which show in their loan words different strata of linguistic influences, the most prominent of these being Sanskrit and Gāndhārī.²⁵

But Gāndhārī seems not to have been the only language of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, and the oasis towns of the Southern Route not the only places where this language flourished. Some palm-leaf fragments from the Pelliot Collection, probably originating from Subaṣi and Khitai Bazar, near Kucha, have been published recently by Richard Salomon.²⁶ They supplement the rare finds of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts and documents in the Kucha oasis. Even though these fragments are so small that very little can be said about their contents and nothing about school affiliation, they are nevertheless of linguistic interest because they show the different stages of Sanskritization. For paleographical reasons they are dated into the second to third

²¹ See note 17. See also *inter alia* Boris J. Stavisky, “The Fate of Buddhism in Middle Asia—in the light of archaeological data—,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993/1994): 113–142.

²² E.g., Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Chilas, the City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)* (Islamabad: A. H. Dani, 1983); Karl Jettmar, ed., *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Reports and Studies*, vol. 1: *Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley*, Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences, Research Unit: Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway (Mainz: von Zabern, 1989); and Martin Bemmman and Ditte König, “Die Felsbildstation Oshibat,” Mit Beiträgen von Gérard Fussman, Oskar von Hinüber und Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans*, Bd. 1 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1994).

²³ See Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Indian Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 251–272. See also the remarks of Gérard Fussman in his articles on different Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 61 (1974): 1–66; 67 (1980): 45–58; 71 (1982): 1–46; 74 (1985): 29–45; and 75 (1986): 1–14. For India see for example Charu Chandra Das Gupta, *The Development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1958).

²⁴ John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London Oriental Series, vol. 7 (London, 1962).

²⁵ E.g., Harold W. Bailey, “Gāndhārī” (cited above, n. 12), and Dieter Weber, “Sprachliches aus Achämenidischer Zeit in Zentralasien,” *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, besorgt von Heidemarie Koch und D. N. Mackenzie, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Ergänzungsband* 10 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983), 91–100.

²⁶ Richard Salomon, “Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale de France” *Bulletin d'études Indiennes* 16 (1998): 123–160.

centuries CE.

It was the late Franz Bernhard who drew attention to a Kharoṣṭhī-Prakrit tradition on the Northern Silk Route, attested in documents from Qizil and from Toyoq (a site in the Turfan oasis), which he believed to have existed until the seventh century CE.²⁷ The Kharoṣṭhī documents occur side by side with those written in Brāhmī. He mentions bilingual inscriptions from Subaši Längär, a place near Qizil, where Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions were found together with seventh-century Tokharian inscriptions in Brāhmī. Whether these inscriptions are actually bilingual is not at all certain. A recent publication by Georges Pinault²⁸ shows that Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions were incised or written side by side with Brāhmī graffiti in Tokharian B,²⁹ the language of Kucha, but only the Brāhmī inscription in “North Turkestan Brāhmī, type a” can be dated with some certainty to the seventh century at the earliest.³⁰ The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions have been read only tentatively by Pinault. Bernhard referred also to wooden Kharoṣṭhī documents found by the second German expedition, which are still awaiting publication.³¹ On one of the documents Brāhmī notices are written in Tokharian B (expedition photo: Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin B 1825), which suggests a seventh-century date. The outer appearance of the wooden documents does not differ from caravan passports and other official documents already known. Furthermore, Bernhard mentions “a sheet of handwriting in *poṭhi*-form” from Toyoq near Turfan, which “is written in a kind of

²⁷ Franz Bernhard, “Gāndhārī and the Buddhist Mission in Central Asia,” *Añjali: Papers on Indology and Buddhism: A Felicitation Volume Presented to Oliver Hector de Alwis Wijesekera* (Peradeniya: University of Ceylon, 1970), 55–62.

²⁸ Georges Pinault, “Épigraphie koutchéenne,” *Sites divers de la région de Koutcha, Mission Paul Pelliot, Documents conservés au Musée Guimet et à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Documents Archéologiques VIII (Paris: Collège de France: 1987): 59–196.

²⁹ The “bilingual” inscription in Gāndhārī and “West-Tokharian” is mentioned by Bernhard, “Gāndhārī,” p. 56, note 2. Its Brāhmī-Tokharian part can be dated on paleographic grounds to the seventh century CE. It has been published by Georges Pinault, “Épigraphie,” the Brāhmī portion on p. 138f. (G-Su 3) and the Kharoṣṭhī on p. 157f. (G-Su 43) based on photographs made by Paul Pelliot, who visited Subaši Längär before the Germans. Albert von Le Coq (*Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan, Berichte und Abenteuer der 4. Deutschen Turfanexpedition* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich’sche Buchhandlung], p. 83, Plate 17) had already published a photo of the inscriptions in 1928. He describes the discovery site as being the back wall of a cave temple to the north of the village. The original inscription is now in the possession of the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin (Inv.-Nr. III 357). The contents of both inscriptions are unclear. Until now it has remained doubtful whether the inscriptions are indeed bilingual, as Bernhard maintained. Not much speaks in favor of his assumption.

³⁰ Lore Sander, *Paläographisches*, 46–47.

³¹ Another unpublished wooden Kharoṣṭhī document belongs to the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin (III 7389), one side of which is painted with a Buddha image. After the document was no longer used, it was painted with a Buddha image and served as a devotional tablet.

Indian writing otherwise completely unknown but similar to the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet.”³² The original has been lost, but recently I found photos of it among old negatives in the Museum of Indian Art (A 234, B 1940, 1928), together with remnants of two other folios from the same manuscript (B 1932). The number of the complete folio in *pustaka* shape is written at the right edge, with, in addition to the ductus of the script, shows that it was written from the right to the left. The diacritic above several letters points either towards Gāndhārī, as Professor Lin Meicun kindly informed me, or to a Tokharian dialect. Already in 1973 Bailey published photos of three tiny fragments of a biscriptual text from “Kuči,” some words of which are written in the same strange Kharoṣṭhī type and probably the same language as the remains from the German expedition;³³ the other contains fragments of Sanskrit words written in “North Turkestan Gupta Type,” which allows us to date the strange script to the fifth century.³⁴ The Kharoṣṭhī script seems to be influenced by the aforementioned type of Brāhmī, which is the same script named by Hoernle “Upright Gupta.” The upright, distinctive, and rather carefully written letters suggest a type of “Formal Kharoṣṭhī.” Formal scripts serve as book scripts and are generally used for writing sacred texts. They are set apart from the everyday cursive script of the Kharoṣṭhī documents and in most of the inscriptions.³⁵ This “Formal Kharoṣṭhī” is also present in one inscription from Qizil, probably from Site II, Cave 10 (B 1879).³⁶ If it is proved true that the scanty remains of manuscripts in “Formal Kharoṣṭhī” script contain a Buddhist text in a Tokharian dialect, these fragments will be the oldest documents handed down in this language.³⁷

³² Bernhard, “Gāndhārī,” 57.

³³ H. W. Bailey, “Taklamakan Miscellany,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1973): 224–227, Plates III and IV.

³⁴ Lore Sander, “Brāhmī Scripts,” 169ff.

³⁵ Pinault (“Épigraphie,” 158f.) has published another Kharoṣṭhī graffiti from Subaši (G-Su 44; Pl. LXIVf.). He makes the following observation about the script: “Most of the signs can be easily interpreted as Kharoṣṭhī akṣaras, and the system of vocalization also seems to be that of Kharoṣṭhī. But other signs of the inscription seem not to appear among any Kharoṣṭhī alphabet known so far, and they neither offer any analogy to forms of Kharoṣṭhī akṣaras nor to another Indian script. Four of them give a vague impression of sharing characteristics with certain Brāhmī scripts. There is perhaps a trace of influence or a characteristic technique due to a certain type of *kalam*.” The script of this inscription resembles that of the poṭhi leaves from the Berlin collection and the fragments from the British collection published in Bailey, “Taklamakan.”

³⁶ Albert Grünwedel mentions an inscription which may be the one on Plate 4, in *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan, Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten von 1906 bis 1907 bei Kuča, Qarašabr und in der Oase Turfan* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), 147.

³⁷ Professor Lin Meicun has informed me about the first results of the decipherment and interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Northern Silk Route. According to him the language of the documents appears to be a “hybrid” Tokharian with strong links to Gāndhārī.

Texts of the Dharmaguptakas were not written exclusively in the Kharoṣṭhī script. Ernst Waldschmidt was the first to identify two fragments from Sanskrit manuscripts written in the Brāhmī script as belonging to the Dharmaguptaka tradition. One probably belonged to a *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa* manuscript³⁸ of the sixth century. It is written in the “Early Turkestan Brāhmī,” and it originates most likely from Qizil. The terminology and the sequence of the rules point to the Dharmaguptaka school.³⁹ The second is a single folio from a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript containing the Dharmaguptaka version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.⁴⁰ It was found at Murtuq in the Turfan oasis. With due caution because of the scantiness of the material, one may say at least that these two fragmentary manuscripts indicate that the (perhaps small) Dharmaguptaka communities on the Northern Silk Route followed the general trend of Sanskritization and acceptance of Brāhmī as the sacred script under the influence of the Sarvāstivādins. The material shows how unreliable is the simple identification of the Kharoṣṭhī script with the Gāndhārī language and the Dharmaguptaka school.⁴¹ Dharmaguptaka communities were not only present on the Southern Route but also in the oasis of Kucha, perhaps even before the Sarvāstivādins began their successful missions at the time of Kaniṣka I. Traces of this school show that they survived in small communities on the Northern Route up to the seventh century and in the Turfan oasis even longer.

The early literary tradition of the Sarvāstivāda school is best represented by Sanskrit manuscripts from the Northern Silk Route. The early manuscripts are written in various types of Brāhmī script dating from the second to the sixth centuries. Some remains from this period also exist from the Southern Route, mainly from the centers of the ancient Shanshan

³⁸ Ernst Waldschmidt; Wolfgang Voigt, ed., *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Part 1, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 10 no. 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1965), catalogue no. 656. Meanwhile eight volumes of Waldschmidt’s *Sanskrithandschriften* have appeared; see note 54.

³⁹ See Oskar von Hinüber, “Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien,” *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Part 1, ed. Heinz Bechert, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 149 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 59.

⁴⁰ Ernst Waldschmidt, “Drei Fragmente buddhistischer Sūtras aus den Turfanfunden,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Part 1, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jg. 1968 (1968), 3–16; repr. in Heinz Bechert and Petra Kieffer-Pülz, eds., *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, Glasenapp-Stiftung 29 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1989), 232–245. Cf. also Mark Allon and Richard Salomon, “Kharoṣṭhī Fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in the Schøyen Collection.” In Jens Braarvig, ed., *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 1, Buddhist Manuscripts 1* (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2000): 244–273.

⁴¹ See Oskar von Hinüber, “Sanskrit und Gāndhārī in Zentralasien,” in Klaus Rührborn and Wolfgang Veenker, eds., *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposiums vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 1983), 27–34.

kingdom.⁴² The material is scarce compared with that dating from the seventh century onwards. The remnants from the Northern Silk Route are confined to the northwestern oases, Kucha and Qarašahr, most of them coming from the library and the annexes of the “Red Dome Cave” (nos. 66 and 67 in the Chinese numbering) at Qizil. They date back to the time of Kaniška I, whose dating is still an open question.⁴³ No colophon is preserved in the fragments of this period, and it is not likely that a date was given in the early colophons.⁴⁴ The rare colophons preserved are very brief, giving only the title and author’s name. Therefore, paleography is the only means to bring the early manuscripts into a chronological order, that is, by comparing them with dated inscriptions from India. Fortunately, Indian Brāhmī underwent several changes from its beginning in the third century BCE up to the fifth century CE, which enable us to follow the Central Asian developments. The Brāhmī script of the earliest manuscripts is very close to inscriptions from Mathurā and Kauśāmbī of the second-third centuries. Some of them show an amalgamation of elements of these two Kushan varieties, as the much discussed Mathurā inscription of the fourteenth year of the “great king and son of the gods” Kaniška.⁴⁵ The eastern ha 𑖦, the looped sa 𑖦, and the Gupta ma 𑖦 are written in the same manner as in the Kauśāmbī inscriptions. The script of the northwestern provinces of India, represented by manuscripts from Bāmiyān and graffiti from the Upper Indus Valley, is basically the Brāhmī of Mathurā with some minor elements from the eastern or Kauśāmbī type of the Kushan Brāhmī.⁴⁶ But it also has its own features: The special form of ma 𑖦, bent

⁴² Richard Salomon and Collett Cox, “Two New Fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 11, no. 1 (1988): 141–153. See note 59 for another edition of one of these fragments. See also Harry Falk, “The *yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 121–136.

⁴³ The recently published Bactrian inscription of Kaniška I sheds light on the early chronology of the Kushan kings. See Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, “A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4 (1996): 75–142.

⁴⁴ See my remarks on early colophons in “Auftraggeber,” p. 534.

⁴⁵ Heinrich Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*, ed. Klaus Janert, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 47 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), §81. For one recently published example, see also Herbert Härtel, “A Remarkable Inscribed Sculpture from Mathura,” *Indian Art and Connoisseurship, Essays in Honour of Douglas Barrett*, ed. John Guy (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts in association with Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd., 1995), 33–43, submitted for publication in 1986. The same inscription was published by Gérard Fussman in “Documents épigraphiques kouchans (V), Buddha et bodhisattva dans l’art de Mathura: Deux Bodhisattva inscrits de l’an 4 et l’an 8,” *Bulletin de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient* 77 (1988): 5–25.

⁴⁶ Lore Sander, “Einige neue Aspekte zur Entwicklung der Brāhmī in Gilgit und Bamiyan (ca. 2.–7. Jh. n. Chr.),” in Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, eds., *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 16 (Wiesbaden; Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), 113–124.

twice on the left side, is only present in this area. The development of the Brāhmī from the second to the fifth-sixth centuries makes it possible to date the otherwise undated material and to assign slightly differing varieties to their appropriate regions.

Another factor is the writing material itself. Most of the early manuscripts (up the fifth century) are written on palm-leaves; only rarely are they written on leather, birchbark, or silk. None of these materials are indigenous to the Tarim Basin, but are typical of India, Kashmir, Greece, and China, respectively. This argues in favor of the importation of the earliest manuscripts. But rare poplar-wood manuscripts, like the famous late Kushan *Udānavarga* from Subaši Längär now in the French collection, indicate that Kushan Brāhmī was also written in Central Asia itself during the second and third centuries.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it is not at all certain that all the palm-leaf manuscripts were brought by pious monks from the Indian subcontinent to Central Asia, as is often assumed. Palimpsests show that this rare material was re-used; why should this not be the case in the region where the manuscripts were kept?

The selection of texts preserved among Kushan period remains is astonishing. Most of them contain Abhidharma treatises and poetic works of Aśvaghoṣa and, in the somewhat later manuscripts, of Mātṛceṭa. The only semi-canonical work present from these early times is the *Udānavarga*. The oldest fragmentary manuscript from Kucha contains fragments of three dramas of Aśvaghoṣa.⁴⁸ One of them is shown to be the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* by a colophon from a later fourth-century palm-leaf manuscript written in “Early Turkestan Brāhmī,” which was probably added by someone who revised the older manuscript.⁴⁹ The better-preserved older manuscript dates back to the time of Kaniška I or Huviška, which suggests it was written down only a little later than the lifetime of the famous poet himself. As far as one can judge from the paucity of manuscripts preserved from the second and third centuries, the missionaries carried in their baggage texts that might appeal to the minds and hearts of the educated people,

⁴⁷ See F. W. Thomas, “Brāhmī Script in Central-Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts,” *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller zum 65. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954), 677: “So far, therefore, as appears from the materials at present available for scrutiny, any currency of Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī in Chinese Turkestan seems to be unattested, though among the Buddhist communities the script can hardly have been quite unknown.” This was stated despite the fact that the first edition of the *Udānavarga* manuscript written on poplar wood had already been published by N. P. Chakravarti in *L’Udānavarga sanskrit* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1930); the text has been re-edited by Hideaki Nakatani in *Udānavarga de Subaši*, 2 vols. (texts and facsimiles), Publications de l’Institut de Civilisation Indienne, série in 8°, fasc. 53 and 54 (Paris: Boccard, 1987).

⁴⁸ Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, Kleinere Sanskrittexte*, vol. 1; repr. in Herbert Härtel, ed., *Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie* 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979).

⁴⁹ Heinrich Lüders, “Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa,” *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, 17 (Berlin 1911), 388–411; repr. in *Philologica Indica, Ausgewählte kleine Schriften von Heinrich Lüders, Festgabe zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1940), 190–213.

mainly the nobility. It is their then-modern philosophy, intentionally named Abhidharma, the “superior Law,”⁵⁰ which was meant to fascinate intellectuals. To win the people’s hearts they used the works of their most famous and still-recent poet Āśvaghoṣa. The older Sūtra and Vinaya texts, which were mainly of interest to the members of the Buddhist order, were probably known by heart. Such treatises do not occur among the earliest manuscripts, not even the famous (and popular) sūtra of the last days of the Buddha, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, part of the *Ṣaṭsūtraka* (“Six Sūtras”) section of the *Dīrghāgama*, which was especially valued by the Sarvāstivādins. The complete absence of canonical sūtra and vinaya texts may have its reason in the Indian *bhāṇaka* tradition.⁵¹ The canonical texts were known by heart and taught by specialists in the different sections. This may have been also the common practice in Kucha. It is known that Kumārajīva was trained in reciting Abhidharma in his younger years during his studies in Kashgar, before he converted to the Mahāyāna under the influence of a teacher from Yarkand.⁵² We also know how difficult it was for Faxian⁵³ to acquire copies of Vinaya texts in India, for the texts were only handed down by recitation.⁵⁴ Despite the uncertainties about the historical core of the accounts of Sarvāstivāda council held in Kashmir at the time of Kaniṣka I in order to codify their Abhidharma, the contents of the earliest Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts support its historicity. It is rather probable that, as a result of this council, monks were sent out as missionaries. As in China, they made their appeal first

⁵⁰ For the meaning of “Abhidharma” see Oskar von Hinüber, “Vinaya und Abhidhamma,” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 19, *Festschrift Georg Buddruss* (1994): 109–122.

⁵¹ Lore Sander, “The earliest manuscripts from Central Asia and the Sarvāstivāda Mission,” in Ronald E. Emmerick and Dieter Weber, eds., *Corolla Iranica, Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. David Neil MacKenzie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), 133–150.

⁵² Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr.*, 2 vols., Asiatische Forschungen 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), 176; and David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors* (London: Serindia Publications, 1987), 347.

⁵³ Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, (London: Trübner & Co., 1884; repr. Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1969), lxx.

⁵⁴ In my article “The earliest manuscripts” I listed the manuscript remains from the second to the fifth century CE known so far. One fragment escaped me. It is a small palm-leaf fragment published by HUANG Wenbi 黃文弼, *Talimu pendi kaogu ji* 塔里木盆地考古記 [Archeological Report on the Tarim Basin] (Peking: Kexue chubanshe 科學出版社, 1958), 75, Pl. 77, no. 13. See also Ernst Waldschmidt, “Chinesische Forschungen in Sin-Kiang (Chinesisch-Turkistan),” *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 54, nos. 5–6 (1959): 239 n. 1. Another fragment was recently published in Klaus Wille, *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Part 7, Die Katalognummern 1600–1799, ed. Heinz Bechert, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, ed. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, X.7 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1995), catalogue no. 1600. This is a palm-leaf manuscript from Tumšūq containing an unidentified philosophical text. It is written in the late Gupta type of the fifth century (Sander, *Paläographisches*, alphabet k).

to the upper classes.⁵⁵ The mission was quite successful in Kucha, where the Sarvāstivādins gained such a stronghold that they even resisted the attraction of the Mayāyāna ideas that predominated in Khotan. This conservatism is all the more astonishing, because the followers of Mahāyāna became dominant in philosophical questions, which formerly had been a domain of the Sarvāstivādins, who themselves did much to pave the way for it. Citing the life of Xuanzang, Demiéville⁵⁶ reports a discussion with the local patriarch Mokṣagupta of Kucha in 630 in which this patriarch refuted the ideas of the *Yogacārabhūmi* of Asaṅga as being heretical, and that the true words of the Buddha are only preserved in the *Vibhāṣā*.⁵⁷ Kucha remained an orthodox center of the Sarvāstivādins. They believed in the philosophy taught in their Abhidharma, although this does not mean that they did not tolerate a minority of followers of Mahāyāna living in the same *nikāya*,⁵⁸ who kept the discussion alive.⁵⁹

The first paper manuscripts cannot be dated earlier than the fifth century CE. They reveal a larger variety of subjects than the earlier manuscripts. It is probable that the Chinese writing tradition replaced the Indian oral one, and that therefore the demand for paper increased. This development may have supported the idea of accumulating merit by copying sacred texts. However, the cheaper paper, which seems to have been produced in the oasis towns themselves,⁶⁰ paved the way for an immense literary productivity. In most cases the manuscripts were written by monks living in the oasis towns, mainly in Kucha, Qarašahr, and Khotan. The copying and writing down of those sacred texts formerly known by heart goes hand-in-hand with their translation into local languages. The educated monks may have learned to write with the help of alphabet charts known from India, the so-called *siddham* (because they began with this auspicious word) or *dvādaśākṣarī* (because they consisted of alphabets arranged according to the twelve full vowels [i.e., not including the semivowels] of the Indian alphabet). In this context it is surprising that the oldest *akṣara* charts from Xinjiang

⁵⁵ As Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, observed for China.

⁵⁶ Paul Demiéville, “Un Fragment sanskrit de l’Abhidharma des Sarvāstivādin,” *Journal Asiatique* 249 (1961): 463.

⁵⁷ See also Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 309.

⁵⁸ See note 118.

⁵⁹ One of the rare Mahāyāna texts from Qizil is, according to its script, a product of the Southern Route, probably originating from Khotan. See *Sanskrithandschriften* 1, catalogue no. 374. The only Mahāyāna text from Qizil known so far is written in the “North Turkestan Brāhmī, Type a,” dating from the seventh century. It deals with the *daśabhūmi* or ten stages in the career of the bodhisattva. See *Sanskrithandschriften* 3, catalogue no. 884.

⁶⁰ In order to prepare the quite absorbent Chinese paper for writing with a pen, they used the same method of plastering the surface as was used for the basis of wall-paintings.

only date from the seventh century on, i.e., from the same time when Xuanzang wrote about this practice: “To educate and encourage the young, they are first taught to study the book of twelve chapters.”⁶¹ From letters preserved in Tokharian B we can assume that the Tokharian intelligentsia knew how to read and write as well as those of Khotan. In the comparably early Khotanese composite work, the *Book of Zambasta*,⁶² some colophons and additional remarks of readers⁶³ show that the young monks were trained in these arts. The absence of early *akṣara* charts may have its causes in the prevailing oral tradition—they may have only been introduced when writing became a more general practice.⁶⁴

The remains of the oldest paper manuscripts have been found in Kucha and Šorčuq. They are written in the “Turkestan Gupta Type” (Type III, in *Sanskrithandschriften*). Among them are Vinaya texts, such as the *Prātimokṣa*⁶⁵ and *Karmavācanā*, and for the first time some composite manuscripts with sūtra texts from the *Dīrghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, and *Samyuktāgama*,⁶⁶ all belonging to the canon of the Sarvāstivādins. These texts were handed down nearly unchanged from about the fifth century until the tenth century or even later,⁶⁷ a fact which was promoted by the practice of copying. Among these sūtra texts, the oldest man-

⁶¹ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, 78. See also W. Couvreur, “Koetjische Schrifttabellen in Slanting Gupta,” *Orientalia Gandensia* 2 (1965): 111–137.

⁶² R. E. Emmerick, ed. and trans., *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

⁶³ Sander, “Auftraggeber,” 533–549.

⁶⁴ This practice coincides with the Chinese conquest of Kucha in 658 CE.

⁶⁵ It is a surprising and not yet explained fact that among Vinaya literature only *Prātimokṣa* manuscripts survived in the western oases, while *Vibhaṅga* manuscripts are known only from sites around Turfan.

⁶⁶ The fragmentary state of preservation often does not allow an exact comparison of versions preserved in the earlier and later manuscripts. In some cases there are some slight differences; in the *Āṭanāṭika-sūtra*, for example, the early fifth-century manuscript edited by Hoffmann reads *api kumārakaṁ api kumārikāṁ ekarathaṁ kṛtvā vicaranti diśo diśaṁ* “a one-wheel car has been made for the Kumāras and Kumārikās... they roam through the regions,” while the later manuscript reads *...ekadburam kṛtvā anuyanti diśo diśaṁ* “a car with one pole has been made... they go through the regions”; see Helmut Hoffmann, *Bruchstücke des Āṭanāṭikasūtra aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte*, vol. 5; repr. in Herbert Härtel, ed., *Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie*, Band 3 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987), 67; see also Lore Sander, “Nachträge zu Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte III–V,” in Helmut Hoffman, *ibid.*, 196 note 13.

⁶⁷ It is not known for how long the Sarvāstivāda communities continued to exist in the Turfan oasis. The “Northern Turkestan Brāhmī” became standardized in the seventh century, after which the script of manuscripts found in the Northern Route sites varies but little. Therefore, from this time onwards paleography is no longer a reliable means for dating Brāhmī manuscripts.

uscript contains parts of the *Ṣaṣṣūtraka*.⁶⁸ These are introductory sūtras to the Sarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* which was not completely translated into the Chinese language.⁶⁹ Most if not all of the canonical sūtras were formerly compiled in composite manuscripts, the remains of which allow us to reconstruct the sequence of the sūtras. As Jens-Uwe Hartmann mentioned in a paper read at the “Deutschen Orientalistentag” in Munich in 1991, they reflect what one might call the “program” of this school. The sequence begins with three sūtras which are fundamental for the Abhidharma treatises of the school, the *Daśottara-sūtra*, *Saṅgīti-sūtra*, and the *Arthavistara-nāma-dharmaparyāya*. The other three are concerned with the Buddhas’ lives, beginning with the *Catuṣparīṣat-sūtra*, “the Sūtra of the Four Assemblies,” i.e., of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen, and which consequently deals with the founding of the Buddhist order. The next text is the *Mahāvādāna-sūtra*, the “Sūtra of Heroic Deeds,”⁷⁰ a work that praises the lives of the former Buddhas and in particular the complete life story of Vipāśyin, who exemplifies the Bodhisattva career. The last of the six sūtras, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, deals with the final days of the Buddha Śākyamuni. The *Ṣaṣṣūtrakas* reflect the double attitude toward salvation acknowledged by the Sarvāstivādins: first, the highest knowledge and wisdom as represented in the three introductory sūtras is that of the Abhidharma; and, second, the practice of moral life leading to salvation is exemplified by the lives of the historical Buddha and his predecessors.⁷¹ The position of the accounts of the Buddhas’ lives in the Sarvāstivāda canon at the beginning of the Sūtrapīṭaka differs from other traditional Buddhist schools, in-

⁶⁸ Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften*, vol. 1, no. 652. For a detailed analysis see Jens-Uwe Hartmann, “Fragmente aus dem Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādin,” *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen*, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, Beiheft 2 (1989), 37–67.

⁶⁹ Ernst Waldschmidt, *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3. Folge, Nr. 30 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1948), Part 2, 350, observed in his analysis of the different *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* versions that the text of the Sanskrit Sarvāstivāda sūtra is closest to the early translation of Bo Fazu 白法祖 (290–306 CE) and that of an unknown translator (317–420 CE).

⁷⁰ For the translations of *avadāna* see Ernst Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāvādānasūtra: Ein kanonischer Text über die sieben letzten Buddhas. Sanskrit, verglichen mit dem Pāli, nebst einer Analyse der in chinesischer Übersetzung überlieferten Parallelversionen, auf Grund von Turfan-Handschriften herausgegeben und bearbeitet*, Teil I: Einführung und Sanskrittext im handschriftlichen Befund. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Klassen für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1952, no. 8 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953), 3f. Cf. also *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 3. Lieferung 1981.

⁷¹ It is remarkable that many Qizil caves used for cult practice reveal in their paintings a similar attitude. The main hall is embellished with pictures of various preaching scenes, which may express the way of knowledge, while the barrel vaults are decorated with icons representing *avadānas*, showing the way to salvation. The large pictures in the circumambulatory area remind one of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha and the distribution of relics as described in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.

cluding the closely related Mūlasarvāstivāda and that of the Mahāsaṅghikas.⁷² In their canon, the life story of the Buddha is related at the beginning of the Vinaya (*Saṅghabhedā-vastu* and *Vinayaśūdraka-vastu*). The Vinaya is meant for monks and nuns and is not, as were the sūtras, also intended for use in delighting and/or converting lay followers, heretics, and gods. In this light it seems to be not unlikely that the Sarvāstivādins followed a missionary agenda by placing the accounts of the Buddhas’ lives at the beginning of their Sūtra section.

Among the recently published texts there are several belonging to the group of manuscripts under discussion. The second volume (with texts) from the Petrovskij collection, edited by M. I. Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaya and G. M. Bongard-Levin, has recently appeared. It contains some manuscripts which may be dated on paleographic grounds to the fifth-sixth centuries. One is a manuscript of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* which, according to the editors,⁷³ originates from Kucha and is written in “Schrifttypus IV,” that is, “Early Turkestan Brāhmī.” This assignment is incorrect. No Central Asian *-e* or *-ai*, which are the main indicators for this Brāhmī type, occur in the manuscript. Rather, they are characterized by a twist to the right, opposite to the ordinary style of the Indian signs. Since Hoernle’s first attempts to classify the Central Asian Brāhmī scripts, *-e* and *-ai* have marked the beginning of the shift toward the “Slanting Gupta” which I have renamed “North Turkestan Brāhmī.”⁷⁴ The manuscript of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* is, according to my terminology, written in the “Turkestan Gupta Type,” which may derive from a bit earlier in the fifth century. The script is very close to that of the early composite manuscript of the *Śaṣṭisūtrakas*.⁷⁵ It is a script similar to the ornate late Gupta alphabet labelled alphabet “k.”⁷⁶ Some other peculiarities of this manuscript raise the interests of a paleographer: The manuscript was written by three different hands, one of which is very cursive (see folio 27 of the edition) and close to the script in the colophons of the Gilgit manuscripts. It is not only the paleography that suggests the manuscript was written by a monk from ancient Kashmir, but also its contents. The story is part of the *Divyāvadāna*, a collection of legends from the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, and was translated into Chinese

⁷² See Lamotte, *Histoire*, 713–733.

⁷³ G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja [= Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya], *Pamyatniki indiiskoj pis’mennosti iz tsentral’noj Azii*, vol. 2, Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie, perevod i komentarii. Pamyatniki pis’mennosti vostoka, vol. 73, no. 2 (Moscow: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1992), 40.

⁷⁴ Sander, *Paläographisches*, 2–6.

⁷⁵ See also one folio from Charklik of a poem close to Mātṛceṭa’s *Prasādapratibodhbava*. It was independently published by R. Salomon and C. Cox (see note 42 above) and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, “Neue Aśvaghoṣa- und Mātṛceṭa-Fragmente aus Ostturkistan,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I, Philologisch-historische Klasse 2 (1988): 55–92.

⁷⁶ Sander, *Paläographisches*, 121–136.

by different translators, in different sections of the Chinese canon, and with different titles. The title *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* occurs first in the translation of Dharmarakṣa (265–316 CE; T 21.410f).⁷⁷ The main story, in typical *avadāna* form, tells of the former life of the son of the learned Cāṇḍāla chief Śārdūlakarṇa and the proud Brahmin Puṣkarasārin. Because the *avadāna* contains much astrological data, it can be regarded as connected with a group of scientific works often handed down in early manuscripts. Most of them were found at Qizil, e.g., the grammars *Kaumāralāta* and *Kātantra*, the book on metrics *Chandoviciti*⁷⁸ written on birchbark, synonyms of words composed in *ślokas*,⁷⁹ and also medical treatises.⁸⁰ These scientific texts show that the monasteries around Kucha were intellectual centers for all fields of Indian knowledge and culture.

Before reviewing the literary and paleographic evidence of the finds from the Southern Route, let me point out some of the typical features of Sanskrit literature found in the caves of the Šorčuq monastery near Qarašahr, the ancient kingdom of Agni, which was visited by Faxian and Xuanzang. The former states that the local residents “all belong to the Little Vehicle school of learning; their religious rules are very precise,”⁸¹ while the latter says they all believed in “the Little Vehicle of the Sarvāstivādins.”⁸² It is true that the mainstream of the literary heritage written in Sanskrit is the same as in Kucha. The oldest manuscripts were found in what the third German expedition called the “Manuscript Cave.” These include remains of an Abhidharma manuscript and Aśvaghoṣa’s *Saundarananda-kāvya*,⁸³ both of which date from the Kushan period.⁸⁴ Unlike Kucha, this site has also preserved remnants of *prajñāpāramitā* and other Mahāyāna texts, all written on paper. One manuscript of the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* is written in the “Early Turkestan Brāhmī” that dates back to the fifth-sixth

⁷⁷ See Willy Zinkgräf; M. Walleser, ed., *Vom Divyāvaedāna zur Avadāna-Kalpalatā, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte eines Avadāna*, Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus 21 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1940), 44–51.

⁷⁸ Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften* 1, catalogue nos. 22, 64, and 654. See the introduction by Dieter Schlingloff, *Chandoviciti, Texte zur Sanskritmetrik*, Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 5, ed. Ernst Waldschmidt, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung 36 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958).

⁷⁹ Waldschmidt; Heinz Bechert and Klaus Wille, eds., *Sanskrithandschriften* 6 (1989), catalogue no. 1221.

⁸⁰ Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften* 3, catalogue nos. 827–831.

⁸¹ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, xxv.

⁸² Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, 19.

⁸³ Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften* 3, catalogue nos. 920 and 921. Identified by Hartmann, “Neue Aśvaghoṣa und Mātṛceṭa-Fragmente,” 66–73.

⁸⁴ For further evidence see the appendix to Sander, “The earliest manuscripts.”

centuries,⁸⁵ the same type of script as that used for the earliest texts from Khotan. Also, the large size of the folios of this *Aṣṭadaśa* is mainly attested in manuscripts from the Southern Route, being a development midway toward the huge Tibetan *pustakas*. These folios are not the only remains suggesting a Khotanese origin. The presence of Khotanese monks is indicated by one folio of the most prominent Khotanese book, named by Emmerick, following Bailey,⁸⁶ according to the name of its owner as the *Book of Zambasta*.⁸⁷ A single folio of this typical Khotanese compilation of early Mahāyāna texts was found in the “Town Cave.”⁸⁸ It is the only remnant of any Khotanese book from the Northern Route known so far; it is also the oldest Khotanese remnant still extant. Its script is that sub-type of “Early Tūrkistan Brāhmī” that stands at the beginning of the development toward “South Tūrkistan Brāhmī.”⁸⁹ This folio is of the same age as the *Aṣṭadaśa* manuscript mentioned above. Contrary to the opinion of Hoernle, Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* are present, but they were used side-by-side with the traditional Indian vowel signs. Also, the script and large shape of the folios of the *Nidānasamyukta* manuscript from the *Samyuktāgama* of the Sarvāstivādins published by Tripāṭhī⁹⁰ show southern affiliations, and speak in favor of an influence of the Khotanese writing style on some of the manuscripts found at Šorčuq. Although the material is scanty, it points toward a cultural exchange between these two oases, which may have been facilitated by an ancient road along the rivulets of the Taklamakan desert from Qarašahr via Mazar Tagh to Khotan, a route probably used by Faxian.⁹¹

Finally, I cannot give more than a sketch of the earliest Sanskrit manuscripts published from sites along the Southern Route.⁹² Less work has been done on them than on those

⁸⁵ Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften* 3, catalogue nos. 933–934.

⁸⁶ See *inter alia* Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan, Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged*, StudiaPhilologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series 3 (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992), 39.

⁸⁷ Sten Konow, “Zwei Handschriftenblätter in der alten arischen Literatursprache aus Chinesisch-Turkistan,” *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1912 (1912): 1127–1139; R. E. Emmerick, *Zambasta*, 430, fragment 9.

⁸⁸ In conference discussions Werner Sundermann referred to Sogdian manuscripts found in the same cave.

⁸⁹ Sander, *Paläographisches*, 45, and “Brāhmī Scripts,” 167 (alphabet s).

⁹⁰ Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften* 1, catalogue no. 381. Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī, *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasamyukta*, Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VI, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung 56 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962).

⁹¹ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, xxv.

⁹² For the classification of the Brāhmī types of the southern route see Sander, “Brāhmī Scripts,” 167.

of the Northern Silk Route. The earliest palm-leaf and silk manuscripts have already been mentioned. All of them originate from cities in the old Shanshan kingdom. Their contents do not differ from those manuscripts found at Qizil, and that is not surprising because Faxian characterizes the people of Shanshan as having belief in the Little Vehicle.⁹³ “The laity and Śramaṇas of the country wholly practise the religion of India,” and they use Indian books and language. But unlike the learned Buddhists from Šorčuq, Faxian has a lower opinion about his brothers in faith: “Only some are refined and some coarse.” When he came to Khotan he praised the wealth of the city and reported that most of the priests belong to the same religion as the king, the Great Vehicle.⁹⁴ The same is reflected in the manuscripts found there in the Sanskrit and Khotanese languages. However—and this is a problem yet to be solved—based on paleographical evidence most of them are younger than Faxian. They cannot be dated earlier than the fifth, and more probably the sixth, century. All are paper manuscripts written in that type of “Early Turkestan Brāhmī” which preceded the “Early South Turkestan Brāhmī,” in which such famous manuscripts in the Old Khotanese language as the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* are written.⁹⁵ As already mentioned above with regard to the script of the folio of the *Book of Zambasta* found at Šorčuq, the Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* are also present in this Brāhmī type, which differs from Northern Route practice with its concurrent use of the traditional Indian signs. In the further development of southern Brāhmī, the Central Asian diacritical signs no longer occur. Other letters differing from those found in the manuscripts from the Northern Route, namely 𑖦 𑖧 𑖨, are the vowel signs A 𑖦 and E 𑖧 and the aspirated THA 𑖨.⁹⁶ The manuscript remains do not originate from the city of Khotan itself, where archeological work is not possible, but from the neighboring oasis of Chira-Domoko and its sites Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki, Khādaliq, and Dandan Ōiliq.⁹⁷ Some Sanskrit manuscripts were published in fascimiles and identified in brief descriptions by Pargiter in Stein’s expedition reports *Serindia* and *Innermost Asia*.⁹⁸ These include *prajñāpāramitā* texts, such as the *Vajracchedikā* from Dandan Ōiliq (D.III), and early Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (F.XII.7)

⁹³ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, xxivf.

⁹⁴ Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, xxv–xxvii.

⁹⁵ R. E. Emmerick, *The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*, London Oriental Series 23 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

⁹⁶ Sander, *Paläographisches*, 45 (alphabets n and s).

⁹⁷ Thomas, “Brāhmī Script,” 678–681.

⁹⁸ See the appendices to Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: A Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran*, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 1017–1025, and *Serindia: A Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China*, 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), cxliii–cxliv.

from Farhād-Bēg published by Toda and Matsuda.⁹⁹ Hirofumi Toda has devoted himself to the systematic editing of extant *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* manuscripts, and he has shown that there are significantly different recensions.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the remains of three early manuscripts of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* from Khādaliq have been identified and published by Matsuda and Bongard-Levin.¹⁰¹ The thirty-four fragments belong to two different collections: the Hoernle collection in the British Library and the Petrovskij collection in St. Petersburg. Manuscript A is, like many *pustakas* from Xinjiang, a composite manuscript. In addition to the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Matsuda has identified remains of the *Aṣṭabuddhaka-* and *Sarvavaipulyasamgraha-sūtras*, and in another article two fragments of one folio of the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra* from another early manuscript in the Hoernle collection.¹⁰² The second volume of editions of Sanskrit texts by Bongard-Levin and Vorobe’va-Desjatovskaja includes three early fragments of Mahāyāna texts.¹⁰³ They are one folio of the *Vajracchedikā* (nos. 150 and 151), one of the *Samādhirāja* (nos. 154 and 155), and two of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (nos. 156–159). The early Sanskrit manuscripts from Khotan identified and published so far include *prajñāpāramitā* texts and early Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-*, *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-*, *Samādhirāja-*, and the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtras*.

⁹⁹ Hirofumi Toda, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text* (Tokushima: Kyoiku Shuppan Center, 1981) and “Central Asian Fragments of the Hoernle Collection,” *Tokushima Daigaku Kyōyōbu Rinri Gakka Kiyō* 15 [Proceedings of the Department of Ethics, Faculty of Liberal Arts, University of Tokushima] (1988): 20–23. In the same volume see also Kazunobu Matsuda, “Some hitherto unknown fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* in the Hoernle collection of the India Office Library,” *Tokushima Daigaku Kyōyōbu Rinri Gakka Kiyō* 徳島大学教養部倫理学科紀要 15 (Proceedings of the Department of Ethics, Faculty of Liberal Arts, University of Tokushima) (1988): 25–26, plates 1–7.

¹⁰⁰ Prods Oktor Skjærvø has kindly informed me that the early manuscript leaf of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* from the British collection contains a version different from the text in the edition of Johannes Nobel. I published a photo of it in “Brāhmī scripts,” 188, plate 15.

¹⁰¹ The final edition, after a number of preliminary works, is: Kazunobu Matsuda, in collaboration with G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, A Study of the Central Asian Documents in the Stein/Hoernle Collection of the India Office Library, London*, Studia Tibetica, No. 14 (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1988), plates I–XXII.

¹⁰² KAZUNOBU Matsuda 松田和信. “Chūō Ajia shutsudo Shuryōgon sanmai kyō Bonbun shahon zanyō—Indo-shō toshokan no shirarezaru Herunre korekushon 中央アジア出土『首楞嚴三昧經』梵文寫本殘葉—インド省圖書館の知られざるヘルンレ・コレクション [Original English title: Central Asian Fragments of the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* from the Hoernle collection in the India Office Library,” *Buddhist Seminar* 佛教学セミナー 46 (1987): 67–81.

¹⁰³ See note 73. A helpful guide to the Sanskrit, Khotanese and Kuchean texts in the Russian collections is *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)*, collated by G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja, *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica*, Series Minor V (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1986). I have not been able to consult all of the articles with facsimile reproductions; therefore some early manuscripts may have escaped my notice.

Looking westward to manuscripts from Gilgit and the graffiti from the Upper Indus Valley, we find not only the roots for the Brāhmī script developed in Khotan, but probably also the roots for Khotan’s literary tradition.¹⁰⁴ The sūtra texts of the Gilgit manuscripts are for the most part written in the Gilgit/Bāmiyān ornate type of script¹⁰⁵ dating from approximately the sixth century.¹⁰⁶ This script is mainly handed down in Mahāyāna sūtras, while most of the Vinaya texts are written in the Protośāradā of the seventh century or later. Among the sūtras are *prajñāpāramitā* texts such as the *Vajracchedikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśati*, and the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*, and other early Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, *Sanḅhāṭa*, and the *Samādhirāja*. This selection of sūtras is close to that of the early Sanskrit and Khotanese texts found near Khotan.¹⁰⁷

The ornate type of script was not confined to ancient Gandhāra and the Gilgit area, but was in use much farther east as well. There are two palm-leaf manuscripts from the library of Dunhuang,¹⁰⁸ one of them a *prajñāpāramitā* text, and, in a discovery that has only recently been made known, three folios of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* in the Bendall collection in the National Archives of Kathmandu.¹⁰⁹ Both manuscripts are written in the same script. The Gilgit, Dunhuang, and Kathmandu manuscripts differ only in their base material—birchbark for the Gilgit manuscripts and palm-leaf for the others. Text-critical studies have not yet been undertaken. The use of the same Brāhmī script indicates the far-reaching influence of Kashmir for the propagation of the Mahāyāna creed.

The literary tradition of the Gilgit manuscripts has been ascribed to the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, which is comprehensively represented in the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur. Although

¹⁰⁴ Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften* (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften I), Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Philologisch-historische Klasse 12 (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979): 329–360.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas, “Brāhmī Script,” 675.

¹⁰⁶ The script of the recently published palm-leaf manuscript of Śākyabuddhi’s *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* from the National Archives Collection, Kathmandu, is similar to Gilgit/Bāmiyān ornate type, but several akṣaras are written in a different form. It clearly indicates the borderline between the Gilgit/Bāmiyān ornate script and the Protośāradā. See M. Inami, K. Matsuda, and T. Tani, *A Study of the Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā by Śākyabuddhi from the National Archives Collection, Kathmandu*, Part I, Sanskrit Fragments Transcribed, *Studia Tibetica*, No. 23 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 1992), plates VIII–X.

¹⁰⁷ See the article by Hiroshi Kumamoto in this volume and Emmerick, *A Guide*.

¹⁰⁸ Stein, *Serindia* 4, plate cxlii.

¹⁰⁹ Hirofumi Toda and Kazunobu Matsuda, “Three Sanskrit Fragments of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra from the Cecil Bendall Manuscript Collection in the National Archives, Kathmandu,” *Proceedings of the Ethics Department, General Education Faculty, University of Tokushima* 20 (1991): 21–35.

their enlarged Vinaya and some sūtra texts, such as the *Ekottarāgama*,¹¹⁰ show a Sthavīravādin basis, their teaching are more often those of the Mahāyāna. The sūtras preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts indicate that ancient Kashmir may have been the cradle of that portion of the Mahāyāna Buddhist movement that was most influential in the development of Northern Buddhism.

A new *Dīrghāgama* manuscript, probably originating from Gilgit, has changed our understanding of the relation between the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins considerably.¹¹¹ The manuscript is written in the same script as the *Ekottarāgama* and the Vinaya manuscripts from Gilgit (cf. note 110), which date back to the eighth century. This manuscript begins with the “Ṣaṣṣūtrakāṇipāṭa” (cf. note 68), as does the *Dīrghāgama* of the Sarvāstivādins. Therefore, my earlier suggestions regarding the separation of the Mūlasarvāstivādins from the Sarvāstivādins, in which I argued that the placement of the Buddhas’ life stories within the canon might have been a reason for the schism of these schools, are now disproved. In the same felicitation volume for Adelheid Mette in which Jens-Uwe Hartmann introduced the new manuscript, Fumio Enomoto, on the basis of Chinese sources, raised the question whether these two terms really refer to separate schools.¹¹² In this light it has indeed to be asked whether Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins are only two sections of one school which developed differently in different regions and in different times, and whether the Mūlasarvāstivādins may only be a slightly diverging branch of the Sarvāstivādins. Perhaps the Mūlasarvāstivādins are only dissidents (*saṅgharāji*), with a *saṅghabheda* never having occurred.¹¹³ This interpretation may explain the absence of reports about a schism.

The new manuscript does not contribute to solving the question of why, from the paleographical point of view, most of the Mahāyāna manuscripts from Gilgit are older than those of the Sarvāstivāda/Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. Most of the Gilgit Mahāyāna manuscripts are written in the local Brāhmī of the “Greater Gandhāra,” the “Gilgit/Bamiyan, Type I,”¹¹⁴ which dates from approximately the sixth to the seventh centuries. These open questions do not concern the close relation between the Mahāyāna tradition of Gilgit and Khotan.

¹¹⁰ C. B. Tripathi, *Ekottarāgama-Fragmente der Gilgit-Handschrift*, Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Monografien 2 (Reimbek: Dr. Inge Wezler, 1996).

¹¹¹ Jens-Uwe Hartmann, “Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Handschrift des Dīrghāgama,” in Ch. Chojnacki, J.-U. Hartmann und V. M. Tschannerl, eds., *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka, Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, Indica et Tibetica 37 (Swisttal-Odendorf, Indica et Tibetica, 2000), 359–367.

¹¹² “Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sarvāstivādin,” *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka*, 239–250.

¹¹³ Cf. Lamotte, *Histoire*, 572.

¹¹⁴ Sander, “Einige neue Aspekte.”

Also, the extent to which the early Mahāyāna Brāhmī manuscripts from Bamiyan in the Martin Schøyen Collection influenced the Mahāyāna movement in Xinjiang is still an open question. The only definite statement that can be made at present is that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*¹¹⁵ is the oldest original Indian Mahāyāna manuscript known so far, and that it differs from the early translations into the Chinese.¹¹⁶

The Mūlasarvāstivāda or Haimavata school is mentioned first in a list of Sthavīravāda schools attributed to a Sarvāstivādin named Vasumitra.¹¹⁷ It is the earliest reference for the existence of the two schools. According to Lamotte the schism must have taken place before the second century. No literary source remained to give motives for the schism, or even references to the occasion on which it occurred. Following Bechert,¹¹⁸ the development of different schools (*vāda*) or sects (*nikāya*) derived from disagreements about questions of monastic discipline (*vinaya*), and not so much on questions of doctrine or the path to salvation. This may be why followers of the Mahāyāna originally had been an integral part of the *nikāyas* and did not develop their own Vinaya. On this assumption, it is probably that the Mūlasarvāstivāda school separated from the Sarvāstivāda on account of questions concerning the Vinaya. One of these matters may have been the question of where to place the accounts of the Buddha’s life. As mentioned above, the Sarvāstivādins did not follow the orthodox way. They regarded these accounts as sūtras and placed them at the beginning of their Āgama section. In contrast, the Mūlasarvāstivādins incorporated them into their Vinaya, in accordance with the Theravādins. This assumption may also help explain the name Mūlasarvāstivāda, “the original Sarvāstivāda,” because they maintained a more conservative view regarding the canonical placement of the Buddha’s life story. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the ideas and ideals of the Mahāyāna played an important role in whatever distinction existed between the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. These were not only accepted by the Mūlasarvāstivādins but, as the Gilgit manuscripts suggest, promoted and incorporated into their canon. Returning to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, we have to face the fact that we do

¹¹⁵ Lore Sander, “Fragments of an Aṣṭasāhasrikā manuscript from the Kuṣāṇa period,” in Jens Braarvig, ed., *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection I, Buddhist Manuscripts 1* (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2000): 1–51 and “New Fragments of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā of the Kuṣāṇa period,” Jens Braarvig, ed., *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III, Buddhist Manuscripts 2* (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2002): 37–44.

¹¹⁶ Lore Sander, “Die ‘Schøyen Collection’ und einige Bemerkungen zu der ältesten Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Handschrift,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 44 (2000), 87–100.

¹¹⁷ Lamotte, *Histoire*, 586f.

¹¹⁸ Heinz Bechert, “Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origin of Mahāyāna,” *German Scholars on India*, 1, ed. Cultural Department of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, New Delhi (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1973), 6–18; and, by the same author, “Buddha-Field and the Transfer of Merit in a Theravāda Source,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35, nos. 2–3 (1992): 96–97.

not know what the original Vinaya comprised. What is preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts is only the nucleus of one version from the seventh-eighth centuries, which is not very much different from the Tibetan Vinaya.¹¹⁹ Because most of the Sūtra manuscripts from Gilgit are older than those of the Vinaya section, it is not unlikely that the edition of the enlarged Vinaya as preserved in the Tibetan canon had not been finalized much before the Gilgit manuscripts were written down. It may have been the Gilgit Vinaya with which the Tibetans became acquainted when, according to a Western Tibetan tradition, they came to Kashmir in the seventh century, sent by their king Srong-btsan sgam-po in order to learn to read and write.¹²⁰

The literary heritage of Khotan reveals that, as observed by the Chinese pilgrims, most of the monks there followed the Great Vehicle. Vinaya texts are absent, but the sūtra texts translated and preserved in the original Sanskrit show a close relationship to those of Gilgit. The Khotanese thus shared the sūtra literature and the faith of their westernmost neighbors. The ideas of the Mahāyāna were zealously propagated against other ways of salvation. This is expressed in the thirteenth chapter of the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*, as follows:

That is the Mahāyāna which is in the first place great because of every excellence... These are the two Vehicles: (the Pratyekabuddhayāna) where a being escapes from woes by himself; (and the Śrāvakayāna) where many Śrāvakas... were once delivered, where there are not many virtues. (The latter is) the lesser career of the weak, who have not performed difficult tasks. Therefore is the Śrāvakayāna (called) “Hīna.”¹²¹

The earliest manuscript remains from the Southern Route do not allow an attribution to specific Buddhist schools, with the exception of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dharmapada*, a sacred text of the Dharmaguptakas. The later manuscripts dating from the fifth century onward originate mainly from the oasis of Khotan. They encompass *prajñāpāramitās* and early Mahāyāna sūtras, and this Buddhist literary tradition confirms what is attested by the Chinese

¹¹⁹ The earliest Vinaya manuscripts from the Gilgit finds cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century. In contrast to the Mahāyāna sūtras they are all written in Protośāradā, a script posterior to the ornate type in which most of the Mahāyāna sūtra manuscripts are written. It is a script developed in India not earlier than the end of the sixth century. See Sander, *Paläographisches*, 159–161, and Lore Sander, “Origin and Date of the Bower Manuscript, a New Approach,” *Investigating Indian Art*, Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, held at the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin in May 1986, *Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo, 8 (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst-Berlin, SMPK, 1987), 313–323.

¹²⁰ A. H. Francke, “The Tibetan Alphabet,” *Epigraphia Indica* 11 (1911–1912), ed. E. Hultzsch (Calcutta, 1913), 266–273.

¹²¹ R. E. Emmerick, *Zambasta*, 185f.

pilgrims,¹²² that Khotan was an early stronghold of the Mahāyāna. Linguistic and literary influences in Khotanese and Sanskrit texts point toward centers in the region of Kashmir, such as Gilgit, which was dominated by the Mūlasarvāstivādins, a traditional school with regard to its Vinaya but Mahāyāna with regard to its Sūtras.

In contrast, the texts from the Northern Route indicate that the westernmost oases were dominated by the school of the Sarvāstivādins from Kushan times until approximately the seventh century. This observation corresponds with the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang, who describe the main creed of the people of these oasis towns as belonging to the “Little Vehicle.” The Tokharian-speaking inhabitants of the oases of Kucha and Qarašahr were converted by missionaries to this Abhidharma-oriented traditional school. They did much to win followers among the inhabitants of the oasis towns further east. Traces of Dharmaguptaka texts found on the Northern Route indicate that the tradition of this school remained there for centuries. Dharmaguptaka communities probably existed on both Routes before the Sarvāstivādins came to predominate on the Northern Route. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions found in some monasteries in the oasis of Kucha speak in favor of this interpretation. It was probably the Dharmaguptakas who brought their holy texts written in the Kharoṣṭhī script from their original home in the ancient province of Gandhāra to Xinjiang. Unfortunately, up to now we know only their *Dharmaṇapaḍa*.

The early Sanskrit manuscript remains from Xinjiang are all undated. Their dating is only possible through the observation of the development of the Brāhmī scripts in this region, which is marked by different steps and is closely associated with similar developments in North India from the Kushan (second-third centuries CE) to the late Gupta period (fifth century CE). As detailed above, the manuscript remains are clearly differentiated between those from the Northern Route, excluding the Turfan oasis where early Sanskrit manuscripts are not present, and those from the Southern Route. This difference concerns not only scripts, but also the contents of the texts and even the nature of the variety of Buddhist creed practiced in these areas from at least the fifth century onwards. There is no doubt from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims that they were more impressed and attracted by the predominately Mahāyāna monasteries in the kingdom of Khotan.

¹²² See R. E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London Oriental Series 19 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), and “The historical importance of the Khotanese manuscripts,” in J. Harmatta, ed., *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest: Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Science, 1979), 167–177.

BUDDHIST SANSKRIT TEXTS FROM NORTHERN TURKESTAN AND THEIR RELATION TO THE CHINESE TRIPITAKA

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More than a hundred years ago, Augustus Frederic Rudolf Hoernle created a sensation in the scholarly world when he began the publication of the so-called Bower manuscript in Calcutta in 1893.¹ It was named after its discoverer, Lieutenant Hamilton Bower, who had been sent to Central Asia by the Government of India to hunt down a murderer. He happened to acquire the manuscript in the oasis of Kucha early in 1890, and from there it found its way to Hoernle, who received it in February 1891 and presented a first decipherment only two months later. In the introduction to his final edition, Hoernle himself proudly stated that “it was the discovery of the Bower manuscript and its publication in Calcutta which started the whole modern movement of the archaeological exploration of Eastern Turkestan.”²

Whether it was exclusively the Bower manuscript which launched the manuscript race in Eastern Turkestan is difficult to ascertain; but it greatly aroused the interest of scholars, and this interest was nourished by further manuscript findings from Central Asia which became known in Europe in the last years of the nineteenth century. Probably the most important of these was the fragmentary manuscript of the Dharmapada in Kharoṣṭhī script and the Gāndhārī language, brought back from Khotan in two parts, one by the Russian Consul-General in Kashgar, N. F. Petrovskij, and the other by the French traveller Jules-Léon Dutreuil de Rhins. Although purchased as early as 1892, both parts were first introduced to the scholarly world in 1897, when they were displayed at the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists in Paris.³

As a result, expeditions with archaeological aims were sent from several countries to Eastern Turkestan, the first being a Russian expedition headed by D. Klementz in 1898. Immediately after the turn of the century, British, Chinese, German, Finnish, French and Japanese expeditions followed. When they returned, they brought with them an overwhelming

I wish to thank Richard Wilson for helping me with the English version of this paper.

¹ Augustus Frederic Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript. Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes* (Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India, 1893–1912).

² Hoernle, ii.

³ Cf. John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 2–3.

wealth of materials from the ruined towns and deserted cave monasteries along the ancient Silk Road, and almost all collections of Central Asian art and manuscripts in the respective countries go back to these expeditions.

Immediately after the return of the expeditions, work on the manuscripts was started, and with astonishing speed publications began to appear: the first German expedition left Berlin on August 11, 1902, returned in spring 1903, and the first articles on Sanskrit manuscripts appeared as early as 1904.⁴ From an evaluation of the findings several facts very soon became clear: first, there was a striking difference between Buddhist manuscripts from the northern route of the Silk Road and those from the southern with regard to script as well as contents, the latter representing Mahāyāna texts, while the former, with a few exceptions, belonged to texts of the Śrāvaka-yāna. Second, whether from the southern or the northern route, fragments were the rule and not the exception among the Sanskrit texts.

This extremely fragmentary state of the manuscripts probably helps to explain why work on the Sanskrit texts nearly came to a standstill after the first euphoria had died down. Initially, the expectation seems to have prevailed that the manuscripts would allow the reconstruction of, if not the whole, then at least major parts of the lost canonical scriptures in Sanskrit, as transmitted by the Buddhists of Eastern Turkestan. Very soon, however, it was recognized that the findings did not consist of more or less complete manuscripts, but rather of an endless number of fragments from single leaves. The main task, therefore, was to put the pieces together and, very much like assembling a jigsaw puzzle, to join single fragments, whenever possible, to one folio or to one text or even to one manuscript. Evidently, this state of affairs acted less as a challenge than as a deterrent, and the publication of the various collections was not continued everywhere with the energy and the effort due to materials of such importance for the history of Buddhist literature in general and that of Central Asia in particular.

The following remarks will be confined to the Buddhist texts from the northern route of the Silk Road, that is, to manuscripts found in Tumšūq, in the area of Kucha, in Šorčūq, and in the Turfan oasis, and an attempt will be made to compare this literature with the corresponding parts of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. There is, of course, a fundamental problem connected with the Sanskrit manuscripts in question. The time framework originally considered to be within the scope of this volume is the formative period of Chinese Buddhism, i.e., the first to fifth centuries of our era, but only a few of the manuscripts I am treating can be dated before the

⁴ The first one was Richard Pischel, "Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons der Buddhisten aus Idyikutšari, Chinesisch-Turkestan," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 25 (1904): 807–827. Cf. the useful list of publications arranged according to date in *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden* 1, ed. Ernst Waldschmidt (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965), xxvi–xxxii, and continued in the subsequent *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden* volumes.

fifth century, the various scripts or rather the development thereof providing the only criterion for establishing a tentative chronology. The bulk of the manuscripts are generally held to stem from the fifth to the tenth centuries, and therefore the form of Buddhism represented by these manuscripts cannot be dated before the fifth century. However, there are indications that the same or at least a very similar form of Buddhism using the same texts prevailed in the same area already prior to the fifth century. One of the problems still unsettled in this connection is the question of whether the canonical scriptures among these texts were, until the fifth century, still transmitted orally and only in the fifth century put into writing, or whether they had been written down earlier, but in a language largely dominated by Middle Indic forms, and were fully Sanskritized only in the fifth century, which rendered older manuscripts obsolete. In any case, it is rather likely that the Buddhism documented by the manuscripts was established in Northern Turkestan well before the fifth century.

Along the northern route, manuscripts were collected by the Frenchman Paul Pelliot, by a total of four German expeditions, by the Russians, and finally by local agents of the British Consul-General in Kashgar, George Macartney, who passed them on to the already mentioned A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. The findings of Pelliot are now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and those of the Germans in the State Library in Berlin; the Russian manuscripts are preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, and those surveyed by Hoernle belong to the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, in London. Of these four collections, the German one is by far the largest; altogether it consists of more than 4400 catalog numbers, some of which represent a hundred or more single fragments.⁵ Regrettably enough, none of the four collections is published in its entirety, and, as mentioned before, the publication of the British, French and Russian collections has barely begun. However, since the French and the British collections are now available on microfilm, it is possible to gain a fairly clear picture of their contents.

On examining them more closely, one soon realizes that the percentages of fragments from single texts or specific groups of texts are fairly equally distributed within the respective collections. This holds true for the British, the French, and the German collections, and most probably for the Russian one too, as far as can be gathered from the pertinent publications

⁵ One example would be *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Cat.-No. 32, another one the Yoga manual, cf. *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* Cat.-No. 150 and Dieter Schlingloff, *Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 10–11.

by Grigorij M. Bongard-Levin and Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.⁶ After trying to identify as many fragments as possible, Klaus Wille and I have calculated the percentages for the Hoernle collection⁷; these figures will serve for an overview of the collection which can, at least in terms of percentages, be transferred to the others as well.

The Hoernle collection contains Sanskrit manuscripts from the northern as well as from the southern route. As mentioned above, the fragments were not collected by Hoernle himself, but bought by Macartney in Kashgar from local agents. Understandably enough, the discovery sites are not really known. Therefore, the distinction between fragments from the northern and those from the southern route is based solely on the difference of the scripts. Altogether the Hoernle collection contains 594 Sanskrit fragments from Northern Turkestan including 45 Sanskrit-Tokharian bilinguals. Of these, 456 fragments or three quarters of the total number have so far been identified. The text represented by the largest number of fragments is the *Udānavarga*: 150 fragments or 25% of the whole collection could be attributed to this work alone. Another 27% of all the fragments belong to the *Sūtrapīṭaka*, but are by no means equally distributed among the various *Āgamas*; it is quite surprising that nearly half of this number (13%) belong to just one section of the *Dīrghāgama* consisting of merely six sūtras, to which I will return later. In other words, half of the Hoernle collection is made up of fragments from the *Udānavarga* and the *Sūtrapīṭaka*.

Among the rest, 9% could be attributed to Vinaya texts, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (7%) being by far the best represented. A considerable number of fragments belongs to stotra texts, namely 13%, the overwhelming majority of which (11%) stem from the two famous Buddhas-totras of Mātṛceṭa, the *Prasādapratibhodbhava* and the *Varṇārhabavarṇa*. Finally, there are single fragments from Abhidharma texts, from Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhacarita*, from a sūtra commentary,

⁶ G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1986), also published without the tables, but with a short addition on p. 174, as “Indian Texts from Central Asia (Central Asian Collection of the Manuscript Fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, USSR),” in G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, eds., *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985), 1: 159–174; cf. also *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis’mennosti iz central’noj azii. Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie, perevod i kommentarij*, Pt. 2 (Moskva: Akademija Nauk, 1990).

⁷ J.-U. Hartmann and K. Wille, “Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, II),” *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen*, Pt. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992). A similar list was prepared for the Pelliot collection (c.f. J.-U. Hartmann and K. Wille, “Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Pelliot (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, IV),” in Heinz Bechert, Sven Bretfeld, and Petra Kieffer-Pülz, eds., *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur II, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, Beiheft 8 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997], 131–182), since Taijun Inokuchi et al., *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Brought from Central Asia by Paul Pelliot Preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale* (Kyoto: Ryukoku University Institute of Buddhist Cultural Studies, 1989), does not present any new identifications and only reproduces what was already known to Bernard Pully.

from so-called donation formulas, from the “Yoga Manual” (cf. note 5) and so on.

In all, more than 60% of the fragments can be attributed to exactly ten texts, viz. the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the “Six Sūtras” section of the *Dīrghāgama*, the *Udānavarga* and the two Buddhastotras of Mātṛceṭa. I hasten to caution that these percentage figures do **not**, of course, reflect the absolute proportion of a work among the manuscripts, but only the proportion of its fragments; this, however, is directly connected with the length of a work. The *Prasādapratibhodbhava*, for instance, contains only 153 verses, the *Udānavarga*, however, contains more than one thousand which is nearly seven times as many; therefore the twenty-two fragments of the *Prasādapratibhodbhava* against the 150 of the *Udānavarga* may very well indicate that originally there had been a rather similar number of manuscripts. Therefore, these figures should be taken with the necessary caution. They hint, however, at a quite interesting numerical predominance of certain texts reflecting in all probability a corresponding predilection of the people using these texts.

To which Buddhist school do these works belong? The only case that I know of in which the name of a school is mentioned is the famous birchbark manuscript in the Russian collection found near Bairam-Ali in the Merv oasis (Turkmenia), which consists of about 150 leaves. It contains a number of texts written at different times; M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya dates the various parts from the second to the fifth centuries.⁸ According to a colophon, the vinaya part of it was copied by a scribe belonging to the school of the Sarvāstivādins (cf. also the comments by David Utz on p. 189 below, including n. 20).

Apart from this case, schools are never mentioned in the manuscripts. For an assessment of the school affiliation, scholars turned to the Vinaya fragments and compared them to the surviving versions, mainly to those in Chinese translations. As is well known, the Chinese canon contains translations of the Vinaya of several Buddhist schools, and the school affiliation of each of these Vinayas is beyond doubt. A closer examination based on a comparison with the Chinese version revealed long ago that the overwhelming majority of Vinaya manuscripts belongs to the school of the Sarvāstivādins. To express this ratio with a few figures: the eight volumes of the catalog of the German collection of Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia⁹ which have thus far appeared contain descriptions of altogether 115 manuscripts of the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣasūtra* as against one of the Dharmaguptaka version

⁸ M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “A Sanskrit manuscript on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali: I. The Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 5, no. 2 (1999), 27, and for the colophon *Manuscripta Orientalia* 6, no. 2 (2000), 15; cf. also Seishi Karashima, “Identification of Some Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from Central Asia,” *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999* (2000), 214.

⁹ In Ernst Waldschmidt, Lore Sander, and Klaus Wille, eds., *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, pts. 1–8 (Wiesbaden, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965–2000).

and none of the version of the Mūlasarvāstivādins; there are, however, a number of fragments of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* and the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

Based on this relationship among the Vinaya manuscripts, it was further concluded that most of the other canonical Nikāya Buddhist texts from the same finds should be ascribed to the same school, i.e., to the school of the Sarvāstivādins. In the case of sūtra texts the Chinese translations cannot be used directly as a basis for the school identification, even though all four Āgamas have been translated into Chinese, because unlike the Vinaya texts their school affiliation is never mentioned. Moreover, from internal evidence as well as from comparison with the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts it becomes clear that the four Āgamas preserved in Chinese translation cannot go back to the Sūtrapīṭaka of one and the same school. Nowadays, it is generally accepted that only the *Madhyamāgama* and the *Samyuktāgama* of the Chinese canon belong to the Sarvāstivādins, while the *Dīrghāgama* is held to represent the version of the Dharmaguptakas; the problem of the school affiliation of the *Ekottarikāgama* is still unresolved.¹⁰ The ascription of the *Madhyamāgama* and *Samyuktāgama* to the Sarvāstivādins is corroborated by the fact that among the Sanskrit manuscripts closely corresponding fragments can only be found for texts contained in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* and *Samyuktāgama*. Similar to the case of the vinaya texts, fragments from other Sūtrapīṭakas are rare: so far, in all the collections only one fragment could be identified as probably belonging to the Sūtrapīṭaka of the Dharmaguptakas.¹¹

It becomes evident, then, that the rather homogeneous Buddhist literature transmitted in the monasteries of Northern Turkestan did not necessarily serve as a model for or as the sole source of the transmission of Nikāya Buddhist texts to China despite the rather short distance, compared to the distance from other centres of Nikāya Buddhism, and despite the surely excellent connections, at least in terms of trade, between China and the oasis towns of Turkestan. Quite the contrary impression suggests itself, if one searches in the Chinese Tripiṭaka for the texts most popular in Central Asia. I mentioned the *Udānavarga* as the text most often found among the Sanskrit fragments; of course this text has been translated several times into Chinese, but not exactly the version which must have been so extremely

¹⁰ Ernst Waldschmidt, “Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and Their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas,” in Heinz Bechert, ed., *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung* (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung II) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 136–139; Fumio Enomoto, “On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 3, no. 1 (1986): 19–30; Paul Harrison, “The Ekottarikāgama Translations of An Shigao,” in P. Kieffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann, eds., *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Indica et Tibetica 30 (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 1997), 279f, and the references cited there in n. 55.

¹¹ This is a fragment of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* published by Ernst Waldschmidt in “Drei Fragmente buddhistischer Sūtras aus den Turfanhandschriften,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Part 1, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jg. 1968 (1968): 3–16; cf. Sander’s comments above, 34.

wide-spread in Central Asia.¹² Of Mātṛceṭa’s two Buddhastotras, also remarkably popular in Central Asia as documented by the number of Sanskrit fragments and by translations into Tokharian and even one into Uigur,¹³ only the shorter *Prasādapratibhodbhava* found its way into the Chinese canon, and not from Central Asia, but in a translation made by the famous Yijing, who was much impressed by the popularity of the two hymns during his travels in India and who devoted a whole section of his travel account to their description.

Parts of the longer hymn, the *Varṇārbhavarṇa*, reached China much earlier, although this was probably never recognized by the Chinese Buddhists because they came in the form of quotations without an indication of their source. The stotra is cited twice at length in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa* (i.e., the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論),¹⁴ which was translated by Kumārajīva, a native of Kucha who had been brought to China in 384 CE and finished his work on this text in 406 CE. The *Da zhidu lun* reflects very well the high esteem in which certain poetic works were held at the time in the domain of Sanskrit Buddhism, since it also contains a long quotation from a work written by Aśvaghōṣa, another towering figure among the early Buddhist poets. This citation is from the *Saundarananda*, but is introduced by the author of the *Da zhidu lun* with the rather misleading title *Chan jing* 禪經 (“Dhyāna-sūtra”), and consequently it went unnoticed until recently.¹⁵ Although both of the famous epics of Aśvaghōṣa, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*, are represented by several manuscripts in Central Asia, only the *Buddhacarita* was rendered into Chinese.¹⁶ I do not know of any convincing attempt at explaining the absence of some of the most famous poetic works in the Chinese Tripiṭaka; differences of language and differences of poetic sentiment might help to explain their absence, but surely they do not account sufficiently for it.

Whatever the reasons may be, poetic texts were apparently of lesser interest to the

¹² For the various recensions of this text cf. Hideaki Nakatani, “Remarques sur la transmission des Dharma-pada,” *Bulletin d’études indiennes* 2 (1984): 135–151.

¹³ Jens-Uwe Hartmann, ed., *Das Varṇārbhavarṇastotra des Mātṛceṭa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987); J.-U. Hartmann and Dieter Maue, “Neue Spuren von Mātṛceṭas *Varṇārbhavarṇa*,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 141 (1991): 69–82; Dieter Maue, “Ein weiteres Sanskrit-ugurisches Fragment zu Mātṛceṭas *Varṇārbhavarṇa*,” in Simone-Christiane Raschmann and Mehmet Ölmez, eds., *Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan: Festschrift für Peter Zieme anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstags* (Istanbul and Berlin, 2002), 139–152.

¹⁴ T 1509.222c22ff. (= *Varṇārbhavarṇa* V.3, 5–22 and VI.1–4, 6–7) and T 1509.66b10ff. (= VII.17–22); for this identification see Hartmann, *Varṇārbhavarṇastotra*.

¹⁵ T 1509.185c (= *Saundarananda* XVII.42–50, 52–54); cf. Jens-Uwe Hartmann, “Neue Aśvaghōṣa- und Mātṛceṭa-Fragmente aus Ostturkistan,” *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I, Philologisch-historische Klasse 2 (1988): 72–73.

¹⁶ At the beginning of the fifth century by Dharmakṣema, an Indian monk who came to China via Kashmir and Kucha.

Chinese Buddhists, and this applies not only to the works of Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa, but to the other poems current in Central Asia as well. To give just one example: when Dieter Schlingloff published his book on Buddhist stotras in Sanskrit texts from Eastern Turkestan, he could not point to a Chinese translation of any of the hymns.¹⁷ Apparently, there were certain boundaries which really did resist crossing.

When turning to the Sūtrapīṭaka, the relation between the texts found in Central Asia and those preserved in Chinese translation is more difficult to establish. As mentioned before, the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* and *Samyuktāgama* represent the version of the Sarvāstivādins, and whenever Sanskrit fragments belonging to one of these collections could be successfully identified, it was with the help of the Chinese translations. Perhaps the first to notice the close relation was Sylvain Lévi. When in 1904 Richard Pischel edited some fragments of a xylograph and tried in vain to find a corresponding section in the Pāli Tipiṭaka, Lévi published a short article in the same year (!), in which he identified the texts of the Chinese *Samyuktāgama* corresponding to Pischel’s fragments and demonstrated the verbal congruences.¹⁸

In the meantime, however, it has been noted that the Central Asian Sanskrit versions cannot be identical with the copy from which the Chinese translations were made. Oskar von Hinüber was able to show in a study of the Upāligāthās in the *Madhyamāgama* that the Chinese translation of this work presupposes a Middle Indic, most probably Gāndhārī, original, while the same text, as preserved in fragments from Central Asia, is fully Sanskritized.¹⁹ Ernst Waldschmidt found in his study of a Sanskrit manuscript most probably belonging to the *Mahāvarga* section of the *Madhyamāgama* that there was a very close relationship in the wording between the Sanskrit and the Chinese text, but he also observed certain differences in the sequence of the individual sūtras.²⁰

Surprisingly, the *Dīrghāgama* of the Sarvāstivādins was never translated into Chinese. In the case of the Vinaya, versions of several Buddhist schools were translated and included in the canon. Although the Sūtrapīṭaka versions vary no less in contents, structure and wording than do the Vinayapīṭakas, these differences seem to have been of minor importance to Chinese eyes. It appears that with regard to sūtra texts questions of school affiliation played a

¹⁷ Dieter Schlingloff, *Buddhistische Stotras aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrittexten* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), 14.

¹⁸ Sylvain Lévi, “Le *Samyuktāgama* sanscrit et les Feuilles Grünwedel,” *T’oung Pao* 5 (1904): 297–309.

¹⁹ Oskar von Hinüber, “Sanskrit und Gāndhārī in Zentralasien,” in Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, eds., *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien, Vorträge des Hamburger Symposiums vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 16 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), 27–34.

²⁰ Ernst Waldschmidt, “Remarks on the *Madhyamāgama* Ms. Cat.-No. 412,” *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* 4: 2–4.

less predominant role than they do nowadays in the eyes of scholars; this is also indicated by the fact that no school ascription for any of the sūtra translations is preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Possibly it was felt to be sufficient to have each of the four Āgamas translated, simply because the complete Sūtrapiṭaka was known to contain all four, without giving further thought to their respective origins and school affiliations.

The “Long Collection” presents a very good example of how much the various versions of one Āgama can differ. It is the only collection for which three different versions can be compared, namely the *Dīrghāgama* of (Mūla)-Sarvāstivādins written in Sanskrit,²¹ the complete *Dīghanikāya* of the South Asian Theravādins written in Pāli, and the complete Chinese translation of a *Dirghāgama* of unknown origin which is generally held to belong to the school of the Dharmaguptakas and to derive from an original written in Gāndhārī.²² Of these three, the *Dīghanikāya* and the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* are rather closely related: the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* contains altogether 30 sūtras, and for 28 of them a corresponding text can be found within the 34 suttas of the *Dīghanikāya*. The grouping of texts, however, is different in most cases, although some of the texts correspond even with regard to their sequence.

If the two complete versions are compared with the (Mūla)-Sarvāstivāda *Dirghāgama* reconstructed from the Central Asian manuscript fragments, considerable differences of structure can be observed. This holds true for its size as well, because the Central Asian *Dīrghāgama* contains works which are completely unknown to the Pāli tradition, e.g. the *Māyājālasūtra*, which is also absent from the Chinese canon, or the *Arthavistarasūtra*, missing in the Pāli canon but twice translated separately into Chinese. Further differences can be observed in the classification of certain sūtras which are common to both the Theravāda and the (Mūla)-Sarvāstivāda tradition. This is because the Central Asian *Dīrghāgama* contains several works the corresponding Pāli versions of which are found in the *Majjhimanikāya*, e.g. the *Caṅkīsutta*, the *Pañcattayasutta* and the *Bodhirājakumārasutta*. Moreover, differences can

²¹ For the Central Asian recension see J.-U. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen zum Dīrghāgama der Sarvāstivādins* (unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Göttingen, 1992), and for the recently found manuscript from Greater Gandhāra see J.-U. Hartmann, “Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Handschrift des *Dīrghāgama*,” in Chr. Chojnacki, J.-U. Hartmann, and V. M. Tschannerl, eds., *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka. Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, Indica et Tibetica 37 (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 2000), 359–367, and “Further Remarks on the New Manuscript of the *Dīrghāgama*,” *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 5 (2002), 133–150.

²² André Bareau, “L’origine du Dīrgha-āgama traduit en Chinois par Buddhayaśas,” in Ba Shin, Jean Boisselier, and A. B. Griswold, eds., *Essays offered to G.H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday*, Vol. 1 (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1966), 49ff.; E. Waldschmidt, “Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and Their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas,” 136; E. Mayeda, “Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas,” in Heinz Bechert, ed., *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur* (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, III, no. 1) 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 97; F. Enomoto, “On the Formation of the Original Texts of the Chinese Āgamas,” 25; for further literature cf. Hisashi Matsumura, *The Mahāsudarsanāvadāna and the Mahāsudarsanasūtra* (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1988), p. L n. 64.

be seen with regard to the sequence of those texts which are common to all three versions and, finally, with regard to the sections into which all the versions are divided. The (Mūla)-Sarvāstivāda *Dīrghāgama* contains at least one part, namely the *Ṣaṣṭisūtrakāṇipāta* or “Six Sūtras Section,” which as a section is missing in both of the other versions, though some of its contents are also found in the Pali and the Chinese (cf. the comments by Lore Sander above, 37ff).

As mentioned above, this section was very popular in Central Asia, as the large number of fragments indicates. It contains the following six sūtras: *Daśottarasūtra*, *Arthavistarasūtra*, *Saṅgītisūtra*, *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, *Mahāvadānasūtra* and *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. The section is clearly divided into two parts, since the first three texts are not taught by the Buddha himself but by Śāriputra, and each is referred to as a *dharmaparyāya*. With one exception (in the introduction to the *Saṅgītisūtra*), narrative passages are totally absent in the first three texts, which consist almost exclusively of groups of Buddhist technical terms, e.g. the three kinds of suffering, the four truths, the five powers, the eightfold path, etc. In the *Daśottara* and the *Saṅgīti* sūtras these groups of terms are basically arranged according to numerical criteria. The formalization is carried to the extreme in the *Daśottarasūtra*: this work consists of ten times ten groups of terms, the first decade containing ten single terms, the second decade containing ten groups of two terms, and so on up to the last decade containing ten groups of ten terms each. Moreover, this numerical scheme is connected with one of content, because the groups are arranged in such a manner that the first group in every decade is one which effects much, the second group in every decade one which has to be practised, the third is one which has to be known, the fourth one which has to be abandoned, and so forth up to the tenth which has to be realised.

Compared to this elaborate scheme, the structure of the second text, the *Saṅgītisūtra*, is much looser. The only element for organizing the groups is the number of terms in each group. As in the *Daśottarasūtra*, the text starts with single terms and ends with groups of ten. The number of groups within one numerical section is not fixed; it varies between two within the section of groups of nine and ten terms and fifty within the section of groups of three and four terms. There are several overlappings of *Daśottara* and *Saṅgīti* sūtras, which are usually abbreviated in the manuscripts with a reference *yathā daśottare* or the like.

Quite different from the scheme of *Daśottara* and *Saṅgīti* sūtras is that of the *Arthavistarasūtra*, in which the groups of terms are not arranged according to numerical criteria but according to their content. It begins with a group of twelve favourable circumstances which are a prerequisite for an encounter with the Buddhist teaching, namely a human rebirth, the possession of a complete set of sense organs, the appearance of a Buddha, the continuation of his teaching, etc., and it ends with the ten factors of an Arhat (*aśaikṣadharmā*, i.e., the eight-

fold path and *samyagvimukti* and *samyagjñāna*) and the ten conditions of an Ārya (*āryāvāsa*).

Apparently a version of the way to liberation is described which begins with the preconditions and ends with the attributes of the person who has reached the goal. In between, groups of terms are arranged which describe obstacles or helping factors on the way. Some of these groups are, at least to my knowledge, unknown from any other work. The logical connection between the single groups is partly very clear, but partly difficult to reconstruct. The first group of twelve favorable prerequisites is followed by another one consisting of twenty factors which should characterize a teaching of the dharma, then a group of sixteen attributes which should be present in the listener. Next follow groups of ten and of five factors in which the consequences and results of right listening are described. Rather abruptly there follows another group of ten factors which aid the noble disciple (*āryaśrāvaka*) in ripening his wisdom. A comparatively large portion of the work is devoted to a group of ten notions (*saṃjñā*) which should be developed by the *āryaśrāvaka*, namely the notion of impurity, of impermanence, etc. up to the notion of death. For each of these notions obstacles and results are extensively listed.

The remaining three sūtras of the *Ṣaṭsūtrakāṇipāta* are completely different in content. The fourth one, the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, begins with the description of the Buddha’s enlightenment—surprisingly not with *evam mayā śrutam* etc., the usual opening formula of Buddhist sūtras, but simply with the statement *bodhisatvo bhagavān urubilvāyāṃ viharan*, “the bodhisatva, the Lord, staying in Urubilvā.” It continues with a biographical record of the events following upon the enlightenment, i.e., Brahmā’s exhortation to teach the doctrine, the journey to Benares and the first sermon to the five disciples, further conversions in Benares, return to Gayā, the conversion of Urubilvākāśyapa and of other ascetics, the meeting with and conversion of King Bimbisāra and the conversion of the two foremost disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The text ends rather abruptly with a mocking of the begging monks by the inhabitants of Rājagṛha and the fitting response of the Buddha. The usual formula concluding a sūtra is as absent as the introductory sentence.

Next follows the *Mahāvadānasūtra*: the monks are surprised that the Buddha knows about the attributes of Buddhas of the past. Their astonishment induces the Buddha to tell them details from the lives of his six predecessors, e.g. their respective castes, parents, bodhi trees, two main disciples, etc. Then, taking Vipasyin, the first of his six predecessors, as an example, he describes the typical career of a Buddha. From the time of his conception up to his first teaching a Buddha’s life follows a recurring pattern, and therefore the career of Vipasyin, which is told in detail, serves *mutatis mutandis* as a model for all the following Buddhas including the present Buddha Śākyamuni himself. Thus, the sūtra contains the beginning of the biography of the Buddha, although it is preceded by the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* which comprises the second part; evidently the arrangement follows the logic of the frame story, and not the

chronology of the biography as such. The sūtra contains the usual introductory formula, but not the usual ending.

The final *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* begins with the strife between King Ajātaśatru of Magadha and the Vṛjī confederation and the mission of Ajātaśatru’s minister to the Buddha in order to inquire about the probable result of a military campaign against the Vṛjīs. The text continues with a description of the last journeys of the Buddha, the events surrounding the foundation of Pāṭaliputra, the last rainy season, Māra’s urging the Buddha to enter parinirvāṇa, the meal in the house of Cunda, etc. On the occasion of his arrival in Kuśinagara, the Buddha relates the episode of King Mahāsudarśana, which is included in the *Dīghanikāya* as an independent text. Then follows the description of the parinirvāṇa and of the events connected with the funeral and the impending war over the relics. The text ends with the distribution of the relics.

Thus, the *Śaṭsūtrakaniṣṭha* is clearly divided into two parts, both consisting of three formally related works. The first part is characterized by lists of terms, while the second—the *Mahāvadāna*, *Catuṣpariṣat* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sūtras—is exclusively narrative, combining the three sūtras most essential for the biography—and also hagiography—of the Buddha.

It comes as no surprise, then, that the *Śaṭsūtrakaniṣṭha*, with its balanced combination of doctrinal and edifying elements, enjoyed a special popularity in Central Asia, which is documented by the comparatively large number of manuscripts and fragments in which the six sūtras are preserved.²³ This can only be explained by assuming a far larger number of manuscripts containing only the *Śaṭsūtrakaniṣṭha* than those comprising the whole *Dīrghāgama*. Since regrettably few colophons are preserved, nothing is generally known about the contents and origin of a manuscript, but there is one case where we can be fairly sure that a colophon refers to a separate copy of the *Śaṭsūtrakaniṣṭha*: at the beginning of a Tokharian fragment containing a dedication of merit it is said that “together with the son Lālākkompe we have written the book *Śaṭsūtra*,” and very likely this Tokharian text served as a colophon concluding a Sanskrit copy of the *Śaṭsūtrakaniṣṭha*.²⁴

Despite its great popularity in Northern Turkestan, the *Śaṭsūtraka* section was never translated into Chinese. One of its texts, the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, is completely unknown as a separate sūtra in the Chinese canon; since, however, large parts of the same text are also

²³ Cf. the “General Index of Contents for the Manuscripts dealt with in Part 1–4,” Sūtra section, in Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* 4: 355–359, with its significantly high percentage of catalog numbers containing texts of the *Śaṭsūtrakaniṣṭha*.

²⁴ Cf. E. Sieg and W. Siegling, eds., *Tocharische Sprachreste*. Bd. I: Die Texte (Berlin/Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter, 1921), no. 311a2. A Sanskrit text ending with a Tokharian colophon is not at all unusual in manuscripts from the Northern Silk Road, since it was, among others, the Tokharians who followed and transmitted Buddhism there.

transmitted in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, they are known in China through Yijing’s translation of this Vinaya. Four others, the *Daśottara*, *Śaṅgīti*, *Mahāvādāna* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sūtras, are included in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* and are therefore known in the Dharmaguptaka version which is quite different from that of the Sarvāstivādins. One text, the *Arthavistarasūtra*, has been translated twice into Chinese, once by Paramārtha in 563 CE. (T 97) and once by An Shigao in the second century (T 98). Both represent the same recension as the one included in the Central Asian *Dīrghāgama*, although the translation of An Shigao is at times difficult to comprehend, to say the least. One of its main problems lies in the fact that, time and again, different Chinese translations appear for what must have been the same term in the underlying original, whether it had already been written in Sanskrit or still in a Middle Indian dialect. An Shigao also translated the *Daśottarasūtra*, again the same recension as the Central Asian one,²⁵ and it is interesting to note that these two texts were considered important enough to be rendered into Chinese as early as in the second century, but that this did not initiate any systematic translation work on Sarvāstivāda sūtra scriptures.

To sum up once again: of the ten texts especially widespread in Northern Turkestan, namely the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the Six Sūtras Section of the *Dīrghāgama*, the *Udānavarga*, and the two hymns by Mātṛceṭa, only five are available in the Chinese canon in the same or at least a closely related recension. Of these five, only three could possibly be derived from originals stemming from Central Asia, but this connection cannot be proven for any of them. In other words, the texts held in highest esteem by the Buddhists of Northern Turkestan played an amazingly small role in the transmission of Buddhist literature into China, at least as far as can be judged from the surviving Sanskrit fragments.

²⁵ Cf. J. W. de Jong, “The Daśottarasūtra,” *Kanakura Hakushi Koki Kinen: Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Ronshū* (Kyōto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1966), 3–25; repr. in J. W. de Jong, ed. Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Studies* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1979), 251–273.

THE OLDEST BUDDHIST INCANTATION IN CHINESE?

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE CHINESE
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE MANTRA IN THE *DRUMA-KINNARA-RĀJA-PARIPRCCHĀ-SŪTRA*

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Abbreviations

BHSG	Franklin W. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar</i>
and	<i>and Dictionary</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), vol.
BHSD	1: <i>Grammar</i> and vol. 2: <i>Dictionary</i> .
BTD	late Han Buddhist transcriptional dialect
DKP	<i>Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra</i>
K	T 625, <i>Dashu jinnaluo-wang suowen jing</i> 大樹緊那羅王所問經, in 4 <i>juan</i>), translation attributed to Kumārajīva
L	T 624, <i>Dun zhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing</i> 侏真陀羅所問如來三昧經, in 3 <i>juan</i>), translation attributed to Lokakṣema
ONWC	“Old Northwest Chinese,” the dialects of Chang’an and the Gansu Corridor in ca. 400 CE
QYS	<i>Qieyun</i> 切韻 System reconstructions, according to Karlgren’s “Ancient Chinese” system as modified by F. K. Li
T	<i>Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō</i> 大正新修大藏經

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I. Introduction

It is well known that the transcriptions from Sanskrit and other Indic languages found in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts constitute an extremely valuable source of evidence for the study of Chinese phonology. It is also recognized that the interpretation of this evidence is beset by a number of problems, the most serious of which is uncertainty as to the exact identity, and therefore pronunciation, of the Indic source language(s) of these texts. Despite the frequent use of Buddhist transcriptions by researchers in the field of Chinese historical linguistics such as Pelliot, Karlgren, LUO Changpei, Pulleyblank, and others, to date no complete and fully systematic study of any single transcriptional corpus has been attempted, and as a result there is still much material which has not yet been drawn into the discussion. It is appropriate, therefore, that such systematic surveys should now be attempted, not only to provide a more comprehensive and reliable fund of supporting evidence for the study of Chinese historical phonology, but also to yield data that might help us to establish the identity of the language or languages of the original texts from which the translations were made.

Any systematic study of Buddhist transcriptions should, of course, begin at the beginning, with the translations made by the first Buddhist missionaries in China and their collaborators in the middle and late second century CE, towards the close of the Later Han dynasty. The repertoire of technical terms and transcriptions which these pioneers created was inherited by their successors; although much was later superseded, many items stood the test of time, and are still in use today in China, Korea and Japan. Among the small body of sūtras rendered into Chinese during this foundational period, the translations of the Parthian An Shigao and the Yuezhi Lokakṣema deserve special attention, since even after spurious attributions have been weeded out, they constitute two reasonably large bodies of work.¹

¹ In a recently published study Erik Zürcher has critiqued the traditional ascriptions to these two translators, arriving at an authenticated corpus of 16 works for An Shigao and 8 works for Lokakṣema. (See E. Zürcher, “A New Look at the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Texts,” in Gregory Schopen and Kōichi Shinohara, eds., *From Benares to Beijing: Essays in Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honor of Prof. Jan Yün-hua* [Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1991], 277–304.) In the case of the latter we accept Zürcher’s conclusions with some reservations, maintaining T 624 as a genuine work of Lokakṣema which has been subsequently revised (most probably by members of his school, as in the case of T 418), but bracketing T 313 as a more doubtful case. This yields a corpus of 9 texts. For the complicated problems involved here see also Paul Harrison, *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present: An Annotated English Translation of the Tibetan Version of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Sammukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra with Several Appendices relating to the History of the Text* (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series V (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1990; and “The Earliest Chinese Translations of Mahāyāna Buddhist Sūtras: Some Notes on the Works of Lokakṣema,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 10, pt. 2 (1993): 135–177. For the purposes of this paper later revisions to Lokakṣema’s works are probably not of great concern, in that, as far as we can tell, they either left his transcriptions unaltered or (in many instances, and most unfortunately for us) replaced them with translations. These translations may well have begun life as glosses on the transcriptions (beginning with the words *Hanyan* 漢言, “in the Han language”), since such glosses are still to be found here and there in the texts.

The translations of Lokakṣema, in particular, contain a great many transcriptions of technical terms and proper names, due to his predilection for transcription as opposed to translation, and are thus a rich source of evidence for the phonology of the Chinese dialect which he and his native assistants used, and for the Indic language of his originals. For this and for other reasons, they are the focus of the present paper. It should be pointed out, however, that a complete study of Lokakṣema’s transcriptions, as of his translation terminology, must also establish what borrowings, if any, he made from An Shigao. For the same reason, a definitive study of the transcription corpora of both these translators is an essential preliminary to any investigation of the Buddhist transcriptions of later periods.

II. A Survey of the Lokakṣema Transcription Corpus: A Draft Proposal

Such a definitive survey of Lokakṣema’s transcriptions is proposed by the authors of this paper, as a collaborative project involving the contributions of a specialist in Mahāyāna sūtra-literature familiar with the Chinese, Indic and Tibetan versions (where extant) of the texts in question, and therefore able to identify and reconstruct where possible all the transcriptions they contain (Harrison), and of a specialist in Chinese historical linguistics able to reconstruct their contemporary phonetic values and draw from them general conclusions for the history of Chinese phonology (Coblin). Clearly the Sanskrit or Prakrit reconstruction of the transcriptions must proceed hand in hand with the establishment of the phonetic values which the Chinese characters had in the late second century Luoyang dialect which Lokakṣema and his team used. The input of a specialist in Prakrit philology and paleography would also assist the resolution of the many problems that arise when one proceeds to matching the sound values of the source and target languages, neither of which is entirely certain.

As a preliminary suggestion for others to consider (and possibly amplify), the authors believe that the following data should be recorded:

(1) the whole transcriptions (in Chinese characters) as they appear in the *Taishō* editions of the texts of the entire corpus, with any variants in the critical apparatus and any emendations also noted.

(2) individual characters to be recorded separately, so as to enable comparisons across transcriptions. Variant characters should also be recorded in the same way, cross-indexed to the correct reading, even when the variant reading is obviously corrupt. (This will enlarge our knowledge of commonly confused or interchangeable characters and may perhaps provide the means for resolving problems in other bodies of transcriptions.) The individual characters should probably be arranged by their Pinyin spellings, but equivalent reconstructed sound values should also be given, with any notes required by unusual forms. This list should also give the Indic syllables or whole words represented by each character, indicating clearly

whether the characters in question represent Indic sounds in initial, medial, or final position (e.g., *kṣa-*, *-kṣa-*, *-kṣa*).

(3) the source of the (whole) transcription, i.e., reference to *Taishō* text number, page, lateral column and line. Frequency is a very important consideration here, especially when there is a possibility of textual corruption. Clearly a transcription attested frequently and throughout the whole corpus provides a surer basis for drawing inferences than one which occurs only once in a single source. Also it is important to know which texts the transcriptions come from, in case our attribution of any of them to Lokakṣema has to be revised later. (For practical reasons only the first dozen or so occurrences in each text need be noted, or entries on terms like *pusa* 菩薩 or *fo* 佛 will run for pages.)

(4) classical Sanskrit reconstruction (whole word), with indication as to degree of certainty, and sources for same. Tibetan equivalents to be listed in each case, also evidence from other Chinese translations of the same text. This is especially important in doubtful cases or where several reconstructions are possible. The use of classical Sanskrit here is of course purely arbitrary, and is adopted for the sake of ease of reference. It does not imply any conclusions as to the original form of the transcriptions.

(5) classical Sanskrit syllable, this list cross-referenced to (and possibly integrated with) the whole word list (e.g., *kṣe*: see *buddha-kṣetra*, *Kṣemarāja*).

(6) Pāli and any other Prakrit equivalents which may be relevant.

(7) information on whether the transcription or the Sanskrit term also occurs in the An Shigao corpus. Obviously one must distinguish where possible the transcriptions which Lokakṣema took over from his predecessors from those he devised himself, and which might therefore reflect his own source and/or target dialect more closely.

(8) transcriptions for which no Indic equivalents can be identified, linked with the single character list and with Sanskrit syllables or compound-elements wherever some kind of partial identification is possible.

In its eventual published form, all this data could be indexed in at least two ways: by Sanskrit alphabetical order (i.e., classical Sanskrit), by both whole words and syllables, either two separate lists or a single integrated list; and by single Chinese characters (arranged according to modern Pinyin transcriptions in English alphabetical order). One of these will have to be regarded as the master list, and this should presumably be the Sanskrit word list, which could also include single syllables and elements of compounds, suitably cross-indexed (e.g., *kūṭa*, see Ratnakūṭa, Gṛdhra-kūṭa, etc.). Most of the information detailed above could then be arranged in suitable order under the head-word (i.e., classical Sanskrit “reconstruction” of the word), with which the list of single Chinese characters would ultimately be cross-indexed via the single Sanskrit syllable listing.

Others may be aware of additional details which it would be helpful to record, or better ways in which they could be presented. The authors of this paper would welcome any such suggestions. At present it is intended to set the work up using a database program for the Macintosh such as Hypercard or Filemaker Pro; the precise procedure to be adopted for data-entry will also require further consideration.

III. The DKP Mantra: Context

By way of a pilot study for the definitive survey of Lokakṣema’s transcriptions outlined above, and as an illustration of the hitherto untapped riches of that corpus, this paper presents some preliminary research on the mantra passage in the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-pariṣṛcchā-sūtra* (henceforth DKP), as it appears in two Chinese translations and one Tibetan version of this early medieval Mahāyāna text. The first of the Chinese versions (T 624: *Dun zhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing* 大樹緊那羅王所問經, in 3 *juan*) is attributed to Lokakṣema, the second (T 625: *Dasu jinnaluo-wang suowen jing* 佉真陀羅所問如來三昧經, in 4 *juan*) to Kumārajīva, thus providing us with a vantage point for comparison some two centuries later.² The Tibetan translation dates from around the early ninth century, and for this a critical edition has recently been published; see Paul Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-pariṣṛcchā-sūtra*, Tibetan Text (Recension A) (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992). The mantra passage appears in Chapter 15, Section G (293–297). The state of the Tibetan text reveals how premature any previous work on this mantra would have been, even if it had been investigated before now. That is to say, the Tibetan version with its greater fidelity to the Indic could be expected to provide us with definite pointers to the Indic sound values of the mantra, yet it is only with recent advances in Kanjur research (for a survey of which see the Introduction to the above work) that we have been able to see how problematic even this text is. Thus, without a proper critical edition of the Tibetan (which in this case is extant in two recensions), the Indic text of the mantra remains an unwieldy mess. Even with such an edition, there are still many problems. The same is possibly true, albeit to a lesser extent, of other Lokakṣema texts, for which the Tibetan versions may not always be a completely reliable guide to the reconstructions of proper names and so on. At the very least such reconstructions are on a surer footing when one has established that there are no awkward variant readings between the *Them spangs ma* and Tshal pa lineage Kanjurs (i.e., the Stog Palace, London ms, and Tokyo ms on the one side, and Peking, Li thang, Co ne on the other, with Sde dge, Snar thang, and Lha sa recombining the two lines), to say nothing of other Kanjur editions which have not yet been definitively placed in the overall picture of the Tibetan Kanjur tradition

² In this study T 624 will be referred to as L, and T 625 as K.

(e.g., the Phug brag, Rta dbang, Newark, and Tabo Kanjurs). The consultation of these less well-known editions (only Phug brag was collated for the critical edition, but unfortunately it has a large lacuna where the mantra occurs) may well take us considerably further towards reconstructing the Indic text used to produce the Tibetan version of the DKP mantra. Given that very real possibility the present article assumes a certain degree of provisionality.

Since Lokakṣema’s predecessor, An Shigao, is not known to have translated any Mainstream Buddhist sūtras containing mantras or dhāraṇīs, the DKP mantra as it appears in L is probably the oldest extant example of the genre in Chinese, and may even be the first Buddhist mantra or dhāraṇī text to which we can assign a reasonably firm date (i.e., ca. 170–190 CE). This mantra, however, falls into the category known as *rakṣā* or protective mantras, and is thus in the same basic class as the well-known *parittas* of the Pāli Canon, which are thought to be very old. Although one need not thus invoke the notion of Tantrism or proto-Tantrism to explain its occurrence in our text, the full significance and range of incantation practices in Buddhism at this time (late second century CE) remain to be determined. It is certainly the case that several of the sūtras translated by Lokakṣema refer to the use of such incantations, dhāraṇīs in particular, in ways which suggest something quite different from the apotropaic formula at issue here. For an illuminating recent discussion of the use of incantations in Buddhism, see Peter Skilling, “The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16 (1992): 109–182.

As mentioned above, the DKP mantra occurs in the final chapter of the text,³ as the sūtra proceeds through a number of more or less formulaic steps towards its conclusion. Ānanda is asked if he has “received” (i.e., heard and memorized) the sūtra, the great merits of which are then extolled (15A-C). Communicating it to others is equated with giving the gift of the dharma (*dharma-dāna*), a practice which confers many benefits on bodhisattvas who engage in it (15D-E). The gods Śakra (Indra) and Brahmā then undertake to propagate the text and protect those who receive it (15F). Following this, the Tibetan text (henceforth: T) continues as follows (15G):⁴

³ The chapter and section divisions in the published Tibetan text have been inserted by Harrison. In their existing form neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese versions are divided into chapters.

⁴ See Appendix II for a romanized version of the Tibetan text.

Then the Four Great Kings⁵ said to the Lord, “Lord, we four kings and those great śrāvakas of the Lord [and we?],⁶ so as to ensure that this discourse on dharma (*dharmaparyāya*) endures, will apply ourselves to its protection, preservation and defense. We will ensure that those in our retinue who do not believe in the Buddha or the Buddha’s teaching⁷ also come to believe it, so as to apply themselves to the protection of the teaching of the Realized One.⁸ Lord, in order that any unprotected bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikās who are committed to the Buddha’s teaching and any others besides who believe in the teaching of the Lord may be protected,⁹ the words of this mantra (Tib. *gsang sngags kyi tshig* = *mantra-pada*) are to be recited.¹⁰ By virtue of the words of that mantra, yakṣas, rākṣasas, gandharvas, kinnaras, mahoragas, kumbhāṇḍas and the like, human and demonic beings, and any others who commit acts of hostility towards the Buddha’s teaching will be utterly subdued (Tib. *tshar gcod pa* = Skt. *ni Rgrah*, etc.; cf. Mvy 4542, 5358, 8350).¹¹

Then follows the transcription of the mantra itself, beginning with the word *tadyathā* (“it goes like this”). Afterwards there is no further reference to it: the Buddha goes on to entrust the sūtra to the bodhisattvas Maitreya and Divyamauli (15H), and to console the grieving Māra by observing that his dominion will not be appreciably affected by the small numbers capable of receiving such a profound teaching (15I). Members of the assembled hosts

⁵ Cf. L: 四天王, K: 四天大王.

⁶ The Tibetan text is apparently corrupt at this point, and cannot be made to yield perfect sense; the words *dang/bdag cag* are perhaps to be deleted. Cf. L: “We and these disciples of the Buddha will all uphold this dharma, we will protect it and ensure that it lasts a long time.” K carries much the same sense.

⁷ K: “who do not believe in this dharma of the Buddha.”

⁸ So also K, more or less. L differs markedly; see below.

⁹ The first part of this sentence is entirely lacking in both Chinese versions; see below.

¹⁰ It is not clear from the Tibetan who is to perform the recitation, the Four Great Kings themselves or the followers of the Buddha’s teaching who desire protection. Both Chinese versions are similarly ambiguous; see note 12.

¹¹ Cf. L, which is rather problematic: “Anybody under our leadership who does not believe in the Buddha’s dharma, be they dragons, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, if there are unbelievers among them, we shall make them believe. Then all [of us, or followers of the Dharma in general?] will speak, in accordance with their ways [?], and utter an incantation (*zhou* 咒) as follows (*yue* 曰)...” Either something has dropped out of the text, or Lokakṣema has connected the list of potentially harmful supernatural beings to the unbelieving retinue of the *mahā-deva-rājas*, who are to be made to believe. This is not difficult to account for in terms of sense, since the four great kings are lords over the *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, etc.; see, e.g., BHSD, s.v. *mahārāja(n)*. K suggests that the *bhikṣus*, etc., of T are a later interpolation, i.e., that this list of supernaturals originally followed directly after the sentence about the unbelieving followers: “Lord, any of our followers who do not believe in this dharma of the Buddha, we shall subdue them and make them believe in the Buddha’s dharma, apply themselves to it vigorously, love it and delight in it. Lord, if there are gods, dragons (or celestial dragons), *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, *mahoragas*, and the like who are of evil intent, should one [or: we?] wish to subdue them one should [or: we shall?] recite this incantation (*zhou*), as follows...” Despite the obscurities of L, both Chinese versions appear to derive from an earlier and shorter recension of this passage, but given the repetitive nature of the text, haplography in this recension cannot be ruled out altogether (i.e., between one occurrence of *buddha-śāsana* and another), so that T might even reflect an older version.

achieve various realizations, followed by the usual cosmic quakes, rains of flowers, peals of celestial music and so on (15J). Maitreya, Divyamauli and Ānanda are given the title of the text, and the sūtra concludes with the general rejoicing of the audience (15K).

IV. The DKP Mantra: Text

Let us turn now to the text of the mantra itself, which is short but extremely problematic. In the critical edition of the Tibetan translation it occupies a mere six and a half lines, but there are so many variants between the collated Kanjur editions that nearly every syllable is footnoted in the critical apparatus (see Appendix II). The selection of readings in the edition (an attempt to establish the received text) is tentative in the extreme, and is not necessarily followed in this study. Reconstructing the Indic underlying the Tibetan is thus far from easy, but we are helped by the fact that much of the mantra is intelligible, especially the later sections (these take up some of the themes of the preceding prose passage translated above). Further, it appears that the phonology (if not the grammar) of the text which the Tibetan translators used was Sanskrit, rather than Prakrit, although it is quite possible that this may have been the result of a process of regularization or Sanskritization applied to the whole sūtra. In what follows, a Sanskrit reconstruction based upon the Tibetan transcription is used as a basis for the study of the two Chinese versions, L and K. We note that L transcribes the first part of the mantra, then switches approximately halfway through to a translation. The text of K, by contrast, maintains transcription longer. This raises the thorny question: where does the mantra end? If we go by the Tibetan text, which remains in transcription mode longest, we see that the mantra passage finishes abruptly without closure of the usual sort (e.g., *svāhā*), to be followed by the commencement of the next section of the text. In the absence of any such closure, and given the intelligibility of at least some of the later phrases, it was clearly anyone’s guess where the actual mantra ended, and thus Lokakṣema and Kumārajīva have reached different decisions on the matter. In one sense the Tibetan represents the most cautious solution, by running the transcription as far as it can possibly go. This situation ought to make it easier for us to reconstruct the later sections, since we have both Indic text and Chinese translation for them, but in practice it turns out to be just as difficult to reconcile the three versions with each other. What might also help us is the fact that in all editions of K the transcription is divided into numbered sections (1 to 19); in the Korean (高) and Shōgo-zō (聖) editions this numbering is carried over into the final prose sections (20–21), but this is not the case with the “Old Song Edition” (宮) and the three editions of the Song, Yuan, and Ming (三), or the Jisha (中) edition, which has also been consulted by the authors. (For information regarding these sources, see the explanation of abbreviations used in the edited Chinese versions below.)

Critical Notes: (1) 三、中：語；(2) 三：祝；(3) 宋、宮、聖、高：少；(4) 宋、宮、聖、高：晏；(5) 宋、宮、聖、高：眇；(6) 聖、高：蚊；(7) 聖、高：眇；元、明、中：哆；(8) 三、中：；(9) 宋、宮：；(10) 宋、宮、聖、高：和；(11) 中：如；(12) 三、宮、中 omit: 佛；(13) 三、中：祝；(14) 三、宮、中 omit: 言

K:(T625.388b11–24)

爾時四天大王白佛言。世尊。我等四王。是佛聲聞當堅守護。於是經法令得久住。我諸眷屬若有不信佛此法者摧伏令信。於佛法中勤加精進親附愛樂。世尊。若有天龍夜叉乾闥婆阿修羅迦樓羅緊那羅摩睺羅伽等。有惡心者。若欲降伏當誦此咒。所謂多羅卑《一》伊¹卑《二》伊¹那卑《三》婆羅卑《四》呼婁《五》摩呵呼婁《六》呼婁呼婁《七》伊¹婆²𩇛《八》毘婆³𩇛《九》波⁴𩇛⁵車陀尼期⁶那泥⁷《十》波⁸迦奢泥⁷《十一》希持希持《十二》⁹毘持《十三》阿車《十四》多車《十五》摩羅伊¹𩇛¹⁰泥⁷伽睺《十六》薩婆𩇛𩇛提那¹¹《十七》薩婆彌利車𩇛𩇛¹²多那《十八》阿那憂¹³多羅薩婆復多那佛¹⁴陀𩇛¹⁵尼多《十九》四天¹⁶大王所見咒句《二十》¹⁷是咒神力諸欲求短悉能降伏《二十一》¹⁸

Critical Notes: (1) 高：使；(2) 三、宮、聖：娑；(3) 三、宮、中：淩；(4) 聖：婆；(5) 三、中：離；(6) 三、宮、中：斯；(7) 高、中：呢；(8) 宋、元、宮、中：𩇛；明：𩇛；聖：𩇛；(9) 三、宮、聖、中 insert 生；(10) 聖、高 𩇛；(11) 高 omits: 那；(12) 三、宮、聖、中 read 也𩇛 for 𩇛；(13) 宮、聖：優；(14) 三、宮、聖、中：羅；(15) 三、宮、聖、中：跋；(16) 三、宮、中：四天乃至降伏二十字作長行；(17) 三、宮、中 omit: 二十；(18) 三、宮、中 omit: 二十一

A reconciliation of the two Chinese versions with the Sanskrit as reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan is impossible in many places, especially towards the end of the mantra, where one easily loses the trail. However, a preliminary attempt is made below, in the hope that the collation of as yet inaccessible Kanjur editions might later clarify problems with the Tibetan text, while further study of Lokakṣema’s and Kumārajīva’s transcriptions might throw new light on the Chinese.

In the following comparisons, provisional phonological reconstructions are given for the Chinese graphs. The reconstructed forms supplied for the L text have been posited for the late Han Buddhist transcriptional dialect (BTD). This reconstruction is discussed in detail in a recent article.¹³ Phonological reconstructions for the K version are given in a different system, called “Old Northwest Chinese” (ONWC), representing the dialects of Chang’an and the Gansu Corridor in ca. 400 CE. Details of the ONWC reconstruction have been presented in an earlier monograph, and the entire system has been modified and further developed in a

¹³ W. South Coblin, “BTD Revisited: A Reconsideration of the Han Buddhist Transcriptional Dialect,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 63 (1993): 867–943.

more recent work.¹⁴ It should be noted that, in both the BTD and ONWC systems, the dental stops are assumed to have had “post-dental” allophones of some sort before front vowels. It is possible that they were in fact phonetically retroflex stops here, though some authorities argue for a palatal stop value. *Qieyun* System (QYS) reconstructions are cited in this study according to Karlgren’s “Ancient Chinese” system, as modified by F. K. Li. They are given solely as a convenient reference to the sound categories of the QYS; we do not assume that they are “correct” or represent any actual form of early Chinese.

L:

tarabe	arabe	anobe	sarabe
多[x]𤝵	唵𤝵	阿獵𤝵	[唵𤝵?]沙[>娑]獵𤝵
ta [x] pie	ʔam: pie	ʔa lap pie	[ʔam: pie] sa lap pie

tarabe: There is probably a missing graph between 多 and 𤝵 here. The contrary possibility that the Chinese form reflects a shorter form such as **tarbe* or **tabbe* seems slight, since parallel *arabe* and *sarabe*, containing the syllable ra-, are intact in the Chinese transcriptions.

唵𤝵: This form does not appear to correspond to anything in the Indic version, but see sub *anobe* below.

anobe: The Chinese has nothing opposite this word. But it seems possible that 唵𤝵 above is in fact the corresponding form and is out of place in the Chinese version. It may represent a variant or corrupt reading such as **ambe*.

sarabe: The graph 沙 here is perhaps a erroneous reduction from earlier 娑. And 娑, which stands immediately before 沙 in the received text versions may be an excrescent form mistakenly added due to similarity with 娑.

K:

tarabe	arabe	anobe	sarabe
多羅卑《一》	伊 (~使)卑《二》	伊那卑《三》	婆[>娑]羅卑《四》
ta la pie	ʔii (~ ʂə:) pie	ʔii na- pie	sa la pie

arabe: Chinese 伊 and its variant 使 appear a number of times in this text opposite foreign a- or ā-. They seem to be errors for some other graph.

anobe: Chinese 那 here suggests a possible **anabe* in K’s text.

¹⁴ W. South Coblin, *Studies in Old Northwest Chinese*, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* Monograph Series, no. 4 (Berkeley, 1991); and *A Compendium of Phonetics in Northwest Chinese*, *Journal of Linguistics* Monograph Series, no. 7 (Berkeley, 1994).

sarabe: 婆 is probably an error for 娑.

L:

hulu	mahāhulu	hulu hulu	āvaṭṭe vikaṭṭe [vivaṭṭe]
休婁	摩[x]休婁	伊[>休]婁	牽[>?]婁 阿和囉惟越囉
hu lou	ma [x] hu lou	hu lou -?- lou	’a wa tēi ui wat tēi

mahāhulu: There appears to be a graph missing from the second position in the Chinese form.

hulu (1): Chinese 伊 may be a corruption of earlier 休.

hulu (2): The graph 牽 (BTD *khèn/khèn//QYS khien) also seems to have been substituted for some other Chinese form.

vikaṭṭe: The Chinese transcription appears to reflect an underlying form such as **vivaṭṭe*. The same Indic word seems to have been present in K’s text.

K:

hulu	mahāhulu	hulu hulu	āvaṭṭe vikaṭṭe [vivaṭṭe]
呼婁《五》	摩呵呼婁《六》	呼婁呼婁《七》	使婆娑《八》毘婆娑《九》
ho lou	ma ha ho lou	ho lou ho lou	ṣa ba te bii ba te

vikaṭṭe: K’s transcription, like that of L, suggests an original **vivaṭṭe* here. *Vivaṭṭe* is highly likely. *Āvaṭṭe vivaṭṭe* may have been Prakrit third person plural optatives for Skt. *ā-vṛt-*, *vi-vṛt-*, i.e., “May they turn away, may they turn back.”¹⁵

L:

paricchadani	nigrahṇati	praghātani
波利哆陀那	尼岐哆[?]	波袈(～袈) [>伽]散那
pa li- tśhe da na-	ni gie tśhe (?)	pa kṛa (-ka) [ga] san- na-

岐: In this line stands for Tib. *grī* (= Indic *grī*). And we may note that other Chinese syllable types, for which no such r-like element is normally posited by Chinese historical phonologists, can also serve in the early transcriptions to render Indic syllables of the sort in question here. Cf. for example 期 (BTD *giə/ ONWC *giə// QYS *gji) standing for *grī* in the K version of the mantra. In fact, it seems likely in such cases that ṛ- was actually represented as -i- in the underlying Indic texts. For example, compare from the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*: *akida* (= Skt. *akṛta*),

¹⁵ Cf. Richard Pischel; trans. by Subhadva Jhā, *A Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages* (2nd ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), 329.

apa-kica (= Skt. *alpa-kṛtya*), *gihi* (= Skt. *grhin*), etc. (all examples after John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* [London: Oxford University Press, 1962], Index). Burrow has noted that the regular treatment of original ɾ in Gāndhārī is *ri*, written *ri*, *ɾ*, and *ɾɾ*,¹⁶ but it is especially noteworthy in connection with the present case that underlying ɾ after velars is always realized as a vowel, rather than as *ri* or the like, in the *Dharmapada*.

na: It is possible that this syllable is actually represented by Chinese 那, which was subsequently anteposed by scribal error.

𑖦𑖩: The reading of the Chinese text seems quite uncertain at this point. Also possible is the variant form 𑖦𑖩, which has a number of QYS readings: *tâ*-, *tâ*-, *ṭa*, *ṭha*, *tshje*-, *tshja*-, *tshii*-. And there is the further possibility that some other graph, such as 𑖦𑖩 (BTD *de://QYS dje:) was the original form. The Indic is not at all clear; one ought to note the confusion in the Tibetan text at this point. The selected reading *nigrhṇati* is that of LST (except that S has the obvious error *nigrhṇati* and T similarly *nigrhṇati*). On the Tshal pa side CJN have *nigranibāte*, Q has *nigraninhāti*, while the more edited texts D and H read *nigrhṇite* and *nigrnibāte* respectively, presumably via conflation with the *Them spangs ma* reading. Therefore *nigrhṇati* was probably the reading of the somewhat more edited *Them spangs ma* (but perhaps not of recension A of the DKP), while *nigranibāte* may well have been the reading of the Tshal pa, and thus of recension B. Neither form fits those of the Chinese versions. *Grhṇati* is attested as third p. sing. present (cf. Edgerton, BHSG, 210), but *nigrhṇati* could also be present participle, feminine vocative. The sense is obscure; *paricchadani* (or *dāni*) could be a verbal form or the locative singular (i for e, see BHSG, 53) or neuter plural of a noun. Note that K groups it with the following word in its section 10.

𑖦𑖩 (~𑖦𑖩): It is possible that both these readings are errors for 𑖦𑖩 (BTD *ga).

𑖦𑖩: The use of this syllable to transcribe foreign *ta n-* is quite interesting. It seems possible that it represents the secondary frication of intervocalic *-t-* which sometimes occurred in the northwest Prakrits.¹⁷

¹⁶ Thomas Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937), 2.

¹⁷ On such intervocalic fricatives cf. Brough, *Dharmapada*, 94–95, and Gérard Fussman, “Gāndhārī écrite, gāndhārī parlée” in Colette Caillat, ed., *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1989), 433–501.

K:

paricchedani	nigrhṇati	praghātani
波離車陀[尼]	尼期那泥《十》	波迦奢[>大?]泥《十一》
pa le tśha da [ni]	ni giə na- nēi pa ka śa [> da- ?] nēi	

It is possible that one 尼 has been deleted here by haplography.

離: As is common in early northwest transcriptional texts, the mouth radical is added here to show that Chinese initial *l*- is to be pronounced as an r-like flap or trill rather than as a plain lateral.

praghātani: Chinese 奢 may be an error for 大. Alternatively, however, it might be correct and represent a northwest Prakrit frication of intervocalic *-t-*, as is perhaps also the case in the L version. K, and to a much lesser extent L, although obscure, suggest the possibility of a string of verbal forms with the ending *-ani*.

L:

iṭṭi iṭṭi	viṭṭi viṭṭi	acche	gacche
𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦	𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦	𑖦𑖦𑖦	𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦
ʔii li- ʔii li-	ui li-	ʔat tśhe	tat tśhe tat

iṭṭi: The use of Chinese initial *l*- opposite Indic *ṭ* and *ḍ* is fairly common in Han-time transcriptional texts and probably reflects a Prakritic shift to a lateral such as *ḷ* or *ḻ* in the underlying language of the text.

viṭṭi viṭṭi: Both Chinese versions indicate a version with only one *viṭṭi*.

gacche: The Chinese transcription may reflect a variant form **tacche*. It would seem that K's text also had this variant. Final 𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦 seems to be excrescent.

K:

iṭṭi iṭṭi	viṭṭi viṭṭi	acche	gacche
希持希持《十二》	毘持《十三》	阿車《十四》	多車《十五》
hi diə hi diə	bii diə	ʔa tśha	ta tśha

acche: The appearance of Chinese 車 opposite *-cche* here is curious, since in other texts K normally uses this graph to render foreign syllables such as *cha*, *ccha*, etc. It seems possible that K's text read **accha taccha*.

gacche: As in the L version, the Chinese transcription here points to an underlying **tacche* ~ *taccha*, or the like.

L:

māra- nigrahaṇa

摩羅 伊陀

ma la 'ii da

悉當令信向佛法

Māra: This (or *Mara* if we follow the reading of CHJN, as is found in the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*, v. 297) is clear enough, but the next two syllables are problematic. One notes that 伊 is also used by Lokakṣema for *-ya-* in *āyatana* (see e.g., T 624.358a23–24), so one very hypothetical reading of L here would be *mārāyatta* (i.e., *māra* + *āyatta*), “under the sway of Māra.” The same syllable appears at this point in K too (see below), and since elsewhere in K it appears to be used for Indic *a* or *ā*, another—equally tentative—reading would be as a compound with *ādi* as the final member, on the model of Sanskrit *mārādayaḥ*, i.e., “beginning with Māra,” “Māra, etc.” This is perhaps marginally more likely, given that L ends the transcription at this point, and switches to translation with 悉當令信向佛法, “(They) shall all be made to have faith in the Buddha’s dharma.” This could be an attempt by L to unpack the meaning of the unknown verbal form represented in K, which continues to transcribe but is equally obscure.

K:

māra- nigrahaṇa

摩羅 伊咤 泥伽喉《十六》

ma la 'ii ? nēi ga you

伊咤: See above.

喉: At this point both Chinese texts become difficult to account for. Perhaps some Prakrit form of the verb *ni* √*grab* underlies K’s forms, but L appears not to have preserved it.

L:

sarva-parapravādi(na?)[-nigrahaṇa]

其有邪意者皆令正心

“Any who have heterodox ideas shall all be made true in heart.”

K:

sarva-parappravādi (na?) [-nigrahaṇa]

薩婆𑖅[>𑖅] 𑖅[>𑖅] 提那《十七》

sat ba buat buat dēi na-

𑖅: This graph may be an error for 𑖅, which seems to be used for foreign elements such as *-pra-* and *-para-*, *var-*, etc.

From this point on, after the possible end of the mantra—at least as far as L was concerned—the Tibetan text appears to represent an amplified version in which a long compound or string of words has been broken up, with *nigrahaṇa* inserted after each member. Although it is difficult to be sure, in K we seem to have only the original compound or string. In this instance, therefore, K may carry a transcription of *pa(r)ap(r)avādina*, i.e., an in stem extended by a; cf. Pischel, *Grammar*, 290 and Edgerton, BHSg, section 10:3; or, alternatively, an in stem in gen. pl.; cf. BHSg, section 10.204 (but only *metri causa* according to Edgerton). It all depends on how one construes the text, but given the numbering of K, it is obvious that there is no verbal form following.

L:

sarva-mithyā-prayātāna(n) [correct form?] [-nigrahaṇa]

其有閱叉自用者

“Any self-willed yakṣas...”

K:

sarva mi thyā -prayā tāna(n) [-nigrahaṇa]

薩婆彌利 車𑖅[>𑖅]𑖅 多那《十八》

sat ba mie li- tśha buat ia ta na-

利: This graph is anomalous and seems to be intrusive here.

thyā: The use of Chinese 車 to render this syllable implies an underlying Prakritic **cha*.

𑖅: This is clearly a special graph, constructed to transcribe foreign *-yā*. It is noteworthy that some text versions read not 𑖅 but 𑖅 here. This curious variant reading is almost certainly a special *fanqie* gloss, added as a phonetic annotation on the graph 𑖅. Thus: ONWC **[a: + kh]a* → *ia*. It would seem that this *fanqie* note was mistakenly copied into some recensions of the text, whereupon the preceding 𑖅 was deleted. The graph 𑖅 is of some interest from the standpoint of early northwest phonology. It has been formed on 𑖅, which is a popular variant writing for 蛇 (QYS dZ ja) “snake.” Now there is considerable evidence that throughout

the medieval period the colloquial pronunciation for “snake” in the Chang’an and Gansu Corridor areas was not the expected ONWC form *za but rather *ia (= QYS jia), a reading which is actually attested in the later dictionary *Jiyun* 集韻 and identified as a colloquial reading of the Guanzhong 關中 area (see Coblin, *Compendium*, and “Remarks on Some Early Buddhist Transcriptional Data from Northwest China,” *Monumenta Serica* 42 [1994]: 151–169). It would appear that this pronunciation underlies the special graph 𪛗 here.

K lacks an equivalent for *nigrahaṇa* here too. The Indic form is obscure. It could be a form of *mithyā-prayāta*, “gone astray” (cf. Pāli *duppayāta*, s.v. *payāta* in the Pali Text Society Dictionary), possibly another gen. pl. in *-āna* (the final *-n* in the Tibetan transcription is mysterious, and may have become attached from the next item). *Michapayātāna* would fit K perfectly.

L:

sarva-bhūta-nigrahaṇa sarva buddha-varṇitā dharma-niyatāśaya

皆不自貢高。皆當令讚歎佛而擁護法。

“...will all cease being puffed up about themselves. They will all be made to praise the Buddha and protect the dharma.”

Various interpretations and emendations of the Indic may be proposed, but none can be upheld with certainty, given the ample likelihood of corruption and the multiplicity of possible Prakritic forms. *Sarva-bhūta-nigrahaṇa* is attested only in the *Them spangs ma* tradition (from which Derge has apparently borrowed it), and may perhaps be deleted. *Sarva buddha-varṇitā* may be read as a complete sentence (“All [become] extollers of the Buddha.”) or, reading *varṇita*, as an adjectival phrase qualifying something else (“extolled by all Buddhas”). Should we emend what follows to read *dharmā-niyatāśayā* (“[They become] those whose resolve is set on the dharma”) or *dharmā-niyatāś [c]āya[m]*, supplying a missing *ca*, and taking *ayam* (“this”) with what comes next (“And [they become] devoted to the dharma. This...”) At this stage these are little more than stabs in the dark, which is only likely to be dispelled by the discovery of a better Tibetan text or of parallel passages in other works.

K:

𑖀 sarva-bhūta [-na?] buddha-varṇitā
阿[?]那憂(~優)多羅 薩婆復多那 佛陀唎尼多《十九》
’a na- ’u (~ ’u) ta la sat ba buk ta na- but da buat ni ta

Could the first portion of this passage represent Skt. *a na uttara* or *anuttara*? Reconciliation of the three versions is virtually impossible around this point. Indeed, all three may have been based on seriously corrupt exemplars, given the wide scope for dittography and haplography presented by this section of the text.

L:

aya[m] bhūtan [or: buddhana?] buddha-varṇitan catur-mahārāja-nirdeśana mantra-balān
是要佛之所說。四天王咒是言
“This is the essence, expounded by the Buddha(s), the incantation of the four celestial kings consists in these words.”

K:

aya[m] bhūtan [or: buddhana?] buddha-varṇitan catur-mahārāja-nirdeśana mantra-balān
四天王所見咒句《二十》
“The incantation text revealed by the four great celestial kings.”

K has nothing for the first part of the section in the Indic, but haplography may have occurred, given the repetition of *buddha-varṇitan/-varṇitāna*.

L:

avatāra-prekṣiṇā-nigrahāya
其有求人短者皆得不勝
“Any who seek out the weaknesses of others must all be defeated.”

K:

mantra-balān avatāra-prekṣiṇā-nigrahāya
是咒神力諸欲求短悉能降伏《二十一》
“The awesome power of this incantation can subdue all those who wish to seek out the weaknesses [of others].”

V. Conclusion

As a highly tentative first try, the above attempt to reconcile and render intelligible the three texts of the DKP mantra is to be taken merely as a basis for further study. Much of it is sheer guesswork, the product of desperation rather than inspiration, and the authors would of course be delighted if other scholars with a better grasp of Sanskrit took the time to correct its mistakes or suggest improvements. After all, those with a greater familiarity with mantra texts may well know of parallels which we have overlooked. In addition, the collation of other ancient Tibetan Kanjur manuscripts may well clear up certain problems with the Tibetan transcription, which must remain our starting point. Nevertheless, even this preliminary attempt is not without its results, both in the fields of Chinese and Indic phonology.

On the Chinese side we may in particular draw attention to two points. The first is our new evidence that Kumārajīva probably knew an ONWC reading *ia (corresponding to QYS jia) for 蛇 “snake,” a northwest dialect pronunciation for which there is support in other early sources. The second is the use of the word 蛟 (QYS gjie⁴) BTD *gie opposite Skt -gṛ-. Now, in recent years it has become common in certain quarters to cite cases where Division III *chongniu* 重紐 words transcribe Indic syllables in -ṛ- as evidence that such *chongniu* syllables had *r*-color or rhotacism of some sort in late Han and Six Dynasties dialects. But no notice is ever taken of cases in the same texts where Division IV syllables, such as 蛟, also serve this function. Such cases do however occur in the relevant texts, as our example illustrates. And in this connection we further note in our material that 期 (BTB *giə/ ONWC *giə// QYS gji), for which no one to our knowledge has ever reconstructed *r*-like features in early Chinese, can also serve this same function. And, in fact, in early northwest materials such cases are actually rather common. And, lastly and ironically, we have observed that the relevant underlying Prakrit forms in such cases may never have had an -ṛ- or “*ri*-like” sound in the first place! Instead they may have had plain, “*i*-like” vowels. In conclusion, then, it would seem that the use of Buddhist transcriptional evidence to support the reconstruction of rhotacism in Division III *chongniu* syllables should be reconsidered.

On the Indic side one could mention the following points. In the forms for *nigṛhṇati*, as we have just noted, both L and K suggest that Indic -ṛ- was in fact something like -i- in the underlying text, i.e., L: 尼蛟[那]眇 ni gie na- tśhe ; K: 尼期那泥 ni giə na- nēi . This is a feature of various Prakrits (cf. Pischel, *Grammar*, 51–57). The renderings of *pragbātani* possibly point to fricativization of underlying intervocalic *t*-, i.e., L: 波[伽]散那 pa [ga] san- na- ; K: 波迦奢泥 pa ka śa nēi. This may be a northwest Prakrit feature (Brough, *Dharmapada*, 94–5). In L, the forms for *iṭṭi* and *viṭṭi* show a lateral opposite Skt. ṭṭ-, i.e., 伊利惟利 ’ii li- ui li-. The change of intervocalic -ṭ- to -l- is a well-known Prakrit feature (Pischel, *Grammar*, 172). Text

K, on the contrary, seems to indicate change to *-d-* or *-dd-* here, i.e., 希持毘持 *hi diə* [dēiə] *bii diə* [dēiə]. Finally, opposite Skt. *-thyā-* in *mithyā* K has 車 *tsha*. Cf. corresponding Gāndhārī *micha* (Brough, *Dharmapada*, 306). Palatalization of this type is widely seen in the Prakrits (cf., for example, Pischel, *Grammar*, 197, section 280).

These results may seem disproportionately small for so much work, but further study may well unlock more of this enigmatic text, especially if new materials come to hand. In this regard the complete study of Lokakṣema’s transcriptions adumbrated above will, it is hoped, throw further light on the portion of the mantra which he chose to render phonetically. The same applies to Kumārajīva’s transcriptional corpus. At the end of the day, the results may still be small, but they will at least be solid, and thus provide a firmer foundation for the continuing study of the linguistic interface between Indic Buddhism and Chinese culture.

Appendix I: List of Chinese Forms

This Appendix lists all Chinese transcriptional syllables found in the comparative section of Part 4 above. The arrangement is alphabetical, according to modern readings as spelled in the Pinyin system, with tones indicated by numbers. For characters which occur in both texts L and K, the following reconstructed forms are given: *BTD/ONWC//QYS. For characters found only in K we give *ONWC//QYS forms.

bei ¹ 卑 *pie//pjie ⁴	hou ² 喉 *you//yau	pi ² 毘 *bii//bi ⁴
bo ¹ 波 *pa/pa//puâ	hu ¹ 呼 *ho//xuo	po ² 婆 *ba/ba//bua
che ¹ 車 *tsha//tshja	ji ⁴ 妓 *ge/ge//gje: ³	qi ² 岐 *gie/gie/gjie ⁴
chi ¹ 眇 *tše/tshē//tshje	jia ¹ 伽 *ga/ga//gja	qi ² 期 *giə//gjī
chi ² 持 *diə//dī	jia ¹ 袈 *kja/kā//ka	qian ¹ 牽 *khèn/khèn// khien
da ² 妲 *tat/tat//tât	jia ² 迦 *ka//kja	sa ⁴ 薩 *sat//sât
da ⁴ 大 *da-//dâ-	li ² 離 cf. 離 *le//lje	san ⁴ 散 *san-/san-//sân-
di ¹ 𨮒 cf. 𨮒 *tèi/tèi//tiei	li ⁴ 利 *li-/li-//li-	sha ¹ 沙 *sja/sā//ša
di ³ 𨮒 ?	lie ⁴ 獵 *lap/liap//ljäp	she ¹ 奢 *ša//sjä
duo ¹ 多 *ta/ta//tâ	lou ² 婁 *lou/lou//ləu	shi ³ 使 *šə://ši:
e ² 頰 *ʔat/ʔat//ʔât	luo ² 羅 *la/la//lâ	suo ¹ 娑 *sa/sa//sâ
fa ² 𨮒 *buat//bjwɔt	mi ² 彌 *mie//mjie ⁴	ti ² 提 *dèi//diei
fo ² 佛 *but//bjət	mo ² 摩 *ma/ma//muâ	tuo ² 陀 *da/da//dâ
fu ⁴ 復 *buk//bjuk	na ⁴ 那 *na-/na-//nâ-	wei ² 惟 *ui/iui//jiwi
ge ¹ 袞 *ka/ka//kâ	ni ² 尼 *ni/ni//ni	xi ¹ 希 *hi//xjei
he ¹ 呵 *ha//xâ	ni ² 呢 *ni//ni	xiu ¹ 休 *hu/hu//xjəu
he ² 和 *wa/yua//yuâ		

yi¹ 伊 ii/ʔii//ʔi⁴
^ˆyi¹ 伊 *ʔii/ʔii//ʔi⁴
you¹ 優 *ʔu/ʔu//ʔjəu
you¹ 憂 *ʔu/ʔu//ʔjəu
yue⁴ 越 *wat/uat/junt
zhi¹ 蚩 *te/tje
ʔ 𪛗 see fa² 𪛗
ʔ 𪛗 cf. 𪛗 *khiə//khji-

Appendix II: Tibetan Text

Introductory Note: This is a roman transcription of Section 15G of the Tibetan text of the DKP exactly as it appears in Harrison 1992, pp. 293–297; no changes have been made in the selection of readings. The dual critical apparatus is also reproduced, the first being the principal apparatus, which gives variants shared by two or more witnesses (keyed to superscript arabic numerals in the text, here numbered consecutively rather than by page, as in the original), the second presenting single readings, attested by only one witness (keyed to superscript roman letters). The latter is taken from Appendix A, p. 340. When variants occur the reading of the text is that of all witnesses except those which appear in the relevant note in the apparatus. The sigla used are as follows:

C Co ne
D Sde dge
H Lha sa
J Li thang (‘Jang Sa tham)
L London ms
N Snar thang
Q Peking
S Stog Palace ms
T Tokyo (Kawaguchi) ms

It is unfortunate that this section of the DKP is not extant in either the Dunhuang ms or the Phug brag ms (see p. 295, n. 12). The readings preferred are generally those of LST (representatives of the *Them spangs ma* tradition), except where otherwise noted, but the edition is in any case somewhat tentative: a definitive treatment of this portion of the text must await the collation of other, as yet unavailable, Kanjur manuscripts.

Text

[15G] de nas bcom ldan ‘das la^a rgyal po chen po bzhis^b ‘di skad ces gsol to ||

bcom ldan ‘das^c rgyal po¹ bzhi po bdag cag dang | bcom ldan ‘das kyi nyan thos chen po de dag dang |² bdag cag gis chos kyi rnam grangs ‘di³ ring du gnas par⁴ bgyi ba’i slad du |⁵ bsrung ba dang |⁶ sba ba dang |⁷ bskyab^d pa la brtson par bgyi’o || bdag cag gi^e ‘khor gang dag sangs rgyas dang^f sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la ma dad pa de dag kyang |⁸ ci⁹ nas de bzhin gshegs pa’i bstan pa bsrung¹⁰ ba’i slad du brtson¹¹ par ‘gyur bar dad par bgyi’o || bcom ldan ‘das^g dge slong dang |¹² dge slong ma dang |¹³ dge bsnyen¹⁴ dang |¹⁵ dge bsnyen¹⁶ ma gang¹⁷ dag sangs rgyas kyi bstan^h pa la brtson¹⁸ pa dang | gzhan yang bcom ldan ‘das kyi bstanⁱ pa la mngon par dad pa srung¹⁹ ba²⁰ ma²¹ mchis pa de dag^j bsrung²² ba’i ched du gsang sngags²³ kyi tshig ‘di dag²⁴ kha ton du²⁵ bgyi’o ||^k gsang sngags²⁶ kyi tshig de²⁷ dag gis gnod sbyin dang |²⁸ srin po dang |²⁹ dri za dang |³⁰ mi ‘am ci dang |³¹ lto ‘phye chen po dang | grul^l bum la sogs^m pa dang |³² mi dangⁿ mi³³ ma yin³⁴ lags³⁵ pa dang | gzhan yang sangs rgyas kyi bstan^o pa la zhe sdang bar bgyid pa rnam³⁶ shin tu³⁷ tshar gcod³⁸ par ‘gyur ro^p ||

tadya thā | ta ra^q be³⁹ a ra^r be⁴⁰ |⁴¹ a no be⁴² |⁴³ sa ra be^{44s} | hu lu⁴⁵ mahā^{46t} hu lu |^{47u} hu lu⁴⁸ hu lu | ā⁴⁹ bad ʔe | bi kad ʔe | pa ri tstshe⁵⁰ dā⁵¹ ni | ni grī⁵² hṇa⁵³ ti⁵⁴ | pra⁵⁵ ghā ta ni | id ʔi^{56v} id ʔi⁵⁷ |^w bid ʔi bid ʔi⁵⁸ | ad tshe^x ghatstshe⁵⁹ ly mā⁶⁰ ra ni gra ha na |⁶¹ sarba pa⁶² ra^z pra⁶³ bā⁶⁴ di⁶⁵ ni⁶⁶ gra ha na |⁶⁷ sarba mid⁶⁸ thya⁶⁹ pra yā^{70aa} tā⁷¹ nan ni gra ha na |^{ab} sarba bhū⁷² ta ni⁷³ gra ha^{ac} na |^{74 75} bud dha^{76ad} bar ni⁷⁷ tā⁷⁸ dha⁷⁹ rma⁸⁰ ni^{ae} ya⁸¹ ta shā⁸² ya |⁸³ bhū⁸⁴ tān⁸⁵ |⁸⁶ bud⁸⁷ dha^{af} bar ni^{ag} tān⁸⁸ | tsa tur mahā⁸⁹ rā dza^{ah} nir^{ai} de^{aj} shān⁹⁰ | man tra⁹¹ ba lān⁹² | a ba tā ra⁹³ pre⁹⁴ kṣhi⁹⁵ ṇā⁹⁶ ni⁹⁷ gra⁹⁸ hā ya lak

1. Principal Apparatus

(1) CDHJNQ insert: *chen po*; (2) CDHJNQ omit: /; (3) CDHJNQ insert: *yun* (in Q *rnam grangs* ‘di *yun* compressed in small letters, suggesting correction on basis of J); (4) CJ insert: /; (5) CDHJNQ omit: /; (6) CDJNQ omit: /; (7) CDJNQ omit: /; (8) CDHJNQ omit: /; (9) CDJNQ: *ji*; (10) LT: *srung*; (11) JN *rtson*; (12) CJN omit: /; (13) CJN omit: /; (14) JT: *snyen* (C: *b*- inserted beneath line); (15) CJNQ omit: /; (16) J: *snyen* (C: *b*- inserted beneath line); (17) CJ omit: *gang*; (18) JN: *rtson* (C: *b*- inserted beneath line); L: *btson*; (19) Q: *bsrung*; LT: *srungs*; (20) T: *ma* for *ba*; L omits: *ba* (suggesting that its exemplar also read *ma*); (21) CDJ omit: *ma*; (22) CDJN: *srung*; (23) CJ: *sngag*; (24) CDHJN insert: *la*; (25) LT omit: *du*; (26) CJ: *sngag*; (27) HN: ‘di; (28) CJNQ omit: /; (29) CJNQ omit: /; (30) CJN omit: /; (31) CJNQ omit: /; (32) CJNQ omit: /; (33) CJ omit: *dang mi*; (34) CDHJNQ omit: *yin*; (35) CJ: *lag*; (36) J: *rnam*; C: *rnam*s, with -s inserted below; (37) CJQ: *du*; (38) CJNQ: *chod*; (39) DHQ insert: /; (40) CJ: *pa*; Q: *pe* (?); (41) CJN omit: /; (42) LQ(?): *pe*; CJ: *pa*; (43) CJN omit: /; (44) CJ: *pa*; LQST: *pe*; (45) QS

insert /; (46) HJLT *ma hā*; (47) CJN omit: /; (48) CJN insert: /; (49) CDHJN: *a*; (50) C: *cho*, HJN: *tshe*, Q: *tshee* (*tshe* with subscript 'a chung) for *tstshe*; (51) CHJNQ: *da*; (52) CJNQ: *gra*; S: *ghr* for *gr* (r represents reversed *gi gu*); CHJNQ insert: *ni*; (53) D: *hñi*, CHJN: *hā*, Q: *nhā*, T: *hna* for *hñā*; (54) CDHJN: *te*; (55) Q: *bra*; S(?)T: *phre*, L: *pre* for *pra* (reading of CDHJN accepted); (56) CJN: *te*; (57) JN: *ti*; (58) C: *ni*, NS: *te* for *ti*; (59) CDHJNQ: *gad tshe* for *ghatstshe*; (60) CHJN: *ma*; (61) LST omit: / (reading of CDHJNQ accepted); (62) JLQS : *ba*; (63) C(?) JQ: *bra*; (64) H(?)N: *pā*; (65) CJN: *de*; (66) CJNQ insert: /; (67) CJN omit: /; (68) CDHJNT: *mi*; (69) LST: *ryā* for *thya* (reading of CDHJNQ accepted); (70) CHJNQ insert: /; (71) DQ: *tā*, CHJN: *ta* for *tā*; (72) DH: *bbū*; (73) DH omit: *ni*; (74) CJNQ omit: *sarba bbū ta ni gra ha na* /; (75) Q inserts: *sarba*; CJN insert: *sarba* /; (76) LST insert: *ba*; (77) DQ: *ni*; LST insert: /; (78) LST: *dā*; CDHJN: *ta* (reading of Q accepted); (79) LST: *dhā*, CJ: *dhar*, Q: *dhār* for *dha* (reading of DHN accepted); (80) CJLQST: *ma*; (81) LST: *yan* (reading of DHJNQ accepted); (82) CHJNQ: *sha*; (83) CDHJN omit: /; (84) C: *bhyu* (?—unclear in J); (85) JQ: *tan*; CHN: *ta na*; (86) LST *bud dha na* for *bbū tāt* / (reading of CDHJNQ accepted); (87) CJN: *bbad*; (88) C(?)JQ: *tan*, LT: *tā na*, HNS: *ta na* for *tāt* (reading of D accepted); (89) DCH(?)LQT: *ma hā*; (90) LQ: *shan*, S: *shā na*, CHJN: *sha na* for *shān*; (91) DH: *mantra*; (92) CJLNQST: *lan*; H: *la na* (reading of D accepted); (93) CDHJNQ insert: /; CJNQ repeat: *a ba* (CJN: *bya*) *tā ra* /; (94) LST: *pri*, CJNQ: *pree* (*pre* with subscript 'a chung) for *pre* (reading of DH accepted); (95) Q: *kee*; CHJN: *kṣe*; LT: *kshi* (*sha* not inverted); (96) CHJNQ: *na*; LST: *nā*; (97) LST: *na* (reading of DHJNQ accepted); (98) LST: *gri* (reading of DHJNQ accepted).

2. Single Readings Apparatus

(a) S inserts: /; (b) J: *bzhi* (with small -s inserted later?); (c) H inserts: /; (d) Q: *skyab*; (e) S: *gis*; (f) H inserts: /; (g) H inserts: /; (h) J: *stan*; (i) J: *stan*; (j) C: *dang* / for *dag* (*dag* in J could easily be misread as *dang* /); (k) J: /; (l) J: *gru*; (m) J: *sog*; L: *logs* for *la sogs*; (n) H inserts: /; (o) J: *stan*; (p) L: 'gyuro; (q) H: *re*; T: *tar* for *ta ra*; (r) H: *re*; (s) T repeats *sa ra pe* /, omits: *bu lu*; (t) Q inserts: /; (u) T omits: *bu lu* /; (v) Q inserts /; (w) Q omits: / (end of line); (x) C: *tsho*; Q inserts: /; (y) Q omits: /; (z) Q: *bar* for *ba ra* (?); (aa) C: *ya*; (ab) Q repeats: *tā na na ni gra ha na* /; (ac) D: *hā*; (ad) H: *buddha* for *bud dha*; (ae) Q: *ni*; (af) H: *buddha* for *bud dha*; (ag) D: *ni*; (ah) C: *ja*; (ai) Q: *na ra* for *nir*; (aj) D: *ni rde* for *nir de*; (ak) T: //.

AŚVAGHOṢA IN CENTRAL ASIA:

SOME COMMENTS ON THE RECENSIONAL HISTORY OF HIS WORKS IN LIGHT OF RECENT MANUSCRIPT DISCOVERIES

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Abbreviations

BC	<i>Buddhacarita</i>
CA	Central Asian text(s) of BC or SN
H	Jens-Uwe Hartmann
J	E. H. Johnston(’s edition of BC or SN)
N	Nepali recension of BC or SN
SN	<i>Saundarananda</i>
ŚP	<i>Śāriputraprakaraṇa</i>
W	Friedrich Weller

I. Introduction

Beginning in 1911 and continuing up to the present, several manuscript fragments discovered in Central Asia of the poetic and dramatic works of the renowned Buddhist author Aśvaghoṣa have been published by Heinrich Lüders, Friedrich Weller, and, most recently, Jens-Uwe Hartmann. Although these remains are still quite scanty, there are by now enough of them to merit a general review and comparison with a view to evaluating their significance for the textual and historical study of Aśvaghoṣa’s texts. This is what is being undertaken in the present paper, which, it must be acknowledged from the outset, is based very heavily on the works of the aforementioned scholars, and also on those of E. H. Johnston, who published the standard versions of Aśvaghoṣa’s two *mahākāvyas* before the publication of their Central Asian fragments.¹ Whatever new is said here is hardly more than a footnote to their groundbreaking work. Nonetheless, it is hoped that this paper may at least serve to bring these studies into a broader perspective which may help to direct further studies of the subject.

¹ *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha*, (2 vols.; Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press for the University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1935–1936); *The Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa* [text edition] and *The Saundarananda: or, Nanda the Fair* [translation], (London: Humphrey Milford for the University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1928 and 1932).

II. The Works of Aśvaghōṣa: Summary of the Testimonia from South and Central Asia

In the present study, I will be referring only to those literary compositions which are generally agreed by modern scholars to be the authentic works of the “original” Aśvaghōṣa, who is usually held to have lived in or around the first or second century CE. These are the two *mahākāvya*s, the *Buddhacarita* [hereafter BC], “The Life of the Buddha,” and *Saundarananda* [SN], “Handsome Nanda,” and the drama *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* [ŚP], “The Śāriputra Play” (plus, possibly, fragments of other dramas; see below). The many other works, such as the *Vajrasūcī* and *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda*, which are attributed by Buddhist tradition to Aśvaghōṣa but which are not thought by most modern scholars to belong to him, are not considered here.

Of these “authentic” works of Aśvaghōṣa, the two *kāvya*s are known principally from the Nepali manuscripts on which Johnston’s standard editions and translations are based. Johnston’s [hereafter J] and other printed texts of the SN are based on two such mss. The older of these (J’s ms. L) is a palm-leaf ms., dated ca. 1165 CE, complete but with many lacunae caused by ants; the second is a late (ca. eighteenth century) paper ms., complete and intact but textually much inferior to L and derived more or less directly from it, and hence not really a separate testimony to the text. Thus the SN was edited from what amounts, in effect, to not much more than a single defective ms. with many uncertain and probably corrupt passages.

Since the publication of Johnston’s edition, two further fragments of mss. of the SN have been discovered in Central Asia.² The first of these, published by F. Weller in 1953,³ is a single folio of a ms. in Central Asian Brāhmī from Šorčūq, “not older than the 6th century AD,”⁴ which contains the text corresponding to SN IV.39a-V6c of J’s ed. The second fragment, which was originally published in 1971⁵ but identified only in 1988 by J.- U. Hartmann,⁶ is an early palm-leaf ms. in Kushan script of about the second or third century CE, also found at Šorčūq but probably originally written in India. This ms. contains a partial text of SN

² For a summary of the manuscript remains of the SN and BC, see Table 1 below.

³ Friedrich Weller, “Ein zentralasiatisches Fragment des *Saundaranandakāvya*.” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 1 (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin), 1953, 400–423 [hereafter “Ein zentralasiatisches Fragment”].

⁴ Weller, *ibid.*, 401.

⁵ In Ernst Waldschmidt, with Walter Clawiter and Lore Sander-Holzmann, *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 3, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 10, no. 3 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971), 176–178 and pl. 66.

⁶ Jens-Uwe Hartmann, *Neue Aśvaghōṣa und Mātṛceṭa-Fragmente aus Ostturkistan*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I.Philologisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1988, Nr. 2 [hereafter *Neue Fragmente*].

XVI.21c–33a.

The original Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita* is also principally attested by Nepali mss., but only incompletely. The published editions are based essentially on a single incomplete ms. (J’s ms. A) of about 1300 CE, comprising BC I.8–24 and I.40–XIV.31; portions of *sargas* I and XIV and the entire second half of the poem (*sargas* XV–XXVIII) are lost in the Nepali recension. The three other Nepali mss. of the BC are derived directly from this ms. A and hence are of little editorial value. J’s definitive edition of the BC is thus essentially based on ms. A, but he makes extensive use of the Tibetan translation, and to a lesser extent of the Chinese version, as a check on the Skt. ms.

But we now also have fragments found in Central Asia of a few more mss. of the BC. The first two of these, published by Weller in 1953,⁷ contain partial texts of the passages corresponding to BC III.16b–29a of J’s edition and to XVI.20d–36d of the Tibetan translation, this latter part of the text being lost in the Nepali mss. These fragments are also from Šorāuq, and seem to be of about the same age as Weller’s SN fragment, i.e., not older than the sixth century.⁸

Hartmann (Neue Fragmente, 57–66) has now published fragments from two other BC mss. The first of these, Cat. no. 2250 + 2054a/b, consists of fragments from two folios of the same ms., containing partial texts for BC II.48a–54d and XIII.66d–XIV.1a written in calligraphic North Turkestan Brāhmī. This ms. was apparently found at Sängim (*ibid.*, 57). The second new ms. is a palm-leaf ms. in Indian “Gupta script” of about the sixth century, containing (among other material; see below, Part IV.B.2) parts of BC XIII.28–29, 58–59, 67–68, and 70–72. This ms. was found at Qyzyl, but presumably came originally from India.

Unlike the two *kāvyas*, Aśvaghoṣa’s dramatic work(s) have been preserved only in the two fragmentary manuscripts found in Central Asia, published by Heinrich Lüders in 1911.⁹ We have no record or mention of these drama(s) in Indian sources.¹⁰ These mss. (Lüders’ K

⁷ Friedrich Weller, *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente des Buddhacarita*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 46, Heft 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1953) [hereafter *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente*].

⁸ Weller, *ibid.*, 25.

⁹ Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Königlich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911) [hereafter *Bruchstücke*]; “Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa” (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1911, 388–411 [hereafter “Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa”]).

¹⁰ There are, however, references in Dharmakīrti’s *Vādayāya* and elsewhere to a (lost) *Rāṣṭrapālānāṭaka* by Aśvaghoṣa; see Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, “A New Drama of Aśvaghoṣa,” *Journal of the Greater India Society* 5 (1938): 151–153, and Biswanath Bhattacharya, *Aśvaghoṣa: A Critical Study* (Santiniketan: Santiniketan Press, 1976), 101ff.

and C) were found at Ming-Öi, near Qyzyl, but since they written are on palm-leaves they presumably originally came from India.¹¹ Moreover, both were originally written in Indian Brāhmī of the Kushan period, i.e., about the second century CE,¹² but were rewritten at a later date in an early form of Central Asian Brāhmī.

From these fragments we have relatively substantial, though still very incomplete records of one or more dramas attributable to Aśvaghoṣa. In particular, we are fortunate enough to have, in Lüders’ ms. C, a relatively complete folio (C 4) of the concluding portion, with colophon, of what is identified therein by two alternative titles, *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* or *Śāradvatīprakaraṇa*. Besides this drama, there are also in ms. K, which according to Lüders was a “*Sammelhandschrift*,” fragments of what seem to be two other dramas, quite likely also by Aśvaghoṣa.¹³ Thus we have from the Central Asian tradition authentic specimens of one or more of Aśvaghoṣa’s dramatic compositions which were evidently lost in India and Nepal.

Though not unique like the dramatic texts, the Central Asian fragments of the two *mahākāvyas* are nonetheless of great importance for textual and critical study, as a balance and supplement to the more complete but often unsatisfactory Nepali mss. For, small as these fragments are, all of them provide a surprisingly large number of variant readings¹⁴ which are often preferable to those of the Nepali mss. and (in the case of the BC) of the Tibetan and Chinese translations.¹⁵ Thus we are now able to clarify several knotty problems concerning readings of these texts, and especially to solve several cases of suspected interpolations. Furthermore, while it was clear from the outset¹⁶ that the Central Asian mss. represent independent recensions of the texts in question, the subsequent discoveries have somewhat clarified the situation in this regard, such that it is now possible to undertake a tentative reconstruction of the recensional history of the poems. In the case of the SN particularly, these recensional differences have the potential to be of major significance for our knowledge and understanding of the text.

¹¹ *Bruchstücke*, 1; “Das Śāriputraprakaraṇa,” 389.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹³ It should be noted, however, that the situation here is not completely clear, and some scholars, notably Biswanath Bhattacharya (*Aśvaghoṣa, A Critical Study*, 90–101, esp. 99–100) have presented cogent arguments that all of the materials in the mss. concerned are part of not three, but of two, or perhaps even only one drama, namely the ŚP.

¹⁴ Cf. Weller, *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente*, 12.

¹⁵ Weller, *op cit.*, 14; Hartmann, *Neue Fragmente*, 60.

¹⁶ Weller, *op cit.*, 14.

III. Texts and Recensions of the *Saundarananda*

A. Weller’s fragment (SN IV.39a–V.6c)

The first Central Asian fragment of the SN, published by Weller in 1953 (“Ein zentralasiatisches Fragment”; see n. 3 above) contains—besides numerous more or less trivial graphic variants and scribal errors, especially incorrect notation of vowel length (suggesting that the scribe was not a native speaker of an Indian language)—several significant variants from the Nepali text [hereafter N]. These variants were carefully evaluated by Weller, with his customary precision and acumen, as to their superiority or inferiority to the Nepali readings.

The results of his examination were mixed. In several cases, e.g., IV.40/42b,¹⁷ *priyā-* for *bhāryā-* of the Nepali recension, or *vicakrame* for *pracakrame* in IV.43/45a, there does not appear to be any way to determine which reading, the Central Asian text’s [hereafter CA] or N, is the original one and which is the result of scribal or editorial alteration.¹⁸ But in a few cases, such as IV.44/46a-b, *muktamānam piṭṛnagare bhigatā[sic]ṃ gatābbhimānam* for *muktamānam piṭṛnagare’pi tathāgatābbhimānam* of the Nepali text, the reading of the CA fragment is evidently preferable. Also in IV.40/ 42d, the fragment has the stylistically preferable¹⁹ *taraṃs* for *turaṃs* of J’s edition.²⁰

Finally, in several places the reading of the CA fragment is evidently corrupt and inferior to that of N, as for example in IV.39/41c, *na tu tāt tatarpa* for N *na tatarpa nandaḥ*.²¹

Of particular interest in this small fragment is its disagreement with N in regard to the inclusion of possibly spurious verses. On the one hand, the Central Asian fragment has an additional verse, IV.45, at the end of the *sarga* which does not appear in N, and which is patently a spurious interpolation.²² On the other hand, the numbers of the verses of *sarga* IV in the fragment (disregarding the aforementioned inserted verse at the end) are each two lower than the corresponding verses in N and J’s ed. (cf. n. 17 above); thus, for example, the first verse of the fragment, IV.37, is equivalent to verse IV.39 of J’s text ed. This implies that

¹⁷ In the discussion of this fragment, the first verse number is the number as given in the Central Asian ms. itself, and the second the verse number in the Nepali recension (and hence also in J’s edition); see below for an explanation of the discrepancy.

¹⁸ See Weller, “Ein zentralasiatisches Fragment,” 415.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 415–416.

²⁰ Here J’s reading is from his preferred ms. L, but curiously enough the later and generally inferior Nepali ms. P agrees with CA in reading *taraṃs*.

²¹ For other examples see *ibid.*, 420–421.

²² *Ibid.*, 421–422.

two verses in the earlier portion of *sarga* IV of the N recension are later interpolations which were not in the CA recension (though it should be noted that, since we have already seen that CA also contained interpolations, we cannot be absolutely sure of the situation).

Weller (pp. 422–423) suspected that IV.10 and, less certainly, IV.7 are most likely to be the spurious verses, but I disagree here. At least one of his doubts about IV.10, namely that the expression “standing atop a mountain waterfall” (*girinirjharasthau*) in the simile of the Kinnara and Kinnarī (*kinṇarīkimpuruṣāv ivobhau*) “corresponds... to nothing in the statements about Nanda and Sundarī,” is unjustified, as the implied comparison here is to the balcony (*prāsādasamsthā*, IV.1; cf. also *harmyopari*, VI.1) on which the lovers were playing. I would rather point to the peculiar verse IV.3, citing in an uncharacteristically stilted manner Sundarī’s nicknames, which are unmentioned elsewhere in the text, as a very likely interpolated verse. The other interpolated verse could be IV.11, which is not only problematic and evidently corrupt in N, but is also clumsily repetitive of themes introduced in the preceding passage (IV.7–10, especially 9); it reads like a pattern-imitation of the type seen elsewhere in the mss. of A’s poems, as for example in the clearly spurious BC III.21 (see below, Part IV.A) and XIII.72* (see IV.B.2).

B. Hartmann’s fragment (SN XVI. 21c–33a)

If the comparison of Weller’s fragment with the N recension of the SN is inconclusive, the case is very different with the newly published fragment of *sarga* XVI of the SN (see n. 6 above). Here the divergences from the published additions are not only more numerous, but also, in several places, clearly superior. To mention a few examples:²³

XVI.22a, *roṣā[*dhike janmani tī]vr[*a]roṣa* for *roṣāvikai janmani tīvradoṣa* of Nepali ms. P (this portion is lacking in the superior Nepali ms. L). Here J’s emendation *doṣādhike...tīvradoṣa* is shown by the new ms. to be incorrect, while Gawronski’s suggestion of *tīvraroṣa* for the last word (see J’s text notes) is proven to be correct.

XVI.23b, *tadātmyato* for *tadāgamo* (emended by J to *tadāgamād*) of N (ms. P only).

XVI.28b and 29b, *antarīkṣam* for N *antarikṣam*. Though perhaps only an orthographic variant, this is still interesting and significant, as the spelling *antarīkṣa-* is characteristically Buddhist²⁴ and occurs elsewhere in A’s works (BC III.9). It is thus

²³ See Table 2 for a complete comparison of the two ms. traditions.

²⁴ See Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University, 1953), s.v.

likely to be the correct (i.e., original) reading here.

In some other cases, the variants are indeterminate. In XVI.25a, for example, the new ms. has *samyak* instead of *saumya* of N/J. Here Hartmann (*Neue Fragmente*, 69, n. 59) tentatively prefers the former reading, but *saumya* occurring again in XVI.47a could be taken to support the N reading. Since *samyak* is a “key word,” repeated many times in this chapter, it could here be a *lectio facilior* resulting from careless copying; if so, this would be a case of a corruption arising independently (and early) in the CA recension, though this is by no means certain.

Some other probable wrong readings are noted in CA, such as XVI.30b, *praśamas trikalpaḥ*, which should probably be emended to *praśamatrikalpaḥ*²⁵; and 30d, *trppramukhe* for *tripramukhe*. But these are relatively trivial scribal errors or orthographic variants, and do not seriously mar the textual integrity of CA or cast into doubt its obvious superiority to N.

In any case, the really important—and surprising—feature of this new text is its reading for the crucial passage XVI.30–33, in which the Buddha expounds to Nanda the principles of the Eightfold Path. Here there are several striking variants (see Table 2 for details). First of all, verses 32 and 33 of N/J, describing the subcategories within the Eightfold Path of *jñāna* and *yoga* respectively, are in reverse order in the new ms. (though only first word of J’s v. 32 is preserved). This latter arrangement appears to be a priori correct, as the three subdivisions (*śikṣās*) of the path are introduced in v. 30 in the order *prajñā* (*jñāna*), *praśama* (*yoga*), and *śīla* (*vr̥tta*). Verse 31 then enumerates the categories belonging to the last of the three subdivisions, *vr̥tta*, so that evidently they are being described in the reverse order; then, according to the new ms., v. 32 describes the second topic, *yoga*, and v. 33 the first, *jñāna*, as might have been expected stylistically. This order also accords with the description of the functions of the three *śikṣās* in the following verses, viz. *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā* in vv. 34–36 respectively. It is thus virtually certain that the order of verses in the new fragment is the original one, and that verses 32 and 33 were somehow, presumably unintentionally, switched in the N recension.²⁶ But the matter does not end here, for there are other notable divergences in this passage. First, instead of *sa bhāvanīyo* of 30c in N, CA has *tau bhāvanīyau*, which is clearly superior²⁷; for the phrase refers, not to the *mārga* in general introduced in a, but rather to the first two subcategories, *prajñā* and *praśama* mentioned in b, and balanced by the third, *śīla*, referred to

²⁵ Hartmann, 69, n. 62; but cf. n. 28 below.

²⁶ Cf. Hartmann, 69, n. 62.

²⁷ Hartmann, 69, n. 63.

in d.²⁸

Secondly, and more significantly, for *samyaksmṛtiḥ samyag attho samādhīḥ* of N/J XVI.33b, CA has in 32b [**smṛ*]tiḥ samādhīś ca parākrama[**ś ca*]. Here we are dealing with a variant which can hardly be attributed to normal scribal error or miscopying, but which rather indicates intentional editorial changes in the transmission of the text in the Nepali recension. For evidently in the original text *samyak-parākrama* was classed under yoga, but at some point in the N recension it was switched to the *prajñā* group, necessitating, among others (see below), this change in wording.²⁹ Thus the original text enumerated the elements of the Eightfold Path as:

<i>prajñā/jñāna</i>	<i>praśama/yoga</i>	<i>śīla/vṛtta</i>
(2 members)	(3 members)	(3 members)
<i>drṣṭi</i>	<i>smṛti</i>	<i>vākkarma</i>
<i>vitarka</i>	<i>samādhī</i>	<i>kāyakarma</i>
	<i>parākrama</i>	<i>ājīvanaya</i>

But these were re-arranged in the Nepali recension as:

<i>prajñā/jñāna</i>	<i>praśama/yoga</i>	<i>śīla/vṛtta</i>
3 members)	(2 members)	(3 members)
<i>drṣṭi</i>	<i>smṛti</i>	<i>vākkarma</i>
<i>vitarka</i>	<i>samādhī</i>	<i>kāyakarma</i>
<i>parākrama</i>		<i>ājīvanaya</i>

This change also explains the variation in 30b between *praśamadvikalpāḥ* of N and *praśamas* [sic] *trikalpāḥ* of the new ms. On the basis of these attested variants, we may confidently reconstruct (following H) the further original reading **prajñādvikalpāḥ* instead of N’s *prajñātrikalpāḥ*.³⁰ We can also assume that *idaṃ trayam* and *idaṃ dvayam* of N’s 32c and 33c must have been switched from their original positions, and that *parākramaś ca* in N 32b must have been substituted for something else in the corresponding passage (not preserved) in the 33b of the new ms., which cannot be reconstructed.³¹

²⁸ In light of the reading ...*praśamas trikalpāḥ*, dismissed above as a probable scribal error for *praśamatrikalpāḥ*, perhaps we should entertain the possibility that the original reading of 30b in the fragment was [**prajñā dvikalpā*] *praśamas trikalpāḥ*. This would confirm and clarify the reading *tau bhāvanīyau*.

²⁹ See the reconstructed text in Hartmann, 68–69, and Table 2 below.

³⁰ It may be noted that J’s ms. P here actually reads *prajñātrikalpāḥ* [sic].

³¹ Hartmann, 70, n. 68.

The question naturally arises of how such wholesale and, moreover, doctrinally significant tampering with the text could have taken place. Hartmann (69, n. 62) is no doubt correct that the problem is based on a mixing up of verses 31–33. One can easily imagine how the similar endings of verses 31–33 (*–parigrahāya* / *–parigrahāya* / *–parikṣayāya*) might have misled a scribe into switching two of these verses, especially in an old-style ms. in which each verse constituted a separate line of the ms. Thus the confusion seems to have begun with a transposition of the original verses 32 and 33. But this change would not, in itself, have caused the other changes, actually observed or presumed, noted above. For the transposition of 32 and 33 would produce merely a slight, perhaps even unnoticeable stylistic infelicity, in that the order of enumeration of the three śikṣās would be inconsistent with the order of their introduction in v. 30. But there would be no problem as far as the number of items (“*saṃyak-*s”) within each śikṣā.

So there must have been some further confusion involved, and I suspect that what happened was that in the process of reversing vv.32 and 33, or through a subsequent error by another scribe, the words *trayaṃ* and *dvayaṃ* were also interchanged, or perhaps rather left in their original positions while the rest of their verses were transposed, resulting in the hypothetical intermediate text presented in Table 2. This too is a very easy error, since the words in question are in parallel phrases (*idaṃ dvayaṃ* / *idaṃ trayaṃ*) in parallel positions (beginning of *pāda* c) in their respective verses; and if, as surmised above, the prototype ms. had one verse per line, these words would have been more or less directly above one another.

Unlike a simple reversal of verses 32 and 33, this additional transposition **would** result in an unacceptable, self-contradictory text (“Right doctrine and right thinking...; these three...” / “[right] attention, concentration, and effort; these two...”; see Table 2), and this defective text must be what was evidently re-written by some attentive and well-meaning editor somewhere along the later line of transmission in the South Asian recension(s) of the SN. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (II.25)³² there is an incidental reference to the *prajñā-skandha* comprising “right views, intentions, and effort” (*saṃyaktṛṣṭi- saṃkalpa-vyāyāmāś ca prajñā-skandha uktāḥ*). We can imagine that our presumed editor might have worked under the influence of this or some similar text or tradition which included ‘right effort’ (*parākrama* / *vyāyāma*) under the heading of *prajñā*, rather than under *yoga* as did Āśvaghoṣa originally.

The upshot of all this is that we now know that at least one doctrinally significant dislocation occurred in the Nepali recension of the SN, wherein an original mechanical scribal error (the transposition of two verses with simultaneous or subsequent further switching of

³² This reference was noted by Johnston in his translation notes to v. 31 (p. 91), where he expressed his doubts about this passage and suspected, rightly as it turns out, that vv. 32–33 might have been transposed.

a key phrase [*trayam* / *dvayam*] between the two verses) led to a blatant textual incongruity, which was at some later date incorrectly smoothed over by re-editing, possibly probably under the influence of a different doctrinal tradition regarding the Eightfold Path. Moreover, if my reconstruction of the process as detailed above is correct, the initial corruption must have arisen quite early, at a period when the old tradition of writing mss. with one verse per line was still in effect; to judge from the better-attested inscriptional parallels, this practice seems to be widely observed only until about the fifth century CE.³³ This is sufficient to seriously undermine our confidence (never very high to begin with) in the integrity and reliability of the Nepali mss. of the SN. If this small fragment of a very early Central Asian ms. has several significant scribal variants and one clear case of a doctrinally important editorial rewriting, how many more such cases would a complete early ms. of the text reveal? In short, the implications of the discovery of this new ms. of the SN are at once more exciting and more disturbing than might have been expected.

Finally, we can now begin to sketch, in a very rough way, the outlines of the recensional history of the SN. It is evident that there was a recensional split at a very early date between the Central Asian transmission of the text and a presumed Indian recension or recensions. The latter was presumably the ultimate source—through what developmental processes and complications we cannot even begin to guess—of the medieval Nepali recension, which, we now know, was subject to extensive corruption, evidently from an early period. From the Central Asian tradition, we now have two small but nonetheless revealing exemplars: one very early and apparently very reliable (though not perfect) specimen, originally imported from India, which may be only a century or two younger than the original composition of the poem; and another fragment, several centuries later, which is notably inferior to it. We may tentatively suppose that the latter item is in the same textual tradition as the early fragment, i.e., is likely to be derived, directly or indirectly from it (although since there is no overlapping of the portions of the text preserved in them this is really only a guess). The later CA ms. being, as far as we can tell from the small piece of text preserved, not much superior to the Nepali recension, we must conclude that—unfortunately but not surprisingly—the CA recension developed numerous corruptions of its own in the three or more intervening centuries between the two surviving mss.

Nonetheless, if we were to have further specimens of even this later, corrupted CA tradition, no doubt many of the problems of the text based on the Nepali recension could be solved. And if, by some miracle, more of the old ms. (or one like it) were found, we would be in an even better position, not only to reconstruct the text itself but also to address larger histori-

³³ See the comments by H. Lüders in *Epigraphia Indica* 24 (1937–1938): 198–199.

cal and Buddhological issues, for instance the long-standing but inconclusive argument as to Āśvaghoṣa’s sectarian affiliations. Thus while we can regret that we have so tantalizingly little of the old ms., we should still be thankful that we have even this small specimen of something which seems to be very much like the original SN as composed by Āśvaghoṣa.

IV. Texts and recensions of the *Buddhacarita*

Although, unlike the SN, the Sanskrit original of the BC is only partially preserved, the textual condition of its surviving portion is in general considerably better than that of the other poem. This is because, first of all, the Nepali mss. of the BC are less corrupt than those of the SN, and secondly because the Chinese and especially the Tibetan translations provide valuable assistance in textual reconstruction. And thirdly, we now have additional (though still very fragmentary) remains of mss. of the BC from Central Asia, including, though a stroke of luck, specimens of two different early mss. containing parts of the same passage from *sarga* XIII of the BC.

A. Weller’s fragments

The CA fragment³⁴ corresponding to BC III.16b–29a contains several readings which are superior to those of N, as discussed in detail by Weller (op. cit., 14–21); for example, [**v*] *ātāpānaiḥ* for *vātayānaiḥ* in III.20b,³⁵ and *prayāntam* instead of *prayātum* in III.26c.³⁶ But the most important datum in this fragment is the absence of v. 21 of the N recension, confirming J’s strong suspicions (translation notes, p. 36) that this verse “can hardly be authentic.”³⁷ The verse, as noted by J, is an obvious imitation of v. 19 which somewhere in the line of transmission of the N recension was inserted, intentionally or otherwise, into the text itself. This is further confirmed by the fact that the last two verses on the fragment, numbered 26 and 27, correspond to J/N numbers 27 and 28, showing that one verse before them in N was absent in CA.

³⁴ *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente* (see n. 7 above). The second fragment published by Weller in the same monograph, containing BC XVI.20d–36d, is not further discussed here, as it has no correspondent in the Sanskrit of the N recension (see above, Part II).

³⁵ This reading confirms the emendation suggested by H. Kern (see J’s text apparatus) and endorsed by J in his translation notes (35–36).

³⁶ Here, as was often the case, J noticed a problem and suggested (translation notes, p. 37) as an emendation what now turns out to be the probable original reading.

³⁷ See also Weller, *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente*, 12–13.

In general, then, this small fragment constitutes a distinctly superior text³⁸ with several readings which are clearly preferable to those of N and few if any that are inferior (*upeṣyati* for *upaiṣyati* in 23/24c and *nirmimire* for *nirmamire* in 25/26c are possible but by no means definite cases³⁹).

B. Hartmann’s fragments

1. Hartmann’s ms. a (Cat. nos. 2054a/b + 2250)

Although the small fragment Cat. no. 2054b preserves only a few words from BC II.48a–54d, it nonetheless contains some significant textual clues. In II.53d, for instance, the last word reads [**āca*]kām̐kṣe, where J’s text has *ācakāṅkṣa*. Here Hartmann notes that “both forms are possible,”⁴⁰ but it should be pointed out that J’s main source, ms. A, here actually reads (see his text notes) *ācakāṅkṣam̐*; the final *anusvāra* is very likely a miscopying for the diacritic vowel *e*, a common error, so that we can assume that the CA reading, i.e., *ācakāṅkṣe*, is the original one and that J’s emendation here was probably erroneous.

Also worth mentioning here is that the only verse number, 52, in the fragment does agree with the number of the corresponding verse in J/N. This may indicate that J’s suspicions (text introduction, p. xvii, and translation notes, pp. 22–23) about the authenticity of verse II.15, which is absent from the Chinese translation, are not justified, unless it is an interpolation which was introduced into the text at a very early stage, i.e., before the separation of the Indian and Central Asian recensions.

The other two fragments (nos. 2054a and 2250) of the same ms. are parts of the same folio, preserving portions of BC XIII.66d–XIV.1a (see Table 3). One significant reading here is *ca[l]e pade kiṃ [m]...* in XIII.69d. This reading, as noted by Hartmann,⁴¹ clarifies a previously problematic passage. J, whose ms. A had *cale pade kiṃ padam*, emended the last two words to *vismayam*, which now can be seen to be one of the few places where his intuition failed him. Indeed, the correct reading, as noted by J (text notes) and Hartmann (*ibid.*), was already anticipated by Weller in his edition of the Tibetan translation of BC.

It is also worthy of note that this fragment does not include an obviously spurious verse (here referred to as XIII.72*) which is added at the end of *sarga* XIII in the Nepali text (and in the Tibetan translation), but which was rightly rejected by J (text notes on XIII.72). The verse

³⁸ *Op cit.*, 21.

³⁹ *Loc cit.*

⁴⁰ Hartmann, 60, n. 23.

⁴¹ Pp. 58–59, n. 13.

in question is a blatant imitation or reworking of XIII.72, not unlike the case of the spurious verse III.21 discussed above (IV.A).⁴²

2. Hartmann’s ms. b (Cat. no. 24)

Further testimonia for several verses (28–29, 58–59, 67–68, and 70–72) of BC XIII occur in two fragments (p and w) of the peculiar *Sammelhandschrift*, Cat. no. 24, part of which (but not the part in question here) was published in 1965.⁴³ This ms., which is apparently of Indian origin, seems to contain among other texts a poetic description of the Buddha’s struggle with Māra based on BC XIII and quoting verses thereof, interspersed with what appear to be paraphrases or additional descriptions in prose. Due to its very fragmentary character it is hardly possible to specify what exactly is the character of this work; Hartmann (*ibid.*, 61) suggests a reworking of the BC in *campū* style. However this may be, this strange ms., even though it is not a text of the BC as such, may be admitted as legitimate testimony thereof. This is not just because it quotes several verses from it, but also because—surprisingly enough—it contains readings which are evidently superior to those of the other mss. of the BC proper.

What is particularly interesting here is that we have, apparently by a lucky coincidence, a textual overlap between the two new fragments, both of which preserve parts of BC XIII.67–68 and 70–72. A comparison of these and the Nepali text (see Table 3) shows a general pattern (so far as can be discerned from the limited remains) of agreement between N/J and ms. a (i.e., Hartmann’s Cat. no. 2045/2250), which is of Central Asian origin, as against ms. b (= Cat. no. 24), which is evidently from India. For example, in 67d ms. a agrees with N in reading *pūrve* versus b’s *pūrvam*; likewise in 70c, ms. a and N have *vimano* where b has *vi-manā*. There is no clear-cut case⁴⁴ where mss. a and b agree as against N, and only one case—a special one, discussed in the next paragraph—where ms. b agrees with N, against ms. a.

Since ms. b, as explained above, is not strictly speaking a ms. of the BC, one might be inclined simply to disregard its unique readings and adopt those of ms. a and N, were it not for the fact that in several cases the “b” readings are evidently superior. This is especially noticeable in the crucial verse XIII.72, where ms. b has two significant variants, [**sapari*]satke for N

⁴² This interpolated verse does, however, have some further significance in connection with Hartmann’s fragment b; see the following section.

⁴³ Ernst Waldschmidt, with Walter Clawiter and Lore Holzmann, *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 1, 16–17; for a full treatment, see Hartmann, *ibid.*, 60–66, and cf. Table 3 below.

⁴⁴ In 68d the two CA texts have *vegām* against N’s *veśām*, but the latter is an obvious paleographic error (corrected by J) and hence of no great recensional significance.

saparipakṣe in *pāda* a, and *ca vita[*maske]* for *jitatamaske* in b.⁴⁵ Both of these variants, as correctly noted by Hartmann (62, nn. 41–42) are distinctly preferable, on linguistic and stylistic grounds respectively; particularly telling is the former case, concerning which J (translation notes) observed that “*Paripakṣa* does not occur elsewhere.”

But the reading of ms. a for verse 72 also presents a further surprise. Unfortunately only part of *pāda* c is preserved in this ms., but we do find *vipāpmā*, instead of the *sahāsā* of N and ms. b (and of the Tibetan; see n. 45 above); this, as noted above, is the only significant case where N and b agree against a. This reading is unexpected and, as noted by Hartmann (59, n. 16), inferior on stylistic grounds. Even more surprising, the interlinear gloss in Tokharian here in ms. a reads *katkemane*, from a verb *kātk* usually used to render Sanskrit √*nand*, which would seem to refer to the reading *sahāsā* of the other texts rather than to the *vipāpmā* which actually appears in this ms.!

This is all so peculiar that it is tempting to simply dismiss the reading *vipāpmā* as some random or incidental error in the Central Asian ms. a; and I would be ready to do so, were it not for yet another surprising complication. This involves the definitely spurious verse XIII.72*, which, as discussed above, appears only in the N text and was correctly relegated to the footnotes of J’s ed. But it nevertheless must be noted that the spurious verse contains the word *vikalmaṣā*, which seems to echo the variant *vipāpmā* of the new ms. b. Now as in the case of many of the other spurious verses in the BC (see, again, the case of III.21 discussed above in Part III.A), XIII.72* is very closely modeled on the two previous verses, essentially a (not very skillful) re-writing of them in which many or most of the words are mere paraphrases (e.g. *pāpīyase* / *puṣpaketau*, *puṣpavṛṣṭayo* / *puṣpavarṣam*, *rarāja* / *cakāṣe*, *yoṣeva* / *yuvatir iva*, etc.). But there is nothing in the N version of verse 72 which would lead us to expect *vikalmaṣā* in 72*d; yet it would be precisely the type of rewording which we would expect in a imitative verse of this type if its composer had before him the reading *vipāpmā*, as in ms. a, rather than *sahāsā*, in 72c.

I think that we can therefore conclude that the imitator who composed XIII.72* probably did have the reading *vipāpmā*, attested by ms. a, in 72c, although the correct reading *sahāsā* was evidently restored at some later time to the Nepali text. Conversely, the peculiar Tokharian gloss noted above suggests that such a substitution must also have occurred at some point in the tradition of ms. a. All of this is comprehensible only if we assume—as I think we must—some genetic connection and/or conflation between the N and CA recensions. This is indicated by the fact that they share several readings against those of the Indian

⁴⁵ Here, as usual, the Tibetan translation agrees with the N recension on which it is based; see J. W. de Jong’s review of Weller’s *Zwei zentralasiatische Fragmente* in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, nos. 8/9 (1955): 404–406: *’khor dan bcas pa* for *saparipakṣe*, *mun pa ’pham zhiñ* = *jitatamaske*, and *rgod pa dan bcas* = *sahāsā*.

Sammelhandschrift ms. b, and above all by the surprising correlation between a’s reading of XIII.72 and the wording of N’s interpolated verse 72*. It would be most interesting to know what readings ms. a had for the variants in XIII.72a and b; we will probably never know this, but I think it very likely that they would have agreed with the (probably corrupt) readings of N, rather than the apparently original ones found in ms. b.

The conclusion to be drawn from this peculiar and complex situation is that we are evidently not dealing, in the case of the BC, with a simple distinction between a Central Asian and a Nepali/Indian recension. The Central Asian ms. a has a close relation with the extant Nepali tradition, and one which implies at least conflation and possibly genetic affiliation, while the originally Indian ms. b represents a separate and apparently more reliable tradition. The fact that b is a ms. of some text at least partially based on the BC, rather than of the BC itself, is unusual but does not invalidate its testimony since, as we have seen, it has clearly superior readings and hence must have been based on a better text of the BC itself than we now have.

V. Conclusions: Some comments on the textual and cultural context of Aśvaghoṣa in Central Asia

As discussed by Hartmann (56–57), the popularity of Aśvaghoṣa’s poetic and dramatic works in Central Asia cannot be compared to that of the poems of Mātṛceṭa, whose manuscript remains have been found in much larger numbers there. Nonetheless, the new discoveries of Aśvaghoṣa mss., including both those imported from India and those written in Central Asia, together with the previously known Central Asian fragments of his works, do suffice to show that they were held in considerable regard in the Buddhist communities of the northern Silk Route, at least among an elite audience who were educated in Indian literary traditions (Hartmann, 57). And as also pointed out by Hartmann, this audience must have consisted of, or at least included local people, rather than just Indians, since certain of the mss. in question contain marginal glosses in the local language, i.e., Tokharian.

It is also worthy of note that we have at least one case of an imitated verse, namely SN IV.45 in Weller’s Central Asian fragment (see above, III.A) which does not appear in the Nepali mss. This suggests (though it does not prove outright) that the practice of composing imitations of Aśvaghoṣa’s verses, and sometimes inserting them into the original texts, may have gone on in the Central Asian monasteries as well as in India. Such verses are reminiscent of the paraphrasing exercises prescribed in the Indian tradition for the training of young poets, and this example hints that Aśvaghoṣa was held up in Central Asia, as in India, as an ideal model for the composition of Buddhist poetry.

Finally, we have seen that what little of the recensional history of Aśvaghoṣa’s works

can be discerned from the Central Asian remains points toward a complex relationship with the Indian textual tradition (at least in the case of the BC, for which we have slightly more information than for the SN). This evidently reflects the repeated importation of Indian mss. of the works.

However this may be, there can be no question but that the new mss. are of the greatest importance for the study of the Buddhist Sanskrit *kāvya*, and we are much indebted to Dr. Hartmann for bringing them to light.

**TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR
SAUNDARANANDA AND BUDDHACARITA**

W = Published by F. Weller

H = Published by J.-U. Hartmann

1) SAUNDARANANDA:

Nepali mss. (>J's ed.)

All (ms. P complete; ms. L complete
but with many lacunae)

Central Asian mss.

IV.37 (= J.IV.39)-V.6c [W]
XVI.21c-33a (partial) [H]

2) BUDDHACARITA

Nepali mss. (J's ed.)

I.8-24, 40-XIV.31 (ms. A)

Central Asian mss.

II.48a-54d (very partial) [H]
III.16b-28a (= J III.29), with lacunae [W]
XIII.28-29, partial [H]
XIII.58b-59, 66b-68, 70-72, partial [H]
XIII.66d-XIV.1a, with lacunae [H]
XVI.20d-36d, with lacunae [W]

TABLE 2: SYNOPTIC TEXT OF SAUNDARANANDA XVI.21–33

[Significant variants between mss. indicated in **bold face**; conjectural reading in *italics*]

J's ed. (Nepali rec.; J's corrections in parentheses)	H's ms.	Reconstructed text (cf. H 68–9)
	
krodhapraharsādibhir āśrayāṇām utpadyate ceha yathā viśeṣaḥ/ tathaiva janmasv api naikarūpo nivartate kleśakṛto viśeṣaḥ // 21//	..... tathaiva janmasv api .ai[k]..ū.. .....t...kl.śakṛto viśeṣaḥ 21	krodhapraharsādibhir āśrayāṇām utpadyate ceha yathā viśeṣaḥ/ tathaiva janmasv api naikarūpo nivartate kleśakṛto viśeṣaḥ // 21//
roṣāvikai(došādhike) janmani tivradoṣa utpadyate rāgiṇi tivrarāgaḥ / mohādhike mohabalādhikaś ca tadalpadoṣe ca tadalpadoṣaḥ // 22//	ro[śā].....[vr].roṣa [u]tpadyat[e] rāgi[ṇi ti]vrarāgaḥ mohādh[i]k[e] mohabal[ā]..... .....[śaḥ] 2[2]	roṣādhike janmani tivraroṣa utpadyate rāgiṇi tivrarāgaḥ / mohādhike mohabalādhikaś ca tadalpadoṣe ca tadalpadoṣaḥ // 22//
phalaṃ hi yādṛk samavaiti sāksāt tadāgamo(ād) v(b)ijaga(-)m avaity atitam / avetya bijaprakṛtiṃ ca sāksād anāgataṃ tatphalaṃ abhyupaiti// 23//	phalaṃ hi yādṛk samavaiti [s]ā[k]sāt tadātmyato bijam avaity atitam a.....sāksād anāgataṃ tatphalaṃ abhyupaiti 23	phalaṃ hi yādṛk samavaiti sāksāt tadātyato bijam avaity atitam / avetya bijaprakṛtiṃ ca sāksād anāgataṃ tatphalaṃ abhyupaiti// 23//
doṣakṣayo jātiṣu yāsu yasya vairāgyatas tāsu na jāyate saḥ / doṣāśayas tiṣṭhati yasya yatra tasyopapattir vivaśasya tatra // 24//	doṣakṣayo jātiṣu y..... .....yate saḥ doṣāśayas tiṣṭhati yasya yatra tasyopapattir vivaśasya tatra 24	doṣakṣayo jātiṣu yāsu yasya vairāgyatas tāsu na jāyate saḥ / doṣāśayas tiṣṭhati yasya yatra tasyopapattir vivaśasya tatra // 24//
tajjanmano naikavidhasya saumya tṛṣṇādayo hetava ity avetya / tāms chindhi du[śic]khād yadi nirmumukṣā kāryakṣayaḥ kāraṇasaṃkṣayād dhi // 25//	.....y. samyak tṛṣṇādayo hetava ity avetya tañ chindhi duḥkhād yadi ni.m..... .....sa[m]kṣayād dhi 25	tajjanmano naikavidhasya saumya [?] tṛṣṇādayo hetava ity avetya / tāms chindhi duḥkhād yadi nirmumukṣā kāryakṣayaḥ kāraṇasaṃkṣayād dhi // 25//
duḥkhakṣayo hetuparikṣayāc ca śāntaṃ śivam sāksikuruṣva dharmam / tṛṣṇāvirāgaṃ layanaṃ nirodham sanātanaṃ trāṇam ahāryam āryam //26//	d.ḥkhak.a[ya]m het.parikṣayāc [ca] śā[n].m śivam sāk.ikuruṣ[v]a dharmam..........naṃ trāṇam ahāryam āryam 26	duḥkhakṣayo hetuparikṣayāc ca śāntaṃ śivam sāksikuruṣva dharmam / tṛṣṇāvirāgaṃ layanaṃ nirodham sanātanaṃ trāṇam ahāryam āryam //26//
yasmin na jātir na jarā na mṛtyur na vyādhayo nāpriyasamprayogaḥ / necchāvīpan na priyaviprayogaḥ kṣemaṃ padaṃ naiṣṭhikam acyutaṃ tat //27//	yasmin na jātir nna..... .....pryasam[p]prayogaḥ [n].cch.v.pa.na [pr].[yav].[p]prayogaḥ kṣema. padan naiṣṭhikam acyutaṃ tat 27	yasmin na jātir na jarā na mṛtyur na vyādhi(a)yo nāpriyasamprayogaḥ / necchāvīpan na priyaviprayogaḥ kṣemaṃ padaṃ naiṣṭhikam acyutaṃ tat //27//
dīpo yathā nirvṛtiṃ abhyupeto naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam / diśam na kāṃcid vidiśam na kāṃcit snehakṣayāt kevalam eti śāntim //28//	.....t..[bh]yu..[t]. n[ai]vāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam diśan na kāṃcid vi..... .....v.lam eti śāntim 2[8]	dīpo yathā nirvṛtiṃ abhyupeto naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam / diśam na kāṃcid vidiśam na kāṃcit snehakṣayāt kevalam eti śāntim //28//
evaṃ kṛtī nirvṛtiṃ abhyupeto naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam diśam na kāṃcid vidiśam na kāṃcit kleśakṣayāt kevalam eti śāntim //29//	evaṃ kṛtī nirvṛtiṃ abhyupeto naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam diśa.....[ñc]it kleśakṣayāt kevalam eti śāntim 29	evaṃ kṛtī nirvṛtiṃ abhyupeto naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam diśam na kāṃcid vidiśam na kāṃcit kleśakṣayāt kevalam eti śāntim //29//
asyābhyupāyo ‘dhigamāya mārgaḥ prajñātrikalpaḥ praśamad ^{dv} ikalpaḥ / sa bhāvanīyo vidhivad budhena śīle śucau tripramukhe sthitena //30//	asyābhyupāyo dhiga..... .....[p].samas trikalpaḥ tau bhāvanīyau vidhivad budh[e]na ś[ī]le śucau tripramukhe sthitena 30	asyābhyupāyo dhigamāya mārgaḥ prajñādvikalpaḥ praśamat ^{dv} ikalpaḥ / tau bhāvanīyau vidhivad budhena śīle śucau tripramukhe sthitena //30//

J's ed. (Nepali rec.; J's corrections in parentheses)

vākkarma samyak sahakāyakarma
yathāvad ājīvanayaś ca śuddhaḥ /
idaṃ trayam vṛttavidhau pravṛttam
śīlāśrayaṃ dh(k)armaparigrahāya //31//

satyeṣu duḥkhādiṣu dṛṣṭir āryā
samyagvitarkaś ca parākramaś ca /
idaṃ trayam jñānavidhau pravṛttam
prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣayāya //32//

nyāyena satyādhigamāya yuktā
samyaksmṛtiḥ samyag atho samādhīḥ /
idaṃ dvayaṃ yogavidhau pravṛttam
śamāśrayaṃ cittaparigrahāya // 33 //

H's ms.

[v].....[kāya]karma
yathāvad ājīvanayaś ca śuddhaḥ
idaṃ tray[m].....
.....[rma]parigra[hā]..

[bha]yena satyodhiga.....
..**[tiḥ] samādhīś ca parākrama...**
.....yogavi[dhau pra]vṛttam
śamāś[r]ayaṃ ci[tta]parig[r]a[h]āya [32]

it[y eṣ].....
.....
.....
.....

Reconstructed text (cf. H 68–9)

vākkarma samyak sahakāyakarma
yathāvad ājīvanayaś ca śuddhaḥ /
idaṃ trayam vṛttavidhau pravṛttam
śīlāśrayaṃ karmaparigrahāya //31//

nyāyena satyādhigamāya yuktā
smṛtiḥ samādhīś ca parākramaś ca /
idaṃ **trayaṃ** yogavidhau pravṛttam
śamāśrayaṃ cittaparigrahāya //32//

satyeṣu duḥkhādiṣu dṛṣṭir āryā
samyagvitarkaś ca parākramaś ca /
idaṃ trayam jñānavidhau pravṛttam
prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣayāya // 33 //

HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEPALI TEXT FOR SN XVI.30–33

Presumptive original text

asyābhyupāyo 'dhigamāya mārgaḥ
prajñā**dvī**kālpaḥ praśamatrikālpaḥ /
tau bhāvanīyau vidhivad budhena
śīle śucau tripramukhe sthitena //30//

vākkarma samyak sahakāyakarma
yathāvad ājīvanayaś ca śuddhaḥ /
idaṃ trayam vṛttavidhau pravṛttam
śīlāśrayaṃ karmaparigrahāya // 31 //

nyāyena satyādhigamāya yuktā
smṛtiḥ samādhīś ca parākramaś ca
idaṃ **trayaṃ** yogavidhau pravṛttam
śamāśrayaṃ cittaparigrahāya // 32 //

satyeṣu duḥkhādiṣu dṛṣṭir āryā
samyagvitarkaś ca ?????? /
idaṃ **dvayaṃ** jñānavidhau pravṛttam
prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣayāya //33 //

Theoretical intermediate stage

asyābhyupāyo 'dhigamāya mārgaḥ
prajñā**dvī**kālpaḥ praśamatrikālpaḥ /
tau bhāvanīyau vidhivad budhena
śīle śucau tripramukhe sthitena //30//

vākkarma samyak sahakāyakarma
yathāvad ājīvanayaś ca śuddhaḥ /
idaṃ trayam vṛttavidhau pravṛttam
śīlāśrayaṃ karmaparigrahāya // 31 //

satyeṣu duḥkhādiṣu dṛṣṭir āryā
samyagvitarkaś ca ?????? /
idaṃ **trayaṃ** jñānavidhau pravṛttam
prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣayāya //32 //

nyāyena satyādhigamāya yuktā
smṛtiḥ samādhīś ca parākramaś ca
idaṃ **dvayaṃ** yogavidhau pravṛttam
śamāśrayaṃ cittaparigrahāya // 33 //

Rewritten version of N/J

asyābhyupāyo 'dhigamāya mārgaḥ
prajñā**dvī**kālpaḥ praśam**advī**kālpaḥ /
sa bhāvanīyo vidhivad budhena
śīle śucau tripramukhe sthitena //30//

vākkarma samyak sahakāyakarma
yathāvad ājīvanayaś ca śuddhaḥ /
idaṃ trayam vṛttavidhau pravṛttam
śīlāśrayaṃ karmaparigrahāya // 31 //

satyeṣu duḥkhādiṣu dṛṣṭir āryā
samyagvitarkaś ca **parākramaś ca** /
idaṃ **trayaṃ** jñānavidhau pravṛttam
prajñāśrayaṃ kleśaparikṣayāya //32 //

nyāyena satyādhigamāya yuktā
samyaksmṛtiḥ samyag atho samādhīḥ
idaṃ **dvayaṃ** yogavidhau pravṛttam
śamāśrayaṃ cittaparigrahāya // 33 //

TABLE 3: SYNOPTIC TEXT OF BUDDHACARITA

XIII.58–9, 66 - XIV.1

Nepali ms. A (= J's ed)	Cat. no. 2250 + 2054a (“ms. a”)	Cat. no. 24 (“ms. b”)
apy uṣṇabhāvaṃ jvalanaḥ prajahyād āpo dravatvaṃ pṛthivī sthīratvaṃ / anekakalpācītapuṇyakarmā na tv eva jahyād vyavasā[*ya]m eṣaḥ //58//		..... .....thivī sthīratvaṃ hyādhyavasāyam eṣaḥ //2//
yo niścayo hy asya parākramaś ca tejaś ca yad yā va (ca) dayā prajāsu / aprāpya nocch(tth)āsyati tattvaṃ eṣa tamāṃsy ahatveva sahasraraśmīḥ //59//		..... .....syā dayā prajā[su] [ta]māṃsy ahatveva sahasraraśmīḥ //3//
baddhām dṛḍhaiś cetasi mohapāśair yasya prajāṃ mokṣayitum manīṣā / tasmin jighāṃsā tava nopapannā śrānte jagadbandhanamokṣahetoḥ //66//	.....m[o]kṣa[h]...	..... .....syā dayā prajā[su] [ta]māṃsy ahatveva sahasraraśmīḥ //3//
bodhāya karmāṇi hi yāny anena kṛtāni teṣāṃ niyato ‘dya kālāḥ / sthāne tathāsminn upaviṣṭa eṣa yathaiva pūrve munayas tathaiva //67//	..... ..... ..... yathai[va] pūrve munayas ta....	..... ..... .....tāni teṣāṃ..... .....[n]n upaviṣṭa eṣa yathaiva pūrvvaṃ munayas tathaiva //4//
eṣā hi nābhi(*) vvasudhātālasya kṛtsnena yuktā paramēṇa dhāmnā / bhūmer ato ‘nyo ‘sti hi na pradeśo veś(g)aṃ samādhe(*)r vviśa.... yo ‘sya //68//	..... ..... ..... pradeśo vegāṃ samādhēr viśa.....	.....[s]y[a] kṛtsnena yuktā pa..... .....t..na sa pradeśo vegāṃ samādhēr vviśaheta yo sya
tan mā kṛthāḥ sokam upehi śāntim mā bhūn mahimnā tava mārā mānaḥ / viśrambhītum na kṣamam adhruvā śrīś cale pade kiṃ padam a[bh?]yupemi(si) //69// [J: vismayam abhyupaiṣi]	..... ..... .....mam a....ś.īś ca[l]e pade kiṃ [m].....	..... .....[ka]mpyatām / jagāma māro vīmanā m(h)atodyam[a]. .....te //6//
tataḥ sa saṃśrutya ca tasya tad vaco mahāmuneḥ prekṣa(*)ya ca niṣprakampatām / jagāma māro vīmano m(h)atodyamaḥ śarair jagac cetasi yair vihanyas(t)e //70//	..... ..... .....n[o] ha]...y.maḥ .....[r].[j].gac ce[t].....	..... .....[ka]mpyatām / jagāma māro vīmanā m(h)atodyam[a]. .....te //6//
gatap(*)aharṣā viphalīkṛtāśramā praviddhapāśāṇa kaḍaṅgaradrumā / diśaḥ pradudrāva tato ‘sya sā camūr hatāśrayeva dviṣatā dviṣaccamūḥ //71//	..... ..... .....sya sā camūr hatāśrayeva.....	gatapra..... .....pāśāṇa kaṭiṅgaradrumāḥ diśaḥ pradudrāva..... .....dviṣatā.....
dravati saparipakṣe nirjite puṣpaketau jayati jītatamaske nīrajaske maharṣau / yuvatir iva sahāsā dyauś cakāṣe sacandrā surabhi ca jalagarbhaṃ puṣpavarṣa(*)ṃ papāta //72//	..... ..... yu[vat]ir iva vīpāpmā dyau.... .....	.....satke nirjite puṣpaketau jayati ca vīta..... .....[v].tir iva sahās..... .....[g].rbhaṃ puṣpavarṣaṃ papāta /
tathāpi pāpiyase nirjite gate diśaḥ praseduḥ prababbhau niśakaraḥ / divo nipetur bhuvi puṣpavṛṣṭaye(o) rarāja yoṣeva vikalmaṣā niśā //72*		

Nepali ms. A (= J’s ed)

iti buddhacarite mahākāvyē
’śvaghōṣakṛte
māravijayo nāma trayodaśaḥ sargaḥ //13//

Cat. no. 2250 + 2054a (“ms. a”)

.....
.....[śama].....//

Cat. no. 24 (“ms. b”)

iti // māravi.....
.....

tato mārabalaṃ jitvā v(dh)airyeṇa ca
śamena ca/
paramārthaṃ vijijñāsuḥ sa dadhyau
dhyānakovidāḥ//1//

ta[t]o] mā.....

KHOTAN, AN EARLY CENTER OF BUDDHISM IN CHINESE TURKESTAN

Prods Oktor Skjærvø
Harvard University

Abbreviations

Saṅgh	<i>Saṅghāṭa-sūtra</i>
Sumukha	<i>Sumukha-sūtra</i> or <i>Sumukha-dhāraṇī</i>
Suv	<i>Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra</i>
Vajr	<i>Vajracchedikā-sūtra</i>
Z	<i>Book of Zambasta</i>

I. Introduction

A. The Khotanese language

Several previously unknown languages are represented in the documents discovered in Chinese Turkestan about the turn of the century. Among these are two local Iranian languages: One was spoken on the northern Silk Route, in a kingdom in the area of Tumshuq,¹ the other on the southern Silk Route, in the kingdom of Khotan. The latter was the first to be deciphered, and it was soon shown that it belonged to the Iranian family of languages. Its correct affiliation, however, was obscured by the inordinately large number of Indian loan-words it contained. The language of Tumshuq was later identified as an Iranian language as well, sharing many features with the language of Khotan, although the differences between the two languages are great enough to classify them as two separate languages, rather than as two dialects of the same language.² These two languages were furthermore probably related to other Iranian languages of the southwestern Tarim Basin and the eastern Pamirs, which were the ancestors

¹ RONG Xinjiang, “On *gyāzdi-* found in the so-called Tumshuqese Documents,” *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* (Research Group of Asian Languages, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies: 1991): 1–12, plausibly interprets the word *gyāzdiyā* used in the dating formula of the Tumshuqese documents as the name of the country, analogous to the use of *Hvaṃna-* “Khotan(ese)” in the same position in the Khotanese documents. This name he would like to identify with the name of an archeological site, 據史德 *jushide*, EMC *kiš^h ši^l tək*. RONG also compares Tibetan *Gus-tig* from a list of place names in a document published by F. W. Thomas. If his identification is correct he is, of course, also right that the name of the language properly ought to be “Gyazdese.” For the moment we may continue to refer to it as “Tumshuqese” by the illustrious precedent of “Tokharian,” properly “Agnean” and “Kuchean.”

² See, e.g., Ronald E. Emmerick, “Khotanese and Tumshuqese,” in Rudiger Schmitt, ed., *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert 1989), 204.

of the modern Iranian languages spoken in those regions. In fact, Khotanese shows some interesting similarities with modern Wakhi, spoken in the Wakhan corridor, but it also differs from it in many respects, so that it would not be possible to classify Wakhi as a descendant of Khotanese, for instance.³

The Iranian languages in Chinese Turkestan in the first millennium CE can be tabulated as follows.

Local spoken languages:

Khotanese: spoken in the kingdom of Khotan on the southern Silk Route

Tumshuqese: spoken in the area of Tumshuq on the northern Silk Route

Various languages spoken in the southwest of the Tarim Basin and the easternmost Pamirs, ancestors of modern Pamir languages, such as Wakhi and Sarikoli.

"Imported" languages:

Sogdian, trade and church language of Buddhists, Manichaeans, and Christians

Parthian (official language under the Parthian rulers of Iran up to the middle of the third century CE), church language of Manichaeans

Middle Persian (official language of the Sasanian rulers of Iran from the middle of the third century CE and ancestor of modern Persian=Farsi), church language of Manichaeans and Christians

B. The Khotanese documents

The extant Khotanese documents probably date from most of the second half of the first millennium of our era, that is, from around 500 to about 1000 CE (see below). They provide ample evidence of a society steeped in Buddhist religion and culture throughout this period. It must be kept in mind, however, that most of the Khotanese documents are religious texts. Only from the eighth to the tenth centuries do we also possess secular documents that provide us with some information about Khotanese society, and for the periods of Khotanese history earlier than this information must be sought elsewhere. Most of the information concerning the early history of Khotan must in fact be gleaned from the Chinese dynastic annals from the Former Han to the Tang periods.⁴ A history of Khotan has also been preserved in Tibetan, but

³ See, e.g., Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "Modern East Iranian Languages," in Schmitt, ed., *Compendium*, 375.

⁴ See M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907), 166–184; Victor H. Mair and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "Chinese Turkestan. ii. In Pre-Islamic Times," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 5 (1992), 463–469.

this is almost exclusively concerned with religious events, often of miraculous and legendary nature, that occurred during the reign of each particular king.⁵ From the fourth century onward we have in addition the reports of Chinese travelers, who brought back information about the flourishing state of Khotan and its Buddhist culture (see below).

C. History of Khotan

The Tibetan histories of Khotan, as well as the description of Khotan by the Chinese Buddhist scholar Xuanzang 玄奘, who traveled there in 629, and that contained in the *Life of Xuanzang* written by his followers, contain four variants of a legend describing the founding of Khotan. All four legends link the founding of Khotan with the Indian king Aśoka, who ruled in the third century before our era, and his son Kuṇāla, and ascribe the founding of Khotan to a group of Indian settlers. Moreover, in three of the legends the Indian population of Khotan mingles with a Chinese group.⁶ The legends are somewhat confirmed by the earliest archaeological records from Khotan and the neighboring area, which contain evidence both for a strong Buddhist presence and for the existence of a mixed population of Chinese and others, presumably Iranians. Of special importance are a number of coins found at the site of Yotkan, which according to Aurel Stein must have been the ancient capital of Khotan, and elsewhere in the kingdom of Khotan. These coins, which have been dated to the first century of our era, have legends in both Kharoṣṭhī and Chinese script and contain the names of several kings of “Yidi,” which is how the Chinese, presumably, pronounced the name of Khotan at that time.⁷

In all four legends it is told how the first indigenous king of Khotan was born from the earth through the intermediary of Vaiśravaṇa. This is an attempt to explain the Indian name of Khotan, *Gostana* (attested in Khotanese texts as *Gaustam*), pronounced *Gostā* or *Gostam*, the literal meaning of which might seem to be “earth breast” (in Tibetan *Sa-nu*). This cannot

⁵ See Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Ronald E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London Oriental Series 19 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); J. E. Hill, “Notes on the dating of Khotanese history,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 31 (1988): 179–190.

⁶ See Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “The legend of Aśoka in Khotanese,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2 (1987), 782–783, and “The legend of Aśoka and the founding of Khotan,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2 (1987), 783–785.

⁷ See Joe Cribb, “The Sino-Kharoṣṭhī Coins of Khotan: Their Attribution and Relevance to Kushan Chronology,” *Numismatic Chronicle* (1985): 128–152 and (1985): 136–149. Note that, although the possibility of any Chinese influence on early Khotanese Buddhism has not yet been investigated, the earliest texts, which are principally Mahāyāna sūtras (see below), are close translations of Sanskrit originals. The question of whether Central Asian Mahāyāna Buddhism in general was influenced by Chinese Buddhism in the earliest centuries of our era is not directly related to Khotanese Buddhism.

be the correct explanation of the name, however, only a popular etymology. The indigenous form, attested in one of the oldest manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, probably from the fifth-sixth centuries, is *Hvatana* (pronounced *Hwadana*). The earliest Chinese forms are *Yuzhi* 于寘, attested on the coins, and *Yutian* 于阗, common in the early dynastic annals. The second form is from an original **Hwa(b)den*, which agrees well with the indigenous Khotanese form, as well as the form *U-then* for the capital city of the country of Khotan in the Tibetan texts about Khotan. Later Hetian 和田 became the common name in Chinese, as a closer phonetic match of the Khotanese form.⁸ The most common Tibetan name for Khotan, *Li-yul* “Li country,” has not yet been explained.

D. Chinese travelers

The first Chinese traveler whose report has survived was Faxian 法顯.⁹ He set out from Chang’an for India in 399 to obtain originals for the *Books of Discipline* (i.e., the Vinaya), which by then were in “imperfect condition.”¹⁰ Faxian traveled to Dunhuang 敦煌, and from there through the southwesternmost part of the Gobi desert to Shanshan 鄯善 (later Loulan 樓蘭). From Shanshan, instead of continuing westward along the so-called southern Silk Route, skirting the Kunlun 崑崙 range, Faxian traveled in a northwesterly direction and after fifteen days arrived in the so far unidentified kingdom of Wuyi 武夷, probably located between Qarašahr and Kucha on the northern Silk Route. According to his report all the countries and people he had encountered on his journey until then were followers of the “Little Vehicle,” a fact that is in perfect agreement with what we now know of the distribution of the Buddhist schools in Chinese Turkestan. To get to Khotan from there he had to brave the dangers of the great Taklamakan desert, which occupies most of the Tarim Basin, but he did make it through and arrived after a month and five days and untold hardships in crossing rivers and journeying through uninhabited country in Khotan.

Song Yun 宋雲 and his companion Huisheng 惠生, who traveled in 518 for the same purpose as Faxian (Song Yun is reported to have brought back 170 volumes of standard Mahāyāna works), also traveled to Shanshan, but from there along the southern route.¹¹ Song Yun’s account contains much interesting information, for instance that the king of Khotan

⁸ Cribb, “the Sino-Kharoṣṭhī Coins,” 137 n. 20; and Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 153–156.

⁹ Samuel Beal, tr., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, two vols. in one (London: Kegan Paul, 1885), I: xxv–xxvii; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 169.

¹⁰ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I: xxiii. The nature of the imperfection is not stated.

¹¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I: lxxxvii–lxxxviii; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 169–171.

wore a headdress resembling a cock’s crest, from which there descended a silk band two feet long and five inches broad, that the women of Khotan rode horses like men, and that the dead were burned and their bones collected and buried under small stūpas, except the body of the king, which was buried in a coffin in the desert.

Xuanzang, who left China in 629, traveled to India first and reached Khotan from the west.¹² The fame of Xuanzang had preceded him on his journey, and when he arrived at Khotan the king himself came to meet him at the border of his country, and he was escorted to the capital by the prince and state officers and lodged in the convent of the Sarvāstivādins.

It is interesting that all three travelers agree in many details about the terrain they traveled through and the towns and peoples they encountered on their way, and their accounts have been confirmed by later Khotanese documents. They also mention that Khotan was renowned for its music and that the men loved to sing and dance.¹³ We know that theatrical performances of religious nature were popular. The word for theatrical play they borrowed from Indian, together, probably, with the forms of the art: it is found in Khotanese as Old Khotanese *nālai*, Late Khotanese *naule*, the local form of Sanskrit *nāṭaka* and quoted in the Tibetan annals of Khotan in the form *no-le*.¹⁴

The legends concerning the founding of Khotan contain no hint of an Iranian presence in Khotan, and it is only in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the third century of our era discovered at Niya and neighboring sites that we find the earliest, unmistakable, indication that the language of Khotan was Iranian. In one document, found at the site of Endere, the king of Khotan bears the title *binajha*, which is the Khotanese word for general, found in Khotanese translations of Buddhist sūtras, where it is used to render *senāpati*. This king’s full title was *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya binajha Viṣṭa Simha*. Here we also meet with, for the first time in an indigenous document, the title of the royal house of Khotan, Indian *Vijita*, known from Tibetan as *Bi-dza-ya*. The name in the Kharoṣṭhī coin legends is read by Cribb as *Gurga*,¹⁵ which agrees somewhat with *Yuchi* 尉遲 (often, though erroneously, read *Weichi*), Early Middle Chinese ’ut dri,¹⁶ the well-known dynastic title of the Khotanese kings in the Chinese sources. In Khotanese the name was Viśya (pronounced *Viṣya*) later *Viśa’* (pronounced

¹² Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 309–325; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 173–175.

¹³ Faxian: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 1: xxv; Xuanzang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 309.

¹⁴ Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, 136.

¹⁵ Cribb, “The Sino-Kharoṣṭhī Coins.” Doubt was expressed at the conference about the correctness of this reading, but I am not competent to challenge it.

¹⁶ Edwin Pulleyblank, personal communication 9/10/89.

Viṣṇu), still borne by the last kings of Khotan on the eve of the Muslim destruction at the dawn of the second millenium.¹⁷

E. Buddhism in Khotan

Although the legends attribute the founding of Khotan to the time of Aśoka, Buddhism is said to have been introduced at a later time. According to the legend transmitted by the Tibetan *Prophecy of the Li Country* it was the Buddha himself and his closest disciples who originally dried up a lake, which then become the country of Li, but according to a legend recounted by Xuanzang it was the Arhat Vairocana from Kashmir who first preached the Law in Khotan.¹⁸ The Tibetan *Prophecy of the Li Country* places the introduction of Buddhism 165 years after the establishment of the kingdom,¹⁹ which would be well before the beginning of our era, but we cannot rely unconditionally on this information.

There is considerable evidence found in Chinese biographies and in the colophons to Chinese translations (discussed by Hiroshi Kumamoto in this volume) that Khotan was famous as a center of Buddhist studies and a source of Sanskrit texts for translation into Chinese already in the early centuries of our era (earliest date: 260 CE).

The earliest eyewitness descriptions of Khotan and its Buddhist culture, however, are contained in the reports of the Chinese travelers. Faxian reported that the Khotanese were all Buddhists, and subsequent travelers, as well as notices in the Chinese annals, confirm this fact. It should be noted, however, that in the Tang annals reference is also made to “the cult of the celestial god” at Khotan.²⁰ This remark no doubt refers to a remaining Old Iranian Mazdayasnian cult in Khotan. As a matter of fact, Khotanese contains a small but significant number of words and divine names taken from this ancient religion. Most importantly, the word for sun is (nominative singular) *urmaysde*, which is the direct descendent of *Aburamazdāh*, the name of the supreme god in Old Iranian religion. Among other names we may mention *Śśandrāmatā*, who is equated with *Śrī* in Buddhist texts, but is identical with Avestan *Spəntā Ārmaitī*, one of the seven *aməšašpəntas* “beneficial immortals.” But aside from these small remains of pre-Buddhist vocabulary in Khotanese,²¹ there is no evidence in the indigenous texts

¹⁷ Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 180–183.

¹⁸ Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, 2–3; and Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 185–186.

¹⁹ Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, 23.

²⁰ See E. G. Pulleyblank, “Chinese-Iranian Relations i. In Pre-Islamic Times,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 5 (1992), 429.

²¹ For a list of these terms see Skjærvø, “Chinese Turkestan. ii,” 469–471.

of any religion other than that of the Buddha.

All the Chinese travelers commented on the great number of monks at Khotan. Thus, Faxian stayed at the most important of the fourteen monasteries in Khotan, the monastery of Gomatī, which contained 3000 Mahāyāna monks, and Xuanzang reported that there were in the kingdom of Khotan about a hundred monasteries with about 5000 followers, all of whom studied Mahāyāna. The travelers also describe in some detail the local religious ceremonies. Faxian tells us that he stayed for three months in order to witness a spring ceremony lasting for fourteen days in which a great procession of sacred images from the fourteen monasteries were carried into the city on enormous cars, wonderfully adorned, and altogether "resembling a great hall of a monastery." The images were received at the city gates by the king, who, bare-foot and without his crown, had come to offer incense and flowers, while the queen and her ladies scattered flowers onto the car.

The Chinese travelers also related several legends from Khotan concerning holy places and miracles that occurred at them. Among these legends, some of which are known from Tibetan as well, I shall mention just a few.²²

Two of the legends contain tales about how Buddhism came to Khotan. According to one legend, the arhat Vairocana had come from Kashmir and settled in Khotan to meditate. The king heard about this strange man and went to see him. The arhat told him that he was a follower of the Buddha and that the king ought to take up that faith himself. He promised the king that if he were to build a convent he would accumulate enough merit for the Buddha to show himself. When the convent was finished they did not yet have a *ghaṇṭā* (bell) to summon the congregation, but because of the king's faith the Buddha suddenly appeared in mid-air carrying a *ghaṇṭā*, which he gave to the king, thus confirming his faith. And that was the beginning of the spread of Buddhism in Khotan.²³

According to the other legend, the Buddha once preached the Law to the *devas* on Mount Gośrṅga, a mountain to the southwest of Khotan, prophesying that in that place there would be founded a kingdom where Buddhism would be practiced.²⁴

One legend contains a hint of some resistance to the introduction of Buddhism. According to this account the town of Phema to the east of Khotan, well known from documents from the eighth-tenth centuries, possessed a colossal Buddha image which worked many kinds of miracles, including miracles of healing. According to the local legend the image had originally been made in India, but when the Buddha left this world the image rose into the air and

²² For these legends see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 223–235.

²³ Xuanzang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 312–313; similarly also in Song Yun's account.

²⁴ Xuanzang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 313.

soared north to this kingdom, where the people were heretics and ignored the divine image that had descended among them. After this there was an arhat who paid homage to the image, but the king had him seized and covered with sand and earth. Only one man took pity on the arhat and gave him food and drink. He then warned the man that in seven days there would rain down over the town of the heretics so much sand and earth that the town would be filled and nobody would survive. He should therefore take measures to leave the town before this. The man told his relatives, but nobody took notice, and he therefore dug an underground passage leading out of the town and hid in it. After everything had happened as it had been foretold the man emerged from the passage and went away. When he arrived at Phema the Buddha image also appeared there, so that is where he remained.²⁵

Of the secular legends I shall just mention two here. In the first we are told how some rats helped avert an attack by the Xiongnu 匈奴 on Khotan. To the west of the city of Khotan there was a place where there lived desert rats the size of hedgehogs and with fur the color of gold and silver. In the morning the head rat would come out of its mound and walk around, and then the other rats would come out. Once a Xiongnu army of several tens of myriads of soldiers were going to attack Khotan. When the king of Khotan heard this he consulted his advisers, who suggested they should offer worship to the rats in case they might be able to help them. After this the king had a dream in which a rat told him to go ahead and attack the Xiongnu. The king did so, and when the enemy wanted to defend itself it discovered that all its leather had been eaten through by the rats. They were easily overcome, and the Khotanese ever after paid homage to the desert rats.²⁶

In the second secular legend we are told how the silkworm was introduced to Khotan. A shorter and somewhat different version of the legend is known also from the Tibetan *Prophecy of the Li Country*. According to Xuanzang's version, in old times the secret of silk making was jealously guarded by an eastern ruler, who did not permit either seeds of the mulberry tree or silkworm eggs to be exported. To outwit the Chinese king, a king of Khotan (called Bi-dza-ya Dza-ya in the Tibetan version) sought the hand of his daughter in marriage. His wish was granted, and he then informed the princess that, unless she brought some silkworms and mulberry tree seeds, she would not have any silk for her robes where she came. The princess concealed these things in her head dress and was not found out by the guard who searched her when she left the kingdom of her father. In this way silk production was begun in Khotan.²⁷

It is of considerable interest to note that the last two legends are illustrated in wall

²⁵ Xuanzang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 322–324.

²⁶ Xuanzang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 315–316.

²⁷ Xuanzang: Beal, *Buddhist Records*, 2: 318–319; and Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, 32–35.

paintings found at Dandan Öiliq²⁸ and must therefore have been quite popular, but there is no trace of these or any other legends among the literary remains from Khotan.

II. Buddhist Literature in Khotanese

A. General considerations

A large number of complete and fragmentary manuscripts have been found containing texts written in Khotanese (sometimes called Khotan Saka), the language spoken in the kingdom of Khotan.²⁹ The texts can be divided roughly into two groups, literary and non-literary. The non-literary texts comprise various kinds of documents of a technical nature, mostly medical, legal, or economical. The literary texts are almost all concerned with Buddhism, being either translations from Sanskrit or local compositions dealing with Buddhist doctrine or in other ways influenced by Buddhist thought. Thus, even the Khotanese version of the Rāmāyaṇa has been given a Buddhist interpretation: here the heroes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are identified with the Buddha Śākyamuni and the future Buddha Maitreya.³⁰

Although the number of manuscripts and fragments recovered by the archeologists and others is large, there can be no doubt that it represents but a minuscule part of the scribal output. We may merely note here that single folios of manuscripts have been preserved with folio numbers in the high hundreds. Of one manuscript, containing rules for bodhisattvas, 18 folios are extant, the last one bearing the folio number 611. The main manuscript of the so-called *Book of Zambasta* (see below) starts on folio 146.

Most of the Khotanese Buddhist texts contain long and dry expositions of doctrine, and only occasionally do we find passages that rise above the usual doctrinal humdrum, and the *avadāna* and *jātaka* texts contain many well-written narratives and descriptions. Occasionally we do find texts of real literary interest, notably the narrative and lyrical passages in the *Book of Zambasta*, for instance, the description of spring in chapter 20 and the unfortunately very fragmentary description of the mountains in the four seasons in chapter 17. Several cop-

²⁸ Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 119–121; M. Yaldiz, *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang), Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 7 Art and Archaeology*, 3 no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), pl. 118 (rat story) and pl. 122 (silkworm story).

²⁹ An up-to-date survey of Khotanese and Tumshuqese literature is found in R. E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “Buddhism. iii. Buddhist literature in Khotanese and Tumshuqese,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 4 (1990), 499–505, and in Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan, Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged*, *Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series* 3 (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992); Hiroshi Kumamoto has also done an updated translation of the first edition into Japanese.

³⁰ Tr. Harold W. Bailey, “Rama II,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1941): 571.

ies of a lyrical poem describing spring are found in Late Khotanese manuscripts.

The Buddhist texts can also be subdivided into two groups: texts translated from Sanskrit and texts composed in Khotan. The first group contains numerous Mahāyāna sūtras and other texts; here the Khotanese versions range from close translations to loose paraphrases of the originals, and sometimes Buddhist tales are retold in such a way that it is unlikely that a closely corresponding Indian text ever existed. The second group contains all kinds of compositions, ranging from compilations of doctrinal texts to poems.

In the case of texts translated from Sanskrit, only some of the originals are now extant, and many of the texts are otherwise known only from translations into Tibetan and Chinese. Among the former are Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama*³¹ and *Śaṅghāṭa*³² sūtras and the *Hṛdaya*³³ and *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā*³⁴ sūtras; among the latter are Mahāyāna texts such as the *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī*³⁵ and the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi*³⁶ and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*³⁷ sūtras.

Three periods of Khotanese literature may be distinguished on the basis of linguistic criteria, but the three periods are also characterized by different textual emphasis. The first period is the Old Khotanese period, roughly the fifth-sixth centuries,³⁸ the second, what we

³¹ Prods Oktor Skjærvø, ed. and trans., *The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, pt. 1: *The manuscripts: transcription with critical apparatus and indices*; pt. 2: *Synoptic Khotanese text and English translation containing the corresponding Sanskrit text compared with the Tibetan and Chinese versions*; pt. 3: *Commentary*, unpublished Habilitationsschrift (Mainz, West Germany: 1983); revised edition in preparation.

³² Giotto Canevascini, ed. and trans., *The Khotanese Śaṅghāṭasūtra. A Critical Edition* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1993).

³³ Prods Oktor Skjærvø, ed. and trans., “The Khotanese *Hṛdayasūtra*,” in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of J. P. Asmussen*, *Acta Iranica* 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1988): 157–171.

³⁴ Sten Konow, ed. and trans., the Khotanese texts in A. F. Rudolph Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916; repr. St. Leonards and Amsterdam: Ad Orientem and Philo, 1970), 214–356.

³⁵ Edition in preparation.

³⁶ Ronald E. Emmerick, ed. and trans., *The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

³⁷ Prods Oktor Skjærvø, ed. and trans., “Khotanese Fragments of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*,” in Eivind Kahrs, ed., *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam: Essays in Honour of N. Simonsson* (Uppsala: Norwegian University Press, 1986), 229–260.

³⁸ For these dates see below.

may term the Middle Khotanese period,³⁹ roughly the seventh-eighth centuries, and the Late Khotanese period, roughly the ninth-tenth centuries, up to the end of Buddhism in Khotan.

Most of the manuscripts from the Old and Middle Khotanese period were found in the region of Khotan itself, especially at the sites of Khadaliq and Dandan Öiliq. Most of the Late Khotanese manuscripts come from Dunhuang. Thus, from its Khotanese colophons we learn that scroll Ch c.001 (now in the India Office Library, London) was written at the request of Saṃgaka Śāṃ KhīṆṇ Hvām’, in the city of Shazhou 沙州 (Dunhuang).⁴⁰

Although the language of any particular text allows us to assign it to one of these three periods, the absolute dating of the texts and the manuscripts is for the most part problematic. We know that Old Khotanese texts were copied well into the Middle Khotanese period. For instance, the main manuscript of the *Book of Zambasta* must have been written during the Middle Khotanese period for several reasons: (1) it contains numerous Middle Khotanese forms, obviously introduced by the scribe(s); (2) the alphabet in which it is written was probably not used in Khotan before the seventh century; and (3) the manuscript contains colophons written in cursive script in Middle Khotanese language.⁴¹ None of the manuscripts with Old Khotanese texts contain dates, but recent work on the paleography of the Khotanese manuscripts allows us to date the oldest manuscripts to the fifth and sixth centuries.⁴² This agrees with the fifth-century date one may assume for the earliest translations of the *Saṃghāṭa-sūtra* and the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*. One unpublished translation of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* in

³⁹ Characteristic features of Middle Khotanese phonology include the merger of final *-u* with *-i* and *-ā* and the weakening of *-ni* > *ṃ*, notably in the genitive-dative plural ending OKh. *-ānu* > MKh. *-ānā* and *-aṃ* > Lkh. *ām*, *-ā*, *-au*, etc., and the loss of intervocalic *t*, notably in the endings 3rd sing. present OKh. *-ātā* > LKh. *e* and 3rd sing. preterite OKh. *-āte* > MKh. *ye*, but also elsewhere, for instance OKh. *subāvatāna-* (Skt *sukhopadhāna-*) > MKh. *subāvāna-* and OKh. *ttagata-*, *ttatata-* “wealth” > MKh. *ttata-*. The most typical new morphological features are the locative plural in *-vā* and the feminine accusative singular pronoun OKh. *ttuo* > MKh. *tvā*. MKh. is distinguished from LKh. by the profound changes in the vowel system and loss of final syllables in the latter, as well as extreme simplification and changes in the morphology. See the following articles by Ronald E. Emmerick: “The Vowel Phonemes of Khotanese,” in B. Brogyanyi, ed., *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic, and Typological Linguistics: Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 2 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1979): 239–250; “The Consonant Phonemes of Khotanese,” in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne* 1, *Acta Iranica* 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 185–209; “The Transition from Old to Late Khotanese,” in *Transition Periods in Iranian History: Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau* (May 22–24, 1985), *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 5 (1987); “Khotanese and Tumshuqese,” 209ff.

⁴⁰ In the colophon of *Sumukha-dhāraṇī* (ed. Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* [London: Taylor’s Foreign Press, 1951], 143 lines 1059–61: “Hail to this *Sumukha-sūtra*! Śāṃ Khīṇā Hvā’ Saṃgaka ordered it to be written for the sake of long life and growth, for the elimination of pain and untimely death... Completed in the year of the hare, ninth month, fifth day, in the city of Shazhou...”

⁴¹ These could also have been added by users of the manuscript, of course.

⁴² Lore Sander, “Brāhmī Scripts on the Eastern Silk Roads,” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 11–12 (1986): 170.

Middle Khotanese contains a colophon that perhaps allows it to be dated to the end of the eighth century.⁴³

The situation is different for the Late Khotanese period, where several manuscripts are dated in the tenth century. Thus the manuscript of the *Vajracchedikā* contains the date 14 April 941; the Khotanese colophons in a long scroll containing a miscellany of texts (Ch c.001) specify the year as a hare year, probably the year 943; these two manuscripts were accordingly written during the rule of King Viśa’ Saṃbhata (r. 912–966). The *Jātaka-stava* and the so-called *Mañjūśrī* text were written during the reign of King Viśa’ Śūra (r. 967–978?), as was probably a Vajrayāna text that contains a date that may correspond to 10 August 971. Another scroll (Ch 0048) was perhaps written in 995, ten years before the conquest of Khotan by Yūsuf Qadir Khan, the Muslim ruler of Kashgar.⁴⁴

The need for writing in Khotanese was keenly felt by the Buddhists of Khotan. Thus the necessity for texts on the Law (*dharmā*, Khotanese *dāta*) in Khotanese is expressed in the following way by the author of the *Book of Zambasta* (23.4–5):

The Khotanese do not value the Law at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indian, (but) in Khotanese it does not seem to them the Law. For the Chinese, (however,) the Law is in Chinese. In Kashmirian it is very agreeable, and they learn it in Kashmirian so that they can understand the meaning of it, as well. To the Khotanese, (however,) that seems to be the Law whose meaning they do not understand at all. When they hear it together with the meaning, it seems to them a different Law.

The summary of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*⁴⁵ contains a similar statement (1. 44) “in Khotanese language so that they may understand the meaning of the Law (i.e., the sūtra itself),” as does the Khotanese *Jātaka-stava*: “Thus I wished that it should exist in Khotanese; there should be great profit therefrom to the country within the Buddhist doctrine.” (Dresden).

But the monks did not write and copy texts exclusively for unselfish reasons. We should also keep in mind that large merit would accrue to them for these activities. As a matter of fact

⁴³ Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “Kings of Khotan in the Eighth Century,” in *Histoire et cultes de l’Asie centrale préislamique* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1991): 270. The identification of this text followed as a result of our conference; see below.

⁴⁴ James Hamilton, “Les règnes khotanais entre 851 et 1001,” in M. Soymie, ed., *Contributions aux études sur Touen-Houang*, Centre de Recherches d’Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l’École Pratique des Hautes Études II, Hautes Études Orientales 10 (Geneva and Paris: Librairie Droz, 1979) 49–54; also “Sur la chronologie khotanaise au IX^e-X^e siècle,” in M. Soymie, ed., *Contributions aux études de Touen-Houang III*, Publications de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient 135 (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1984), 47–48; Skjærvø, “Kings of Khotan,” table 4.

⁴⁵ H. W. Bailey, ed. and trans., *The Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. The Summary in Khotan Saka*, Faculty of Asian Studies Occasional Paper 10 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1971).

this aspect is stressed again and again in the introductions and colophons of our texts, from the oldest to the latest, as, for instance, in the colophon of the *Book of Zambasta* chapter 23: “Since I have translated this into Khotanese, may I surely become a Buddha. Through these merits, may all beings realize best *bodhi*.”

And not only did the writers themselves obtain such merit; but the patrons or those who commissioned the writing of the text did it for the good of their future (re)births, as well, as seen, for instance, from the colophon of Z 2: “The official Zambasta ordered me to write this. Through these merits may he arise before long as a Buddha.”

There are several reasons why the Khotanese Buddhist texts should be of great interest to Buddhist scholars, as they provide them with a means of understanding not only what particular kind of Buddhism was practiced in Khotan but also how Buddhist texts developed in Chinese Turkestan throughout the first millennium of our era. Here I shall consider four of these various aspects:

First, the choice of texts for translation. Although the texts represented in our collections may not be totally representative, nevertheless they provide a fairly clear image of which texts were in vogue at different times.

Second, the local compositions, of which there is one large text from the Old Khotanese period, the *Book of Zambasta*, already mentioned, and numerous Late Khotanese texts.

Third, the translation techniques used by the Khotanese. How did they render Buddhist technical terminology into Khotanese, a language much less developed for sophisticated religious and philosophical use than Sanskrit? From a broader perspective we must also ask how the Khotanese translation techniques compare with those of other peoples in Chinese Turkestan, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

Fourth, how the Khotanese translations compare with the originals as well as with translations into Tibetan and Chinese from the same period.

B. The selection of texts for translation

1. Old Khotanese (fifth-sixth centuries?)

Regarding the first point, there is a clear difference in the choice of texts for translation between the Old and Middle Khotanese period, on the one hand, and the Late Khotanese period on the other, as pointed out in Hiroshi Kumamoto’s contribution in this volume.

Almost all the texts from the Old Khotanese period are major Mahāyāna texts. Thus we have substantial portions of the following texts:

Anantamukhanirbāra-dhāraṇī, a Tantric text of which only one Sanskrit fragment is known.

Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājatathāgata-sūtra,⁴⁶ an early Mahāyāna text.⁴⁷

Ratnakūṭa-sūtra, three fragments (two different manuscripts) from the original sūtra (the Kāśyapaparivarta) have been identified.⁴⁸

Śaṅghāṭa-sūtra, a very long text mostly dealing with the merit accruing from reciting, copying, etc., the text itself but containing a number of interesting parables.

Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra, distinguished by its archaic orthography.

Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra, containing among other matters chapters on confession, the duties of a king, a chapter on the art of medicine, and the story of the hungry tigress.

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra.

2. Middle Khotanese (seventh- eighth centuries?)

From the Middle Khotanese period we have several Middle Khotanese versions of the Mahāyāna texts known from the Old Khotanese period, such as the *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, *Śaṅghāṭa*, and *Suvarṇabhāsottama* sūtras. In addition there are a number of texts that have not yet been identified, but which are probably translations rather than indigenous compositions. The degree of fidelity of the Middle Khotanese versions to the earlier versions varies. One Middle Khotanese version of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, for instance, is very faithful in its renderings of the known Old Khotanese text, while another has been considerably modified, apparently in order to provide a metrical translation of metrical passages. The Middle Khotanese version of the *Śaṅghāṭa-sūtra* is also quite faithful to the Old Khotanese ones. The extent and significance of such divergences still need to be investigated.

Of particular interest is a very long Old Khotanese text concerning the duties of a bodhisattva, known from eighteen folios (there are folios numbered 427–31, 457, 611), which we may conveniently refer to as the “Bodhisattva Compendium,” after E. Leumann.⁴⁹ Additional

⁴⁶ Ed. in preparation.

⁴⁷ R. Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, rev. ed. (Boston: Shambhala, 1989) 60–61, dates it to the third century CE.

⁴⁸ Ed. in preparation.

⁴⁹ See E. Leumann, *Buddhistische Literature Nordarisch und Deutsch. I. Teil: Nebenstücke*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 15, no. 2 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1920; rpr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1966), 116–150, where this material is described as “Allerlei Spuren aus einem vom Bodhisattva handelnden Prosa-Kompendium” (All kinds of remains of a prose compendium about the bodhisattva).

fragments of folios were published by Bailey⁵⁰; a new edition is in progress. The text is of special interest in that Middle (or Late) Khotanese forms of words (vowel marks and subscript *akṣaras*) have been written into the original, thus, for instance, *himāte* “he became” may have a subscript *y* and *a* superscript *e* added to the *ma akṣara* to indicate the Middle Khotanese form *himye*.

3. Late Khotanese (ninth-tenth centuries)

The Late Khotanese period, finally, exhibits a much greater variety of texts than the preceding periods. The previously popular Mahāyāna sūtras are only sparsely represented, while *prajñāpāramitā* texts and various other texts have become quite popular, especially texts on confession (*deśanā*), as well as *avadāna* and *jātaka* texts.

Mahāyāna sūtras are represented by a Late Khotanese summary of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, which was an extremely popular text in Chinese Turkestan as seen from the numerous complete and fragmentary Sanskrit manuscripts discovered there. We may note that one manuscript of the Sanskrit *Lotus Sūtra* discovered at Khotan has a Khotanese colophon at the end of the manuscript and three Khotanese colophons at the end of three of the chapters.⁵¹ Of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* only the chapter on confession is found in Late Khotanese translation, incorporating passages known only from the expanded Tibetan version (Tib. II) and Yijing’s 義淨 (d. 713) translation.

Sūtras not attested in the earlier periods include the following:

Aparimitāyuh-sūtra, a text on how to prolong life—a beloved topic in Late Khotanese texts. Chinese versions of this sūtra seem to have been mass-produced at Dunhuang.⁵²

Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, a sacred text concerning the names of the Buddhas to appear in the good eon.⁵³

Sumukha-sūtra or *Sumukha-dhāraṇī*, a text including numerous *dhāraṇīs* in which the

⁵⁰ H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), passim.

⁵¹ See Ronald E. Emmerick, “Some Khotanese Donors,” in Ph. Gignoux and A. Tafazzoli, eds., *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1974), 383–388.

⁵² See Konow’s edition and translation in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, 289–356, and DUAN Qing, *Das khotanische Aparimitāyuh-sūtra. Ausgabe, Kommentar, Übersetzung und Glossar*, Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik, Dissertationen Band 3 (Reinbek: Inge Wezler, 1992).

⁵³ S. Konow, ed. and trans., *Saka Versions of the Bhadrakalpikāsūtra*, Oslo Etnografiske Museum, Bulletin 5 (Oslo: 1929).

bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi and various deities (Brahmā, Śakra, Vaiśravaṇa, Hāritī, etc.) promise to protect whoever copies, recites, etc., the sūtra.

In the Late Khotanese period *prajñāpāramitā* texts become popular. The following have so far been identified:

Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, a bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese text and one of the first Khotanese texts to be studied in depth.⁵⁴

Hṛdaya-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra or *Heart Sūtra*, the Sanskrit text of which is found in two versions, a shorter and a longer. It has recently been shown that the short version is likely to be a translation from Chinese.⁵⁵ The Khotanese translation, however, is from the longer version. A Late Khotanese commentary on the *Heart Sūtra* is extant. (See section C.3 below.)

Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra or *Diamond Sūtra*. The Khotanese version deviates somewhat from the Sanskrit text, even including additions from commentaries. Most striking is the replacement of a translation of the concluding stanza—quoted literally in the *Book of Zambasta* 6.15—by a commentary in 34 verses, itself quoted in the manuscript of the Mañjūsri text.

Three *avadāna* texts are attested in Khotanese:⁵⁶

Aśokāvadāna, paraphrase of a story known from Indian and Chinese sources.

Nandāvadāna, the story of Nanda the merchant.

Sudhanāvadana, the story of Prince Sudhana, known from three main manuscripts, two of which agree closely while the third differs significantly, and five fragments.

Numerous *deśanā* texts survive from the Late Khotanese period (see below). Of these only the *Bhadracaryā-deśanā*⁵⁷ and the *deśanā* chapter of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* have known Sanskrit originals.

⁵⁴ Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, 84–99.

⁵⁵ Jan Nattier, “The *Heart Sūtra*: A Chinese Apocryphal Text?” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15, no. 2 (1992): 153–223.

⁵⁶ All edited and translated. See Emmerick, *Guide*, and Emmerick and Skjærvø, “Buddhism.”

⁵⁷ Jes P. Asmussen, ed. and trans., *The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 39, no. 2 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1961).

C. Local compositions

1. Old Khotanese

The only known local composition from the Old Khotanese period is the so-called *Book of Zambasta*, so named after the official who ordered the main manuscript to be written.⁵⁸ The *Book of Zambasta*, the longest extant Khotanese text (207 folios extant), is a poem on Buddhism written at the request of an official called Ysaṃbasta (i.e., Zambasta). (The poem is composed in three different meters and is the chief source of our knowledge of Khotanese metrics.) Numerous fragments of manuscript copies, from five or more different manuscripts, have been identified, which bear witness to the popularity of the text in Khotan. Following is a table of contents of the extant text:

- Ch. 1: A translation of a survey of the main tenets of Buddhism spoken by Samantabhadra.
- Ch. 2: The story of the conversion of Bhadra, the magician, apparently a paraphrase rather than a translation of a Sanskrit original, now lost. The Khotanese is said to correspond rather loosely with the Tibetan version. The text is included in the Ratnakūṭa collection.
- Ch. 3: Maitreya asks the Buddha how to obtain enlightenment (*bodhi*). The importance of love (*maitrī*) is emphasized.
- Ch. 4: The whole world is a false assumption (*parikalpa*).
- Ch. 5: The Buddha visits the city of Kapilavastu, where he was born.
- Ch. 6: Chapter six is of special interest as it claims to contain a verse from each sūtra. Only three citations have been identified, however: those from the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, and the *Diamond Sūtra*.
- Chs. 7–9: On emptiness (*śūnyatā*).
- Ch. 10: On the six perfections (*pāramitās*) and the ten stages (*bhūmis*). There are many similarities with the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*.
- Ch. 11: On compassion, the six perfections, love, *bodhicitta*, and skill in means (*upāyakaūśalya*). The last sixteen stanzas are closely similar to *Bhadracaryā-deśanā*, strophes 1–16.
- Ch. 12: On moral restraint (*saṃvara*). Very similar to the corresponding passage in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* of Asaṅga. Of particular interest is the statement that certain parts of the ritual should be spoken in Indian rather than in Khotanese.

⁵⁸ Ronald E. Emmerick, ed. and trans., *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

- Ch. 13: On the three vehicles: the Mahāyāna, Pratyekayāna (*sic*, for Pratyekabuddhayāna), and the Śrāvakayāna.
- Ch. 14: On different accounts of the life of the Buddha.
- Ch. 15: On faith. The chapter contains a reference to various foreign powers that had brought harm to the land of Khotan: Māmkūyas, Red Khocas, Hunas, Cinggas, and Supīyas.
- Ch. 16: On the ten *bhūmis*, following ch. 11 of the *Daśabhūmika*. The *bhūmis* are compared with the ten great mountains of Buddhist cosmogony.
- Ch. 17: Poetical description of the mountains in the four seasons. Appended to this chapter is a short Middle Khotanese text explaining which months are included in which seasons.
- Ch. 18: The lack of pleasure here in the cycle of rebirths (*samsāra*).
- Ch. 19: Warning against the wiles of women.
- Ch. 20: Lyrical passage on spring and its effects upon the young monks, followed by the Buddha’s taking them to a cemetery to show them the impermanence of pleasures here in the cycle of rebirths.
- Ch. 21: Description of a cemetery.
- Ch. 22: *Maitreyasamiti*. The Buddha Śākyamuni’s announcement of his imminent departure and his description of the coming decay of the order.
- Ch. 23: The story of King Udayana, who ordered an image of the Buddha to be made.
- Ch. 24: On the early life of the Buddha and the future decay of the order.

2. Middle Khotanese

Among Middle Khotanese texts we may mention the *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī*, containing at the end a *dhāraṇī* that is preceded by homage to the bodhisattvas with Avalokiteśvara at the head. Avalokiteśvara is frequently addressed in the vocative.

3. Late Khotanese

From the Late Khotanese period numerous local compositions are extant. Some of these are adaptations of, or contain quotations from, known Buddhist texts, but no exact originals have yet been identified for any of them. They include doctrinal texts, Vajrayāna texts, *dhāraṇīs*, *deśanās*, *jātakas*, and poetical compositions. The following may be mentioned:

Mañjuśrīnairatmyāvatāra-sūtra, written early in the reign of Viśa’ Śūra (r. 967–78). It contains numerous quotations or borrowings. The ones that have so far been identified include passages from the *Book of Zambasta*, the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*,⁵⁹ the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (on the four *apramāṇas*),⁶⁰ and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.⁶¹ Of particular interest is a description known only from this text of the three *kleśas*, i.e., *moha* (Folly), *rāga* (Desire), and *dveṣa* (Hate),⁶² personified as three doctrinal monsters, kings of the *rākṣasas*, with parts of their bodies being identified with points of Buddhist doctrine.⁶³

The “Book of Vimalakīrti” is a very difficult Late Khotanese (partly?) metrical text, in which the name Vimalakīrti occurs five times, sometimes as speaker; however, no part of the text has yet been proved to be from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*. Few other citations have so far been identified in this text; however, specific references to texts such as *Mañjuśrī-parivarta*, *Tathāgata jñānasamudra-sūtra*, *Vajramaṇḍala-sūtra*, *Karmāvaraṇaviśuddha-sūtra* should make identifications possible. It also contains a quotation from the *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī* concerning the symbolism of the *akṣaras*.⁶⁴ Of special interest is a passage containing injunctions against drinking wine and eating meat that closely resemble a Sogdian text (P 2), especially the mention of eating the flesh of one’s parents.⁶⁵

The self-styled *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is really a Late Khotanese commentary on the *Heart Sūtra*, interesting insofar as it is not related in any clear way to the known Tibetan or Chinese commentaries on this sūtra. Its main concern seems to be the reduction of everything to the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha or his lineage (*buddhagotra*). The following are a few samples (for the text see Skjærvø, “Hṛdayasūtra”):

⁵⁹ Ronald E. Emmerick, “The Concluding Verses of the Khotanese *Vajracchedikā*,” in Lewis R. Lancaster and Luis O. Gómez, eds., *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977): 83–92.

⁶⁰ Almuth Degener, “The Four *apramāṇas* in Khotanese,” *Studia Iranica* 15 (1986): 259–264.

⁶¹ Ronald E. Emmerick, “Some Verses from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* in Khotanese,” in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of J. P. Asmussen*, *Acta Iranica* 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1988): 125–133.

⁶² Khotanese Jaḍi, Brriyā and Rāga, Tveṣa(!).

⁶³ Ronald E. Emmerick, “Three Monsters in Khotan,” *Studia Iranica* 6, no. 1 (1977): 65–74.

⁶⁴ Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, 108–109, lines 293–307.

⁶⁵ H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vols. 1–3 in one (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 3: 49 line 37.

Prajñāpāramitā: *Prajñāpāramitā* means ‘right, great wisdom.’

Hṛdaya-sūtra: [This literally means] ‘the thread of the mind.’ [‘Mind’ is here] the one element [namely *viññāna-dhātu*] [also] belonging to the *skandhas* [i.e., the *viññāna-skandha*].

Avalokiteśvara: [Avalokiteśvara means] ‘dominant in the state of concentration (*samād-bhāna*).’ Of the same nature (*prakṛti*) [is now also] the bodhisattva.

Bodhisattva: And he [is] here (**iha*) [called] ‘*bodhisattva*’ because [he is] at all times purified with respect to his nature (*prakṛti*), and he sees the lineage of the Buddhas (*buddha-gotra*). Thus he is here ‘dominant’ among all the dharmas by nature (*prakṛti*).

iba Śāriputra rūpaṃ śūnyatā śūnyatāiva rūpaṃ rūpān na pṛthak śūnyatā śūnyatayā na pṛthag rūpaṃ: [This means:] Śāriputra, form [is] emptiness, there is no difference there. Neither as regards emptiness nor form [is there any] difference.’ [This implies] for instance (**tadyathā*) here: the *bodhi*-seeking *bodhisattva* thinks about the eighteenfold emptinesses... And when, here, the *bodhi*-seeking *bodhisattva*, supported by right knowledge, has realized about those eighteenfold emptinesses that by reason of sameness with form (**rūpasamatayā*) they are by own-being (*svabhāvena*) of one nature (*prakṛti*), [then] that is here called the Body of the Law (dharmakāya). Therefore is there no difference [between form and emptiness].

The category of poetical texts includes a lyrical poem, copies of which are found in various manuscripts, and two poems written by princes of Khotan at the court of Shazhou:⁶⁶

The *Invocation of Prince Tcū-syau* contains the name of the “great prince” Tcū-syau, who is probably to be identified with one of the sons of King Viśa’ Saṃbhava (r. 742–755), Chinese name Li Shengtian 李聖天, who was married to a sister of Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠, ruler of the kingdom of Dunhuang. The name of the prince is Zongchang 宗嘗 in the Chinese sources and Zongchang 宗常 in a manuscript from Dunhuang.⁶⁷

The *Verses of Prince Tcūm-ttebi*, a poem written by another of the sons of King Viśa’ Saṃbhava, Zongde 宗德. Both the king and his sons are depicted in cave paintings from Dunhuang, and it may be these princes who are said in a Chinese text from Dunhuang to have come to the temple and taken away the fourth volume of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

⁶⁶ Several have been edited and translated. See Emmerick, *Guide*, and Emmerick and Skjærvø, “Buddhism.”

⁶⁷ Hiroshi Kumamoto, “Some problems of the Khotanese documents,” in R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjærvø, eds., *Studia Grammatica Iranica* (Munich: R. Kitzinger, 1986), 227–244.

Three Vajrayāna texts are extant: One is a prose treatise on the *mālā* (Buddhist prayer beads); similar texts have been found in Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang. The other two are verse. One of these contains a date that may correspond to 10 August 971.⁶⁸

Dhāraṇīs range from fragments of spells in single manuscript folios to extensive texts, some of which are known from Sanskrit (or Tibetan and/or Chinese). It is of some interest that the main spell of the *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī* was copied separately in a Late Khotanese manuscript, while the main text itself has not yet been identified in Late Khotanese.

The *ġātaka-stava*, a collection of *ġātaka* stories (i.e., stories about the previous lives of the Buddha) seems to be a Khotanese compilation of brief summaries of fifty-one *ġātaka* stories, of which all but a few have been traced in other sources.⁶⁹

Numerous *deśanā* texts are found in Late Khotanese manuscripts.⁷⁰ These include the translations from Sanskrit (*Bhadracaryā-deśanā* and *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* chap. 3) and the *Invocation of Prince Tcū-syau*, all of which deal with personal confession and contain the words “I confess,” and several other texts that are to be written or recited in order to obtain “atonement for sins” (*karmāṃ deśanā*) or deal with the theory of the atonement for sins. The Buddhist confession texts in due time provided models for the new Manichaean religion when it arrived in Chinese Turkestan.⁷¹

D. Translation techniques

The third point I mentioned above was the importance of the translation techniques of the Khotanese for our understanding of Buddhism in Chinese Turkestan. As a number of translated texts from different periods have by now been edited and translated with commentaries, it is possible to begin investigating these techniques for Khotanese, as has been done in the past for Chinese and Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts. No comprehensive study of this

⁶⁸ For translations see Emmerick, *Guide*, and Emmerick and Skjærvø, “Buddhism.”

⁶⁹ Mark J. Dresden, ed. and tr., “The *ġātakastava* or ‘Praise of the Buddha’s Former Births,’” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 45, no. 5 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), 397–508.

⁷⁰ Several have been edited and translated, see Emmerick, *Guide*, and Emmerick and Skjærvø, “Buddhism.”

⁷¹ Buddhist confessions of laymen began no later than the second century CE and therefore preceded Manichaeism. See Jes P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvánīft: Studies in Manicheism*, in *Acta Theologica Danica* 7 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1965), 253–254.

kind has as yet been undertaken, but a few points of special interest may be pointed out here.⁷²

The Khotanese language did not, as I mentioned before, possess the sophistication of classical and Buddhist Sanskrit in the domain of religious and philosophical terminology, and we cannot expect to find deep revelations in their choice of vocabulary. Thus, for instance, Khotanese had only one word for “mind,” *aysmū*, which was used to render such different Buddhist concepts as *citta*, *manas*, *viññāna*, etc. If they wanted to be specific they had to use the Sanskrit term itself, for instance *viññāna*.

Generally, we may say that the Khotanese translators did not strive for the same degree of consistency in their translations as their Tibetan colleagues. Thus, most often the translator gives both a relatively literal and grammatically correct translation. Sometimes, however, he is so bound by the original that he renders it almost automatically and with nearly complete disregard for the grammar of the language he is translating into. If we were to translate literally into English these Khotanese renderings, they might be completely nonsensical. Finally, in some instances, no doubt the translator did not quite understand the original himself, or the original was too corrupt already, in which case he sometimes chose to translate *ad sensum*, or what he thought was the meaning of the original. More importantly, Almuth Degener showed that the Khotanese translator of the *Diamond Sūtra* was familiar with the commentaries on the sūtra, and she concluded: “The translator did not proceed mechanically; instead he made an effort to really understand [the text]. His explanations are—probably on purpose—not original; they can almost always be traced in the tradition of Buddhist commentaries.”⁷³

Compared with Tibetan translations, and even Chinese ones, one is struck by the Khotanese translators’ apparent unwillingness to translate identical passages in the same way throughout a text. On the contrary, one has the impression that the translator is striving for variation rather than consistency. As a matter of fact, this is a feature that characterizes Iranian literature throughout the pre-Islamic period, and which is especially well known from the orthographic conventions reflected in Avestan, Pahlavi, and Sogdian manuscripts. One is tempted to establish this practice as a principle: the Iranian Principle of Variation. It is not a bad principle, as it eases the ponderous and soporific repetition often found in Buddhist

⁷² See also Ronald E. Emmerick, “Some Remarks on Translation Techniques of the Khotanese,” in Klaus Rohrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, eds., *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien: Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983): 17–26; and Almuth Degener, “Zur Übersetzungstechnik in der khotanischen *Vajracchedikā*,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 139, no. 2 (1989): 346–367.

⁷³ “Zur Übersetzungstechnik,” 366.

texts.⁷⁴

In the following I shall discuss various techniques employed by the Khotanese translators and point out some of their more interesting features.

1. Simple rendering

The simple, direct rendering of concrete or abstract terms is of the type

aśva “horse” ⇒ *aśśa*
aparimita “unlimited” ⇒ *avamāta*

The translator does not necessarily endeavor to imitate the use of synonyms:

akṣan, *caḥṣus*, and *netra* “eye” all ⇒ *tcei’man-* “eye”

Very often the Khotanese rendered a Sanskrit term “etymologically”:

drṣṭi “(false) view” < *√drś* “to see” ⇒ *kā’matā-* “view” < *√ka-* “to see”

In other instances the translators provided inventive explanatory renderings:

aniṣṭa- “unwanted” ⇒ *aysūṣṭa-* “unpleasant”
bodhisattva ⇒ *balysūñavūysaa-*, lit. “bodhi-seeker”
bodhi ⇒ *balysūsti-*, lit., “having learnt (how to be a) Buddha”⁷⁵

When the Sanskrit term had several meanings depending upon context the Khotanese translator would usually choose different terms to render the word in its different meanings:

dharmā (1) “law” ⇒ Kh. *dāta-* “law,” (2) “element” ⇒ Kh. *bāra-* “thing”
prasanna (1) “clear” ⇒ Kh. *vasuta-* “pure,” (2) “believing (in)” ⇒ Kh. *ṣṣaddaā-* “faith”

2. Word + explanatory adjective

A simple extension of the first method is to add an explanatory adjective to a noun that it was felt did not impart the same meaning as the original:

drṣṭi “(false) view” ⇒ *kūrā- kā’matā-* “false view”

⁷⁴ The desire for variation is also seen, for instance, in the Chinese translations of Dharmarakṣa in the late third to early fourth centuries CE. (J. Nattier, personal communication, 1993).

⁷⁵ Emmerick, in R. E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987), 102.

3. “Dyadic” and “triadic translations”

Very often two words of similar or related meanings are used to render one Sanskrit term. This technique is referred to as “dyadic translations” by Professor Bailey. Similarly we may also find “triadic translations,” etc. Most of the time the choice of the accompanying term is unproblematic:

asatya ⇒ *asāda- adātia-* “evil and unlawful”
niryātita ⇒ *būḍaimā nārsātaimā* “I gave and presented”
priya ⇒ *manāva- briyūna-* “pleasant and endearing”

In the last example it is easy to see where the translator took the addition from, as *priya* and *manāpa* are frequently used together:

kānta-priya ⇒ *manāva- bria-* (*Suv* 1.7) “pleasant and dear”

Similarly:

śokāyāsa ⇒ *kāścā- uvadrava-* “sorrow and grief”
hence
śoka ⇒ *kāścā- uvadrava-* (*Suv* 12.29, *Saṅgh* 79)

These examples also illustrate the tendency to add an indigenous Khotanese word to an Indian loanword.⁷⁶

In some cases the translator seems to have chosen the accompanying term rather freely, albeit *ad sensum*:

priya ⇒ *bria- ajsera-* “dear and inviolable (wife)”

The following are examples of triadic, etc., renderings:

vastu “object” ⇒ *hāra- artha- ttagata-* “thing, object, possession”

vilopaya “to destroy” ⇒ *bajev- hasamīṭh- harāṣ’- uysbāy-* “destroy, destroy, tear apart, pull out”

The opposite is also found: series of words with related meanings may be rendered by fewer words in the Khotanese:

⁷⁶ This practice is common also elsewhere, of course, for instance in Uigur.

priya manāpa \Rightarrow *bria-* (*Saṅgh* 31.5)

Occasionally it looks like the translator got tired of producing strings of synonyms, as in the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, where what I call the “protection series,” i.e., a string of synonyms or near synonyms for “protecting and bringing security and well-being” to the country, is sometimes reduced to only one term:

Sanskrit *ārakṣāṃ kṛ-/ārakṣaya- paritrāṇaṃ parigrahaṃ paripālanaṃ (śāntiṃ svastyayanaṃ) kṛ-*
/ *Suv*

6.1.36–37 *nā parehāte u paljsagyo nā yanīyā hīvyāte nā parhalīyā nā u ānatā nu yanīyā*

6.1.38–39 *rakṣo yanāmā āysda nu yanāmane trāyāmato nā yanāmā. u hīvyāmane nā. u pāmā nā u tsāṣṭatetu nā yanāmā. u śśāratetu*

6.1.56–57 *rakṣo nu yanda āysda nā yanīru paiya nu karvīra nā biśśā hālā ānatā yanda. tsāṣṭatetu śśāratetu (nu yanda)*

6.1.60 *biśśā hālā ānatā yādā hāmāte nātā hāmāte*

6.1.63–64 *ānatā nu yanda u āysda nu yanīru paljsagyo nā yanda. u hīvīrā nu u ānatā nu yanda. u (tsāṣṭatetu) śśāratetu nu yanda*

6.2.21–22 *rakṣo yanāmā ānatā nu yanāmā xbiśśā hālā nu trāyāmā hīvyāmane u anārrā nā padīmāmane. xtsāṣṭatetu śśāratetu nā yanāmā*

6.2.23 ***rakṣo yanāmā***

6.2.43–44 *rakṣo yanda. u trāyāta nu u hīvīrā nu. u parhalāta nu. u anārrā nā padīmīru. u tsāṣṭatetu śśāratetu nā yanda*

6.2.45 ***ānatu yanda***

6.2.77 *māsta rakṣa yādā hāmāte trāyāmata hīvyāmata ārrāṇa naṣkhajāmata. tsāṣṭatātā śśāratātā tāḍa hāmāte*

As an extension of the dyadic translations we also find that, if two words (A and a) are frequently used together in the original Sanskrit, then the Khotanese may use the translation of either word (B and b) to render either of the two Sanskrit words, also when they are not both in the original. Thus if Sanskrit A and B occur together, the Khotanese may render A + B with a + b or only a or only b; Sanskrit A may be rendered by a, b, or a + b; and Sanskrit B by b, a, or a + b.

Example: Khotanese *āysda yan-*, “to watch over,” renders Sanskrit *samanvāharati* four times in the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, but once (*Suv* 6.1.4) it renders *avalokaya-*, which is usually rendered by Khotanese *vūy-* or similar verbs. What we have here, however, is an instance of A+B \Rightarrow a+b \nRightarrow A \Rightarrow b:

- (A) *avalokita* ⇒ (a) *vūyāta-* + (a₁) *uysdāta-*
 (B) *samanvāhṛta* ⇒ (b) *āysdagāda-*

hence

- (A) *avalokayati* ⇒ (b) *āysda yan-*

Compare also *Saṅgh* 216.9 *vayavalokaya paśya janakāyam* ⇒ *āysda ne yanu ... dyata ne*, “observe them ... look at them!” For *uysdāta-* compare *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* 18v4–5: *spāśśa ma uysdya ma pūya vā, vyava[lo]va vā*, ‘look at me, look up at me, look hither, look down hither!’

Another example of this kind of “substitution and variation” technique is provided by the Khotanese renderings of the following two expressions of related meanings, *aṭavī-kāntāra* “forest (and) wilderness” (Khotanese *alava- kaṃttāra-*, *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* 737, 17v3–4) and *giri/parvata-kandara* “in the thick of mountains,” both listed in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* section on “miscellaneous words”:

- Suv* 6.1.9 *kāntāra ... kāntāra* ⇒ *haṃdrama- ... alava-*
Suv 10.4 *giri-kandara* ⇒ *ggara- ... alava-*
Saṅgh 99.1 *parvata-giri-kandara*⁷⁷ ⇒ *haṃdṛma- ggara-*

One final example is the following: Sanskrit *sādhukāram adāt sādhu sādhu* is regularly rendered in the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* as *usāvanyau hvate se śuru śuru* (or similar) “he spoke approval: good, good!” On one occasion (*Suv* 6.2.41) the expression is expanded by a gloss: *usāvanyau hvate ysūṣṭe nā śuru śuru* “he spoke approval—he was pleased with them: good, good!” The expression *ysūṣṭe nā* may be from the formula of similar content that is usually found at the end of sūtras: Sanskrit *abhyānandan* ⇒ Khotanese (*Saṅgh*, *Sumukha*) *ātaundāndā ysūṣṭāndā* “they approved and were pleased.”

In the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra* the expression *sādhukāram adāt sādhu sādhu* is rendered as *buljāte se śuru śuru* “he praised: good, good!” Where does the choice of this particular verb come from? Compare the following terms for “praising” in the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*:

	Sanskrit	Tibetan	Khotanese
1.24	<i>praśamsita</i>	<i>rab-tu bsngags</i>	<i>buljāta</i>
3.98(99)	<i>stoṣyati</i>	<i>bstod-pa</i>	<i>stavi</i>
	<i>varṇita</i>	<i>brjod-pa</i>	
3.107		<i>mngon-par bstod-do ysūṣṭāmdī</i>	

⁷⁷ Note that one of the Central Asian mss. of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* has the form *giri-kāntara* for *giri-kandara*.

6.1.6	°-stuta	<i>mchod-cing</i> ⁷⁸	<i>stavātāndū</i>
	<i>stavita</i>	<i>bsngags-te</i>	
	<i>varṇita</i>	<i>brjod-nas</i>	<i>buljātāndū</i>
	* <i>praśamsita</i>	<i>rab-tu bkur-ba</i>	<i>ysūṣṭāndū</i>
6.2.41	<i>sādhukāram</i>	<i>legs-so zhes bya-ba</i>	<i>usāvanyau hvate ysūṣṭe</i>
	<i>adāt</i>	<i>byin-pa</i>	<i>nā</i>
6.6.3	<i>abbhitsuṭuvuḥ</i>	<i>mngon-par bstod-do</i>	<i>stavvyāndū</i>
12.56	<i>anumodita</i>	<i>rjes yid-rang</i>	<i>ysūṣṭa ... armūvātāndū</i>
18.107	<i>tuṣṭāva</i>	<i>bstod-pa</i>	<i>stavātā</i>

In other texts *ysūṣ-* renders *anumoda-* (*Saṅgh*; cf. *Suv* 12.56), *varṇita* (*Bhadracaryā*), and *mngon-par bstod-do* (= *abhiṣṭav-*, *Sumukhā*). We see now that the use of *buljāta-* in the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra* is most probably linked with the intrusion of *ysūṣ-* from the “end of sūtra” formula into the general “approval” formula.

3. Word + explanatory gloss

A further extension of method no. 2 was to add an explanatory gloss to the direct rendering. Thus: *adhiṣṭhita* ⇒ *ayāṣṭhāta-* + gloss. *vistātā akhvīhanau* “established immovably.” This may also be regarded as an example of the addition of a Khotanese word to a Sanskrit loanword.

Another interesting example is from the *Saṅghāta-sūtra*, where *anyatīrthika* ⇒ *nyaṇḍa-* + gloss *kūra-dṛṣṭ(a)a-*. The explanation of this gloss is found in the *Book of Zambasta* (*Z* 24.171–72), where we read: *kūre dṛṣṭīyate pharu nāndā vācātre. ttātāyyo dṛṣṭyau jsa anyattārthya nāma* “Many have adopted various false views. Because of these false views they are called *anyatīrthikas*.”

4. Substitution of gloss or definition for word

Finally, what was originally an explanatory gloss or definition could be substituted for the simple word itself. In this category belong several renderings of the terms *buddha*, *tathāgata*, *arhant*, and *samyaksambuddha*:

Buddha:

Khotanese *gyastā balysä* “Lord Buddha,” lit. “exalted god”⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The Tibetan renderings of this passage are unusual and may indicate that they were based on a corrupted and corrected text.

⁷⁹ See also Emmerick, “Some Remarks.”

Tathāgata:

Old Khotanese

Saṅgh *rraṣṭo tsūmato *tsumandei* “going the right going”
 ce butsutu pando tsutāndä “[those] who went the right road”

Late Khotanese

Sukh *rraṣṭa-tsūkä* “who goes right [correctly]”
Sumukha cū tta tta tsūai khu ra pīrūya gyasta balysa tsuāṃdi “[you] who went as the former
 Lord Buddhas went”
Vajr *ttāhārā-tsūkä* “who goes really”
 ttāhirau hvāñākä “who speaks what is real”

Arhant:

Old Khotanese

Saṅgh *ce biśśū parrūṣka/klaiśa tvīṣṣe yāḍe/purrdē* “who has overcome all the *klesās*”
Suv *sāne biśśu jāte* “he has completely destroyed the enemies”

Late Khotanese

Sumukha āṣaṇa-vajsamä “of worthy homage”
Vajr *pajsqmānā āṣa’ñä* “worthy of homages”

Samyaksambuddha:

Old Khotanese

Saṅgh (*rraṣṭo*) *bastamo balysūstu busta* “he has realized [right] best bodhi”

Late Khotanese

Sum *samana sarvadbarmvā biysāṃdī u rraṣṭa sarvadbarmā vyachyai* “you are equally
 awakened in all the dharmas, and you have explained correctly all dharmas”
Vajr *samna biśāñä hirāñä vamaśāka* “equally experiencing all things (*dharmas*)”

We notice here a clear difference between the way these terms are rendered in Old and Late Khotanese. The brief renderings are clearly simple interpreting translations. Thus “correctly gone” renders the two elements of *tathā-gata*, in the same manner as the Tibetan and Chinese

renderings of this term as *de-bzhin gshegs-pa*,⁸⁰ probably “thus gone,” and *rulai* 如來 “thus come,” respectively.

The longer ones, on the other hand, are clearly commentarial or explanatory translations. None of these renderings, however, is something specifically invented by the Khotanese. As a matter of fact, all are found as glosses or explanations in the commentary literature, notably the Tibetan *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa*⁸¹ and the Chinese text *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 ascribed to Nāgārjuna by Lamotte and called by him *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*.⁸² Thus we find in the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa* for *tathāgata* both “as the former Buddhas came (*gshegs-pa*) or went (*byon-pa*),” etc., and the *Da zhidu lun* has “Why is he called *tathāgata*?... In the same manner as the [former] Buddhas [walked] on the road of confidence, thus the [present] Buddha went.” The somewhat surprising rendering of *tathāgata* as “who speaks what is real” corresponds to “knowing and proclaiming the essence of all *dharmas*” in the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa* and to “he proclaims the marks of the *dharmas* as he has understood them” in the *Da zhidu lun*. For *arhant* the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa* has: “*Arhant* can be rendered by ‘worthy of homage,’ because he deserves to be worshiped by all, i.e., by gods, men, etc., when derived from *pūjām arhatīti arhan*. If it is derived from *kleśa-arīn batavān arhan* it can also mean ‘conqueror of the *kleśa* enemies.’ For *samyaksambuddha* the *Da zhidu lun* has: “This expression means also ‘he who knows all *dharmas* totally and completely.’”

These are just a few, but very important, examples of what a study of the translation techniques of the Khotanese may reveal about the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Chinese Turkestan. A sorely felt desideratum at this stage is an inventory of Buddhist terms in Khotanese. There is a large amount of material available for such a compilation, however: one may, for instance, begin with the published glossaries to bilingual texts and from there go on to analyze the *Book of Zambasta*, the “Bodhisattva Compendium,” and other doctrinal texts.

E. The relationship between the Khotanese translations and other versions

I would like to conclude my survey of Khotanese Buddhist literature by a brief discussion of the fourth point by analyzing in varying detail the Khotanese translations of three texts: the *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī*, the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*, and the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*.

⁸⁰ Rather than, e.g., *'ong-ba* = *ā-gam-*, cf. *ma-'ongs-pa* = *an-āgata* and *legs par 'ongs-pa* = *sv-āgata*, but *gshegs pa* = *gam-*, e.g., *bde-bar gshegs-pa* = *su-gata*.

⁸¹ See Nils Simonsson, *Indo-Tibetische Studien I* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957), 265–270.

⁸² Étienne Lamotte, trans., *Le traité de la Grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra)* I (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1981), 115–127. Lamotte’s attribution is now commonly rejected (J. Nattier, personal communication, 1993).

1. *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī*

The relationship between the Khotanese, Tibetan,⁸³ and Chinese versions of this text still remains to be investigated in detail. Here the following points may be mentioned. Toward the end of the text the Khotanese version lists eight “divine sons” (*gyastaṣṣai*), which agrees with Chinese *tianzi* 天子 in the versions found in T 1012, 1013, 1015, and 1017 against the Tibetan, which has “bodhisattva-mahāsattvas,” on the one hand, and the Chinese versions in T 1009, 1011, 1014, 1016, and 1018,⁸⁴ on the other, where we find simply “bodhisattva.” A passage toward the end of the sūtra describing the shaking of the trichilio-megachilio-cosmos, the raining down of flowers, and the sounding of unbeaten drums is found in T 1012, 1013, 1015, and 1018, but not in the Tibetan. At first glance this leaves the Chinese versions found in T 1012, 1013, and 1015 as the possibly closest versions to be further investigated. Two of the names of the “divine sons,” however, agree only with T 1018, namely Khotanese nos. 4 and 5: *Suryagarbhā* and *Satyā* = Chinese *suyejiebi* 率耶揭鞞 < swət-jia-kiat-pji⁸⁵ and *sadi* 薩低 < sat-tej).⁸⁶ The rest of the names also agree with this Chinese version (Tang I), and Inagaki, from an analysis of the Khotanese fragments known to him, points out several more similarities with Tang I, which dates from 720 CE. The Khotanese version, on the evidence of the language, was probably made before this time, however, and as we just saw there are important differences between it and the Tang I version as well.

2. *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājatathāgata-sūtra*

After several recent discoveries (see below), we now have evidence for both an Old Khotanese and a Middle Khotanese version of this sūtra, as well as of at least two somewhat divergent Old Khotanese versions. All the Khotanese versions differ considerably from the Sanskrit and are not particularly close to the Chinese versions as translated by Birnbaum. The Tibetan version has not yet been compared. Of special interest is the fact that the twelve vows (*praṇidhānas*) of *Bhaiṣajyaguru* seem to correspond closely with the form they have taken in the so-called long scroll (1170s CE).⁸⁷ Thus the very fragmentary Khotanese text has:

⁸³ See H. Inagaki, *The Anantamukhanirbhāra-Dhāraṇī Sūtra and Jñānagarbha's Commentary: A Study and the Tibetan Text* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1987).

⁸⁴ Cf. Inagaki, *Anantamukhanirbhāra-Dhāraṇī*, 72.

⁸⁵ The character transcribes the *ga(r)* in *garuḍa*, and transcribes *vai/bai*.

⁸⁶ See table 10 in Inagaki, *Anantamukhanirbhāra-Dhāraṇī*.

⁸⁷ Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 63–64.

4. “... from the clouds of *samsāra*. And may there not [be anything hidden? ...] I shall free [them from dust?] I shall strike the impurities ...” Cf. the scroll: “When I come into the world and attain to Enlightenment, lofty and dignified as the moon among the stars, dissipating the clouds of birth and death, then there shall be nothing hidden, brightness shall shine in the world, travellers shall see the Way, those who are hot shall be cool and shall be freed from dust and dirt.” (Birnbaum’s translation)

5. “... that energy (*vīrya*) and they/I? shall keep it pure ... guiltless; in that manner all beings ...” Cf. the scroll: “When I come into the world, there shall arise a great tide of energy [*vīrya*] ...” (Birnbaum’s translation).

A passage that is relatively well preserved is the one containing the list of nine untimely deaths. These are:

Khotanese	Sanskrit = Chinese
1.	illness
2. burning + needles(?)	royal punishment
3. illness	drunkenness
4. royal punishment	burning
5. being killed by robbers	drowning
6. drowning	wild animals
7. ...	falling from a mountain
8. falling into ?	ghosts
9. being killed by ghosts	starvation

As in this list, the Khotanese text in general is often in a different order than the Sanskrit and Chinese texts.

3. *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*

The development of the original *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* was analyzed in great detail by J. Nobel in his ground-breaking edition,⁸⁸ and the Khotanese versions were investigated by myself in my edition of the text.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ J. Nobel, ed., *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1937).

⁸⁹ Skjærvø, *The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*.

Recension A: The Sanskrit text that Dharmakṣema (Fafeng 法豐) translated (between 414 and 421 CE) was called by Nobel “recension A.” No complete Sanskrit manuscript of this recension is known, but a Central Asian manuscript in the Stein collection of the British Library/India Office Library, London (not known to Nobel) and the Mironov fragments⁹⁰ belong to this recension. There is no evidence for a Tibetan translation of recension A.

Recension B: The next stage in the development of the sūtra is the text represented by the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and “Tibetan I”⁹¹ (first half of the eighth century CE), which is much longer than recension A. This Nobel calls “recension B.” The Old Khotanese manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* probably contains a version of the text that not only agrees with this recension but also in part preserves a text antedating the archetype of the Nepalese manuscripts and the Tibetan versions. Compared to the Khotanese text, this archetype has already begun to deteriorate. In addition, numerous agreements with the Chinese versions may indicate that these and the Khotanese reflect a Central Asian recension of the text.⁹² All the Old Khotanese manuscripts contain a version of the Khotanese translation that goes back to a single old version, although the copyists have in the course of time variously attempted to improve the text and adjust the language to contemporary usage.

Recension C: The next stage in the development of the sūtra is that represented by the composite version edited by Baogui 寶貴 (597 CE). We may call this version “recension C” (Nobel named only recensions A and B). Baogui’s version contains Dharmakṣema’s version plus additional material translated into Chinese by three different translators. Another Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript in the Stein collection may represent a branch of this recension.⁹³

⁹⁰ Nobel, ed., *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, 102–103 n. 34.

⁹¹ J. Nobel, ed., *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra. Das Goldglanz-sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus: Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch 1, Die tibetischen Übersetzungen* (Leiden and Stuttgart: Brill, 1944).

⁹² This conclusion was reached by O. von Hinüber in his edition, *Das Saṃghāṭasūtra: Ausgabe und kommentierte Übersetzung eines nordbuddhistischen Lehrtextes in Sanskrit und Sakisch* (unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Mainz, 1973), 25. It is probably valid for many (most?) of the other Khotanese translations as well.

⁹³ Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, 109–112.

Recension D: This recension is represented by “Tibetan II”⁹⁴ (beginning of the ninth century CE). It differs from Yijing’s later version chiefly in the fact that it incorporated no changes beyond chapter twenty (Sanskrit ch. 12). The original of Tibetan II is later than that of Baogui and Yijing. This is shown by the fact that Tibetan II incorporates elements of a more recent version than that used by Yijing.⁹⁵ The principal Middle Khotanese manuscript belongs to an early stage of this recension, as it contains the additions to Sanskrit chapter six and eleven in a less developed form than Tibetan II and Yijing. The comparison of the Middle Khotanese version with the Old Khotanese one shows that, just as in the case of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of recension C, the Khotanese version of recension D kept the text of recension B unchanged and just added the new text.

Recension E: This is the final recension, represented by Yijing’s translation.⁹⁶ It agrees in the main with Tibetan II. A version of this recension is represented by Middle and Late Khotanese manuscripts. The Late Khotanese manuscript is a miscellany, containing only the chapter on confession from *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* together with various other texts (*Bhadracaryā-deśanā*, the commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*, etc.). This Khotanese version is clearly related to that of Yijing, as it contains at the beginning and end of the chapter passages that have parallels only in Yijing’s version. The Middle Khotanese fragment from a manuscript containing this version shows that it is not a composition of the Late Khotanese period, but was made already in the Middle Khotanese period. It is therefore quite likely that it was made from the same Central Asian recension that Yijing used around 700 CE. It is typical of this version of chapter three that it is subservient to the exigencies of the meter, which means that at times the text is drastically abbreviated and altered.

We see that the Khotanese manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* thus represent all stages in the transmission of the sūtra with the exception of the first one (recension A). The Old Khotanese manuscripts represent an early version of recension B, antedating the archetype of the Nepalese manuscripts and the original of Tibetan I (early eighth century); the Middle Khotanese manuscripts represent a primitive version of recensions C-D, otherwise represented by Baogui’s composite edition (597) and Yijing’s (ca. 700) version and Tib. II (early

⁹⁴ Nobel, ed., *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra... Die tibetischen Übersetzungen*.

⁹⁵ Nobel, ed., *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, xxv.

⁹⁶ J. Nobel, ed., *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra.: Das Goldglanz-sūtra, ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus, I-Tsing’s chinesische Version*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1958).

ninth century); and finally we have evidence of a Middle Khotanese version of recension E, which is the version used by Yijing.

In the case of other Khotanese translations we find similar situations. Thus, for instance, the Khotanese translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* “is not identical with any of the other known ones. However, it is reasonably close to the Tibetan. Where it diverges from it, it occupies a position intermediate between the Chinese translations K and H.”⁹⁷

III. Conclusion: “Stand und Aufgaben”

So far the Khotanese texts have been examined almost exclusively by linguists and philologists, whose primary concern has been to decipher the texts and their language, and I should point out that much remains to be done. There are still numerous texts and text fragments from the Old and Middle Khotanese periods that are clearly translations but have not yet been identified. One of the reasons for this is that the scholars who have worked on these texts have, as I just said, been philologists rather than Buddhologists and therefore cannot possibly command the huge mass of Buddhist literature. Only occasionally have I myself been able to make identifications; for instance, I once happened to be looking up a Buddhist term from a Khotanese text in Lamotte’s edition of the *Vimalakīrti*, when I realized that I was actually looking at the same text in both places. In other cases I have been able to assign folios or fragments to texts that had already been identified. Thus, in one case I added four entire and fragmentary folios to three folios from one manuscript identified by Leumann as part of the *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī* by comparing the external appearance of the manuscripts and the script, and immediately found three more fragments of three more manuscripts which happened to overlap with the text of the main manuscript. Thus in a day or two I had increased the number of known folios (some almost complete) of the *Anantamukhanirbhāra-dhāraṇī* from three to fifteen and the number of different manuscripts from one to four. Entirely by chance I identified in a matter of minutes two partially preserved folios and a small fragment from the *Kāśyapaṭṭiparivarta* of the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*.⁹⁸ I identified a relatively large number of additional Khotanese fragments of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* while translating the known fragments to send to G. Schopen after this conference.⁹⁹

It is worth keeping in mind that the first editor of Khotanese texts, Ernst Leumann,

⁹⁷ Skjærvø, “Khotanese Fragments of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*,” 230.

⁹⁸ In H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, 5: 52 no. 128 (§ 94 A. von Stäel-Holstein’s edition), p. 282 no. 616 (§§ 133–134 in Stäel-Holstein’s edition), p. 182 no. 346 (§§ 154–157 in Stäel-Holstein’s edition).

⁹⁹ Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, 5: 124 no. 223 (on the nine untimely deaths) and a group of fragments from a manuscript in the British Library not yet published (three complete folios, one-half of a folio and fragments of six (?) more folios).

enjoyed the collaboration of the great Sinologist Kaikyoku Watanabe and with his help was able to locate parallels for a large number of the texts he was editing. It should be quite clear that what is now needed in order to complete the identification of the remaining Khotanese texts is collaboration between Khotanologists and Buddhologists. The interest shown by the latter in these texts, however, has been less than encouraging, in spite of the fact that both the translated texts and the local compositions are of paramount importance for Buddhist studies, for at least two reasons. First, because the Khotanese translations were made directly from Sanskrit originals they provide evidence for the early versions of the Sanskrit texts themselves, antedating most of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts and even many of the Chinese and Tibetan translations, and are thus invaluable for the textual criticism. Second, the Khotanese texts provide the only means of learning how Mahāyāna Buddhism developed in this area. In spite of these two obvious points, the fact remains that very few Buddhologists have approached this material in order to determine its place in the history of Buddhism or its contribution to our understanding of the texts. Exceptions are Lewis Lancaster, who in his retranslation of Bailey’s translation of the commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* remarked on the similarity between the ideas expressed in this commentary and “the positions held by the Vijñānavāda school,”¹⁰⁰ and Almuth Degener, who uncovered some of the dependence of the translators on Indian commentaries. Text editions and translations are also multiplying year by year. Khotanologists have done and are still doing what they can within their field, but it is up to the Buddhologists and other experts on Chinese Turkestan to take the second step and place the Khotanese literature in its proper religio-historical setting.

Buddhist literature in Tumshuqese

Very little is known about the literature of the Iranian people in the area around Tumshuq. Their written remains are very scarce, but it seems clear that their religious culture was closely related to that of the neighboring (Tokharian) Kucha. Among the extant fragments of Buddhist texts is one bilingual text (Sanskrit-Tumshuqese) and one trilingual text (Sanskrit-Tokharian-Tumshuqese). At least some of the Tumshuqese texts may well be translations from Tokharian, rather than from Sanskrit. Among the extant texts are a *Karmavācanā* text,¹⁰¹ one

¹⁰⁰ Lewis R. Lancaster, “A Study of a Khotanese *Prajñāpāramitā* Text: After the Work of Sir Harold Bailey,” in Lancaster and Gomez, eds., *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems*, 164.

¹⁰¹ See Ronald E. Emmerick, *The Tumshuqese Karmavācanā Text*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1985, Nr. 2 (Stuttgart: 1985); Prods Oktor Skjærvø, “On the Tumshuqese Karmavācanā,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1987): 77–90; and Klaus T. Schmitt, “Ein Beitrag des Tocharischen zur Entzifferung des Tumshuqsakischen,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 15, no. 2 (1988): 306–314.

small fragment of the *Araṇemi jāṭaka*,¹⁰² small fragments from ten folios of the *Haṃsasvara jāṭaka*, four small fragments of a bilingual version of the *jāṭaka* of the hungry tigress, one fragment published by Konow¹⁰³ which contains the names of two kings (Vajradaṇḍa and Meru), one fragment in the India Office Library in which Prince Uttara is mentioned, and one fragment containing the name Ratnaiśvara.¹⁰⁴

Addendum

Since this was written, the St. Petersburg collections of Khotanese manuscripts have been published by Ronald E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja: *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, II, V. *Saka Documents*, VII: *The St. Petersburg Collections* (London: CII and SOAS, 1993) and *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, II, V. *Saka Documents*, *Text Volume III* (London: CII and SOAS, 1995). The collection contains numerous additions to known texts, e.g., *Anantamukha*, *Bhaiṣajyaguru* (including additional folios of the MKh. version described above), *Kāśyapaparivarta*, *Saṅghāṭa* (all included in Canevascini, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra*), *Suvarṇabhāsa*, *Vimalakīrti*, and a fragment (no. 16) containing Buddha names of the type discussed above.

In addition, Mauro Maggi recently published *The Khotanese Karma-vibhaṅga* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995).

¹⁰² Harold W. Bailey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, II, V. *Saka documents, text volume* (London: Lund Humphries, 1968).

¹⁰³ Sten Konow, “Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt,” *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, hist.-phil. Kl., XX (Berlin, 1935): 1–54 [772–823]; and “The Oldest Dialect of Khotanese Saka,” *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 14 (1947): 156–190.

¹⁰⁴ D. Maue discovered the unpublished texts, and I am currently preparing them for publication.

TEXTUAL SOURCES FOR BUDDHISM IN KHOTAN

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I. Buddhism in Khotan in Chinese sources

It is widely known from both indigenous and other sources that the kingdom of Khotan was an important center of Buddhist learning during the first millennium of the common era. The outside sources include those in Tibetan and in Chinese, the former of which have been much exploited. The most important works are F. W. Thomas’s translations and notes published in *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, Part I: Literary Texts* (London, 1935); R. E. Emmerick’s edition and new translation with glossaries of the most important Tibetan text for Buddhism in Khotan (“Prophecy of the Li Country”) in *Tibetan Texts concerning Khotan* (London, 1967), (which also includes an edition of “The religious annals of the Li country” from the Pelliot collection in Paris); and lastly G. Uray, “The Old Tibetan sources of the history of Central Asia up to 751 A.D.: a survey,” in J. Harmatta ed., *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1979).

For its geographic proximity and the close political and military relationship over centuries, Tibet played a more important role in the history of Khotan than China. But rich as they are, Tibetan sources are essentially legends which cannot be dated precisely. In this respect Chinese sources, especially biographies of the monks who went to or came from Khotan, are different since they can give indications as to what sort of Buddhist doctrine flourished in Khotan at particular times.

- An early history of Chinese Buddhism tells us the story of Zhu Shixing 朱士行 who, in the year 260 CE under the Wei 魏, traveled to Khotan in order to find the original text of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*. It was only in 282, after staying in Khotan for more than twenty years, that Zhu was able to send his disciples together with the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* back to Luoyang. At that time the Hīnayānists in Khotan tried to prevent it by appealing to the king of Khotan, saying, “this Chinese śramaṇa is trying to discredit the holy scriptures by brāhmaṇical books. Stop it.” Angered, Zhu persuaded the king to throw the text into fire at the garden of the palace and showed that, the fire having gone out, not a single letter was damaged by fire. Thus he obtained permission.¹ The Sanskrit text he had sent

¹ *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T 55.97a-b); TSUKAMOTO Zenryū 塚本善隆, *Chūgoku Bukkyō tsūshi* 中国仏教通史 [A History of Chinese Buddhism], v. 1 (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学術財団, 1968), 141–142.

was later translated into Chinese by the Khotanese monk Mokṣala (Wuchaluo 無叉羅) and others in the year 291 under the Western Jin 西晉 as the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra Which Emits Light* 放光般若經.² (Zhu Shixing himself remained in Khotan and eventually died there.)

- The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, the oldest part of what is later to become the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, was first translated independently. The Sanskrit text was brought to China and translated by the Khotanese monk Gītamitra 祇多蜜 / 祇多(蜜)羅 in 376.³
- The same source tells us that Faxian 法顯 sought and finally obtained a manuscript of the *Mahīśāsaka-vinaya* 彌沙塞律 in Sri Lanka, which he brought back home in 412 but died around 420 without translating it. In the year 423 the Khotanese monk Zhisheng 智勝 translated it into Chinese.⁴
- Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, a well-known monk from India who translated the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra*, also translated among others the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. While already in China, he found some parts of the Sanskrit text still missing. He traveled back to Khotan to obtain those parts and translated the whole text in Guzang 姑藏 (= Liangzhou 涼州) between 414 and 421.⁵
- Also in the first decades of the fifth century Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 (known as the Marquis of Anyang 安陽侯) crossed the desert to reach Khotan in order to acquire the knowledge of dhyāna there. He went to the Gumtir (Khot. gūmattirā) temple and studied there with the Indian scholar Buddhasena. He later went back to China with the Sanskrit texts and translated them.⁶
- The first translation of the complete collection of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (in sixty *juan*) was done by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra between 418 and 420. The Sanskrit text used for it comprised 100 thousand *ślokas*, of which, it is said, 36 thousand *ślokas* had been obtained from Khotan by the monk Zhi Faling 支法領.⁷
- Eight Chinese monks from Hexi 河西, Tanxue 曇學 (some sources have Huixue 慧學) and others, traveled to Khotan to seek holy texts. On the occasion of the quinquennial assembly (*pañcavārṣikā pariṣad*) at the great temple in Khotan, they attend-

² *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 55.47c).

³ *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 55.62c); *Lidai sanbaoji* 歷代三寶紀 (T 49.68c).

⁴ *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 55.21a).

⁵ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (T 50.336b).

⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.337a–337b); *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 (T 55.521a).

⁷ *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 55.61a).

ed lectures on the sūtras and vinaya, learning the Sanskrit texts and their meanings in Chinese. From what they had heard they recorded the “tales of the wise and the foolish.” On their way home in Turfan they assembled what they had learned and translated it. After returning to Liangzhou they named it the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* 賢愚經 in 445.⁸

- The Khotanese monk Devaprajñā 堤雲般若 came to Luoyang in 689. His translations include the *Mahāyāna Sūtra of the Merit of Making (Buddhist) Images* 大乘造像功德經 and the *Jñānolka-dhāraṇī* 智炬陀羅尼, as well as part of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.⁹
- The famous translator of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in eighty *juan*, Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀, was also a Khotanese, who was born in 652. Empress Wu learned that the complete Sanskrit text of the sūtra was available in Khotan. She sent for it in 695, inviting the translator at the same time, and he was able to complete the translation by 699. The list of his translations includes, among others, the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the *Pradakṣiṇā-sūtra*, and numerous *dhāraṇīs*. Later he went back to Khotan but returned again to Chang’an in 708, where he died in 710.¹⁰
- The monk Zhiyan 智嚴 (not to be confused with the person of the same name in the early fifth century) was a Khotanese prince who was sent to China as hostage. His original name, recorded as Yuchi Le 尉遲樂 may either contain the surname of the Khotanese kings, Viśa’, or it may represent the Khotanese word *vaijalaka*, “youth.” He entered the monkhood in 707. Among his translations are the *Anantamukha-dhāraṇī* and the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-mantra*.¹¹
- During the Tang the Khotanese monk Śīladharma 尸羅達摩, who was referred to as a Traipitaka, translated in Biśbalik the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*. When the traveling monk Wukong 悟空 visited him, he accompanied the latter to Chang’an in 789 bringing his translation there. Later he returned to Khotan. His works were admitted to the canon only in the year 799.¹²

⁸ *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 55.67c), *Da Tang neidianlu* 大唐內典錄 (T 55.256b-c, *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* (T 55.539b-c); see also H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 17 and n. 1. This scripture is the subject of Victor Mair’s article in this volume.

⁹ *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (T 50.719b); *Xu gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀 (T 55.369b).

¹⁰ *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.718b–719a); *Xu gujin yijing tuji* (T 55.369b-c).

¹¹ *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.720a); *Xu gujin yijing tuji* (T 55.372a).

¹² *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T 50.721b); *Zhenyuan xinding shijing mulu* 貞元新定釋經目錄 (T 55.773c and 896b-c).

Lastly, some direct evidence concerning Buddhism in Khotan has come to light in recent years. First, attention was drawn by HIRAI Yūkei to the fact that Sanskrit Buddhist texts were being translated into Chinese in such a faraway place as Khotan. HIRAI points out that three (S 231, P 3437, *zhi* 制 116) of the twenty-three known manuscripts of the *Dhāraṇī-sūtra of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva with One Thousand arms and One Thousand Eyes* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩陀羅尼經 (T 20.106–111) from Dunhuang have the colophon, saying: “Translated by the Western Indian monk Bhagavaddharma [蒲]伽達摩 in Khotan,” while the part “in Khotan” is absent from all editions in China.¹³ This piece of evidence for closer connection between Khotan and Chinese Buddhism than so far admitted conforms to the mention by the traveling monk Huichao 慧超 (around 727) of the existence of a Chinese temple in Khotan.¹⁴ It also suggests, along with the lists of works by Devaprajñā, Śikṣānanda and Zhiyan, that *dhāraṇīs* became increasingly popular in Khotan in the seventh century, just as they did a little earlier in India.

Second, there is a *dhāraṇī* fragment in Chinese among the Khotanese documents¹⁵ (in the Petrovskij collection in St. Petersburg that deserves notice. The fragment has the signature SI P/ (=Ser-India Petrovsky) 103, 47 and has the text as follows:

卷第十一 ///
/// 痛斷見 ///
/// 行痛斷一 ///
/// 餘五斷諸 ///
///// 煩惱處者斷諸痛勸持 ///
///// 問業斷諸痛滅諸有斷 ///

¹³ HIRAI Yūkei 平井有慶, “*Senju sengen darani kyō*” 「『千手千眼陀羅尼經』」 (On the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra of [Avalokiteśvara] of the Thousand Hands and Thousand Eyes*), in MAKITA Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and FUKUI Bunga 福井文雅, eds., *Tonkō to Chūgoku Bukkyō* 敦煌と中國佛教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Buddhism], (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1984), 131–153. The date of Bhagavaddharma (the first character, probably 蒲, is missing in the Chinese transcription of his name) cannot be determined from the Chinese sources. The political situation around the Tarim Basin suggests, however, that it is not earlier than the last decades of the seventh century (during the reign of Empress Wu) that a sizable Chinese community would have been founded in Khotan where Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures were in demand.

¹⁴ KUWAYAMA Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō ō go-Tenjiku kokuden kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺国伝研究 [Orig. English title: Huichao’s Record of Travels in Five Indic Regions. Translation and commentary], (Kyoto: Research Report of The Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University 京都大学人文科学研究所研究報告 1992; rpt. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1998), 47 and 193.

¹⁵ These non-religious documents are treated for the first time by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “The Leningrad Collection of the Sakish Business Documents and the Problem of the Investigation of Central Asian Texts,” in Alfredo Cadonna, ed., *Turfan and Tun-huang the Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route* (Firenze, 1992), 85–95. See also M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “Khotano-Saki,” in *Vostochnyj Turkestan v Drevnosti i Rannem Srednevedov’e: Etnos Jazyki Religii* (Moscow, 1992), 32–76.

//// 痛復別有五種斷諸痛可 ///
//// 便善成就斷諸痛於國中隨 ///
//// 孝順養父母斷諸痛捨家出 ///
//// 諸痛捨諸欲斷諸痛是為五種 ///

//// 是五閻五無間業為閻何等為五 ///
//////// 漢破和合僧惡心出如來 ///
//////// 五生趣閻何等為五地 ///
//////// 生不閑處閻被他欺 ///

//////// 我是閻 ///

This can be identified as the beginning of *juan* 11 of the *Da weide tuoluoni jing* 大威德陀羅尼經 (T 1341, 21.801c). In view of both the quality of paper and writing it is not likely to have been imported from China, but was in fact written in Khotan. On the other side of the fragment there is a Khotanese document. It has been published in facsimile in R. E. Emmerick and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Saka Documents VII: The St. Petersburg Collections* (London, 1993), plate 117. The text is unfortunately too fragmentary to allow a continuous translation, but there is little doubt that this piece also belongs with other Khotanese documents which are not likely to be later than the ninth century. The situation described by Erik Zürcher above (see pp. 2–3) seems to lend support to such a possibility.

Although it may not be possible to prove that this piece was in fact written in Khotan and not imported from China (at first glance the paper quality seems consistent with other Khotanese fragments which, from the script as well as the proper names used, are not likely to be later than the ninth century), the situation described by Zürcher above (see p. 2) seems to lend support to such a possibility.

II. Khotanese sources for Buddhism in Khotan

A new survey of the Buddhist literature in Khotanese has been provided by R. E. Emmerick,¹⁶ (which provides detailed information on each of the Khotanese Buddhist texts: (1) major or minor Mahāyāna sūtras known in Khotanese; (2) other kinds of Sanskrit texts translated into Khotanese; and (3) indigenous Khotanese compositions. Emmerick’s *A Guide to the Literature*

¹⁶ See R. E. Emmerick and Prods Oktor Skjærvø. “Buddhism. iii. Buddhist Literature in Khotanese and Tumshuqese,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 4 (1990), 499–505. This is an update to Emmerick’s *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1979), which was itself updated in 1992 (see next note).

of *Khotan* divides Khotanese Buddhist texts into “texts with known titles” and “texts without known titles,” and lists them in alphabetical order of titles in each category.¹⁷ In what follows, however, I shall attempt a somewhat different classification which may throw some light on the nature of Buddhism in Khotan.

It is well known that the language in which these texts are written is not uniform. It is customary to refer to two major varieties as Old Khotanese and Late Khotanese, although we now know that some types of Old Khotanese are more archaic and regular than others, and that Late Khotanese varies from archaizing Late Khotanese (which imitates Old Khotanese) to a very advanced form chiefly found in secular documents. It is unfortunately impossible to ascertain the provenance of every manuscript, mainly because many were not found *in situ* but purchased from agents who did not provide information regarding their sources. It is nevertheless practical to divide them into those coming from sites around Khotan (namely, Khādaliq, Domoko, etc.) and those from Dunhuang. Unlike some secular documents we have no information as to the date of composition of Buddhist texts, although in a few exceptional cases colophons tell us the date they were copied. The circumstantial evidence from the datable secular documents as well as these colophons suggests that no Khotanese manuscripts earlier than the middle of the ninth century are found at Dunhuang, while all the datable manuscripts from the sites around Khotan belong to the period before and during the Tibetan rule (up to the middle of the ninth century). While nothing suggests that there was a Khotanese community in Dunhuang before the middle of the ninth century, the Khotanese language was certainly in use in Khotan until the beginning of the eleventh century, so the absence of datable documents from Khotan in the tenth century does not mean that the language was not used.

Having the above situation in mind, let us proceed to the list of Buddhist texts in Khotanese in two groups, those from Khotan and those from Dunhuang. The numbers between the square brackets refer to the relevant sections in the second edition of Emmerick’s *Guide*.

Buddhist Texts from Khotan

[Translations]

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------------|
| 1. <i>Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra</i> | [18.23] | (O.Kh.) |
| 2. <i>Saṅghāṭa-sūtra</i> | [18.19] | (O.Kh.) |
| 3. <i>Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra</i> | [18.24] | (O.Kh./L.Kh.) |

¹⁷ *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan, Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged*, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series 3 (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992). The first edition of this *Guide* came out in 1979.

4. <i>Vimalakīrtinirdeśa</i>	[18.26]	(O.Kh.)
5. <i>Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra</i> (one frag.)	[18.21]	(O.Kh.)
6. <i>Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra</i>	[18.7]	(O.Kh.)
7. <i>Anantamukha-dhāraṇī</i>	[18.2]	(O.Kh.)
8. <i>Karmavibhaṅga</i> text	[18.13]	(O.Kh.)
9. Numerous unidentified fragments		(O.Kh.)
10. <i>Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>	[18.1]	(L.Kh.)
11. <i>Īñānolka-dhāraṇī</i>	[18.11]	(L.Kh.)

[Others]

12. <i>Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī</i>	[18.27]	(L.Kh.)
13. <i>Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī</i>	[18.28]	(L.Kh.)
14. <i>Book of Zambasta</i> (a miscellaneous collection)	[18.38]	(O.Kh.)

Buddhist Texts from Dunhuang

[Translations]

1. <i>Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>	[18.25]	(L.Kh.)
2. <i>Deśanā-parivarta</i> of the <i>Suvarṇabhāsa</i>	[18.24]	(L.Kh.)
3. <i>Bhadracaryā-deśanā</i>	[18.5]	(L.Kh.)
4. <i>Bhadrakalpika-sūtra</i>	[18.6]	(L.Kh.)
5. <i>Sumukha-sūtra</i>	[18.22]	(L.Kh.)
6. <i>Pradaśiṇā-sūtra</i>	[18.17]	(L.Kh.)
7. <i>Aparimitāyuh-sūtra</i>	[18.3]	(L.Kh.)
8. <i>Hṛdaya-sūtra</i> (first half of the larger text)	[18.9]	(L.Kh.)
9. <i>Aśokāvadāna</i>	[18.4]	(L.Kh.)
10. <i>Sudhanāvadāda</i>	[18.20]	(L.Kh.)
11. <i>Nandāvadāna</i>	[18.16]	(L.Kh.)

[Others]

12. Summary of the <i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>	[18.18]	(L.Kh.)
13. Commentary on the <i>Hṛdaya-sūtra</i>	[18.14]	(L.Kh.)
14. <i>Īātaka-stava</i>	[18.10]	(L.Kh.)
15. <i>Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatāra-sūtra</i>	[18.15]	(L.Kh.)
16. The <i>Book of Vimalakīrti</i>	[18.26]	(L.Kh.)

- 17. Namō texts (L.Kh.)
- 18. Vajrayāna texts [18.37] (L.Kh.)
- 19. Verse invocations by Khotanese princes, etc. [18.31, 32] (L.Kh.)¹⁸

A striking difference between two groups is the absence of O.Kh. texts from Dunhuang. It can also be said that Dunhuang texts tend to be freer translations compared to more or less faithful O.Kh. translations. Some texts like the *Vajracchedikā* are enlarged with the mixture of commentary. The fact that no trace of O.Kh. is found among such a rich collection of Dunhuang texts may suggest that the writing or even copying of O.Kh. Buddhist texts ceased during the Tibetan rule. Another interesting fact is that a large portion of the so-called *Book of Zambasta* is found in a L.Kh. rendering in the *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatāra-sūtra*, while no part of the *Book of Zambasta* itself, which was once very popular, is found in Dunhuang. All this leads one to suppose that some sort of transition occurred within the tradition of the Buddhist learning in Khotan during the social and political turmoil from the eighth to the ninth century.

¹⁸ For more information on each of these texts see Emmerick’s *Guide* (mentioned in n. 17 above).

THE KHOTANESE ANTECEDENTS OF
THE SŪTRA OF THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH (XIANYU JING)

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First, in the five regions of India there are pure Indic (*fan* 梵) languages. Second, north of the Himalayas there are Central Asian (*bu* 胡) languages... In the western lands, there are the Indian and the Central Asian—should we not divide them north and south? If we do not consider this, it will lead roughly to the following three errors: (1) The error of changing what is Central Asian into Indic by explicating the Central Asian without analyzing it and thus turning it back into Indic. (2) The error of not being adept in the phonology of Central Asian and Indic languages which results in causing the Central Asian to be taken as Indic. (3) The error of not realizing that there are indirect translations.... First, direct translation is, for example, when the bundled leaves of a text from the five regions of India come directly to China in the east and are translated. Second, indirect translation is, for example, when a sūtra is transmitted north of the mountains to Kroraina or Qarašahr where, [the people] not understanding Indic languages, it is translated into a Central Asian language. For instance, [for monk] in Indic they say *ṛc-pa-da-jia* 鄢波陀耶 (*upādhyāya*), in Sogdian they say *kwət /rwət-dziae* 鵲社, and in Khotanese they say *ṛwa-dzī-aŋ^h* 和尚. Again, for “heavenly king,” in Indic they say *kuṣ-kjwin-la* 拘均羅 and in Central Asian languages they say *hji-sai- / ʃe: -mən* 毘沙門. Third, a translation may be both direct and indirect as, for example, when a *tripitaka* master comes directly bearing a bundle of leaves. **If his way passes through Central Asian countries, he may bring Central Asian language along with him.**

Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), in his commentary (*lun* 論) at the end of scroll (*juan* 卷) 3 of *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*), T 50.723b17–c24 (emphasis added).

The central document for beginning the study of the linguistic antecedents of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* 賢愚經 (*Xianyu jing*; hereafter SWF) is provided by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) in his *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (*Collected Records on the Making of the Tripitaka*), which was compiled between about 505 and 515. This is the *Xianyu jing ji* 賢愚經記 (*Record of The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*) (T 55.67c9–68a1), the twentieth item in scroll 9. The *Collected Records* is the first and most important catalog of Chinese Buddhist texts and Sengyou was the founder of the grand tradition of Buddhist bibliography in China.

**Record of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*¹
Newly composed by Śākya Sengyou**

The twelve classes of scripture² are for differentiating the gates of the Law.³ As for the primary and secondary causes⁴ of the kalpas⁵ of the remote past, such matters are illuminated in the *jātaka*,⁶ whereby the

During the fall of 1992, *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* was the subject of a semester-long seminar held in the Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (formerly the Department of Oriental Studies) at the University of Pennsylvania. Participants in the seminar, which was conducted by the author of this paper, included Daniel Boucher, Che-chia Chang, Daniel Cohen, Thomas Howell, Masayo Kaneko, Tansen Sen, Tanya Storch, and Wenkan XU. (Editor’s note: Boucher and XU were also participants in the conference on which this volume is based, as initial editor and paper contributor, respectively.) Many of the ideas presented here were first formulated and tested in the context of the seminar. The author is grateful to all of the students who took part in the seminar and provided him not only with insight and information but with excellent and substantial papers as well. The author also wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Ludo Rocher in dealing with Indic terms and Hiroshi Kumamoto, Ronald Emmerick, Oktor Skjærvø, and David Utz for Khotanese matters. Finally, the nuns of Hsi Lai Temple deserve special thanks for making library resources available, for providing a tape recording of the oral presentation of this paper and the helpful comments of the “Buddhism across Boundaries” conference participants, and for many other kind favors. A monographic treatment of this subject, including extensive phonological data, has appeared as Victor H. Mair, *The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (Hsien-yü ching)* which is number 38 of *Sino-Platonic Papers* (April, 1993).

¹ Paul Pelliot, “Neuf notes sur des questions d’Asie Centrale,” *T’oung Pao* 26 (1929): 258–260, has provided an integral French translation with several helpful notes. Portions of this key document have also previously been translated into French by Sylvain Lévi, “Le sūtra du sage et du fou dans la littérature de l’Asie Centrale,” *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 12, 6; vol. 207 (October–December, 1925): 312–313, and into English by J. Takakusu, “Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool, in Tibetan and Chinese,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1901): 458–459 and by Victor H. Mair, *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1988), 39–40 and 200 notes 1–6.

² These are the twelve categories of Buddhist writings: *sūtra*, *geya*, *gāthā*, *nidāna*, *itivṛttaka*, *jātaka*, *adbbuta-dharma*, *avadāna*, *upadeśa*, *udāna*, *vaipulya*, *vyākaraṇa*.

³ *Dharmamukha*, the doctrines of the Buddha regarded as doors to or methods for enlightenment.

⁴ *Hetupratyaya*. The Chinese term *yinyuan* 因緣 may also be interpreted as *nidāna* which, in this context, would refer to the links or concatenation of causes and effects. As a Buddhist literary genre, *yinyuan* may be thought of as “happenings in the past.” In this sense, it is also translated into Chinese as *yuānqi* 緣起 (“causal origins,” that is, “a story showing the origin of something”). *Nidāna* are narratives of happenings in the past which explain the present state of a person or thing. They are one of the nine or twelve kinds of scripture (cf. note 2). The genre with which we shall be mainly concerned in this study is *avadāna*. It may be defined as an exposition of the dharma through allegory or parable (translated into Chinese as *piyu* 譬喻). Hisao Inagaki 稻垣尚夫, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂, 1984; second ed., 1985), 2 and 228. More specifically, *avadāna* refers to stories of past lives of figures other than the Buddha.

⁵ Eons.

⁶ Tales of the Buddha’s former lives.

knowledgeable may gain understanding,⁷ and their principles are also aided by the *avadāna*.⁸ We may say that *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* embraces both of these categories.⁹

The Gansu¹⁰ *śramaṇa*,¹¹ Śākya Tanxue 曇學, Weide 威德,¹² and others, altogether eight monks, jointly resolved to travel from place to place,¹³ searching afar for sacred texts. At the Great Monastery¹⁴ in Khotan, they happened upon a Quinquennial Meeting.¹⁵ In Chinese, Quinquennial Meeting is “Five-yearly Assembly of Everyone in the Great Community.”¹⁶ The various students of the Tripiṭaka each expatiated upon the jewels of the Law.¹⁷ They preached on the sūtras and lectured on the vinaya,¹⁸ teaching accord-

⁷ This clause may also be interpreted as “which the knowledgeable ought to explain.” In either case, the syntax of the sentence as a whole is somewhat fractured and this is reflected in the failure of the *Taishō* editors to punctuate it rationally.

⁸ Similes and metaphors; parables.

⁹ More literally, “meanings.”

¹⁰ Hexi, literally “West of the [Yellow] River.”

¹¹ Buddhist monk.

¹² The Song, Yuan, and Ming editions of the text all give Chengde 成德, but we must follow the Korean edition here since all four editions agree on Weide 威德 as the name of this individual in the short notice from scroll 2 of the *Collected Records* translated just below.

¹³ *Youfang* 遊方. This is a Chinese Buddhist technical term (cf. *you sifang* 遊四方 [“wander in the four directions/places in search of knowledge/enlightenment”]).

¹⁴ *Mahāvihāra*. This was probably the famous Gomatimahāvihāra (“Great Monastery Abounding in Cattle”), one of the greatest institutions of Buddhist learning in all of Central Asia.

¹⁵ *Pañca-vārṣika* [*pariṣad*]; *pañca*[*varṣa*]-*pariṣad*; *mokṣa-mahāpariṣad*. This was the great quinquennial assembly instituted by Aśoka (reigned c. 265–238 BCE or c. 273–232 BCE) for the confession of sins, the inculcation of morality and discipline, and the distribution of charity to the laity who gathered in flocks. See Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Saka*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 43 (Louvain: Publications universitaires, Institut Orientaliste, 1958; reissued as Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 14, from Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, Université de Louvain, 1976), 66 and 266, who notes that such assemblies were held by a king for the dispersal of accumulated revenue. The alms-dispensing characteristics of the *pañca-varṣika pariṣad* are stressed in an Uigur *avadāna* text edited and translated by F. W. K. Müller, “Uigurica III: Uigurische Avadāna Bruchstücke (I–VIII),” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2 (1920) (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922): 10. There are over half a dozen different ways to transcribe the term in sinographs. The one given here, *Banzhe yuse* 般遮于瑟, must be from a Prakrit (**jiu-ṣṭ* > **uṣat* [**uṣar*]; Pelliot, “Neuf notes,” 258 note 7). The Khotanese equivalent would be *paṃsji-vaṣāri* (note the characteristic final i endings of both components of the expression in contrast to the a endings of the Sanskrit original); see H. W. Bailey, “Irano-Indica IV,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13, no. 4 (1951): 930–931.

¹⁶ Mahāsaṅgha.

¹⁷ *Dharmaratna*.

¹⁸ Scriptures and discipline.

ing to their specialities.¹⁹ Tanxue and the other seven monks, following the circumstances,²⁰ divided up to listen. Thereupon they vied in practicing the Central Asian²¹ sounds and split²² them into Chinese meanings. With intensive thought, they did a thorough translation,²³ each writing what he had heard. They returned and arrived at Qocho,²⁴ whereupon they assembled their translations²⁵ into a single text. Having done so, they crossed over the shifting sands and carried it back to Liangzhou.

At that time, the *śramaṇa* Śākya Huilang 慧朗 was the leading monk²⁶ in Gansu. His accomplishments in the Way²⁷ were deep and broad and he had a comprehensive grasp of the *vaipulya* sūtras.²⁸ He considered that what was recorded in this sūtra had its source in the *avadānas*, that what is illuminated by the *avadānas* conveys both good and bad, and that the opposition between good and bad is the distinction between the wise and the foolish. Among sūtras that had been transmitted in the past, there were already many entitled²⁹ *avadāna*. Therefore, he changed the name in conformity with the subject matter, calling it the *Wise and the Foolish*.

In the twenty-second year of the Primal Excellence reign period (445), when it was the *yiyou* year of the sixty-year cycle, this sūtra was first compiled.

The *śramaṇa* Śākya Hongzong 弘宗 of the Celestial Peace Monastery (Tian’ansi 天安寺) in the capital³⁰ was resolute and pure in his keeping of the precepts³¹ and simple and plain in the exercise of his intentions.

¹⁹ This may also be interpreted as “teaching in accord with karma,” that is to say, following the doctrine of *upāya* (“skillful means”).

²⁰ *Pratyaya* (“proximate causes”).

²¹ “Central Asian” is a rough translational equivalent of the problematic word *hu* 胡, which is discussed below.

²² The three later editions have the variant *xi* 析 (“analyzed”). In either case, this is a dubious linguistic procedure.

²³ *Jing si tong yi* 精思通譯. Note that *jingtong* 精通 has become a commonly used expression in modern Chinese meaning “thoroughly versed.”

²⁴ Gaochang 高昌, just to the east of modern Turfan in eastern Xinjiang.

²⁵ The words “their translations” have been added for clarity.

²⁶ Literally, “the master workman” of a sect who is the founder of its doctrines, i.e., the most prominent monk in the clerical establishment.

²⁷ The karma of religion which leads to Buddhahood.

²⁸ The Indian term *vaipulya* literally means “extensive” and refers to a specific category of Mahāyāna sūtras. Here the equivalent Chinese term *fangdeng* 方等 may mean no more than Mahāyāna Buddhist texts (and the methods for communicating their doctrines) in general.

²⁹ This word has been added to the translation.

³⁰ This refers to Nanjing (Nanking) which, under another name, was the capital of the Liang dynasty (502–566), during which Sengyou wrote his catalog.

³¹ *Jieli* 戒力, the power derived from observing the commandments (*śīla*).

When this sūtra first arrived,³² he was following³³ his master³⁴ in Gansu. At the time he was a *śramaṇera*³⁵ and only fourteen years of age. He himself was apprised of its compilation and observed the matter personally. By the fourth year of the Celestial Supervision reign period (505),³⁶ he had had eighty-four springs and autumns,³⁷ altogether sixty-four years as an ordained monk.³⁸ He was the number one elder³⁹ of the capital. It had been seventy years since the sūtra arrived in China.⁴⁰ In making a comprehensive collection of the canon, I inquired near and far, going personally to interview Hongzong,⁴¹ and verifying this matter face-to-face. He was advanced in years and eminent in virtue, upright of heart and brilliant in his attestation.⁴² Therefore I have drawn up these notes of what he conveyed to me as a record to inform later students.

This “Record” has been distilled in Sengyou’s bibliographical notice on SWF (T 55.12c15–18):

The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish, 13 scrolls.⁴³ Appeared in the twenty-second year of the Primal Excellence reign period (445).

The above text altogether consists of thirteen scrolls. In the time of Emperor Wen (reigned 424–452)

³² At Liangzhou, presumably.

³³ I.e., studying under; in attendance upon.

³⁴ This most likely refers to Huilang.

³⁵ A male religious novice who has taken vows to obey the precepts.

³⁶ Probably the same year in which Sengyou originally composed this record. It first circulated independently and was subsequently incorporated in the *Chu sanzang jī jī*.

³⁷ That is, he was 84 years of age by Chinese reckoning (83 by Western reckoning).

³⁸ This means that Hongzong was twenty at the time of his ordination. This would have occurred six years after the initial compilation of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*.

³⁹ [*Mahā*]sthavira.

⁴⁰ The numbers do not tally. 445 + 70 = 515, but Sengyou carried out his interview with Hongzong in 505. It is possible to propose various emendations (e.g., 七十 [70] → 六十 [60]) and ingenious explanations (e.g., Tanxue and the other monks stayed in Qocho [Gaochang] for ten years before returning to Liangzhou, Sengyou re-wrote this entry in 515 ten years after his original interview with Hongzong, etc.).

⁴¹ The name of the monk has been added to the translation.

⁴² Of the faith.

⁴³ During the fifth century, and for several centuries to come, Chinese texts were still being written in the form of scrolls. After the invention of woodblock printing, books with sewn leaves gradually came into vogue, but the customary designation of “scrolls” for the fascicles of an individual work persisted. The following annotation, like that at the end of the next paragraph, appears in smaller print in the original.

of the Song dynasty, the *śramaṇa* from Liangzhou, Śākya Tanxue⁴⁴ and Weide, obtained the Central Asian text (*huben* 胡本) of this sūtra in Khotan and translated it in Qočo. Transmitted by Śākya Hongzong⁴⁵ of the Celestial Peace Monastery.

At the beginning of each scroll of the sūtra itself, we find the following notation: “Translated at Qočo by the Liangzhou *śramaṇa* Huijue⁴⁶ and others of the Northern Wei⁴⁷ dynasty.”

Upon first examination, these records would seem to provide us with an abundance of detailed and virtually first-hand information about the origins of SWF. It was **heard** by eight Chinese monks from the important Gansu provincial town of Liangzhou⁴⁸ who had gone to Khotan for the specific purpose of acquiring sacred texts. While they were in Khotan, they were fortunate enough to be present at the celebration of the *pañca-vārṣika* (*pariṣad*), a quinquennial meeting of enormous proportions to which tens of thousands of lay people came from the surrounding area to pay their respects to the thousands of monks who were known to inhabit the monasteries of that important Silk Road city.⁴⁹ On that occasion, they listened to religious teachers tell the stories that are preserved in SWF. The Chinese monks seem to have made preliminary translations, based on their notes, in Khotan and then took these back to Qočo at the other (eastern) end of the Tarim Basin where they apparently polished them and assembled them into a single volume. From there, they returned to their home monastery in Liangzhou where the sūtra was recompiled and given a strictly Chinese title by their local

⁴⁴ A hypothetical Sanskrit reconstruction of this name would be *Dharmaśikṣa. A variant given in some editions is Huijue 慧覺 (*Prajñābodhi).

⁴⁵ The Korean edition has Hongshou 弘守 but all four editions of the preface agree in having 弘宗.

⁴⁶ See note 44.

⁴⁷ The text says Yuan Wei 元魏, Yuan being the sinicized family name of the Tabgatch rulers of the Northern Wei.

⁴⁸ For the flourishing state of Liangzhou Buddhism during the mid-fourth century, its characteristics, and its close relationship to the learned monkhood in Khotan and northwest India, see Stanley Kenji Abe, “Mogao Cave 254: A case study in early Chinese Buddhist Art” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1989), 120–123 and *passim*. Among the other famous Indian, Central Asian, and Chinese Buddhists who were in Liangzhou around the time of the compilation of the SWF are Daotai 道泰 (c. 437–439), Buddhavarman (c. 427 or 439), Kumārajīva (c. 385), and the Indo-Scythian Zhi Shilun 支施崙 (c. 373). The Former Liang 前涼 (317–376), Later Liang 後涼 (386–403), and Northern Liang 北涼 (497–439), which were among the sixteen northern, mostly “barbarian,” dynasties that followed the demise of the Western Jin 西晉 (266–316), all had capitals at Liangzhou.

⁴⁹ In Faxian’s account of his journey to India, he describes the scene at the *pañca-varṣika* [*pariṣad*] held in Kashgar as one of great magnificence. He states that it took place in the first, second, or third month of the year and usually in spring. The *śramaṇas* would come from all quarters “as if in clouds”; see James Legge, tr., *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms: Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fā-bien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886; rpt. New York: Paragon and Dover, 1965), 22; Herbert A. Giles, tr., *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414 A. D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1923; third impression 1959), 7–8.

superior.

Upon closer examination and reflection, however, a host of questions assails us: What language(s) were the lectures delivered in? In Sanskrit, Prakrit, Khotanese, or some other Central Asian or Indian language? While Sengyou generally does make a distinction between *fan* 梵 as “brahmanic” (i.e., Indian) and *hu* 胡 as roughly “Indo-Iranian” (i.e., Central Asian), the division is by no means a hard-and-fast one, since there are instances where he uses *hu* to refer to Sanskrit. How could the Chinese monks understand these lectures, whether they were given in an Indian or in a Central Asian language? Although “they vied in practicing the Central Asian sounds,” it is highly unlikely that they would have acquired sufficient facility in them during the period while they were sojourning in Khotan to make much sense of the lectures without some assistance from bilingual intermediaries. Were their notes verbatim translations or mere summaries and paraphrases? Were they able to take stenographic records of the lectures or were there special sessions for them in which the speed of delivery was carefully monitored to ensure that they would catch everything? Was there really, as the bibliographical notice states explicitly, a “Central Asian text” (*huben*) of the sūtra upon which they based their translation? Tanya Storch, a specialist on the *Chu sanzang jiji* and other early catalogs, has recently shown clearly that, even when a Chinese Buddhist bibliographer speaks of a *huben*, there are no assurances that a physical, written text in an Indian or Central Asian language necessarily existed and that, more often than not, there was none because of the Indian Buddhist emphasis on memorization and oral transmission. It was the Chinese monks and pilgrims who were fixated on and demanded written scriptures; there are documentable cases in which these were created to meet the wishes of textually-minded Chinese Buddhists.⁵⁰

Continuing with our questions, if the leading Liangzhou monk found it necessary to rename the sūtra,⁵¹ does this not imply that there was an original Indian or Central Asian text bearing the title such-and-such an *avadāna*? If so, can we identify it with any known Sanskrit texts of that title? Or if the Chinese monks heard the stories from a number of different lecturers and storytellers, then is the SWF a composite text assembled by themselves? What was the precise process of compilation? What was the relationship between the sūtra as it

⁵⁰ Tanya Storch, “Chinese Buddhist Historiography and Orality,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 37 (March, 1993).

⁵¹ To be sure, the SWF is not really a “sūtra” in the technical sense because it is a collection of *avadāna* stories. The fact that it carries in its title the designation *jing* (“sūtra”) is one indication that it was named by Huilang. Yet we should not make too much of this anomaly because the Chinese loosely applied the term *jing* to a wide variety of Buddhist texts which were not really sūtras.

The Tibetan name of the SWF is *Mdzangs-blun* (~ ‘*Dzangs-blun*), which means simply *The Wise and the Foolish*. The Sanskrit title that used to be bandied about, **Damamūka-nidāna sūtra*, was probably made up on the basis of the Tibetan, which was in turn most likely derived from the Chinese. Cf. note 4 for the meaning of *nidāna*. A far more accurate Sanskrit rendering of the title would be **Bhadramūrkha[-avadāna]*.

was translated in Khotan from the monks’ notes and that which they assembled in Qočo and further between the Qočo compilation and the Liangzhou sūtra?⁵² Could the local lay people in Khotan who presumably also attended the lectures have understood them if they were delivered in Sanskrit or Prakrit? Or were the lectures restricted only to monks who would have known enough of Indian languages to understand them (assuming that they may not have been delivered in Khotanese), perhaps as pronounced with a special local accent? Might the lectures have been accompanied by some sort of simultaneous interpretation into the local vernacular and perhaps even into Chinese? In the remainder of this paper, we will explore these and other related questions in an attempt to understand better the process of transmission of Indian scriptures to China and the role of Central Asian languages therein, bearing in mind that many mysteries surrounding the SWF, as well as other Buddhist texts in Chinese, must remain unanswered until further data become available.

⁵² There would appear to be a conflict between Sengyou’s “Record” and his bibliographical notice. The former indicates that the sūtra was translated by the Liangzhou monks in Khotan while the latter states that it was translated in Qočo. Since the prefatory notes at the beginning of each scroll of the sūtra also explicitly state that it was translated in Qočo, at the other end of the Taklamakan desert, one wonders what form the text was in when the Liangzhou monks departed from Khotan for Qočo. This is particularly perplexing because it is almost certain that they would not have had the ability to transcribe stenographically or even to record the gist of the stories in the language(s) in which they were originally orally delivered at Khotan. Hence, the Liangzhou monks must have subjected the stories to some sort of preliminary or rough translation into Chinese already while they were in Khotan.

Still more baffling is the claim expressed in the bibliographical note that the Liangzhou monks actually “obtained the Central Asian text (*buben*)” of the SWF in Khotan. This directly contradicts Sengyou’s “Record” which clearly states that the monks **heard** the stories in Khotan and wrote them down after “splitting” the Central Asian sounds into Chinese meanings. The transformation of the SWF into a Chinese text must have begun already in Khotan. Where, then, is there room for consideration of a “Central Asian text,” unless (as Storch has shown) “text” (*ben* 本) does not always mean a physical, written work? If this be the case, then the “Central Asian text” “obtained” by the Liangzhou monks in Khotan may have existed only in the oral realm.

Khotan was a thriving center of Buddhist studies from an early period.⁵³ Already by 260 CE a Chinese monk named Zhu Shixing 竹士行 went there to gain a better understanding of the doctrine and to acquire Buddhist texts. This is the first historically attested instance of a Chinese monk going beyond the borders of his own country in search of scriptures. He ended up staying in Khotan until he died there at approximately the age of 80, in the meantime sending back to China in the year 282 some 90 bundles of scriptures with a Khotanese disciple, Puṇyadhana(?) or Pūrṇadharmā(?). Some of these texts, in turn, were translated about the year 291 by a Khotanese Buddhist scholar named Mokṣala who had earlier gone to China. His assistant was a Sinicized Indian *upāsaka* (lay devotee) named Zhu Shulan 竹叔蘭 (*Śuk-laratna) who was responsible for the “oral transmission” (*kouchuan* 口傳) to two Chinese who committed the translation to writing.⁵⁴ In 286, another Khotanese monk, Gītāmitra, arrived in Chang’an with more Sanskrit texts to translate. According to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋

⁵³ According to a Buddhist tradition which occurs in many different sources, Khotan had been colonized by India since at least the time of Aśoka. His eldest son, Kuṇāla, was viceroy at Taxila (on the name Taxila, see notes 63ff.) and should have succeeded to the throne but was blinded because of the machinations of an evil step-mother. Followed by his courtiers, he left India and went to Khotan where he set up a new country. See Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and China: A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1944; second ed., rev. and enlkd., 1950; New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 13. This local dynasty of Indian origin used the title Vijaya as the surname of its rulers. The most recent account of the legend of the founding of Khotan, which surveys earlier scholarship on the subject, is Gen’ichi Yamazaki’s “The Legend of the Foundation of Khotan,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library)*, 48 (1990): 55–80. For the history of Khotan and Khotanese Buddhism, see Abel Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan* (Paris: Impr. de Doublet, 1820); M. Aurel Stein, *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan: Personal Narrative of a Journey of Archaeological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1904) and *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907); W. Woodville Rockhill, tr., *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order Derived from Tibetan Works in the Bkaḥ-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur, Followed by Notices on the Early History of Tibet and Khotan* (London: Trübner, 1884), chapter 8 for Tibetan accounts of Khotan; and R. E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*, London Oriental Series 19 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967). On p. 165 of his *Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan*, Stein states that he was struck by the resemblance between Khotanese and Kashmiris. Cf. JAN Yün-hua, “Kashmir’s Contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East,” *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 37, nos. 2–3 (June and September, 1961): 93–104. See also the papers by Kumamoto and Skjærvø in this volume for discussions of the history of Buddhism in Khotan.

Faxian reached Khotan in the year 400 after a difficult journey from Kucha. He stayed in Khotan for three months. His travel account gives a good idea of how flourishing Buddhism was in Khotan in the period just before the SWF was compiled. According to Faxian, there were fourteen (the Korean edition has “four,” which is a more reasonable number) beautifully decorated and richly appointed larger monasteries and a number of smaller ones. All together there were several tens of thousands of Buddhist monks in Khotan. In the Gomatī monastery alone there were 3,000 monks who were held in the greatest reverence by the king. Dignified and splendid Buddhist ceremonies (especially the procession of images) were sponsored by the king and queen at great expense. Legge, tr., *Fā-hien*, 16–20; Giles, tr., *Fa-hsien*, 4–6.

⁵⁴ Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* (Calcutta: National Council of Education, 1955), 60; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, Sinica Leidensia, 40 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 1: 61–63; Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism: From Its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan*, tr. from the Japanese by Leon Hurvitz (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985), 1: 123.

教錄 (Catalog of Śākyamuni’s Doctrine in the Opened Prime Reign Period), a translation of the *Shi feishi jing* 時非時經 (*Sūtra of the Timely and Untimely*) was made during the Western Jin period (265–316). The colophon to the sūtra states that “A foreign dharma master, Ruoluoyan (Nārāyaṇa [?]), held in his hand the Central Asian text and delivered an oral translation by himself. A man of the Way from Liangzhou wrote it down in the city of Khotan.”⁵⁵ In the early part of the fifth century, the famous Mahāyāna scholar from Magadha, Dharmakṣema, was working in Liangzhou. He had with him a partial manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* which he had brought from India. In order to complete the text, he went to Khotan in 412 or 413 where he recovered the second part of it. A pupil of Dharmakṣema, Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 (member of a noble Hunnish family who ruled over the Northern Liang dynasty between 397 and 439), journeyed from Liangzhou to Khotan to study Mahāyāna Buddhism at the Gomatīvihāra under an Indian teacher named Buddhasena (known as a lion among men in all the kingdoms of the western regions) who was said to have the prodigious capacity to recite orally more than 50,000 *gāthās* (“stanzas”).⁵⁶ The *modus operandi* of such joint translation efforts can be partially comprehended by observing that Buddhasena’s role was to do an “oral interpretation” (*kouyi* 口譯) for Juqu Jingsheng. A monk from the famous Buddhist master Huiyuan’s 慧遠 circle named Faling 法領 brought back from Khotan an *Avatamsaka-sūtra* which was translated by Buddhābhadrā in 418–420.⁵⁷ It is obvious from these and many more examples which could be cited that “Chinese Buddhism” during the first half of the fifth century and before was a truly international, interethnic phenomenon and that Khotan and Liangzhou were key links in the transmission of this Indian religion to China.

Buddhism in Khotan was thus very much an Indian (especially a northwest Indian) phenomenon. Monks were under the tutelage of Indian masters resident in the local monasteries and they emulated Indian styles and methods in all things pertaining to Buddhism. In a very real sense, Khotan for several centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era was an Indian colony in Central Asia.⁵⁸ At the same time, Indian Buddhism in Khotan

⁵⁵ T 55.501b20–24. There are several obscure textual variants for the name of the city where this sūtra was written down.

⁵⁶ Robert Shih, tr. and annot., *Biographies des moines éminents (Kao seng tchouan) de Houei-kiao*, Première partie: *Biographies des premiers traducteurs*, Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste; Bibliothèque du Muséon 54 (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1968), 105.

⁵⁷ P. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine: Les traducteurs et les traductions*, Sino-Indica (Publications de l’Université de Calcutta), vols. 1 and 4 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927 and 1938), 1: 343; Bagchi, *India and China*, 100; Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, 61; Zürcher, *Conquest*, 2: 407–408 note 71; *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks), T 50.359b17.

⁵⁸ I will return to this point on p. 179 below. Also see n. 53 just above.

had a very close and special relationship to Buddhism as it was developing in China. Chinese pilgrims in search of texts often stayed in Khotan for long periods of time instead of going all the way to India and studied with Indian scholars settled there. The ties between Khotan and places like Dunhuang and Liangzhou in the Gansu Corridor were especially intimate. Such ties were not limited to religious activities but included commercial and economic links as well. Although the distances (both physical and cultural) separating northwestern China from Khotan and Khotan from northwestern India were great and the terrain was forbidding, contact and exchange were essentially ongoing until Islam began to overwhelm the Buddhist statelets of Central Asia in the eighth century (Khotan itself did not succumb until 1004). It is, then, not surprising that Tanxue and the other monks from Liangzhou would have decided to travel to Khotan in search of Buddhist texts to translate. The problem, however, is to determine precisely what sort of Buddhist texts they encountered in Khotan in the middle of the fifth century—whether they were strictly Indic language texts, whether they were written or oral texts, and so forth.

Compared to those of other *avadāna* collections, the stories in the SWF tend to be relatively long. The narrative expansiveness of the SWF *avadāna* tales is obvious from the following rough chapter lengths measured in registers of the *Taishō* edition: seven are of 11–16 registers, six are of 7–10 registers, eleven are of 4–6 registers, twenty are of 2–3 registers, seventeen are of 1–2 registers, and eight are of 1 register or less.⁵⁹ In this regard, some of the stories do read like lecture notes that may have been taken from oral tales and that have not been fully regularized as a written text by a single authorial voice.

The composite, lecture-note nature of the SWF is further evidenced by the following features:

1. Although the prosimetric form is characteristic of Indian Buddhist narrative literature, it occurs in only two out of the 69 tales (nos. 1 [a few examples of short verse] and 52 [one occurrence]). There is a *gāthā* (actually a brief listing of the four noble truths) in no. 58 and another (actually a very short *dhāraṇī*) in no. 61, but these can certainly not be said to constitute an alternation of verse with prose.

2. There seems to be no principle of organization in the manner in which the individual tales are arranged. One of the shortest tales (no. 41) occurs next to one of the longest

⁵⁹ The specific chapter lengths are as follows: 16 (nos. 14, 42), 15.5 (no. 40), 14 (no. 52), 12.75 (no. 57), 11.25 (no. 23), 11 (no. 34), 10.5 (no. 1), 9.5 (no. 31), 9.25 (no. 22), 9 (no. 48), 8.5 (no. 37), 7.5 (no. 32), 5.5 (no. 24, 39), 5.25 (no. 53), 4.5 (nos. 16, 67), 4 (no. 30), 3.75 (no. 64), 3.5 (nos. 7, 8, 21, 25), 3 (nos. 2, 6, 15, 20, 36, 43, 55), 2.75 (nos. 61, 68), 2.5 (nos. 18, 19, 28, 35, 54, 56, 58, 65, 66), 2.25 (nos. 26, 33), 2 (nos. 3, 5, 12, 29, 44, 46, 50, 51), 1.75 (no. 38), 1.5 (nos. 17, 27, 62, 69), 1.25 (nos. 9, 10, 47, 49), 1 (nos. 4, 11, 13, 41, 45, 60), .75 (nos. 59, 63).

ones (no. 42). The content and themes of the stories vary greatly, although naming and karmic causation are present in most of them, as is befitting a collection of *avadāna*.

3. There is a great disparity of styles. For example, no. 34 is written in highly quatrasyllabic clauses while no. 39 is much more varied in the syllabic length of its clauses. The same is true of language usage, with some stories being more colloquial than others. This may be indicative of the possible partially oral origins of some of the tales since there are startling remnants of vernacular usage which are extremely unusual for such an early period. For example, in no. 27, we find *na* functioning as a question marker (384a10): “How can poverty be sold?” 貧那可賣. This is one of the earliest known examples of *na* as a rhetorical interrogative particle.⁶⁰

4. Diverse transcriptions and translations of the same names and terms occur, sometimes even within the same story (e.g., those for Maudgalyāyana on p. 370a).

It would appear that these inconsistencies in the SWF are due to the complicated nature of the recording, translation, and compilation of the text by eight Chinese monks and their superior in Liangzhou.

There is a considerable number of textual differences among the various extant editions (Korean, Song, Yuan, and Ming) of the SWF. By referring to the earliest, unregularized transcriptions,⁶¹ we may perhaps draw some worthwhile conclusions concerning the language in which the stories were originally heard by the eight Chinese monks from Liangzhou in Khotan. Without doubt, the most striking anomaly of SWF transcriptions is that Sanskrit nouns ending in *a* appear in this Chinese text with *-i* endings (occasionally *-ki* or with nasal-

⁶⁰ Cf. ŌTA (Ohta) Tatsuo 太田辰夫, *Chūgokugo rekishi bunpō* 中国語歴史文法 [A Historical Grammar of Modern Chinese] (Tokyo: Kōnan shoin 江南書院, 1958), 125–126 for other occurrences (this one is not noted) and an analysis of the evolution and function of *na*. Professor Zürcher has informed me that he has found half a dozen occurrences of interrogative, rhetorical *na* in Kumārajīva’s corpus which dates from the early part of the fifth century. This phenomenon may also reflect an oral phase or component in the translation process of Kumārajīva’s team.

⁶¹ See the charts of Phonological Data at the end of Mair, *The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (Hsien-yü ching)*.

ized -i).⁶² The most remarkable instance of this phenomenon will receive separate treatment in the following paragraphs.

The capital of the northwest Indian province of Gandhāra was Taxila (according to the Greek rendering). Located at 35°4' N x 72°44' E, the ruins of this ancient city lie approximately 22 miles northwest of Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Taxila sat at the junction of three major trade routes: (1) from India to the east on the “Royal Highway” of Megasthenes; (2) from West Asia; and (3) from Kashmir and Central Asia. It was destroyed by the Hephthalite Huns in the early part of the fifth century not long after Faxian’s visit. Because Taxila had long been a great center of learning and was at the heart of Prakritic Buddhist culture, the pronunciation of this name is particularly important for testing whether or not the stories of the SWF were told in so-called Gāndhārī Prakrit. One would expect that, if the SWF stories were originally delivered in true Gāndhārī Prakrit, the lecturers would certainly have gotten the name of the capital of Gandhāra right. Judging from the sinographic transcriptions, however, we may be sure that they were not speaking in that language, at least not in an unalloyed form of it.

While no one is certain of the original meaning of the name Taxila,⁶³ we have good information concerning its pronunciation in the major ancient Indian languages. In

⁶² Other phonological differences between Sanskrit and Prakrit words and the forms they take in Khotanese have also been detected, especially in the simplification of internal consonant clusters of polysyllabic words, but these are more difficult to measure and demonstrate given the approximate nature of the sinographic transcriptions and the fact that similar simplifications occur within various Indic languages. The -a to -i shift, in any event, occurs prominently and frequently enough in the SWF that there is no need to apply other tests *in extenso*.

⁶³ “[City of] Cut-stone,” “Rock of Takṣa,” “Residence of Takṣaka [dragon king/*nāgarāja* having a cutting tongue or tongues],” “City of the Takṣa/Takka [people],” etc. Faxian, confusing -*śilā* for -*śiras* (Chinese does not distinguish between *r* and *l*), explained it as meaning “Cut[-off] head[s]” (*jietou* 截頭). Colorful *jātaka*-like legends about the Buddha in a former incarnation cutting off his head to save a man grew up to justify this false etymology. On the etymology of the name Taxila, see Saifur Rahman Dar, *Taxila and the Western World* (Lahore: Al-waqar, 1984), 13–20, 22–25. It is possible that a settlement existed in the area of Taxila even before the arrival of Indo-Aryan speakers, that the name of the city was an ethnonym (Tāk) derived from the original inhabitants, and that it was reconstrued as an Indo-Aryan word after speakers of the latter language became dominant there. This is the explanation offered by Ahmad Hasan Dani, *The Historic City of Taxila* (Paris: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1986), 2–4, following Alexander Cunningham’s analysis and the Persian translational equivalent of the name, Mār-i-kalā (“[hill] fort of the serpent king”).

Sanskrit it is pronounced Takṣaśilā, in Pali Tacchasilā, and in Prakrit Takkhasilā.⁶⁴ The usual sinographic transcriptions of these Indic forms are *te-cha-shi-luo* / *dək-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-la* 特叉尸羅, *da-cha-shi-luo* / *dək-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-ɛ/ci-ɛ-la* 咄特叉尸羅 (Xuanzang, first half of seventh century), *zhu-cha-shi-luo* / *truwk-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-la* 竹刹尸羅 (Faxian, first half of fifth century), *de-(cha-)shi-luo* / *tək-(tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-)çi-la* 德(叉)尸羅, *de-cha-yi-luo* / *tək-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-ʔji-la* 德差伊羅, *de-cha-shi-luo* / *tək-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-la* 德叉尸羅, *she-cha-shi-luo* / *çia-tṣʰaɪ/ tṣʰɛɪ-çi-la* 奢叉尸羅, *zhuo-cha-shi-luo* / *traɪwk/træwk-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-ɛ/ci-la* 卓叉始羅, and *da-cha-shi-luo* / *da-da-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-la* 咄叉尸羅 (Xuanzang’s biography).⁶⁵ The name Taxila occurs eight times in the

⁶⁴ These forms are derived from R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 319 and 721–722. See also Frank Lee Woodward and Edward M. Hare, eds., *Pali Tipiṭakam Concordance* (London: Luzac, for the Pali Text Society, 1952–1955), 2: 194b; Robert Cæsar Childers, ed., *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London: Trübner, 1875), 492b; and T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary* (Chipstead, Surrey: The Pali Text Society, 1921–1925; rpt. Luzac, 1966), I[A]: 127ab, who all also give the form Taccha- for the first component of the word in Pali. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: John Murray, 1937–1938), 982 and other authorities, however, give Takkasilā (or Takkhasilā) for Pali. Shatavdhani Jaina Muni Shri Ratnachandrajī Maharaj, *An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary: Literary, Philosophic & Scientific with Sanskrit, Gujrati [sic], Hindi & English* (N.p.: The Resident G. Secretaries and the S. S. Jaina Conference, 1923–1938), 3: 7b gives Taccha- for the first component of the word in Ardha-Māgadhī. The Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit form would be Takhaśila [sic, → -ā] or Takṣaśila [sic, → -ā]. See Sten Konow, ed., *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929), II.i: 25–26, 75–76, and 87–90. Dani, *Taxila*, 177 notes 1–2, gives similar readings. According to T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 22, “Feminines, except proper names and words denoting living creatures, are transferred to the *a*-declension. Except for these feminines that survive there is only one declension, the *a*-declension, nouns in *-i*, *-u*, *-r*; etc. being adapted to it by the addition of *-a*.” Such being the case, it is impossible that Takṣaśilā (a feminine noun) could have become *dək-tṣʰaɪ/tṣʰɛɪ-çi-li* in the Prakrit of Eastern Central Asia.

According to John Marshall, *Taxila: An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), I: 1 note 1, the “vernacular” form of the name was Takkaśilā or Takhaśilā. The equivalent in Tibetan is *rdo-jog*, meaning “cut-stone,” which would seem to corroborate the etymological explanation that the name stands for “City of Cut-Stone.” F. C. Andreas (cited by Marshall) states that the Aramaic translation of the name of the city was Nāggārūdā (literally “carpentry”) which might conceivably also support the “cut-stone” thesis since many words having to do with carpentry in Indian languages are formed from the *takṣ-* etymon. For the pronunciation of Takṣaśilā in Prakrit, see also below at note 71.

⁶⁵ These transcriptions have been taken chiefly from FENG Chengjun 馮承鈞, comp., *Xiyu diming* 西域地名 [Place Names of the Western Regions], rev. and enlgd. by LU Junling 陸峻嶺 (Peking: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1982), 92; William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1937), 252a and 432b; AKANUMA Chizen 赤沼智善, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meisbi jiten* 印度佛教固有名詞辭典 [Dictionary of Proper Nouns in Indian Buddhism] (Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1967), 677–678; and Ven. Ciyi 慈怡, editor-in-chief, *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 [Fo Kuang Encyclopedia] (Kaohsiung: Foguang chubanshe 佛光出版社, 1988; 4th ed., 1989), 4:3112a. I have kept the hyphens in the Modern Standard Mandarin transcriptions, although official Pinyin romanization does not call for them, to facilitate comparison with the syllables of the Early Middle Sinitic reconstructions. Note that the main slashes are between Mandarin and Medieval Vernacular Sinitic. The slashes within the MVS reconstructions indicate variant possibilities for individual syllables.

SWF,⁶⁶ each time consistently represented by the sinographic transcription *te-cha-shi-li* / *dək-tʂ^hai-/tʂ^hɛi-çi-li^h* 特叉尸利 (representing a hypothetical **takṣaśilī* that the Chinese monks must have heard in Khotan). It is immediately obvious that the form of the name for Taxila heard by the Chinese monks in Khotan in the year 445 could not have been unadulterated Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrit. We should not rule out an Indic source entirely, however, for the modern vernaculars would have the following forms for the second half of the name: Kumāonī *silī*, Hindī *-silī*, and Bihārī *-sillī*.⁶⁷ There is no available evidence, however, that such forms existed already in the fifth century.

Hiroshi Kumamoto, an authority on Khotanese, has described the linguistic situation as follows:

The front vowel -i or -e (not necessarily long even if written in Brāhmī) instead of -o for the nominative singular ending of the *a*-stem nouns (by far the largest class), which is originally (before sandhi) *-as* / *-ab*

⁶⁶ T 4.356b8, 362a4, 399b3, 399c9, 400b11, 12, 24, and 440c25. Willy Baruch, “Le cinquante-deuxième chapitre du *mṛjāns-blun* (Sūtra du sage et du fou),” *Journal Asiatique* 243, no. 3 (1955): 348 and 360, restores the Sanskrit of the Chinese transcription *te-cha-shi-li* as *Tejaḥśrī*, but this is problematic on several accounts. In the first place, *Tejaḥśrī* is the name of a Buddha (see Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953], 256b, under *Tejaśiri* which is *metri causa* for *Tejaḥśrī*), not the name of a place, and hence inappropriate in all of the contexts in which it occurs in the SWF. Secondly, the Tibetan and Mongolian equivalents which Baruch cites are confused and contradictory. He states that *Tejaḥśrī* corresponds to Tibetan *gzi-brjīd-kyi dpal* but that the text gives *bzan-po ‘i dpal* = Sanskrit *bhadraśrī*, which the Mongolian reverses as *širi-badīr-a* (*śrībhadra*). This is curious but perhaps somewhat telling since *Bhadraśilā* (“[City of] Wise Stone”) was an old alternative name for *Takṣaśilā*. It would appear that the Tibetan translator was simply not at all clear concerning the identification of the place name *te-cha-shi-li*. This is evident from the fact that he retranscribes it quite differently upon its separate occurrences in the various stories of his collection. This leads the Mongolian translator up a number of blind alleys as well, with the result that Stanley Frye, tr., *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*mdo bdzans blun*) or *The Ocean of Narratives* (*ūliger-ün dalai*) (Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1981) renders what was originally the same place name in the Chinese text into *Digyaśrī* on p. 51, *Śridikta* on p. 114, and *Tikcaśrī* on p. 228, imaginative solutions for which, however, there is no authority. Thirdly, the unvoiced quality of the initial consonant of the second syllable militates against a restoration of the Sanskrit as *Tejaḥśrī* or *Tejaśiri* whereas it is perfectly well suited to the restoration of one of the Indic forms for the name Taxila. That *te-cha-shi-li* (or, more precisely, *dək-tʂ^hai-/tʂ^hɛi-çi-li^h*) was a careful and consistent attempt on the part of the Liangzhou monks to render the name of Taxila as they heard it in Khotan in 445 is clear from a consideration of the contents and settings of all the stories in the SWF in which it occurs. Cf. AKANUMA Chizen 赤沼智善 and NISHIO Kyōyū’s 西尾京雄 notes to their modern Japanese translation, in *Kokuyaku issaikyō, bon’en bu* 国訳一切経、本縁部 [Japanese Translation of All the Sūtras, Section on Birth Tales and Tales of Causation] (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1930; rev. ed. 1971), 7: 110 and 230.

⁶⁷ Turner, *Comparative Dictionary*, nos. 5618 and 12459. Hindī and Kumaōnī are Indo-Aryan, Central Group. *Bihaārī* is a regional classification which includes *Bhojpūrī*, *Maithilī*, and *Magadhī*. All three should be considered to belong to the Eastern Group of I-A (part of Grierson’s “Outer Group”), but because of contact with Hindī, have to differing degrees converged with the Central Group languages. *Bhojpūrī* in particular has been called “sociolinguistically a dialect of Hindī.” I am grateful to Franklin Southworth for providing me with this information.

in Sanskrit and *-aḥ* in Iranian, **is a peculiar feature of Eastern Central Asia**.⁶⁸ ...This feature is shared by Khotanese (nom. sg. of the *a*-stem *ä* = a vowel close to *i*), Sogdian (nom. sg. of the Light Stem *-y*, which is *-i*), and Tokharian B (*-e*; in A the vowel drops altogether), but not by the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* (nom. sg. mostly *-o*, occasionally *-e/i*. Brough, *Introduction*, §75–77). Brough argues there that the latter form is the trace of the original from which the Gāndhārī version was made. The Sanskrit manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from Khotan (= the so-called Petrovsky or the Kashgar manuscript; Toda, introduction to the romanized text, p. xix) has in most cases *-a*, which agrees neither with the above languages nor with the standard Sanskrit.⁶⁹

According to Ronald Emmerick, another authority on Khotanese, “the sg. masc. ending *-i*... is common to Khotanese, Tumshuqese, and Sogdian. In the Northwest Prakrit of the Khotan *Dharmapada*, however, the ending is usually spelled *-o* or *-u*, occasionally *-a*, *-e*, or *-i*. In later inscriptions *-e* is found west of the Indus and *-o* east of it.”⁷⁰

The matter of the transcription for Taxila in the SWF is complicated by the fact that the first half of the name resembles Sanskrit or some forms of Prakrit more closely than it does Khotanese. Aside from the Prakrit forms already mentioned, we have *tacchai-* (Hemachandra [1088–1172]) and *tacchiya* (Old Māgadhī).⁷¹ Whereas, in Khotanese, we find that the cognate stem is *ttāṣ-*.⁷² The pure Khotanese form clearly ends in a sibilant, whereas the name as transcribed in the SWF has a voiceless aspirated retroflex affricate preceded by a velar (the *-k* of the entering tone). Thus it would appear that the Chinese monks who were trying to record as precisely as possible the name of Taxila may have heard a basically Sanskritic or Prakritic form pronounced *à la* Khotan and with a Khotanese ending.

It has been suggested that since most of the situations where the place name Taxila oc-

⁶⁸ Kumamoto’s designation “Eastern Central Asia” refers roughly to the same area as that encompassed by the present Chinese region of Xinjiang. Since this linguistic phenomenon was common to several of the languages of Central Asia (e.g., Kuchean, Sogdian, Khotanese), it is conceivable that *i* endings could have been attached to words by speakers of another intermediary language before a given Sanskrit or Prakrit text reached Khotan. The question is both moot and technical, since the results would be identical in any case.

⁶⁹ Letter of November 19, 1992 (emphasis added).

⁷⁰ Letter of November 25, 1992.

⁷¹ See Richard Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, vol. I.8 (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1900), 219–220. For the complicated state of affairs with regard to the Prakrits, including Pali, cf. also note 64. Some Prakrits incorporate various amounts of Sanskritic elements, e.g., Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Such, except for the ending, would seem to be the situation with the form of Takṣaśilā (namely **takṣaśīli*) heard by the Liangzhou monks in Khotan.

⁷² R. E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies*, London Oriental Series 20 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 38; H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies*, Khotanese Texts, vol. VI, Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 105; and Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 129–130.

cur in the SWF may be in the locative,⁷³ the Chinese monks who compiled the stories may actually have been trying to record that Khotanese grammatical form. Fortunately, it is attested in the Khotanese *Aśoka-avadāna* as *Ttabiikṣa’šīlai* (Takṣaśila looms large in this story, as does the founding of Khotan). The final diphthong was probably pronounced approximately as *ä*, which would also make it fairly close to the Chinese transcriptions in the SWF. Whether the sinographic transcription of the name Taxila in the SWF is meant to represent a Khotanese nominative or locative or some other case,⁷⁴ it is clear that the stem of the name is fundamentally Indic and that the ending would appear to represent some sort of Khotanese adaptation or borrowing of the word.⁷⁵

As examples of how Khotanization of the presumably Prakrit forms of Sanskrit proper nouns occurred in the source material upon which the Chinese monks from Liangzhou relied, we may examine the names of the good and bad princes, Kalyāṇaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara (these are the Sanskrit forms). The Early Middle Sinitic reconstructions of the sinographic transcriptions of these names are respectively *kīa-li-aŋ-na^h-gīa-li* and *pa-ba-gīa-li*. The final *-i* in these names is manifestly a Khotanese phenomenon, while the modification of internal consonants is largely the result of a prior Prakritization. The combined result of both processes would have yielded *Kalyāṇṇagari and *Pābagari (or *Pāvagari)⁷⁶ which is roughly what the Liangzhou monks must have heard when they were in Khotan.

⁷³ In fact, fewer than half of the eight occurrences of the name Taxila in the SWF can be construed as deriving from what would originally have been a locative in an inflected language.

⁷⁴ Several other case endings, including the instrumental, in Khotanese probably sounded roughly to the Chinese as *-i* or, to be perhaps somewhat more precise, *-i* was the closest phonetic transcription available to the Chinese auditors to represent a range of Khotanese endings, some of which were unlauted or diphthongized.

⁷⁵ The information in this paragraph was provided mainly by Oktor Skjærvø and Hiroshi Kumamoto, who are not to be held responsible for my interpretation of it. I have also consulted the article on the *Aśoka-avadāna* in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Naturally, the place name could have been borrowed into Khotanese in its essentially Indian form and been domesticated by the addition of an appropriate Khotanese ending, in which case we could consider it as essentially a Khotanese word, even though its stem would be Indian rather than Khotanese.

⁷⁶ Paul Pelliot, “La version ouigoure de l’histoire des princes Kalyāṇaṃkara et Pāpaṃkara,” *T’oung Pao* 15 (1914): 227.

Given the whole of the available phonological data,⁷⁷ the most reasonable explanation

⁷⁷ See the charts of Phonological Data (in which the frequent shift from Indic *-a* to Central Asian *-i* is readily apparent) at the end of Mair, *The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*. The charts began with the identification and extraction of over five hundred proper nouns and technical terms from the SWF. From these were eliminated all but a handful of those sinographic transcriptions that could readily be determined to be “standard”—regardless of which language they may have come from—by the middle of the fifth century in the sense of recurring frequently in numerous Chinese translations of Buddhist texts from that period. The aim of compiling the charts was to specify and identify all those transcriptions which are specific to the SWF and hence may yield some clues concerning the nature of the language(s) in which it was heard by the eight Chinese monks who went to Khotan in 445. Also included are all transcriptions in the SWF which are accompanied by an original Chinese gloss. Most of these transcriptions are specific to the SWF and are evidently painstaking efforts on the part of the compilers to record as accurately as they could with sinographs the proper names and technical terms they heard in Khotan and to provide them with semantic glosses. As a result, they are extremely important for analyzing the linguistic environment encountered by the Liangzhou monks in Khotan.

The Tang reconstructions are those of Edwin G. Pulleyblank for the *Qieyun* 切韻 (*Tonic Rhymes*) of 601 CE as conveniently presented in his *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991). Phonologists and historical linguists wishing to sharpen these reconstructions for the specific task at hand may do so by adjusting them with TAKATA Tokio’s and South Coblin’s reconstructions for the area around Dunhuang a couple of centuries later. See TAKATA Tokio 高田時夫, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugo-shi no kenkyū: kyū, jū seiki no kasei hōgen* 燉煌資料による中国語史の研究—九・十世紀の河西方言— (A Historical Study of the Chinese Language Based on Dunhuang Materials: The Hexi Dialect of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries), *Tōyōgaku sōsho* 東洋学叢書 (Oriental Studies Library) 33 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988) and W. South Coblin, “Notes on the Finals of a Northwest Dialect of Tang Times,” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica) 59, no. 3 (1988): 835–890 and “Notes on the Initials of a Northwest Dialect of Tang Times,” *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology*, Section on Language (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), 125–144. Most appropriate of all are Coblin’s studies on Early Medieval Northwest Sinitic around *circa* 400 CE in his *Studies in Old Northwest Chinese*, being *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* Monograph Series Number 4 (Berkeley: 1991). See also Ronald E. Emmerick and Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *A Chinese Text in Central Asian Brahmi Script*, Serie Orientale Roma 69 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1993), although they take the extremely unusual position of adjusting Khotanese phonology to fit hypothetical reconstructions of medieval Sinitic.

It is significant that the Chinese semantic glosses are marked by the chronologically revealing formula *Jin yan* 晉言 (“in the language of the Jin”) or *Qin yan* 秦言 (“in the language of the Qin”). Jin (Western [265–316], Eastern [317–420]) and Qin (Former [351–394], Later [384–417], and Western [385–431]), of course, refer to earlier Chinese dynasties. Such expressions would not have been used after about the middle of the fifth century when they were replaced by references to the Northern Wei, which had unified northern China by that time. Indeed, later editions of SWF replaced these expressions with *ci yan* 此言 (“this says,” i.e., “in our language”) because their continued usage must have been thought to be confusing to the subjects of later dynasties who would have referred to Chinese by the name of the reigning house. We should note, however, that the semantic glosses are still an integral part of the Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g., Pelliot 2316, l. 9: 立字為波婆伽梨。晉言惡事。).

Restoration of the Sanskrit names and terms was achieved by relying on the Chinese semantic glosses, by referring to collections of *avadānas* for which Sanskrit or Pali texts survive (e.g., *Mahāvāstu*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Jātaka*, *Jātakamālā*, *Avadānaśataka*, etc.), and by consulting the Tibetan and Mongolian translations of the SWF. In some cases, restoration has not been possible at all and, in others, it has only been offered tentatively. In most cases, however, the suggested restorations are probably the original basis for what the Chinese monks heard in Khotan, although, of course, such names and terms were not pronounced as in Sanskrit but as they would have been by the local religious lecturers and storytellers. The noun endings clearly point to an East Central Asian (more specifically Khotanese) pronunciation, while the configuration of the internal consonants of words reveals an underlying Prakrit substratum with apparent efforts toward Sanskritization.

would seem to be that the language(s) of the proper nouns and technical terms which the Chinese monks heard in Khotan was a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit (mostly the latter) pronounced in a Khotanese fashion.⁷⁸ This does not answer the question of the language of the whole text(s) the Chinese heard when they were in Khotan, but only the pronunciation of the proper nouns and technical terms in it/them. To answer the question of whether or not the texts heard by the Chinese were composed in Sanskrit, in Prakrit, or in Khotanese, we must now ask whether there existed an Indian prototype for the SWF or whether the Chinese monks from Liangzhou who heard the stories in it while they were in Khotan were fully responsible for its compilation. All indications are that there was indeed at least a partial Indian textual basis for the SWF, regardless of whether the Chinese monks were exposed to it only through oral presentation or whether someone actually showed it to them and explained for them the Sanskrit stories therein while reading directly from the book.

In the first place, it is fairly obvious that the Chinese monks originally referred to the SWF as some sort of an *avadāna* collection and that it was only when they reached Liangzhou, *after* they had completed its translation and compilation in Khotan and in Qocho (Turfan), that their superior renamed it something else which had a more Chinese-sounding ring to it. For this reason alone, therefore, we may hypothesize that there may well have been an Indian or Central Asian original upon which the Chinese based their collection. As a matter of fact, there are a couple of strong candidates for such a primary source-text that might well have constituted the core of the SWF and that might have been supplemented by other stories picked up from other sources by the Chinese monks while they were in Khotan.

There exists a voluminous *Jātakamālā* (which might just as well or better be titled an *Avadānamālā* [Garland of *Avadānas*] on the basis of the stories therein⁷⁹) by the Buddhist poet Haribhaṭṭa. It consists of thirty-four stories and is written in the typical Indian narrative *campū* style (a prosimetric mixture of elegant prose and verse). The first story in this collection tells the celebrated legend of King Prabhāsa and his elephant, which is also the subject of the forty-

⁷⁸ MATSUMOTO Bunzaburō 松本文三郎, “Tonkō-bon *Daiungyō* to *Kengukyō*, II 燉煌本大雲經と賢愚經, II (Dunhuang Manuscripts of the *Great Cloud Sūtra* and the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*, part II), *Geibun* 藝文 (The Arts) 3, no. 1 (1912): 542–556; repr. in the author’s *Buten no kenkyū* 仏典の研究 (Studies on Buddhist Texts) (Tokyo: Heigo shuppansha 丙午出版社, 1914; 2nd ed., 1924), 204–220, was the first to examine a few of the proper names in the SWF with an eye to determining their phonological origins, came to the conclusion that the text had been entirely translated into Khotanese from Sanskrit and that the Liangzhou monks translated the Khotanese into Chinese. Such a conclusion is not justified by the totality of the available evidence.

⁷⁹ Indeed, three of the four unpublished Sanskrit manuscripts containing stories from the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* include the word *avadāna* in their titles. What is most curious is that one of them is referred to as a *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* and another is referred to as a *Jātakāvadānamālā*. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar, *Studies in the Common Jātaka and Avadāna Tales*, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No. 137, Studies No. 86 (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1990), 39 note 113. These designations fit perfectly with Sengyou’s discussion of the contents of the SWF.

ninth story in the SWF. That in itself would be no cause for excitement, except that a number of highly specific details in the rendition of Haribhaṭṭa recur in the story as it is recounted in the SWF. To be sure, half a dozen stanzas from the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* seem to have been translated virtually verbatim in the SWF version, a remarkable phenomenon which has recently been convincingly demonstrated by Michael Hahn.⁸⁰ As Hahn asserts, such uncanny correspondence between the two texts “cannot be explained by the assumption of a mere coincidence.” Either the Haribhaṭṭa story was based on that in the SWF or the SWF story was based on that in the Haribhaṭṭa text (or on a closely related comparable collection).⁸¹ Naturally, intermediary texts or explications cannot be ruled out; what is at stake is the relatedness and priority of the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* and the SWF.⁸²

Since, by self-admission of the Chinese monks and by the very nature of the stories it contains (viz., strictly Indian), the SWF was derivative, it could not have been the source for the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā*. Therefore, the SWF had to be based at least partially on the Haribhaṭṭa text or on some text(s) closely related to it. Hahn gives other evidence which shows that Haribhaṭṭa must have lived before the first half of the fifth century,⁸³ so it is not impossible that his *Jātakamālā* itself may have been the inspiration for the Prabhāsa story which the Chinese monks heard in Khotan and which they included in their translated collection that came to be known as the SWF. We should note, incidentally, that many of the other stories in the Haribhaṭṭa *Jātakamālā* are mirrored in the SWF.

We also know that a text entitled *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* circulated in Central

⁸⁰ “Das Datum des Haribhaṭṭa,” in Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler, eds., *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus: Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*, Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 23 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1981): 107–120.

⁸¹ Hahn, “Datum,” 120.

⁸² Peter Khoroché, *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey: Ārya Śūra's Jātakamālā* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), xiii, states that Haribhaṭṭa, in the introduction to his *Jātakamālā*, refers to Ācārya Śūra's *Jātakamālā* as his model (both collections consisted of thirty-four stories). Since Haribhaṭṭa dates to the early fifth century, Śūra must date to the fourth century, if not earlier, and thus before the SWF.

⁸³ Quoting from his English summary, “In the order of works in the Jātaka section of the Tibetan Tanjur, which is meant to be a chronological one, Haribhaṭṭa is placed after Āryaśūra (this is also confirmed by Haribhaṭṭa's own reference to this poet) but before the Buddhist poet and grammarian Candragomin. According to a previous study of the present writer Candragomin's productive period can be placed between 425 and 475 A.D.”

Asia⁸⁴ and that it was unmistakably connected with the SWF. Insofar as the fragmentary condition of the manuscripts permits us to tell, the stories in this *avadānamālā* are identical with or similar to those in the SWF. The Uigur transcription of the title *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* has been found in colophons on two manuscripts recovered from Murtuq.⁸⁵ One of them (T.III.M.84–68) reads as follows:

Vaibaziki
sastntri kavi drri sangadas ///ka
kuišan [=küšan] tilintin
toχri tilinčä ///miš
šilazin pras tinki yangirti
toχri tilintin
türkčä ävirmiš
*dsakrmabuda’navtanamal nom bitig*⁸⁶

The holy book *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* translated by the Vaibhāṣika, who knows the six philosophical systems (*ṣattanttri*), *kārya-dhara* [or the *ṣattanttrikāvvyadhara*] Saṅghadāsa... from Kuchean⁸⁷ into

⁸⁴ For the manuscripts of the Old Turkic (Uigur) translation of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā*, see Gerhard Ehlers, *Alttürkische Handschriften*, Teil 2: *Das Goldglanzsūtra und der buddhistische Legendzyklus Daśakar-mapathāvadānamālā*, Depositum der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), Verzeichnis der orientalischen handschriften in Deutschland, XIII.10 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987), 15–24, and Peter Zieme, “Gedanken zur Bearbeitung der alttürkischen buddhistischen Texte,” in Horst Klengel and Werner Sundermann, eds., *Ägypten, Vorderasien, Turfan: Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften*, Zentralinstitut für alte Geschichte und Archäologie, Berlin; Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 23 (Berlin: Akademie, 1991), 137.

⁸⁵ Müller, “Uigurica III,” 3.

⁸⁶ F. W. K. Müller, “Toχri und Kuišan (Küšan),” *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse (June, 1918): 583.

⁸⁷ Müller renders this as Kushan, the language of the area around Gandhāra or the Kabul Valley, hence some form of Prakrit, but most authorities (see the next note) now hold that the colophon is here referring to Kuchean. There are, however, several difficulties in the identification of *kuišan* (*küšan*) as Kuchean. The first is the fact that the phonological representation in Uigur would seem to favor Kushan over Kuchean, although the great Uigur lexicographer Maḥmūd el-Kāṣḡarī (eleventh century) transcribed the name for Kucha as Küsän. See Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, ed., tr., and intro., *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk)*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 7 (Cambridge: Harvard University Office of the University Publisher, 1982–1985), 1: 308 (§204N). Kāṣḡarī’s dictionary was written between about 1072 and 1077. See Dankoff and Kelly, *Compendium*, 1: 7. Secondly, so-called “Tokharian” and Kuchean would refer to two variants of the same language, Tokharian A and Tokharian B; one doubts that the differences between Tokharian A (a dead liturgical language at the time for which it can be documented) and Tokharian B, substantial though they are, were sufficiently great that an actual translation would have had to be made from one to the other. Thirdly, Kuchean is unlikely to have been the first link in a chain that ultimately probably began with an Indian (Kushan [?], i.e., Prakrit) original. In light of these difficulties, we should not jump too hastily to the conclusion that *kuišan* (*küšan*) in this instance necessarily equals Kuchean instead of Kushan as Müller thought, in spite of the fact that there is strong evidence for the existence of a Kuchean *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* (see note 94 below).

Tokharian and by Śīlasena Pr(ajñārakṣita[?]) anew from Tokharian into Turkish.⁸⁸

According to one possible interpretation, this colophon indicates that the Central Asian version of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* originated in Tokharian B (the language of the area around Kucha), was rendered into Tokharian A (the language of the area around Karašahr), and thence was translated into Uigur.⁸⁹ If this is actually what happened, it has two important implications: (1) Popular Buddhist texts, while based on Indian models, were composed in Central Asian vernaculars; and (2) the Tokharian B version of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* may either have been a source for the SWF or a collateral recension. A beautifully illustrated Uigur manuscript of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* is preserved in the Rare Book Collection of Gest Library at Princeton University.⁹⁰ While it is only a single leaf and is damaged (especially on the left and right edges), enough remains to get a good idea of the contents, style, and format of this type of Uigur popular Buddhist literature.

A fragment of the Sogdian version of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* has also been identified; its title in Sogdian was *δsɿ šyrɿkrtyh* (*The Ten Good Deeds*),⁹¹ which is comparable to that of the Uigur translations. The colophon to the Uigur version of this text cited above makes explicit the fact that this *avadānamālā* was not translated from Chinese. Since both the Uigur and Sogdian texts have transparently Indian-inspired titles, it is quite probable that there originally existed a Sanskrit/Prakrit text upon which they were based, even though both seem to have been more immediately derived from Tokharian.

Judging from the tales that it included⁹² and from the title itself, there is a high degree of resonance between the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* and the SWF. *Daśa karmapatha* refers to the ten good actions (also known as *daśakuśala*) and, by contrast, the avoidance of the

⁸⁸ I.e., Uigur.

⁸⁹ See note 91 below.

⁹⁰ This has been mistakenly identified in Judith Ogden Bullitt, “Princeton’s Manuscript Fragments from Tun-huang,” *The Gest Library Journal* 3, nos. 1–2 (Spring, 1989): 14 and 18 (fig. 7) as a part of the *Vajracchedikā* (*Diamond*) *Sūtra*.

⁹¹ W. B. Henning, “The Name of the ‘Tokharian’ Language,” *Asia Major*, n.s., 1, no. 2 (1949): 160 and note 2 on that page, holds that *’wkw Kwys’n* (Ökü Küsän) refers to Kuchean and that the chain of translations was thus from Kuchean into the old language of Karašahr (*twryr*, i.e., “Tokharian”) and from this into Turkish (i.e., Uigur). Yoshida, “Buddhist Literature in Sogdian” (to appear in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), 2–3 and 9, describes the Sogdian fragment of the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* as preserving the story about King Kāñcanasāra and as also having presumably been translated from Kuchean. He refers (p. 9) as well to another fragment consisting of an unidentified story concerning two brothers of different qualities that may have come from such an *Avadānamālā*. See A. N. Ragoza, *Sogdiiskie Fragmenty Tsentral’no Aziatskogo Sobraniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya* (Moscow: Nauka, 1980), 62–63, and compare stories 42 and 44 in SWF.

⁹² As preserved in the Uigur and Sogdian fragments.

ten bad actions (*dasākuśala*).⁹³ A number of the stories in the SWF are patently intended to illustrate comparable teachings. Only the existence of some such text as the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā* or Haribhaṭṭa *ġātakamālā* upon which both drew can adequately account for the striking correspondences between the Kuchean story of Prabhāsa and that in the Chinese SWF pointed out by Lévi.⁹⁴

Another collection of stories that is pertinent to the complicated composition and filiation of the SWF is the Khotanese *ġātaka-stava*, which includes at least one story, that concerning Kāñcanasāra, which was also included in the SWF as well as in the Sogdian *ḡsḡ ṡyrḡkertyb* and in a Uigur *avadāna* collection.⁹⁵ While we have no evidence to assert that a written version of this text would have been available to the Liangzhou monks who compiled the SWF in the middle of the fifth century, its existence is further proof that the stories in the latter collec-

⁹³ It is significant that Indian collections of *ġātakas* and *avadānas* were often organized into groups of ten and multiples of ten. See Khoroché, *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey*, 12.

⁹⁴ See Lévi, “Le sūtra du sage et du fou,” 316–317. The fact that there must have been an established Indian source-text or source-texts circulating in Central Asia for the types of stories that were incorporated into the SWF is further borne out by the close parallels between the Chinese recounting of the legend of King Prabhāsa and that preserved in the Kuchean (Tokharian B) fragments. The SWF (T 202, no. 21) and the Kuchean (Tokharian) fragments of the King Prabhāsa story represent a later stage of development of the narrative, earlier versions having appeared in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* and *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (no. 53); see Lévi, “Le sūtra du sage et du fou,” 305ff., and Dieter Schlingloff, “König Prabhāsa und der Elefant,” *Indologica Taurinensia* 5 (1977): 139–152.

A wall-painting of the *Mahāprabhāsa avadāna* from the Knight’s Cave in the village of Kirish, about 25 miles east-northeast of Kucha, consists of two exquisitely painted series of pictures in strip form on lateral walls. Tokharian captions running along the top and bottom borders of the pictures mention the recitation of the story. This is *prima facie* evidence for the existence of both oral and written versions of the story in Tokharian at the time of the construction of the cave (seventh century). The popularity of *avadāna* literature in Tokharian-speaking areas is borne out by the recurrence of the same scenes at Kizil in the Middle Cave of the Second Gorge, also dating to the seventh century; see Herbert Härtel, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 105–106 (cat. no. 37) and 104 (cat. no. 36).

At least thirty-one of the stories from the SWF have been identified with scenes in wall paintings at Kizil and other Buddhist caves in the area of Kucha. A number of these date from the second half of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth century. This demonstrates that the stories of the SWF were popular not only in Khotan but also that they were current elsewhere in Central Asia **before** the compilation of the SWF. See ZHAO Li 趙莉, “*Xianyu jing yu Kezier shiku benyuan gushi bihua*” 《賢愚經》與克孜爾石窟本緣故事壁畫 [The Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish and the Stories of *ġātaka* on the frescoes of the Kizil grottoes], *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies) 2 (1993): 97–103.

⁹⁵ The Sogdian text was mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph. For the Uigur version, see Müller, “Uigurica III,” 27ff. and 91.

tion were widely disseminated in medieval Central Asia in many different forms.⁹⁶ We should note, further, that a similar poem in Sanskrit by Jñānayaśas may have served as the model for the Khotanese text, another example of the Indian foundations for the stories of the SWF.⁹⁷

The circumstances regarding the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the SWF also have a bearing on the history of this text. Ever since the publication of Takakusu’s article on the relationship between the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the SWF, it has been almost universally accepted that the latter is a translation of the former.⁹⁸ That the Mongolian version is based in turn on the Tibetan is even clearer. The situation, however, is not quite so neat as Takakusu had imagined. While there is no doubt that the Chinese and the Tibetan versions are indeed related in some fashion, the number of stories that are included, the order in which they are given, and the style in which they are written all differ markedly. Furthermore, three stories that occur in the Tibetan and Mongolian versions were not even present in the earliest known integral printed Chinese edition of the sūtra, the Khitan (Liao), which is later than the time of the Tibetan translator, Chos-grub 法成 (ninth century),⁹⁹ although individual manuscript scrolls of the sūtra were made at Dunhuang where Chos-grub himself was active during the period of Tibetan rule. Where did he get the three extra stories? Were there other Chinese versions of the SWF that circulated independently of those that were accepted into the successive recensions of the canon? Judging from the disparities between the Dunhuang

⁹⁶ Written *avadāna* certainly did exist in Khotanese from a later period. There are as many as seven extant manuscripts for the introductory portions of the *Sudhana-avadāna* and three for the main body of the story. See R. E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan, Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged*, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series 3 (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992), 18.20 (pp. 30–31); H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, rev. ed.; originally published in 1951), nos. 7–12 (pp. 11–39); and “The Sudhana Poem of Rddhiprabhāva,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29 (1966): 506–532. The Khotanese story of Sudhana and Manoharā corresponds to *Divyāvadāna*, ch. 30; see E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886), 435–461, and *Mahāvastu*, 2: 94–115, in É. Senart, ed., (Paris: l’Imprimerie Nationale, 1882–1897); also no. 5 in Anton Schiefner’s translation of Tibetan tales. We have already encountered above the Khotanese *Aśoka-avadāna* (telling of Aśoka and Yaśas and of Aśoka and Kuṇāla). See Emmerick, *Guide*, 18.4 (p. 20); Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, nos. 13–14 (pp. 40–44); P. O. Skjærvø, “The Legend of Aśoka in Khotanese,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 2 (1982), 782–783. It corresponds to *Divyāvadāna*, ch. 27.

⁹⁷ H. W. Bailey, “Kāñcanasāra,” in *B. C. Law Volume* (Poona: The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1945–1946), 2: 11–13. Whether or not Jñānayaśas in particular is earlier or later than the Khotanese *Jātaka-stava*, it is apparent from the study of its language that the Khotanese tale was based on a Middle Indic original.

⁹⁸ “Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool in Tibetan and Chinese.” (See introductory note to this article.)

⁹⁹ These types of objections have previously been raised by Matsumoto, 219–220, TSUMAKI Naoyoshi 妻木直良, “Tonkō sekishitsu goshu batten no kaisetsu” 燉煌石室五種仏典の解説 (“An Explanation of five Buddhist texts discovered in the Dunhuang cave”), *The Tōyō Gakuhō* 東方学報 (Reports of the Investigations of the Oriental Society) 1, no. 3 (October, 1911): 356–357, and TAKAHASHI Moritaka 高橋盛孝, “Kengukyō to Zan-run 賢愚経とザンルン” (“Xianyu jing and Hdsans-blun”), *Tōhōgaku* 東方学 (Eastern Studies) 26 (July, 1963): 48–49. For information on the Dunhuang versions of the SWF, see notes 78 above and 105 below.

manuscript fragments of the SWF and the canonical versions, at least by the time of Chos-grub there was not just a single version of the text, but rather multiple versions, some of a rather local nature.

Another difficult point is that the technical terminology and proper names of the Tibetan version often are at variance with those of the Chinese, so the question arises of how Chos-grub could have come up with them if he were relying solely on the canonical Chinese text. Perhaps there were other Chinese versions available than those we know of now (the Khitan, the Korean, the Song, the Yuan, and the Ming editions).¹⁰⁰ Or perhaps he consulted a text or texts of the SWF in some other language(s) that may have been circulating in Central Asia. Nonetheless, there are many instances where he is patently following the sinographic transcriptions and often simply repeats the errors of the Chinese text (e.g., Ka-na-śi-ni-pa-li for Kāñcanasāra, where the *-pa-* syllable must have crept into the name through a Chinese mistranscription). This is particularly true in the matter of proper names, which was one of the chief reasons for Takakusu’s claims concerning the indebtedness of the Tibetan text to the Chinese.¹⁰¹ In any event, there is plentiful evidence which indicates that *avadāna* and other types of collections containing stories that also occurred in the SWF were available in Khotanese, Sogdian, Uigur, Tokharian, and—above all—Indian languages in Central Asia by the time Chos-grub produced his Tibetan version. Furthermore, there is good evidence that these recensions either arose independently of or even perhaps prior to the Chinese version of the SWF.¹⁰² Nonetheless, we should not rule out the possibility that Chos-grub was completely unaware of them or uninfluenced by them and worked solely from a single, canonical Chinese version different from any now known to us.

From the above information concerning the Haribhaṭṭa *Ĵātakamālā*, the *Daśa-karmapatha-avadānamālā*, and the Tibetan and Mongolian translations, as well as from our

¹⁰⁰ The following observations by Baruch (“Le cinquante-deuxième chapitre du *mṛjāṇs-blun*,” 344) are instructive in this regard: “By comparing the arrangements into sections and chapters of the various known Chinese editions [of the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*] with one another, on the one hand, and with those of the Tibetan translation on the other, we may establish—for the Chinese as well as for the Tibetan—that there was originally a single prototype which has not come down to us.”

¹⁰¹ Although the Peking edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon does not do so, the colophons to the SWF in several other editions (the Derge, Narthang, and Cone) state expressly that the Tibetan text was translated from Chinese: *rgya-nag-las* ‘gyur-ba(r) snang-ngo; cf. Baruch, “Le cinquante-deuxième chapitre du *mṛjāṇs-blun*,” 343 note 3, and Berthold Laufer, “Loan-words in Tibetan,” *T’oung Pao* 17 (1916): 415 note 2.

¹⁰² For example, neither the Uigur nor the Khotanese versions of the Kāñcanasāra story (no. 1 in SWF) repeat the erroneous pa- syllable of the Chinese transcription of the name, although the Tibetan does.

knowledge of Indian literature in general,¹⁰³ it would appear that the Buddhist masters in Khotan from whom the Liangzhou monks heard the stories of the SWF would have based them upon one or more available Indian texts. In some cases, they must have followed the original texts very closely, because the relationship of the Chinese text to the Sanskrit/Prakrit original shows through clearly even in translation. There is, however, no known evidence that there existed a written Khotanese exemplar of the SWF. This does not preclude the possibility, of course, that oral Khotanese exegeses, paraphrases, and translations/interpretations of the Sanskrit/Prakrit source-texts might have been given extemporaneously. In view of the intimate ties between Khotanese and Gansu Buddhists, this would actually be a likely scenario. That is to say, some of the Chinese monks may have known a bit of Khotanese and vice versa; Sengyou tells us that they did make an effort “to practice the Central Asian sounds.” This is, to be sure, far more probable than that the Chinese monks would have had a sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit or Prakrit to be able to understand directly a lecture delivered or story told in one of these languages.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, even if none of the eight Chinese monks understood enough Khotanese to make much or any sense of the oral interpretations (and it is highly unlikely that they did), there surely would have been present in Khotan bilingual individuals who could further have interpreted the Khotanese in Chinese for the visitors from Liangzhou. The colloquial elements in the SWF discussed above may also be said to constitute residual evidence of orality in the transmission process. Some of the more obvious trappings of oral transmission, however, such as the “Thus have I heard” at the beginning of each story and the felicitations expressed upon hearing its conclusion are merely formulaic and obligatory.¹⁰⁵

There are striking parallels between what we have hypothesized for the recitation and explication of Sanskrit and Prakrit texts in fifth-century Khotan with those which actually

¹⁰³ The overlap of the SWF with various other collections of Indian and Chinese *jātaka* and *avadāna* is unmistakable from the lists on pp. 67–71 of the supplementary volume of HIKATA Ryūshō’s 干渴竜祥 *Honsbōkyō rui no shisōshi-teki kenkyū* 本生経類の思想史的研究 [A historical study of ideas in Jātakas and similar stories], *Tōyō Bunko Ronsō* 東洋文庫論叢 (Oriental Library Series) A, vol. 35 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 1954).

¹⁰⁴ Except for those few monks who actually made pilgrimages to India and studied Sanskrit there, knowledge of Indian languages among Chinese Buddhists at best usually amounted to no more than a few memorized *dhāraṇīs* (in sinographic transcription) and some familiarity with the Siddham script. See R. H. van Gulik, *Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan* (Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1956).

¹⁰⁵ Most of the earliest manuscripts of the SWF, those from Dunhuang, already include these formulaic expressions. Fragments of the SWF among the Dunhuang manuscripts include (but are not limited to) the following: Pelliot 2105, 2316, 3312, Stein 1102, 2879, 3693, 4464, 4468, Peking 8597–8603, St. Petersburg 1715, Dunhuang Research Institute 57, 167, 257, 275. The original numbering of the Peking manuscripts are *dong* 32, *shi* 82, *lai* 41, *cheng* 95, *qian* 87, *ren* 11, *wen* 53 (2032, 7182, 1541, 5195, 6787, 7511, 7953 respectively in the system of Victor Mair, “Lay Students and the Making of Written Vernacular Narrative: An Inventory of Tun-huang Manuscripts,” *Chinoperl Papers* 10 [1981]: 5–96).

occur when Pali texts are presented in Thailand today.¹⁰⁶ When a Pali text is read aloud by a native Thai speaker, although he or she may try to pronounce it in a standard fashion, there is almost invariably a detectable Thai accent, yet there is no rearrangement or other modification of the text. What usually happens when a scripture is recited or a lecture is delivered in Pali is that a simultaneous translation into Thai is provided for those auditors who are not fully proficient in Pali by someone who is bilingual. Conversely, Buddhist tales told in Thai are often highly colored with Pali terminology and there exists a variety of mixed styles (*nissāya*,¹⁰⁷ *vohāra*,¹⁰⁸ etc.) which combine canonical phrases or even whole sentences from Pali with a matrix of Thai.¹⁰⁹

Regardless of the fact that the SWF stories may have been delivered in a Khotanized form of Northwest Prakrit and that they were in all likelihood accompanied by oral Khotanese interpretations, we must recognize that they are, in the final analysis, fundamentally Indian in nature. The stories in the SWF, in spite of the fact that they were compiled by Chinese monks who heard them in Khotan, are all about Indian subjects, people, and places. What is more, Khotan itself was essentially an outpost of Indian culture on the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert. David Utz has succinctly pointed out

the extent to which Indian methods of administration and religion, and even, to a certain extent, other aspects of Indian culture, such as medicine, formed the primary basis of Khotanese life, so that one may say with every justification that, by the 10th century, Khotan had become nothing less than an Indian urban center in the Tarim Basin. This point is illustrated by (1) the exclusive use of Indian scripts and, before the advent of the usage of the native Iranian language, Gāndhārī Prakrit for purposes of written communication, (2) the styling of the kings of Khotan [with Indian titles], (3) the all-pervasive practice of the Buddhist religion, and (4) the apparent importance of Indian medical practice.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Since Khotanese and Sanskrit/Prakrit both belong to the Indo-Iranian group of languages, it would obviously have been much easier for speakers of these languages to shift back and forth between them, whereas it is far more difficult to transfer materials from Pali into Thai since these two languages come from wholly different families.

¹⁰⁷ *Nissāya* (gerund from *nissayati*, “to depend on, belonging to”) are mixed Pali/vernacular texts in the style of Pali commentaries. Although the commentary is in the vernacular, there is extensive use of Pali as the text on which the interpretation is based.

¹⁰⁸ *Vohāra* (“practice, custom, vernacular”), as in *voharam gacchati* (“to be in common use”) has a much looser connection with the commentary form. Some Pali occurs, although most of the text is in the vernacular. The Pali in these texts tends to be very corrupted. Many popular texts in northern Thailand are of this type, as are many *desana* (“preaching”) texts. This note and the previous one are based on a letter of February 20, 1993 from Donald Swearer.

¹⁰⁹ I am grateful to Donald Swearer and Ajan Sommai Prenchit for providing me with this valuable information.

¹¹⁰ “Khotan: Indian Urbanization, Historical Tradition, and Nomadic Culture” (unpublished paper), 5.

Specifically with regard to the role of Buddhism in Khotan, Utz further notes

the enormous amount of Buddhist literature of direct Indian origin which survives in the Khotanese language and the overwhelming influence which the terminology and phraseology of Indian Buddhist texts have exerted upon the formation of the Buddhist Khotanese language. Indeed, the prestige of Buddhist Sanskrit would seem to have been so great that there was a reluctance to use Khotanese for religious purposes, and the growth of Buddhist Khotanese literature must have been relatively late.

Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts have been found in the region of Khotan. Also, the existence of a Sanskrit-Khotanese phrasebook for travellers and an itinerary for a journey from Khotan to Kashmir during the 10th century further confirm close links between Khotan and India.¹¹¹

If the ties between Khotan and India were still so close during the tenth century when Islam had already begun to make inroads at the western edge of the Tarim Basin, they were even closer during the middle of the fifth century when the SWF came into being. Conse-

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7 and 8. Compare the remarks of Aurel Stein made nearly a century ago shortly after the discovery of Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit in Central Asia:

The necessarily brief notes presented will suffice to show that these Kharoshthi documents are bound to bring back to light many aspects of life and culture in an early period of Central-Asian history which seemed almost entirely lost from our field of vision. The very nature of the contents and the complete absence of similar records of ancient date in India itself will render their full elucidation a slow and laborious task. But whatever revelations of interesting detail may be in store for us, one important historical fact already stands out clearly. The use of an Indian language in the vast majority of the documents, when considered together with their secular character, strikingly confirms the old local tradition recorded by Hiuen-Tsiang [i.e., Xuanzang, the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim to India] and also in old Tibetan texts, but hitherto scarcely credited, that the territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised about two centuries before our era by Indian immigrants from Takshasila, the Taxila of the Greeks, in the extreme North-West of the Punjab. It is certainly a significant fact that within India the Kharoshthi script used in our tablets was peculiar to the region of which Taxila was the historical centre. Neither the language nor the script presented by our documents can satisfactorily be accounted for by the spread of Buddhism alone, seeing that the latter, so far as our available evidence goes, brought to Central Asia only the use of Sanskrit as the ecclesiastical language, and the writing in Brahmi characters. (*Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan*, 383).

For Gāndhārī Prakrit as the *lingua franca* of administration in Central Asia during the centuries before and after the beginning of the Common Era, see Victor H. Mair, "Reflections on the Origins of the Modern Standard Mandarin Place-Name 'Dunhuang'—With an Added Note on the Identity of the Modern Uighur Place-Name 'Turpan,'" in Li Zheng 李錚 and Jiang Zhongxin 蔣忠新, eds., *Ji Xianlin jiaoshou bashi buadan jinian lunwenji* 季羨林教授八十華誕紀念論文集 [Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. Ji Xianlin on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday], (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe 江西人民出版社, 1991), 2: 901, 912–922 (esp. 918–920), and 927–928. For Prakrit as the language of Buddhism in Central Asia, see Franz Bernhard, "Gāndhārī and the Buddhist Mission in Central Asia," in J. Tilakasiri, ed., *Añjali: Papers on Indology and Buddhism: A Felicitations Volume Presented to Oliver Hector de Alwis Wijesekera on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Peradeniya: University of Ceylon, The Felicitations Volume Editorial Committee, 1970), especially 57. The extent of the usage of Prakrit in the Buddhist establishment at Khotan can be measured by the information provided by the Tibetan Annals of Khotan that there were sixteen *vihāras* of the Mahāsāṅghika school there who wrote in Prakrit. See H. W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 1 (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1982), 51–52. Also see Bailey, "The Culture of the Iranian Kingdom of Ancient Khotan in Chinese Turkestan: The Expansion of Early Indian Influence into Northern Asia," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library)* 29 (1971): 25, for the familiarity of the Khotanese with Indian Buddhist literature.

quently, although the SWF was compiled by Chinese monks from materials collected in Khotan and pronounced with a Khotanese accent, it is primarily an Indian text. Thus Jan Nattier’s thesis¹¹² that Buddhist literature in Central Asia seems to have been transmitted exclusively in Indian languages before the beginning of the sixth century still stands.¹¹³ In spite of Sengyou’s detailed bibliographical notices which superficially appear to indicate otherwise, the case of the SWF cannot be used to prove the existence of written Khotanese texts during the middle of the fifth century. It can, however, be used to demonstrate the nature of the appropriation and assimilation of Indian literature, especially texts composed in Northwest Prakrit,¹¹⁴ by local Buddhists in Khotan and their vital role in the transmission of such literature to China.

¹¹² “Church Language and Vernacular Language in Central Asian Buddhism,” *Numen* 37, no. 2 (December, 1990): 195–219. This thesis was first adumbrated by J. W. de Jong in his *Buddha’s Word in China*, The twenty-eighth George Ernest Morrison lecture in ethnology (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1968), 11.

¹¹³ According to the Tibetan *Annals of Khotan* (*Li-yul-gyi Lo-rgyus-pa*), “The religion and the sacred (*clerical*) language are very similar to those of India.” *Bstan-hgyur*, vol. 94(u), fol. 429b, translated by Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, 236.

¹¹⁴ Seishi Karashima (letter of November 1, 1992) has recently completed close textual studies of the Chinese versions of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* and the *Dīrghāgama* which show that they were based on an underlying Prakrit that was very similar to Gāndhārī. See his *The Textual Study of the Chinese Versions of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra in the light of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions*, Bibliotheca Indologica et Buddhologica 3 (Tokyo: Sankibō 山喜房, 1992).

ARŠAK, PARTHIAN BUDDHISTS, AND “IRANIAN” BUDDHISM

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The clear implication in the most reliable Chinese Buddhist sources concerning the early development of Buddhism in China, especially the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (*Collection of Notes Concerning the Translation of the Tripitaka*, T 2145),¹ is that two of the earliest and most important figures in this development, An Shigao 安世高 and An Xuan 安玄, were natives of the Anxi 安息 country.² Thus, the conjectural but widely accepted view that Anxi refers to the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia³ makes the examination of the evidence for Buddhism in Parthia during this period one of some interest.

The argument for the identification of Anxi with Parthia has been made in the most comprehensive fashion by F. Hirth⁴ on the basis of the descriptions of this country to be found especially in the *Han shu*⁵ and *Hou Han shu*.⁶ The name Anxi (< *ân-sjək⁷) is most likely a Chinese transcription of the Parthian proper name *aršak* [ʾršk],⁸ which, as Strabo [XV.I.36] points out, was assumed by each and every Parthian ruler, in addition to their individual

¹ J. Takakusu, K. Watanabe, and G. Ono, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Tokyo: Society for the Publication of the Taisho Edition of the Tripitaka, 1924–32), 55: 1–114.

² Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 27–53, esp. 43–44. The name of still a third translator with the ethnicon *an* (An Faqin 安法欽) is known from the late third century CE (Western Jin period); cf. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 70–71.

³ E. G. Pulleyblank, “An-shi,” in E. Yarshater, ed., *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982–), vol. 1.9: 999–1000.

⁴ *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into Their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations as Represented in Old Chinese Records* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1885), 137–143.

⁵ Ban Gu 班固, *Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 12: 3889–3890.

⁶ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 14: 2918.

⁷ I have used Karlgren’s reconstructions for Archaic Chinese, as his Ancient Chinese is too modern for this period; see B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1957; repr. 1972).

⁸ E. G. Pulleyblank, “The Consonantal System of Old Chinese: Part II,” *Asia Major* n.s. 9, no. 2 (1962): 228. The proper Parthian spelling of this name, ʾršk, is attested in the documents from Nisā, e.g., in ostrakon No. 1760; cf. I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livšits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy I v. do n. e.: Predvaritel’nye Itogi Raboty* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Vostočnoĭ Literatury, 1960), 113.

names.⁹ Strabo’s report is confirmed by the legends on Arsacid coins, especially the earlier Greek legends which rarely mention the individual names of the various kings, but only the throne-name Arsaces which they all shared in common.¹⁰ It should be pointed out that, for the Chinese, the name of the country was, at least in this case, synonymous with the person who defined the country, and the use of this term *aršak* as a geographical designation is not known from any other source. On the other hand, the *Han shu* has preserved the name *Fandou* 番兜 (< *p’ǝwǎn-tu) for the capital of the country,¹¹ which may reflect a name close to Old Persian *Parθava-*, especially in its Akkadian form, *pa-ar-tu-ú*.¹² The *Hou Han shu* names the capital as Hedu 和犢 (< *g’wâ-d’uk), not Fandou; however, its curious locution, “the Anxi-country dwells (at) Hedu-city” (*Anxiguo zhu hedu cheng* 安息國住和犢城),¹³ once again underscores the Chinese understanding that Arsacid Parthia, like other Central Asian polities of nomadic origin, was more an issue of a particular person and the territorial extent of his personal authority than a state with an organized bureaucracy and intricate infrastructure such as was later the case in the Iranian world under the Sasanians. It is of essential importance to keep this point in mind when thinking about the basic environment of early Buddhist missionary activity in western Central Asia in the Parthian-Kushan period, before the latter half of the third century CE.

However, the most interesting detail, for our purposes, is provided by the *Hou Han shu*: “(On) its eastern border (is) the city of Mulu 木鹿, which is called Little Anxi.”¹⁴ That the Chinese distinguished a special region within Anxi called *xiao* 小 or “Little,” Anxi, and that the city of Mulu was its defining geographical feature gives us an important clue that Anxi and the *Parthia* of Roman geographers are probably identical. The name Mulu (< *muk-luk) seems quite close to the Old Iranian **margu-*, “Margiana,” attested both in Old Persian¹⁵

⁹ H. L. Jones, ed. and tr., *The Geography of Strabo*, The Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1961), 7: 62 and 63.

¹⁰ A. D. H. Bivar, “The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids,” in E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 3: The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 42; D. Sellwood, “Parthian Coins,” in Yarshater, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran*, 279–298 and 1299–1302, esp. 281.

¹¹ *Han shu*, 12: 3889.

¹² R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2nd ed., American Oriental Series 33 (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1953), 196.

¹³ *Hou Han shu*, 14: 2918.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Kent, *Old Persian*, 121, 125, 129, and 202.

and Avestan sources, especially in the late form *mōuru-* preserved in the famous inventory of geographical place names in the Avestan *Vidēvdāt* (I.5; I.7).¹⁶ Pliny, in his *Natural History* (VI.XVIII.46–47), describes Parthian Margiana as a sunny region isolated by mountains and deserts, the final destination of the Roman prisoners taken at the battle of Carrhae (53 BCE).¹⁷ For it is precisely in Margiana, at Gyaur-kala in the Marv oasis, where Soviet archaeologists succeeded in discovering a Buddhist “temple complex,” including a stūpa whose initial construction can be dated by coins of the Sasanian ruler Shapur II to the third quarter of the fourth century CE.¹⁸ Among the remains was found a painted vase containing a birchbark manuscript in Brāhmī script.¹⁹ At a second Buddhist site in the Marv oasis, north of am-Ali, a clay vessel containing another birchbark manuscript in Brāhmī writing has been found. The text in question has three distinct sections, the second of which is a compilation based on the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins. This section ends with a colophon which explicitly identifies the text with the Sarvāstivāda *nikāya*.²⁰

Having established that Buddhism probably was extant during the fourth-sixth cen-

¹⁶ Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961), 1147; K. F. Geldner, ed., *Avesta: The Sacred Books of the Parsis*, Volume 3: *Vendīdād* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1896), 4; A. Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes*, Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, 29.4 (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1943), 13–15 and 17–19.

¹⁷ H. Rackham, ed. and tr., *Pliny: Natural History*, The Loeb Classical Library (10 vols.; London: William Heinemann, 1961), 2: 372 and 373.

¹⁸ G. Koshelenko, “The Beginnings of Buddhism in Margiana,” *Acta Antiqua Hungaricae* 14 (1966): 175–183; B. A. Litvinsky, “Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia,” in B. Gafurov et al., *Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R.* (Calcutta: Indian Studies Past and Present, 1970), 84–87; G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 7 Art and Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 147–148. For the correct dating of the stūpa (contrary to earlier estimates), see A. B. Nikitin, “Srednepersidskie ostraki iz Buddiřskogo svyatiliřcha v starom Merve,” *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1992 (1): 95; S.D. Loginov and A.B. Nikitin, “Monetnyi dvor Merva pri Sasanidax,” in *Merv v Drevnei i Srednevekovoi Istorii Vostoka II: Kulʹturnye Vzaimodeistviya i Svyazi: Tezisy Dokladov* (Ashkhabad, 1991), 34–35, and “Coins of Shapur II from Merv,” *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993): 251. I should like to thank Mr. Aleksandr Naymark for these three references and the one in note 19, as well as for much helpful advice on current archaeological thinking about the Buddhist “temple complexes” in the Marv oasis.

¹⁹ M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “Pamyatniki pisʹmom kxarořtxi i braxmi iz Sovyetskoř Srednei Azii,” in *Istoriya i Kulʹtura tsentralʹnoi Azii* (Moscow: Izdatelʹstvo Nauka, 1983), 69. The painted vase had been covered over by construction associated with the restoration of the stūpa in the fifth-sixth century CE. This manuscript has not yet been restored, or described, and (as of c. 1983) was held at the workshops of the Russian Ministry of Culture in Moscow, awaiting restoration.

²⁰ Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, “Pamyatniki iz Srednei Azii,” 69–85, especially 69–70, 72–73, and 81–85. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya has dated the older part of this manuscript not earlier than the fifth century CE (*ibid.*, 74). The vessel in which the manuscript was found should be dated to the sixth-seventh century. In it, together with the manuscript, were found some Sasanian copper coins of Khosrow I, dated to 549 CE (18th year of his reign) (*ibid.*, 69).

turies CE in an area that seems to correspond to what Chinese historical geography of the Later Han understood as “Little” Anxi, let us return to those two most prominent figures from Anxi, whose activities in China apparently pre-date any current archaeological evidence for Buddhism in Margiana by about two centuries,²¹ in order to get a clearer idea from the example of their activities—especially their translation activities—of what sort of Buddhism might have been prevalent in Margiana during this earlier period. To begin, An Shigao is described as a bodhisattva, a term which seems to have enjoyed extremely liberal currency among the earliest Buddhist community in Luoyang.²² For instance, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* says:

²¹ Koshelenko (“Buddhism in Margiana,” 182) has discussed two silver drachma types of the Sasanian Kušanšāhs Pērōz and Hormizd, respectively, as evidence for the existence of Buddhism in Margiana already during the first half of the third century CE. The issue of the absolute chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian coin series aside, Koshelenko’s point is unfounded because it depends upon Herzfeld’s misreading of the legends of the coins in question; see E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 38 (Calcutta: Government of India, 1930), 31, and G. Bataille, “Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans et des Koushan-shahs sassanides,” *Arethuse* 18 (1928): 28. The two coin types in question correspond to Emissions 1030 and 1031, respectively, in Göbl’s system of classification; see R. Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušanreiches* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 114 and 115 (Plates), and XIV, XV, and XVII (Tables). The Middle Persian legends which appear on both the obverse and reverse sides of these coin types have been reproduced in a more systematically consolidated and comprehensive scheme, and transliterated by M. Alram, *Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis: Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken Münzen* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch 4), Textband (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 319–324. Herzfeld’s reading *bwld’ yzdy* should be *bwld’wndy yzty* (Pērōz type) or *bwrd’wndy yzdty* (Hormizd type), “exalted god.” Although W. B. Henning’s reading of *bwrd’wndy* (apud A. D. H. Bivar, “The Kushano-Sasanian Coin Series,” *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 18 [1956]: 21) instead of *bwrd’wndy* is not justified by reason of the more clearly readable analogous examples (Alram, *Nomina Propria*, 320 [Rv-Legende Nr. 4] and 323 [Rv-Legende Nr. 3]), he did correctly recognize that the form *bwld’wndy* (or *bwrd’wndy*) is a SW (i.e., pure Middle Persian) dialect variant of the more usual (in Zoroastrian Middle Persian) *bwlc’wnd* (*burzāwand*), as is confirmed by the parallel legend in Bactrian script found on other analogous coin types: *oorzaoando iazado* (*wurzawand yazad*); see Alram, *Nomina Propria*, 320 (Rv-Legende Nr. 1) and 322 (Rv-Legende Nr. 1, where the transliteration *oorzaoando* must be a misprint for *oorzaoando*). Consequently, these coin types have nothing to do with the Buddha and do not constitute any sort of evidence for Buddhism in the territory of Sasanian Kušanšāhr. The identity of the “exalted god” is disputed: C. J. Brunner has identified it as Ohrmazd; cf. “The Chronology of the Sasanian Kušanšāhs,” *American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes* 19 (1974): 148–149. J. Cribb, however, has suggested either Vēš (Kushan Śiva), or Mithra; cf. “Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology,” *Studia Iranica* 19 (1990): 187. I would like to thank A. B. Nikitin for some crucial assistance in correlating Herzfeld’s coin descriptions with Göbl’s system of classification, and both A. B. Nikitin and A. Naymark for other essential bibliographical information.

²² Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 32. Zürcher has commented that this indiscriminate use of the term “bodhisattva” (for both monks and laypersons) shows “a profound ignorance as to the real meaning of this appellation.” However, this comment is unjustified if one bears in mind the original meaning of this term, i.e., any living being who has made a vow to become a Buddha, and who follows a certain characteristic career such as the one described in the *Ugrapariprocchā* translated by An Xuan and Yan Fotiao (see note 24 below). This early understanding of the term is reflected in its usual Khotanese translation/equivalent: *balysūñavūysaa-*, “enlightenment seeker,” often used as an adjective (which it is formally) modifying the noun *bva’nd(a)-*, “man,” as in Z2.189, 2.220, and 2.229; cf. R. E. Emmerick, “The Ten New Folios of Khotanese,” *Asia Major* n.s. 13, nos. 1–2 (1967): 38, and *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*, London Oriental Series 21 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 42–43 and 46–49.

“There was a bodhisattva who came from Anxi. (His) name (*zi* 字) was Shigao.”²³ Of the 19 extant translations of Buddhist works which can be ascribed to An Shigao on the authority of the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 總理眾經目錄 by Dao'an 道安, as preserved as a source in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, none show any trace of Mahāyāna influence.²⁴ On the other hand, the only surviving legacy of An Xuan is the translation of *Ugraparipṛcchā* (T 322) which he made together with the Chinese Yan Fotiao 曇曜.²⁵ This Mahāyāna text is primarily concerned with the career of the bodhisattva.²⁶ This apparent preoccupation with the term “bodhisattva” finds an echo in the Indian loan vocabulary attested from the Parthian language.

No Parthian Buddhist literature survives, if, in fact, any ever existed; and, before the time of the Manichaeans (latter third century CE), it is doubtful whether Parthian was written for other than very specific practical purposes, such as inscriptions, coin-legends, business letters, legal documents, and inventory lists—exactly those same practical purposes for which Aramaic had been used in the Achaemenian world.²⁷ The degree of conservatism among the Parthians about writing, both its purposes and methods, is graphically illustrated by a fragment of a Parthian letter from Dura-Europas, in which the formal salutation in the beginning continues virtually unchanged Aramaic epistolary phraseology of the fifth century BCE.²⁸ Aside from

²³ T 55.69c25–26; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 33 and 331 n. 76.

²⁴ Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 33. Recently, A. Forte has argued that An Shigao came to China as a *sbizi* (“attending son”) of the Parthian king, and that he was a layperson and a Mahāyāna adept (as was apparently also his contemporary co-patriot An Xuan); see *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring: An Iranian Family in China*, Italian School of East Asian Studies, Occasional Papers 6 (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Suola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1995), 14–15 and 65–90. Forte's argument that this fact is not contradicted by the non-Mahāyāna affiliation of those translations which can be attributed to An Shigao gains further support from what Barnes has shown concerning the close dependency of an early Mahāyāna sūtra such as the *Ugraparipṛcchā* (which An Xuan and Yan Fotiao translated, probably as collaborators in An Shigao's “program”) upon pre-Mahāyāna texts; see N. J. Schuster [= Barnes], “The *Bodhisattva* Figure in the *Ugraparipṛcchā*,” in A. K. Warder, ed., *New Paths in Buddhist Research* (Durham, N.C.: Acorn Press, 1985), 41–52, esp. 50–52. If both An Shigao and An Xuan were indeed Mahāyāna adepts, and were not ordained monks, this would further strengthen the characterization of Buddhism in Parthia/Anxi as socially marginal (see below, note 48).

²⁵ T 12.15–23; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China*, 34; Schuster, “*Bodhisattva* Figure,” 29.

²⁶ Schuster, “*Bodhisattva* Figure,” 31–39. The text describes both the householder bodhisattva—career and that of the *pravrajita* bodhisattva, who abandons the householder life-style in order to live in the forest. However, according to Schuster the text leaves the impression that the lay bodhisattva is more virtuous because he/she chooses to remain in the world for the sake of other beings (*ibid.*, 38–39).

²⁷ M. Boyce, “Parthian Writings and Literature,” in Yarshater, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran*, 1151–1165 and 1379–1384.

²⁸ W. B. Henning, review of F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Asien und Rom and Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen*, in *Selected Papers*, vol. 2, *Acta Iranica* 15 (Tehran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977), 442–443.

the evidence of archaeology and the activities of Parthians such as An Shigao and An Xuan, the only other important evidence for Buddhism among the Parthians is the Indic loan vocabulary in the surviving Manichaean Parthian texts.²⁹ It should be emphasized, however, that these texts all date from the third through the seventh or eighth centuries CE,³⁰ a period later than the one (Later Han) with which we are primarily concerned. Probably the most conspicuous, and certainly the most historically influential, item in this inventory of Manichaean Parthian Indic terms is *bwdysdf* [*bōdisadf*], “bodhisattva,” the same technical term which we have already noted in its Han Chinese context. The historical importance and influence of this term in later Central Asian and Near Eastern religious traditions has been studied by W. Sundermann.³¹ He has shown that the Parthian word became the basis for Sogdian *pwt(y)s(t)β* [*bōdisa(d)f*], used even in Buddhist texts, e.g., the Sogdian translation of the Chinese apocryphal sūtra *Foshuo shan’e yinguo jing* 佛說善惡因果經 (*Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Good and Evil [Actions] Spoken by the Buddha*, T 2881),³² as well as Old Turkish *pwδysβ* [*bōdisaf*], Manichaean New Persian *bwdysf* [*bōdisaf*], and probably also ultimately Zoroastrian Middle Persian *bwt’sp* [*bōdāsp*], the basis of Arabic *būdās(a)f* in the famous Manichaean Arabic work *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdās(a)f*,³³ which has been preserved in the tradition of the Ismā‘īlī Šī‘a.³⁴ The Parthian term is attested in sources which, to the extent that they can be identified, are all hymn-texts.³⁵ Their exact dating is not certain beyond the general chronological framework for Manichaean Parthian texts (third-eighth centuries). However, the fact that Manichaean Parthian

²⁹ N. Sims-Williams has collected as much of this material as possible; see his “Indian Elements in Parthian and Sogdian,” in K. Röhrborn and W. Veenker, eds., *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 139–140.

³⁰ Boyce, “Parthian Writings,” 1162–1164. The approximate time at which the use of Parthian as a literary church-language ended in Central Asia is not certain.

³¹ “Die Bedeutung des Parthischen für die Verbreitung buddhistischer Wörter indischer Herkunft,” *Alt-orientalische Forschungen* 9 (1982): 100–108; “Eine Bemerkung zur Datierung des Buddha in der mittelpersischen Literatur der Zoroastrier,” in H. Bechert, ed., *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, Part 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992), 334–338.

³² T 85.1380–1383; D. N. MacKenzie, *The ‘Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions’ in Sogdian*, London Oriental Series 22 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 16 and 32.

³³ Sundermann, “Bedeutung,” 103–108.

³⁴ D. Gimaret, ed., *Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdās* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1972); *Le livre de Bilawhar et Būdās selon la version arabe ismaélienne* (Geneva–Paris: Droz, 1971).

³⁵ Sundermann, “Bedeutung,” 104.

bwdysdf has undergone the specifically Parthian sound-change $\delta w > \delta f$ indicates that this word entered the Parthian language at a relatively early time, certainly before the end of the third century CE, and probably somewhat earlier.³⁶ The information about An Shigao in the *Chu sanzang jiji*,³⁷ and the implication of An Xuan’s translation of the *Ugrapariprocchā*, a text about the bodhisattva, seem to indicate that even in the second century CE the Buddhist concept of the bodhisattva already figured prominently in the Parthian imagination.

From the study of the other Indic vocabulary in various Parthian Manichaean texts, N. Sims-Williams has conclusively demonstrated that the majority of such terms have their immediate origin in Gāndhārī Prakrit.³⁸ We may therefore conclude that the principal Buddhist factor in Parthia was “Gāndhārī Buddhism.”³⁹ This is seen perhaps most clearly in a famous “*yakṣa* catalogue” in a Manichaean Parthian magical text (M1202)⁴⁰ in which it is clear that, overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, the prototypes for the Parthian names for *yakṣas* and countries are from Gāndhārī Prakrit,⁴¹ and that whatever Indian textual prototype may have played a role in the formation of this text, it was not in Sanskrit, and therefore not any of the Mahāyāna Buddhist *Pañcarakṣā* texts which Henning studied,⁴² none of which show any evidence of having once existed in a Gāndhārī recension.⁴³

³⁶ Sims-Williams, “Indian Elements,” 133. The occurrence of the verb *nytpr-*, “to hurry,” (= *niḍfār* < **niḍwār*) in the Parthian version of Narseh’s inscription at Paikuli proves the early date (293 CE) of this sound change; cf. P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, 1 (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), 59.

³⁷ See above, note 23.

³⁸ Sims-Williams, “Indian Elements,” 132–135. Parthian *bwdysdf* would seem to represent one of those few “learned” Sanskritic forms which are exceptions to the rule; see Sundermann, “Bedeutung,” 105, and Sims-Williams, “Indian Elements,” 135.

³⁹ F. Bernhard has tried to correlate the use of Gāndhārī with a particular historical subset of the Buddhist saṅgha, the Dharmaguptakas; see “Gāndhārī and the Buddhist Mission in Central Asia,” in J. Tilakasiri, ed., *Añjali: Papers on Indology and Buddhism: A Felicitation Volume Presented to Oliver Hector de Alwis Wijesekera on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Peradeniya: University of Ceylon, 1970), 59–61. Whether any such delineation of a historically functional subset “Gāndhārī Buddhism” can be made is problematic.

⁴⁰ W. B. Henning, “Two Manichaean Magical Texts, with an Excursus on the Parthian ending *-ēndēh*,” in *Selected Papers*, vol. 2, *Acta Iranica* 15 (Tehran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977), 281–291.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 286–291; Sims-Williams, “Indian Elements,” 134.

⁴² Henning, “Manichaean Magical Texts,” 282.

⁴³ D. A. Utz, “A Parthian Amulet and the Semantics of *Yakṣa*” (unpublished paper [November 1990]), 9–12.

Were it not for those few “learned” Sanskritic forms attested in Manichaean Parthian texts,⁴⁴ and the Sarvāstivādin birchbark manuscript in Brāhmī script from the area of Bairam-Ali in the Marv oasis, we might change the phrase “*principal* Buddhist factor” to “*exclusive* Buddhist factor.”⁴⁵ Had Sanskrit (the language *par excellence* of the Sarvāstivāda *nikāya*) been a substantial factor among the Parthians, we would expect a linguistic situation even in Manichaean Parthian more like that of Khotanese, in which one finds a mixture of Indian terms of both Gāndhārī and Sanskrit origin.⁴⁶ However, it is clear from the examples of Khotanese and the heavily Buddhistic vocabulary of the Manichaean Chinese texts, such as the *Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (*Outline of the Usages and Dogma of Mani, the Buddha of Light*, T 2141A),⁴⁷ that, whatever the language(s) of Buddhism among the Parthians, the Buddhist *saṅgha* and its *dharma* were never a major cultural factor among the Parthians. The two comparative examples of literary Khotanese and Manichaean Chinese texts illustrate what one should expect as philological evidence of a substantial Buddhist environment or influence. Consequently, it would be best to refer not to Parthian *Buddhism*, but only to Parthian *Buddhists*, individuals from Anxi/Parthia who joined the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and perhaps gained a certain reputation in society at large as charismatic *bodhisattvas*.⁴⁸

This very important point, which by and large applies to the situation of Buddhism elsewhere in western Central Asia (Bactria and Sogdiana), brings us to the old idea first articulated by A. Foucher that the development of Buddhism, especially in Northwest India, was influenced by Iranian religions.⁴⁹ This notion, especially that

⁴⁴ See note 38 above.

⁴⁵ It should again be pointed out, however, that the manuscript in question was found together with Sasanian copper coins of Khosrow I, dated to 549 CE (see note 20 above). Consequently, this issue may be moot for the situation in Parthia/Anxi at the time of An Shigao and An Xuan.

⁴⁶ R. E. Emmerick, “Khotanese and Tumshuqese,” in R. Schmitt, ed., *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1989), 228.

⁴⁷ T 54.1279–1281 and note 67 below.

⁴⁸ This picture of a distinctly marginal existence for the Buddhist movement within Arsacid society, with a particular focus on the bodhisattva career, has a striking parallel in G. Schopen’s discussion of the earliest Mahāyāna communities in “From Marginal to Mainstream: The Mischievous Metamorphosis of the Mahāyāna in China and the Study of Indian Buddhism,” unpublished paper presented at the conference, “Buddhism Across Boundaries,” Hsi Lai University, Hacienda Heights, California (January, 1993), 14–23.

⁴⁹ *La vieille route de l’Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 1 (Paris: Editions d’Art et d’Histoire, 1942–1947), 2: 285–289.

this influence can be clearly detected in the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and in Pure Land Buddhism, has continued to develop over the years,⁵⁰ one of the most recent efforts to pursue it being that of MACHIDA Sōhō.⁵¹ The arguments in favour of this view have tended to focus on the general concept of “luminosity” and on perceived similarities between either Zurvān or Mithra and Amitāyus-Amitābha or Avalokiteśvara.⁵² As far as “luminosity” in the Indian religious background during the period of the formation of various Mahāyāna constructs is concerned, one need only recall the famous passage of the *Bhagavadgītā*, in which the narrator of the *Mahābhārata*, Saṃjaya, describes what it was like for Arjuna to see Viṣṇu in his real form (XI.11–12): “He was a wholly wonderful god, infinite, facing in every direction. If the light of a thousand suns should effulge all at once, it would resemble the radiance of that god of overpowering reality.”⁵³ This short passage should suffice to show that “luminosity,” by at least the period of the Vaiṣṇava Śuṅga kings of North India (second century BCE),⁵⁴ had become a sufficient factor in the North Indian religious imagination to account for “luminosity” in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

As for Mithra, although H. v. Stietencron has written about Indian *magas*, or “sun-priests,” of foreign origin who originally worshipped this deity,⁵⁵ and although it is also clear from the coinage of the Kushans that Mithra was one of the plethora of deities who were a known quantity within the Kushan domain,⁵⁶ it is not at all clear that

⁵⁰ M.-Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études 57 (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1948), 85–95.

⁵¹ “Life and Light, the Infinite: A Historical and Philological Analysis of the Amida Cult,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 9 (December 1988): 19–33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 21–31; Foucher, *Vieille route*, 288; de Mallmann, *Avalokiteśvara*, 86–90 and 92–95.

⁵³ *sarvāścaryamayam devam anantaṃ viśvatomukham*
divi sūryasahasrasya bhaved yugapad utthitā
yadi bhāḥ sadṛśī sā syād bhāsas tasya mahātmanah

K. W. Bolle, *The Bhagavadgītā: A New Translation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 126 (Sanskrit text) and 127 (English translation).

⁵⁴ É. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien, des origines à l'ère Śāka*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 43 (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958), 431–438.

⁵⁵ *Indische Sonnenpriester: Sāmba und die Śākadvipīya-Brāhmaṇa*, Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 231–236 and 248–264. It should be emphasized, however, that, whatever may have been the original non-Indian religious background of the *magas*, in India they became almost completely and immediately assimilated to the Indian religious landscape, and their attested devotion has always been to Āditya/Sūrya.

⁵⁶ D. W. MacDowall, “The Role of Mithra among the Deities of the Kuṣāṇa Coinage,” in J. R. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 1: 142–150, esp. 143 and 148–150.

religious devotion to Mithra was especially pre-eminent, or that Mithra was exactly identical with the sun in eastern Iranian lands or, by extension, in Northwest India.⁵⁷ In fact, the evidence of Khotanese (*urmaysde*)⁵⁸ and some languages of northeastern Afghanistan, such as Iškāšmī (*rēmuz[d]*) and Sanglēcī (*ormōzd*),⁵⁹ where the normal word for “sun” is from Ahuramazdā, not Mithra (as in Persian *mibr*, “sun,”⁶⁰ which reflects the religious environment of *western* Iran), would tend to support the view that among the Saka, presumably the pre-eminent Iranian ethnic component in Northwest India during the period of the early formation of the Mahāyāna,⁶¹ the sun was not associated with the god Mithra. This point would also find a parallel in the view of W. Sundermann that the Yonākadeva of Bhavya’s *Tarkajvālā* is to be identified with Ahuramazdā (and Brahmā with Zurvān) and not with Mithra.⁶²

As for Zurvān, there is no reason to associate this deity with “luminosity” or the sun. The popular Iranian religious imagination about this deity finds a clear reflection in certain passages of Firdausī’s *Šāhnāma*, especially concerning Kay Kāvus and Kay Xusrau, where the images most commonly used are those of an old man (*pīr*), or ones associated with the sky, the zodiac, and astrological events.⁶³ All of this can also be seen in the representation of Xronos/Zurvān to be found in *Mithraea* such as

⁵⁷ Whatever pre-eminence Helios-Mithra enjoyed among the deities used as reverse types on Kushan coins would seem to have predominated in the Bactrian part of the Kushan domain, not in India (i.e., Gandhāra and Kashmir) (*ibid.*, 148–149). Moreover, it is clear that the Iranian name MIOPO (Mithra) appears on these coins only to substitute the appropriate gloss for the earlier Greek legend HAIOC (Helios), both of which serve to identify the same unchanging representation of the solar deity as a standing anthropomorphic figure (*ibid.*, 143 and 148). This procedure merely follows the normative formula of the syncretistic practice of the Hellenistic (and Parthian)—i.e., western Iranian—religious environment and does not necessarily reflect the actual autochthonous religious situation of eastern Iran and northern India.

⁵⁸ R. E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies*, London Oriental Series 20 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 347–348.

⁵⁹ G. Morgenstierne, “Neu-iranische Sprachen,” in B. Spuler, ed., *Iranistik: Linguistik*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Der nabe und der mittlere Osten* 1, 4 *Iranistik* 1, *Linguistik* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), 168.

⁶⁰ P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1893), 224.

⁶¹ É. Lamotte, “Sur la formation du Mahāyāna,” in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1954), 389–395; H. Lüders, “Die Śakas und die ‘nordarische’ Sprache,” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1913): 406–427. “Die ‘nordarische’ Sprache” is, of course, what is now commonly called Khotanese, in which the word for “sun” is *urmaysde* < Ahuramazdā (see above, note 58).

⁶² W. Sundermann, “Additional Note,” *apud* C. Lindtner, “Buddhist References to Old Iranian Religion,” in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen*, *Hommages et Opera Minora* 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 443.

⁶³ D. A. Utz, “Language, Writing, and Tradition in Iran,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 24 (August, 1991): 2–4.

the one from Dura-Europas, where he is at the top of a circular series of figures representing the cosmogonic myth. Above his portrait begins a series of pictures of the twelve signs of the zodiac.⁶⁴

A more serious criticism, however, of the entire effort to find Iranian religious influence on the formation of Pure Land Buddhism can be seen by a comparison with what one finds philologically in Chinese Manichaean texts, such as the *Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe*,⁶⁵ or the famous collection of Manichaean hymns (T 2140) in a number of languages, including Chinese, Parthian, Middle Persian, and even Aramaic, all written with Chinese characters.⁶⁶ Although the former text [the “Outline”] is sufficiently full of purely Buddhist technical vocabulary and arcane Buddhist concepts to leave no doubt that Mahāyāna and even Vajrayāna Buddhism were major factors in its formation,⁶⁷ it is clear from other technical terms, such as those for the titles of the

⁶⁴ F. Cumont, “The Dura Mithraeum,” in J. R. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies*, 1: 170–171 and 182, plates 26 and 30.

⁶⁵ See above, note 47.

⁶⁶ T 54.1270–79; H. Schmidt-Glintzer, ed. and tr., *Chinesische Manichaica, mit textkritischen Anmerkungen und einem Glossar*, Studies in Oriental Religions 14 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 5–6, 11–67, and 181–183; P. Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism: A Study of Chinese Manichaean Terminology* (N.p.: Bokförlaget Plus Ultra, 1985), 47–62; E. Morano, “The Sogdian Hymns of *Stellung Jesu*,” *East and West* n.s. 32 (1982): 9–43; Y. Yoshida, “Manichaean Aramaic in the Chinese Hymnscroll,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46, no. 2 (1983): 326–331; Y. Yoshida 吉田豊, “Kan’yaku manikyō bunken ni okeru kanji onsha sareta chūsei irango ni tsuite (jō) 漢訳マニ教文献における漢字音写された中世イラン語について (上) [Remarks on the Manichaean Middle Iranian Terms Transcribed in Chinese Script (1)],” *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 2 (Kobe City University, *Annals of Foreign Studies* 17, 1986): 1–15.

⁶⁷ V. H. Mair has discussed the extensive use of Buddhist terminology in Manichaean Chinese texts in his review of Peter Bryder, *The Chinese Transformation of Manichaeism*, in *T’oung Pao* 73, nos. 4–5 (1987): 317–324. More specifically relevant to the Vajrayāna, in a letter dated April 24, 1981, Prof. Mair has compared the expression *si jing fasben* 四淨法身 “four pure *dharmakāyas*” (T 54.1280b10–11) with the esoteric Buddhist (*mijiao* 密教, or *mikkyō* in Japanese) term *si zhong fasben* 四種法身, and has expressed the opinion that *wu jin’gang di* 五金剛地 “five *vajrakṣetras*” (T 54.1280b11) is also an esoteric Buddhist term which has something to do with the “five-pronged thunderbolt emblem” (*wu gu [chu]* 五股〔杵〕 or *wu gu [jin’gang]* 五股〔金剛〕). These two technical expressions occur in the second section of the “Outline:” “(On) the usages of the Iconography.”

“seven sections” of the Scripture and the one Drawing,⁶⁸ the “five grades,”⁶⁹ or the three “venerable Arch-*electi* in each monastery”⁷⁰ that this text represents a religious community of complex origin, including both Buddhist and Iranian components. On the other hand, none of the principal texts of the Pure Land school⁷¹ shows any of these kinds of tell-tale philological “tags.”⁷² It seems unlikely, therefore, that the formation of these texts is to be sought anywhere, except in a purely Indian context. In this connection one would do better to think about a broader and more inclusive potential Indian background for Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially one which extends beyond the early Brahmanical Hinduism, which has been constructed by Indologists on the basis of *śruti* texts, to include other aspects of Indian religions such as Vaiṣṇava Hinduism, clearly a major factor during the period (beginning already in the second

⁶⁸ Yoshida, “Chūsei irango,” *risuto* (“List”) nos. 5, 16, 30, 49, 68, 73, and 77; G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, “The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light,” *Asia Major* n.s. 3, no. 2 (1952): 194 n. 61 and 204–210. Yoshida (*ibid.*, 13) does not comment on the (*da*) *menbeyi* < *muən-γā-īək* (大)門荷翼, or “(Great) Drawing,” but refers back to W. B. Henning’s discussion (Haloun and Henning, “Compendium,” 209–210, esp. 210 n. 8). However, Benveniste’s suggestion (*apud* Haloun and Henning, “Compendium,” 210) that *menbeyi* is a transcription of a Parthian adjective derived from *bunγāb*, “base, foundation,” may be correct, after all, if one thinks not of **bunγābī(g)*, but rather of **bunγābag* (otherwise unattested), “fundamental,” made from the noun with the suffix *g* < **aka-*; cf. W. Skalmowski, “Das Nomen im Parthischen,” *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego* 25 (1967): 80, §3.2.4. A parallel derivation (which is attested) would be *āsmānag*, “of the sky,” which is *āsmān* “sky” with the same suffix formation. The Chinese transcription of Parthian *darγmanīft*, “patience” (Yoshida, “Chūsei irango,” *risuto* no. 26) in the third phonetic hymn of the roughly contemporaneous Manichaean hymnscroll (T 2140), shows the transcription of Parthian voiced guttural consonant /γ/ by Middle Chinese γā 啊. The Middle Chinese transcription *muən-γā-īək* could represent a form such as **bunγāyag*, where the aspirate consonant /h/ of **bunγābag* has succumbed to its tendency to disappear in intervocalic position, and the resulting hiatus has been replaced by an intervocalic glide. If this explanation is correct, *menbeyi* would correspond very well with its Chinese gloss *da er zongtu* 大二宗圖 “the drawing of the two great principles” (T 54.1280b22).

⁶⁹ Yoshida, “Chūsei irango,” *risuto* nos. 11, 18, 57, 59, and 62; Haloun and Henning, “Compendium,” 195 n. 65.

⁷⁰ Yoshida, “Chūsei irango,” *risuto* nos. 6, 13 + 18 (taken together), and 93; R. Gauthiot, “Quelques termes techniques bouddhiques et manichéens,” *Journal Asiatique* 18 (1911): 49–67; É. Benveniste, “Un titre iranien manichéen en transcription chinoise,” in *Études d’orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de Raymond Linossier* (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1932), 155–158.

⁷¹ There are three: (a) the “Smaller” *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra*, or *Amituojing* 阿彌陀經; (b) the *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra*, or *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經; and (c) the “Larger” *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra*, or *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (Machida, “Life and Light,” 14–15).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 15–19. L. O. Gómez, *Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light: Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhāvativyūha Sūtras* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), especially “Appendix 4: Glossary,” 279–333.

century BCE⁷³) when these Mahāyāna developments took place.⁷⁴

As for non-Indian influence on the religious situation in Northwest India, the main evidence for some accommodation between Indian and non-Indian concepts can be seen in the two very interesting Greek inscriptions of Aśoka from the vicinity of Qandahār, Afghanistan.⁷⁵ In studying these inscriptions É. Benveniste and especially L. Robert have shown how certain specific Indic technical vocabulary of the Aśokan propaganda, such as *dhamma*, “law,” *pāsaṃḍa*, “sect,” *sayama*, “self-control,” and *pānānam anālambha*, “abstention from (killing) living things,” have been rendered into Greek with equally specific terms (εὐσέβεια, “piety;” διατριβή, “[philosophical] school;” ἐγκράτεια and ἀκράτεια [ἀκρασία], “continence,” and “incontinence;” and ἀποχή των ἐμψύχων, “abstinence from living beings”) which unambiguously reference contemporary Hellenistic philosophical thinking.⁷⁶ In other words, in these two inscriptions we have, for once, a concrete effort to express Indian quasi-religious concepts in terms which semantically access the vast range of the Hellenistic cultural world.

In conclusion, if one feels compelled to pursue non-Indian factors in the development of Buddhism in Northwest India, it must be here—in the media-environment of Hellenistic and Roman Greek—that one would do well to look, and not to “Iranian” Buddhism. Moreover, the term “Iranian” Buddhism should be confined to places like Tumshuq and Khotan, where it is clear especially from the native Khotanese Buddhist texts what a term like “Iranian” Buddhism might conceivably mean, if anything.

⁷³ Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, 432.

⁷⁴ Machida, “Life and Light,” 14 and 19. It should be pointed out, however, that the Śuṅgas, under whose protection/sponsorship the early Vaiṣṇava community flourished, did not extend their control to the Northwest of India, precisely those regions where the development of devotion to Amitāyus-Amitābha has been geographically localized (*ibid.*, 34–38). On the other hand, the earliest datable reference to the Buddha Amitābha (26th year of the Kushan ruler Huviška) is found in an inscription from the vicinity of Mathurā, which had been within the Śuṅga domain; see G. Schopen, “The Inscription on the Kuṣān Image of Amitābha and the Character of the Early Mahāyāna in India,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10, no. 1 (1987): 99–137.

⁷⁵ D. Schlumberger *et al.*, “Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d’Asoka,” *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958): 1–48; D. Schlumberger, “Une nouvelle inscription grecque d’Açoka,” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1964): 126–140.

⁷⁶ É. Benveniste, “Édits d’Asoka en traduction grecque,” *Journal Asiatique* 252 (1964): 147 and 153; L. Robert, “Observations sur l’inscription grecque,” in D. Schlumberger *et al.*, “Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d’Aśoka,” *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958): 14–16; L. Robert *apud* D. Schlumberger, “Une nouvelle inscription grecque,” 136–140; E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 29–30, 36, and 40.

THE SŪTRA OF COMPLETE ENLIGHTENMENT IN OLD TURKISH BUDDHISM

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Although the main theme of the conference as well as of this volume is the transmission of Buddhism from its homeland to China, I want to give an example of an inverse direction of transmission, just as Werner Sundermann has done for the Sogdians. At the time when the Uigurs of Central Asia adopted Buddhism, the major Buddhist schools in China had already been established and had deeply influenced the neighbouring peoples, including those of Central Asia, from where in the foregoing period many ideas had entered China.

Chan texts in languages other than Chinese give us the possibility of looking at Chan Buddhism with different eyes. The findings in Tibetan from Dunhuang, in particular, have led to a deeper understanding and a more thorough treatment. Following the advice given to him by K. Kudara, J. Broughton once wrote:

Ch’an literature shows up not only in Tibet, but elsewhere in Inner Asia as well. Among the Uighur Turkish manuscripts and block prints brought back from Turfan, one has been found which contains passages parallel to the Northern Ch’an text *Treatise on Examining Mind* (*Kuan-hsin lun*), another has been identified as four sheets of a Uighur Turkish translation of an unknown Chinese commentary on the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* (*Yüan-chüeh ching*), a sutra associated with Ch’an. The Uighur literature found at Turfan at the beginning of this century and carried away to distant libraries and museums may contain other Ch’an-related materials.¹

Since these words were written Kudara has not only edited the four leaves of that unknown commentary, but also a fragment of a block-printed edition of an Uigur translation of the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (*Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*; hereafter YJJ).² Here I want to follow him by publishing some more fragments of the same block-printed edition.³

The YJJ is a text which is essential for the history of Chan Buddhism. Well known is the statement of Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), who wrote:

¹ J. Broughton, “Early Ch’an Schools in Tibet,” in R. M. Gimello and P. N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch’an and Hua-yen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1983), 17.

² K. Kudara 百濟康義, “Uiguru-yaku ‘Engaku-kyō’ to sono chūshaku” ウイグル訳「圓覺經」とその注釈 [“A Uigur Version of the *Yuanjue jing* and its Commentary”], *Ryūkyoku kiyō* 竜谷紀要 14 (1992): 1–24.

³ Here I want to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Kudara, to whom I owe the identification of most of the new fragments. At first we had plans for a joint edition, but after finishing his published article he suggested that I edit the Berlin fragments by myself.

This text is rich in literature, broad in philosophical meaning. Truly it is not mixed with superficial elegance, but, as far as it indicates the substance and makes people surrender to the incitement of Buddhism, no other text is comparable to the *Yüan-chüeh-ching*.⁴

As the YJJ has been known so far only in its Chinese version, it is of great interest to Chan scholars that now it is possible to refer to some fragmentary translations in Uigur and Mongolian. In his article Kudara could show that the colophon edited by I. Warnke⁵ is one which was composed to the Uigur block-printed edition of the YJJ. In that colophon there are passages which refer to the main text of the sūtra.⁶ In addition to the example given by Kudara, I would mention another phrase: *küsüşüm ol bo buyan küčintä tolq nom uyuşındaqı tinly- lar-ning alqu adartmaq-larī tariqip bo iduq tunkäv tigmä käşdä nom üzä töşün-lär tanuqlazun-lar*,⁷ or “It is my wish that by this merit all hindrances of the living beings in all dharmadhātus may disappear, and that the Noble Ones may witness on behalf of the sudden dharma called *tunkäv*.”⁸ The corresponding Chinese text, at least for the first part of the sentence, is: 其家乃至永無災障⁹ translated by Luk as “We will see to it that their families will permanently be free from all calamities and hindrances.”¹⁰

In a short article published in 1974, G. Kara gave valuable information on some fragments preserved in St. Petersburg which prove the existence of a Mongolian translation of the YJJ. Likewise he mentioned that he found some traces of an Uigur translation too:

Some days later, turning over the leaves of different Uigur prints, mostly fragments, I met a fragment of a *pothī* or palm-leaf shaped folio, on which I was fortunate to discover the same title in Uigur: *Uluγ bulung yingaq sayuq-ı king alqıγ : tolu t[uy]maq atly sudur*. This Uigur title shows a somewhat abridged form corresponding to the similar Chinese one, which sounds 大方廣圓覺經 *Ta-fang-kuang yüan-chüeh*

⁴ Cited from JAN Yün-hua 冉雲華, “Tsong-mi: His Analysis of Ch’an Buddhism,” *T’oung Pao* 58 (1972): 9.

⁵ I. Warnke, “Ein uigurisches Kolophon aus der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung,” *Scholia. Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienskunde, Annemarie von Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1981 dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 215–220.

⁶ Kudara, *op. cit.*, 2.

⁷ Warnke, *op. cit.*, p. 218, II. 14–19.

⁸ The correct explanation of *tunkäv* = *dun jiao* 頓教 was first given by J. Oda; cf. Warnke, 218 n. 13.

⁹ T 17.922a11.

¹⁰ Charles Luk [Lu K’uan Yü], *Ch’an and Zen Teachings, Third Series* (London: Rider, 1962), 276. This declaration is uttered by deities who vow to protect those who practice according to the YJJ.

ching or simply 圓覺經 *Yüan-chüeh ching*, “The (greatly extended) *sūtra* of the perfect enlightenment.”¹¹

Somewhat more decisive is his comment on this discovery in his book: “More has been preserved from the Uigur translation of the same or earlier period: one block-printed pothī leaf and two fragments of the same print of the fourteenth century. It is still difficult to answer the question important for the history of Mongolian language and literature, whether the work has been translated directly from Chinese or from Uigur.”¹²

This statement makes it obvious that the St. Petersburg fragments¹³ apparently belong to the same edition as those pieces of the mentioned Turfan Collections of Kyoto and Berlin.

As the leaf of the colophon is preserved in its entirety, one can assume that the main body of the printed edition had the same shape. If so, the booklet was 39.5 cm wide and 16.2 cm high. The *pustaka* hole, having a diameter of 4.8 cm, interrupts lines 4 through 6. While the colophon consists of two sides pasted together, where the recto side bears the leaf number 二上 “two recto” and the verso side only 二, it is not certain that the fragments of the main text were also double-sided leaves. All pieces known to me, at least, are one-sided. There is another difference between the main body and the colophon. The space between the lines in the latter is narrower than in the *sūtra* text itself. This method corresponds to many other fragments of written or printed books.

¹¹ G. Kara, “On a Lost Mongol Book and Its Uigur Version,” in G. Hazai and P. Zieme, eds., *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker, Protokollband der XII. Tagung der Permanent International Altaistic Conference 1969 in Berlin* (Berlin 1974), 288–289.

¹² D. [= G.] Kara, *Knigi mongol'skikh kočevnikov* (Moscow 1972), 139.

¹³ Unfortunately, according to a letter from Mrs. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja (St. Petersburg) these fragments could not be found.

The New Fragments of the Block-printed Edition in the Berlin Collection¹⁴

- I. T II S 26 (U 4183), 17 cm high x 16 cm wide, = Chin. T 913a24–25.
- II. T I D (b) (U 4088), 6 cm high x 9.5 cm wide, + T I D (a) (U 4087), 9 cm high x 10 cm wide, = T 913c29–914a2.
- III. No finding signature (U 4500), 7 cm high x 10.5 cm wide, = T 916a19–20.
- IV. T III 73 (U 4260), 10.5 cm high x 18 cm wide, = T 916b4–5.
- V. T II 989 (U 4138), 10 cm high x 16.5 cm wide, = T 916b10.
- VI. No finding signature (U 4430), 17 cm high x 17.5 cm wide, = T 919b2–4.
- VII. T III M 131 (U 4274) + T II T 660 (U 4245), 16.5 cm high x 26.5 cm wide, = T 920a27–29.¹⁵

I. The first Uigur passage belongs to the title leaf of the book. As the *pustaka* hole is not preserved, the text belonged apparently to the right side of that leaf. Not much more than the title of the sūtra is missing. Here is the text and the corresponding Chinese part:

1	<i>ānātkāk [ti]lin[in tavyač]</i>	
2	<i>tilinčä ävirmiš ärür :</i>	
3	<i>ančulayu ärür mäning äšidmišim :</i>	如是我聞
4	<i>bir ödüñ atı kötrülmiš :</i>	一時婆伽婆
5	<i>ridi bügülänmäk-lig uluy</i>	入於神通
6	<i>yruq yaltriq- liy ayiliq</i>	大光明藏
7	<i>atly dyan-qa kirü yrliqadi :</i>	三昧正受
8	<i>ol dyan ärsär alqu ančulayu</i>	一切如來
9	<i>kälmiš-lär-ning bilgä biliglig</i>	光嚴住持

Luk translated the Chinese passage into English thus:

Thus have I heard. Once the Bhagavān was enjoying samādhi correctly in the great supernatural effulgent store-house which was the bright and glorious resting place upheld by all Tathāgatas and (also) the pure and clean enlightened stage (attainable by) all living beings.¹⁶

Now, in light of the Uigur translation it becomes clear that the Buddha entered the samādhi

¹⁴ Five of these have already been mentioned by I. Warnke (*op. cit.*, 215 n. 2).

¹⁵ It should be noted that the original labels bear very different finding signatures witnessing at least three different find locations: D = Dakianusšahri (= Qočo), S = Sängim, T = Toyoq, but this seems to be not very reliable, because all the pieces belong to the same blockprint.

¹⁶ Luk, 165. In this and the following passages, the Chinese characters have been aligned as closely as possible with the corresponding Uigur text. Blank lines do not represent missing Chinese text.

named “great and glorious store-house of the supernatural powers.”¹⁷

Lines 1–2 must be translated as follows: “[From] the Sanskrit [lan]guage it has been translated into the [Chinese] language.” How should we fill in the lacuna of the first line? Unfortunately, the name of the language is missing, and although tempting it would not be acceptable to read “Uigur” instead of “Chinese,” because of the generally accepted view that the sūtra is an originally Chinese composition.¹⁸ Indeed, the statement of the Uigur text that the sūtra was translated from the *ānātkāk* language, i.e., Sanskrit, is only a customary usage. The Chinese identifies the translator as *Buddhatrāta¹⁹ and dates the translation to 639 CE.²⁰

Although the Uigur translation of the Chinese text is a very literal one, one may point out some deviations or peculiarities due to the intentions of the translator or the nature of his task. While the Chinese text uses a transcription of Skt. *bhagavat* for Buddha, the Uigur has the usual expression *atī kötrülmiš* “whose name is exalted.”²¹ In this connection it is worth quoting the following passage from the Uigur commentary edited by Kudara: *ānātkāk tilinčä atī kötrülmiš tip tiyür : muni türkcä aytarsar tngri-lär-ning tngri yig yörüglüg tngri tip [...]* “In Indian language he is called ‘whose name has been exalted,’ if one translates it into Turkish, it is ‘God of Gods, God having an excellent explanation.’”²²

II. The second passage, consisting of two small pieces, belongs to the chapter in which the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra puts forth his question concerning the illusory nature of all phenomena and asks about an expedient method of practice.

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|---|------|
| 1 | [yi]lvi [|] | 云何復說 |
| 2 | täg nom [|] | |

¹⁷ This point has become clear in the course of the conference discussion. Professor E. Zürcher, for example, has also suggested that one should not hesitate to alter the interpretation of the Chinese in this way.

¹⁸ See Jan, 8 n. 1. The *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (III, fasc. 3, p. 464b), however, accepts the traditional view: “Another teacher by this name [i.e., Buddhatrāta], a *śramaṇa* of Kubhu (Kabul or Kāśmīr: *DCBT*, p. 229f) translated the *Mahāvaiṣṭya-pūrṇa-buddha-sūtra-prasannārtha Sūtra* into Chinese in the seventh century A.C.” One should emphasize that this Sanskrit title is a reconstruction!

¹⁹ H. Hackmann and J. Nobel, *Erklärendes Wörterbuch zum chinesischen Buddhismus. Chinesisch-Sanskrit-Deutsch* (Leiden: Brill, 1951–1954), 133a; F. Weller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 59 (1964): 328. The *Hōbōgin* gives **Buddhatāra* as a variant reconstruction.

²⁰ Lancaster, Lewis R., and Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 140, with reference to T 55.369a4 and T 37.523b12.

²¹ See K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 251a.

²² Kudara, 8.

3	<i>yorïyuluq ol</i> []	修行如幻
4	<i>alqu tinly-[lar</i>]	若諸眾生
5	<i>[tö]zi t[i]p[i</i>]	本不修行
6	<i>sansar-ta</i> []	於生死中
7	<i>kömän täg</i> []	常居幻化
8	<i>ärip : ađqa[nɣu</i>]	曾不了如
9	<i>yilvi täg</i> []	如幻境界
10	<i>[]-lar oq</i> []	

As we have only a few words of the Uigur text, I cite here only the translation of the Chinese passage: “Why is such practice like an illusion? If sentient beings fundamentally do not practice, then they will dwell forever in the illusory changes of saṃsāra, and they will never understand how their state of being is like an illusion.”²³

III. A very small piece is part of the introduction to the fifth chapter in which the Bodhisattva Maitreya asks about cutting the basic roots of saṃsāra.

1	<i>tuɣurmaz</i> ²⁴ [<i>atï kötrül</i>]	世尊
2	<i>miš-a</i> [<i>alqu qamay bodistv</i>]	若諸菩薩
3	<i>lar ula</i> [<i>tï üzlünčü öd</i>]	及末世
4	<i>täki tinl[ɣlar</i>]	眾生

The Chinese reads, “World Honored One, if the Bodhisattvas and sentient beings of this latter period (of the Dharma)...”²⁵

IV. The fourth fragment belongs to the same chapter as the preceding one. It contains part of the answer of the Buddha to a question from Maitreya.

1	<i>tngri</i> [<i>burxan yrliqadi</i> ²⁶ <i>töz</i>]	
2	<i>ün-lär oɣli</i> []	善男子
3	<i>alqu tinly- [lar ilkisiz</i>]	一切眾生
4	<i>öd</i> []	從無始際
5	<i>adruq̃</i> [<i>adruq türlüg</i>]	由有種種
6	<i>isišmäk-[lig</i>]	恩愛貪欲
7	<i>liɣ az[lanmaqlïɣ</i>]	

²³ I would like to thank John McRae for assistance with the translation of this and the following passages. Cf. Luk, 178.

²⁴ Or *tuɣurmaq*?

²⁵ Cf. Luk, 205.

²⁶ The phrase *tngri* [*burqan yrliqadi*] is apparently an addition of the Uigur translator.

8 *anin* [] 故有輪迴

The Chinese reads: “(The Buddha said:) ‘O good youth, all sentient beings have from beginningless time experienced various types of affection and desire, by which they exist in saṃsāra.’”²⁷

V. The fifth piece contributes to the further elucidation of the rejection of love.

1	<i>qa</i>	[]	
2	<i>-lar</i>	[]	境背愛心
3	<i>-miš kṇg</i>	[<i>ül</i>]	
4	<i>aḡlamaq</i>	[]	而生憎嫉
5	[<i>li</i>] <i>g</i>	[]	
6	<i>adruḡ</i>	[<i>adruq ayiγ</i>]	造種種業
7	[<i>qil</i>] <i>inč- lar iγ</i>	[]	
8	[<i>anī</i>]	<i>üčün k</i>	[] 是故
9	[<i>at</i>] <i>i bolur</i>	[]	復生地獄餓鬼

Luk translates this and the preceding sentence as follows: “(The field of desire may be either favorable or adverse.) If the situation is adverse, the rise of feelings of dislike and envy will cause all sorts of evil karmic deeds resulting in rebirth in worlds of (animals), hungry ghosts, and hells.”²⁸

VI. The sixth fragment is part of the question put forth by the Bodhisattva “Who Purifies the Obstacles of Karma” in the ninth chapter:

1	<i>yrliḡanču</i>	[<i>č</i>] <i>i kṇgül-lüg atī</i>	大悲世尊
2	<i>kötrülmiš-a</i>	: <i>bizni üčün</i>	為我等輩
3	<i>kingürü nomlamaḡingz</i>	<i>üzä</i>	廣說如是
4	<i>muntay osuyluy</i>		不思議事
5	<i>saḡiñyalisözlägäli</i>		
6	<i>bolmaḡuluq nomuy</i>	: <i>alqu</i>	
7	<i>ančulayu kälmiš-lär-ning</i>		一切如來
8	<i>tiltay orun-taqi yoriγ</i>		因地行相
9	<i>blgüsin</i>	[<i>amti</i>] <i>uluy</i>	令諸大眾

“O World Honoured One of great compassion, you have extensively preached to us such inconceivable matters, whereby all the Tathāgatas practice according to their stages and cause

²⁷ Cf. Luk, 206.

²⁸ Luk, 208.

all those in the great assembly to...”²⁹

VII. The last of the blockprint fragments introduces a question posed by Universal Enlightenment Bodhisattva in the tenth chapter of the scripture:

1	<i>igin : alqu uluy quvray</i>	快說禪病
2	<i>qa öngrätinbärü bolmaduq</i>	今諸大眾
3	<i>uy bulturmaq üzä : kongül</i>	得未曾有
4	<i>ümüz biligimz king</i>	心意蕩然
5	<i>tašang bolup</i>	
6	<i>artuqraq inçgüg</i>	獲大安隱
7	<i>äsängüg [bul]tumuz : atı kötrül</i>	
8	<i>miš-a üşlünçü ödtäki</i>	世尊。末世眾生
9	<i>tinly- lar : tngirim yänä</i>	去佛漸遠
10	<i>[ni]rvan bolmiš ödt[ä ...]</i>	
11	<i>[a]nčan irağ bol[]</i>	
12	<i>-lär iduğ- lar []</i>	賢聖隱伏
13	<i>[]d[]</i>	邪法增熾

The Bodhisattva asks the Buddha to “quickly preach about the ‘illnesses of *dhyāna*’ and thereby cause those in the great assembly to attain an unprecedented great peace of mind, a great tranquillity. O World Honored One, the sentient beings of this latter period (of the Dharma) are ever more distant from the Buddha. The sages are in hiding, and the heterodox teachings flourish.”³⁰

Another Uigur Manuscript of the Translation of the YJJ

Among the manuscript remains of the Turfan Collection of Berlin there is a single sheet belonging to a book of the small *pustaka* shape without the typical *pustaka* holes. It bears the number T III TV 68 (U 3362) and measures 12.5 x 15 cm. Whether it is part of a different translation or not cannot be determined.

Side a = Chin. T 915a16–20

1	<i>aqlamaq sävmäk-i yoq üçün „ tözüñ-lär oylı</i>	無憎愛故善男子
2	<i>-y-a bo bodistv-lar ulatı üzlünçü ödtäki</i>	此菩薩及末世
3	<i>tinly-lar „ bo kongül-tä bişrunup ögrätinip</i>	眾生。修習此心

²⁹ Cf. Luk, 243: “O World Honoured One of great compassion, you have fully expounded to us the inconceivable deeds of all the Tathāgatas from the cause-ground so that the whole assembly can hear what they never heard before and can see the tamer of passions...”

³⁰ Cf. Luk, 258.

4 <i>bolsar tükäl-lig bolıalı bo bişrunmaq</i> [yoq]	得成就者
5 <i>ymä qk yoq ärür tükäl-lig bolmaq,, t</i> []	於此無修亦無成就
6 <i>tüzü yalrıyur ärip öcmäk amrıl</i> [maq]	圓覺普照寂滅
7 <i>adırt yoq ärür ,, anta yuz ming tümän</i> []	無二。於中百千萬
8 <i>asanki sözlägäli bolmaıuluq gang ögüztäki</i>	億不可說阿僧祇恆河
9 <i>qum sanınča alqu burxan-lar-nıng yirtinçüsi</i>	沙諸佛世界
10 <i>ınça qłti kök qalıyçäçäki täg bulıaşı</i>	猶如空花亂起
11 <i>turup bulıaşı öçür ,, ol oq bolmaz öngi</i>	亂滅。不即不離
12 <i>ymä bolmaz ,, balmaq yoq oşmaq yoq ärür ,,</i>	無縛無脫

The first words of this fragment describe light, which is “without distaste or affection” in its reflection of what it illuminates.³¹ Then we have,

O Good Youth, those Bodhisattvas and sentient beings of this latter period (of the Dharma) who are accomplished in the cultivation of this mind have no accomplishments in this cultivation. Perfect enlightenment illuminates everywhere, and its serene extinction is nondual. Therein the realms of the Buddhas, as numerous as the hundreds of thousands of myriads of millions of grains of sand of the River Ganges, are like flowers seen in mid-air (in hallucination), which arise in disorder and disappear in chaos. Neither identical nor separate, without bonds and without emancipation...³²

The text of the other side of the leaf does not directly follow the preceding one; instead, for reasons that are as yet unknown it corresponds to a rather distant section of the Chinese text.

³¹ Luk, 195.

³² Cf. Luk, 196.

Side b = T 917b8–13

1	-ning tuymaḡ tözingä iyin udu bolmaḡ-ı tip ,,	比名如來隨順覺性
2	tözün-lär oḡlı-y-a tk alḡu bodistv-lar ulatı	善男子但諸菩薩及
3	üzlünčü ödtäki tınly-lar ,, alḡu öd-lärtä	末世眾居一切時
4	turup ,, igit saḡınčıy turḡurmadın alḡu igit	不起妄念
5	kongülüg ymā ok öcüräyin amirtıyurayın [ti]mädin	於諸忘心亦不息滅
6	[i]git saḡınč tigli adḡanḡu tursar []	住忘想境不加了知
7	[u]ḡrın timädin ,, bilgülük uḡḡuluḡ []	於無了知
8	-ta čın kirtü ärür mu ärki tip ,, ad[]	不辨真實
9	ol tınly-lar bo nom ḡapıy-ın äšidtüktä [bilip]	彼諸眾生聞是法門
10	uḡup täginip tutup ḡorḡunčıy äyinčig turḡurmazlar ,,	信解受持不生驚畏
11	munta inčip atı bolur tuymaḡ tözingä iyin udu	是則名為隨順學性
12	boltačı tip . tözün-lär oḡlı-y-a sizlär inčip	善男子汝等當知

This passage should be understood as follows:

This is called "the Tathāgata's enlightenment nature of accordance (with things). Good Youths, it is simply that the Bodhisattvas and beings of this latter period (of the Dharma) always refrain from activating false thoughts. They neither extinguish the various false states of mind, nor do they reside in the realms of false thoughts. They neither increase their comprehension nor are without comprehension. Those sentient beings who do not understand the truth but who hear this teaching will believe in it and accept it, without becoming afraid. This is why this is called enlightenment nature of accordance. O Good Youths, you should understand that..."³³

The Unknown Commentary

In his article K. Kudara has edited four leaves from the Hedin Collection in Stockholm, bearing the leaf numbers 33, 54, 61 and 202. Kudara gave the text in this sequence, but when one considers the sequence of the passages commented upon it becomes highly probable that the number 33 is an error for 133. Here is a short survey of the four leaves and the corresponding passages in the Chinese:

54	913a24
61	913b8–13, 14–18
33 (corrected to 133)	916c2–3, 917a10, 917a13–16
202	919b6–14

There remains the problem of the beginning part of the book. We must assume that 53 leaves

³³ Cf. Luk, 222–223.

were free for the first part of the text. This fact may be interpreted as meaning that the book originally contained a long introduction or another text no fragments of which are extant today.

The Master SYLW

A rather mysterious problem is the name of the master (*uluy baxşı*) *silu* (SYLW) to whom the following saying is ascribed:

yumtaru yūüz yūğärü öd tigülük yoq ärip :
üç ödki nomlar tip ađqanurlar ilinürlär :
öd tigli nomnung yoğın bilsär ötgürsär :
bir kšanta köni tuymaqıy bulurlar tip :³⁴

I propose the following translation:

As there is nothing that can be called “the present time,”
One is attached to the teaching of the three times.
If one knows and understands that there is nothing called “time,”
One achieves true Enlightenment in one instant.

Thus far I have not been able to trace this verse, but similar allusions occur in Chan literature, e.g., in the *Liuzu tan jing* 六祖壇經 (*Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*):

[Phenomena] are all universally ‘same,’ and like a dream or an illusion.
They do not generate the mistaken views of ordinary person and sage.
They do not try to interpret nirvāṇa, and
for them the two extremes and the three times have been eradicated.³⁵

Kudara considers the word *silu* correctly as a transcription of Chinese *jing lü* 靜慮 “quiet meditation,” but he cannot trace it as a name.³⁶ He himself thinks that phonetically also other solutions are possible, but if this identification holds true and the word in question could be used in the sense of “dhyāna,” one could propose that it was used as a fictitious name.

In connection with the Old Turkish translations of the *Vajracchedikāsūtra* I have point-

³⁴ Kudara, 7 and 18b (leaf 54) 8–13.

³⁵ T 48.357b3–4. Cf. Luk, 70.

³⁶ Kudara, 12. Cf. the same explanation by SHŌGAITO Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, *Kodai Ugurubun Abidatsuma kusharon jitsugisho no kenkyū* 古代ウイグル文阿毘達磨俱舍論実義疏の研究 [Orig. English title: Studies in the Uighur Version of the *Abhidharmakośabbāṣya-ṭīkā Tattvārtha* 1] (Kyoto: Shōkadō 松香堂, 1991), 33, note to line 2455, where he reads *silō*.

ed out that we can observe some kind of relationship of this text to Chan,³⁷ and this is in full accord with the high esteem for it and other *Prajñāpāramitā* texts among Chan followers.³⁸

The Uigur translation of the *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (Treatise on the Contemplation of Mind),³⁹ the title of which in Uigur is *ät ’özüg kōngülüg körmäk*, “Contemplating the Body and the Mind,” has already been mentioned. The identification of some passages of the Uigur text goes back to K. Kudara. Now, I believe, one may consider the whole Uigur text as an adaptation of the Chinese version, if one allows for some peculiarities in translation. The very title itself suggests that these deviations are immense. The problem has to be studied in detail; here I can give only some hints.

Following the sixteen sections of the text given by D. T. Suzuki,⁴⁰ one must conclude that the Uigur version extends only through the end of section 9. One cannot determine the beginning of the Uigur version, as the blockprint is not wholly preserved. This means that the Uigur version should be considered as an abridged text.

Now there is another Old Turkish or Uigur text which bears a certain resemblance to a Chan treatise. Found among the findings of Dunhuang, it is well known long since and has been edited by Ş. Tekin under its original title, *تۆزین ۇقىدتاچی نوم*, i.e., “The Book [or ‘sūtra’] of the Teaching of the Essence of Mind.”⁴¹ Although no similar text has been found in Chinese, one may propose that it was translated from the Chinese. So far none of the scholars who worked or commented on this booklet have been able to establish its origin.⁴² One cannot exclude the possibility that it was originally composed by an Uigur Buddhist, but I cannot follow the conclusion drawn by the editor: “The shortness of the text is striking, in the sense that the author does not go into the intoxicating and endlessly long debates that are familiar to us from India since Nāgārjuna. Does this reflect the simple way of thinking of the Altaic

³⁷ P. Zieme, “Probleme alttürkischer Vajracchedikā-Übersetzungen,” *Turfan and Tun-huang, The Texts* (Florence 1992), 21–42.

³⁸ H. Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History*, vol. 1: *India and China* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 44ff.

³⁹ J. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1986), 119, describes the text as a work by Shenxiu which “may be assigned to the years 675–700.” Cf. also the translation by J. C. Cleary in *Zen Dawn, Early Zen Texts from Tun Huang* (Boston: Shambala, 1986), 79–102.

⁴⁰ Suzuki, D. T. *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū* 鈴木大拙全集 I (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 1968), 576–645.

⁴¹ Ş. Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980).

⁴² See the reviews by J. W. de Jong, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 25 (1983): 225–226, and J. P. Laut, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 134 (1984): 152–156. Laut’s conclusion (p. 154) that the work in question “does not climb to philosophical heights, but on the contrary is marked by a poverty of contents and a richness of images,” should be reconsidered under the assumption that this is a Chan treatise.

peoples?”⁴³ I do not think so. On the contrary, in my opinion the text lives in the tradition of Chan literature and reflects rather subtle thoughts. Even its shortness favors this assumption.

Following the introduction the Uigur treatise divides the text into three chapters, teaching that (1) all dharmas are non-different from the mind, (2) the mind is not mixed with words, false conceptions, and bodily phenomena; and (3) the mind is uncreated and its essence primordial and unshakable. A distinctive statement is, for example, the following:

tuyunmaqıy tilädäci kişilär yanduru öz kōngülün baqsar
ol oq kōngül ol oq burxan ärür
*adıntın tilägü bolmatın igit saqınčlar ymā tuymaylar*⁴⁴

If people who search for Enlightenment look again and again into their own mind, [they will know] that this very mind is the Buddha! If they do not wish for other [things], false thoughts will not arise.

In the treatise there are several quotations from other sūtras, some of which could be located, although the citations of Chinese masters have not been identified so far. The famous story told in the *Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sūtra* of Yajñadatta, who thought he had lost his head, is one example. And this probably provides a clue, for this story served as part of the repertoire used by Chan masters. I quote here from Dumoulin’s translation of the “Discourses” of Master Linji:

Make no mistake, followers of the Way! After all, you do have a father and a mother. What more would you seek? Try turning your own light inward upon yourselves. A man of old said: Yajñadatta [thought he had] lost his head. But when his seeking mind came to rest, he was at ease (*buji* 無事).⁴⁵

After citing the story of Yajñadatta the Uigur text gives the following advice: *bo tngri yrliyin tuḡsar öz kōngülni tuḡup burxan yolın tilämiş kergäk*,⁴⁶ “If one maintains the Buddha’s teachings, one should fix the mind on seeking the Path of the Buddha.”

In the course of our conference discussions J. McRae suggested that the treatise might have some kind of relationship to Hongren’s *Xiuxin yao lun* 修心要論 (*Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind*). It is indeed possible to find some common basic tenets, but the Uigur text lacks the typical form of Chan dialogue found in this text. Although it is evident that this particular Uigur treatise is not a translation of the *Xiuxin yao lun*, there does occur among the Dunhuang texts an Uigur poem which seems to have a direct connection to this early Chan

⁴³ Tekin, 24–25.

⁴⁴ Tekin, lines 75–78.

⁴⁵ Dumoulin, 1: 192.

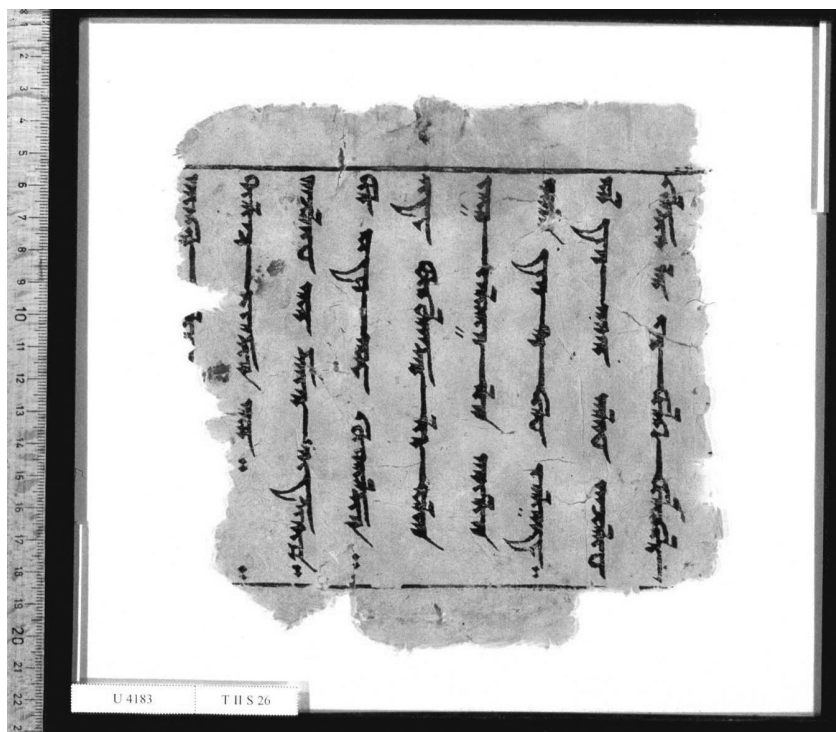
⁴⁶ Tekin, lines 71–72.

text. Some parts are nearly identical with the prose sections,⁴⁷ and the scribe’s name is the same as in the prose treatise: though it was first read as Čīsuya Tutung, I believe that it can also be read Čīsön or something similar. This name is surely of Chinese origin, as are many other names of Uigur monks and scholars.⁴⁸

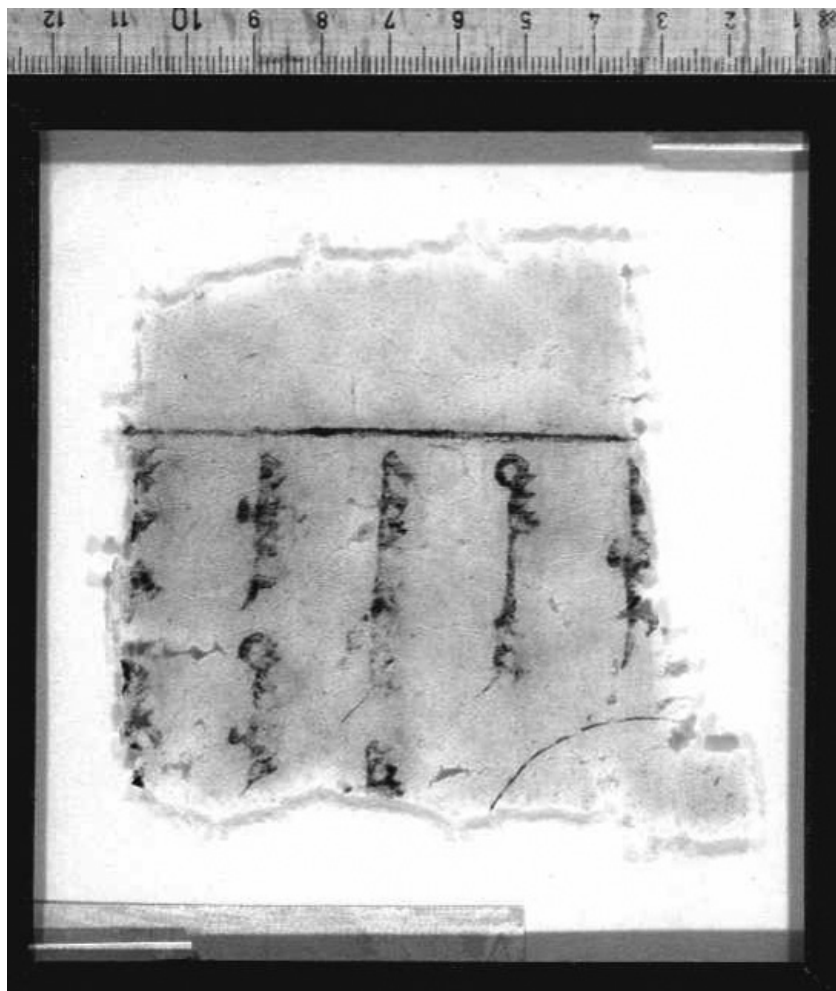
Since Chan Buddhism originated in China, it is not surprising that all of the treatises mentioned above rely upon Chinese antecedents, although there remain many problems concerning the precise nature of this dependence. In the case of the YJJ a direct translation from Chinese can be established, but the Uigur version of the *Guanxin lun* exhibits peculiar traits. In the case of certain other scriptures, even their identification is uncertain. Though the number of remains of Uigur Chan texts is still rather limited—though one hopes that more fragments will appear in the future—it has been my purpose here to show that Chan Buddhism also flourished among Uigur Buddhists, though probably only in a later period, perhaps from the eleventh century onwards.

⁴⁷ See P. Zieme, *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang. Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 33 (Budapest 1991), 178–183.

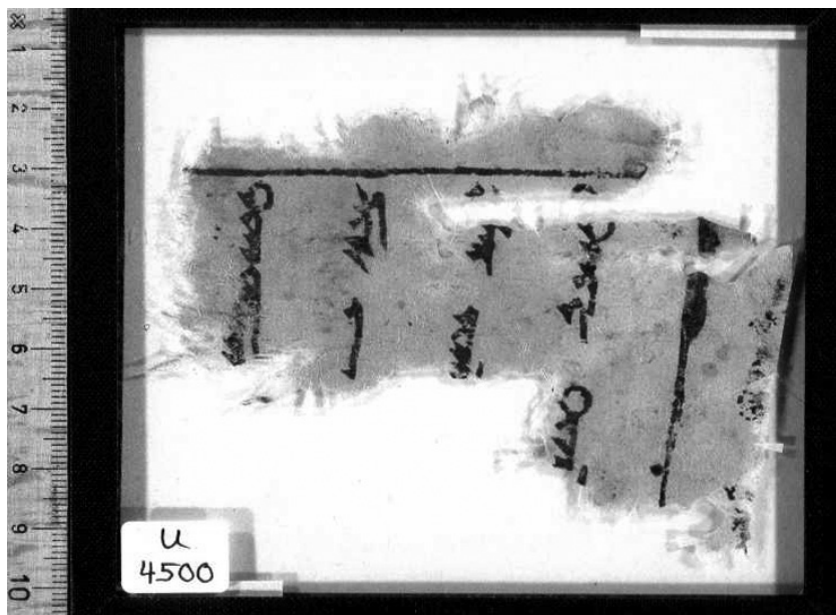
⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, 319. The second syllable, if read *šön*, might also stand for Chinese *chan* 禪.



Pl. 1 T II S 26 (U 4183)



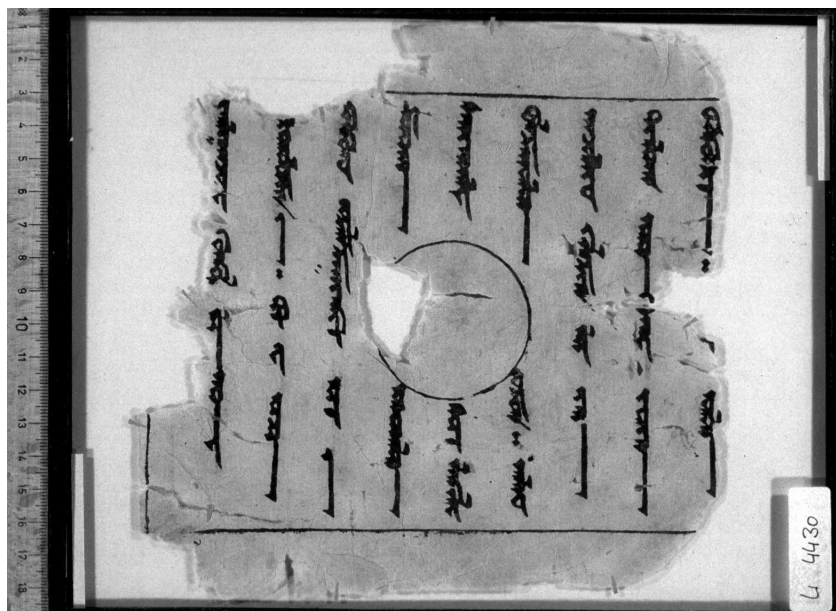
Pl. 2 TID (b) (U 4088) + TID (a) (U 4087)



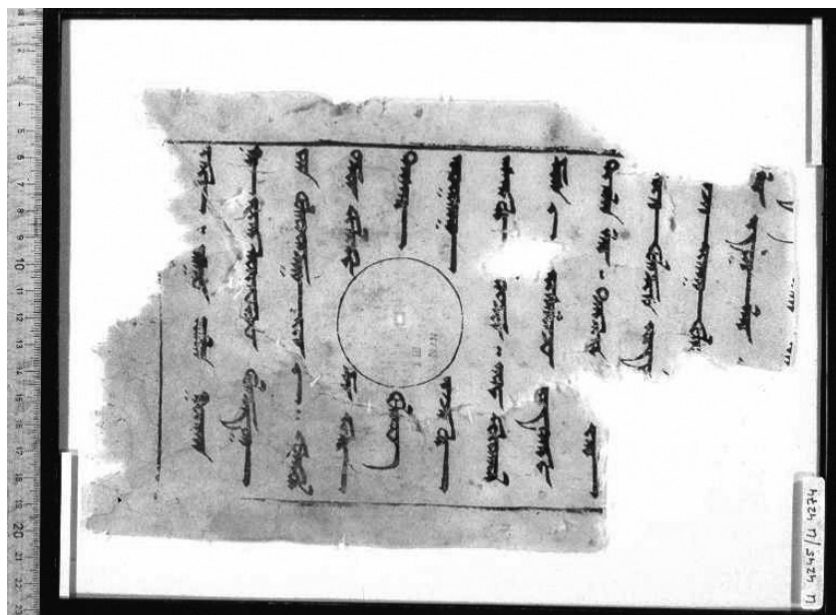
Pl. 3 U 4500



Pl. 5 T II 989 (U 4138)



Pl. 6 U 4430



Pl. 7 T III M 131 (U 4274) + T II T 660 (U 4245)



Pl. 8 T III TV 68 (U 3362) recto



Pl. 9 T III TV 68 (U 3362) verso

RITUALS, RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, AND BUDDHIST SŪTRAS IN INDIA AND CHINA

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I. INTRODUCTION

Whether or not the Buddha approved of the performance of ritual acts, his followers have been devising and performing them for a long time. Śāntideva describes, in his *Śikṣāmuccaya*, a very interesting ritual of confession called *triskandhaka*, “the ritual in three parts or three stages,” or “the ritual that accumulates three heaps of merit.”¹ Śāntideva’s sūtra sources for information on the ritual are the *Ugraparipṛcchā* (henceforth referred to in this essay as *Ugra*)² and the *Upāliparipṛcchā* (henceforth referred to as *Upāli*) which comprise sections 19 and 24, respectively, of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經) in the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The ritual is also described, in variant forms, in several other Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras. It was apparently an important practice among Mahāyāna Buddhists from a very early date. Consequently, an examination of the development of this ritual in Mahāyāna literature and the ways in which it seems to have been used in Mahāyāna communities may add to our knowledge of the earlier history of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India and China.

This essay will deal with some of the most important sūtras that refer to the *triskandhaka*. I shall examine the various Chinese translations of *Ugra* and *Upāli*, as well as two other groups of texts from the Chinese Buddhist canon. The first group contains a text named the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* (the group will be referred to henceforth as *Triskandhaka Sūtra*); I will discuss four texts from this group. Then, since the *triskandhaka* ritual has some significance also

¹ Cecil Bendall, ed. Čāntideva, *Čikṣhāsamuccaya, a compendium of Buddhistic teaching compiled by Čāntideva chiefly from earlier mahāyāna-Sūtras* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1897–1902; reprint Osna-bruck, 1970), 169–171 and 290. On rituals of confession in Mahāyāna Buddhist literature and practice, see N. Dutt, “*Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra*,” *Indian Historical Quarterly* 7 (1931): 262–266; M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), 249–399; É. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol. 1 (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1949), 415–422; Alex Wayman, “Purification of Sin in Buddhism by Vision and Confession,” in Genjun H. SASAKI 佐々木現順, ed., *Bonnō no kenkyū* 煩惱の研究 [Orig. English title: *A Study of Kleśa*] (Tokyo: Shimizu Kōbundō 清水弘文堂, 1975), 68–73; Christian Lindtner, “Mātṛceṭa’s *Prañidhānasaptati*,” *Asiatische Studien* 38, no. 2 (1984): 104–106; Yo Hsiang-chou, “Chinese Buddhist Confessional Rituals, their Origin and Spiritual Implications,” in David J. Kalupahana, ed., *Buddhist Thought and Ritual* (New York: Paragon House, 1991), 173–187.

² Although Śāntideva sometimes refers to this text as “*Ugradattaparipṛcchā*,” the element *datta* has no counterpart in any of the Chinese or Tibetan translations. Therefore I use the shorter form “*Ugraparipṛcchā*” as a working title for the scripture.

in the so-called “visualization” texts translated (or composed) in the fifth century in China, I shall conclude my essay by commenting briefly on two of these texts.³

II. *Ugra*

The *Ugra*⁴ is a Mahāyāna scripture that expounds the bodhisattva path as it should be followed by laypeople and by those who have renounced lay life. The Buddha’s interlocutor is the layman Ugra, a householder of Śrāvastī, who has set out on the way of the bodhisattva. *Dāna*, giving, is portrayed as the fundamental religious activity of all bodhisattvas, lay and renunciant. The renunciant bodhisattva gives by teaching Dharma; the lay bodhisattva gives food or clothing or any other material objects requested by a suppliant and also gives Dharma. The layman is taught how to reach a level of equanimity toward all beings by meditating on the causes and consequences of excessive attachment to wife and child. Thus he will be generous when he comes upon a beggar. But what if the lay bodhisattva is still a beginner on the path, unable to overcome his possessiveness, and cannot bring himself to give something to the beggar? First, he must admit his weakness to the beggar, and then he must make a formal confession to a higher religious authority: to the Buddha, or to a member of the Āryasaṅgha. But if neither is at hand, he can still expiate his fault by performing the *triskandhaka* ritual of confession to all the Buddhas of the ten directions.

This is how the *triskandhaka* ritual is to be performed (I quote from the fifth-century translation of the *Ugra*, the most recent and most fully developed Chinese version of the text): the lay bodhisattva should first salute all the Buddhas of the ten directions and then, three

³ FUJITA Kōtatsu discusses these controversial texts that teach methods of visualizing the Buddhas Amitābha and Śākyamuni and various bodhisattvas, and presents the range of recent arguments on the origins of these texts in: FUJITA Kōtatsu, “The Textual Origins of the *Kuan Wu-liang-shou ching*, A Canonical Scripture of Pure Land Buddhism,” in Robert E. Buswell, Jr., ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990), 149–173.

⁴ Three Chinese translations of the *Ugra* are extant: *Fajing jing* 法鏡經, T 322, 12.15b1–22b27, translated between 181 and 189 CE by the Parthian layman An Xuan 安玄 and his Chinese associate Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調; *Yujia luoyue wen pusa xing jing* 郁迦羅越問菩薩行經, T 323, 12.23a12–31a2, translated between 265 and 313 CE, by Dharmarakṣa; and *Da baoji jing* [*Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*], *Yujia zhangzhe bui* 大寶積經郁迦長者會, T 310(19), 11.472b1–480b29, translated by Dharmamitra between 424 and 442 CE. The colophon to section 19 of the *Da baoji jing* attributes the translation to the third-century translator Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧. The language of this translation, however, is that of the fifth century CE, not the third. Dharmamitra’s is the only fifth-century translation of *Ugra* mentioned in the catalogues. I concur with the opinion of Japanese scholars who have concluded that this translation is probably Dharmamitra’s. See HIRAKAWA Akira 平川彰, “Shoki daijō kyōdan ni okeru tōji no imi 初期大乘教団における塔寺の意味 [On the Significance of the Stūpa in Early Mahāyāna Buddhism],” *Shūkyō Kenkyū* 153 (1957): 160–161. It must be noted, however, that Sengyou’s 僧祐 sixth-century *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, the earliest extant catalogue of the Buddhist texts translated into Chinese, does not include the *Ugra* among Dharmamitra’s translations (T 2145, 55.12b28–c4). Thus the attribution of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* translation to Dharmamitra remains hypothetical.

times in the day and three in the night, purify the actions of his body, speech and mind, and full of shame at his deed put on pure garments. Then he should “perform the practice in three parts, recite the three-part dharma”:

1. With focused mind I confess and repent of all bad actions and will not create new ones.
2. I rejoice at all merits.
3. To fully accomplish the major and minor marks (of Buddhahood), I invite all the Buddhas to turn the Dharma-wheel, to explain so I may receive and uphold the Dharma.⁵

An Xuan’s Han-dynasty translation reads somewhat differently, however. Prostrating himself before all the Buddhas of the ten directions, the bodhisattva should remember the Buddhas’ great resolve and great merits and should rejoice in them. Then, three times in the day and three times at night he should recite the three-part formula of confession:⁶

1. I freely confess all the evil deeds I have done with respect to giving in previous lives.
2. I repent the past and will cultivate the future.
3. I implore the pity of all the Buddhas.

The text goes on to say “By means of the Dharma (the Buddhas) pity him.”⁷

Dharmarakṣa’s late third-century translation stands between the other two, both historically and in its contents. In it the three-part practice is:

1. I abandon all evil conduct and confess and repent of my transgressions with respect to eighty matters.
2. With concentrated mind I implore all blessings.
3. To fully accomplish the major and minor marks (of Buddhahood), may the Dharma-wheel of all the Buddhas be turned. I implore all the Buddhas to turn the Dharma-wheel.⁸

The three translations show an evolution of the three parts of the ritual. The oldest translation, based on an Indian text that existed by 180 CE at the latest, includes only one of the three parts of the *triskandhaka* that Śāntideva says are the core of the ritual: confession. Dharmarakṣa’s translation adds the second: exhortation of the Buddhas to teach. It is not until

⁵ T 11.475c24–476a3.

⁶ An Xuan uses the character *jīng* 經 here, which is most often used in the *Fajing jīng* and other texts to translate Sanskrit *sūtra*. The *Mahāratnakūṭa* translation uses *fā* 法, *dharmā*, at this point in the text, and Dharmarakṣa has *fā jīng* 法經. The reference does not seem to be to a written scripture, the usual meaning of *sūtra*, but to a formula or liturgy that Mahāyānists asserted had been taught by the Buddha himself and was transmitted by his followers through the generations.

⁷ T 12.18c27–19a1.

⁸ T 12.26c11–26c14.

we read the fifth-century Chinese translation that we find the completed formula: confession, exhortation, and rejoicing at merits accumulated. This is the pattern Śāntideva cites, from his Sanskrit sources. It is also the pattern found in the Tibetan translation of the *Ugra*.

The *Ugra* is the oldest text so far identified in which the *triskandhaka* is described. In it the *triskandhaka* is recommended as a practice to be performed specifically by a lay bodhisattva who has erred. Performance of the practice in three parts was the means by which the penitent could return to the bodhisattva path from which he had strayed. The oldest translation of the *Ugra*, made by An Xuan late in the Later Han dynasty, ends by proclaiming the superiority of the dedicated lay bodhisattva, the householder *Ugra*, over all those who choose to renounce lay life in order to follow the bodhisattva way. *Ugra* is superior *because* he prefers the far more difficult path of action *in* the world. Dharmarakṣa’s late third-century translation shows a shift toward valuing the renunciant bodhisattva’s vocation more highly, and the fifth-century translation of the *Ugra* severely castigates worldly life and extols the life of renunciation.

The *Ugra* is nearly unique among Mahāyāna sūtras in focusing serious attention on the religious life of the layperson.⁹ It does not merely offer lip service to the spiritual aspirations of the layman, but teaches him how to live his daily life as a true bodhisattva. He is advised to employ the *triskandhaka* as an invaluable tool for overcoming obstacles in his religious life. Most Mahāyāna Buddhists, however, were monks, and most Mahāyāna sūtras address their interests. The *triskandhaka*, too, was adopted by monks to meet their particular spiritual needs.

⁹ On the status of lay Buddhists relative to monks in early Mahāyāna sūtras, see Paul Harrison, “Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle? Self-Image and Identity Among the Followers of the Early Mahāyāna,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 10, no. 1 (1987): 67–89.

III. *Upāli*

Like the *Ugra*, the *Upāli* affirms the primacy of *dāna* in the bodhisattva’s career. It makes the same distinction the *Ugra* does between the lay bodhisattva’s giving (things as well as the teaching) and that of the renunciant bodhisattva. But in this sūtra, the renunciant bodhisattva also gives the materials needed to *write* the Dharma.¹⁰

The *Upāli* is directed primarily toward renunciant bodhisattvas and is concerned with their misdeeds. The existence of lay bodhisattvas is acknowledged but they are given little attention. The text, as its complete Sanskrit title (*Vinaya-viniścaya-upāli-paripṛcchā*) suggests, is a book of the rules of discipline for monk-bodhisattvas, put into the mouth of the traditional expert on Vinaya, the Venerable Upāli. Bodhiruci’s eighth-century translation identifies categories of transgressions against the rules of monastic discipline that are to be confessed before groups of pure monks (*bhikṣu*): the gravest are to be confessed before an assembly of ten monks, less serious offenses before a group of five, of two, or even to only one pure monk. This of course does not mean that confession of specific deeds to small groups of monks is to replace the *prātimokṣa* recitation at the regular *poṣadha* observations. The *Upāli* refers to the real confession a monk must make if he has committed an offense against monastic discipline, no matter to which Buddhist school the offender belongs. *Prātimokṣa* recitation is a communal affirmation of the purity of the monastic community, and an offending member can participate only if he has confessed and expiated the transgression.¹¹ What the *prātimokṣa* ritual and the *triskandhaka* have in common is not the act of confessing—it is the affirmation of membership in a religious community and the ritualized act of re-committing oneself to the religious life.

The *triskandhaka* itself is treated at length in the *Upāli*. By the time the *Upāli* was composed in India the *triskandhaka* had been expanded into quite an elaborate ritual. But if the misdeeds of the monastic are to be confessed to other members of the order, and if the *prātimokṣa* recitation affirms his membership in the community, why should the *triskandhaka*

¹⁰ Two complete Chinese translations of *Upāli* exist: *Foshuo jue ding pini jing* 佛說決定毗尼經, T 325, 12.37b1–42c10, an anonymous translation from the Eastern Jin Dynasty (probably late fourth or early fifth century CE); *Da baoji jing* [Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra], *Youboli hui* 優波離會, T 310(24), 11.514b8–519b16, translated by Bodhiruci between 706–713 CE. There is also an eighth-century translation of the confession ritual only by Amoghavajra, *Foshuo sanshiwu Foming lichan wen* 佛說三十五佛名禮懺文, T 326, 12.42c11–43b6; and an incomplete translation by Guṇavarman, 431 CE, *Pusa shanjie jing* [Bodhisattva bhadraśīla sūtra] 菩薩善戒經, T 1582, 30.960a1–962b16. On *Upāli*, see Pierre Python, *Vinaya-viniścaya-upāli-paripṛcchā, Enquête d’Upāli pour une exégèse de la discipline* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1973). Python believes the earlier translation is by Dharmarakṣa, dating from the end of the third century. I believe the language is that of a later translator, and I accept the opinion of most catalogues that it is the work of an anonymous translator of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, 317–420 CE.

¹¹ Charles S. Prebish, “The *Pratimokṣa* Puzzle: Fact versus Fantasy,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974): 169 and 171–172.

ever need to be performed? According to all versions of the *Upāli*, there are certain deeds that are so heinous it would do no good to confess them to other people: these are the five acts that condemn the perpetrator to punishment in the Avīci Hell (parricide, matricide, killing an arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing schism in the Saṅgha). These and other very grave acts, including transgressions against a stūpa, must be confessed day and night in a secluded place before the thirty-five Buddhas.¹²

This is how the ritual instructions are stated:

1. Take refuge in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.
2. Salute the thirty-five Buddhas, invoking them by name and imploring their pity.
3. Confess all misdeeds committed in this life or in past lives and repent of these acts (a list of specific offenses is given in the text, which is to be recited.)
4. Rejoice at meritorious acts and transfer the merit from these acts to the attainment of perfect enlightenment, just as all Buddhas do.¹³

Here the prose description of the *triskandhaka* ritual ends. Then follows a verse recapitulation of the entire ritual:

I confess and repent all transgressions,
I rejoice at all merits,
I implore the Buddhas, the virtuous ones:
May I attain unexcelled understanding.
In all past, present and future Buddhas,
Supreme victors among all beings,
Unexcelled oceans of virtue,

¹² Homage is paid to a list of thirty-five Buddhas, each of whom is addressed by name. According to the *Upāli*, these Buddhas are (or represent) all the fully perfected Buddhas in the universe, who dwell in all the ten regions (Section 24 of Python's edition of the *Vinaya-viniścaya*; Tibetan, pp. 35–36; French translation, p. 101; Chinese T 11.516a13–14, T 12.39a7–8, T 12.43a7–8). Except for Śākyamuni Buddha himself, the thirty-five names are not those of Buddhas well known in Buddhist literature (Python, *Vinaya-viniścaya*, 100, note 5). The group of thirty-five Buddhas seems to appear for the first time in Buddhist literature in the *Upāli*. The same group appears again in Mātṛceta's *Sugatapañcatrīmśatstotra*, and in the *Sūtra on Meditation on Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva* (*Guan Xukongzang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經, T409, 13.677b1–680c6) which is discussed in this essay. Both of these texts borrowed the list of names from the *Upāli*; see Python, *Vinaya-viniścaya*, 99 note 2. The *Upāli* lists the names of thirty-five Buddhas but does not refer to them as “the thirty-five Buddhas,” as Mātṛceta and the authors of the *Sūtra on Meditation on Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva* do. Python suggests that the group of thirty-five Buddhas is archaic, but antedates the more familiar group of the seven Buddhas of the past that is known from numerous sources. In the present state of our knowledge, the thirty-five cannot be associated with any particular Buddhist group or movement, at least so far as the earlier history of these Buddhas is concerned. The “Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession” are encountered in Tibetan Buddhist art some centuries later, however; see for example Pratapaditya Pal, *The Art of Tibet* (New York: The Asia Society, 1969), plate 53, pp. 93 and 147. Although there is certainly some relationship between this group and that found in the *Upāli*, the names of the Buddhas are not the same.

¹³ T 11.515c25–516a29; T 12.38c20–39a24; T 12.43a7–25; Python, *Vinaya-viniścaya*, 98–103.

I take refuge and I salute them reverently.¹⁴

Performance of the *triskandhaka* is necessary so that the bodhisattva can put the gravest sins behind him and continue on the bodhisattva way. The ritual inactivates the grave misdeeds that create obstacles to further spiritual progress on the bodhisattva path. The *triskandhaka* does not, however, eliminate karmic consequences altogether. The bodhisattva will (apparently) still have to endure the Avīci Hell if he has committed parricide, etc. The text is not entirely clear on this point, as a matter of fact, for it does go on to say that by invoking all the Buddhas’ names and always performing the *triskandhaka* (it is referred to by name) the bodhisattva will succeed in destroying all transgressions and the remorse due to them. Moreover, when the bodhisattva has purified himself from transgressions, then all the Buddhas will manifest themselves: the bodhisattva will finally see, face to face, the Buddhas who were devoutly remembered and invoked but never before seen. This was a new consequence of the performance of the *triskandhaka* ritual, which was developed further in other texts.

In the *Ugra* the *triskandhaka* ritual was basically an act of confession: the bodhisattva has committed a specific offense, the failure to give willingly to a beggar. He confesses all transgressions with respect to giving that he has ever committed, but without specifying particular actions. Dharmarakṣa’s translation does say “I confess regarding eighty matters,” but does not specify what they are. The *Upāli* does: all versions of the text include a rather long list of misdeeds (not precisely eighty), but it is a formal catalogue of kinds of misdeeds, covering all possible serious offenses under the categories “deeds that lead to rebirth in the Avīci Hell,” etc. Any sinner could recite it, without baring his own soul.

IV. *Triskandhaka Sūtra*

Another group of sūtras has much in common with the *Upāli*. The text called *Mahāyāna Triskandhaka Confession and Repentance Sūtra*¹⁵ was translated at the end of the sixth century by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta. Two other translations of the same text, but with different titles, are also extant. The *Bodhisattvapitaka Sūtra*¹⁶ was translated at the beginning of the sixth century by Saṅghabhara, a monk from Funan active in China during the Liang Dynas-

¹⁴ T 11.516b1–4; T 12.39a25–28; T 12.43a26–29; Python, *Vinaya-viniścaya*, 103. This verse recitation is the true *triskandhaka*, and it is the *Upāli*’s modified version of the simpler three-part formula presented in the *Ugra* translations. All the *Upāli* versions of the ritual, Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan, resemble one another closely. In fact, all read as though they might be quoting directly from the same text.

¹⁵ *Dasheng sanju chanhui jing* 大乘三聚懺悔經, T 1493, 24. 1091b12–1095b11.

¹⁶ *Pusa zang jing* 菩薩藏經, T 1491, 24.1086c20–1089c27.

ty.¹⁷ The *Śāriputra Confession and Repentance Sūtra*¹⁸ is attributed to An Shigao of the Later Han Dynasty in the colophon, but the language is that of a later period. Another text in the Chinese Buddhist Canon is essentially another version of the same text, but with a different cast of characters. The *Samantabhadra Bodhisattva Sūtra*¹⁹ was translated around 300 CE by Nie Daozhen 聶道真 (Western Jin Dynasty), who had been an associate of Dharmarakṣa and also translated some works independently. In it, the great Bodhisattva Samantabhadra teaches the ritual of confession to Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. In the other three texts cited here, the Buddha teaches the same ritual to his chief disciple, Śāriputra.²⁰

The subject of the *Ugra* and the *Upāli* is the bodhisattva path—how the bodhisattva should conduct himself in the world while progressing toward the ultimate goal of perfect enlightenment. The *triskandhaka* ritual is a major part of the *Upāli*, and a significant event in the *Ugra*, but both texts contain a variety of other material as well. The three versions of the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* and the *Samantabhadra Bodhisattva Sūtra* are exclusively devoted to the “three-part ritual.” The four texts are quite similar to one another. And, in these four texts, the practice of the ritual is by no means restricted only to bodhisattvas.

Who may practice the “three-part ritual”? Those who are on the *bodhisattva-yāna* may, and so may those on the *śrāvaka-yāna* and the *pratyekabuddha-yāna*. So, too, may “other beings,” who do not yet have any affiliation with any specific Buddhist path. A good man or

¹⁷ The kingdom of Funan that flourished from the first to the sixth centuries was centered in the lower Mekong River and delta area, in present-day southern Vietnam and Cambodia. Funan was heavily influenced by Indian culture, and there were Buddhist clerics among the population. Throughout its history, Funan maintained mercantile and diplomatic contacts with southern China. See G. Coedès, *The Indianized States of South-east Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1968), 36ff.

¹⁸ *Foshuo Shelifu huiguo jing* 佛說舍利弗悔過經, T 1492, 24. 1090a1–1091b11.

¹⁹ *Sanmantuobatuoluo pusa jing* 三曼陀跋陀羅菩薩經, T 483, 14. 666c1–668c12.

²⁰ Pierre Python has studied the Tibetan text known as *Arya-triskandhaka-sūtra*, Pek. 950, vol. 37, 108d2–117b8: see his “Le rituel du culte Mahāyānique et le traité tibétain ‘*phags pa Phun po gsum pa*,’” *Asiatische Studien* 35 (1981): 169–183. This text is not at all the same as the Chinese texts of the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* group. Brian C. Beresford has translated a *Phun po gsum pa* in his *Mahāyāna Purification* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1980), 17–21. It is not the text Python summarizes in his article; rather, it is virtually identical to the *triskandhaka* section of the *Upāli*. Beresford does not give a reference in the Tibetan canon for his text.

woman²¹ may perform the *triskandhaka* ritual for the sake of a good rebirth, to reach the heavens, or to attain a particular religious goal such as one of the four stages on the path to nirvāṇa (*srota-āpanna*, *sakṛdāgāmin*, *anāgāmin*, *arhat*). If a bodhisattva, śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, or other being aspires to attain the perfect enlightenment of the Buddhas, he must, in order to progress toward that goal, confess and repent of all past, present *and future* actions which are obstacles to progress. Just as in the *Upāli*, it is not a matter of subverting the karmic process but of preventing transgressions from becoming insurmountable obstacles on the path. Confessing and repenting of even the most contemptible actions accomplishes this.

The ritual of confession taught in the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* group of texts is very long and detailed. The performer of the ritual in Saṅghabhara’s early sixth-century translation must recite the names of the Buddhas of the ten directions, light 10,000 lamps and incense, and make a great offering of flowers, fruits and leaves. He must bathe and purify his body, put on clean clothing, wash his hands and feet, and take in each hand ten lotus stalks. Then the confessor must have servants, who have also been purified, place seats in the ten directions. Finally he must make reverence to the Buddhas of the ten directions, confess all transgressions

²¹ In all the sūtras discussed in this essay except the *Upāli* the Buddha directs his teachings to both men and women who follow the bodhisattva path. Theoretically, then, women could perform the *triskandhaka* ritual as well as the other bodhisattva practices described in these texts. In fact, however, each of the texts, after formally addressing the “good men and good women” who seek the Buddha’s teaching, then proceeds to ignore women as religious practitioners, taking an entirely male point of view toward the religious life. The *Upāli* does not acknowledge the presence of female practitioners in any way. Only the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* actually mentions female practitioners—but only to instruct them on how they should practice in order to insure their future rebirth as males. The *Triskandhaka Sūtra* does not directly assert that rebirth as a male is essential to the attainment of the highest stages of the bodhisattva path, but that is unequivocally taught in several other Mahāyāna sūtras; see Nancy Schuster (= Barnes), “Changing the Female Body: Wise Women and the Bodhisattva Career in Some *Mahāratnakūṭasūtras*,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 4 (1981): 24–69. Clearly, women are not accorded a status or importance equal to men’s in the Mahāyāna sūtras I am concerned with here, nor in Mahāyāna literature as a whole; see Harrison, “Who Gets to Ride in the Great Vehicle?” 76–79. It should be noted, however, that several extant Mahāyāna sūtras do have women as wise interlocutors of the Buddha, or even as expositors of the bodhisattva path. There are a number of these “women sūtras” in the Chinese Buddhist canon, ascribed to translators working from the third century CE onward (Schuster, “Changing the Female Body”). The women in these sūtras are nearly always laywomen; many of them magically transform themselves into male bodhisattvas or monks at the climax of the narrative. Although these texts need to be more extensively studied before definitive conclusions can be reached, I suggest that they may have been composed in order to give women a *formal* presence within the Mahāyāna fold, so to speak—while avoiding recognizing women *as women* to be the full spiritual equals of men. What the creation of such scriptures had to do with the actual situation of living women in the Mahāyāna is not clear. Using evidence from Indian Buddhist inscriptions, Gregory Schopen has argued that women played significant roles in early Buddhist communities but after the Mahāyāna emerged in the fourth and fifth centuries women’s activity and influence declined; see Gregory Schopen, “Monks, Nuns, and ‘Vulgar’ Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult in Indian Buddhism,” *Artibus Asiae* 49 (1988–1989): 161–165. Evidence from fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-century China, on the other hand, testifies to the prominence and the vigorous activity of Buddhist nuns and laywomen within a Mahāyānist milieu; for a summary of this evidence, see Nancy Schuster (= Barnes), “Striking a Balance: Women and Images of Women in Early Chinese Buddhism,” in Yvonne Y. Haddad and Ellison B. Findly, eds., *Women, Religion, and Social Change* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 87–112. The question of women’s roles in the two countries, and the importance of Mahāyāna Buddhism in each, deserves further study.

ever committed, and repent of them.

This is how the confession should be made: one must salute the ten Buddhas of the ten directions by name, and then, six times a day, uncover the right shoulder, kneel on the right knee, join his hands before the Buddhas, and say:

I respectfully salute all the Buddhas, Tathāgatas, all the Buddhas who are manifest in the ten directions who have already attained perfect enlightenment. May you now turn the wheel of Dharma, now illuminate the wheel of Dharma, now grasp the wheel of Dharma, now rain the Dharma rain... I now bow to all the Tathāgatas... I worship these Buddhas with body, speech and mind... Whatever evil deeds I have done, in beginningless saṃsāra to the present...all such evils I now confess and repent before all the Buddhas of the ten directions. May all these Buddhas be seen... I confess my past deeds and vow not to dare do them again... As in the past all bodhisattvas, in order to cultivate bodhi, have repented like this, I now also repent...²²

Reading this text, one has the impression that this is simply a longer version of the old *triskandhaka*. But the passage quoted deals only with the first of the three parts of the *triskandhaka*, confession. The second part, rejoicing at merits accumulated, is treated separately in the next section of the text: it is a complete ritual in itself in three-plus parts, that follows the pattern just taught for confession. After that comes a separate, complete ritual, of the same pattern, for exhorting the Buddhas to teach the Dharma, and then another for transferring merits accumulated to others so that they may gain wealth, honor, merit, wisdom, perfect enlightenment. The *Triskandhaka Sūtras* teach the performance of a series of rituals rather than one “three-part practice” that encompasses confession, rejoicing at merits accumulated, and exhorting the Buddhas to teach the Dharma.

What began in the *Ugra* as a short, simple ritual has been expanded into a series of rituals. Since the basic form of the *triskandhaka* is maintained throughout, it is reasonable to assume that the form itself had become venerable. All the texts of the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* group teach the long, elaborately detailed series of ritual performances, even the *Samantabhadra Bodhisattva Sūtra* that was translated around 300 CE by Nie Daozhen. This is significant, for it means that both the expanded version of the *triskandhaka* and the short form were known at an early date. It is not a matter of a gradual evolution of the ritual in a single line of development. Rather, the basic ritual form was adapted and developed for various uses by different Mahāyāna groups with different interests.

If the *Upāli* and the *Ugra* do refer to or quote from a text called “*Triskandhaka*,” it is obviously not one of the four texts of the *Triskandhaka Sūtra* group or an Indian “original” from

²² T 24.1087a1–1087b29. The confession passage includes a very detailed catalogue of serious transgressions that might have been committed in the past, from shedding the blood of a Buddha to causing dissension in the saṅgha in various ways. The entire catalogue is to be repeated whenever the *triskandhaka* is performed.

which any of these translations were made. In fact, the *Ugra* and *Upāli* do not seem to quote from or refer to a *sūtra* text at all, but to the recitation of the *triskandhaka* ritual itself, a short text that was really recited and performed by those practicing the *bodhisattvayāna*.

As mentioned earlier, the bodhisattva in the *Ugra* invokes the Buddhas of the ten directions to act as the universal Āryasaṅgha to hear his confession. No further reason for requesting their presence is suggested in that *sūtra*. But the “three-part ritual” described in the *Ugra* does include, in all but the Later Han translation, an exhortation to the Buddhas to turn the wheel of Dharma. The *Triskandhaka Sūtras* explain the function of the Buddhas of the ten directions more clearly. It is the Buddhas who teach the Dharma, and without their teaching *no one* else can become a Buddha. Moreover, nothing can be concealed from the all-knowing Buddhas, so confession must be made to them. And once confession has been made, then they must be invited to teach the Dharma again to the confessor. Confession has destroyed the obstacles to progress on the path to enlightenment. To actually make progress, however, the bodhisattva must hear the Dharma again, and again. Only the Buddhas can turn the wheel of Dharma.

V. *Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha Meditation Sūtras*

I will conclude by turning to two other *sūtras* that are quite different from those discussed so far, but also owe much to the tradition of the “three-part ritual of confession.” The *Sūtra on Meditation on Samantabhadra Bodhisattva’s Practice*²³ and the *Sūtra on Meditation on Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva*²⁴ were both translated by Dharmamitra, a meditation master from Kashmir who arrived in China in the first quarter of the fifth century and translated some *sūtras* and meditation manuals in the Liu Song kingdom between 424 and 442 CE. Among his works was a translation of the *Ugra*, which is, presumably, the translation now in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, section 19 of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*. The Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha meditation *sūtras* are two of the so-called “*guan*” 觀 or visualization *sūtras* translated or composed in China in the fifth century. Of concern here, however, is not the origin of these two texts, but the fact that both demonstrate the adaptation of the *triskandhaka* confession ritual to a new series of meditations and rituals.

The Samantabhadra meditation *sūtra* explains how a bodhisattva can practice the Mahāyāna, attain understanding, destroy misdeeds, and purify the sense organs while remaining in the world of attachments and desires. The Buddha tells Ānanda that those who want to rejoice at the sight of the Buddhas, of Buddha stūpas, and of the great Bodhisattva

²³ *Foshuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經, T 277, 9.389b24–394b11.

²⁴ *Guan Xukongzang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經, T 409, 13.677b1–680c6.

Samantabhadra, must concentrate the mind and then, in one day, or up to twenty-one days, they will see Samantabhadra on his white elephant. Having made the vow to see Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, six times a day they should salute the Buddhas of the ten directions, and practice the “rule of confession and repentance.” Precisely how the bodhisattva performs this practice is not indicated, but the reference seems to be to a specific practice. I suggest that practice was some version of the *triskandhaka*.

Having confessed and repented, the bodhisattva attains a series of visions of bodhisattvas and Buddhas. The bodhisattva’s organ of sight and other sense organs are gradually purified, and the visions become clearer and more precise. But each time clearer vision is sought, the bodhisattva must again practice the “rule of confession and repentance.” Confession and repentance is crucial to spiritual progress, according to this text and all the others examined so far. The Samantabhadra meditation sūtra is a meditation text, of course, and it is also a ritual text, for the perfection of the meditation technique taught depends on correct performance of ritual. The development toward tantric practice is plain here. So is the importance of the vivid vision of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas, which is also promised in the *Upāli*.

The Ākāśagarbha meditation sūtra asserts that Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva himself has the power to remove sins and to save one from suffering. The Elder Upāli is the Buddha’s interlocutor in this sūtra. The sūtra refers directly to the *Upāli* itself, and it is clearly based upon it. In the Ākāśagarbha meditation sūtra the same thirty-five Buddhas already known from the *Upāli* appear once again. Since the interlocutor is Upāli, the Vinaya expert, it is transgressions against the Vinaya that are specifically mentioned. Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva has the power to remove them. To reach Ākāśagarbha, one must concentrate the mind on him (*guan*).

The sūtra’s description of the ritual of paying homage to the thirty-five Buddhas follows that of the *Upāli*, with some additions. The bodhisattva should honor the Buddhas of the ten directions for one to seven days, invoking the names of the thirty-five Buddhas and of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva. Then he should bathe and burn incense. When the stars come out, the bodhisattva should kneel with his hands together and, weeping, invoke Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva. Directing his thoughts to Ākāśagarbha, he will see the Bodhisattva with a wishing jewel on his head, and wearing a crown surmounted by the forms of the thirty-five Buddhas. By the power of Ākāśagarbha’s wishing jewel, the sins of the supplicant will be removed, and he will be able to re-enter the Saṅgha. Only then will the bodhisattva be inspired to confess and repent of his sins. In front of a Buddha image he will honor the thirty-five Buddhas, invoking their names and recounting his past transgressions.

This short sūtra is a remarkable conglomerate of ideas and passages from the *Upāli* and new ritual and meditation practices. The confession and repentance ritual, which is not described here in detail but is presumably that of the *Upāli*, is appended to the more central

meditation o Bodhisattva

Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva. It is treated as a postscript, as well it might be since the necessity for its practice is now questionable: for it is Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva’s power, not the act of confession, which has destroyed sins. Nonetheless the confession ritual *is* mentioned. Presumably it was a familiar and venerable practice which could not be abruptly abandoned.²⁵

VI. Conclusion

Mahāyānists did not introduce the idea of a formal ritual of confession into Buddhism. Since very early times monks and nuns of all Buddhist communities have met regularly to recite the *prātimokṣa*, the formal affirmation that all the participating members of the religious community are pure and free from transgressions against the monastic code of discipline. In order to join in the recitation, any cleric who had committed a misdeed would have to confess it ahead of time and undergo penance. A short formula of confession of other faults, suitable for lay people as well as clerics, is also found in several texts in the Pāli canon. It reads:

A fault has overcome me, so stupid, so foolish, so wrong... Revered Sir, may the Lord accept from me the acknowledgement of this fault, and for the future.²⁶

Like other Buddhist clerics, Mahāyānist monks and nuns recited the *prātimokṣa* in their monastic communities. But to enable lay bodhisattvas as well as renunciants to make reparation for other transgressions they had committed, Mahāyānists constructed their own formula and ritual of confession, the *triskandhaka*. The *triskandhaka* bears some resemblance to the Theravāda school’s Pāli formula quoted above. The *Ugra* describes Mahāyānists as living among other Buddhists and non-Buddhists, but they are encouraged to remain very much aware of their distinct identity. Thus, when a lay bodhisattva has transgressed against the Mahāyāna code of discipline and no appropriate religious authority is available to hear his confession, he is enjoined to invoke the presence of all the fully enlightened Buddhas in the universe, the Buddhas of the ten directions, to hear him. When the bodhisattva confesses to the supreme authority in the universal religious community that the Mahāyāna proclaimed

²⁵ The text mentions an Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva dhāraṇī also but gives it little attention. It is the vision and the action of the great Bodhisattva that abolish sins. Dharmamitra translated another *Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva Sūtra*, however, which expounds the use of the Bodhisattva’s dhāraṇī for destroying sins: *Xukongzang pusa shenzhou jing* 虛空藏菩薩神咒經 T 407, 13.662a19–667b25. The *Xukongzang pusa jing* 虛空藏菩薩經 T 405, 13.647c12–656b15 is another translation of this latter text by Buddhayaśas, completed between 408 and 413 CE. The use of dhāraṇī to ward off harm is explained in many Mahāyāna sūtras of various dates. The use of dhāraṇī, too, may have been conflated with confession rituals in some Mahāyāna texts or circles.

²⁶ *Vinaya* I.315; *Samyutta Nikāya* II.127; *Anguttara Nikāya* I.54, 103; II.146sq.; *Dīgha Nikāya* I.85; *Majjhima Nikāya* I.438. The specific fault is confessed at the ellipsis.

itself to be, he affirms his membership in that community. I suggest that the *triskandhaka* ritual was crafted to function as a powerful experience of cleansing, recommitment to the bodhisattva path, and confidence in the Buddha's teaching. As such, it would have served as one of the important rituals that bound the early Mahāyāna community together.²⁷

The *Ugra* advises lay bodhisattvas to perform the *triskandhaka*. This is the earliest text known to me that deals with the *triskandhaka*, and its failure to recommend the ritual to renunciant bodhisattvas suggests that in its earliest phase the ritual may have been intended primarily for laymen. But monks have dominated the Mahāyāna from its beginning, and whether the *triskandhaka* began as a lay practice or not, monks soon adapted it to their own ritual needs. They used it in a variety of ways, as indicated in the texts discussed in this essay. It was expanded and elaborated, and attached to other rituals. As the *triskandhaka* was employed in new contexts, the special significance it seems to have had early in the development of the Mahāyāna may have faded. But the ritual and the formula of confession were not discarded. In fact, confession rituals proliferated, addressed to popular Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna pantheon.²⁸ The formal practice of confessing transgressions to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has remained one of the most enduring in the Mahāyāna tradition. The ancient *triskandhaka* is at the core of all of these confession rituals.

²⁷ On the *Ugra* and the *triskandhaka*, see also Nancy J. Barnes, "The *Triskandha*, Practice in Three Parts: Study of an Early Mahāyāna Ritual," in N. Wagle and F. Watanabe, eds., *Studies in Buddhism in Honour of Professor A. K. Warder* (Toronto: Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Toronto, 1993), 1–10. On the *Ugra* see also Nancy J. Schuster (=Barnes), "The Bodhisattva Figure in the *Ugraparipṛcchā*, an Early Mahāyāna Buddhist Sūtra," in A. K. Warder, ed., *New Paths in Buddhist Research* (Durham, North Carolina: Acorn Press, 1985), 28–56.

²⁸ M. W. de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, has gathered a mass of material on confession rituals performed in medieval Japan, and has referred to some instituted in China as well. He has also extensively examined many of the sūtras and other texts from which the rituals were derived. Confession rituals have been extremely important in the past in East Asian Mahāyāna Buddhism, and have continued to be used there up to the present.

THE MOVEMENT OF BUDDHIST TEXTS FROM INDIA TO CHINA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHINESE BUDDHIST CANON

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The transmission of the Buddhist teachings through Central Asia into China was one of the remarkable events in cultural history. The portable sanctity of Buddhism allowed it to pass boundaries of religion, culture, tribe, kingdom, language, and geographic space. Four aspects of Buddhism were primary features of this spread far distant from the homeland. They were:

1. holy persons who could travel freely without being polluted,
2. sacred relics of the Buddha and other esteemed dead that could impart power to whatever site they were placed,
3. images of the Buddha in sculpture and paintings that could be freely moved from place to place, and
4. teachings, presented in oral and written form, that retained their importance in translation.

It is the last feature of portability, in particular the written texts, that is the focus of this study. Previous scholarship has given us a detailed description of how these "texts" of Buddhism were taken across the boundary of language and culture through the agency of translation bureaus in China. Less has been written about the way in which the thousands of texts were treated once they were translated into Chinese.

The appearance of this large body of new books was a major addition to the literary life of China. As Buddhism became a larger part of the culture of the kingdoms of Central and East Asia, the scripture, represented by a large and growing collection of Chinese translations, required attention. The question for the Chinese was how to give recognition to this new body of literature. It was important for them to give "it" a name, to catalogue "it" and to formalize the arrangement of the many titles. This was all part of the process of creating a canon, in the sense of a list of recognized works. "It" had not come as a single transmission of a set of Buddhist writings from India. Instead of a previously arranged canon, the Chinese received one text after another from the missionary monks and pilgrims. "It" had come in a piecemeal fashion and this was to determine how "it" would be treated within the sphere of those kingdoms using Chinese as the official written language. The long process of transmission required that the Chinese set up a mechanism for receiving a constant stream of new materials.

As a result, we have the strange situation of an "open" canon for the Chinese. It was not that the Chinese believed the texts coming from India were limitless. They thought that all of the teachings had been given in the distant past and were thus finite. The major task for the Chinese was to make sure that they possessed all of these texts, however long it might take to find and translate them. The pilgrimages from China to the Western regions were often made for the express purpose of finding "missing" texts. As long as new discoveries were being made, it would have been improper to "close" the canon. Even in our own time closure has not yet occurred and the Chinese canon is still "open." With every new publication of a version of the Buddhist Chinese canon, new texts appear and differing ways of arrangement.

As we look at the introduction and translation of the Indian texts in China, the question arises as to whether the ideas of canonicity, held in India, crossed the boundary and determined the structure and the principles of the "canon" in China. The earliest references in India to the teachings of the Buddha appear in inscriptions at sites such as Sañci, Karli, and Bharhut. These short comments indicate that reporting the words of the founder was an oral tradition vested in the memory of monks who were called reciters (*bhāṇaka*). By the second century BCE, Brāhmī inscriptions included the term *tripiṭaka*, implying that the Buddhist teachings had been sorted into three types. As the Pali texts indicate, there were reciters who specialized in one of the three. While a first step toward the formation of a canon is the invention of a name for it, it is incorrect to assume that the word *tripiṭaka* meant there was a clearly defined Buddhist canon in India. The term referred to one of a group of schemes that classified texts according to their characteristics. Classifications can be part of the process of forming a canonic list, but are not in themselves a sufficient development to be equated with the later methods followed by the Chinese, Tibetans, and Theravādins in constructing a canon. Étienne Lamotte makes the point that the schools of Buddhism based on Sanskrit could give the miscellaneous texts a place in the categories of scripture, but they were unable to achieve consensus among themselves over the exact texts to be included.¹ Naming and classification schemes were clearly a part of the Indian Buddhist tradition, but the missionaries could not offer the Chinese the complete list of Buddhist texts.

Making a list of texts is not the equivalent of constructing a canon. The list must be put to some test of authenticity. Indian Buddhism was deeply involved in this concern. We hear the lament,

The sūtras promulgated by the Tathāgata, which are profound in meaning, supramundane, and which teach emptiness, will not be listened to with faith, no one will lend an ear, nor recognize them as true—

¹ See Étienne Lamotte, *History of Buddhism: From the Origins to the Saka Era*, trans. by S. Webb-Boin (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1988), p. 164, corresponding to Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme Indien, des origines à l'ère Saka* (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958), pp. 158–159.

but the sūtras composed by poets, which are poetic, artistic in syllables and phonemes, exoteric, promulgated by the disciples, will be believed—thus sūtras in the first category will disappear.²

The *Dīpavaṃsa* speaks of those who introduced changes and thus make the original texts no longer valid.³ During the time of Aśoka, the records claim that Mahādeva tried to get the writings of the Mahāyāna included in the list of accepted scripture. This concern about the authentic nature of documents is a step toward canonicity. However, we do not find an indication that these worries about the nature of the many texts available for Indian Buddhists resulted in a list of acceptable ones. While lore tells us that a Council was convened to establish the remembered teaching of the Buddha, it did not have lasting and total authority. The identification of all the authentic teachings was a matter of controversy that was never settled in India. Therefore, when the Chinese first came into contact with Buddhist texts either in the original Indic form or in the translations, they had no rules for determining authenticity. There was no list of texts, universally recognized by the arriving missionary monks, which could be used by the early Chinese Buddhist community as a formal canon. Every year previously unknown texts arrived from the Western regions, and who was to say which were authentic and which suspect?

If we take each of the three classes of texts categorized under the term *tripiṭaka* we can see the problems faced by the Chinese. While most wanted to restrict the class of texts known as *sūtra* to the words of the Buddha remembered by Ānanda, this was not followed by all Indians. The *sūtras* had been divided into four divisions based on length of the texts. Eventually, the limitations of the original classification surfaced and a fifth, miscellaneous section, was added. This was known as the *kṣudraka*. The oldest reference to the problem of five divisions is found in a fourth-century translation done in the Chinese capital.⁴ In that document, we read that the Buddhist texts consisted of the *tripiṭaka* and the *kṣudraka*. This translated Indian work gives us the information that among some groups, the term *tripiṭaka* was not considered to include all of the acceptable texts. The fourth-century document tells us that the teachings of Buddhism are those of the Buddha and also those of the Arhats, gods, and other divine beings. This same idea of a variety of teachers is seen in the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 where the *kṣudraka* is said to be the recorded words of the Buddha, disciples, and the gods.⁵

² This passage is from *Samyuktāgama* (T 99, 2: 345b) and presented in Lamotte, *History of Buddhism*, *op cit*.

³ *Dīpavaṃsa* v, 36. See discussion in Paul Demiéville, “L’origine des sectes bouddhiques d’après Paramārtha,” *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 1 (1932): 30.

⁴ *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, T 2026, 49:1a–4a, listed in the *Dong Jin lu* 東晉錄 (317–420).

⁵ Translator unknown, T 1507, 25:30a–52c; listed in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書.

From the situation described above, we can see that the Buddhists in India had classification schemes and theories of authenticity, but these fell short of defining the canon. It was the Theravāda tradition among the Sinhalese that provided a standard closed list for the main portion of the *tripiṭaka* as well as for the *ḥṣudraka*, the miscellaneous section. The closing of the miscellaneous division was a major event, because that act implied that the list of texts for all the divisions of the canon could at last be identified. The Chinese received the developments coming from a number of Indian schools, but did not have access to the canonic list as defined by the Theravāda. They had no clear picture of the number and names of acceptable texts in the important category of *sūtras*.

While various Indian Buddhist schools had established the *āgama* category, and each had determined the content of the four major divisions, this did not settle the matter for the Chinese. They had received and translated the four *āgamas*, but these came from a variety of schools. The *Māyāmāgama* and the *Samyuktāgama* of the Chinese translations were taken from texts representing the Sarvāstivādin school.⁶ By contrast, the *Dīrghāgama* was from the Dharmaguptaka school⁷ and the *Ekottarāgama* probably belonged to the Mahāsaṅghikas.⁸

Therefore, we see that in this important category of texts, no one Indian school can be identified as the primary source for the Chinese. No list of texts, belonging to some Indian tradition where a consensus had been reached, provided the model for the organization and content of the Chinese Buddhist canon.

The second of the *tripiṭaka* units, the *vinaya*, was as ill defined for the Chinese as the *āgama*. A variety of *vinaya* texts came into China from the Sarvāstivādins, Dharmaguptakas,

⁶ *Zhong aban jing* 中阿含經, T 26, 1:421a–809c, translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva during the years 397–398 at Dongting Monastery 東亭寺; and *Za aban jing* 雜阿含經, T 99, 2:1a–373b, translated by Guṇabhadra at Waguan Monastery 瓦官寺 sometime during the years 435–443.

⁷ *Chang aban jing* 長阿含經, T 1, 1:1a–149c, translated by Buddhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in 413 in Chang’an.

⁸ *Zengyi aban jing* 增一阿含經, T 125, 2:549a–830b, translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆 in 397 on Lu shan 廬山.

Mahāsaṅghikas, Mahīśāsakas and Mūlasarvāstivādins,⁹ so that the Chinese translations included five different *vinayas*. By the fifth century, Chinese monks were aware of these varied descriptions of the correct rules of conduct, and this multiplicity of *vinaya* raised many questions about how to judge which one to follow. Starting with the assumption that all of the texts must be valid, the Chinese sought for some explanation of the differences. The solution was one that would be used many times in the study of the expanding corpus of Buddhist works: The members of the monastic institution of China reasoned that Upagupta had been the disciple of the Buddha who had been given the official transmission of the *vinaya*. Finally, it was determined that after Upagupta’s death, the lineage of transmission must have passed to five of his disciples. The result of these lineages was different interpretations. There must have been a single *vinaya*, no longer available among the Buddhist texts, but this *ur-vinaya* was thought to be clearly reflected in the five lineages. Such an approach shows us that the building of the Chinese Buddhist canon often had less to do with rejecting texts than it did for developing a rationale for inclusion.

During the seventh century, Daoxuan 道宣 founded a school for the study of the *vinaya*. He chose the Dharmaguptaka version as the standard for the Chinese school. This text was translated into Chinese in the early fifth century by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念.¹⁰ It should be noted that the Vinaya School had little to do with the actual practice of the rules; rather, the main task was the study of *vinaya* texts. Monastic members involved in this type of scholastic study of the *vinaya* were few in number, and since the Chinese community did not attempt to follow all of the rules laid out in the texts, the differences between the codes of behavior created no practical problems. This is unlike the situation for the Theravāda countries, where *vinaya* issues are of great importance. The choice of one *vinaya* for study did not mean that all other texts were removed from the canon. All of the available *vinaya* texts were kept and given equal status in the manuscript copies.

⁹ These are as follows, by school:

Sarvāstivāda = *Shisong lü* 十誦律, T 1435, 23:1a–470b, translated by Punyatāra 弗若多羅 and Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 sometime during the years 399–413. The last two fascicles were done by Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉 after Kumārajīva’s death.

Dharmaguptaka = *Sifen lü* 四分律, T 1428, 22:567a–1014b, translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian in 405 or 408.

Mahāsaṅghika = *Mobe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, T 1425, 22:227a–549a, translated by Buddhābhadda and Faxian 法顯 in 416 at Daochang Monastery 道場寺.

Mahīśāsaka = *Mishasaibu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律, T 1421, 22:1a–194c, translated by Buddhajīva 佛陀什 and Daosheng 竺道生 in 423–424 at Longguang Monastery 龍光寺.

Mūlasarvāstivāda = *Genben shuo yiqie youbu pinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶, T 1443, 23:907a–1020b, translated by Yijing 義淨 in 710 in Dajianfu Monastery 大薦福寺. Other parts of this *vinaya* were translated by Yijing during the years 700–711.

¹⁰ See the text listed in note 9, T 1428.

The *abhidharma*, made up of treatises and numerations of the doctrine, was also a problem for the Chinese canon makers. They found that there was no universal acceptance of the importance or necessity of this material among the Indian Buddhists. Some schools rejected the *abhidharma* altogether, most notably the Sautrāntika. Others made use of only part of it, as in the case of the Mahāsaṅghikas. These must have been perplexing issues for the Chinese. However, when great masters such as Kumārajīva, Guṇabhadra, Paramārtha, and Xuanzang 玄奘 made translations of the *abhidharma*, its place in the Chinese Buddhist canon was assured.¹¹

The greatest challenge came when the Chinese had to consider the place of the Mahāyāna texts as opposed to the “Hīnayāna.” Since the Mahāyāna materials claimed superiority over all other Buddhist teachings, the problem of canonicity was pressing. It was the great master Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538–596) who offered the solution. He held that the teachings of the Buddha had occurred over some fifty years of activity, a long teaching career and one which involved a variety of audiences. Zhiyi sought to preserve all of the texts in Chinese. He did this by arranging the material in what he considered to be chronological order. The teachings were all included, but they were also given a ranking, allowing Mahāyāna a privileged position while still retaining the “Hīnayāna” texts. The effect of this type of analysis was the inclusion of all the teachings. The Chinese might have made a Mahāyāna canon and omitted all other schools, except for the principles put forward by Zhiyi and others.¹² The decision to hold on to all types of teachings was a major aspect of the construction of the Chinese canon. Receiving texts from all parts of Buddhism, the Chinese accepted them and created a canon, unlike anything which had ever existed before. The uniqueness of the canon in China poses the question of whether the idea of a Buddhist canon was transmitted across the boundaries along with the thousands of documents.

Confronted with conflicting information the Chinese had to deal with the complex nature of the Buddhist texts and of the schools that held to some but not all of the material. Matters that could have been settled by referring to a canonic list had to be addressed with no established basis for definition. For example, the order by which texts were listed was not defined by any of the Indian information available. There was no list to give this order and no rules for making such a list. The Chinese had to invent the rule by which they could deter-

¹¹ The *Abhidharmakośaśāstra* was translated by Paramārtha 真諦 in 563–568 at Zhizhi Monastery 制旨寺; the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* was translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 651; the *(Abhidharma)prakaraṇapāda* was translated by Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 and Bodhiyaśas 菩提耶舍 sometime during the years 435–443 at Wanguan Monastery.

¹² See Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 305–310.

mine ordering. At times, this was done in the fashion of a library accession list, rather than a clearly defined ordering by some model of standard categories. Without clear guidance from the missionary monks, who could only report on classification schemes, the Chinese were forced to search for a canonic model. They found it, not in India or from the missionaries, but within their own culture. There was already at hand a method of creating and defining the limits of authentic writings. The model was the treatment of statecraft texts, which were used for the examination system throughout the land.¹³ These texts were called *jing* 經, often translated as "classic." The earliest canon of these texts was composed of five of the *jing*. The same list of *jing* was used by everybody who studied for the examinations aimed at selecting government officials.

The first step in this Chinese way of determining the statecraft canon was the selection of the texts, based on content, that would be required for the national tests. The second procedure was to assure a standard reading for all copies of the *jing*. This standardization of copies was crucial for the process, and the royal court established copy centers to provide students with materials judged to be authentic. In order to make certain that the readings remained consistent, the government had the *jing* inscribed on stone in the capital. Once incised, these stone texts could not be altered. Only scribes of the highest position were allowed to enter the area and make manuscript copies directly from the stones. These precious copies from the court scribes were taken to provincial copy centers where a number of manuscripts were prepared and distributed. In a real sense, it was only when a text was accepted into the system of the copy centers that it could be said to have achieved the status of a canonic *jing*. This meant that the method of distribution helped to determine the canon of the state. Buddhists looked to the process used by the government. That is, they observed and copied the royal pattern for housing, inclusion, and distribution of standard texts. While the Buddhists tried to imitate the success of the secular authorities, they had to deal with a corpus of literature that was many times larger than the *jing* of the examination system. The great size of the collection of the Buddhist *jing* meant that distribution of manuscript copies throughout the kingdom required enormous resources. Nevertheless, inspired by the government copy centers, Buddhists did establish a distribution system for its ever expanding body of literature. It was this practice of housing and copying that helped to structure the Chinese Buddhist canon.

Evidence of copy centers abounds in colophons and histories. For example, the earliest colophon reference can be found on the Dunhuang S. 996 (T 1552) which tells us that this

¹³ The Five Classics were recognized as official learning in 136 BCE by Emperor Wu. See *Han shu*, fascicle 6, where we have reference to the establishment of the Offices of the Five Classics.

volume is part of ten sets of the canon done by a member of the Northern Wei court.¹⁴ Fujieda reports that “Early in the second decade of the sixth century, a governmental copying office was established at Dunhuang. More than ten manuscripts of Buddhist texts contain a common colophon saying that the scroll was copied by a governmental scribe of the sub-province of Dunhuang under the leadership of Linghu Chongzhe.¹⁵ Another group of scrolls coming from a copy center are dated between 530 and 533 CE.¹⁶ Empress Wendi had forty-six sets of the canon copied in the sixth century.¹⁷ The Dunhuang manuscripts also contain numerous copies of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* and *Vajracchedikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* which the colophon states were made during the seventh century at Chang’an. The similarity of the format and signatures of copyists give us a clear idea of a centralized copy center that was supplying documents housed at Dunhuang. We also find reference to the Director of the Copying Office in the official histories.¹⁸

The Dunhuang texts have been particularly helpful in discovering the importance of the copying process since we have so few manuscripts preserved. Most of our documentation of the canon relies on the existing printed versions. Looking at the way in which the printing blocks were made, we see that sets of the canon were preserved throughout China, and at the large centers there were copyists who were called upon to prepare the copies that carvers used for the wood blocks. For example, when the Northern Song court ordered the preparation of the first set of printing blocks, they called upon the Chengdu manuscripts and scribes to prepare them. They did not send copies or scribes from the central court to the western province. We can note this by looking at the characters that were no longer in use in the capital, but were still being copied from older canonic sets. In other words, from the Chengdu printing blocks we can see that there was a style of writing and a standard copy there that differed from those in Kaifeng. This same pattern of differences between copy centers can be spotted when we look at the Southern Song canonic prints that show distinctive readings for each set of block prints. Outside of China, the Khitan court used a set of manuscripts for their national

¹⁴ See *Wei shu*, fascicle 73, in the biography of Feng Jinguo.

¹⁵ *Zinbun* 30 (1959): 24.

¹⁶ See *Zinbun* 30 (1959): 27.

¹⁷ *Sui shu*, fascicle 36.

¹⁸ *Xin Tang shu*, fascicle 102.

standard that was quite different from that of the Northern Song copy.¹⁹ From this growing list of differences between centers, we have a view of copying that relied on local sets of manuscripts as well as those housed in the palace libraries.

As mentioned previously, the naming of a set of documents as a distinct entity is an important part of the canon process. By the end of the fifth century, the number of translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese language was already sizable. It was at this point that the collected translations were given a name. The first designation was descriptive—*Yiqie jing* 一切經, “All the *jing*.” This way of referring to the Buddhist texts first appears in a Dunhuang manuscript from the year 479 CE, when an official paid to have ten sets of the *Yiqie jing* copied.²⁰ This suggests that the provincial Buddhist center at Dunhuang was the site of a copy bureau. Similar copy centers existed in important monasteries across China.

The expression *Yiqie jing* forces us to reconsider how we should translate the term *jing* 經. Often it is rendered as an equivalent of the Sanskrit term *sūtra*, but if we take note of the list of texts included among the Buddhist *jing* it is obvious that this word implied all of the categories of *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma* as well as a large number of miscellaneous texts. Traditionally, the term *jing* was a designation for texts which contained the teachings of the ancient sages of China; it was never used for contemporary writings. The Buddhists seem to have followed this approach, by using the term to cover all of the teachings of the ancients of India, including the Buddha. From the use of the phrase *Yiqie jing* to identify the corpus of the Buddhist Chinese translations, it is obvious that the Dunhuang official mentioned just above did not assume that *jing* was limited to the words of the Buddha. Texts attributed to Nāgārjuna and other great masters were given the same designation, i.e. *jing*, in their colophons. While the Chinese use the word *jing* in titles where the term *sūtra* appears, the meaning of *jing* in the catalogues and in the name for the canon of the Buddhists retains its Chinese meaning. *Jing* means a recognized book, an authentic expression of an ancient sage, a text worthy of preservation and copying. Since *jing* referred only to the writings containing the ancient teachings, it was not a term that could properly be applied to the works of contemporary authors.

This restriction of usage for the word *jing* meant the exclusion of any works which could not be traced to the distant past. Without this all important title, a text would not be included in the copying process of the Buddhists. If a document was not part of the copy center

¹⁹ A discussion of these differences are found in the *Koryōguk sinjo taejang kyojōng pyōllok* 高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄 (K. 1402) of Sugi 守其, the editor of the Koryō block prints that form the basis for the readings of the first half of the *Taishō* edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon. In 1251, Sugi reports that he found many readings from the Khitan canon were superior to those of the Northern Song.

²⁰ This manuscript is found in the Stein Collection, no. 996. It is a translation of the *Samyuk-tābhidharmabhrdaya[sāstra]*, *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論, T 1552, 28:869c–965c, translated by Saṅghavarman 僧伽跋摩 in 434 at Changgan Monastery 長干寺.

enterprise, it would not be available to a significant audience and would not survive through the centuries. The word *jing* was not limited to the Confucian and Buddhist traditions, and later the Daoist, Christians, and Manichaeans would also use *jing* to provide legitimacy to the title of their scriptures. It was this focus on the ancient nature of any work, which bore the title *jing*, that helped to create the situation where contemporary Buddhist works of China were denied an avenue for distribution. Unless a Buddhist document was a translation from the Indic (thought to have been from Sanskrit, although we know that this was not always the case) it could not receive the all important designation of *jing* and would not be included in the collection that was copied and spread from place to place. With this restriction on inclusion, works written in China were neglected. Even the great sage Dao'an found it necessary to append his writings as prefaces to the *jing*. In that way, his work would be copied when the *jing* was reproduced; otherwise, there was no way to publish. In this situation, it is not surprising to find a large number of pseudographs, Chinese works claiming to be translations from Sanskrit. Only through use of the name *jing* could circulation within the Chinese Buddhist world be assured.

The prevalence of the word *jing* for the Buddhist texts can be seen when we look at the catalogues that appeared in the sixth and seventh centuries. The oldest one, by Sengyou 僧祐, does not use the term *jing* in the title but rather refers to the *sanzang* 三藏,²¹ the *tripitaka*. We might translate his title of *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 as “A compilation of the records regarding the *tripitaka* appearing (in Chinese translations).” In his use of the term *chu* 出, it would seem that he is referring to Sanskrit texts which have “come out” or “appeared” in Chinese —the emphasis being on the Indic nature of the texts rather than the translation. After Sengyou's time, the cataloguers changed the way in which they referred to the canon and put the focus on the translations. Fajing 法經 in 594 calls his work “A catalogue of the many *jing*.”²² Daoshi 道世 in 659 uses the title “A compilation of a summary of all the *jing*.”²³ Jingmai 靖邁 called his work, “A history of the publication of the translated *jing* in ancient and contemporary times.”²⁴ In this latter title, we note that Jingmai understands *jing* to be the word for the Chinese translations of the Indian texts. Xuanying 玄應, in his great study of the vocabulary of the Chinese Buddhist canon, used the title “Meanings and pronunciations (of

²¹ *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, T 2145, 55:1a–114a, compiled during the Liang dynasty (502–57).

²² *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄, T 2146, 55:115a–150a.

²³ *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, T 2149, 55:219a–342a, compiled at Ximing Monastery 西明寺.

²⁴ *Gujin yijing tuji* 古今譯經圖紀, T 2151, 55:348a–367c.

the vocabulary) of all the *jing*.²⁵

Later, the name for the canon was changed to *Dazang jing* 大藏經 (literally great-collection *jing*). This terminology is used today for sets of Chinese Buddhist texts. We know that the canon contains more than those texts designated as *sūtra*, so the term *jing* cannot be used solely as an equivalent for that one category. The phrase does not mean “The great collection of sūtras.” The word *zang* is also a problem. If we turn to Sanskrit and say that it is the translation for the word *piṭaka*, then it means a “basket” or a “storehouse” and hence a “collection.” It might be argued that the term *Dazang* is a shortened form of the Sanskrit *Mahā(tri)piṭaka*, but there is little reason to omit the single character which would render the common word “three.” The search for the meaning of the words *Dazang jing* takes us to the Northern Song court, which seems to have invented the name. When the court ordered printing blocks to be prepared for the Buddhist texts, the historical account said that the emperor wanted the *Dazang jing* to be copied. He did not use the older term *Yiqie jing*.²⁶

In Song historical documents, the term *Dazang* 大藏 also appears by itself. We are told that either officials or the king gave orders for the construction of a *Dazang* on the grounds of different monasteries. It may be assumed that this meant the construction of a library building, a structure that was specifically commissioned to hold the official *jing*. Given this information, we should then translate the term *Dazang jing* as “The *jing* belonging to the Great Library.”²⁷ Only when books had been recognized as official were they put into the library. The appearance of Buddhist libraries was the first time that such structures were allowed outside of the imperial palaces. The rulers of the northern dynasties had permitted the Buddhists to collect their *jing* and house them in libraries. Such a practice, previously solely appropriated by the emperor, indicates the growing power and prestige of the religion among the nomadic kingdoms.

The formation of the Buddhist canon was thus in large measure determined by the

²⁵ *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義, compiled at Daci'en Monastery 大慈恩寺; although 25- and 26-fascicle versions of Xuanzang's original survive, most scholars consult the text as contained in Huilin's 慧琳 100-fascicle work of the same title, T 2128, 54:311a–933b.

²⁶ Consulting the Dynastic History Database of the Academia Sinica, we see that the term *dazang jing* occurs twelve times in the *Song shu* 宋書. It never occurs earlier. *Yiqie jing* appears in the *Bei shu* 北書 and the records of the Wei and Sui dynasties as the title of the canon. It is never used for this purpose in the *Song shu*. See database record 14135 for the notice of the creation of the blocks for the *Dazang jing*.

²⁷ Perhaps the best evidence for the use of the term *dazang* as a building can be seen in the later Daoist usage. In his *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 49, Piet Van der Loon writes that “many others had their own library, though the sources do not refer to the contents but to the building, known as *tao tsang*.” See CHEN Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流考 [On the origins of the Daoist library] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1963), 147–156. This means that we should translate *daozaang* as the “Daoist library.”

library policies of the court. Libraries were created, not just for the housing of books but also for the recognition and judgement of the nature of the books included on the shelves. The monasteries treasured their *jing* produced in manuscript form and, following the library model of the emperor, gave them special treatment. Special buildings were constructed to house the growing collections of manuscripts. The act of presentation of a work to these libraries and the acceptance of it was tantamount to official recognition. "Entering" the library was a crucial step in the road to becoming a text that would be copied and widely distributed.²⁸

Along with the inclusion of texts in a library, the next step was the making of a shelf list of volumes in the collection. Every canon is, in the final analysis, a list of accepted texts or teachings. For the Chinese, this shelf list would come to determine the arrangement of the canonic books. The role of such libraries, catalogues, and the related bibliographical practices, while new to the Buddhist tradition, had been important in China before the arrival of Buddhism. Tradition says that in 6 BCE Liu Xin 劉歆 compiled the *Qilue* 七略,²⁹ a catalogue of the library of the court. Some parts of this pioneering work have been preserved in the *Han shu* 漢書. This pattern of recording the titles in the royal collection, classifying them into categories, was continued by all subsequent catalogues, be they secular or religious. Just as we have seen that the Buddhists followed the secular practices with regard to names and to ideas of canonicity, so too the bibliographical enterprise that produced catalogues was firmly based on imperial patterns of record keeping. Catalogues recorded not only titles but other information about the books housed in the libraries. Thus, they became histories as well as library records. Cataloguers had the task of reporting on the collections and they also came to have more control over the determination of authentic texts. The catalogue lists over time became more important, and the production of copied and printed canons based the content on these lists.

Buddhist texts from India were able to move across boundaries and find a home within the Chinese culture and language. Once the material appeared in the Chinese language, it was handled in a Chinese fashion. The original texts may have come from India and represented the developments of the thoughts and practices of the subcontinent, but the treatment of the translations was East Asian. When we look at the way in which the Chinese translations of these texts were named, housed, catalogued, and put into a canonic form, we can easily identify the impact of local customs. As a result of this research, it is clear that the term *tripitaka* is not appropriate for the Chinese Buddhist canon. The housing and subsequent listing of the texts in the Buddhist libraries of China could not be limited to the three categories of the San-

²⁸ We note that a lost catalogue defined the canon in just this way with the title "Catalogue of what has Entered the Library (*zang*).” T 2149, 55:312c.

²⁹ See Piet Van der Loon, "On the Transmission of Kuan-tzu," *T'oung Pao* 41 (1952): 357–393.

skrit classification. Rather, the Chinese Buddhist canon is a complex mixture of Indian and East Asian patterns. If we omit the East Asian and focus only on the Indian aspects, we will fail to understand how the Buddhist texts move across quite formidable cultural boundaries and became a Chinese canon.

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